

**Political Narratives and the Language of 'Communitarianism': A comparison of  
the SNP and Labour Party in Scotland, 1999-2011.**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis argues that the language of communitarianism was evident in the political narratives adopted by the SNP and Labour Party in Scotland during the period 1999 – 2011. It offers a critique of communitarian philosophy and analysis of the primarily implicit role that this branch of political thought played in shaping the ideas, policies and manifestos of both parties during the first twelve years in which a measure of legislative and executive power was devolved from London to Edinburgh. It contends that, whilst adopting divergent strategies, each was inspired by communitarian theories; albeit in rather different ways. Both however, took what may be perceived as a 'communitarian turn' in their respective political narratives, in order to cope with the distinct challenges that each faced.

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# Chapter One: Introduction

## ***1.1 Aims of the research***

Research was undertaken in order to locate and examine the language of communitarianism within the political narratives of the SNP and Labour Party in Scotland during the first twelve years of devolution. The intention was to offer a critique of communitarian philosophy and analysis of the primarily implicit role that this branch of political thought played in shaping the strategies, policies and manifestos of both parties. The research was intended to ascertain the challenges faced by each; in both cases the need to attract more voters having been paramount. It was also intended to identify those communitarian philosophers whose ideas inspired, or were reflected in, the divergent strategies then adopted. Consequently, the three principle themes explored were: discourse and narrative, communitarian theory, and policy and strategy.

## **Discourse and narrative**

Use of the term 'political narratives' indicates that an examination was undertaken of communitarian theory and unfolding political events, primarily in terms of language used and policy implemented. Narrative, according to Hinchman and Hinchman, "has been used as an organizing concept in the human sciences over the last few decades"<sup>1</sup> and involves gathering and organizing sufficient data in order that "the categories of memory, community and identity which correspond roughly to the three basic elements of narrative: plot, setting and character"<sup>2</sup> may be utilized. These categories were particularly relevant to this research,

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<sup>1</sup> Hinchman, L. P. & Hinchman, S. K. *Memory, Identity, Community: The Idea of Narrative in Human Sciences* (New York: State University of New York, 1997)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*

given the central role that collective memory, community, and national identity play in communitarian thought. Whilst politicians would be loath to use the term 'plot' in relation to the formulation and implementation of policy, this is what they do in order to achieve their objectives. The 'setting' within which these narratives unfolded was another important aspect of this investigation; the first twelve years of devolution having represented a watershed in Scotland's political story. The third element of narrative, this being 'character' had, in the context of this research, two meanings. It related to those characters that participated in the narrative; be they politicians or philosophers. More importantly however, it related to their judgement as to what constituted 'good character' within a moral and principled society. A central aspect of the use of narrative is the importance placed upon argument. Fairclough and Fairclough contend that "the way the story is told produces alternative 'facts' (circumstantial premises) that can be used in alternative arguments for what should be done."<sup>3</sup> The contention of this thesis is therefore, that during the early years of devolution, argument over what was best for Scotland took a 'communitarian turn' and this influenced the political narrative adopted by the SNP and Labour, particularly in terms of discourse, policy and conceptions of nationhood.

### **Communitarian theory**

Political discourse analysis was used to investigate the positions taken by those communitarian writers who influenced, or whose ideas were reflected in, the language and policies adopted by each party. The writers most often cited were: Amitai Etzioni; Alasdair MacIntyre; John Macmurray and Charles Taylor. In the context of this research the term 'political discourse' refers to the language and ideas expressed by both theorists and

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<sup>3</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p172 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

politicians.<sup>4</sup> The main themes explored by these theorists that were pertinent to Scotland were: the communitarian critique of modernity and excessive individualism; the embeddedness thesis and critique of liberal neutrality, and the defence of individual and national recognition and identity. Critical analysis of any such political discourse is by its very nature dialectical, in the sense that it is an examination of discourse involving competing points of view; be these between communitarian and liberal thinkers, or unionist and pro-independence politicians. This is why the dialectical process involved the use of argumentation theory,<sup>5</sup> with the aim of showing that, not only were there differences in the discourses set out by the various communitarian writers, but that there were also differences in the communitarian inspired actions taken by each party.<sup>6</sup> Use of the term 'turn' implies that change occurred and this research aimed to show that it took the form of a shift from what was originally discourse concerning communitarian theory, to action inspired by, or reflective of, this theory.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Connolly, W.E. p2 *The Terms of Political Discourse* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993) Here the term 'political discourse' is described as being "the vocabulary commonly employed in political thought and action."

<sup>5</sup> Van Eemeren, F. H. Grootendorst, R. & Henkemans, F. S. p5 *Fundamentals of Argumentation Theory: A Handbook of Historical Backgrounds and Contemporary Developments* (New Jersey: Routledge, 2009) Argumentation is described here as "a verbal and social activity of reason aimed at increasing (or decreasing) the acceptability of a controversial standpoint for the listener or reader, by putting forward a constellation of propositions intended to justify (or refute) the standpoint before a rational judge."

<sup>6</sup> Billig, M. p37 'Critical Discourse Analysis and the Rhetoric of Critique' in *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity* Weiss, G & Wodak, R. (eds.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003) According to Billig: "the formulation of an academic theory inevitably occurs in the context of argumentation, so that the propounding of a theory involves the explicit, and sometimes implicit, criticism of alternative theories."

<sup>7</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p82 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) Here the distinction is made "between semiotic and material elements." In relation to this thesis the distinction made was between what was said by theorists and politicians, and what subsequent action was taken by the two parties concerned.



## **Policy and strategy**

Having identified the challenges faced by each party, the aim then was to survey unfolding political events primarily by means of a case study approach. These studies were undertaken on specific policy issues and analysed from the perspective of discourse and narrative in relation to communitarian theory.

Concerning Labour in Scotland, four case studies were completed. The first examined the constitutional narrative surrounding the introduction of legislative devolution and the language and motives pertaining to this initiative having been adopted. The second assessed the extent to which social policy decisions, articulated and applied by Labour, expressed communitarian principles. The third tested the party's contention that devolution had been a 'one-off-event', representing the 'settled will' of the Scottish people; rather than an ongoing process. The final study examined the effect of coalition government on the resultant political narrative.

Four SNP case studies were also undertaken. The first considered the drive to encourage Scots to recognise themselves as being able to function as an independent nation; one capable of making its own way in the world. The second examined the party's socio-economic policy decisions and the extent to which the resultant narrative articulated communitarian principles. The third assessed the extent to which the National Conversation initiative stimulated Scottish debate, such that independence may be considered a feasible option for the nation's future. The final study considered the party's transformative vision for Scotland; one in which it felt able to assume responsibility at home, whilst projecting confidence abroad.

By focussing on in-depth analysis of a limited number of issues and integrating these findings into the wider methodological framework, it was intended that a broader

understanding as to how communitarian thought impacted on party strategy and the application of policy would be gained.

## ***1.2 Main research questions***

The research sought to answer three main questions, the first of which asked what challenges Labour and the SNP faced at this time and how these led both to take a communitarian turn. The second asked what particular set of moral and political perspectives those communitarian philosophers relevant to this research take and how these positions differ. The final question asked what strategies, policies and manifesto pledges adopted by each party were inspired by or reflected communitarian ideas.

## **Challenges**

The objective of this first question was to establish how Labour faced the challenge of ideologically repositioning itself. The intention was to ascertain, for example, whether comparison could be made between its implementation of 'welfare to work' and 'social inclusion' policies, and American communitarian philosopher Amitai Etzioni's advocacy of the type of shared morality that combined support for the work ethic with a denunciation of self-gratifying individualism.<sup>8</sup> Enquiry followed into why this culminated in the launch of 'New Labour' and its undertaking to deliver a new set of principles; one advocating neither left nor

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<sup>8</sup> Etzioni puts it thus: "When Communitarians argue that the pendulum has swung too far toward the radical individualistic pole and it is time to hurry its return, we do *not* seek to push it to the opposite extreme, of encouraging a community that suppresses individuality. We aim for a judicious mix of self-interest, self-expression, and commitment to the commons – of rights *and* responsibilities." Etzioni, A. p26 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

right-wing ideological solutions, but instead, a 'third way'<sup>9</sup> which reflected the communitarian narrative espoused by Etzioni and others.<sup>10</sup> This question was also intended to establish whether residual support for left-wing politics was still evident in Scotland at this time, and the extent to which this 'turn' may have alienated Labour's long-established working class support.<sup>11</sup>

As for the SNP, this question asked whether the challenge of promoting national identity and the cause of equal recognition for Scotland as a precursor to independence,<sup>12</sup> was met by adopting elements of communitarian thinking in the strategies it pursued. Were there similarities, for example, between its strategy for independence and Canadian communitarian philosopher Charles Taylor's promotion of the 'politics of equal recognition'?<sup>13</sup> In this regard history seems to have been on the SNP's side; Brown and McLeish having argued, in relation to Scotland, that "National identity is now increasingly a substitute for

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<sup>9</sup> Shaw, E. p1 *Losing Labour's Soul?: New Labour and the Blair Government 1997-2007* (London: Routledge, 2007) Here Phil Trotter, a Blairite Labour MP, is quoted as describing the 'Third Way' as "An alternative to the sterile, worn-out dichotomy between left and right."

<sup>10</sup> Fairclough, N. p9 *New Labour, New Language?* (London: Routledge, 2000) The notion of a 'Third Way' having been established fully formed is countered by Fairclough who described it as having been "ongoingly constituted and reconstituted as a discourse in the documents, speeches, interviews, etc. of New Labour."

<sup>11</sup> Hassan, G. & Shaw, E. p3 *The Strange Death of Labour Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012) Hassan and Shaw argue that as early as March 1997 and the election that took Labour to power, within Scottish Labour there existed "A prevailing feeling in the party that the New Labour agenda was an entirely English election focused on 'middle England' and not needed north of the border."

<sup>12</sup> Tierney, S. p161 'Reframing Sovereignty?: Sub-State National Societies and Contemporary Challenges to the Nation-State' in *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* Vol. 54 Issue 1 January 2005 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) Tierney identifies Scotland as being one of a number of "sub-state national societies" which "have both reasserted their national distinctiveness and demanded recognition of it in constitutional terms."

<sup>13</sup> Appadurai, A. p32 'The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition' in *Cultural Politics in a Global Age: Uncertainty, Solidarity and Innovation* Held, D. & Moore, H. L. (eds.) (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2007) Appadurai explains that "Taylor showed that there is such a thing as a "politics of recognition," in virtue of which there was an ethical obligation to extend a sort of moral cognizance to persons who share world views deeply different from our own." Part of the task for the SNP was therefore, to encourage sufficient Scots to recognise their views as being 'deeply different.'

social class as the basis for solidarity.”<sup>14</sup> This then led to the question of the degree to which the SNP’s resistance to Labour’s devolution initiative altered, when it became apparent that it might ultimately work to its benefit; this to the extent that, by 2011, it was able to form a majority administration. The question of whether the SNP took a communitarian turn was examined further by determining, for example, whether a link could be drawn between Alex Salmond’s assertion that this result represented a victory not just for his party, but much more importantly, for the people of Scotland,<sup>15</sup> and the claim made by Scottish communitarian philosopher John Macmurray that whereas a state can initiate great change, only its people can see it through.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, this question asked whether, as a result of incremental changes in the party’s fortunes, it found itself in a position to push for a referendum on independence; thus satisfying Taylor’s criteria of having gained a “sufficient level of subordinate authority in order to demand constitutional change.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Communitarian perspectives**

The second question enquired into those moral and political positions adopted by communitarian writers, and how their thinking differs. Why, for example, does Scottish born philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre hold a more pessimistic view of the human condition than any of his counterparts; his portrayal of the modern ‘moral malaise’<sup>18</sup> being more

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<sup>14</sup> Brown, T. & McLeish, H. p124 *Scotland: The Road Divides – New Politics, New Union* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2007) It is their contention that “Social, economic and political changes are recasting the political outlook in Scotland and class attraction has declined.”

<sup>15</sup> Salmond, A. ‘Speech by the First Minister’ (Edinburgh: Prestonfield Golf Course, 6 May 2011)

<sup>16</sup> Macmurray, J. p29 *Freedom in the Modern World* (1932) (London: Faber and Faber, 1945) Macmurray explains this by saying that “An organization – even a government – can only be the spearhead of a great human drive. We have to be the force behind the thrust, or it will never go home.”

<sup>17</sup> Taylor, C. p219 *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995)

<sup>18</sup> Pinkard, T. p181 ‘MacIntyre’s Critique of Modernity’ in *Alasdair MacIntyre* Murphy, M. C. (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) Pinkard explains that whilst MacIntyre does not argue that society is inescapably doomed by the consequences of the modern moral

disheartening than that proffered by Taylor.<sup>19</sup> The aim was to find out why communitarians agree that individuals have become 'unencumbered' and that customs and traditions now hold no more than instrumental significance; the loss of understanding as to the chronological nature of their existence making it difficult for them to see that actions previously taken, impact on lives led now. The intention was also to determine why Etzioni portrayed this in terms of a decline in traditional values, but with no moral alternative to replace them,<sup>20</sup> and why this was made all the worse by a combination of individualism and instrumental reason; success now being judged dispassionately and in a similar way to cost-benefit analysis.<sup>21</sup> The question was also intended to find out why Macmurray contended that individuals were now content to detach their emotional lives from their intellectual conclusions;<sup>22</sup> moral debate, in MacIntyre's opinion, having become 'emotivist', and moral judgement now little more than an expression of preference.<sup>23</sup>

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malaise, he is clear that the prospect of reversing its effects are slim. Pinkard says that "For MacIntyre, the rupture in human time that modernity represents is therefore to be understood as some kind of *error* that, while marking out fundamentally new possibilities for individual and collective life, unfortunately also diminishes human life and must itself be "overcome" in the way it overcame the premodern world it replaced."

<sup>19</sup> Taylor, C. p1 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) Taylor adopts a lighter and less 'all-encompassing' tone in his depiction of "the malaises of modernity" when he says "I mean by this features of our contemporary culture and society that people experience as a loss or decline, even as our civilization "develops."

<sup>20</sup> Etzioni, A. p24 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993) Here Etzioni laments the fact that "often nothing filled the empty spaces that were left when we razed existing institutions"; this resulting in "rampant moral confusion."

<sup>21</sup> Taylor cites "the growth of science, individualism, negative freedom, and instrumental reason" as being "striking features of the culture of modernity." Taylor, C. p6 'Two Theories of Modernity' in *The International Scope Review* Vol. 3, (2001), Issue 5 (Summer) (Brussels: The Social Capital Foundation, 2001)

<sup>22</sup> Macmurray, J. p11 *Freedom in the Modern World* (1932) (London: Faber and Faber, 1945) Macmurray describes this predicament as "the crux of the problem" of modernity. He then poses the question: "What has caused this disunity between our intellectual and emotional life, which pulls us in opposite directions and threatens to destroy us?"

<sup>23</sup> MacIntyre, A. p11-12 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007) MacIntyre defines 'emotivism' as "the doctrine that all evaluative judgements and more specifically all moral judgements are *nothing but* expressions of preference, expressions of attitude or feeling, insofar as they are moral or evaluative in character."

This question also involved investigation into the communitarian embeddedness thesis and its critique of liberal neutrality; the intention being to establish why communitarians believe individuals to be embedded within their communities, to the extent that their very identity is constituted by this relationship. Why, for example, do they believe that authentic individual identity can only ever be dialogically constructed, and that no one can gain the linguistic skills required to attain self-definition on their own?<sup>24</sup> It was also the purpose of this question to establish why the ideal of authenticity was deemed so important by Taylor, and why he thought it a noble ideal that needed to be rescued and properly applied.<sup>25</sup> An additional aspect of this question was a requirement to understand why such importance was attached to the value of external 'horizons of significance,' with regard to the ideal of authenticity,<sup>26</sup> and why such authenticity could only come about if individuals participated in a shared vocabulary of values. Finally, this question asked why communitarians placed such emphasis upon recognition and the detrimental effect that misrecognition can have on individual and group identity. Why, according to Taylor, do minority groups who previously settled for basic recognition, now demand fundamental recognition of equal worth?<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Selznick, P. pxi *The Moral Commonwealth: Social Theory and the Promise of Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) Here Selznick expresses sympathy with "the communitarian turn in contemporary moral, social, and political theory" and finds himself in agreement with MacIntyre, Taylor, Sandel and others who consider liberal thought "to be overly individualistic and ahistorical; insufficiently sensitive to the social sources of self-hood and obligation; too much concerned with rights, too little concerned with duty and responsibility."

<sup>25</sup> Taylor, C. p137 'Cultures of Democracy and Citizen Efficacy' in *Political Culture* 19:1 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007) Taylor, when describing what he calls 'the culture of authenticity', explains that "each one of us has his or her own way of realizing our humanity and that it is important to find and live out one's own, as against surrendering to conformity with a model imposed on us from outside."

<sup>26</sup> Taylor, C. p37 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) In this context Taylor defines the term 'horizon' as being something that takes on "importance against a background of intelligibility", such that we are then able to "define ourselves significantly."

<sup>27</sup> Taylor, C. p64 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) Taylor argues that "The politics of nationalism has been powered for well over a century in part by the sense that people have had of being despised or respected by others

## Strategies, policies and manifesto pledges

The final question asked what strategies, policies and manifesto pledges adopted by Labour and the SNP were inspired by or reflected communitarian ideas. One of the most important issues: that of the constitutional options proposed by each for Scotland was central to this research. The intention was to find out, for example, whether the introduction of devolution by Labour was a strategy intended to lessen Scottish discontent with Westminster politics and curtail the threat of independence,<sup>28</sup> or alternatively an approach reflective of what Taylor calls "the modern notion of identity" which "has given rise to a politics of difference."<sup>29</sup> The question asked therefore, if its introduction was a communitarian inspired attempt to re-establish a distinctiveness which "has been ignored, glossed over, assimilated to a dominant or majority identity."<sup>30</sup> As for the SNP's position on the constitutional issue, the question entailed analysis of its policy on independence; this also in relation to Taylor's views on identity, recognition and equal worth. By highlighting what it perceived as the incongruent nature of Scotland's relationship with its more dominant neighbour,<sup>31</sup> was the party invoking the "principle of universal equality" and taking

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around them. Multinational societies can break up, in large part because of a lack of (perceived) recognition of equal worth of one group by another."

<sup>28</sup> Kim described the Scottish Constitutional Convention, which was established in March 1989 in response to the recommendation of *A Claim of Right for Scotland* that a devolved parliament be installed in Scotland, as "the useful vehicle to absorb Scottish discontent with Westminster politics." Kim, N-K. p66 'The End of Britain?: Challenges from Devolution, European Integration, and Multiculturalism.' in *Journal of International and Area Studies* Vol. 12, No. 1, 2005 (Seoul: Institute of International Affairs, Seoul National University, 2005)

<sup>29</sup> Taylor, C. p38 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid* p38 This form of assimilation is, according to Taylor, "the cardinal sin against the ideal of authenticity."

<sup>31</sup> Maxwell, a leading SNP academic, speaks of 'many Scots' holding an "historic grievance against England, or feeling frustration at Scotland's slow social and economic progress within the UK, or anger at what they see as the indifference or ignorance of London Governments to Scotland's best opportunities for development." Maxwell, S. p26 *Arguing for Independence* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012)

advantage of the emergent “politics of difference” which, as Taylor points out “is full of denunciations of discrimination and refusals of second-class citizenship”?<sup>32</sup> This question also asked whether the SNP’s approach to independence mirrored that of many Quebecois, whose intention was “not to turn inward but to have access to the outside world, which they have been denied by being buried as a minority.”<sup>33</sup> Crucially, this question was concerned with the extent to which Taylor’s account of nations moving from a basic demand for recognition to more vociferous demands for equal recognition was reflected in the SNP’s moves to instil a greater sense of national consciousness and collective identity in the Scottish psyche.

Another example of what the final question was intended to ascertain, and one of particular relevance to communitarian theory, related to an examination of policies adopted by each party on the issue of community transformation. Had Labour, for example, shown an inclination to eschew socialist collectivism in favour of the communitarian imperative to find a balance between individual rights and social responsibilities?<sup>34</sup> Could Gordon Brown’s politics be characterised in communitarian terms, given his advocacy of “helping society to act as a moral community rather than just as a collection of individuals”<sup>35</sup> and in so doing pursue Etzioni’s conception of the ‘common good’?<sup>36</sup> This question further asked whether

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<sup>32</sup> Taylor, C. p39 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) Here Taylor goes on to explain that “This gives the principle of universal equality a point of entry within the principle of dignity.”

<sup>33</sup> Taylor, C. p52 *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993)

<sup>34</sup> The following statement, made by Scottish Labour in 1990, indicates that this was the case: “individuals prosper in strong and secure communities, where rights are matched by responsibilities.” *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p2 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>35</sup> Rosen, G. p79 *Serving the People: Co-operative Party History from Fred Perry to Gordon Brown* (London: The Co-operative Party, 2007) This observation was made by Geoff Mulgan in the July 2007 issue of *Prospect*.

<sup>36</sup> Etzioni argues that “An important facet of communities is their ability to provide informal social controls that reinforce the moral commitments of their members, that is, they promote the common good.” Etzioni, A. p5 *Common Good* (Hoboken: Wiley Online Library, 2014)



the inspiration that 'Scottish communitarian traditions'<sup>37</sup> had upon Donald Dewar,<sup>38</sup> and the influence of his parents' with regard to their "commitment to ethics and social responsibility"<sup>39</sup> was manifested in the wish he expressed at the opening of the Scottish Parliament, to create "a future built from the first principles of social justice."<sup>40</sup> The question was further intended to establish why writers such as Driver and Martell argued that "New Labour thinking is often associated with the work of Amitai Etzioni."<sup>41</sup> It wanted to know why Etzioni's concept of responsibility, and the assertion that communities were the "repositories of a shared moral language and practices"<sup>42</sup> was so influential. With regard to the SNP's position on community this question asked, for example, whether its conviction that "Traditionally Scots have believed in the values of compassion, community and the common weel"<sup>43</sup> is representative of Etzioni's communitarian stance; one stressing "that individuals are socially embedded and the inevitability of the social formulation of the good, and much that follows from that."<sup>44</sup> The intention was also to ascertain the importance the

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<sup>37</sup> Brown, G. p81 'As a Colleague' in *Donald Dewar: Scotland's first First Minister* Alexander, W. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2005)

<sup>38</sup> Hassan talks of "the Scottish tradition of communitarianism, a set of values with a larger pedigree than socialism or social democracy, which have defined the Scottish narrative of difference for several centuries." Hassan, G. p84 'It's Only a Northern Song': The Constant Smir of Anti-Thatcherism and Anti-Toryism' in *Whatever Happened to Tory Scotland?* Torrance, D. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)

<sup>39</sup> Brown, G. p81 'As a Colleague' in *Donald Dewar: Scotland's first First Minister* Alexander, W. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2005) This, according to Brown, influenced Dewar's "own sense of what was just and unjust."

<sup>40</sup> Dewar, D. p2 'Speech at the opening of the Scottish Parliament' 1<sup>st</sup> July 1999

<sup>41</sup> Driver, S. & Martell, L. p28 'New Labour's communitarianisms' in *Critical Social Policy* Vol. 17 Issue 52 (London: Sage Publications, 1997) They go on to cite other communitarian influences such as MacIntyre, Sandel and Macmurray.

<sup>42</sup> Freeden, M. p45 'The Ideology of New Labour' in Chadwick, A. Heffernan, R. (Ed.) *The New Labour Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

<sup>43</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p19 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) The term 'common weel/ commonweal' is depicted by Jones as being what Nye Bevan described as "an act of collective goodwill – a concrete expression of the crucial idea that we can build and shape our society on the principle of the common good." Jones, J. p8 'The War on the Commonweal: Making a Stand in 2014' in *Concept: The Journal of Contemporary Community Education Practice Theory* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Journal Hosting Service, 2014)

<sup>44</sup> Etzioni, A. p5 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996) Here Etzioni makes clear that the position he is advancing is one that "is

SNP attached to convincing Scots of their need to attain national sovereignty; this being a prerequisite for the attainment of what Etzioni called "enduring responsive communities."<sup>45</sup> When Salmond spoke of his party's aspiration to "make Scotland a nation once again"<sup>46</sup> and in so doing, create "a Parliament that can focus on our needs and our potential," was he reflecting the communitarian belief that all "would be well served by the movement, as circumstances permit, of all polities toward strongly democratic communities"?<sup>47</sup> Did MacIntyre's concern that powerful nation-states now expected patriotic allegiance at the expense of one's own "political and moral community"<sup>48</sup> reflect the SNP's form of civic nationalism; one intended chiefly as a vehicle for the betterment of individuals and their communities?

By examining these and other relevant issues, this final question helped provide a clear understanding of how the strategies, policies and manifesto pledges implemented demonstrated both party's adoption of a communitarian turn; albeit with different and competing objectives.

### **1.3 Rationale for time period**

The rationale for basing the research on the first twelve years of devolution stems from the fact that this period represented a watershed in Scotland's political narrative. This

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deeply concerned with the balance between individual rights and social responsibilities, individuality and community, and autonomy and social order."

<sup>45</sup> Etzioni, A. p266 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993) Here Etzioni argues that "enduring responsive communities cannot be created through fiat or coercion, but only through genuine public conviction."

<sup>46</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p1 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>47</sup> Etzioni, A. p265 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

<sup>48</sup> MacIntyre, A. p254 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007) MacIntyre explains that "In any society where government does not express or represent the moral community of the citizens, but is instead a set of institutional arrangements for imposing a bureaucratized unity on a society which lacks genuine moral consensus, the nature of political obligation becomes systematically unclear."

important stage in the unfolding of the nation's recent history saw a number of disparate factors coalesce to produce a particularly interesting set of circumstances. Specifically, the nascent devolved settlement coincided with significant changes in strategy by Scotland's two leading parties; strategies influenced by, or reflective of, communitarian thought.

What happened then differed from the period preceding it, when the discourse centred primarily on constitutional arguments relating to the re-distribution of legislative and executive powers within the UK. That is not to say that debates in Scotland in relation to the 'communitarian turn' did not occur. The political narrative then was exemplified in the language of organisations such as the Scottish Constitutional Convention which, having formed in 1989, worked on "designing a scheme of devolution"<sup>49</sup> such that it would gain consent "from a range of Scottish organisations, including the political parties."<sup>50</sup> This period witnessed "more willingness to accept a made-in-Scotland input"<sup>51</sup> via an organisation which "explicitly asserted the sovereignty of the Scottish people and its rights to negotiate its own constitutional settlement."<sup>52</sup> This reveals an important aspect of Taylor's communitarian perspective: where concern that the liberal model of citizenship may be likened to "a straightjacket for many political societies"<sup>53</sup> is met with an assertion that "the world needs other models to be legitimated in order to allow for more humane and less constraining modes of political cohabitation."<sup>54</sup> The devolution settlement may have constituted, for the Convention's members, just such a 'less constraining mode of political cohabitation.' This

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<sup>49</sup> Lynch, P. p11 *Scottish Government and Politics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001)

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid* p11

<sup>51</sup> Keating, M. p49 'So many nations, so few states: territory and nationalism in the global era' in *Multinational Democracies* Gagnon, A-G. & Tully, J. (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid* p49

<sup>53</sup> Taylor, C. p94 'The Deep Challenge of Dualism in Quebec' in *State and Society* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Gagnon, A-G. (ed.) (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1993)

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid* p94

period culminated in the holding of the Devolution Referendum on Thursday the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1997,<sup>55</sup> in which Scotland voted convincingly for the formation of a Parliament with tax-varying powers.<sup>56</sup> The establishment of this parliament did not necessarily represent a new beginning; Scotland having already exercised a degree of self-rule in areas such as welfare and education. However, the additional powers passed to Edinburgh had the effect of further increasing policy divergence with the UK. Issues such as free personal care for the elderly in Scotland, which is discussed later, exemplify this divergence and support Stewart's view that there is "a popular, professional, and political ethos that is broadly supportive of the public sector and its provision of, for instance, education and healthcare."<sup>57</sup> This ethos, Stewart asserts, is "historically rooted and philosophically attuned"<sup>58</sup> to what has been described as "social democratic communitarianism."<sup>59</sup> Within two months of the referendum a Scottish Office Consultative Steering Group was set up with the remit of determining the key principles and detailed proposals for procedures under which the Parliament would operate. Its recommendations were published in *Shaping Scotland's Parliament* in December 1998.<sup>60</sup> This spoke of "the opportunity to put in place a new sort of democracy in Scotland, closer to the Scottish people and more in tune with

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<sup>55</sup> Pattie, C. Denver, D. Mitchell, J & Bochel, H. p1 'The Scottish Referendum: an analysis of the results' in *Scottish Affairs* No. 22 Winter 1998. Here an unusual occurrence is described wherein "Scottish voters were asked to vote on, not one, but two questions – whether or not they were in favour of a Scottish parliament and whether such a parliament should have tax-varying powers."

<sup>56</sup> Dardanelli, P. p11 *Between two Unions: Europeanisation and Scottish devolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005) The results were as follows: 74.3% to 25.7% in favour of a Parliament, 63.5% to 36% in favour of tax-varying powers, on a 60.2% turnout.

<sup>57</sup> Stewart, J. p115-116 'Scottish solutions to Scottish problems'? Social welfare in Scotland since devolution' in *Social Policy Review 16: Analysis and debate in social policy, 2004* Ellison, N. Bauld, L. & Powell, M. (eds.) (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2004)

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid* p116

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid* p116

<sup>60</sup> *Report of the Consultative Steering Group on the Scottish Parliament 'Shaping Scotland's Parliament'* Presented to the Secretary of State for Scotland December 1998. Publisher: The Scottish Office

Scottish needs.”<sup>61</sup> This perspective is comparable to Bellah’s description of ‘democratic communitarianism’; an important element of which is an insistence “that the function of the market and the state is to serve us, not to dominate us.”<sup>62</sup> Evidence as to how the Parliament intended to ‘serve’ was given in Section Two of the report: ‘The Key Principles: Putting them into Practice.’ Here the aim was stated as being to “provide an open, accessible and, above all, participative Parliament, which will take a proactive approach to engaging with the Scottish people; in particular those groups traditionally excluded from the democratic process.”<sup>63</sup> This principle reflects one of the four values associated with democratic communitarianism; this being a commitment “to the idea of participation as both a right and a duty.”<sup>64</sup>

The coming of devolved powers one year later, was not an *event* which represented “the settled will of the Scottish people”<sup>65</sup> as envisaged by the late Labour leader John Smith; instead it signalled the beginning of a *process* of incremental changes, both legislative and constitutional. The extent to which legislative devolution, as well as policy divergence and constitutional developments represented a process rather than an event was therefore, an important aspect of the research undertaken. The incremental changes this thesis explores include: the ad hoc addition of further devolved powers, the establishment of “strong

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<sup>61</sup> McLeish, H. p2 Foreword to: *Report of the Consultative Steering Group on the Scottish Parliament 'Shaping Scotland's Parliament'* Presented to the Secretary of State for Scotland December 1998. Publisher: The Scottish Office

<sup>62</sup> Bellah, R. N. p4 ‘Community Properly Understood: A Defence of “Democratic” Communitarianism’ in *The Responsive Community* 6 No. 1 (Winter 1995/96) Glynn, P. (ed.) (Berkeley: University of California, 1995)

<sup>63</sup> *Report of the Consultative Steering Group on the Scottish Parliament 'Shaping Scotland's Parliament'* Presented to the Secretary of State for Scotland December 1998. Publisher: The Scottish Office

<sup>64</sup> Bellah, R. N. p5 ‘Community Properly Understood: A Defence of “Democratic” Communitarianism’ in *The Responsive Community* 6 No. 1 (Winter 1995/96) Glynn, P. (ed.) (Berkeley: University of California, 1995)

<sup>65</sup> Ichijo, A. p27 ‘Entrenchment of unionist nationalism: devolution and the discourse of national identity in Scotland’ in *National Identities* Vol. 14, No. 1, March 2012 (London: Routledge, 2012)

centrifugal forces”<sup>66</sup> as a result of policy differences between Edinburgh and London, and the coming to power, in 2007, of the SNP; a party committed to independence.”<sup>67</sup> The rationale for basing the research on the first twelve years of devolution is a consequence therefore, of the fact that this represented an important stage in Scotland’s unfolding political narrative.

### **1.4 Summary of key points**

This thesis describes how communitarianism can be characterized and defined principally by examining the importance it attaches to a person’s position within a community with regard to individual and collective identity and recognition, well-being, and the pursuit of the good life. It explains that, whilst Liberals share similar concerns, they offer an alternative conception of how each may be achieved, and how the relationship between individual and community is to be conceptualised.<sup>68</sup> In order to describe the key aspects of communitarian thought, a summary of the views advanced principally by Taylor, MacIntyre, Macmurray and Etzioni is given; these being the theorists whose work best helps to identify connections between the strategies and policies adopted by Scotland’s two main political parties and important aspects of communitarian thought. It is argued therefore, that Scottish politics took a communitarian turn during the first 12 years of devolution; the two leading parties in Scotland having adopted political principles similar to those espoused by

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<sup>66</sup> Jeffery, C. p289 ‘Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a Piecemeal Approach to Constitutional Change’ in *Publius* Vol. 39, No. 2, Federalism and Constitutional Change (Spring, 2009) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid* p290

<sup>68</sup> Hulme, M. Hulme, R. & Faulks, K. p5 *The politics of place – national values and social policy in Scotland* (Manchester: Caratteri Mobili, Bari, 2014) The relevance of the communitarian/liberal debate to this period in Scottish political history is identified thus: “The re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament draws on a long tradition of communitarian debate with liberalism that is often taken to be a defining feature of Scottish social philosophy.”

these communitarian thinkers. This, they believed, would help them meet the electoral and strategic challenges they faced.

The thesis argues that not only did Labour need to stem the tide of disaffection within traditionally loyal communities, it also needed to attract support from Scotland's other communities. It was in the unenviable position of having "a shortage of ideas and resources and little sense of what to do."<sup>69</sup> Little interest remained in a party still arguing over where it should position itself on the left-right axis.<sup>70</sup> Instead it was going to have to present a new and clear vision, one that corresponded with the ambitions of Scotland's many and varied communities. It was, as Keating put it, going to have to "break with the class politics of the past."<sup>71</sup>

The thesis further argues that the SNP faced the twin challenges of winning hearts and minds on the issue of independence and also of securing sufficient votes to gain a mandate to govern. However, whilst recognising how crucial it was to wrest support from Labour's working-class heartlands, it too showed little appetite for revisiting the class-war rhetoric of the past. Instead it aspired to a new ideal, one in which Scots could live in a just and prosperous society. Hassan described the SNP's vision in terms of "statehood and independence which carries more weight than any sense of left or right."<sup>72</sup>

This thesis contends therefore, that Labour's communitarian turn stemmed from a recognition that it had effectively run out of ideas; particularly in Scotland where its

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<sup>69</sup> Hassan, G. & Shaw, E. p3 *The Strange Death of Labour Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)

<sup>70</sup> Kavanagh, D. p18 'Did Blair Advance Social Democracy?' in *British Party Politics and Ideology after New Labour* Griffiths, S. & Hickson, K. (eds.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) Of Blair, Kavanagh said that "His use of the appellations New Labour and the Third Way reflected his belief that his own politics was beyond political left and right."

<sup>71</sup> Keating, M. p16 *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making after Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005)

<sup>72</sup> Hassan, G. p5 *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

popularity within working-class communities was faltering. It had become complacent - continuing to believe that its support there would never diminish. It had to re-connect with a nation whose communities no longer considered the party particularly relevant to, or representative of, them. With regard to the SNP, this thesis contends that its communitarian turn arose from a need to convince Scots that the realisation of a virtuous and prosperous nation would happen if Scotland became independent, and that *it* was the party committed to just such a cause.



## **Chapter Two: Challenges faced by Labour and the SNP**

### **Introduction**

This chapter examines the challenges faced by both parties. It consists of four sections. The first describes early indications of communitarian tendencies evident in party policy. The second explains how successive Labour leaders, having perceived a decline in the popularity of left and right-wing politics, tried to extricate the party from its increasingly unpopular left-wing ideological position. The third argues that not only was devolution considered an antidote to the challenge of a democratic deficit in Scotland and a way of ensuring that, at least on those issues devolved, Scots would be governed by those whom they had elected - but also that it provided the SNP with access to a level of power hitherto unattainable. The final section describes how the challenges posed during this period of transition were met by the adoption of a political narrative, the language of which reflected communitarian sensibilities.

### ***2.1 Early indications of communitarian tendencies***

On the 6th of April 1320, a letter from the Scottish magnates was sent to Pope John XXII. It was an appeal to Avignon to accept the sovereignty of the nation of Scots. Surprisingly, for a document written almost seven hundred years ago, it acknowledged not only the nobles, barons and freeholders of the Kingdom – but also the “whole community of the realm of Scotland.”<sup>1</sup> This was just one of a number of documents emanating from

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<sup>1</sup> *The Declaration of Arbroath*: A letter sent by the Scottish Magnates to Pope John XXII. Arbroath Abbey, 6 April, 1320

Scotland at this time which called for recognition of the community.<sup>2</sup> Whilst the vast majority of Scots had no influence then, it is interesting to note that the use of the word community and the demand for recognition is not a recent phenomenon. It suggests that, even then, some understanding of the communitarian notion of recognition of equal worth being afforded to different cultures regarding the collective will and character of its people existed. Although, then as now, it may simply have been used as a ploy by the state to try to achieve its political ends.<sup>3</sup>

Alex Salmond, in 2011, when reflecting on his party's victory and of its politics being "not just constitutional but also people based," spoke of his delight that "the community of the realm of Scotland presented to us the greatest ever mandate of the devolution era."<sup>4</sup> He seemed to believe that Scots had come to recognize that they embodied a separate community; one that consented to his party governing (on devolved issues) in a way different to the rest of the UK. This reflects a line of argument pursued by Charles Taylor who believes recognition to be fundamental to both individual and group identity. He emphasises the importance of the 'politics of recognition' by saying that "A number of strands in contemporary politics turn on the need, sometimes the demand, for *recognition*. The need, it can be argued, is one of the driving forces behind nationalist movements in politics."<sup>5</sup> For him this means more than the hope of some rudimentary form of recognition

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<sup>2</sup> Cowan, E. J. p40 *'For Freedom Alone' The Declaration of Arbroath, 1320* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2003) Here, for example, Cowan describes a letter sent to Edward I "in the name of the community of the realm of Scotland" in which the English King's assertion that he is Scotland's rightful suzerain is rejected.

<sup>3</sup> Neil Davidson indicates that, at this time, some Scots would have existed "outside 'the community'." He also supports Kerevan's argument that "The notion that illiterate peasants, who lived and died their short brutal lives within a few hundred yards of their village had a conception of nationalism beyond gut xenophobia for everyone beyond the next village is stretching the imagination." Davidson, N. p51 *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood* (London: Pluto Press, 2000)

<sup>4</sup> Salmond, A. p2 Speech to SNP Autumn Conference (Inverness: 22 October 2011)

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, C. p25 *Multiculturalism and the "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

which at least allows a community to survive – instead it represents a fundamental demand for equal recognition of worth; the kind of recognition that could nurture long-term prosperity. Political narratives that have endured throughout the existence of the SNP have revolved mainly around the dual tasks of seeking equal recognition for Scotland from those beyond its borders, but also crucially of convincing Scots to recognise their own worth and identity as a nation; this with the ultimate objective of independence. This was never going to be a straightforward task. The somewhat nuanced characterisation of Scottish identity that nationalist intellectual Stephen Maxwell describes as being “signals of language and mood, rhythms of thought and feeling, accents of the mind”<sup>6</sup> demonstrates why.

But it was not the SNP who initiated devolution in Scotland. It was a rejuvenated Labour Party led by Tony Blair; a politician influenced by, amongst others, Amitai Etzioni.<sup>7</sup> When considered from a Scottish context, Blair’s task was more complex than that of Salmond and the SNP. Not only did Blair want to shift the locus of British political debate away from the existing left/right-wing axis, and in particular disengage Labour from its ideological commitment to socialism by re-positioning it as a social democratic party; but he also intended to devolve significant legislative and executive powers to Edinburgh. In relation to the latter task, he may have been encouraged by the assessment of Scotland and Wales offered by Etzioni two years prior to the 1997 Labour victory. He thought that “they are two countries that have already managed to embrace the communitarian ethic. They have demonstrated to all and sundry that it is possible to “combine regional identities with society-wide loyalties.”<sup>8</sup> Blair seemed confident that the Scots were capable of finding a

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<sup>6</sup> Maxwell, S. p29 *Arguing for Independence* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012)

<sup>7</sup> Hale, S. p32 *Blair’s community: Communitarian thought and New Labour* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

<sup>8</sup> Prideaux, S. p42 *Not so new Labour: A sociological critique of New Labour’s policy and practice* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005) Quotation taken from Etzioni, A. (1995) ‘Nation in need of community value’, *The Times*, 20 February.

balance between what separated them out from, and what made them integral to, the rest of the UK. Unfortunately, as far as Blair's wish to relocate politics away from the prevailing left/right alignment, and specifically, to separate his party from its former socialist values was concerned; the Labour Party in Scotland was later judged to have failed to "carve out a sharp sense of what it stood for, what it was trying to achieve and what values animated it."

<sup>9</sup> This, according to Hassan and Shaw, "rendered it electorally vulnerable to a party more confident about its social democratic credentials."<sup>10</sup> The SNP therefore, by the end of the period under investigation, had not only managed to use the devolution settlement in a way not anticipated by Labour: by achieving majority government status and negotiating a referendum on independence; but it may also have succeeded in establishing itself more recognisably as being a social democratic party.

During the second half of the twentieth century, the shape of party support in Scotland altered substantially. The mid-1950s saw a level of support for the Conservatives, such that they commanded just over half of the total Scottish vote. A decade later saw Labour's support in Scotland peak, this time at just below 50%. By the mid-1970s support for the SNP reached an all-time high at just over 30%.<sup>11</sup> During this period all three parties had, in one way or another, given the impression that they offered if not a communitarian vision then at least one where communitarian sentiments could be discerned.

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<sup>9</sup> Hassan, G. & Shaw, E. p322 *The Strange Death of Labour Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid* p322

<sup>11</sup> McGarvey, N. & Cairney, P. p48 *Scottish Politics: An Introduction* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) Table 3.1 (General election results: number of seats (% votes) won in Scotland, 1945-2005) shows that in 1955 the Conservatives took 50.1% of the vote. By 2001 this had reduced to 15.6%. Labour achieved its highest vote (49.9%) in 1966. The SNP have fluctuated from 0.3% in 1951, to 30.4% in 1974 (Oct), to 17.7% in 2005.

## One-nation

Some Conservatives of the pre-Thatcher era were described as 'one-nation Tories' because of their often-benevolent attitude towards post-war social development. Clark described them as having sat on their party's left wing, and representing a somewhat 'progressive' form of conservatism – one which harked back to Disraeli's wish "to improve the condition of the working classes to bring them together."<sup>12</sup> The role of the state in all of this had been to encourage equally "individual and community provision."<sup>13</sup> This position may be likened to that of Alasdair MacIntyre, who asserts that the good life will more likely be achieved when it becomes widely understood that "the good life for man is the life spent in seeking for the good life for man."<sup>14</sup> Everyone is, according to him, inextricably linked to, and therefore significantly affected by, everyone else. It follows therefore, that the good life for one and all can better be achieved when individuals appreciate the effect that their choice of actions may have upon an ongoing, and frequently changing, human narrative. Perhaps in order to mitigate residual antipathy towards his party, David Cameron more recently harked back to something akin to one-nation Conservatism when he confirmed his belief that, despite Margaret Thatcher's previous claim to the contrary, there was after all "such a thing as society."<sup>15</sup> It now seemed less palatable to many that a party should promote a political ethos described so disparagingly by Taylor as mere instrumental reason; where man is to be considered a free agent, able to lead his life with the sole purpose of achieving personal well-being.<sup>16</sup> This ethos extols the virtues of competition and individual

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<sup>12</sup> Clark, A. p42 *Political Parties in the UK* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012)

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid* p42

<sup>14</sup> MacIntyre, A. p219 *After Virtue: A study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>15</sup> Evans, S. p299 'Consigning its Past to History? David Cameron and the Conservative Party' *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol. 61 No.2, 2008

<sup>16</sup> Taylor, C. p5 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) Taylor describes 'instrumental reason' as being "the kind of rationality we draw on when we calculate the most economic application of means to a given end."

success, with the state acting as no more than an impartial facilitator. Here, any success gained comes at the expense of others less fortunate. Instead, Cameron envisioned a 'big society' - one comprising of communities capable of supporting themselves with encouragement from, but not a dependency upon, a 'small state.' Implicit in this was a requirement for those within communities to play a role in the lives of others. This reflects MacIntyre's belief that by playing such a part in others' lives, one not only benefits personally, but also shares a mutual understanding of something more important; this being "a conception of *the* good which will enable us to understand the place of integrity and constancy in life."<sup>17</sup> By participating in any such collective endeavour we will come closer to acting as if we were 'one-nation.'

## **Social inclusion**

Labour, having been instrumental in creating a welfare state designed with the intention of protecting all 'from cradle to grave,' was most popular in Scotland during the period of post war consensus.<sup>18</sup> At this time alternating Labour and Conservative administrations continued to support the growth of a mixed-economy. The newly introduced welfare state, nationalised public utilities and National Health Service co-existed with the prevailing commercial and industrial sectors of the UK economy. The idea that support for the profit motive could be squared with a belief in the benefits of universal welfare provision, in order to help create a better society, appealed to many Scots.<sup>19</sup> This period of

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<sup>17</sup> MacIntyre, A. p219 *After Virtue: A study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>18</sup> During the period 1945 – 1970, support for the Labour Party in Scotland did not fall below 44.5% in UK General Elections. In 1945 and 1966 it reached 49.4% and 49.9% respectively. Lynch, P. p167 *Scottish Government and Politics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001)

<sup>19</sup> Fonteyne, B. p1 *Thatcher's Legacy in Scotland* in which Béland, D. & Lecours, A. (2008) are quoted as describing Scotland as "a more collectivist, egalitarian and decent society than was England." Faculté des sciences économiques, sociales, politiques et de communication

consensus may therefore be considered an early incarnation of third way politics; a pragmatic response to the practical values inherent in the wish for a modern, yet compassionate, mixed economy.

The arrival of Thatcher's neo-liberal brand of politics in 1979 heralded, for some, the end of any such consensus, and a shift in emphasis to a very different set of principles.<sup>20</sup> Here Etzioni, amongst other communitarian writers, identified the worrying emergence of a decline in moral values; a moral malaise as MacIntyre describes it.<sup>21</sup> Etzioni expressed a concern that unrestrained self-interest and avarice prevalent in society was becoming raised in stature, by some, to that of a social virtue; whereas others were becoming increasingly welfare dependent. But whilst the focus of his attention was the USA, many within Blair's now re-labelled 'New Labour' party began to take what he said seriously.<sup>22</sup> Prideaux put it thus "it is clear that New Labour's approach to the problems facing British society is remarkably reminiscent of Etzioni's analysis of the US in the 1980s and 1990s."<sup>23</sup> His portrayal of an increasingly ominous and dependent underclass, Prideaux suggests, motivated New Labour into promoting personal responsibility as a counter to continued reliance on the welfare state. Similarly, Etzioni's depiction of a society which combined a shared morality with a work-ethic at its heart was, for Labour, much more appealing than

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(ESPO). Ecole des Sciences, Politiques et Sociales (PSAD). Universite catholique de Louvain. (2014-2015)

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid* p1 Conservative neo-liberal ideology is portrayed here as being "far from the post-war consensus on the Welfare state."

<sup>21</sup> Porter, J. p39 'Tradition in the Recent Work of Alasdair MacIntyre' in *Alasdair MacIntyre* Murphy, C. M. (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) Porter describes 'MacIntyre's diagnosis' of this decline as being "the malaise of contemporary thought."

<sup>22</sup> Prideaux, S. p125 *Not so new Labour: A sociological critique of New Labour's policy and practice* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005) Prideaux speaks of New Labour's attempt "to prescribe a cure for the apparently 'work-shy' and socially disruptive members of the so-called 'underclass.'"

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid* p126

the isolation that comes as a result of self-gratifying individualism.<sup>24</sup> It followed that New Labour's ideology became centred on a belief that the implementation of social inclusion programmes, based on the assumption that one of the state's primary functions was to help people move from welfare to work, should inform much of its policy decision-making.<sup>25</sup> There may however, have been a flaw both in what Etzioni proposed, and what New Labour attempted to implement; this being that they failed "to account for the possible conflicts and contradictions that the system of capitalism may still pose."<sup>26</sup> In other words, no appeal to a 'shared morality' could ever negate the fact that it was generally individuals, not communities, who made purchases; it followed therefore, that sellers tended to market the benefits that an individual would accrue as a result of purchase and use. The cumulative effect of this targeting of the individual often resulted in the encouragement of unrestrained self-interest and avarice.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, in order to maximize sales rival businesses competed and in so doing created competitive markets which, in turn, yielded losers as well as winners. Any such mixture of personal avarice and corporate rivalry was more inclined therefore, to foster the kind of neo-liberal 'virtues' which neither Etzioni nor New Labour had in mind. This is the modern moral predicament which MacIntyre identifies when discussing

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<sup>24</sup> Redding, S. p6 *The Community of the School* (Lincoln, IL: Academic Development Institute, 2001) Redding described Etzioni's stance as being that "a community must form freely around a set of values and include members persuaded of the validity of those values."

<sup>25</sup> Levitas, R. p7 *The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2005) Levitas was not convinced by this policy, arguing that "The solution implied by a discourse of social exclusion is a minimalist one: a transition across the boundary to become an insider in a society whose structural inequalities remain largely unintegrated."

<sup>26</sup> Prideaux, S. p126 *Not so new Labour: A sociological critique of New Labour's policy and practice* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005)

<sup>27</sup> Fairclough, N. p11 *New Labour, New Language?* (London: Routledge, 2000) Fairclough argued that the language adopted by New Labour regarding shared morality within a capitalist context was often unrealistic and contradictory. He spoke of "incompatible terms that are made compatible (e.g. 'social justice and economic dynamism')



the conflict that often arises between an individual's own desires and those responsibilities placed upon him by the society of which he is a part.<sup>28</sup>

## **Equal worth**

Meanwhile in Scotland the SNP concentrated on another aspect of communitarian thought; this being the politics of recognition of equal worth. This was used in furtherance of its claim that, because Scotland constituted a distinct society with values, aims and objectives which distinguished it from the rest of the UK, its interests would be best served if it became independent.<sup>29</sup> The party claimed that the reinvigoration of Scottish society would not be possible, were it to remain within the UK. Consequently, it offered an alternative vision for Scotland which had less to do with the left/right debate, or even its third-way alternative.<sup>30</sup> Instead, it reflected Taylor's assertion that "our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *mis*recognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves."<sup>31</sup> Drawing on his Canadian experience he maintains that whereas previously communities within a state may have been content to settle for some form of general acknowledgement of their legitimacy within that society, they now demand more; they now sought equal recognition. He summarises the imperative for the recognition of "the equal value of different cultures" by saying that the state must "not only let them survive, but acknowledge their *worth*."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> MacIntyre, A. pviii *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>29</sup> Maxwell, S. p26-27 *Arguing for Independence* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012)

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid* p27-30

<sup>31</sup> Taylor, C. p25 *Multiculturalism and the "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid* p64

## ***2.2 The decline of left and right***

### **Modernisation and reform**

During the period of Conservative administration (1979-97) various Labour leaders tried to disentangle the party from its socialist ideology and image, and reposition it as a progressive centre-left party. This inevitably caused infighting<sup>33</sup> and made the task of regaining power all the more difficult. Neil Kinnock in particular demonstrated his abhorrence of Trotskyite dogma, and its infiltration into Labour, by arranging for the expulsion of Militant Tendency supporters.<sup>34</sup> Kinnock led the Labour Party in opposition from 1983 to 1992, and in a speech made to Conference in 1985 said "I'll tell you what happens with impossible promises. You start with a far-fetched series of resolutions, and these are then pickled into a rigid dogma, a code, and you go through the years sticking to that, misplaced, outdated, irrelevant to the real needs."<sup>35</sup> This captured the feeling of desperation felt by many party members, especially during the earlier part of the eighteen years spent in opposition.<sup>36</sup> It had to find a new vision which was sufficiently palatable to the electorate as to allow the party back into power: one that smacked of neither socialist dogma nor the self-gratifying individualism of neo-conservatism; one that upheld the party's ideological commitment to the welfare state, whilst also appealing to a sense of responsibility which

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<sup>33</sup> Driver, S. & Martell, L. p13-15 *New Labour: Politics after Thatcherism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998)

<sup>34</sup> Westlake, M. p171-173 'Neil Kinnock 1983-92' in *Leading Labour: From Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* Jeffries, K. (ed.) (London: I. B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 1999)

<sup>35</sup> Kinnock, N. Labour Party Conference 1985

<sup>36</sup> Heffernan, R. & Marqusee, M. p38 *Defeat from the Jaws of Victory: Inside Kinnock's Labour Party* (London: Verso, 1992)

would reduce the level of demand made upon that system.<sup>37</sup> Many in the party had therefore, without necessarily realising it, begun to embrace communitarian principles.

For some in Scotland in 1979 there was a feeling that the general election results had created a democratic deficit.<sup>38</sup> This was because, as McGarvey and Cairney put it: "the governing Conservative party only achieved minority representation in Scotland."<sup>39</sup> There was also unease that communities were under threat, a concern later typified by Pittock when describing what he thought was a commonly held view that "only the Labour Party could effectively protect Scotland against a Tory government."<sup>40</sup> The Steel and Coal sectors of the Scottish economy, for example, were considered to have fallen victim to "Economic/industrial policies that left Scotland's manufacturing and industrial base to contend with the ill-wind of market forces without any intervention."<sup>41</sup> Despite the animosity felt by many in Scotland towards a Neo-Conservative government whose ministers were credited with making insensitive remarks about, for example, the unemployed getting on their bikes to find work,<sup>42</sup> still no great upsurge of socialist sentiment emerged. Instead, Labour slowly reinvented itself - shifting position from being democratic socialists to modern social democrats.<sup>43</sup> At a superficial level this was merely the removal of the word *socialist*,

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<sup>37</sup> Newman, J. p2 *Modernizing Governance: New Labour, Policy and Society* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2001)

<sup>38</sup> McGarvey, N. p27 'Devolution in Scotland: Change and continuity' in *Devolution, Regionalism and Regional Development: The UK Experience* Bradbury, J, (ed.) (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008)

<sup>39</sup> McGarvey, N. & Cairney, P. p32 *Scottish Politics: An Introduction* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

<sup>40</sup> Pittock, M. p72 *The Road to Independence: Scotland Since the Sixties* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008)

<sup>41</sup> McGarvey, N. & Cairney, P. p32 *Scottish Politics: An Introduction* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

<sup>42</sup> Norman Tebbit, in 1981 when he was Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Trade, said: "I grew up in the thirties with an unemployed father. He didn't riot. He got on his bike and looked for work, and went on looking until he found it." This was said when rebutting a claim made by a Young Conservative that the 1981 summer riots in Brixton and Handsworth had occurred as a reaction to unemployment.

<sup>43</sup> Blair, T. p28 'The Third Way: New Politics for the New Century' in Chadwick, A. Heffernan, R. (ed.) *The New Labour Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

because it recalled the ghost of Labour's leftist past, and its replacement with something considered inoffensive: *social democracy*. But there was more to it than this. Cunningham when referring to Connelly's view that 'political identities involve exclusions,' contended that "to establish an identity is to create social and conceptual space for it to be in ways that impinge on the spaces available to other possibilities."<sup>44</sup> Not only was Labour rejecting its previous ideological foundation, in a sense it was replacing it by turning it into the enemy. But this was never going to be an easy strategy to pull off. As has already been stated, Labour in Scotland eventually became "electorally vulnerable to a party more confident about its social democratic credentials."<sup>45</sup> This situation was made worse because the SNP did not have to alter its own ideological foundation; the goal of independence remained intact.

### **A third way**

By the time Tony Blair became leader in 1994, the realignment was all but complete. The scene was set for the launch of New Labour.<sup>46</sup> The problem remained nevertheless, that it would be difficult to regain power when the main thrust of its message was an attempt to convince the electorate of what it no longer stood for.<sup>47</sup> The party was however, now able to offer what it considered to be the decidedly more positive message of advocating an alternative that was neither left nor right wing.<sup>48</sup> One noteworthy sign indicating this shift in

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<sup>44</sup> Cunningham, F. p189 *Theories of Democracy – A critical introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002)

<sup>45</sup> Hassan, G. & Shaw, E. p322 *The Strange Death of Labour Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)

<sup>46</sup> Driver, S. & Martell, L. p12-13 *New Labour: Politics after Thatcherism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998)

<sup>47</sup> Driver, S. & Martell, L. p148 *Left, Right and the third way* (The Policy Press, Policy & Politics vol 28 no 2, 2000) This provides an explanation of 'What the third way is not'; locating it 'beyond Old Left and New Right' and describing how "Ideas of 'stakeholding' and 'social exclusion' and the emphasis placed on 'community'" figured prominently.

<sup>48</sup> Driver, S. & Martell, L. p174-175 *New Labour: Politics after Thatcherism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998)

direction was contained within the new Clause Four of Labour's constitution, which spoke of "a community in which power, wealth and opportunity are in the hands of the many not the few"<sup>49</sup> and where "the rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe."<sup>50</sup> This language echoed an important communitarian theme; this being antipathy towards the pursuit of unmitigated individual self-interest.<sup>51</sup> Rather than shifting from the left to a neo-Conservative right-wing stance, Labour tried to occupy a new ideological position; one intended to balance the rights of a citizen with the responsibilities of an individual.<sup>52</sup> The party now signalled the end of support for "unconditional benefits"<sup>53</sup> and a newly found commitment to resource redistribution for the purpose of providing "pathways out of unemployment, poverty and, ultimately, crime."<sup>54</sup> The onus was now on individuals to use the 'pathways' provided to better their own lives and communities.<sup>55</sup> This important change to the party's constitution was thought by the Labour modernisers to be more palatable to voters<sup>56</sup> than its previous

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<sup>49</sup> Anderson, P. & Mann, N. p33 *Safety First – The Making of New Labour* (London: Granta Books, 1997)

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid* p33

<sup>51</sup> Taylor, C. p197 'Cross-Purposes: The Liberal-Communitarian Debate' in Matravers, D. & Pike, J. (eds.) *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An anthology* (London: Routledge, 2003) Here Taylor describes the liberal pursuit of individual self-interest as 'procedural'; a society's function being to decide "how it will determine the goods to be advanced, given the aspirations and demands of its component individuals."

<sup>52</sup> Sage said of Labour's attachment to communitarian values at this time that "By emphasising the importance of social responsibility and obligation, it seemed that communitarianism rejected both the economic individualism of neoliberalism and the social rights approach of the post-war left, which was deemed to be politically untenable." Sage, D. p368 'A challenge to liberalism? The communitarianism of the Big Society and Blue Labour' in *Critical Social Policy* (London: Sage Publications, 2012)

<sup>53</sup> Prideaux, S. p116 *Not so new Labour: A sociological critique of New Labour's policy and practice* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005)

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid* p116

<sup>55</sup> Driver, S. & Martell, L. p33 'New Labour's communitarianisms' in *Critical Social Policy* (London: SAGE Publications, 1997) Driver & Martell describe 'Labour communitarians' challenging "what they see as a state-dominated approach to welfare", one that was "too universal, expensive and bureaucratic."

<sup>56</sup> Quinn, T. pxviii *Modernising the Labour Party: Organisational Change since 1983* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005) Quinn describes Blair's concern: "The shrinkage of Labour's traditional manual-working-class base, together with partisan dealignment, made it necessary for the party to broaden its electoral appeal."

commitment to a 'common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.'<sup>57</sup> Instead Blair and his colleagues now spoke about "a fair distribution of the benefits of progress."<sup>58</sup>

New Labour promised something new and different; a third way which would take the country beyond "an Old Left preoccupied by state control" and "a New Right treating public investment, and often the very notions of 'society' and collective endeavour, as evils to be undone."<sup>59</sup> By distancing itself from its previous position on equality, and in particular the equal distribution of wealth, the party was able instead to promote a position more usually associated with liberal thought; this being the notion of "equality of opportunity."<sup>60</sup> This, Blair described as "a new concept of citizenship, in which rights and responsibilities go together and where we cease to posit an entirely false choice between social and personal responsibility."<sup>61</sup>

It was evident to Anderson and Mann that this outlook demonstrated Blair's admiration for the way Clinton achieved electoral victory by countering Republican criticisms that the Democrats were soft on issues of welfare dependency and family values.<sup>62</sup> Much of this echoed the communitarian view espoused by Etzioni who, according to Prideaux, influenced New Labour to "utilise the age-old sociological diagnoses and remedies of structural-functionalism to help counter and rectify the perceived ills of contemporary British

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<sup>57</sup> Jones, T. p1 *Remaking the Labour Party: From Gaitskell to Blair* (London: Routledge, 1996) Jones depicted Labour's "idea of public ownership" as "an enduring symbol of its socialist commitment."

<sup>58</sup> Blair, T. p33 'The Third Way: New Politics for the New Century' in Chadwick, A. & Heffernan, R. (ed.) *The New Labour Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid* p28

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid* p30

<sup>61</sup> Anderson, P. & Mann, N. p23 *Safety First – The Making of New Labour* (London: Granta Books, 1997) Quoted from a lecture given by Tony Blair to the Charities Aid Foundation, 8 July 1993.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid* p22-23

society.”<sup>63</sup> It was Prideaux’s contention that New Labour had adopted both functional and functionalist policies in pursuit of its aims. The former applied to those policies deemed practical; the latter were to be likened to a “train of thought (in other words, policies premised upon a benign, teleological view of society and capitalism in particular).”<sup>64</sup> In both cases Prideaux argued that this model provided New Labour with a theoretical basis from which it could validate and defend its intended reforms to welfare provision. The adaptation of Clinton’s US ‘workfare’ programme into the UK’s similarly titled ‘welfare-to-work’ scheme represented, from this perspective, both functional practicality and a teleological aspiration to achieve a specific goal.<sup>65</sup> It signalled both the practical immediacy of getting people back to work, and the teleological rationale as to why this endeavour should be undertaken. A useful way to make sense of New Labour’s communitarian turn here is by reference to Etzioni’s ‘new golden rule’; the main concern of which is to achieve equilibrium between social order and personal autonomy.<sup>66</sup> Hale characterizes such an undertaking as trying to find a “balance between social forces and the person, between community and autonomy.”<sup>67</sup> Etzioni himself asserts that a good society is “one that nourishes both social virtues and individual rights” without the “maximization of either.”<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Prideaux, S. *Not so new Labour: A sociological critique of New Labour’s policy and practice* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005)

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid* p7

<sup>65</sup> Powell, M. p17 ‘Introduction’ in *New Labour, New Welfare State? The ‘third way’ in British social policy* Powell, M. (ed.) (Bristol: The Policy Press, 1999) Here, the ‘specific goal’ was explained thus: “The raison d’être of the government’s policy is the enhancing of opportunities.”

<sup>66</sup> Etzioni, A. p34 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996) Etzioni suggested here “that a good society requires both a moral order and a bounded autonomy.”

<sup>67</sup> Hale, S. p52 *Blair’s community: Communitarian thought and New Labour* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

<sup>68</sup> Etzioni, A. p4 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)

New Labour believed that many of society's difficulties derived from those less successful within communities experiencing the worst effects of social exclusion.<sup>69</sup> Its solution of helping those who were excluded, by persuading them to progress from welfare dependency to paid employment, meant that the state would take on the responsibility for giving individuals 'a hand-up, not a hand out.'<sup>70</sup> It also meant that those same individuals would be expected to take more responsibility for themselves and their families. New Labour argued that, as a result, the balance would be redressed and those previously excluded individuals would now appreciate the importance of being contributing members of their community.<sup>71</sup> This was accepted by some at face value as being simply Blair's adoption of Clinton's workfare scheme, re-packaged as welfare-to-work.<sup>72</sup> Others thought it a cynical ploy to win votes from those middle-class Conservative voters who were disillusioned by John Major's failure to deal with misconduct within his party,<sup>73</sup> but would never countenance voting for any left-wing alternative.

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<sup>69</sup> Levitas, R. p19 'The concept of social exclusion and the new Durkheimian hegemony' in *Critical Social Policy* (London: SAGE Publications, 1996) Levitas was not convinced by the 'concept of social exclusion' – arguing that it rendered the position of those "outside the labour market" as synonymous with being "outside mainstream society." This despite "a property-owning class who can afford not to work at all" not also being ranked as 'socially excluded.'

<sup>70</sup> Anderson, P. & Mann, N. p220 *Safety First – The Making of New Labour* (London: Granta Books, 1997)

<sup>71</sup> Bevir, M. p23 *New Labour: A Study in Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California, 2000) Here Bevir argues that "New Labour has committed itself to devising new policies designed less to alleviate poverty than to enable people to break free of the welfare-trap."

<sup>72</sup> Peck, J. & Theodore, N. p248 'Exporting workfare/importing welfare-to-work: Exploring the politics of Third Way policy transfer' in *Political Geography 20* (San Diego: Elsevier, 2001)

<sup>73</sup> This 'misconduct' was encapsulated in the term 'sleaze', wherein "A number of events coincided to give the impression that certain prominent individuals in the Conservative government or parliamentary party were engaged in wrongdoing, either of a financial or a sexual nature." Farrell, D. M. McAllister, I. & Studlar, D. T. p1 'Sex, Money and Politics: Sleaze and the Conservative Party in the 1997 Election' in *British Elections & Party Review* Vol. 8, Issue 1, 1998 (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 1998)



Whilst misjudgement by the Conservative Party, over its position on the UK's relationship with the EU<sup>74</sup> had a harmful effect on its electoral success in the 1997 General Election, it is the question of 'sleaze' that is of more relevance to this thesis.<sup>75</sup> Stories of corruption and sexual misconduct involving prominent Conservatives started to appear in 1992 and Major seemed unable, despite his 'back to basics' moral initiative, to halt this behaviour and thus, stem the tide of increasingly negative reports issued by the media.<sup>76</sup> This resulted in his party appearing to lack any "personal morality and responsibility"<sup>77</sup> and the behaviour of some looking as if they had degenerated to the point where, as Taylor would put it, others were "being treated as raw materials or instruments for our projects."<sup>78</sup> This behaviour played right into the hands of a reinvigorated Labour Party intent on occupying the higher moral ground by extolling the virtues of 'social and personal responsibility.'<sup>79</sup> Those who traditionally gave the Tories their vote now had the option of switching allegiance; safe in the knowledge that New Labour heralded the end of an era of welfare dependency and instead promised the possibility of a new society; a vision of society informed by communitarian thought. Brian Taylor suggested however, that this was not

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<sup>74</sup> Norris, P. & Lovenduski, J. p91 'Why Parties Fail to Learn: Electoral Defeat, Selective Perception and British Party Politics' in *Party Politics Vol 10. No. 1* (London: Sage Publications, 2004)

<sup>75</sup> Doig, A. p360 'Sleaze: Picking Up the Threads or 'Back to Basics' Scandals' in *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol. 54 Issue 2. (London: Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 2001) The term 'sleaze' is defined by Doig as "the all-inclusive expression for the revelations that played a significant role in the collapse in confidence in the Major government."

<sup>76</sup> Heppell, T. p587 'The Degenerative Tendencies of Long-Serving Governments...1963...1996...2008?' in *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol. 61 No 4. (London: Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 2008) Heppell argues here that "The Cumulative effect of a series of lurid tabloid headlines destroyed Back to Basics as a viable political theme for the Conservatives."

<sup>77</sup> Anderson, P. & Mann, N. p2-3 *Safety First – The Making of New Labour* (London: Granta Books, 1997)

<sup>78</sup> Taylor, C. p5 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) Taylor labels this form of behaviour as 'instrumental reason'; something that manifests itself in societies where the decision-making process has become reduced to little more than a cold and calculating consideration as to the extent to which one will personally benefit as a result of any particular action.

<sup>79</sup> Anderson, P. & Mann, N. p23 *Safety First – The Making of New Labour* (London: Granta Books, 1997)

exactly how the electorate perceived the choice put before them. According to him, Labour's electoral victory in 1997 may indeed have had as much to do with the fact that voters were "determined to express their discontent with the Tories"<sup>80</sup> as with the fact that "the new model Labour Party offered a thoroughly acceptable vehicle to express that discontent."<sup>81</sup>

## **Residual loyalties**

This change in direction by Labour had always been intended to appeal to a wider cross-section of the UK electorate than its own supporters. It was hoped that it might be popular with those Scots who previously voted Conservative, but were now as disillusioned as their English and Welsh counterparts.<sup>82</sup> In the event, not one Tory seat was won in Scotland in the 1997 election; the eleven they held having all been lost. Scottish voting behaviour at this time was described by Taylor as having inflicted "electoral obliteration upon the Conservatives."<sup>83</sup> It was only as a result of the system of proportional representation, introduced two years later for the Scottish Parliamentary Election, that they could re-establish themselves at a national level in Scotland.<sup>84</sup>

At the other end of the political spectrum Socialism, or at least a left-leaning predisposition, was not extinct in Scotland. Support for the Scottish Socialist Party peaked in 2003; but this level of popularity was ultimately short-lived. In the 1999 Scottish Parliamentary Election it won a single seat, and by 2003 had achieved a total of six. The

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<sup>80</sup> Taylor, B. p86 *The Scottish Parliament* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999)

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid* p86

<sup>82</sup> Hay, C. p23 *The Political Economy of New Labour: Labouring Under False Pretences?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) The "transformation of the party's electoral strategy" is described here as one in which it "increasingly sought to project itself as a 'catch-all', as distinct from a primarily 'class-based', party."

<sup>83</sup> Taylor, B. p85 *The Scottish Parliament* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999)

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid* p85

2007 results however, saw the party left with no seats at all.<sup>85</sup> But this may have had more to do with party in-fighting and the subsequent bad publicity that this generated, than the policies it pursued.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, the opinion sometimes expressed that many Scots were more inclined to support left-wing ideological arguments than their English counterparts may still have held true. In 2007 Brown and McLeish issued a warning to Labour, that it “needs to regain that sense of purpose in Scotland at a time when its political base is shifting” and there are real concerns regarding “traditional working class Labour support.”<sup>87</sup> Additionally, McCrone and Keating pointed out that “the Scottish “centre” is to the left of the centre in England.”<sup>88</sup> This, they maintained, came about partly as a result of Scottish party competition pulling opinion to the left, whilst the challenge of Conservatism in England had the opposite effect. But whilst it would not be useful to characterise Scotland and England as nations inexorably drifting in opposite directions, such warnings did serve as a reminder that not all Scots were minded to support a new model Labour Party, intent on tearing up much that remained dear to them.

The worry expressed by communitarian theorists concerning the impact of excessive individualism in modern societies was one that may have resonated with a significant proportion of the Scottish electorate. Whilst broadly content to accept the liberal democratic principles of diversity and uniqueness, it hadn’t taken to Thatcher’s brand of neo-liberal

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<sup>85</sup> McGarvey, N. & Cairney, P. p51 *Scottish Politics: An Introduction* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

<sup>86</sup> McCombes, A. p66 *Downfall: The Tommy Sheridan Story* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2011) The catalyst for the in-fighting and subsequent bad publicity was, according to McCombes, Sheridan’s “reckless behaviour.” He describes how “This icon, this hero of the socialist movement, this figurehead, around whom a wildly successful socialist party had been built, was confessing to behaviour that was off the scale of reckless irresponsibility.”

<sup>87</sup> Brown, T. McLeish, H. p50 *Scotland: The Road Divides – New Politics, New Union* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2007)

<sup>88</sup> McCrone, D. & Keating, M. p30 ‘Social Democracy and Scotland’ in *Scottish Social Democracy: Progressive Ideas for Public Policy* (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang S.A., 2007) quoting from: (Paterson 2002: 216)

conservatism, nor was it fully convinced by Blair's third-way alternative; an alternative which actually sought to address the more excessive forms of individualism. It followed that any party intent on occupying the centre-left of Scottish politics would have to step carefully, mindful of an enduring affection in the hearts of some for 'Old' Labour's legacy.<sup>89</sup> This became all the more interesting given the backdrop of Scotland's increasingly unsettled constitutional position at this time. It found itself being considered not only an integral part of the United Kingdom, but also a region enjoying a significant level of devolved autonomy, and additionally, a nation with the potential to separate from the union.<sup>90</sup> Any party seeking to win over the Scots was going to have to successfully contend with the dual concerns of the nation's ideological and constitutional future. It was going to have to find the correct balance between the universal need for "recognition of every individual's uniqueness and humanity"<sup>91</sup> and the nationally specific "need to preserve distinct and unique cultures over time."<sup>92</sup>

## ***2.3 The devolution settlement***

### **Unfinished business**

New Labour made a pledge to Scotland in 1997 that, if elected, it would enact legislation for "the creation of a parliament with law-making powers."<sup>93</sup> To some within the

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<sup>89</sup> Brown, T. McLeish, H. p50 *Scotland: The Road Divides – New Politics, New Union* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2007) Here mention is made of a variety of factors in Scotland which are "causing real concerns" to "traditional working class Labour support."

<sup>90</sup> Keating, M. p17 *The Independence of Scotland: Self-government & the Shifting Politics of Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) Keating observes however, that exactly three hundred years after the passing of the Acts of Union: "on the eve of elections that were to return a nationalist government to the restored Scottish Parliament, the anniversary passed almost unnoticed."

<sup>91</sup> Gutman, A. p9 'Introduction' to Taylor, C. *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid* p9

<sup>93</sup> Labour Party Manifesto, 1997

party this was unfinished business; it having failed to deliver a measure of home rule in 1979 and, soon thereafter, forfeiting power to the Conservatives for eighteen years.<sup>94</sup> As previously stated, during this period Scotland witnessed what was described as a 'democratic deficit' whereby it was governed by a party; the majority of whom had not voted for. Curtice, in line with this opinion, advanced the view that devolution had been introduced to Scotland in order that a second democratic deficit did not occur.<sup>95</sup>

But even in 1979, when the Conservatives "won the general election by a greater margin than had seemed likely"<sup>96</sup> - Mullin felt justified in saying that "the SNP has been able to mobilise the nationalist aspirations and discontents of the Scottish electorate to a remarkable degree."<sup>97</sup> He believed this had been achieved "through a party structure and ideology which has proved able to attract more new political activists and to campaign more effectively than any other major party in Scotland in recent times."<sup>98</sup> But whilst the varied fortunes of the party during the 1980s were characterised by Lynch in terms of "crisis, survival and modest advance"<sup>99</sup> - he described the 1990s as "a much more promising decade."<sup>100</sup> In 1989 the party appeared to have been at odds with the prevailing mood of Scottish political thought when, in response to the Constitutional Convention's assertion of "the sovereign right of the Scottish people to determine the form of Government best suited

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<sup>94</sup> Munro, C. p143-144 'Scottish Devolution: Accommodating a Restless Nation' in *Accommodating National Identity: New Approaches in International Law* Tierney, S. (ed.) (The Hague: Kluwer law International, 2000)

<sup>95</sup> Professor John Curtice of Strathclyde University speaking on BBC Newsnight (Scotland) 17.12.09.

<sup>96</sup> Gamble, A. p53 'The Conservative Party' in *Multi-Party Britain* Drucker, H. M. (ed.) (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd. 1979)

<sup>97</sup> Mullin, R. W. A. p109 'The Scottish National Party' in *Multi-Party Britain* Drucker, H. M. (ed.) (London: The MacMillan Press, 1979)

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid* p109

<sup>99</sup> Lynch, P. p191 *SNP: The History of the Scottish National Party* (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2002)

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid* p191

to their needs"<sup>101</sup> - it declared its unwillingness to participate.<sup>102</sup> This was because of the insistence "of those within the SNP who would brook no compromise short of independence"<sup>103</sup> that the party must not engage in a process, the end result of which would yield Scotland merely a watered-down constitutional compromise.<sup>104</sup> But within ten years, and despite its "soft supporters"<sup>105</sup> returning to Labour to vote in the first Scottish parliamentary election, the SNP had "become the second largest party and official opposition in the Scottish Parliament."<sup>106</sup> The watered-down constitutional compromise, it wanted nothing to do with, had begun to work in its favour.

Eight years, and two Holyrood elections later, saw Robert Salmond, father of Alex Salmond, finally prepared to enter a parliament to hear his son speak. He had not been willing to compromise his fervent Nationalist principles previously and cross the threshold of the House of Commons,<sup>107</sup> but in 2007 he was in Holyrood to hear his son's maiden speech. This followed his election "as Scotland's fourth First Minister, the first Nationalist to hold the post and the first to lead a minority administration."<sup>108</sup> The results of the subsequent 2011 Scottish election were such that one journalist hailed the scale of the party's success as

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<sup>101</sup> Fraser, H. W. p168 *Scottish Popular Politics: From Radicalism to Labour* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2000)

<sup>102</sup> Kellas, J. G. p53-54 'The Scottish Constitutional Convention' in *Scottish Government Yearbook 1992* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1992)

<sup>103</sup> Fraser, H. W. p168 *Scottish Popular Politics: From Radicalism to Labour* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2000)

<sup>104</sup> Lynch explains that "The first three years of the life of the Convention took place against a background of intense partisan conflict between Labour and the SNP, particularly because the nationalists left the Convention in 1989." Lynch, P. p1 'The Scottish Constitutional Convention 1992-5' in *Scottish Affairs* No. 15, Spring 1996 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008)

<sup>105</sup> Lynch, P. p174 *Scottish Government and Politics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd. 2001)

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid* p175

<sup>107</sup> Macdonell, H. p207 *Uncharted Territory: The story of Scottish devolution 1999-2009* (London: Methuen Publishing, 2009) Described as "An ardent nationalist" he was said to have "disapproved of Scotland being part of the institution."

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid* p207

“unprecedented, as it became the first party to win an outright majority since devolution.”<sup>109</sup> It had, in only twenty-two years, transformed from a party unprepared to formally engage in discussion regarding UK/Scottish constitutional reform, into one governing Scotland – albeit in the context of a devolution settlement. The reason therefore that Robert Salmond had been prepared to enter a Scottish legislative chamber, which owed its very existence to a sovereign legislature in London, may have been that he approved of his son’s “all-too-obvious ‘softly, softly’ strategy for achieving separation.”<sup>110</sup> Much of the content of his first speech, having learned of his party’s biggest success, serves to illustrate this strategy. Here he spoke, in communitarian terms, of the Scottish nation having “chosen to believe in itself, in a shared capacity to build a fair society”<sup>111</sup> and of the result not having been a victory for his party; it was for him much more than this. He described it as having been “a victory for a society of people and a nation.”<sup>112</sup>

## Incremental changes

On the subject of a nation’s ability to achieve fundamental change Macmurray argued that “even a government can only be the spearhead of a great human drive. We have to be the force behind the thrust, or it will never go home.”<sup>113</sup> Moreover, it was at times such as these when, as Smith put it “the question ‘who are we?’ will feature significantly in a nation’s

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<sup>109</sup> Currie, B ‘Triumphant Salmond’s vow after historic win’ in *The Herald* 7 May 2011

<sup>110</sup> Brown, T. & McLeish, H. p143 *Scotland: The Road Divides: New Politics, New Union* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2007)

<sup>111</sup> Salmond, A. ‘Speech by the First Minister’ (Edinburgh: Prestonfield Golf Course, 6 May 2011) This statement reflects the communitarian position held by Etzioni, who describes the dominant feature of communitarianism as being “concern about the neglect of community and common good (moral values, shared understandings, public interest).” Etzioni, A. p171 ‘Toward an I & We Paradigm’ in *Contemporary Sociology* Vol. 18, No. 2, March 1989 (Washington DC: American Sociological Association, 1989)

<sup>112</sup> Salmond, A. ‘Speech by the First Minister’ (Edinburgh: Prestonfield Golf Course, 6 May 2011)

<sup>113</sup> Macmurray, J. p29 *Freedom in the Modern World* (1932) (London: Faber and Faber, 1945)

deliberations.”<sup>114</sup> It may therefore, have been the case that Salmond uttered such stirring words about victory for society, people and nation in an attempt to foster a belief that this success represented the culmination of some ‘great human drive’ which had been ‘spearheaded’ by his party. On that occasion however, the rhetoric of separation was played down.<sup>115</sup> It was left to the Deputy First Minister Nicola Sturgeon, in a speech which followed her leader’s, to reaffirm the party’s commitment to hold a referendum on independence which “would take place during the life of the Parliament.”<sup>116</sup> It looked as if Scotland’s relationship with the Union, which Pittock described as having been adjusting in the twentieth century “often through a series of incremental and to English eyes (and some Scottish) almost invisible changes”<sup>117</sup> was, in the new century, adjusting quickly, significantly and very visibly. Crucial amongst these changes was the SNP’s new-found status. No longer was it a party trading largely in the business of “pressure-group politics.”<sup>118</sup> It now held a level of democratic legitimacy sufficient for it to be considered an example of what Taylor calls: a “duly constituted subordinate authority.”<sup>119</sup> He uses this term to describe a political body which exercises legitimate power, but at a level which is subsidiary to that which holds sovereign power. This applies to Quebec, the Canadian province whose predominantly French-speaking population (the Quebecois) are recognised as a nation within the federal

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<sup>114</sup> Smith, N. p103 *Charles Taylor: Meaning, Morals and Modernity* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2002)

<sup>115</sup> Salmond, A. ‘Acceptance Speech to the Scottish Parliament’ (Edinburgh: Holyrood, 18 May 2011)  
Less than two weeks later Salmond’s language on independence was crystal clear when he spoke of his demand for “Scotland’s right” and that “We in the Scottish National Party argue for full sovereignty.”

<sup>116</sup> Sturgeon, N. ‘Speech by the Deputy First Minister’ (Edinburgh: Prestonfield Golf Course, 6 May 2011)

<sup>117</sup> Pittock, M. p173 *The Road to Independence? Scotland since the Sixties* (London: Reaktion Press, 2008)

<sup>118</sup> Lynch, M. p435 *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1992)

<sup>119</sup> Taylor, C. p219 *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995)



state.<sup>120</sup> The SNP controlled administration could also have been considered a duly constituted authority; in this case one whose power was passed down from, and thus subordinate to, Westminster. Taylor is of the view that, under certain circumstances, such an authority may be entitled to secede. Specifically, he argues that it would be entitled to act in "rebellion against a supreme authority in violation of its trust."<sup>121</sup> Despite the perhaps inappropriate nature of the term 'rebellion' when used in the context of modern Scottish politics, Taylor's argument that a 'duly constituted subordinate authority' - which the 2011 Scottish Government was - would have been entitled to secede from a 'supreme authority' which it believed had violated its trust, may have conferred on the SNP a level of legitimacy greater than that which could ever have been gained by a mere party of protest. The challenge remained nevertheless, that it had to convince sufficient Scots of its belief that successive UK governments had violated their trust. But were it to succeed in this, Webb pointed out another possible factor in the party's favour; this being that "The realities of power may enable the Scots, invoking the principles of their own legal system, to claim that their national rights are based upon fundamental law."<sup>122</sup> Despite writing this in 1977, he anticipated that it would be "likely that the Scottish question will also confirm the referendum as an acceptable constitutional device to resolve political problems."<sup>123</sup> This meant that by 2011 a number of advantageous elements were coalescing in such a way as to make the possibility of the party managing to achieve independence for Scotland a

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<sup>120</sup> Keating, M. p20 *Nations against the State: The New Politics of Nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1996) Quebecois, according to Keating, see it differently. He argues that "Quebecois consider themselves members of a national community with the right of self-determination."

<sup>121</sup> Taylor, C. p219 *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995) Here Taylor speaks of "The early-modern idea, that a rebellion against a supreme authority in violation of its trust could be carried out by a duly constituted subordinate authority (the central notion of *vindiciae contra tyrannos*), would also have served to justify the rebellion."

<sup>122</sup> Webb, K. p1 *The Growth of Nationalism in Scotland* (Glasgow: The Molendinar Press, 1977)

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid* p1

realistic prospect. It had been able to form a majority administration, having fought the election with the stated intention of holding a referendum on independence, and having already satisfied Taylor's requirement that it should hold some form of 'duly constituted subordinate authority.' In addition, it had managed to step-up the rate of 'incremental change' regarding Scotland's relationship with the UK, and within the context of Webb's 'claim to national rights, based upon fundamental law.'

## **2.4 Adopting a communitarian narrative**

When a nation undergoes a period of transition, when there is uncertainty over its future, a political narrative which appeals to communitarian sensibilities may have a powerful effect on the attitudes and opinions of its population.<sup>124</sup> Words and phrases such as: *the community of the realm; virtue; the good life; tradition, and equality of recognition*, despite the multiplicity of connotations they evoke, could act as powerful emotional triggers.<sup>125</sup> It is with this in mind that any examination of the extent to which communitarian thought was evident in the policies and actions of the two parties in Scotland must be informed. Macmurray emphasises the importance of language when explaining that our language, thoughts and ideals "are only partially our own."<sup>126</sup> We inherit and assimilate what came before, not only in our own minds, but as a representation of a collective experience. MacIntyre is of similar mind, believing that each individual is embedded within a community, and that this embeddedness shapes one's moral traits; something that can never be

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<sup>124</sup> Mowbray, M. p256 'Community capacity building or state opportunism? in *Community Development Journal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, March 2005) Here a critique is given which attempts to "point up the artificiality behind much of the propaganda about new communitarian policy."

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid* p256 A warning is given here: "Among the recurrent and unifying features of communitarian projects is the incidence of extravagant statements about aims and accomplishments."

<sup>126</sup> Macmurray, J. p9 *Conditions of Freedom* (1949) (New York: Humanity Books, 1993)

achieved in isolation.<sup>127</sup> Even more fundamentally: only through dialogical exchange can a true understanding of oneself be gained. But Etzioni sounds a more cautionary note when stating that "It is these positive, fostering, encouraging, yet effective moral voices that we no longer hear with sufficient clarity and conviction in many areas of our lives."<sup>128</sup> Instead a moral malaise is evident in "the disastrous state of modern moral debates."<sup>129</sup>

Any appeal therefore, to community, virtue, tradition or equality of recognition must be considered carefully and with a measure of scepticism. Analysis of the use of specific forms of language can be particularly instructive in this regard. New Labour came to be known for its creative use of spin: short sound bites intended to encapsulate broader and more complex themes.<sup>130</sup> Blair, sounding more like an advertising executive than a politician, justified its use by saying that "ideas need labels if they are to become popular and widely understood."<sup>131</sup> This is illustrated by the changes in linguistic emphasis introduced by his party's spin doctors.<sup>132</sup> Individuals who, during the eighteen years of Conservative governance, had been labelled *consumers* within a market driven economy, were now to consider themselves *stakeholders*.<sup>133</sup> The implication being that they were now to be active

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<sup>127</sup> Potzernheim, I. p121 'The Challenge of Multiculturalism: Universalism and Particularism in Alasdair MacIntyre's Ethics' in *Cogito, Studies in Philosophy and its History 1* (Trieste: EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2016)

<sup>128</sup> Etzioni, A. p34 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

<sup>129</sup> Potzernheim, I. p121 'The Challenge of Multiculturalism: Universalism and Particularism in Alasdair MacIntyre's Ethics' in *Cogito, Studies in Philosophy and its History 1* (Trieste: EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2016) This is how Potzernheim describes MacIntyre's position in *After Virtue*.

<sup>130</sup> Esser, F. Reinermann, C & Fan, D. p210-213 'Spin Doctoring in British and German Election Campaigns: How the Press is Being Confronted with a New Quality of Political PR' in *European Journal of Communication* Vol. 15 (2) (London: SAGE Publications, 2000)

<sup>131</sup> Blair, T. p28 'The Third Way: New Politics for the New Century' in Chadwick, A. & Heffernan, R. (ed.) *The New Labour Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

<sup>132</sup> Fairclough, N. p12 *New Labour, New Languages?* (London: Routledge, 2000) Fairclough thought it much more than 'changes in linguistic emphasis.' He considered the party's use of language to be "The New Labour way of governing."

<sup>133</sup> Cerny, P. G. & Evans, M. p55 'Globalization and public policy under New Labour' in *Policy Studies* Vol. 25 Issue 1. (Oxford: Carfax Publishing, 2004) But just as advertisers drop unpopular

players in, rather than consumers of, whatever their community, society and nation provided. Positive spin was also used in order to substitute the negative connotations associated with those previously labelled as *unemployed*. Instead the more optimistic *job seeker* nomenclature was adopted.<sup>134</sup> Labour's Job Seeker scheme promised a transition from *welfare to work*,<sup>135</sup> and as a consequence, from social *exclusion* to social *inclusion*.<sup>136</sup> They would be transformed into contributing members of their community. Given the communitarian position that thoughts are the product of a repertoire of mutual understanding which is fundamentally dialogical,<sup>137</sup> it made sense for New Labour to change the language used in order to alter the thoughts formed. A measure of naïvety is evident however, in the assumption that by assigning a new label to an individual's socio-economic position, or the plans the state has in this regard for him, that this will be sufficient to bring about change – and that these changes will be universally welcomed.

Cunningham describes Wittgenstein's view that the way a term is used in conjunction with others gives it specific meaning: "so there is no single word structure or basic foundation to which reference can be made to give universal meaning to terms by the use of which people get on with and make sense of their lives."<sup>138</sup> The SNP's use, for example, of

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labels, Cerny and Evans explain that "the notion of a stakeholder society was a difficult concept for British people to grasp and it soon disappeared from the New Labour lexicon due to its unpopularity with focus groups."

<sup>134</sup> Jessop, B. p12 *From Thatcherism to New Labour: Neo-Liberalism, Workfarism, and Labour Market Regulation* (Lancaster: Lancaster University, 2003) Despite the Jobseeker's Act having been passed in 1995 by a Conservative administration, Jessop describes how "Far from rejecting the tough demands of these schemes, New Labour welcomed them. Indeed, Blair vetoed proposals from the Labour Party to scrap the Jobseeker's Allowance."

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid* p12

<sup>136</sup> Blair, T. Speech at the Aylesbury Estate (Southwark, 2 June 1997) Here Blair claimed that "the greatest challenge for any democratic government is to refashion our institutions to bring [the] workless class back into society and into useful work."

<sup>137</sup> Taylor, C. p32 *Multiculturalism and "The politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) Taylor, for example, explains that a "crucial feature of human life is its fundamentally *dialogical* character."

<sup>138</sup> Cunningham, F. p188 *Theories of Democracy – A critical introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002)

the medieval term *community of the realm*,<sup>139</sup> might conjure up romantic images in the minds of some Scottish historians and academics, whilst meaning little to most other people. New Labour and the SNP's attempts to inculcate what may be considered communitarian ideals may therefore have had the effect of communicating a multiplicity of contradictory messages. But it was not just their spin doctors who tried to exploit the power of language when attempting to invoke positive emotional responses to their policy commitments. The Conservatives also used sound bites on a number of occasions, often with a community theme, in order to promote specific policies. The strategy of removing people from long-term institutional care, for example, was presented as *care in the community*. This programme however, ostensibly designed to reintegrate individuals into their communities, was considered by some to have had more to do with cost cutting than any communitarian agenda.<sup>140</sup> Later, David Cameron sought to characterize his party's perception of the disintegration of social cohesion by using the term *Broken Britain*<sup>141</sup> - his party now referring to themselves as the *Compassionate Conservatives*.<sup>142</sup> These examples illustrate the

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<sup>139</sup> Duclos, N. p2 'The SNP's Conception of Scottish Society and Citizenship, 2007-2014' in *French journal of British studies* XXI-1 (Toulouse: Université de Toulouse Jean-Jaurès, 2016) Duclos describes how Scots were "frequently referred to as "the sovereign people of Scotland" or as "the community of the realm" by the SNP."

<sup>140</sup> Milligan, C. p53 'Bearing the Burden: towards a restructured geography of caring' in *View* Vol.32 Issue 1 (London: Royal Geographical Society, 2000) Milligan argues that "The concept of community care as a means of enhancing the ability of dependent populations to lead as independent a life as possible is premised not only on the relocation of the site of caring to the homespace, but also on the assumption that the informal carer will increasingly assume the role previously undertaken by public-sector employees."

<sup>141</sup> Hayton, R. p136-148 'Fixing Broken Britain' in *Cameron and the Conservatives: The Transition to Coalition Government* Heppell, T. & Seawright, D. (eds.) (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012) This describes Cameron's belief that "these problems could not be addressed by the state, but required community action."

<sup>142</sup> Dorey, P. p137 'A New Direction or Another False Dawn? David Cameron and the Crises of British Conservatism' in *British Politics* Vol. 2 Issue 2 (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007) Cameron is depicted here as having "energetically sought to reposition the Conservatives ideologically, insisting on the need to depart from Thatcherism and move back towards the centre ground of British politics by promoting a more socially inclusive and compassionate Conservatism."

readiness of party strategists to employ communitarian sounding rhetoric on a public that, despite in some ways having become largely depoliticised,<sup>143</sup> was still thought capable of responding to a narrative which implied that their notion of community was under threat.<sup>144</sup> This thesis is mindful therefore, of the gulf that can exist between the well-meaning advice proffered by communitarian theorists, and the perhaps more Machiavellian use to which communitarian rhetoric can be put by the political parties.<sup>145</sup>

## **2.5 Conclusion**

In conclusion, it is apparent that during the period under investigation both parties found themselves at something of an existential crossroads. In order to meet the challenges each faced, they needed to more clearly define (and in Labour's case 'redefine') what they stood for. In so doing, each hoped to gain a greater level of support from the Scottish electorate. Labour understood that its left-of-centre position had become increasingly unpopular. But rather than turning hard to the right or further to the left, it instead chose a third way; one it hoped would resonate with a Scotland unimpressed by the individualistic

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<sup>143</sup> Rico, M. p28 'The Post-Politics of Sustainability Planning: Privatisation and the Demise of Democratic Government' in *The Post-Political and Its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticisation, Spectres of Radical Politics* Wilson, J. & Swyngedouw, E. (eds.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014) Depoliticisation was evident, according to Rico, in the sense that "old-fashioned democratic accountability through representational politics had become obsolete and theoretical" and that "populations are less concerned with ideologies and want governments to adopt a pragmatic 'what-matters-is-what-works' approach to governance."

<sup>144</sup> Goode, E. & Ben-Yehuda, N. p30 *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2007) Use of the term *Broken Britain* in order to characterize a perceived disintegration of social cohesion in the UK exemplifies the type of 'moral panic' that Goode and Ben-Yehuda say politicians and others exploit in order to mobilise "right-thinking and acting members of the society to counter what is socially constructed as an ominous threat."

<sup>145</sup> Wring, D. p85 'Machiavellian communication: The role of spin doctors and image makers in early and late twentieth-century British politics' in *Machiavelli, Marketing and Management* Harris, P. Lock, A. & Rees, P. (eds.) (London: Routledge, 2000) Here, for example, Peter Mandelson the "Minister without Portfolio with responsibility for coordinating of government policy" in Blair's administration is described as having exhibited "'Machiavellian' ways."

self-interest of neo-liberal politics. The SNP decided not to veer towards any new route; it saw no need to do so. Instead, it chose to clarify its existing position with the intention of garnering more support for what it hoped would be considered a convincing and unswerving direction of travel. For it the goal of independence remained paramount and non-negotiable. Its emphasis would be on refining its position in such a way as to prove that it was a party of political substance and not just one of perpetual protest. It wanted to be seen as the party at the centre of a national debate over who Scots saw themselves as being, and what future shape they envisaged their country taking. In all of this the adoption of a communitarian narrative regarding principles such as a denunciation of self-gratifying individualism and recognition of the equal value that must be afforded to all cultures, became a crucial factor.

## Chapter Three: Methodology

### Introduction

This chapter will explain the methodological approach used in relation to the empirical research undertaken. It will discuss this with regard to political narratives and language and how the analysis undertaken helped determine the extent to which 'communitarian thought' was translated into the political narratives adopted by each party. It will explicitly link the research questions to the methodological approach employed. The use of comparative analysis, for example, as a means of determining the positioning and strategies of both parties will be described; as will the analysis of communitarianism that was carried out via discourse and language. An explanation of the case study approach used to assess the impact of communitarianism in relation to the application of policy by each party will also be provided.

### 3.1 Methodological approach

The methodological approach used relied to a significant extent on political discourse analysis. This provided an understanding of "how language, both spoken and written, enacts social and cultural perspectives and identities."<sup>1</sup> Specifically it is "the study of language-in-use"<sup>2</sup> - one in which narratives both in favour of, and in opposition to, different political propositions are examined.<sup>3</sup> From this a more complete understanding of the characteristics

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<sup>1</sup> Gee, P. J. Taken from the introductory page of *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) (New York: Routledge, 2010)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p8

<sup>3</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) This textbook offers an in-depth account of political discourse analysis and the application of argumentation theory.



pertaining to various disputed political positions was obtained.<sup>4</sup> This then provided insight into those theoretical and political principles most pertinent to the situation in Scotland, and to the options for political action arising from those principles.<sup>5</sup> Political discourse analysis is an approach drawn from an understanding of politics that holds cooperative decision making to be of vital importance.<sup>6</sup> But, given the complexities intrinsic to most political systems, any such cooperation requires thought, judgement and action. Inevitably there will be 'background': those variables that, more often than not, lead to disagreement. Unsurprisingly, in this field of study there are conflicts of interest and differences in the levels of power held within and between the parties concerned.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, theoretical disagreement is the inevitable consequence of any debate between proponents of different schools of political philosophy and, of course, within each too.

### **Political and philosophical sources**

The data surveyed came from a variety of mainly written sources; the content of which was principally concerned with philosophical discourse (mostly in relation to communitarianism) and modern UK/Scottish political history. With regard to the former, the objective was to collect material for the purpose of understanding those theoretical

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<sup>4</sup> Disputed political positions examined include, for example, those between liberal and communitarian thinkers with regard to their differing stances on individualism and instrumental reason and those between Labour and the SNP in relation to Scotland's future constitutional position.

<sup>5</sup> Greater insight may be derived because critical analysis such as this involves "often dealing with 'language', 'text' or 'discourse' in many (usually rather philosophical) ways." Van Dijk, T. A. p283 'Principles of critical discourse analysis' in *Discourse & Society* Vol. 4 Issue 2 1993 (California: Sage Publications, 1993)

<sup>6</sup> Wodak and Meyer confirm that "The study of political institutions and everyday life and decision-making in organizations has become a major new focus of CDA." Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. p17 'Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology' in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Wodak & Meyer (eds.) (California: Sage Publications, 2009)

<sup>7</sup> Weiss and Wodak verify this by stating that "CDA takes a particular interest in the relationship between language and power." Weiss, G. & Wodak, R. p12 'Introduction: Theory, Interdisciplinarity and Critical Discourse Analysis' in *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity* Weiss, G. & Wodak, R. (eds.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003)

perspectives which underpin communitarian thinking. Concerning the latter, the aim was to gather evidence on both parties primarily in relation to stances taken, policies pursued and manifestos published. This literature review served a number of purposes. It helped identify what sources already existed on both subject areas; it provided an understanding of the main issues associated with each; it helped to determine the central questions to be addressed and crucially, it helped identify an important gap in the existing body of knowledge regarding the 'communitarian turn' taken by both parties.

Material was gathered from a comprehensive range of documentary sources, such as: academic books, journals and papers. Party manifestos and political speeches were also utilised, as were newspapers, web site pages and internet articles. Political biographies, profiles and retrospectives were similarly used. In addition, election results data, Scottish Parliament briefing papers and Scottish Executive/Government publications were used. This provided a plethora of information on communitarian thinking and, on the positioning, and strategies adopted by each party. Prior to this investigation however, barely any research had been undertaken into the extent to which communitarian thought had been translated into the Scottish political narrative during this period.<sup>8</sup>

It was assumed that theoretical and/or party political bias would be evident in what the philosophers, political commentators and politicians said.<sup>9</sup> Newspaper coverage, for

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<sup>8</sup> Jackson, B. p104 'The Break-Up of Britain? The left and Scottish nationalism' in *Renewal: a Journal of Labour Politics* Vol. 22 Issue 1/2 (London: ProQuest, 2014) That is not to say that no such link had been identified between communitarianism and the Scottish political parties. Jackson, for example, observes that during the 1980s and 1990s, there was "a quasi-nationalist rhetoric that extended far beyond the confines of the SNP. A key element of this rhetoric was the claim that Scotland possessed a distinctive communitarian political culture at odds with the individualist agenda pursued from Westminster under the Conservative Party."

<sup>9</sup> This was an expected consequence, given the origins of some of the data selected. Labour and SNP party political manifestos, political journals such as *International Socialism* and newspapers such as *The Telegraph*, inevitably carried with them unsurprising levels of political bias.

example, cannot always be depended upon to publish an objective report of events.<sup>10</sup> This is an inevitable consequence of this type of information gathering and every effort was made to present it as an accurate representation of what each writer meant, but not to express either approval or disapproval towards the opinions expressed. In this way it was intended that no form of bias would be detected within the thesis. Cognisance was also taken of the fact that not all sources would be of equal validity, and that opinions expressed would necessarily provide a true account.<sup>11</sup> Each source was evaluated to determine its level of credibility. It was never taken for granted that the materials gathered had been refereed by impartial subject specialists. Ostensibly one might assume, for example, that Scottish Executive publications could be deemed credible; given the presumed objective impartiality of those civil servants who produce them. But that would be to suppose that no connections or common interests exist between politicians and bureaucrats. The opposite is often the case, given the shared social circles and educational backgrounds both enjoy.<sup>12</sup> There is therefore the likelihood that mutually advantageous bias could be evident in any such documents.

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<sup>10</sup> Ortiz, Myers, Walls and Diaz went as far as to say that "newspaper data often do not reach acceptable standards for event analysis and that using them can distort findings and misguide theorizing." Ortiz, D. G. Myers, D. J. Walls, N. E. & Diaz. M-E. D. p397 'Where do we stand with newspaper data?' in *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* Oct. 2005 Vol. 10, No. 3 (San Diego: San Diego State University, 2005)

<sup>11</sup> Taylor, C. p3 *A Catholic Modernity?: Marianist Award Lecture/1996* (Dayton: The University of Dayton, 1996) In the course of the research it was never assumed that communitarian philosophers were in some way detached from the influence of partisan politics and, as such, able to offer a truer perspective. For example, in the preface to this publication we are told that: "Over the decades, Professor Taylor has been involved in Quebec and Canadian politics. He was a candidate for the Federal Parliament on behalf of the New Democrat Party on a number of occasions during the 1960s, and also served on the executive committee of the Party until 1979. He has been actively engaged on the federalist side in the two referenda on Quebec independence in 1980 and 1995."

<sup>12</sup> Keating, M. & Cairney, P. p57 'A New Elite? Politicians and Civil Servants in Scotland after Devolution' in *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol. 59 Issue 1 January 2006 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) Here we are told that the devolved system functions by means of "a civil service with a class and educational background rather similar to that of the politicians, especially of ministers in the Executive."

## **Positions and strategies**

This thesis contends that Labour and the SNP took a 'communitarian turn' in order to address the political and constitutional issues that arose as a result of the uncertainty pervading the early years of devolution. By identifying and describing the positioning and strategies each adopted and then undertaking comparative analysis, a clear perspective was gained as to differences in approach taken. This research was not intended to determine whether the positions and strategies of one party were any more legitimate or attainable than the other. Not only is there "no one institutional arrangement" capable of determining this "in a universally accepted manner"<sup>13</sup> but also the essentially social dimension of the issues researched means that this type of "phenomena of interest" as Robson and McCartan put it "tend to be fluid social constructions, rather than firm facts."<sup>14</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that some of the data collected is 'fact' in the sense that the speeches were actually made and the manifesto pledges published, such is the fluidity inherent in political debate of this sort that the positions initially adopted may not necessarily correspond to the strategies actually applied. The focus of this aspect of the research was therefore on how each party positioned (sometimes re-positioned) itself, and the strategies which ensued.

## **Discourse and language**

In order to establish whether a 'communitarian turn' was present in the political narratives espoused by each party, it was necessary to examine communitarian theory via

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<sup>13</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) p176 Here Fairclough and Fairclough acknowledge the argument put forward by Sen, A. in *The Idea of Justice* (London: Allen Lane, 2009)

<sup>14</sup> Robson, C. & McCartan, K. p25 *Real World Research: A Resource for Users of Social Research in Applied Settings* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.) (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.: 2016)

the discourse and language used by its proponents. The significance of the relationship between language and politics has long been understood. Aristotle, on the subject of speech, described it as a power endowed only to mankind<sup>15</sup> - one which "serves to indicate what is useful and what is harmful, and so also what is just and what is unjust."<sup>16</sup> Such considerations lay at the heart of this investigation, given the emphasis that communitarian writers and Scottish politicians placed on finding solutions that would be both useful and just. The form of speech they employed can be categorised as 'deliberative or political rhetoric.'<sup>17</sup> In this, the language "deliberates about public affairs, about what to do – what we should choose or avoid."<sup>18</sup> It is apt therefore, that any analysis of communitarian theory should comprise an examination of the discourse and language employed by its proponents. Fairclough and Fairclough put it thus: "if deliberation is an essential part of politics, then political analysis must include analysis of discourse, and particularly of argumentation."<sup>19</sup>

In the sphere of political discourse two types of reasoning occur. Theoretical reasoning has to do primarily with questions about what is right and wrong. Practical reasoning concentrates instead on what is to be done.<sup>20</sup> Whilst neither is mutually exclusive, communitarian discourse and language is most usually associated with the former, whilst narratives employed by political parties tend to be associated with the latter. A central aspect of the research was therefore, to determine the extent to which the theoretical reasoning of communitarianism translated into the practical reasoning of party-political

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<sup>15</sup> Aristotle p60 *The Politics* (335-323 BCE) Translated by T. A. Sinclair (London: Penguin Books, 1962)

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid* p60

<sup>17</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p19 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) Here the distinction is made between Aristotle's three genres of rhetoric: deliberative, forensic and epideictic.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid* p19

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid* p20

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid* p35 Fairclough and Fairclough describe the difference in the following terms: "Theoretical or epistemic reasons are reasons for believing, while practical reasons are reasons for action."

discourse. It is also the case that whilst political philosophers often, but by no means always, think in quite general terms about what it is right for societies to do<sup>21</sup> - politicians tend to talk specifically about what needs to be done in their own society.

### **Stages in the research process**

During the first stage of the research, where analysis of communitarian theory was completed, emphasis was placed upon establishing what the various writers considered virtuous conduct in respect of the members of a society, including its political leaders, to be. This normative approach by the theorists is an effective way of helping them determine what it is morally correct to do. This is not to say that any of them offer a universal solution; one they believe applicable to any and all societies. The next chapter will show that differences in opinion also exist between these theorists.<sup>22</sup> The purpose of this aspect of the research was therefore, to find out via the discourse and language of communitarianism, not only the broad theoretical framework pertaining to this school of thought, but also the reasons for its proponents having arrived at the conclusions they did.

The next stage of research assessed the positions adopted and strategies employed by each party. The form of practical reasoning they used came as a result of the particular circumstances each found themselves in, and enabled them to choose the most practicable course of action to take. In both cases, having determined what they wanted to achieve, they faced the dilemma of selecting those options most likely to produce a successful outcome. Any decisions made were however, done so in an atmosphere of uncertainty; at a

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<sup>21</sup> Charles Taylor however dealt quite specifically with the situation in Quebec in *Multiculturalism and the "Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>22</sup> The "predicament of moral modernity" as depicted by MacIntyre, for example, is much worse than that described by Taylor. See: MacIntyre, A. xviii *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

time when devolution had created, according to Davies, "a dynamic whose trajectory was open and whose endpoint was unclear."<sup>23</sup> Having set their goals and determined a course of action, each then had to decide those principles that it would be prepared to relinquish for the sake of success,<sup>24</sup> and those it would be beyond the pale even to consider.<sup>25</sup> The purpose of this aspect of the research was therefore, to identify and then investigate both the aspirations expressed within the narratives, and the subsequent actions taken.

The final stage of the research entailed determining the extent to which the theoretical reasoning of the communitarian writers was transformed into the practical reasoning of the politicians; the extent to which communitarian thought was translated into political narrative. This involved a form of qualitative comparative analysis wherein communitarian thought was matched with the words and deeds of the politicians, in order to prove the veracity of the 'communitarian turn' claim. This might be regarded, as Lijphart puts it, "as a method of discovering empirical relationships among variables, not as a

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<sup>23</sup> Jeffery, C. p291 (Quoting Davies 1999) 'Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a Piecemeal Approach to Constitutional Change' in *Publius, Federalism and Constitutional Change* Vol. 39 No. 2, (Spring, 2009) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

<sup>24</sup> The SNP, for example, after much internal disagreement chose to take what some members considered the unprincipled step of participating in the Scottish devolved political system as a means by which the (to others) principled constitutional position of Scottish independence could potentially be attained. This disagreement between 'fundamentalists' and 'gradualists' meant that "The fundamentalist position rejects the legitimacy of the existing state and would perceive any measure of self-government short of independence with suspicion." Mitchell, J. p52 'Factions, Tendencies and Consensus in the 1980s' in *Scottish Government Yearbook 1990* (Edinburgh: Unit for the Study of Government in Scotland, University of Edinburgh, 1990)

<sup>25</sup> With regard to each party's fundamental principles, research showed that the SNP's constitutional position remained virtually intact. Its primary objective of independence stayed largely unaffected by differences of opinion over whether a 'gradualist' or 'fundamentalist' strategy should be employed. Labour however, seemed prepared to jeopardise the Unionist principle by introducing a devolved settlement. So much so that "it was suggested that the creation of a separate Scottish Parliament that symbolised Scottish rather than British national identity would simply fuel nationalist sentiment yet further." Bromley, C. Curtice, J. McCrone, D. & Park, A. p2 'Introduction' to *Has Devolution Delivered?* Bromley, C. Curtice, J. McCrone, D. & Park, A. (eds.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)

method of measurement."<sup>26</sup> The process of scrutinizing the speeches given, pledges made and policies adopted, in order to identify and evaluate connections with communitarian theory, did just that. It enabled the relationship between both to be established. No precise measurement of the extent to which theoretical reasoning had been translated into the practical reasoning of the politicians was taken. The findings of the research however, provided a more nuanced outcome than would be expected from comparison and measurement alone. This investigation was as much about *why* the agents concerned acted as they did. This stage of the research helped therefore, in providing a deeper understanding of the motives behind their actions. Fairclough and Fairclough argue that when analysing and evaluating any such circumstances, the goals of those concerned "should not be identified with what the agent wants in any simple manner."<sup>27</sup> Rather, they should be identified as representing what the agent would wish to be "(possible) future states of affairs."<sup>28</sup> They further argue that such wishes fall into two distinct categories. They can embody a state of affairs that one actually wishes to come into being. Alternatively, they can represent those moral values that are considered "normatively appropriate"<sup>29</sup> and thus, those we would be expected to desire. Difficulties arise however, when the goals pursued by a political party are not those desired, but are instead, those that are expected to be pursued. At times such as these they can find themselves subject to pressure to act in ways that may conflict with their actual desires.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Lijphart, A. p683 'Comparative Politics and Comparative Method' in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 65 Issue 3 (Sept., 1971) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971)

<sup>27</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p45 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid* p45

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid* p45

<sup>30</sup> This applied to Labour in the period prior to the introduction of devolution in Scotland. The party, whilst having demonstrated its longstanding support for the democratic process, was also aware of the potential electoral difficulties that could ensue as a result of devolved legislative and executive bodies being established in Scotland. Thorlakson put it thus: "vote choice at either the state or sub-state level will invariably be affected by identifications and



Examination of the dilemmas faced by both parties in this respect revealed, not only the complex nature of the motives that informed their actions, but also the ways in which language was used in pursuance of their objectives. A form of critical discourse analysis which is primarily concerned with argumentation theory was adopted; this because of the clear connection that can be made between argumentation theory and critical discourse analysis's notion of "discourses as ways of representing reality."<sup>31</sup> Practical reasoning, with its emphasis on what is to be done, is therefore, an important component of this form of discourse. This means that the different political discourses espoused by Labour and the SNP were examined in order to establish the context of and reasons for those actions each pursued. Central to argumentation theory therefore, is the understanding that different perceptions (derived, for example, from alternative ideological preferences) will mean that what is reality for one may not be for the other. Given that the language employed by each party was informed by different visions of what may be best for Scotland, and that what was subsequently said revealed contradictory approaches as to what action should be taken, analysis of the resultant arguments helped determine the extent that communitarian thought was translated into the political narratives of each.

### ***3.2 Links to research questions***

This section offers an account of how the research was undertaken by linking the research questions to the methodological approach. The first question asked what

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assessments formed at other levels of government." Thorlakson, L. p41 'Party systems in multi-level contexts' in *Devolution and electoral politics* Hough, D. & Jeffrey, C. (eds.) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006) In this example, extending the democratic process represented a 'normatively appropriate' response which could precipitate a state of affairs that Labour did not wish to come into being; this being increased electoral support for the SNP.

<sup>31</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p93 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

challenges each party faced during this period and how these led both to take a communitarian turn. The research here involved analysis primarily via discourse and language. The second question asked what particular set of moral and political perspectives those communitarian philosophers relevant to this research take and how these positions differ. A description is given therefore, of the analysis of communitarianism that was undertaken, also largely through an examination of discourse and language. The final question asked what strategies, policies and manifesto pledges adopted by each party were inspired by or reflected communitarian ideas. Explanation is thus provided as to how qualitative comparative analysis and case studies were used to aid understanding of the positions each adopted.

### **First research question: Challenges**

This question was intended to ascertain what challenges the parties faced, in order that their reasons for taking a communitarian turn could be established. This was described in the second chapter, where early indications of communitarian tendencies evident in party policies were identified and investigated. An account of how successive Labour leaders tried to extricate the party from its increasingly unpopular left-wing ideological position was then provided. The SNP's shift in position concerning devolution, wherein initial resistance was replaced by a "stepping stone to full autonomy"<sup>32</sup> approach, was then described.<sup>33</sup> Finally, an explanation was given as to how the challenges presented at this time were met by

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<sup>32</sup> McCrone, D. p76 'Scotland Out the Union? The Rise and Rise of the Nationalist Agenda' in *The Political Quarterly* Vol. 83, No. 1. 2012 (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, 2012)

<sup>33</sup> Lynch, P. p255 'The Scottish National Party and the Challenge of Political Representation' in *From Protest to Power: Autonomist Parties and the Challenges of Representation* Elias, A. & Tronconi, F. (eds.) (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 2011) Lynch explains that "although the SNP sought to get the issue of independence onto the political agenda, its real success was getting devolution onto the agenda, as the other parties responded to the SNP's election success by formulating their own policy on Scottish self-government.

taking up a political narrative, the language of which exhibited the influence of communitarian ideas.

In recognition of the premise that "embedded in the tradition of western political thought there is in fact a view that language and politics are intimately linked at a fundamental level"<sup>34</sup> - investigation into communitarian tendencies evident in party policies entailed analysis via discourse and language.<sup>35</sup> Through examination of the language used, an understanding of shared values specific to each party was gained. When Alex Salmond, for example, spoke of "the community of the realm of Scotland,"<sup>36</sup> he used emotive language intended to conjure feelings of separateness in the Scottish electorate. The discourse that he and his party wished to result from such language was one in which the notion of independence would be better supported, and the kind of national recognition championed by Charles Taylor<sup>37</sup> subsequently achieved. This form of persuasive discourse uses what Fairclough and Fairclough call "imaginaries as goal premises"<sup>38</sup> - its purpose being to use language not merely to "describe what social reality is but also what it should be."<sup>39</sup> But, this is more likely achieved, according to Lemke, if "Our *discourse*, what we mean by saying and doing, deploys the meaning-making resources of our communities."<sup>40</sup> Accordingly, only by using language that reflects the ideals that a community will understand and support, is a political party likely to provide a convincing account of its

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<sup>34</sup> Chilton, P. p4 *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2004)

<sup>35</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p78 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) Here the authors say that "Discourse is basically social use of language, language in social contexts."

<sup>36</sup> Salmond, A. p2 Speech to SNP Autumn Conference (Inverness: 22 October 2011)

<sup>37</sup> Taylor, C. p25 *Multiculturalism and the "Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>38</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p103 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid* p103

<sup>40</sup> Lemke, J. L. p16 *Textual Politics: Discourse and Social Dynamics* (London: Taylor & Francis Ltd., 2005)

position. To this end, Maxwell reflects the discontent he believes evident in some Scots towards their nation's current constitutional position by saying that it "denies them recognition as Scots or simply as people living in a community with its particular geography."<sup>41</sup>

Analysis via discourse and language was similarly used to determine what challenges Labour faced and its motives for taking a communitarian turn. In this case it revealed a shifting narrative. Unlike the examination of the SNP's position which showed that the language used portrayed a stable and shared value: that of independence – analysis showed Labour to be in the process of ideological realignment. It was modifying its language from that in support of state sponsored welfare dependency to that which envisaged the state's primary function as being to help people move from welfare to work.<sup>42</sup> In so doing it reflected Etzioni's model of the good society; this being one which combined a shared morality with a work-ethic at its heart.<sup>43</sup>

The analysis undertaken here conformed to the 'argument reconstruction' model as proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough.<sup>44</sup> In this model the language used in support of political action is divided into five sequential categories, the first four of which proved useful

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<sup>41</sup> Maxwell, S. p26-27 *Arguing for Independence* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012)

<sup>42</sup> This form of analysis falls within the category of 'critical social science'; in this case because it evaluates "ideas of what societies should be like ('the good society') if they are to cultivate the well-being of their members rather than undermine it." Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p79 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>43</sup> Freeden, M. p45 'The Ideology of New Labour' in Chadwick, A. Heffernan, R. (ed.) *The New Labour Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003) Here Freeden describes the influence of Etzioni on New Labour by saying that what it now stands for "is particularly exemplified in the opposition to the 'dependency culture', seen as a distorted aspect of the welfare state, rather than the socialist ethic of actively creating networks of interdependent social support." He further describes Etzioni's communitarian stance as being "firmly in favour of the individual responsibility to maintain the social fabric – because he assumes that communities are repositories of a shared moral language and practices"

<sup>44</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p125 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

to the research.<sup>45</sup> The initial category entailed the identification of a 'claim'; something that the instigator asserts is "the right thing to do."<sup>46</sup> Labour, for example, considered the right thing to be the adoption of a 'third way' agenda; one that was neither left nor right-wing.<sup>47</sup> With regard to Scotland in particular, the right thing required that devolution be introduced; this in order that what former Labour leader John Smith called "the settled will of the Scottish People"<sup>48</sup> could be realized. Next, the 'circumstances' pertaining to the argument had to be examined. The fundamental dilemma identified here was that Labour no longer had any clear sense of the values it stood for and what therefore, it was trying to achieve.<sup>49</sup> Research indicated not only a rejection of its previous socialist affiliations but also support for the communitarian position which held that the kind of individualism associated with the liberal right "devalues, neglects, and/or undermines community, and community is a fundamental and irreplaceable ingredient in the good life of human beings."<sup>50</sup> Having examined the language employed to describe the 'claim' and then the 'circumstances', the next stage was to identify and investigate the party's 'goals.' On examination the two goals most pertinent to the aims of this research were identified as being Labour's wish to

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid* p125 The fifth category: 'means-goal' involves determining whether "the action is sufficient in view of the goals." Unlike the other categories, where analysis using the argument reconstruction model was helpful in identifying early indications of communitarian tendencies, it was not the aim of this research to establish the extent, if any, to which a communitarian turn may have affected the fortunes of either party. For this reason the last of Fairclough and Fairclough's categories was not employed in this analysis.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid* p125

<sup>47</sup> Etzioni, A. p7 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996) One year before New Labour took power, Etzioni spoke in support of "the claim that communitarian thinking leapfrogs the old debate between left-wing and right-wing thinking and suggests a third social philosophy."

<sup>48</sup> Ichijo, A. p27 'Entrenchment of unionist nationalism: devolution and the discourse of national identity in Scotland' in *National Identities* Vol. 14, No. 1, March 2012 (London: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>49</sup> Hassan, G. & Shaw, E. p322 *The Strange Death of Labour Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)

<sup>50</sup> Buchanan, A. E. p852 'Assessing the Communitarian Critique of Liberalism' in *Ethics: An International Journal of Social, Political, and Legal Philosophy* Vol. 99, No. 4, July 1989 (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1989)

distance itself from its ideological allegiance to socialism and, in so doing, re-position as a social democratic party intent on devolving some powers to Edinburgh. The final category to be examined was 'values/concerns.' Here the party attempted to counter concerns about a dependant underclass that had become ever more reliant on the welfare state, with an intention to promote the values of a work-ethic informed by an ethos of social and personal responsibility. This reflects Etzioni's call to correct "the current imbalance between rights and responsibilities."<sup>51</sup> Further, the party intended that its concerns over the threat of separatism would be allayed by its endorsement of the principle of devolution and aim of transferring some powers to Scotland.<sup>52</sup>

Analysis via discourse and language was also employed in order to show that statements, often containing "value-laden terms and so-called 'persuasive' (biased) definitions in arguments"<sup>53</sup> intended to extract an emotional response, in order to appeal to communitarian sensibilities thought still to exist within Scottish society, were used by the parties. Here the evidence examined showed a difference in thinking between the communitarians and the politicians concerning the role of language in social discourse. Whereas the former argued that our opinions and how we express them are often inherited and assimilated as a result of our community's long-term collective experience,<sup>54</sup> the latter seemed more impressed with the manipulative qualities of the spin doctor's soundbite as a

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<sup>51</sup> Etzioni, A. p4 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

<sup>52</sup> Dewar, D. p182 'Forward to Scotland's Parliament' in *The New Labour Reader* Chadwick, A & Heffernan, R. (eds.) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003) Here Dewar explains that "The Scottish Parliament will reflect the needs and circumstances of all of the people of Scotland regardless of race, gender or disability."

<sup>53</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p92 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>54</sup> Macmurray, for example, explains that the language that we speak and the thoughts that we have derive "from those who went before us; and the forms they take in our private minds and mouths bear witness that they are symbols of a life that is shared." Macmurray, J. p9-10 *Conditions of Freedom* (1949) (New York: Humanity Books, 1993)

short-term means by which their ideas could be made popular and widely understood.<sup>55</sup> This means that whilst the politicians proved themselves capable of engaging in the sometimes emotive language of communitarianism, they seemed less able to appreciate the importance that proponents of this philosophy attach to the effect that continuous dialogical exchange within a community can have on how we think. Consequently, while the assertion that "discourse contributes to the 'construction' of social reality"<sup>56</sup> can apply to language ranging from a simple soundbite to a profound philosophical statement, through the use of critical discourse analysis a more accurate perspective was obtained; one in which "a better understanding of relations between discourse and other elements of social life"<sup>57</sup> was gained. What came to be understood via this analysis was that the manipulative, sometimes superficial and frequently changing language of the politicians stood in stark contrast to the communitarian philosophers' more profound descriptions of a participative, continuous and meaningful dialogical intercourse experienced by people within their communities.

### **Second research question: Communitarians**

This question asked what particular set of moral and political standpoints communitarian philosophers take, and how these differ. In order that those theoretical perspectives which underpin communitarianism could be understood, analysis of the discourse and language used by its leading proponents was undertaken. In addition the views expressed by those who commented on, or offered a critique of, communitarian

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<sup>55</sup> The manipulative nature of spin is encapsulated in Grattan's description of "the highly professional selling of the political message that involves maximum management and manipulation of the media." Grattan, M. p34 'The politics of spin' in *Australian Studies in Journalism* (Brisbane: The University of Queensland, 1998)

<sup>56</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p78 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid* p78

theory were examined in order to gain a more comprehensive appreciation of this school of thought.<sup>58</sup> The data studied was gathered from a diverse range of written sources, and the content of books and academic papers authored by those communitarian philosophers identified as most significant to the thesis formed the backbone of this aspect of the research.<sup>59</sup> This was augmented by frequent reference to those academics offering an analysis of communitarian thinking.<sup>60</sup> The main focus of the research was in employing discourse analysis as a means of determining what, from a communitarian perspective, constituted virtuous behaviour in pursuance of the 'good life'; on the part of individuals, the communities to which they belong, and the politicians who govern them. The research concentrated therefore, on an examination of the language used by communitarian thinkers when describing their conceptions of actual and preferred relationships between individuals and the state, in terms of power, discrimination and control.<sup>61</sup>

Accounts of the argument in support of the critique of liberal neutrality and the excessive individualism that is said to ensue, serve as an example of the sometimes emotive language employed by those who take the communitarian position.<sup>62</sup> This and other

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<sup>58</sup> The discourse between the communitarian and liberal stance on the 'embedded' versus 'unencumbered' nature of an individual's relationship with the community is one such issue examined. Forst provides an interesting perspective on this in: Forst, R. p8-16 *Contexts of Justice: Political Philosophy beyond Liberalism and Communitarianism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994)

<sup>59</sup> Key works identified and used in order to identify those theoretical perspectives which underpin communitarian thought included: Etzioni's *The New Golden Rule*, MacIntyre's *After Virtue*, Macmurray's *Freedom in the Modern World* and Taylor's *Politics of Recognition*.

<sup>60</sup> Kymlicka's *Contemporary Political Philosophy* was one such source.

<sup>61</sup> This corresponds to Wodak and Meyer's more general summation of the meaning of Critical Discourse Analysis: "In sum: CDA can be defined as being fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language." Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. p10 'Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology' in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Wodak & Meyer (eds.) (California: Sage Publications, 2009)

<sup>62</sup> Kymlicka encapsulates the emotional language of communitarianism when he characterizes its response to Rawls's liberal theory of justice in terms of it being "excessively individualistic, neglecting the way that individual values are formed in social contexts and pursued through



examples, such as Taylor's impassioned redemptive claim that "Our moral salvation comes from recovering authentic contact with ourselves"<sup>63</sup> indicate that the language used is at times rhetorical and as such, more about emotional persuasion than a dialectic search for truth.<sup>64</sup> This may be the inevitable consequence of arguments in support of a political theory which counts amongst its major concerns the near abandonment of any adherence to customs and traditions.<sup>65</sup> Research indicated that use of the language of persuasion ranged across the spectrum of communitarian thought; from the restrained optimism of Etzioni's "modest suggestion for a moderate communitarian position"<sup>66</sup> to MacIntyre's bleak depiction of the "extensive and deeply rooted moral malaise of our culture."<sup>67</sup> This research showed therefore, that communitarian theorists do more than offer a simple narrative depiction of modern life, and how societies and their political systems interrelate; instead they engage in an evaluative discourse, expressed in the language of "ideas of what societies should be like (the good society) if they are to cultivate the well-being of their members rather than

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communal attachments." Kymlicka, W. p883 'Liberalism Individualism and Liberal Neutrality' in *Ethics* Vol. 99, No. 4, (Jul., 1989) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989)

<sup>63</sup> Taylor, C. p29 *Multiculturalism and the "Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>64</sup> Fairclough and Fairclough argue that political discourse, like advertising, can abound "in appeals to emotions and social instincts, and often attempt to create effective bonds of trust between arguers and audiences by adapting rhetorically to their emotional sensibilities." Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p56 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>65</sup> In debates such as this it is not only the communitarian side that is prepared to engage in emotive language in order to defend its position. Howard, in defence of a more individualistic stance, claims that "The anti-individualistic trend of the traditionalist nostalgia for community harbors [sic] a romantic tendency to ignore or disguise the many repressive and harmful effects (from a human rights perspective) of communitarian societies." Howard, R. E. p329-330 'Cultural Absolutism and the Nostalgia for Community' in *Human Rights Quarterly* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993)

<sup>66</sup> Etzioni, A. p155 'A Moderate Communitarian Proposal' in *Political Theory* Vol. 24, No. 2 (May, 1996) (London: Sage Publications, 1996)

<sup>67</sup> Schneewind, J. B. p525 'Moral Crisis and the History of Ethics' in *Midwest Studies in Philosophy* Vol. 8, Issue 1 (Sept. 1983) French, P. A. & Wettstein, H. K. (eds.) (Hoboken, New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing, 1983)

undermine it."<sup>68</sup> The language adopted by Taylor in this regard, when describing the damaging effects that misrecognition of identity can have on the well-being of minorities, serves to illustrate this.<sup>69</sup> In utilizing this form of evaluative discourse, Taylor is able to describe "the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political *inequality* that results from such domination."<sup>70</sup>

Analysis of the discourse and language used made apparent therefore, the primary role given to the debate surrounding the difference between the often-unsatisfactory relationships existent between individuals, and between individuals and the state - and the kinds of mutual association considered more likely to prompt communities into relating to each other in ways more conducive to leading the 'good life.' It also emerged from the research that the communitarian thinkers concerned fluctuated in their approach to this debate; from the application of the type of academic rigour associated with the complex nature of philosophical discourse, to the adoption of persuasive rhetorical language intended to elicit a more rudimentary emotional response. It was important, in the course of this research therefore, to identify and understand from the forms of discourse and language used, just what approach was evident in any of the data obtained; and as a result, what conclusions could be drawn.

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<sup>68</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. p79 *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) Here it is argued that "Evaluation is linked to a concern to understand possibilities for, as well as obstacles to, changing societies to make them better in such respects."

<sup>69</sup> Fraser encapsulates Taylor's position thus: "To deny someone recognition is to deprive her or him of a basic prerequisite for human flourishing." Fraser, N. p26 'Recognition without Ethics?' in *Theory, Culture & Society* Vol. 18 (London: Sage Publications, 2001)

<sup>70</sup> Van Dijk, T. A. p11 'What is Political Discourse Analysis?' in *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* (Amsterdam: Linguistic Society of Belgium, 1997) Van Dijk argues that "critical-political discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political *power, power abuse or domination* through political discourse including various forms of discursive dominance."

### Third research question: Strategies

The final question involved research into the extent to which communitarian thought was transformed into political action. Specifically, it asked what strategies, policies and manifesto pledges adopted by each party were inspired by or reflected communitarian ideas. To this end qualitative comparative analysis was undertaken in order to confirm the validity of the assertion that a 'communitarian turn' had occurred in Scotland. Despite Lijphart's concern that the reliability of this "method of discovering empirical relationships among variables"<sup>71</sup> is often weakened by there being too many variables in order to mount a convincing case;<sup>72</sup> he believes that by analysing a single country during a specific period in its historical development, maximum comparability may be gained.<sup>73</sup> Given that this research concentrated almost exclusively on Scotland during a specific time period and, as shall be discussed in the next section, focussed primarily on a limited number of case studies; this concern was allayed. Comparative analysis was therefore, an appropriate means by which to scrutinize party strategy in relation to the connections that can be made with communitarian theory.

This research method was used, not in order to quantify the degree to which communitarian thinking had been converted into party strategy; rather it was used for the purpose of providing qualitative evidence as to the nature of this sometimes-complex relationship between philosophical thought and the data used to describe actions taken by the parties concerned. Ragin portrayed this type of qualitative comparative analysis as "a

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<sup>71</sup> Lijphart, A. p683 'Comparative Politics and Comparative Method' in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 65 Issue 3 (Sept., 1971) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971)

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid* p685 This, Lijphart argues, is "common to virtually all social science."

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid* p689 Here it is contended that a way of "maximizing comparability is to analyse a single country diachronically."

way to envisage the confrontation between theory and data."<sup>74</sup> This form of analysis, when used to investigate the language employed by communitarian writers in support of their theoretical agendas, and of the parties in pursuance of their political agendas revealed therefore, a political narrative that had as much to do with the motives behind their conduct, as it had to do with the words spoken and actions taken.

Qualitative comparative analysis was used in combination with several case studies.<sup>75</sup> These studies investigated specific strategies pursued by each party, and examined those factors which were instrumental in initiating them. Case studies, according to Platt, "are used in practice to build arguments"<sup>76</sup> and this approach, Schneider and Wagermann argue, can be "used in a complementary way, especially if the aim is to draw causal inferences."<sup>77</sup> This combination of comparative analysis and case studies was intended therefore to aid in drawing causal inferences in relation to strategies inspired by or reflective of communitarian ideas, and in so doing help build the 'communitarian turn' argument upon which this thesis rests. A research strategy such as this is therefore, according to Rihoux and Lobe, "a way to

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<sup>74</sup> Ragin, C. C. *The Comparative Method: Moving beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) As quoted by Rihoux, B. p682 'Qualitative Comprehensive Analysis (CQA) and Related Systematic Comparative Methods: Recent Advances and Remaining Challenges for Social Science Research' in *International Sociology* (London: Sage Publications, 2006)

<sup>75</sup> Rihoux and Lobe argue in favour of this approach when they assert that case-based knowledge is "a crucial companion to CQA." Rihoux, B. & Lobe, B. p222 'The Case for Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA): Adding Leverage for Thick Cross-Case Comparison' in *The SAGE Handbook of Cross-Based Methods* Byrne, D. & Ragin, C. C. (eds.) (London: Sage Publications, 2009)

<sup>76</sup> Platt, J. p21 'Cases of cases...of cases' in *What is a case: Exploring the foundations of social enquiry* Ragin, C. C. & Becker, H. S. (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

<sup>77</sup> Schneider, C. Q. & Wagermann, C. p4 'Standards of Good Practice in Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) and Fuzzy-Sets' in *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* Vol. 9, Issue 3 (London: Sage Publications, 2010) Schneider and Wagermann go on to argue that "On the one hand case studies help to acquire familiarity with cases that are so indispensable both for generating the data (concept formation and measurement) and are a meaningful interpretation of QCA results. On the other hand, due to its focus on complex causal structures, QCA solution terms provide more precise information about the analytically relevant similarities and differences between cases by clustering them into different paths towards an outcome."

envisage the dialogue between ideas and evidence”<sup>78</sup> and the next section provides specific detail as to the part that case studies played.

### **3.3 Case studies**

Case studies were integrated into the broader methodological framework as an effective research strategy with which to gain a more precise understanding as to how communitarian thought impacted on the application of policy.<sup>79</sup> Rather than adopting a broad-brush approach, where numerous cases were cited, this proved more useful in that the research could focus in more depth on a limited number of specific policy decisions.<sup>80</sup> The fact that these policy decisions could be explored relatively independently of wider political concerns enabled the research to concentrate more easily on the detail of each case. This approach proved to be even more useful in that by focussing in depth on specific policy areas there was more opportunity to ascertain not only what occurred, but more importantly, why it occurred; what motivated the politicians to act as they did.<sup>81</sup> Another advantage was that those cases examined occurred naturally, in the sense that none of the

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<sup>78</sup> Rihoux, B. & Lobe, B. p223 'The Case for Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA): Adding Leverage for Thick Cross-Case Comparison' in *The SAGE Handbook of Cross-Based Methods* Byrne, D. & Ragin, C. C. (eds.) (London: Sage Publications, 2009) Here Rihoux and Lobe quote from Ragin, C. C. *The Comparative Method: Moving beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987)

<sup>79</sup> These studies represent a form of research concerned primarily with what Seawright and Gerring describe as "causal inference." Seawright, J. & Gerring, J. p295 'Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options' in *Political Research Quarterly* Vol. 61, Number 2, June 2008 (California: Sage Publications, 2008)

<sup>80</sup> Eisenhardt, when explaining how a theory can be built from case study research, describes a case study as being "a research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings." Eisenhardt, K. M. p534 'Building Theories from Case Study Research' in *The Academy of Management Review* Vol. 14, No. 4, (Oct., 1989) (New York: Academy of Management, 1989)

<sup>81</sup> Denzin & Lincoln characterised those who engage in qualitative research such as this as "seeking answers to questions that stress *how* social experience is created and given meaning." Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. p14 *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) (California: Sage Publications, 2008)

circumstances pertaining to them had been manufactured in order that some form of experimentation could be applied. Moreover, by selecting policy issues that existed naturally before, and would endure after, the period in question - and that were unaffected by the research process - there was the potential for a greater level of authenticity regarding the substance of what was being observed. By examining specific policy issues in detail, the conclusions drawn were then used in order to formulate more general explanations<sup>82</sup> - which then helped to substantiate the view that a 'communitarian turn' had occurred. Crucial to all of this was the importance attached, not only to the examination of relationships, but also to an analysis of the interconnected nature of these relationships. Research into relationships for example, between politicians and those they served, or between opposing political parties, and also between political theories and the policy actions they inspired, served to reveal the extent of this interconnectedness. In this way the nuances and particularities of these interconnected relationships made the complex nature of these matters more apparent.<sup>83</sup>

The subjective nature of the evidence gathered is particularly evident in the case studies undertaken. Having established the main theoretical perspective of the investigation by providing a characterization and definition of communitarianism, and located those areas where discourse and language relating to communitarianism was evident in the decisions made, and the actions taken, by each party; this then established the context within which the political narrative surrounding Labour, the SNP and the influence of communitarian

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<sup>82</sup> George and Bennet define the case study approach as being "the detailed examination of an aspect of a historical episode to develop or test historical explanations that may be generalizable to other events." George, A.L. & Bennett, S. p5 *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2004)

<sup>83</sup> Rowley summarized the utility of case studies by saying simply that "they may offer insights that might not be achieved with other approaches." Rowley, J. p16 'Using Case Studies in Research' in *Management Research News* Vol. 25, Issue 1, 2002. (Bingley: Emerald Publishing, 2002)

thought could be interpreted. Argumentation theory suggests that political uncertainty causes opposing positions to be adopted which then influence the decisions and actions taken. These can range from an attempt merely to maintain the status quo, to that of trying to radically alter a nation's political and constitutional position. Success in any such argument is dependent on how adept a party is in coping with the dialogical exchanges that occur when opposing narratives collide. Case studies therefore, provided a practical insight into the application of policy by these two parties.

Case studies on policies such as the introduction of devolution to Scotland by Labour and the push for independence by the SNP are therefore included in those chapters which explore the extent to which communitarian thought impacted on the positions adopted. In this instance Taylor's philosophical ideas had some bearing on the strategies adopted by both. With regard to the former, the research undertaken identified a somewhat negative link between Labour's wish to devolve significant powers to Scotland, and in so doing strengthen the Union,<sup>84</sup> and Taylor's view that "the patriotism essential to the viability of free societies might be weakened by the marginalisation of participatory self-rule."<sup>85</sup> Concerning the latter, a more positive link was established between the SNP's wish to separate and thus re-set the "balance of political and cultural power under which they live" such that it no longer "denies them recognition as Scots"<sup>86</sup> and Taylor's assertion that "the demand for *recognition*" has become "one of the driving forces behind nationalist movements in politics."<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Labour Party UK Manifesto p38 (UK General Election, 1997)

<sup>85</sup> Mulhall, S. p116 'Articulating the Horizons of Liberalism: Taylor's Political Philosophy' in *Charles Taylor* Abbey, R. (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

<sup>86</sup> Maxwell, S. p26 *Arguing for Independence* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012)

<sup>87</sup> Taylor, C. p25 *Multiculturalism and the "Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) Taylor goes on to explain that "The demand for recognition" is "given urgency by the supposed links between recognition and identity, where this latter term designates

### ***3.4 Conclusion***

This chapter provided a description of the methodological approach used in relation to the empirical research undertaken in order to assess the impact of communitarianism. It made clear the importance that was placed on the analysis of political narratives and language throughout the research process. It also explained the ways in which the different components of this approach linked explicitly to each of the research questions. In addition, it described how the research focussed principally on philosophical and political discourse; specifically, with regard to how the language of communitarian thought was translated into the political narratives adopted by both parties. This chapter further described how those research strategies such as political discourse analysis, qualitative comparative analysis and case studies proved useful in establishing the primarily implicit role that this branch of political thought played in shaping the ideas, policies and manifesto pledges of both parties during the first twelve years of devolution. What follows is the result of that research.

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something like a person's understanding of who they are, of their fundamental defining characteristics as a human being."



## Chapter Four: A characterization and definition of communitarianism

### Introduction

This chapter will consist of three parts, the first of which will describe the communitarian critique of modernity and its claim that a moral malaise has gripped much of society.<sup>1</sup> Writers such as MacIntyre and Taylor believe that this has come about as a result of the advent of excessive individualism and the near abandonment of any adherence to customs and traditions.<sup>2</sup> The second part will provide a communitarian account of the embeddedness thesis and a critique of liberal neutrality. It will contend that Communitarians believe that liberalism has a tendency to foster individualistic behaviour in a society; this to an extent that it causes people to experience disenchantment and alienation towards the world around them.<sup>3</sup> It will explain therefore, why communitarians believe that not only are individuals embedded within their communities, but that their very identity is constituted by such membership. Finally, this chapter will discuss the value that communitarianism places upon recognition and the damaging effects of misrecognition with regard to individual and

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<sup>1</sup> This is not to say that communitarian philosophers were the first to offer any form of a critique of modernity. Pinkard describes how "reactions to the distresses of modernity" began to occur as early as the late 1700s, where it was argued by those such as Jacobi that "the forces of modernity simply destroyed all that was good and beautiful and replaced it with an alienated, potentially godless moral wasteland." Pinkard, T. p176 'MacIntyre's Critique of Modernity' in *Alasdair MacIntyre* Murphy, M. C. (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

<sup>2</sup> Bell argues that Taylor considered the protection of a society's traditions so important that they should be added to "the current, rather thin list of universal human rights", and that "cross-cultural dialogue between representatives of different traditions" could "open the possibility of mutual learning from each other's 'moral universe'." Bell, D. p851 'What Rights are Universal?' in *Political Theory* Vol. 27 No. 6 (London: Sage Publications, 1999)

<sup>3</sup> Sayers, for example, explains that "The rejection of the idea of the atomic individual has been a fundamental aspect of the contemporary communitarian critique of liberalism" Sayers, S. p84 'Individual and Society in Marx and Hegel: Beyond the Communitarian Critique of Liberalism' in *Science and Society* Vol. 71, No. 1, January 2007 (New York: Guilford Press, 2007)

group identity.<sup>4</sup> It will consider the change in emphasis evident amongst minority groups and conclude that, where previously a basic demand to be recognised had been heard, now far more fundamental claims for equal recognition of worth were being made.

#### **4.1 The Malaise of Modernity**

##### **Excessive individualism and the disenchantment of the world**

Communitarian thought consists of a number of variants, most of which hold to two fundamental tenets. The first concerns the importance of an individual's position within a community: a participative, fraternal and shared role that can never be underestimated.<sup>5</sup> Crucially, this tenet maintains that group membership is an essential component of both one's identity and well-being.<sup>6</sup> The second is a belief that liberal theory has overstated the value of individualism,<sup>7</sup> at the expense of the good that can be achieved as a result of community cohesion.<sup>8</sup> In this regard, the communitarian/liberal debate centres on the

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<sup>4</sup> This debate is encapsulated in Taylor's presentation of a different taxonomy of recognition; one which distinguishes between "the 'difference-blind' politics of universality", and "the 'difference-sensitive' politics of difference." Laitinen, A. p470 'Interpersonal Recognition: A Response to Value or a Precondition of Personhood?' in *Inquiry: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy* Vol. 45, Issue 4 2002 (Sydney: Taylor & Francis, 2002)

<sup>5</sup> Sage explains that "The starting point for communitarian theory is the basic tenet that the existence of strong community life – expressed as a state of affairs in which individuals belong to and participate in a wider group (or groups) of common interests and shared goals is of inherent value in human society." Sage, D. p367 "A challenge to liberalism? The communitarianism of the Big Society and Blue Labour" in *Critical Social Policy* (London: Sage Publications, 2012)

<sup>6</sup> At the heart of communitarian thought, according to Cohen and Arato, is a conviction that "Only on the basis of a shared conception of the good life, only within the framework of a substantive ethical political community (with a specific political culture) can we lead meaningful moral lives and enjoy true freedom." Cohen, J. L. & Arato, A. p10 *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1994)

<sup>7</sup> The term 'individualism' is reckoned to have come into the English language "from the French via the 1840 translation by H. Reeve of Alexis de Tocqueville's *De la Démocratie en Amérique*, originally published in French in 1835." Claeys, G. p81 "'Individualism,' 'Socialism,' and 'Social Science': Further Notes on a Process of Conceptual Formation, 1800-1850" in *Journal of the History of Ideas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986)

<sup>8</sup> Pinkard describes MacIntyre's "major criticism of modernity" as having "to do with its underlying individualism, the practical failures of that form of individualism and the social structures and modern philosophies that systematically distort our abilities to comprehend any real

nature and scope of individual autonomy. At the philosophical level the argument may be considered a reaction by communitarians against what they consider to be the excessive individualism inherent in liberalism. They disapprove of the liberal contention that the unencumbered self is better able to determine how best to lead his life. It is not necessarily the case however, that liberals view the individual in such a way as to think that he should be completely unencumbered. According to Kymlicka, unencumbered individuals think themselves "free to question their participation in existing social practices, and opt out of them, should those practices seem no longer worth pursuing."<sup>9</sup> Etzioni describes such unencumbered individuals as experiencing "the waning of traditional values" without any "solid affirmation of new morals."<sup>10</sup> He went so far as to say that by the 1980s, some liberal philosophers had "tried to turn vice into virtue by elevating the unbridled pursuit of self-interest and greed to the level of social virtue."<sup>11</sup> MacIntyre believes society is at the stage where an individual's appreciation of selfhood was lost; all conception of his life having become immediate and now. This wholly self-centred approach held no relevance to any vision of a communitarian life. MacIntyre's thesis requires not only obligation and commitment, but also an appreciation of the chronological nature of man's existence; an understanding that previous actions impacted on lives led now.<sup>12</sup> Hale describes this aspect

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alternative to themselves." Pinkard, T. p181 'MacIntyre's Critique of Modernity' in *Alasdair MacIntyre* Murphy, M. C. (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

<sup>9</sup> Kymlicka, W. p207 *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) Kymlicka goes on to say that "As a result, individuals are no longer defined by their membership" of any particular group and, as such, "free to question and reject any particular relationship."

<sup>10</sup> Etzioni, A. p24 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid* p24 Here Etzioni argues that "it has become evident that a *society* cannot function well given such self-centred, me-istic orientations. It requires a set of dos and don'ts, a set of moral values, that guides people toward what is decent and encourages them to avoid that which is not."

<sup>12</sup> MacIntyre put it thus: "I inherit from the past" – "this is in part what gives my life its own moral particularity." MacIntyre, A. p220 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

of MacIntyre's communitarianism as demonstrating a belief that individuals made decisions "not in a vacuum of the moment, but in the context of a whole life."<sup>13</sup>

Whilst Liberals and Communitarians alike, express concern about individual well-being; their opinions differ as to how this condition can be achieved. Central to this disagreement are two very different theories regarding individual identity and how it is constituted. Liberals, according to MacIntyre, see an individual's identity as being defined principally by the choices he is freely able to make<sup>14</sup> - whereas Communitarians consider an individual's relationships with others to be the crucial factor in determining his identity.<sup>15</sup> Taylor argues that only through dialogical exchange with others can individuals progress sufficiently to be capable of defining their own identity; to come to properly understand themselves, and as a result, experience a sense of well-being.<sup>16</sup> But this cannot be done in isolation; only within one's cultural community would this be possible. For him all identity is derived dialogically and language is the medium through which one engages in that dialogue.<sup>17</sup> This, from a communitarian perspective, is where the liberal position falls short.

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid* p222 MacIntyre put it thus: "The individualism of modernity could of course find no use for the notion of tradition within its own conceptual scheme except as an adversary notion."

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid* p12 Concerning this form of identity MacIntyre explains that "This democratized self which has no necessary social content and no necessary social identity can then be anything, can assume any role or take any point of view, because it *is* in and for itself nothing."

<sup>15</sup> Porter summarizes MacIntyre's stance on individual identity in the following way: "Our lives as a whole are held together by a narrative unity, which is central to the identity of the subject and forms the precondition for responsibility for one's past actions." Porter, J. p41 'Tradition in the Recent Work of Alasdair MacIntyre' in *Alasdair MacIntyre* Murphy, C. M. (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

<sup>16</sup> Here Taylor argues that "our identity is never simply defined in terms of individual properties" – "We define ourselves partly in terms of what we come to accept as our appropriate place within dialogical actions." Taylor, C. p63 'The Dialogical Self' in *Rethinking Knowledge: Reflections Across the Disciplines* Goodman, R. F. & Fisher, W. R. (eds.) (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995)

<sup>17</sup> On the subject of language Herzog explains that "Charles Taylor has argued that our language does much more than to allow us to swap propositions: In its expressive dimension it is partly constitutive of our social practices and our personal identities." Herzog, D. p180 'Some Questions for Republicans' in *Political Theory* August 1986 Vol. 14, Issue 3 (London: Sage Publications, 1986)

It asserts that Liberals tend to over-estimate an individual's capability with respect to self-determination, and that they also under-estimate the cultural preconditions required for any such goal to be achieved. By the 1990s Taylor concluded that the West had fallen victim to what he termed the "malaise of modernity."<sup>18</sup>

MacIntyre is of similar mind. Central to the debate regarding what he calls the "predicament of moral modernity"<sup>19</sup> is, he believes, little more than a conflict between the self's individual desires and those responsibilities imposed upon him by society. Ostensibly therefore, such conflict can easily be settled by applying rational impersonal values. But for MacIntyre, herein lies the paradox: the language that results can be shallow and not sufficiently adequate for valid moral debate. He is critical of modern moral debate because he believes it to be 'emotivist'.<sup>20</sup> This, he characterizes as a doctrine in support of the notion that "all moral judgements are nothing but expressions of preference."<sup>21</sup> Moral reasoning is reduced to the articulation of what one likes or approves of. It thus follows that any ensuing debate will be conducted merely in order to unite our opinions with those of others, for the purpose of getting one's own way. This is done, according to MacIntyre, by using language that purports to be reliant upon the application of rational impersonal values. According to him, if this language was rational and impersonal then there would be no problem. Instead however, we expound our personal preferences in language that is only superficially

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<sup>18</sup> Taylor, C. p1 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) When describing "the malaise of modernity" Taylor says that "I mean by this features of our contemporary culture and society that people experience as a loss or a decline, even as our civilization "develops"."

<sup>19</sup> MacIntyre, A. pviii *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007) Here MacIntyre sounds a rather ominous warning by saying that "the culture of moral modernity lacks the resources to proceed further with its own moral enquiries, so that sterility and frustration are bound to afflict those unable to extricate themselves from those proceedings."

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid* p12 here MacIntyre defines 'emotivism' as being "a theory which professes to give an account of *all* value judgements whatsoever."

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid* p12 For MacIntyre such 'expressions of preference' are little more than "expressions of attitude or feeling, insofar as they are moral or evaluative in character."

rational, and the dialogue that ensues is no more than rhetoric and, as such, of little moral worth. Such emotivism, MacIntyre believes, has resulted in the political process having become no more than a medium through which competing factions think it proper to contest contradictory preferences.<sup>22</sup> This allows individuals the freedom to determine their own moral positions in a similarly subjective fashion. What then becomes important is the ability to influence others into accepting your opinion, in whatever way one can. This, according to MacIntyre, symbolizes the modern malaise, and he does not like it. He considers emotivism dysfunctional and a distortion of what moral debate should be. Judgement as to whether something is good has been reduced to a mere consideration of whether one likes it or not.

Taylor is similarly dismissive of what he calls 'subjectivism', a trait he thinks inherent in the utilitarian understanding of happiness. He considers this atomistic conception to be based on the presumption that what is good and of value comes solely from within an individual's own mind, and is derived as a result of his own personal feelings. His worry is not simply that individualism causes a diminution of social engagement and thus, direction in people's lives; it is for him much more profound: it is a "loss of a heroic dimension to life."<sup>23</sup> Vulgar pleasure bereft of any passion now tends to dictate how many choose to live their lives. This wholly self-centred approach holds no relevance to any vision of a communitarian life.<sup>24</sup> It places society in the grip of what Taylor calls "the dark side of individualism."<sup>25</sup> He thinks that such apparently "self-evident" and "no-nonsense"

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid* p12 From MacIntyre's perspective moral judgements which are merely "expressions of attitude or feeling" can neither be true or false because they have not been "secured by any rational method."

<sup>23</sup> Taylor, C. p4 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) He explains this by saying that "People no longer have a sense of a higher purpose."

<sup>24</sup> Taylor encapsulates this dilemma by talking of "new forms of malaise (alienation, meaninglessness, a sense of impending social dissolution)." Taylor, C. p1 *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004)

<sup>25</sup> This 'dark side of individualism' according to Taylor: "flattens and narrows our lives, makes them poorer in meaning, and less concerned with others or society." Taylor, C. p4 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

methodological individualism is "dead wrong."<sup>26</sup> Communities are much more than mere groups of heterogeneous souls, coexisting and adopting different societal roles for no other reason than that of satisfying their own personal needs. They have to, as Rousseau puts it, "incorporate every member as an indivisible part of the whole."<sup>27</sup> In this way an individual is less likely to experience disenchantment with the world around him. To this end Taylor is more optimistic than MacIntyre; his view being, according to Rayner, that "the malaise of modernity is in large part caused by a failure of imagination and what has been lost in this way can always be retrieved."<sup>28</sup>

### **The pre-occupation with instrumental reason**

Taylor describes instrumental reason as "the kind of rationality we draw on when we calculate the most economic application of means to a given end."<sup>29</sup> Success in life thus becomes judged on a form of cost-benefit analysis, rather than on 'older moral horizons' imposed by tradition and previous social hierarchies.<sup>30</sup> Man is now a free agent; able to reconfigure his life with the sole goal of individual well-being. What has gone before concerning our relationships to others is no longer of any consequence. They are now

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<sup>26</sup> Taylor, C. p130-131 *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995)

<sup>27</sup> Rousseau, J. J. p61 *The Social Contract* 1762 (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1968) The influence of Rousseau on the formation of communitarian thought has been identified by, for example, Daly who argues that "Rousseau is a favourite precursor for communitarians who look to citizen participation in the formation of community." Daly, M. p15 *Communitarianism: A New Public Ethics* (San Francisco: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1994)

<sup>28</sup> Rayner, J. p145 'Therapy for an imaginary invalid: Charles Taylor and the malaise of modernity' in *History of the Human Sciences* Vol. 5 No. 3 (London: Sage, 1992) Rayner asserts here that given the positions taken by Taylor in *Sources of the Self* (1989) and in *The Malaise of Modernity* (1991): "Taylor is no pessimist."

<sup>29</sup> Taylor, C. p5 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>30</sup> Instrumental reason, according to Taylor, is connected to a "disenchantment of the world"; the net result of which "greatly troubles many people." Taylor, C. p5-6 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

merely "raw materials or instruments for our projects."<sup>31</sup> Liberalism, according to MacIntyre, has failed to "provide a neutral tradition-independent ground from which a verdict may be passed upon rival claims of conflicting traditions in respect of practical rationality and of justice."<sup>32</sup> Instead, it merely provides "the practical-rationality-of-this-or-that-tradition and the justice-of-this-or-that-tradition."<sup>33</sup>

Macmurray identifies the likely consequence of this abandonment of what Taylor calls the "chain of being,"<sup>34</sup> when he speaks of man making choices based purely on his conception of the vagaries of a world in a constant state of flux. The problem, as Macmurray sees it, is that societies increasingly call on the logic of the scientific mind when deciding how to deal with social, economic and political issues. The dilemma arises from what he describes as "a detachment of our emotional life from our intellectual conclusions."<sup>35</sup> Science has failed society; it offers alternative solutions to life's problems, and methods of rationalising the efficacy of each – but the world is still in crisis. Science, and not man, has become master. In his judgement, only by reconnecting with our emotional life, will we feel "the real value of the things that we still believe with our heads."<sup>36</sup> In this way intellectual endeavour will revert to its former and correct role: that of the servant of man, rather than his master.

Whilst in no way advancing an anti-intellectual thesis, Macmurray worries that, especially in times of crisis, society tends to demonstrate bias against judgements which

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<sup>31</sup> Taylor, C. p5 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>32</sup> MacIntyre, A. p346 *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (London: Duckworth Publishers, 1988)

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid* p346

<sup>34</sup> Taylor, C. p5 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) Taylor argues that "once the creatures that surround us lose the significance that accrued to their place in the chain of being, they are open to being treated as raw materials or instruments for our projects."

<sup>35</sup> Macmurray, J. p11 *Freedom in the Modern World* (1932) (New York: Humanity Books, 1992)

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*. p11



stem from an individual's emotional response – preferring instead to rely on the rationality of the human intellect. This he summed-up by saying: "Unless the emotions and the intellect are in harmony, rational action will be paralysed."<sup>37</sup> He sees modern man as having flourished intellectually, but also as having become stifled emotionally. Thus, he has the technology at his disposal to achieve great things, but a lack of human understanding renders him incapable of fully comprehending his potential. Macmurray argues that, what are regarded as the strengths of the modern world are actually holding it back. Whilst Taylor acknowledges that a strength of instrumental reason is its liberating effect on those who now have the freedom to reconfigure their lives with the sole intent of gaining personal well-being, he also sees its potential to assume control of an individual's life. Any personal independence gained may be overwhelmed by a collective necessity to "maximise output."<sup>38</sup> He further worries that, in the process, consideration of the impact on wealth inequality or the environment will be undermined by the dominance of a primarily economic and technocratic mindset. Technology prevails over those human attributes, such as sensitivity, which are now undervalued. This, according to Taylor, has resulted in "a loss of resonance, depth, or richness in our human surroundings."<sup>39</sup>

MacIntyre, in his description of the "predicament of moral modernity"<sup>40</sup> is of similar mind; he is troubled by the great moral malaise he believes has engulfed the Western World. No longer is there a coherent moral canon, instead we rely only on instrumental

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* p23

<sup>38</sup> Taylor, C. p5 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid* p6 Taylor claims here that "the solid, lasting, often expressive objects that served us in the past are being set aside for the quick, shoddy, replaceable commodities with which we now surround ourselves."

<sup>40</sup> MacIntyre, A. pviii *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

rationality. The "language of morality" is now, he argues, in a "grave state of disorder."<sup>41</sup> This, he likens to the fall of Rome and the arrival of the Dark Ages.<sup>42</sup> In a somewhat morose manner he then advocates the creation of new communities; ones "within which civility and the intellectual moral life can be sustained"<sup>43</sup> - even in the midst of this new Dark Age. He rationalizes his position by arguing that, if "the tradition of the virtues"<sup>44</sup> managed to endure the shock of previous dark ages, then there is a slim chance that this might be able to happen again. Taylor's optimism contrasts with the profound pessimism of MacIntyre, who believes the difference this time to be that the 'barbarians' are not waiting for their chance to invade, they are already in control, and there is little consciousness of this moral predicament. Regarding those now in control, MacIntyre is particularly critical of the modern role of the Manager; one of three 'characters' he identifies as being liable for the perplexity inherent in modern moral and political values. Along with the Aesthete and the Therapist, he considers the Manager to be emblematic of contemporary life. All three encapsulate the type of influential people who typically call attention to, and commend the moral thinking of, the modern age. He believes their position to be in-line with the principle of emotivism; the doctrine in which moral debate is reduced to no more than an attempt to adjust the predilections of others in such a way as to make them match one's own. The Aesthete, he

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid* p256 This 'disorder' derives, according to MacIntyre "from the prevailing cultural power of an idiom in which ill-assorted conceptual fragments from various parts of our past are deployed together in private and public debates which are notable chiefly for the unsettleable character of the controversies thus carried on and the apparent arbitrariness of each of the contending parties." A statement such as this, which underlines the communitarian concern for the indiscriminate nature of the modern world, reflects Taylor's thesis concerning what he describes as 'the abandonment of the chain of being.'

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid* p263 MacIntyre does however, caution against drawing "too precise parallels between one historical period and another."

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid* p263

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid* p263 In this regard MacIntyre describes one of the features of the concept of the 'tradition of the virtues' by saying of a virtue: "that it always requires for its application the acceptance of some prior account of certain features of social and moral life in terms of which it has to be defined and explained."

argues, behaves towards others for only one reason: that of achieving some hedonistic goal. The Therapist's interest is merely in those techniques that influence people's behaviour. The values that lie behind their behaviour are, from his perspective, best left to others to determine. But it is the role of Managers that MacIntyre has most to say about. He believes them to be solely interested in ensuring that society functions efficiently and effectively.<sup>45</sup> It is for others to debate whether the ends achieved hold any justifiable moral worth.<sup>46</sup> In all three cases therefore, these characters abstain from moral judgement; believing any such reflection to be outside the realms of logical assessment. It follows, from MacIntyre's perspective, that those claiming the right to govern now, do so on the basis of an assertion that they are bureaucratically competent. They rule in accordance with the idea of instrumental rationality and do not question the morality behind the goals they pursue.

Despite his pessimism MacIntyre holds a forlorn belief that, if such a period were to end and be replaced by alternative types of communities, then the onslaught of barbarism may be averted. But this, he believes, is not currently possible, given modern man's inability to agree shared ethical values or common criteria as to what constitutes a virtuous life. Such is the arbitrary nature of contemporary thought, that each individual can now choose his own particular set of moral criteria. No longer do individuals feel compelled to convince others of the legitimacy of their own actions, because no longer is there any shared understanding as to what constitutes the common good. Instead the shallow language of

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid* p74 MacIntyre argues that "there are strong grounds for rejecting the claim that effectiveness is...inseparable from a mode of human existence in which the contrivance of means is in central part the manipulation of human beings into compliant patterns of behaviour; and it is by appeal to his own effectiveness in this respect that the manager claims authority within the manipulative mode."

<sup>46</sup> Dobson describes MacIntyre's view of managers as being that they "leave moral agency at the door when they enter the boardroom" Dobson, J. p4 'Alasdair MacIntyre's Aristotelian Business Ethic: A Critique' in *Journal of Business Ethics* April 2009, Vol. 86, Issue 1 (New York: Springer International Publishing, 2009)

emotivism and the impersonality of instrumental rationality drown-out any meaningful debate; leaving in their wake only moral judgements that are merely “expressions of preference.”<sup>47</sup>

Taylor too is concerned that the criterion now chosen tends to be the cold and calculating rationale of instrumental reason, rather than the largely displaced ‘older moral horizons.’ Unlike MacIntyre however, he is much less cynical. He does not subscribe to, for example, Weber’s “iron cage”<sup>48</sup> depiction of the helplessness faced by individuals trapped by the “impersonal mechanisms”<sup>49</sup> of market and state. Weber had, in fact, already identified the recurring nature of the phenomenon of instrumental reason when he stated that “At all periods of history, wherever it was possible, there has been ruthless acquisition, bound to no ethical norms whatever.”<sup>50</sup> For Taylor however, all is not lost and there is no need to wholly submit to strong fatalistic theories which call for revolutionary change. Instrumental reason, he believes, could remain in our lives but in a diminished role. For this to happen however, change both intellectual and institutional, would be required. What Taylor proposes will be discussed later in the chapter.

### **The rise of ‘soft’ despotism**

Taylor speaks of his fear for the type of political life that can ensue as a consequence of individualism and instrumental reason. In the context of a capitalist society an inordinate

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<sup>47</sup> MacIntyre, A. p12 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>48</sup> Taylor, C. p8 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid* p8 Here Taylor offers some hope by stating that “Our degrees of freedom are not zero. There is a point to deliberating what ought to be our ends, and whether instrumental reason ought to have a lesser role in our lives than it does.”

<sup>50</sup> Weber, M. p57 *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-5) (New York: Dover Publications Inc. 2003) Weber goes on to argue that “with the breakdown of tradition and the more or less complete extension of free economic enterprise, even to within the social group, the new thing has not generally been ethically justified and encouraged, but only tolerated as a fact.”

level of importance is given to instrumental reason, but at the expense of “serious moral deliberation.”<sup>51</sup> He worries that this could prove to be “highly destructive.”<sup>52</sup> The relentless pursuit of profit without sufficient consideration given to environment will inevitably undermine conditions in the natural world, and also act to the detriment of anyone intent on pursuing a life-plan at odds with this industrial-technological impetus.<sup>53</sup> Under such conditions, Taylor thinks that individuals may experience a diminution of their liberty; they will close in on themselves, stay at home and participate less with others. This, he believes, could be sustained, provided that the state continues to satisfy the populace. He points out that these conditions represent what Tocqueville calls “soft despotism.”<sup>54</sup> Here a regime of tyranny is replaced by a paternalistic state; one offering regular elections and thus providing at least a veneer of democracy.<sup>55</sup> But whilst Tocqueville thinks that these fears could be allayed by the determined actions of intermediary groups,<sup>56</sup> Taylor believes that “the

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<sup>51</sup> Taylor, C. p8 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid* p8 Taylor cites “the threat to our lives from environmental disasters, like the thinning of the ozone layer” as one possible consequence of the decline of serious moral deliberation.

<sup>53</sup> Taylor speaks of this socio-economic transformation in terms of it shaking “people loose from old habits and beliefs-in, for example, religion or traditional morality – which then become unsustainable because they have no independent rational grounding in the way the beliefs of modernity – in, for example, individualism or instrumental reason – are assumed to have.” Taylor, C. p3 ‘Two Theories of Modernity’ in *The International Scope Review* Vol. 3, (2001), Issue 5 (Summer) (Brussels: The Social Capital Foundation, 2001)

<sup>54</sup> Taylor, C. p9 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>55</sup> Tocqueville described it thus: “By this system the people shake off their state of dependence just long enough to select their masters and then relapse into it again. A great many persons at the present day are quite contented with this sort of compromise between administrative despotism and the sovereignty of the people; and they think they have done enough for the protection of individual freedom when they have surrendered it to the power of the nation at large.” Tocqueville, A. p319 *Democracy in America: Volume Two* (1840) (London: David Campbell Publishers, 1994)

<sup>56</sup> Tocqueville, A. p196 *Democracy in America: Volume One* (1835) (London: David Campbell Publishers, 1994) On the subject of intermediary groups Tocqueville argues that “The most natural privilege of man, next to the right of acting for himself, is that of combining his exertions with those of his fellow creatures and of acting in common with them. The right of association therefore appears to me almost as inalienable in its nature as the right of personal liberty.”

atomism of the self-absorbed individual militates against this.”<sup>57</sup> Ultimately individualism in the modern world is marked by a citizen’s almost complete lack of autonomy and also of feelings of alienation; his life is determined by the market and a centralized bureaucracy over which he has no say. He is not free. MacIntyre concurs, stating that “Bureaucratic rationality is the rationality of matching means to ends economically and efficiently.”<sup>58</sup> It is a rationality intended to serve the interests of the economy. If this is true, then it follows that contemporary liberal societies have failed to live up to their defining principle: that of maximising an individual’s autonomy. When the state’s role as defender of the liberty of its citizens becomes this seriously undermined by the much stronger economic forces imposed by the dictates of soft despotism, then there is no longer any place for the kind of ‘serious moral deliberation’ that Taylor considers so important.

Macmurray previously sounded warnings to this effect when describing the existence of what he called ‘mass-man’; those modern, flexible and mobile workers prepared to uproot in order to find work. Despite not being a new phenomenon, he did express concern about the dislocating effect that such movements of labour have on individuals, their families and the communities they previously belonged to. Workers have to adjust to technological change for the cause of greater efficiency, but industry rarely adjusts for the sake of community. The increased frequency of uprooting and relocation with the intention of creating a flexible workforce within a dynamic economy, he believes, results in a breakdown of “the nexus of direct relations.”<sup>59</sup> The State is therefore acting as an opposing force

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<sup>57</sup> Taylor, C. p9 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>58</sup> MacIntyre, A. p25 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007) MacIntyre asserts here that “Every bureaucratic organization embodies some explicit or implicit definition of costs and benefits from which the criteria of effectiveness are derived.”

<sup>59</sup> Macmurray, J. p187 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of the Form of the Personal* (1961) (London: Faber and Faber, 1995) Macmurray argues that “An economic efficiency which is achieved at the expense of the personal life is self-condemned, and in the end self-frustrating. The

to the maintenance of fellowship within established communities. Prideaux thinks that Macmurray viewed modern society as being the antithesis of what a community should be, and that he would have regarded it as "an overtly competitive social configuration"<sup>60</sup> where relations are merely instrumental and based largely on achieving economic ends. When introduced to a stranger, one's usual first response is to ask what they do. Their reply invariably describes what they are employed to do.<sup>61</sup> Macmurray reasons that most non-personal relationships are considered to be economic, negative and based on an assumption that all have, or should have, a function to perform. We see others not as persons, but rather as workers, their collective function being to achieve society's pre-determined economic objectives. In so doing we act out Taylor's depiction of 'instrumental reason' by participating in a calculation as to "the most economic application of means to a given end."<sup>62</sup>

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mobility of labour, for example, is a good thing from the economic point of view. From the personal point of view, it is an evil."

<sup>60</sup> Prideaux, S. p541 'John Macmurray and the 'Forgotten' Lessons on Capitalism and Community' *The Political Quarterly Publishing Co. Ltd.* (2005)

<sup>61</sup> Macmurray, J. p186 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of the Form of the Personal* (1961) (London: Faber and Faber, 1995) Macmurray thinks that "Such relations are not relations of persons as persons, but only as workers; they are relations of the functions which each person performs in the co-operative association; and if this aspect of the personal is abstracted, and considered in isolation, every person is identified with his function. He *is* a miner, or a tinsmith, or a doctor, or a teacher.

<sup>62</sup> Taylor, C. p5 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

## **4.2 The Embeddedness Thesis and the Communitarian Critique of Liberal**

### **Neutrality**

#### **Communitarianism and the formation of individual identity**

The liberal conception of self generally rests on the principle that an individual should hold sufficient personal autonomy as to be able to select those customs and traditions he wishes to engage in. It thus follows that his individual identity will not necessarily be defined by association with any particular organized social group.<sup>63</sup> The fundamental position for liberals is that individuals must be able to adjust their ends and conception of the good. In this sense they become unencumbered.<sup>64</sup> The notion of a wholly unencumbered individual is not however, one that modern liberals necessarily subscribe to. Rawls, for example, employs a somewhat measured tone, when describing an individual as able to "frame a mode of life that expresses his nature as a free and equal rational being as fully as circumstances permit."<sup>65</sup> Kymlicka nevertheless, describes the liberal view as being 'Kantian', arguing that Kant was a fervent proponent of the belief that "the self is prior to its socially given roles and relationships."<sup>66</sup> This means that an individual can only be considered free when able to distance himself from social situations until such time that the "dictates of reason"<sup>67</sup> judge them to be worthy of engagement. The communitarian perspective differs from this, arguing

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<sup>63</sup> Hall explains: "the argument is that the old identities which stabilized the social world for so long are in decline, giving rise to new identities and fragmenting the modern individual as a unified subject." Hall, S. p274 'Identity in Question' in *Questions of Cultural Identity* Hall, S. & du Gay, P. (eds.) (London: Sage Publications, 1996)

<sup>64</sup> Sandel characterises the liberal conception of the unencumbered self thus: "For the unencumbered self, what matters above all, what is most essential to our personhood, are not the ends we choose but our capacity to choose them." Sandel, M. J. p86 'The Procedural Republic and the Unencumbered Self' in *Political Theory* Vol. 12, No. 1, (Feb., 1984) (London: Sage Publications, 1984)

<sup>65</sup> Rawls, J. p491 *A Theory of Justice: Revised Edition* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999)

<sup>66</sup> Kymlicka, W. p207 *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid* p207



that individuals are embedded within enduring social norms and practices which are often difficult to distance, and then absent, oneself from.<sup>68</sup> The differences are therefore ones of degree. Just as liberals do not repudiate the view that one's identity is formed, at least in part, as a result of group membership; communitarians do not claim that an individual could ever be completely embedded and thus, incapable of any form of autonomy.

According to Caney "the embeddedness thesis states that persons are embedded in communities, their 'identity' 'constituted' by their membership of a community."<sup>69</sup> MacIntyre concurs to a certain extent, when he says that his membership of, and roles within, a variety of social groupings have helped to determine his life's "own moral particularity."<sup>70</sup> This statement is made though, by a man who considers contemporary liberal society to be profoundly dysfunctional and as such, incapable of creating the conditions conducive to embeddedness.<sup>71</sup> He however, like other communitarians, refutes any notion that an individual would be capable of functioning largely independently of his culture.<sup>72</sup> Taylor takes this further by declaring that a "self which has arrived at freedom by setting aside all external obstacles and impingements is characterless, and hence without defined purpose."<sup>73</sup> Needless to say the embeddedness thesis, based as it is on the belief that

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<sup>68</sup> Walzer goes so far as to suggest that by adopting liberal theory, we become deprived "of any ready access to our own experience of communal embeddedness." Waltzer, M. p10 'The Communitarian Critique of Liberalism' in *Political Theory* Vol. 18, No. 1, (Feb., 1990) (London: Sage Publications, 1990)

<sup>69</sup> Caney, S. p274 'Liberalism and Communitarianism: A Misconceived Debate' in *Political Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, Volume 40, June 1992)

<sup>70</sup> MacIntyre, A. p220 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid* p220 Here MacIntyre accepts that his position "is likely to appear alien and even surprising from the standpoint of modern individualism." He explains that "From the standpoint of individualism I am what I myself choose to be. I can always, if I wish to, put in question what are taken to be the merely contingent social features of my existence."

<sup>72</sup> Guignon draws a link between MacIntyre and Taylor's thinking on this by stating that "Like MacIntyre, Taylor emphasises the embedded nature of life stories. In order to be a person or agent in the full sense of those words, we must be able to respond to questions about where we stand and who we are in saying and doing the things we do." Guignon, C. p70 *On Being Authentic* (London: Routledge, 2004)

<sup>73</sup> Taylor, C p157 *Hegel and Modern Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)

individual identity is constituted as a result of membership of a community, links directly to Taylor's description of the dialogical character of individual identity formation. As will be discussed, only when embedded within a community will an individual be in a position to acquire forms of language which are sufficiently expressive as to enable him to not only understand himself, but also to define his identity.<sup>74</sup> But such is MacIntyre's level of pessimism regarding the moral malaise besetting modern life, and his belief that its dysfunctionality precludes any meaningful form of embeddedness from existing, that he does not share the calculated optimism of Taylor. It is Taylor's belief that contemporary liberal societies are actually underpinned by a genuine and moral ideal of authenticity. The problem for him is that this ideal has become distorted and obscured as a result of the lack of attention now paid to both the embedded nature of individual identity and the dialogical nature of its construction.<sup>75</sup>

Taylor, having been influenced by the practical experience of his own bilingual Canadian background, and also by the philosophical views on language that he obtained from the writings of various Romantic thinkers,<sup>76</sup> came to the conclusion that language cannot be considered "a purely representational tool."<sup>77</sup> Instead it is a dialogical means by which one's identity is constructed. He therefore offers an "expressivist theory of

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<sup>74</sup> Abbey encapsulates Taylor's position thus: "Individuals are continuously formed through conversation; this is not just a feature of maturation from childhood to adulthood and the acquisition of language, but an inevitable dynamic of identity." Abbey, R. p276 'Charles Taylor Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity' in *Central Works of Philosophy Volume 5: The Twentieth Century: Quine and After* Shand, J. (ed.) (Chesham: Acumen Publishing Limited, 2006)

<sup>75</sup> Taylor argues that, even in the contemporary world, a "general feature of human life...is its fundamentally dialogical character" and that "no one acquires the languages needed for self-definition on their own. We are introduced to them through exchanges with others who matter to us." Taylor, C. p32-33 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid* p25 Here Taylor describes 'authenticity' as "a child of the Romantic period, which was critical of disengaged rationality and of an atomism that didn't recognize the ties of community."

<sup>77</sup> Rogers, B. p1 'Charles Taylor' in *Prospect Magazine* February 2008

language"<sup>78</sup> - one which argues that language does much more than merely describe the objects and events of our lives. Rather, he proposes that the words we use are instrumental in determining what we will be capable of thinking and feeling; this is, in a way, similar to other forms of language (such as love and art) with which the language of words is intertwined.<sup>79</sup> For him language has to be understood to incorporate not only what we say, but all of the other means of expression by which we are defined too. He maintains that the vocabulary we use to "characterize the experiential meaning of situations"<sup>80</sup> derives its specific significance from its place within a "semantic field."<sup>81</sup> This field consists of a number of concepts which both relate to, and contrast with, each other. Any word or term that an individual utters then draws its meaning from the contrast that arises as a result of comparison with other terms available for use within that semantic field; the greater the number of terms available within that field to describe something, then "the finer are the discriminations that can be made by choice of one term as opposed to another, and the more specific the significance of each term becomes."<sup>82</sup> It follows therefore, that to employ the same word or term, but in an alternative semantic field will be to alter its meaning. This then would alter the experiential meaning of a situation in the mind of an individual. Taylor thus proposes that individuals may interpret the situations that they find themselves in

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<sup>78</sup>Smith, N. H. p75-77 *Charles Taylor: Meaning, Morals and Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002) Smith says that "Taylor calls the potential language has that is realized only in human language the 'linguistic' or 'semantic' dimension." He goes on to explain that "The distinctiveness of the linguistic or semantic dimension lies in the fact that it is only here that the issue of *meaning* or significance arises."

<sup>79</sup> Taylor, C. p33 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>80</sup> Mulhall, S. & Swift, A. p109 *Liberals & Communitarians*, Second edition (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1996)

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid* p109

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid* p109 Mulhall and Swift summarise Taylor's position as being that "the significance of the situations in which an agent finds herself, and so the import and nature of her emotions and goals, is determined by the range and structure of the vocabulary available to her for their characterization."

differently, dependent on the extent of the vocabulary that they are able to draw upon. It is for this reason that community becomes so important. Tam explains it thus "Without being part of some form of community life, human beings cannot develop linguistically, culturally or morally. All that is distinctly human is only realised when human beings interact with each other as members of shared communities."<sup>83</sup>

It was Wittgenstein to whom Taylor turned for support, concurring as he did with the assertion that any one piece of language can only be understood in relation to all of that language. No word or phrase can ever invoke meaningful understanding if used in isolation.<sup>84</sup> Wittgenstein said that "If language is to be a means of communication there must be an agreement not only in definitions but also (queer as it may sound) in judgements."<sup>85</sup> Thoughts are therefore more than just the collective consciousness of a community; they are instrumental in the construction of the moral conscience of that community. It is as a result of the "acquisition of rich human languages of expression"<sup>86</sup> that Taylor believes individuals can develop sufficiently as to be able not only to understand

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<sup>83</sup> Tam, H. p220 *Communitarianism: A new Agenda for Politics and Citizenship* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1998) Tam further states that "Through community life, we learn the value of integrating what we seek individually with the needs and aspirations of other people. Neither individualist nor authoritarian attempts to bypass this issue can be sustained."

<sup>84</sup> Taylor, C. p17 *The Language Animal: The Full Shape of the Human Linguistic Capacity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016) The connection between Taylor and Wittgenstein's thinking on language is demonstrated here, with Taylor's assertion that "Where the traditional theory sees a word acquiring meaning by being used to name some object or idea, and its meaning as then communicated through ostensive definition, Wittgenstein points out the background of language which these simple acts of naming and pointing presuppose. Our words only have the meaning they have within the "language games" we play with them, and these in turn find their context in a whole form of life."

<sup>85</sup> Wittgenstein, L. J. J. p242 *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 1967) Wittgenstein said that "For a *large* class of cases – though not for all – in which we employ the word "meaning" it can be defined thus: the meaning of a word is its use in the language." p43 This viewpoint has often been summarised by the use of the phrase 'meaning is use' and it may be this sentiment that lies at the heart of Taylor's argument – language, and the thoughts which allow for its use, should be considered tools of linguistic exchange between people; they can never be seen solely as the product and property of one man.

<sup>86</sup> Taylor, C. p33 *Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

themselves, but also to define their identity. However, no individual is capable of acquiring the linguistic skills required to attain self-definition in isolation. Only through dialogue with others can this be achieved. Baumeister encapsulates Taylor's position as being that "individual identity is constructed dialogically within the context of particular cultural communities."<sup>87</sup> Specifically, this is achieved as a result of exchanges between an individual and those who he considers important in his life. Etzioni describes this conception of the self as being "essentially 'dialogical': formed in conversation with certain interlocutors."<sup>88</sup> Taylor adopted the term 'significant others' to describe such interlocutors. Thus, someone's understanding and conception of himself, as well as all of his other thoughts, are dialogically, as opposed to monologically, derived. This means to him therefore, that "discovering my own identity doesn't mean that I work it out in isolation, but that I negotiate it through dialogue, partly overtly, partly internal, with others."<sup>89</sup>

But the dialogical construction of individual identity is not significant only to the initial stage of language acquisition; a stage for which Taylor adopts the term "the genesis of the human mind."<sup>90</sup> It is not something subsequently to be disregarded. Individuals do not acquire language dialogically merely to then use it to develop their thoughts and ideas largely on their own. Despite this being the contemporary cultural expectation, Taylor believes it to be wrong. Instead he argues that those things important to an individual, for instance his identity, are continually defined, and re-defined in dialogue with others; as he

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<sup>87</sup> Baumeister, A. p134 *Liberalism and the 'Politics of Difference'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) For Baumeister, any such community is "a political community united by common meanings based upon a shared language, history and culture."

<sup>88</sup> Etzioni, A. p171 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996) Etzioni depicts the conversation between 'interlocutors' within a community as 'congenial tension.'

<sup>89</sup> Taylor, C. p34 *Multiculturalism and "The politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>90</sup> Taylor, C. p33 *Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

put it "My own identity crucially depends on my dialogical relations with others."<sup>91</sup> This, he believes, is not always a happy process.<sup>92</sup> Those 'significant others' may have attached unwanted or outmoded identities onto an individual – identities which may have continued to affect that person even after those who attached them had died. He cites one's parents as being just such people.<sup>93</sup> The effect that significant others have therefore, at any point in an individual's life, is likely to linger indefinitely.

Taylor knows that even those in broad agreement with his thesis may nevertheless harbour some residual desire for at least a partially monological ideal. Whilst accepting the unlikelihood of ever fully escaping the influence of those who affected their formative years, they hold an ambition to define themselves, as far as is possible, by themselves. Relationships are thus needed "to fulfil but not define ourselves."<sup>94</sup> Whilst accepting that this may be a commonly held principle, it is not one to which Taylor subscribes. For him it does not attach a sufficient level of importance to the dialogical quality of a person's life; to the realisation that an appreciation of what is good in one's life can be transformed when experienced in association with those whom we know and love.<sup>95</sup> It follows therefore, that the dislocation from family and friends required in order to stop one's identity being shaped by such significant others, would take an inordinate amount of effort. For Taylor therefore,

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<sup>91</sup> Taylor, C. p34 *Multiculturalism and "The politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>92</sup> Etzioni describes Taylor's position on this by saying that "as our conversations change, so will our conception of ourselves, which makes these "webs of interlocation" deeply important." Etzioni, A. p171 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)

<sup>93</sup> Taylor, C. p33 *Multiculturalism and "The politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) Here Taylor explains that "the contribution of significant others, even when it is provided at the beginning of our lives, continues indefinitely."

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid* p34

<sup>95</sup> Calhoun puts it thus: "Taylor suggests, embedded in webs of interlocation; the very language through which we articulate our moral frameworks and identities is always simultaneously relating us to others." Calhoun, C. p235 'Morality, Identity, and Historical Explanation: Charles Taylor on the Sources of the Self' in *Sociological Theory* Vol. 9, No. 2, (Autumn 1991) (Washington DC: American Sociological Association, 1991)

any deliberation by an individual as to his identity centres primarily on who he knows, loves and (crucially) is in dialogue with. This then forms the backdrop to his predilections and aspirations. It provides him with his identity.

### **The ideal of authenticity and horizons of significance**

Taylor believes that the importance placed upon individualism today is a consequence of the emergence of the ideal of authenticity, which began in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>96</sup> This he deems to have been a genuine ideal, but one that has become distorted, because contemporary society shows little interest in the dialogical construction and embedded nature of individual identity.<sup>97</sup> He does consider the importance placed upon the principles of individualism and self-fulfilment by modern liberals to be a form (albeit an impoverished version) of the ideal of authenticity, because it still represents the principle of being true to oneself. The true version of this ideal, according to Taylor, is predicated on the belief that all individuals are "endowed with a moral sense, an intuitive feeling for what is right and wrong."<sup>98</sup> It is a doctrine, the original intent of which was to counter the competing view which held that right and wrong was determined by divine judgement, and that either reward or punishment ensued from every action taken.<sup>99</sup> The ideal of authenticity holds

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<sup>96</sup> Taylor, C. p25 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) Taylor describes 'authenticity' as being "a child of the Romantic period, which was critical of disengaged rationality and of an atomism that didn't recognize the ties of community."

<sup>97</sup> Braman explains that "Romanticism, while still celebrating the individual, was extremely critical of those more exaggerated forms of individualism. As a correction Romanticism sought to find a source deep within each of us that would connect us to something greater than ourselves." Braman, B. J. p4 *Meaning and Authenticity: Bernard Lonergan & Charles Taylor on the Drama of Authentic Human Existence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008)

<sup>98</sup> Taylor, C. p26 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>99</sup> Taylor put it thus: "Nothing rules out the spontaneously good person, one who is benevolent out of love of human beings. Only for him there must be some sense that acts of charity have an additional, a higher significance than other things he is inclined to do." Taylor, C. p271 'The

therefore, that the differentiation between right and wrong cannot be a "matter of dry calculation"<sup>100</sup>; rather, it has to do with instinct. Taylor put it thus: "Morality has, in a sense, a voice within."<sup>101</sup> He cites Rousseau's belief in the inherent goodness of man,<sup>102</sup> and "the issue of morality as that of our following a voice of nature within us."<sup>103</sup> He argues that this idea has been developed further, by for example J. S. Mill, into the belief that everyone should be free to pursue their own life plan<sup>104</sup> and, as a consequence, experience personal authenticity; but this with the caveat that wrong "self-choice falls into triviality and hence incoherence."<sup>105</sup> But, given that the principle of being true to oneself can only be met via the dialogical construction of one's identity; rather than simply being drawn in some haphazard fashion towards adopting various moral positions, Taylor stresses the importance of those exchanges which occur between an individual and those 'significant others' within his community, in enabling him to understand who he really is and what it is right for him to do.<sup>106</sup> This dialogically derived conception of oneself is therefore, anything but shallow.

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person' in *The category of the person: Anthropology, philosophy, history* Carrithers, M. Collins, S. & Lukes, S. (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

<sup>100</sup> Taylor, C. p26 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid* p26 This 'voice', according to Taylor, "is important because it tells us what is the right thing to do. Being in touch with our moral feelings would matter here, as a means to the end of acting rightly."

<sup>102</sup> Melzer however, offers a more cautionary note with regard to Rousseau's view of the human condition by explaining that "Far from being an affirmation of civilized man's goodness", Rousseau endorses the principle that one can "attribute goodness to men, but only to "natural" men who are free of the corrupting effects of artificial society." Melzer, A. M. p16-17 *The Natural Goodness of Man: On the System of Rousseau's Thought* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990)

<sup>103</sup> Taylor, C. p27 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>104</sup> On the principle of the pursuance of an individual's 'life plan', Mill states that "The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign." Mill, J. S. p22 *On Liberty* Fourth Edition (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1869)

<sup>105</sup> Taylor, C. p39 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid* p33 Here Taylor adopts the term 'significant others' from George Herbert Mead *Mind, Self and Society* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1934)



Instead it relies upon an on-going dialogue with significant others, which will lead to the internal self-interpretation that any such process inevitably initiates. Thus, genuine authenticity is held by Taylor to be more than just an individual's voice of reason guiding him towards the right course of action. He believes that it properly exists only when "independent and crucial moral significance"<sup>107</sup> has been acquired. Having achieved this genuine form of authenticity, an individual can then be deemed complete. Not only will he have the capacity to protect himself from the forces of external conformity, but he will also be able to resist developing any form of personal instrumental relationship which could result in him failing to listen to his own inner-voice.

Despite societies in the modern world having fallen into a detached, superficial and self-obsessed form of individualism,<sup>108</sup> Taylor remains optimistic. Even though this liberal model of selfhood, where social bonds are easily revoked, represents a flimsy and distorted form of the ideal of authenticity<sup>109</sup> – he believes that the ideal itself does not deserve complete condemnation. If properly understood and applied, he argues, it can enable individuals to be true to themselves; true to their innermost nature. His objective is therefore to liberate what he considers a noble ideal, not only from the self-obsessed form of individualism undermining it, but also from the high-minded 'knockers' who, by offering a

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<sup>107</sup> *Ibid* p26 Such is the importance Taylor attaches to the idea of 'genuine authenticity' that he goes on to say that "It comes to be something we have to attain to be true and full human beings."

<sup>108</sup> Sugarman, J. p800 'Persons and Moral Agency' in *Theory & Psychology* (London: Sage Publications, 2005) Sugarman describes Taylor's opinion of those who live in such societies, by saying that they are "self-serving and narcissistic individuals."

<sup>109</sup> Taylor, C. p29 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) Taylor explains that "This is the powerful moral ideal that has come down to us. It accords crucial moral importance to a kind of contact with myself, with my own inner nature, which it sees as in danger of being lost, partly through the pressures towards outward conformity, but also because in taking an instrumental stance to myself, I may have lost the capacity to listen to this inner voice." He goes on to say that "This is the background that gives moral force to the culture of authenticity, including its most degraded, absurd, or trivialized forms. It is what gives sense to the idea of "doing your own thing" or "finding your own fulfilment."

radical critique of modernity, are prepared to 'knock' the whole ideal of authenticity, without appreciating the veracity of the values which underpin it. Those who act in praise of the modern and distorted form of authenticity, he labels 'boosters'.<sup>110</sup> He thinks them equally mistaken; principally because of their failure to recognise the moral crisis around them. In their championing of the emancipated and detached individual, they fail to understand that one's identity will only ever fully develop within the context of one's community - and that despite no longer being fashionable, there remains a fundamental need to discuss moral ideals. By failing to speak clearly about the ideal of authenticity, individuals are unable to experience personal authenticity. Taylor believes therefore, that the knockers and boosters (and much of modern philosophical thought generally)<sup>111</sup> have become confused as to what represents those values and ideals required by anyone wishing to pursue the good life; a life in which one can be true to oneself.<sup>112</sup> Awareness of what is good within this culture of modernity has to be weighed against that which is superficial, destructive and instrumental in initiating the malaise of modernity.<sup>113</sup> The real meaning of the ideal has to be reclaimed and this, according to Taylor, means understanding that all identity is constructed dialogically, with each individual seeking recognition from others. The ideal of authenticity,

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<sup>110</sup> *Ibid* p11 Taylor makes it clear that "the right path to take is neither that recommended by straight boosters nor that favoured by outright knockers."

<sup>111</sup> Fraser describes Taylor's view as being that "too much of moral philosophy has emphasised the right to do something rather than what good life we ought to pursue." Fraser, I. p8-9 *Dialectics of the Self: Transcending Charles Taylor* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2007)

<sup>112</sup> Parens says of Taylor's reflections on the debate between the 'knockers' and 'boosters' that he believes it "simmered in the twentieth century and continues today", and that it is "rooted in each side's different mistake about the same moral ideal." Parens further states that Taylor considers "this debate about the moral ideal of authenticity" to be "inarticulate." Parens, E. p34-35 'Authenticity and Ambivalence: Towards Understanding the Enhancement Debate' in *The Hastings Center Report* Vol. 25 Issue 3 (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2005)

<sup>113</sup> Sugarman explains that Taylor "sees the modern predicament as a tension between the demands of modern individuals for authentic self-fulfilment and the necessity of commonly shared goods on which to found and give structure to social and political life" Sugarman, J. p799 'Persons and Moral Agency' in *Theory & Psychology* (London: Sage Publications, 2005)

and the weight that is placed on being true to one's own unique nature, makes this challenge particularly difficult.

Taylor believes that for the ideal of authenticity to be properly applied, there must be a framework within which an individual can identify what is significant in his life. Through this he can define himself and in so doing, gain more of a sense of his identity. But this is not something that Taylor believes can be achieved in isolation.<sup>114</sup> What is significant to an individual has to be understandable to others too. Its significance has to hold some merit greater than it simply having been chosen. It is therefore, essential that the importance of external 'horizons of significance' is understood. Central to this is a multifaceted relationship which links an individual's identity with the community of which he is a part. This understanding comes about when individuals can participate in a shared vocabulary of values; a vocabulary derived from an appreciation of their society's history, traditions, customs and practices.<sup>115</sup> Authenticity in its truest sense requires that those values be appropriated through membership of one's linguistic community in order that horizons can be formed. But in the modern world, according to Taylor, the dialogical construction and embedded nature of such values has been overlooked and those horizons that were of significance to an individual are often suppressed and denied. Instead the discourse has

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<sup>114</sup> MacDonald, M. N. Badger, R. & Dasli, M. p257 'Authenticity, Culture and Language Learning' in *Language and Intercultural Communication* Vol. 6, Issue 2-3 (Milton Park Oxfordshire: Taylor & Francis, 2006) Taylor's position with regard to retaining "some version of authority" is described here as the suggestion that "we do this by going beyond a preoccupation with the self"

<sup>115</sup> Sugarman explains that Taylor's aim is "to recover the background of historical traditions against which our quest for authenticity, makes deeper sense", his hope being that "by contrasting these traditions with current practices we might be encouraged to understand and seek authenticity in ways more compatible with shared notions of the common good." Not to do so, from Taylor's perspective, would have the effect of suppressing and concealing "the horizons of significance that are necessary conditions for realizing authenticity." Sugarman, J. p801 'Persons and Moral Agency' in *Theory & Psychology* (London: Sage Publications, 2005)

moved towards, for example, “an affirmation of choice”<sup>116</sup> where each and all individual preferences are considered to be of equal worth and the mere act of choosing bestows its own kind of worth. He sees any such change as undermining “a pre-existing horizon of significance”<sup>117</sup> where everything has a different level of worth – and in some cases, no worth at all. What makes something significant is not simply that it has been chosen.

To illustrate this, Taylor uses as an example the exact number of hairs that he has on his head. He argues that if this specific number is unique to him and no other person, then it might be considered an aspect of his being that is different to that of anyone else. In this respect therefore, he could be seen to have defined his identity simply by identifying something that makes him different. But, given that the number of hairs on a person’s head is not deemed a characteristic of any significance to others, it cannot be considered a useful example by which to determine one’s identity. If someone wishes their unique identity to be considered worthwhile, any claim to that effect has to be based on factors acknowledged by others as being significant; then, according to Taylor, “we are in the domain of recognizable self-definitions.”<sup>118</sup> There has to be a shared horizon of significance in order that each individual can locate and then express those characteristics that are original and self-defining, and that enable him to become true to himself.<sup>119</sup> It is Taylor’s contention

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<sup>116</sup> Taylor, C. p37 *Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)  
Taylor argues here that discourse such as this is based on the false notion that “all options are equally worthy, because they are freely chosen, and it is choice that confers worth.”

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid* p38

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid* p36

<sup>119</sup> Abbey, R. p276 ‘Charles Taylor Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity’ in *Central Works of Philosophy Volume 5: The Twentieth Century: Quine and After* Shand, J. (ed.) (Chesham: Acumen Publishing Limited, 2006) Abbey explains Taylor’s position by saying that “In order to understand a person, we need not just empirical information about race, class, occupation, age, background and so on but also some sense of how he sees himself, what things matter to and motivate him, how he makes sense of the present, where he sees his life heading and so on.” She goes on to say that “If we keep Taylor’s broad conception of the moral in mind, it should come as no surprise that he sees morality as playing a central role in structuring self-interpretations.”

therefore, that “things took on importance against a background of intelligibility.”<sup>120</sup> All identity is constructed dialogically and all individuals seek recognition from others. Genuine authenticity, with its emphasis on being true to one’s own unique nature, can only ever be possible within a shared horizon of significance.<sup>121</sup> Only if one is true to one’s self, can the ideal of authenticity be realised.

All of this, according to Taylor, represents a morally authentic ideal. What intrigues him however, is why the ideal of authenticity has become such an unpopular and largely unsupported principle. He quotes Bloom,<sup>122</sup> for example, who describes modern individual values as stemming from little more than “a rather facile relativism.”<sup>123</sup> One reason for this, Taylor believes, is the liberal fixation with state neutrality.

### **The communitarian critique of liberal neutrality**

Taylor argues that those drawn to the ideal of authenticity are generally the types of liberal thinkers who support the notion of the neutral state.<sup>124</sup> Liberals such as these believe that the state’s primary function is to defend the right of each individual to lead a life of

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<sup>120</sup> Taylor, C. p37 *Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)  
Taylor argues here that “It follows that one of the things we can’t do, if we are to define ourselves significantly, is suppress or deny the horizons against which things take on significance for us.”

<sup>121</sup> Frank put it thus: “Taylor’s singular contribution, as I read him, is his demonstration that personal authenticity is not, strictly speaking, personal at all; authenticity is a *dialogical* achievement.” Frank, A. W. p112 ‘Why Study People’s Stories? The Dialogical Ethics of Narrative Analysis’ in *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* (Alberta: International Institute for Qualitative Methodology, 2002)

<sup>122</sup> In his book *The Closing of the American Mind* Bloom bemoans the fact that modern parents “have nothing to give their children in the way of vision of the world of high models of action or profound sense of connection with others.” Bloom, A. p57 *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today’s Students* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 1987)

<sup>123</sup> Taylor, C. p13 *Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid* p21 The problem Taylor has with liberal thinkers such as these is their support for the notion that “Freedom allows you to do what you want, and the greater application of instrumental reason gets you more of what you want, whatever that is.” The result of this, Taylor believes, has been to “thicken the darkness around the moral ideal of authenticity.”

their own choosing. They do not think it right that the state should endorse any specific version of what constitutes the good life.<sup>125</sup> Taylor considers support for this kind of liberalism to be deeply mistaken. He thinks that its adherents do not understand that the ethics of authenticity, which actually supports the principle of self-determination, represents an important moral value. The importance that liberals accord instead to state neutrality thus demonstrates an inability to understand the principle upon which their position is based. At the heart of the communitarian critique of liberal neutrality therefore, is a very fundamental difference of opinion.<sup>126</sup> Whilst liberals contend that one can establish what is right independently from what is good; communitarians argue instead that the right cannot be defined independently of the good. Kymlicka explains that "communitarians argue that liberals both misconstrue our capacity for self-determination, and neglect the social preconditions under which that capacity can be meaningfully exercised."<sup>127</sup> This means that, from a communitarian perspective, it is wrong of liberals to assume that if the state's starting point is to grant individuals the right to justice (in this case in the form of self-determination), then what follows will inevitably represent a meaningful form of the good life.<sup>128</sup> The right and the good must instead proceed simultaneously, and be mutually

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<sup>125</sup> *Ibid* p17-18 Taylor explains that according to this basic liberal tenet: "The good life is what each individual seeks, in his or her own way, and government would be lacking in impartiality, and thus in equal respect for all citizens, if it took sides on this question."

<sup>126</sup> Mouffe puts it thus: "On one side we have those who defend a communitarian view of politics and citizenship that privileges a type of community constituted by shared moral values and organized around the idea of the common "good." On the other side is the liberal view, which affirms that there is no common good and that each individual should be able to define her own good and realize it in her own way." Mouffe, C. p29 'Citizenship and Political Identity' in *The Identity in Question* Vol. 61, Summer 1992 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992)

<sup>127</sup> Kymlicka, W. p199 *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid* p206 Kymlicka explains the communitarian position as being that "The common good is conceived of as a substantive conception of the good life which defines the community's 'way of life'. This common good, rather than adjusting itself to the pattern of people's preferences, provides a standard by which those preferences are evaluated. The community's way of life forms the basis for a public ranking of conceptions of the good, and the weight given to an

dependent upon each other. Only when the ethical imperative underpinning genuine authenticity is realized will the principle of self-determination then enable individuals to make decisions, the outcome of which will constitute the good life. This is why Taylor considers those who support the idea of the neutral state to be so misguided. They adhere to a principle which states "that a liberal society must be neutral on questions of what constitutes a good life."<sup>129</sup> In so doing they demonstrate a failure to understand that individuals need a framework within which they can identify what is significant in their lives.<sup>130</sup> The liberal notion, as described by Kymlicka, that "the right to be self-determining in major decisions in life is inviolate"<sup>131</sup> is not therefore, one that Taylor subscribes to.

The liberal proposition, that a state that is not neutral is one that will inevitably fail to show the same respect to all of its citizens and to the different moral opinions that they hold, is also something that Taylor rejects. He believes that "liberalism does not have to be marked out by a commitment to cultural neutrality."<sup>132</sup> For liberal thinkers however, the state's function is not to prescribe how individuals should lead their lives; instead, it is merely to protect their rights. They regard the communitarian position "no matter how

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individual's preferences depends on how much she conforms or contributes to this common good."

<sup>129</sup> Taylor, C. p17-18 *Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid* p51 This, Taylor recognises, is contrary to "the fundamental premiss [sic] of a liberalism of neutrality"; this being that "Any political society based on some strong notion of the common good will of itself by this very fact endorse the lives of some people (those who support its notion of the common good) over others (those who seek other forms of good), and thereby deny equal recognition."

<sup>131</sup> Kymlicka, W. p200 *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) Here Kymlicka cites J. S. Mill's view that "it is the right and prerogative of each person, once they have reached the maturity of their years, to interpret for themselves the meaning and value of their experiences."

<sup>132</sup> Baumeister, A. p140 *Liberalism and the 'Politics of Difference'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) Taylor, according to Baumeister, argues to the contrary by insisting that "a liberal society can legitimately promote the collective goods associated with a particular conception of the good life, provided it respects the fundamental liberal rights of all citizens and grants equal citizenship to all members of society, including all those who do not share public definitions of the good."

plausible the underlying theory of the good, as an illegitimate restriction on self-determination."<sup>133</sup> It is not the job of the state to determine the correct version of the good life. Rather, it is up to the individual to perform this function.<sup>134</sup> This is an aspect of liberalism which, according to Baumeister, "views dignity in terms of the universal human capacity to fashion one's own life."<sup>135</sup> It thus follows that individual dignity is derived from personal freedom, and this type of freedom is most readily available when a state functions on the basis of liberal neutrality. But given Taylor's assertion that this form of liberalism is extremely misguided, because it fails to understand that the ethics of authenticity is in fact a moral ideal, he sees it as merely advocating a form of moral subjectivism; one in which "moral positions are not in any way grounded in reason or the nature of things but are ultimately just adopted by each of us because we find ourselves drawn to them."<sup>136</sup> Since the modern world has not made clear the real meaning of the ideal of authenticity, he believes that this superficial approach makes it more difficult to mount a credible case in its favour.

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<sup>133</sup> Kymlicka, W. p201 *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) Kymlicka describes the position adopted by the defenders of self-determination as being: "Judgements of value, unlike judgements of fact, are simply the expressions of our subjective likes and dislikes. These choices are ultimately arbitrary, incapable of rational justification or criticism."

<sup>134</sup> Waltzer depicts the life of such a person in communitarian terms by talking of: "The self-portrait of the individual constituted only by his willingness, liberated from all connection, without common values, binding ties, customs, or traditions." Waltzer, M, p8 'The Communitarian Critique of Liberalism' in *Political Theory* Vol. 18, No. 1, (Feb., 1990) (London: Sage Publications, 1990)

<sup>135</sup> Baumeister, A. p140 *Liberalism and the 'Politics of Difference'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) Baumeister explains that, from this position: "Human dignity is therefore defined in terms of autonomy. Consequently the state must not endorse any particular outcome of deliberation over and above others."

<sup>136</sup> Taylor, C. p18 *Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) Taylor points out the irrationality of this position by saying that "On this view, reason can't adjudicate moral disputes." Everyone has the right, without recourse to individual or collective reasoning, to determine what for them is morally right.



The 'self-determining freedom' which Taylor believes liberal thinkers promulgate in order to promote the cause of state neutrality has, in his view, failed to comprehend the importance of those factors of far greater significance which shape and give meaning to people's lives.<sup>137</sup> Individuals can either accept the liberal notion that choice alone equals freedom - or they can subscribe to the communitarian principle of authenticity. But this is not to reject completely the value of choice; rather, it is to argue that each choice made inevitably holds a different degree of significance. However, the level of significance attached to any choice made should be judged only in relation to those broader horizons of significance which help advance individual identity. To properly understand one's identity and what is of significance in one's life, Taylor's 'horizon of important questions' would have to be central to any such deliberation. But this is very different from the modern liberal value of neutrality which often shuns the needs, attachments and traditions of society, for the sake of self-fulfilment. In fact, a value system such as this runs contrary to the conditions needed to create a culture of authenticity to such an extent that instead, it can result in one that is inconsequential and prone to mere triviality.

Communitarians therefore, reject "the politics of neutrality", in favour of the "politics of the common good."<sup>138</sup> But that is not to say, as Kymlicka points out, that support for the idea of the common good is absent from the liberal model.<sup>139</sup> It just takes on a different

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<sup>137</sup> MacIntyre, according to Wallace, is of similar mind, saying that he "argues that moral principles must be headed, not because they are universally valid, but because they compel individuals to act according to their natural desires and their moral end as learned in community." Wallace, D. p133 'Maritain & MacIntyre: Person, Common Good and Rights' in *The Failure of Modernism: The Cartesian Legacy and Contemporary Pluralism* Sweetman, B. (ed.) (Mishawawa, Indiana: American Maritain Association, 1999)

<sup>138</sup> Kymlicka, W. p206 *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid* p206 Kymlicka points out that there is also a form of the common good within liberal politics, in the sense that it too holds the aim of "promoting the interests of the members of the community." In this case, Kymlicka explains, "The political and economic processes by which individual preferences are combined into a social choice function are liberal modes of determining the common good."

form.<sup>140</sup> Liberals argue that by supporting state neutrality, it does not necessarily follow that one is denying the value of the common good; instead one is merely attaching specifically liberal values to it. This means that the common good is considered to be the consequence of a neutral state having made it possible for every individual's freely chosen preferences to be treated as equal; subject to them being "consistent with the principle of Justice."<sup>141</sup>

Those who advocate state neutrality therefore, do so on the premise that an individual's ability to lead the good life will be put at risk if those things dear to him are disliked by others, to the extent that they become prohibited. It follows that in a liberal society, any conception of what constitutes the common good must be based primarily on that society's ability to constantly adapt to the changes in preference made by its citizens.<sup>142</sup>

The communitarian conception of the common good is very different. Rather than being thought of as ephemeral – something that simply reacts to the vagaries of individual preference - it is instead considered to be a fundamental aspect of a community's character; something at the root of its very being. As such, it offers moral criteria against which individual preferences may be judged.<sup>143</sup> It follows that those preferences which contribute more to a community's common good will be considered of greater worth. This then means that a community striving collectively to achieve a way of life which reflects its vision of the

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<sup>140</sup> Frug, G. E. p1593 'Why Neutrality?' in *Yale Law Journal*/Vol. 93, Issue 8, Article 11 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1983)

<sup>141</sup> Kymlicka, W. p206 *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)

<sup>142</sup> Rawls argues that all predilections should be considered equally valid, but "not in the sense that there is an agreed measure of intrinsic value or satisfaction with respect to which all these conceptions come out equal, but in the sense that they are not evaluated at all from a [public] standpoint." Rawls, J. p172 'Social Unity and Primary Goods' in *Utilitarianism and Beyond* Sen, A. & Williams, B. (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)

<sup>143</sup> Etzioni accepts however, that even if one were to apply all of the principles of this philosophy, "One cannot pinpoint with complete precision the proper or optimal course to follow. Societies have rather crude guidance mechanisms and may need constantly to adjust their course as they oversteer first in one direction and then in the other." Etzioni, A. p4 'Common Good' in *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought* First Edition (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2015)

common good would have its efforts undermined by a state determined to maintain a position of neutrality. Communitarians argue therefore, that it is the function of a society to convince its members of the need for them to act in accordance with their own community's understanding of what constitutes the common good, and not to succumb to the politics of neutrality.<sup>144</sup>

### ***4.3 The Political Implications of the Communitarian Position***

#### **The politics of recognition**

The circumstances in which communities find themselves have been made all the worse, Taylor thinks, because support for the modern liberal value of neutrality<sup>145</sup> has come at a time when the social sciences have turned increasingly to the natural sciences for inspiration; the invocation of moral principles sometimes now having been relegated to the sidelines of political thought.<sup>146</sup> Given that the natural science disciplines are capable of providing explanations to complex questions, often without recourse to ethical consideration, commonly used terms such as 'all things being equal' point to the significance afforded to neutrality in such fields of study. Taylor considers this approach wholly inappropriate to the social sciences; especially with regard to any investigation concerning the relationship

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<sup>144</sup> They must, in other words, be convinced of the importance of rejecting "An "atomistic" liberalism that trumpets the "right" of an individual at the expense of social cohesion, fellowship, and the pursuit of the common good." Raeder, L. C. p520 'Liberalism and the Common Good: A Hayekian Perspective on Communitarianism' in *The Independent Review, A Journal of Political Economy* Vol. 2, No. 4, Spring 1998 (Oakland, CA.: Independent Institute, 1998)

<sup>145</sup> Taylor, C. p197 'Cross-Purposes: The Liberal-Communitarian Debate' in Matravers, D. & Pike, J. (eds.) *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An anthology* (London: Routledge, 2003) Here Taylor describes "a family of theories of liberalism" which "sees society as an association of individuals, each of whom has his or her conception of a good or worthwhile life, and correspondingly, his or her life plan."; The function of the state being merely that of a neutral facilitator.

<sup>146</sup> Taylor, C. p69 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

between individuals, their communities and the state.<sup>147</sup> Support for the notion of state neutrality, where no one official version of what constitutes the good life is held to be better or worse than any other, exemplifies the kind of response that comes from the near abandonment of moral consideration. By functioning in accordance with the principles of difference-blind liberal neutrality, a state can weaken the capacity of minority groups to protect their identity, and even their cultural survival.<sup>148</sup> It follows therefore, that whilst liberal support for individual autonomy and universal rights constitutes one specific notion of the good; the form of state neutrality that ensues, from Taylor's perspective, can also hold the potential to undermine the continued existence of a socially diverse society. For this reason, the politics of recognition becomes an increasingly significant issue.

Taylor contends at the very beginning of his essay *The Politics of Recognition* that "A number of strands in contemporary politics turn on the need, sometimes the demand, for *recognition*."<sup>149</sup> He considers recognition a vital component of both individual and group identity. It defines one's "fundamental characteristics as a human being"<sup>150</sup> and those of the

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<sup>147</sup> The difference, for Taylor, between any examination of mankind, as opposed to that conducted on any other species, is that only a human being is capable of acting as a moral agent. He puts it thus: "So generally philosophers consider that to be a person in the full sense you have to be an agent with a sense of yourself as an agent, a being which can thus make plans for your life, one who holds values in virtue of which different such plans seem better or worse, and who is capable of choosing between them." Taylor, C. p257 'The person' in *The category of the person: Anthropology, philosophy, history* Carrithers, M. Collins, S. & Lukes, S. (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

<sup>148</sup> Kukathas explains the difference between what Taylor conceives as being well-meant, but wrong, liberal support for 'difference blindness' and his support for the 'politics of difference' by saying: "Where the politics of universal dignity fought for forms of non-discrimination that were quite 'blind' to the ways in which citizens differ, the politics of difference often redefine non-discrimination as requiring that we make these distinctions the basis of differential treatment." Kukathas, C. p688 'Liberalism and Multiculturalism: The Politics of Indifference' in *Political Theory* Vol. 25, No. 3, October 1998 (London: Sage Publications, 1998)

<sup>149</sup> Taylor, C. p25 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) This 'need', Taylor argues, "is one of the driving forces behind nationalist movements in politics."

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid* p25 Taylor explains that his thesis rests on a belief that "our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by *mis*recognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or contemptible picture of themselves."

social group that one is a member of. Taylor argues that we live in a period where the basic need for recognition previously claimed by minority groups has been superseded by a more fundamental demand for equal recognition.<sup>151</sup> He explains that "the further demand we are looking at here is that we all recognize the equal value of different cultures; that we not only let them survive, but acknowledge their worth."<sup>152</sup> To do otherwise, he believes, will lead to oppression, anarchy or even collapse. One specific problem arises when the identity of a minority group becomes defined in ways that are inaccurate, disrespectful and even belittling; this as a result of misrecognition or indeed nonrecognition. Baumeister explains the effect thus: "Given that individual identity is constructed dialogically within the context of particular cultural communities, failure to grant due recognition to an individual's culture also constitutes a threat to his or her identity."<sup>153</sup> Taylor believes this lack of due recognition to be "a form of oppression" which causes the 'oppressed' to experience a "reduced mode of being"<sup>154</sup> - one that, if allowed to continue, will inevitably threaten their very existence.

According to Taylor the necessity for equal recognition has two distinct faces. The first is associated with what he describes as the 'universalistic principle'<sup>155</sup> - this being the classic

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<sup>151</sup> This in turn, according to Bhabha, leads to Taylor adopting a position whereby he argues that we need to "turn the presumption of equality into the judgement of worth." Bhabha, H. K. p57 'Culture's In-Between' in *Questions of Cultural Identity* Hall, S. & du Guy, P. (eds.) (London: Sage Publications, 1996)

<sup>152</sup> Taylor, C. p64 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) This 'demand', Taylor believes, "has been operative in an unformulated state for some time. The politics of nationalism has been powered for well over a century in part by the sense that people have had of being despised or respected by others around them."

<sup>153</sup> Baumeister, A. p138 *Liberalism and the 'Politics of Difference'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) Baumeister goes on to say that "in the 'age of authenticity' the demand for recognition has come to play an important role in both the private and political sphere, giving rise to a distinctly modern identity politics."

<sup>154</sup> Taylor, C. p25 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) Taylor then argues, on the following page, that from this perspective "misrecognition shows not just a lack of due respect. It can inflict a grievous wound, saddling its victims with a crippling self-hatred. Due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need."

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid* p25

liberal view that everyone, irrespective of any socially defined standing, must be accorded equal respect, recognition and access to rights by the state. The second relates to what Taylor calls "the politics of difference" and also "the politics of equal dignity"<sup>156</sup> Here it becomes a responsibility of the state to "secure the survival of cultural and ethnic groups"<sup>157</sup> by affording equal recognition to those linguistic and cultural characteristics which set them apart. He believes that for the ideal of authenticity to be met, a balance between the universalistic principle and the politics of difference must be struck. This means that differences have to be not only recognised, but also acknowledged as being of equal worth.<sup>158</sup> Graham describes this as a fusion of the traditional liberal demand for rights with a modern appreciation of the importance that should be attached to diversity and identity. It is, he argues, based on the premise that one's identity is formed in the minds of others, and that to go unrecognised by others is to have one's identity made invalid. He summarises Taylor's position thus: "There is therefore a struggle for recognition – people want to be treated equally, but equality does not entail sameness."<sup>159</sup> Taylor understands therefore,

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<sup>156</sup> *Ibid* p38 From Taylor's perspective: "The idea is that it is precisely this distinctiveness that has been ignored, glossed over, assimilated to a dominant or majority identity. And this assimilation is the cardinal sin against the ideal of authenticity."

<sup>157</sup> Baumeister, A. p133 *Liberalism and the 'Politics of Difference'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000)

<sup>158</sup> MacIntyre takes this concept further by applying it not only to cultural and ethnic groups, but also to individuals who find themselves at-odds with the cultural norms of their own society. He argues: "That human beings have by their specific nature a capacity for recognizing that they have good reason to acknowledge the authority of evaluative and normative standards that are independent of those embodied in the institutions of their own particular social and cultural order, and so share equally in a capacity to be able to transcend in thought the limitations of those established standards, has been a widely held doctrine." MacIntyre, A. p314 'Social Structures and their Threats to Moral Agency' in *Philosophy* Vol. 74 July 1999 (Cambridge: The Royal Institute of Philosophy, 1999)

<sup>159</sup> Graham, P. p19 'Multiculturalism: Can diversity be 'excessive'?' *Politics Review*, April 2014, Volume 23, Number 4.

that whilst liberal societies may treat those from minority groups as "equal citizens, or rights bearers"<sup>160</sup> - they do not necessarily recognise the particularities of their identity.

At first glance these two objectives may seem wholly incompatible; the former recognising that the allocation of fundamental rights should be common to all – the latter recognising that different rights may require to be allocated to some groups in order to secure their survival. Taylor thinks however, that they can be reconciled. This will require a society to "give acknowledgement and status to something that is not universally shared."<sup>161</sup> He thinks this possible,<sup>162</sup> arguing that "The politics of difference grows organically out of the politics of universal dignity."<sup>163</sup> All that is required is another paradigm shift in human understanding, one which brings "new meaning to an old principle."<sup>164</sup> This being that only through respect for all, can respect for those who are different ever be gained.

### **Identity, the politics of difference and of equal dignity**

The politics of recognition therefore, rests upon the notion that two already conflicting principles can be reconciled. On the one hand all should be treated with equal respect,

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<sup>160</sup> Taylor, C. p190 *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993) Under these circumstances, according to Taylor: "what is important to us in defining who we are may be quite unacknowledged, may even be condemned in the public life of our society, even though all our citizen rights are firmly guaranteed."

<sup>161</sup> Taylor, C. p39 *Multiculturalism and the "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>162</sup> For Taylor and Stepan this comes with the caveat that "recently, the term toleration has come under attack. Many people want to argue, in our multicultural societies today, that we have gone beyond toleration, and that there is something demeaning to the beneficiaries in talk of tolerating this or that group." Stepan, A. & Taylor, C. p2 'Introduction' to *Boundaries of Toleration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014)

<sup>163</sup> Taylor, C. p39 *Multiculturalism and the "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid* p39 The principle to which Taylor refers concerns "the view of human beings as conditioned by their socioeconomic plight" now being made applicable to those whose identity has been formed and possibly malformed as a result of social "interchange."

regardless of any cultural differences; treated therefore, in a "difference-blind"<sup>165</sup> fashion. On the other hand, "we have to recognise and even foster particularity."<sup>166</sup> The problem is that in being blind to difference and consequently non-discriminatory, one inevitably undermines and even denies recognition of the differences that will exist within any society. In such circumstances, the outcome is likely to be the classification of all into some "homogenous mould that is untrue to them"<sup>167</sup> Of further concern to Taylor is the likelihood that these 'difference-blind principles' are unlikely to be neutral; rather, they are more likely to reflect a society's dominant cultural values. This then leaves minority groups having to accept principles which are alien to them. An ostensibly fair society thus appears, in their eyes, to be undermining their identity, and in so doing acting in a discriminatory way. What makes this all the more worrying is the subtlety with which it can be carried out; in some instances, so subtle as to go unnoticed. It follows therefore, that the liberal notion of equal and universal dignity, based on these difference-blind principles, carries with it the potential for malevolence by the majority. In order to reconcile these conflicting principles, Taylor proposes a solution that is in equal measure liberal and communitarian. He does not think that liberalism, and therefore a liberal state, necessarily has to promote cultural neutrality. Rather, it ought to encourage a balanced approach whereby it promotes both "the collective

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<sup>165</sup> Taylor, C. p22 'No Community, No Democracy Part II' in *The Responsive Community* Vol. 13, Issue 4 (Fall 2003) (Washington D.C.: George Washington University, 2003) Taylor describes the notion of 'difference-blindness' in terms of "Respect me, and accord me rights just in virtue of my being a citizen, not in virtue of my character, outlook, or the ends I espouse." He goes on to say that this should be done "in a way which is blind to differences of the range just mentioned."

<sup>166</sup> Taylor, C. p43 *Multiculturalism and the "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid* p43 This becomes all the more disturbing for Taylor when he states that "This would be bad enough if the mold [sic] were itself neutral – nobody's mold in particular. But the complaint generally goes further. The claim is that the supposedly neutral set of difference-blind principles of the politics of equal dignity is in fact a reflection of one hegemonic culture."



goods associated with a particular conception of the good life"<sup>168</sup> - with an appreciation of the fundamental importance of the equal rights that should be applied to all of society's citizens. The crucial point is that those rights must be given equally to those minorities who demand that their cultural particularities be both recognised and fostered.<sup>169</sup> Consequently, the politics of recognition requires a finely balanced approach; one capable of reconciling the politics of difference, with the difference-blind politics of equal dignity. In such circumstances, it will be necessary for the state not only to protect those fundamental rights, such as liberty, worship and freedom of expression, which help to ensure equal dignity for all - but also to grant specific "privileges and immunities"<sup>170</sup> to those minorities intent on protecting their own cultural particularities.

Taylor uses the plight of the Quebecois to exemplify his position. Many French Canadians seek to have the status of Quebec recognised as separate from the rest of Canada; the necessity to protect and nurture their culture and language being of prime importance.<sup>171</sup> He explains that most French Canadians have "a basic identification with

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<sup>168</sup> Baumeister, A. p140 *Liberalism and the 'Politics of Difference'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) Baumeister puts it thus: "In Taylor's opinion, liberalism does not have to be marked out by a commitment to cultural neutrality. On the contrary, he maintains that a liberal society can legitimately promote the collective goods associated with a particular conception of the good life, provided it respects the fundamental liberal rights of all citizens and grants equal citizenship to all members of society."

<sup>169</sup> For this reason Birnbaum identifies Taylor as "the spokesperson for the recognition of the equal dignity of cultural identities in a common place." Birnbaum, P. p35 'From Multiculturalism to Nationalism' in *Political Theory* Vol. 24, No. 1 (Feb., 1996) (London: Sage Publications, 1996)

<sup>170</sup> Baumeister, A. p141 *Liberalism and the 'Politics of Difference'* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000) Baumeister explains here that "Taylor urges us to immerse ourselves in cultures other than our own"; this for the purpose of achieving a "fusion of horizons", and in so doing "allow us to appreciate what is of value in other cultures."

<sup>171</sup> Williams describes Quebec as having "deep-seated, historical ambitions of self-government nurtured by a distinctive culture and ethnic group identification." Williams, C. H. p48 'Québécois Ethnic Separatism in Comparative Perspective' in *Cahiers du Géographie du Québec* Vol. 4, No, 61 avril 1980 (Québec: Département de géographie de l'Université Laval, 1980)

what has been appropriately called *la nation canadienne-française*.<sup>172</sup> He describes it as "axiomatic for Quebec governments that the survival and flourishing of French culture in Quebec is a good."<sup>173</sup> In order to facilitate the survival of French culture, whilst at the same time trying not to undermine that of English speaking Canadians, the Official Languages Act was passed. It came into effect in 1969.<sup>174</sup> This federal legislation gives equal status to the French and English languages with regard to the governance of Canada. It accords both languages official status and, as such, preferential legal standing over any other languages spoken by Canadians. This law was significantly amended in 1988 and, whilst not being Canada's only example of federal language legislation, is the cornerstone of Canadian bilingualism. It is a universal right of all Canadians to choose to be heard in court, and to receive the services of government departments, in their own choice of official language. However, in order to facilitate the complexity of language use across Canada, different linguistic conditions apply in various parts of the country. In some geographically delineated areas, the language used by civil servants is English. In other areas the law requires that federal government services be delivered, not only in both languages but also in ways that ensure equal status is afforded to both. In Quebec however, civil servants are required to speak in French. As a result of these legislative obligations, the federal bureaucratic system

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<sup>172</sup> Taylor, C. p31 *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993) This 'identification', according to Taylor, is "far more important and fundamental to them than their being part of the political entity called Canada."

<sup>173</sup> Taylor, C. p58 *Multiculturalism and the "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) Here Taylor defends the communitarian critique of liberal individualism by saying that "Political society is not neutral between those who value remaining true to the culture of our ancestors and those who might want to cut loose in the name of some individual goal of self-development."

<sup>174</sup> For an overview of the changes made in recognition of Canada's language duality see: D'Iberville, F. p69-98 'Official languages policies in Canada: a quiet revolution' in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* Vol. 105-106, Issue 1 (Bad Feilnbach: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 1994)

is organised in such a way as to ensure that some civil service posts require to be occupied by officials who are francophone, anglophone or bilingual.

The purpose of the Canadian language laws is therefore, not simply to recognise and protect the cultural integrity of the French-Canadian community; but also, to authenticate that community's cultural particularities and enable it to thrive by functioning differently. In the absence of special protections French may well not survive in Canada. Not only does the French-Canadian community have to cope with the pressure of assimilation placed on it by Canada's English-speaking majority, it also finds itself isolated on a continent, the northern part of which is dominated by the predominantly English-speaking USA.<sup>175</sup> Taylor believes therefore, that a policy which enforces Canada's language laws can have a profound and long-term effect. Not only can it safeguard the culture and language of the existing French speaking community, it also has the potential to create and nurture future generations. Language laws applicable to Quebec and described by Taylor include those which inhibit francophone and immigrant children from attending English-language schools; the duty placed upon all the larger businesses in Quebec to operate in French, and the requirement that all commercial signs be in French.<sup>176</sup> This has resulted in the French language dominating many areas of public life. But here he explains "that their intention is not to turn inward but to have access to the outside world, which they have been denied by being buried as a minority in federal Canada."<sup>177</sup> The "drive for unilingualism" is, he believes,

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<sup>175</sup> In this respect, Heller talks of "widespread complaints about the McDonaldization of the linguistic landscape" Heller, M. p474 'Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity' in *Journal of Sociolinguistics* Vol. 7, Issue 4 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003)

<sup>176</sup> Taylor, C. p52-53 *Multiculturalism and the "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) Taylor clarifies this by saying that "In other words, restrictions have been placed on Quebecers by their government, in the name of their collective goal of survival, which in other communities might easily be disallowed."

<sup>177</sup> Taylor, C. p52 *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993) This, Taylor explains, is because "The language/culture that we need for our identity is one that we always receive from

“powered by the fear of assimilation.”<sup>178</sup> By granting the privilege of linguistic particularity, the state is enhancing the possibility of this group gaining equal recognition within Canada, and from the wider world.<sup>179</sup> The “real heat”, as Taylor puts it, “is generated from the perception of recognition denied, the sense that one’s group counts for nothing or for too little.”<sup>180</sup>

Ostensibly the Canadian language laws may look like a form of positive discrimination, where one community enjoys a privileged position over others. Taylor contends however, that to allow this in order to defend the integrity of French-Canadian culture need not inevitably go against the tenets of liberalism – so long as the rights and liberties of the other communities in Quebec are not breached. Not to have granted the privilege of linguistic particularity would, in his view, have caused the demise of French-Canadian culture. Such was the value of culture in establishing one’s identity that to have it undermined would be to experience the loss of a fundamental freedom. Thus, it can be seen that Taylor’s politics of recognition advocates a fine balance between the universalism associated with the protection of an individual’s fundamental rights such as life, liberty and worship – and the politics of difference where important dispensations and exemptions are granted to minority groups and enshrined in law.

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others, from our surroundings, it becomes very important that we be recognized for what we are. If this is denied or set at naught by those who surround us, it is extremely difficult to maintain a horizon of meaning by which to identifies [sic] ourselves.”

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid* p33 Such is the extent of this fear that, as Taylor points out “even in Montreal. A large-scale exodus of anglo-phones is actively desired.”

<sup>179</sup> Linguistic particularity is not without its problems however. Salien talks of “a common tendency to berate Quebec French for its overabundance of anglicisms” and says that “It would appear, in some distorted way, that English is the dominant language in the province of Quebec and that an emerging form of “franglais,” one which is more American than British, has taken the place of French as the uniform speech of the Québécois people.” Salien, J-M. p96 ‘Quebec French: Attitudes and Pedagogical Perspectives’ in *Modern Language Journal*/Vol. 82, No. 1, Spring 1998 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 1998)

<sup>180</sup> Taylor, C. p195 *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993)

#### ***4.4 Conclusion***

In conclusion, this chapter argues that the communitarian critique of modernity has identified a moral malaise that grips much of modern society. Communitarian writers contend that this is as a result of excessive individualism, a reliance on instrumental reason and a rejection of the customs and traditions of society. By no longer appreciating the chronological nature of their existence, it becomes difficult for individuals to understand that previous behaviour has a bearing on the lives they experience today. Individuals are now free to shape their lives with only one aspiration: that of personal well-being.

Communitarianism argues that these circumstances have reduced the levels of moral deliberation experienced within society, and that this has proven detrimental both to individuals and to their communities. It contends that only when in dialogue within one's cultural community can individuals properly understand themselves, and as a result, experience a sense of well-being. The embeddedness thesis therefore, refutes any notion that a person would ever be capable of functioning, to any significant extent, independently of his culture and the influence of the various social groupings within that culture. This chapter also argues that the ideal of authenticity should be considered an important aspect of communitarian thought. Despite the principle of being true to one's self having been undermined by the modern liberal fixation with individualism and self-fulfilment, to a point where modern societies have become detached, superficial and self-obsessed; it is still thought possible that this principle can be rescued. Further, the liberal form of state neutrality is disparaged because of its conviction that it is not the state's function to determine the correct version of the good life; instead, it is up to the individual to decide for himself. This, from a communitarian perspective, is an extremely misguided form of liberalism, because it fails to appreciate that the ethics of authenticity is a moral ideal and

that the modern world has not understood the real meaning of this ideal. Finally, the importance of recognition and the harmful effects of misrecognition in relation to individual and group identity is also made clear; as is the change faced by minority groups, who had earlier been reconciled to some kind of basic recognition, but now demand a more fundamental type of equal recognition of worth.

It is contended that the various strands of communitarian thought discussed had within them arguments and ideological approaches deemed by Labour and the SNP to be appropriate for use in the strategies they adopted in order to deal with the different predicaments each faced. Labour's need to reposition itself away from its socialist past, without succumbing to the more excessive forms of liberalism, mirrored one of the main communitarian themes discussed; this being the communitarian abhorrence of excessive individualism and instrumental reason. Likewise, the SNP's need to inculcate a greater feeling of national consciousness in the hearts and minds of the Scottish electorate reflected another of the main communitarian themes discussed; this being the importance attached to the politics of recognition. The following chapters will therefore, discuss both parties with respect to the variety of different ways in which a communitarian turn became apparent.

## Chapter Five: Extent to which communitarian thought was articulated by Labour

### Introduction

This chapter will argue that during the period under investigation Labour tried to reposition itself in such a way as to gain wider electoral appeal, but not at the expense of losing its existing support. It worked to establish a new political narrative; a communitarian Third Way which, whilst retreating from the language of socialism, resisted the more excessive forms of individualism. It represented, according to a speech given by Straw, the end of the party's "ideological paralysis."<sup>1</sup> New Labour would engage in a moral dialogue: one based upon specific conceptions of community, accountability, responsibility and opportunity.<sup>2</sup> Amitai Etzioni offered just such an ideological perspective and it is to him that this chapter will turn first.

It will be contended that a number of significant Labour figures each articulated different communitarian perspectives. The influence that John Macmurray had upon Tony Blair will be examined; as will a principle which was complimentary to the spirit of the Third Way, and also to Blair's reading of Macmurray. This being the principle of New Mutualism, as championed by Gordon Brown, which rested on the communitarian notion that

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<sup>1</sup> Jack Straw, the British Labour Home Secretary from 1997 to 2001 argued in a speech in 1998 that "The Third Way ends the ideological paralysis which so weakened Labour for thirty years. It asserts our mutual responsibility, our belief in a common purpose. And it also asserts that there is no such "thing" as society; not in the way in which Mrs. Thatcher claimed, but because society is not a "thing" external to our experiences and responsibilities. It is us, all of us." Straw, J. *'Building social cohesion, order and inclusion in a market economy'* Paper presented to the Nexus Conference on Mapping Out the Third Way (1998, July)

<sup>2</sup> Rose describes New Labour's Third Way strategy as having been designed to "foster moral dialogue within and among diverse communities around a minimum set of core values shared by all." Rose, N. p9 'Community, Citizenship and the Third Way' in *Citizenship and Cultural Policy* Meredyth, D. & Minson, J. (eds.) (London: Sage Publications, 2001)

communities' function better when their members are prepared to not only live *with*, but also to live *for*, others. Proponents of New Mutualism therefore believed that whilst socialism and the language of class-based conflict had run their course, this fundamental tenet still held true in a post-industrial Britain.

It will be argued that links existed between Donald Dewar's political stance and elements of communitarian thought. Dewar was a Glasgow Labour MP and, as Scottish Secretary in Blair's cabinet, instrumental in creating the Scotland Act 1998. Having won a seat in the first Scottish Parliamentary Election in 1999, he then became First Minister of the Scottish Executive. Despite having held this position for only a short period,<sup>3</sup> his influence led him to be posthumously referred to by some as 'the father of the nation.'<sup>4</sup> He took inspiration, according to Brown, from his belief in the Scottish communitarian tradition<sup>5</sup> and used the term 'community' often, and in many different contexts.<sup>6</sup> This reflected Etzioni's thinking that it could be applied to anything from a tiny settlement to a confederation of nations and was a characteristic to be attributed to those who acted in commune with each other, rather than a description of a specific geographically located place.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Donald Dewar held the position of First Minister of the Scottish Executive from May 1999, when the parliament first convened, until his death in October 2000. MacAskill, E. 'Obituary for Donald Dewar' *The Guardian* 12 October 2000

<sup>4</sup> Hassan, G. & Warhurst, C. p213 'New Scotland? Policy, Parties and Institutions' in *The Political Quarterly* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001) Hassan and Warhurst explain that "For many people, although he disliked the term, Dewar became the 'father of the nation' for seeming both to drive the establishment of the Parliament and to stabilise its development in the first year."

<sup>5</sup> Brown, G p81 'As a Colleague' in *Donald Dewar: Scotland's first First Minister* Alexander, W. (Ed.) (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2005)

<sup>6</sup> Various speeches given by Dewar, which illustrate the variety of contexts within which he used the term 'community', are cited later in this chapter. They include: '*Speech by Donald Dewar MP, Secretary of State for Scotland, at the Labour Party Annual Conference*' 1997 and '*Speech by Donald Dewar MSP, First Minister, at the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative Conference*' Trinity College, Dublin; 30<sup>th</sup> September, 2000.

<sup>7</sup> Etzioni, A. p6 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)



This chapter will argue therefore, that the language of communitarianism was evident in the political narratives adopted by significant figures within the Labour Party in Westminster, and that the resultant policies relating to representation and strategy influenced political debate, which resulted in a 'communitarian turn' having become apparent in the political narrative adopted by the party in Scotland during this period.

### ***5.1 The Third Way and the influence of Etzioni***

Politicians are sometimes prone to express philosophical opinions without knowing necessarily which particular school of thought they were derived.<sup>8</sup> They may even have combined and articulated elements of more than one philosophical school of thought, in ways that could upset the proponents of each.<sup>9</sup> Political parties constantly shift their ideological positions; sometimes in a number of directions simultaneously. The Labour Party is no exception.<sup>10</sup> During the period under investigation the term 'community' was habitually used; either in a way which reflected the communitarian philosophy of one or more of the writers examined – or in the context of a more historical, but equally substantial,

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<sup>8</sup> Rancière goes so far as to suggest that politicians and philosophers actually speak a different language when he says that "The first encounter between politics and philosophy is that of an alternative; either the politics of the politicians or that of the philosophers." Rancière, J. *Dis-agreement: Politics and Philosophy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999)

<sup>9</sup> Randall argues that "The Labour Party is habitually considered the most ideologically inclined of all British political parties, and ideological struggle has been endemic within the party since its foundation." Randall, N. p8 'Understanding Labour's ideological trajectory' in *Interpreting the Labour Party: approaches to labour politics and history* Callaghan, J. Fielding, S. & Ludlam, S. (eds.) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003)

<sup>10</sup> The complex nature of Labour's ideological position, which would appear to be in a constant state of flux, is illustrated by this 'snap-shot' of the party during the early stages of New Labour. Here Meredith explains that "The emergence of New Labour represents neither a simple capitulation to, or accommodation of, neo-liberalism and a largely Thatcherite agenda, nor a largely new 'post-Thatcherite', modernised or Third Way social democracy, nor even the culmination of a constant, uniform revisionist tradition in the Labour Party. Rather, it could be interpreted (at least in part) as concomitant with certain themes and ideas that emerged in the complexity and divisions of the 'old' parliamentary Labour right in the 1970s." Meredith, S. p6 *Labours Old and New: The Parliamentary Right of the British Labour Party* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

appreciation of the central role that community has long held in the party's ideological thinking.<sup>11</sup> It follows therefore, that the two ideological strands should not be considered in isolation. Communitarian thought was clearly articulated by the party during the period of this research, but there is nothing to say that an appreciation of the importance of community might not have evolved anyway, regardless of whether or not communitarianism had been championed by its leader.<sup>12</sup>

The UK's political landscape changed during the last decades of the twentieth century. Many had grown tired of the collectivist model,<sup>13</sup> and not long thereafter, the individualistic alternative. This was acknowledged by Brown in 1998 when he spoke of the need "to reject failed dogmas and to modernise and reform" in order for Britain to "realise the potential of its people."<sup>14</sup> The collectivist model had become characterised by a Labour Party seen as trapped in an irrevocable cycle of taxation and profligacy, in order to sustain what some commentators regarded as an entrenched culture of welfare dependency.<sup>15</sup> The New Labour Chancellor was acutely aware of the lingering doubts that many still harboured regarding his

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<sup>11</sup> Blair, for example, described Labour's mission in terms which reflected Etzioni's communitarian vision; this being "to promote and reconcile the four values which are essential to a just society which maximises the freedom and potential of all our people - equal worth, opportunity for all, responsibility and community." Blair, T. p3 *The Third Way: New politics for a new century* (London: Fabian Society, 1998)

<sup>12</sup> Diamond, for example, identifies communitarianism as having been one of a number of "dynamic and emerging currents" those revisionists within the Labour Party in the 1970s believed should be incorporated into their vision of a "fundamental reinvention of the democratic model." Diamond, P. p14 *New Labour's Old Roots: Revisionist Thinkers in Labour's History 1931-1997* (Charlottesville, V.A.: Imprint Academic, 2004)

<sup>13</sup> Driver and Maxwell argue that by "the second half of the 1980s...many on the Left were coming round to the idea that the decline of the male industrial worker, the globalization of the economy and the collapse of communism challenged some of the basic tenets of socialist and social democratic politics." Driver, S. & Martell, L. p22 *New Labour: Politics after Thatcherism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998)

<sup>14</sup> Brown, G. p104 'Prudence will be our Watchword': Chancellor's Speech at the Mansion House, 1998 in Chadwick, A. Heffernan, R. (Ed.) *The New Labour Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

<sup>15</sup> Dwyer describes the welfare state at this time as having been "both outdated and likely to exacerbate passive welfare dependency." Dwyer, P. p4 'Creeping Conditionality in the UK: From Welfare Rights to Conditional Entitlements?' in *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* Vol. 29, No. 2, (Spring 2004) (Alberta: University of Alberta, 2004)

party's 'tax and spend' legacy; critics of the Left having argued that a sizable proportion of society had abnegated personal responsibility and in so doing increased the level of demand placed upon the welfare state. He used his 1998 Mansion House speech therefore, as a vehicle to make clear his government's new position by saying that "'prudence' will be our watchword."<sup>16</sup> At this time the Conservatives were characterised as promoting an individualistic model; one based on the premise that there was no longer any such thing as society.<sup>17</sup> But, as we shall discover, the increased prominence given to an individualistic approach such as this was of particular concern to Taylor.<sup>18</sup> A stark contrast between welfare state and neo-liberal individualism: 'nanny state' or 'nasty party', was therefore, on offer. Having been out of government for a substantial amount of time,<sup>19</sup> and having come to understand that this limited choice had resulted in the creation of an increasingly disillusioned and apathetic electorate, Labour became determined to find an electorally popular alternative. New Labour's Third Way consisted, according to Freedon, of four constituent parts, these being "community, accountability, responsibility and opportunity."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid* p102

<sup>17</sup> In 1987 Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was interviewed in 10 Downing Street. In the course of the interview she said of people who think that it is the Government's job to cope with their problems: "they are casting their problems on society and who is society? There is no such thing! There are individual men and women and there are families and no government can do anything except through people and people look to themselves first." Margaret Thatcher Foundation: Interview for *Woman's Own* ("no such thing as society") 1987 Sep 23

<sup>18</sup> Taylor, C. p41 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) Here Taylor warns that "the dark side of individualism is a centring on the self, which both flattens and narrows our lives, makes them poorer in meaning, and less concerned with others or society."

<sup>19</sup> This substantial length of time was, in fact, eighteen years. Shaw described it thus: "When Labour was vanquished by Mrs Thatcher in the election of 1979 not even the most pessimistic would have believed that the party would have to wander disconsolately for eighteen bleak years in the political wilderness and suffer three more crushing defeats before finally reaching the promised land in May 1997." Shaw, E. p112 'The Wilderness Years 1979-1994' in *The Labour Party: A Centenary History* Brivati, B. & Heffernan, R. (eds.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2000)

<sup>20</sup> Freedon, M. p44 'The Ideology of New Labour' in Chadwick, A. Heffernan, R. (Ed.) *The New Labour Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

He believed that each of these multi-faceted concepts had, over time, represented an infinite variety of different meanings; thus rendering the particular use of this combination developed by New Labour nothing "that hasn't already been given expression in other places, at other times."<sup>21</sup> But despite this, it was to Etzioni's particular interpretation of each that the party turned for inspiration.

### **Social order and autonomy**

Etzioni's conception of community centred on its use as a form of societal constraint; this to be applied primarily in order to imbue forms of moral behaviour which served to support traditional values, rather than the demands of the individual. He had less to say about accountability, other than his support of the classic liberal tenet which insisted that the rule of law could not be properly employed unless the principle of accountability was applied by local communities and national governments alike. Of much more concern to him, and to New Labour policy-makers, was the third concept: responsibility.<sup>22</sup> When comparing responsibilities with rights, Etzioni considered the latter to be "individual claims that are fundamentally confrontational and egoistic"<sup>23</sup>; often placing onerous burdens on society, and sometimes undermining a community's fundamental ethical principles. But, whilst having argued that "the pendulum has swung too far toward the radical individualistic pole and it is

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid* p44 Freeden argues that "Each of these concepts rotates around a full axis of different meanings, but no matter where that rotation is halted, the fourfold combination does not signal a *new* Way, or a *new* ideology.

<sup>22</sup> Dwyer confirms this by stating that "A widely recognised central tenet of New Labour's 'Third Way' is no rights without responsibilities." Dwyer, P. p1 'Creeping Conditionality in the UK: From Welfare Rights to Conditional Entitlements?' in *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* Vol. 29, No. 2, (Spring 2004) (Alberta: University of Alberta, 2004)

<sup>23</sup> Freeden talks of Etzioni's belief that such 'claims' can be "burdensome to society, especially when they threaten the values cherished by a community." Freeden, M. p45 'The Ideology of New Labour' in Chadwick, A. Heffernan, R. (Ed.) *The New Labour Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

time to hurry its return"<sup>24</sup>, he did not advocate the opposite extreme where strong support for community came at the expense of individuality. The trick for him was to find the right balance; one that he felt was currently skewed. To this end he sought to counter the claim made by some that the concept of communitarianism rested largely on the principle of social order; instead, he stressed that "the paradigm built around it, entails a combination of social order and autonomy."<sup>25</sup> The former, he argued, held back the threat of anarchy; whilst the latter ensured that communities didn't evolve into little more than autocratic townships. Not everyone agreed with this possibly over-simplistic analysis. Prideaux, for example, thought it "not a true representation of social reality", this because it encouraged "the use of linear polarisations to explain the intricacies of society."<sup>26</sup> But this was perhaps to misunderstand Etzioni's position. Whilst he did use examples which represented polar opposites in order to make his point, his ultimate goal was more far reaching. He suggested "a redrawing of the intellectual-political map"; this because of his belief that "communitarian thinking leapfrogs the old debate."<sup>27</sup> It was his contention that whereas the 'old map', as he put it, centred on "the authority of the state versus that of the individual" – the contemporary counterpart focussed instead upon "the relationship between the individual and the *community*, and between freedom and order."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Etzioni, A. p26 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

<sup>25</sup> Etzioni, A. pxix *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)

<sup>26</sup> Prideaux, S. p45 *Not So New Labour: A sociological critique of New Labour's policy and practice* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005)

<sup>27</sup> Etzioni, A. p7 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996) Etzioni proposes an end to the "old debate between left-wing and right-wing thinking and suggests a third social philosophy" instead.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid* p7

## **Upholding the social fabric**

As far as the concept of responsibility was concerned, Etzioni believed it to be up to each individual to play their part in upholding the social fabric of the community to which they belonged. It was his contention, according to Freeden, that communities were the “repositories of a shared moral language and practices.”<sup>29</sup> But what Freeden found a little disconcerting about Etzioni’s position was his use of the singular when describing a community’s moral voice. He noted Etzioni’s preference towards the family and school as useful “transmitters of correct conduct”, as a result of their “shared spaces, causes and futures.”<sup>30</sup> With regard to New Labour policy, this thinking was echoed in its approach to influencing behaviour on issues such as parental responsibility over their children’s behaviour and social responsibility concerning misuse of the welfare system. The party gave the impression that it had identified one particularly appropriate “moral universe” capable of “transcending the diverse communities of which society is formed.”<sup>31</sup> It may have considered this somewhat patronising approach useful nevertheless, in helping to deal with two challenges, these being: the impact of excessive forms of individualism and the need for a reduction in the demands made upon the welfare state. Blair, in a speech in 2000, stated that “you can’t build a community on opportunities or rights alone. They need to be matched by responsibility and duty.”<sup>32</sup> What the party may have failed to recognise however, was the more complex view, offered by MacIntyre, that individuals formed part of a continuously changing narrative – one in which they were defined by the relationship they

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<sup>29</sup> Freeden, M. p45 ‘The Ideology of New Labour’ in Chadwick, A. Heffernan, R. (Ed.) *The New Labour Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid* p45 Freeden makes the rather pointed remark here that Etzioni’s “moral voice of the community” is “notably couched in the singular.”

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid* p45 This epitomised, according to Freeden, “the reassuring paternalism of Britain’s new leadership: Trust us! We know what is good for you.”

<sup>32</sup> Blair, T. p7 *Values and the Power of Community* Speech by the Prime Minister to the Global Ethics Foundation, Tübingen University, Germany, 30 June 2000

created with others when in pursuance of a common objective. But whilst a state may have been instrumental in establishing that common objective, it may later have found that it held far less control over any subsequent narrative. Such was the “predicament of moral modernity”<sup>33</sup> as MacIntyre put it, wherein people found themselves conflicted between the self’s individual desires and those responsibilities imposed upon them by society.

### **Moral responsibility**

Etzioni’s position regarding opportunity offers something of a logical progression from what he had to say about responsibility. For him opportunity was an important element of social justice and not something automatically granted. He believed individuals had “a moral responsibility to help themselves as best they can”<sup>34</sup> and that this applied to those within all sectors of society.<sup>35</sup> He did not hold with the view that some people, such as those within the more disadvantaged groups, were somehow owed something by the better off. Instead, he argued that everyone should be encouraged to become pro-active in shaping their own lives, and not simply adopt a passive form of victimhood in which the state, or others, provided for their welfare. He recognised the conservative nature of this position and of the premise that there was “something deeply degrading about being dependent on others.”<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> MacIntyre, A. pviii *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007) MacIntyre offers a most sobering thought here on the predicament of moral modernity, when he suggests that “the culture of moral modernity lacks the resources to proceed further with its own enquiries, so that sterility and frustration are bound to afflict those unable to extricate themselves from those predicaments.”

<sup>34</sup> Etzioni, A. p144 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

<sup>35</sup> Etzioni argues that “Responsibilities from all means that a good person, a member of a good society, contributes to the common good. No one is exempt, although of course people will vary greatly in the contribution they can make.” Etzioni, A. p30 *The Third Way to a Good Society* (London: Demos, 2000)

<sup>36</sup> Etzioni, A. p144 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993) Etzioni then states that “It is respectful of human dignity to encourage people to control their fate the best they can – under the circumstances.”

But he did nevertheless, contend that human dignity was best served when all were encouraged to shape their own futures as best they can, and not rely on the state or others to do it for them. Ultimately, he believed, communities were more prepared to help those who, prior to falling into difficulty, had been prepared to help themselves. This also reflected the values of Labour's post WWII welfare programme. Here, all were expected to work and contribute to a national insurance scheme – safe in the knowledge that, if and when required, welfare would be given.<sup>37</sup> The difficulty for Labour fifty years later was the perception, held by some, of a temporary safety net having been replaced by the permanence of welfare dependency.<sup>38</sup> Etzioni therefore, offered New Labour an alternative approach to social justice; one it thought capable of generating a sense of solidarity among the electorate, whilst also appealing to a sense of responsibility.<sup>39</sup> Thus, Labour could abandon its ideological commitment to socialism, while continuing to maintain a welfare state, albeit with the intention of reducing the level of long-term dependency placed upon it.

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<sup>37</sup> Powel describes the British Welfare State as having been designed to "deliver a 'National Minimum' by means of the centrepiece of a social insurance plan, underpinned by means tested social assistance and supplemented by a superstructure of voluntary insurance." He further claims (citing, amongst others, the Commission on Social Justice, 1994) that "It is generally agreed that the British welfare state has failed to keep pace with half a century of economic and social changes." Powell, M. p1-2 'Introduction' in *New Labour, New Welfare State? The 'third way' in British social policy* Powell, M. (ed.) (Bristol: The Policy Press, 1999)

<sup>38</sup> Peck and Theodore describe a type of analysis of US 'welfare dependency' which, they argue, strongly "inflected" the UK Labour Government's 'rights and responsibilities approach.' This is an approach "in which the ostensibly dysfunctional lifestyles and malformed work ethics of the poor are cited as the fundamental policy problem." Peck, J. & Theodore, N. p429 'Exporting workfare/importing welfare-to-work: exploring the politics of Third Way policy transfer' in *Political Geography* Vol. 20 Issue 4, May 2001 (Oxford: Pergamon, 2001)

<sup>39</sup> Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown, during Labour's first term (1997-2001) formulated a number of strategic goals, one of which involved helping "more people from welfare-to-work...and developing a framework of rights and responsibilities." Walker, R. & Wiseman, M. p6 'Making welfare work: UK activation policies under *New Labour*' in *International Social Security Review* Vol. 58, Issue 1, 2003 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2003)



Its intention now, as Blair stated in a speech in 1999, was to give a "hand-up, not a hand-out."<sup>40</sup>

Etzioni accepted that there were times in a nation's history when circumstances militated against some communities, and that these communities, through no fault of their own, may not have been able to cope unaided. In such circumstances he believed that aid should be given, saying that "societies (which are nothing but communities of communities) must help those communities whose ability to help their members is severely limited."<sup>41</sup> He was not therefore (and nor was New Labour) advocating some excessive form of individualism wherein individuals held only a moral responsibility to create the best opportunities for themselves; rather, he believed that "we start with our responsibility to ourselves and to members of our community; we expand the reach of our moral claims and duties from there."<sup>42</sup> Consequently, according to Etzioni, just as individuals should be expected to take responsibility for, and create opportunities in, their own lives; so too should they be conscious of the various levels of community to which they belong. When this is understood and acted upon then, he believes, the human dignity of all is better guaranteed.

## **5.2 Blair and the influence of Macmurray**

Tony Blair claimed to have been greatly influenced by the Scottish communitarian thinker John Macmurray. He considered the philosopher's conception of the ideal

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<sup>40</sup> Blair, T. Speech given at Toynbee Hall in the East End of London (Thursday 18 March 1999) In this speech, where the Prime Minister pledged to end poverty in the UK in twenty years, Tony Blair promised that a "modern popular welfare state" would "be active, not passive, genuinely providing people with a hand-up, not a hand-out."

<sup>41</sup> Etzioni, A. p146 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid* p147 In this respect Etzioni argues that "Communitarians must concern themselves with the danger that a community may become self-centred and turn against others." He goes on to say that "Such errant communities undermine the bonds that tie various communities into more encompassing supracommunities."

relationship between the individual and the state particularly convincing; based as it was on principles of action and community.<sup>43</sup> Blair found Macmurray's analysis of the importance of the concept of community in Christian teaching, and the resultant emphasis on social commitment, compelling.<sup>44</sup> Bell advanced a similar notion, claiming that Judaeo-Christian compassion, rather than ideals of normative self-determination, should be worthy of consideration when reflecting the values and motivations of man. This he described as "Christian benevolence, an ideal grounded in God's love for human beings."<sup>45</sup> This helps illustrate the influence that Christian doctrine is said to have had on Macmurray's, and later Blair's, ideological position. It should however be noted that the communitarian school of thought more generally does not represent a restatement of Christian morality. Whilst Taylor and MacIntyre are also Christians, neither became occupied in projects, the purpose of which was to advocate the virtues of Christianity over those of the secular world. Etzioni summed-up the communitarian position on religion - saying that "In short, being religious does not guarantee virtue."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Blair was introduced to the ideas of John Macmurray whilst an undergraduate at Oxford. There he was influenced by his friend Peter Thomson who spoke enthusiastically about Macmurray's conviction that "individuals can only be understood in terms of their relationships to others." This, according to Radice, attracted Blair because Macmurray's ideas "seemed to him to bring together the Christian concept of duty to others with left-of-centre politics and thus provide him with a working set of beliefs to underpin his life and provide a rationale for social action." Radice, G. p10 *Trio: Inside the Blair, Brown, Mandelson Project* (London: I. B. Taurus Publishers, 2010)

<sup>44</sup> Bevir, M. p70 *New Labour a critique* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005)

<sup>45</sup> Bell, D. p43 *Communitarianism and its Critics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) Using the dialogue form, Bell's communitarian protagonist tries to convince a sceptic that many judgements already made in society are informed by the ideal of Christian benevolence.

<sup>46</sup> Etzioni, A. p254 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996) Etzioni cites Robert Wuthnow's 1992 investigation of religion and secular behaviour, which concluded that "in many areas there is little behavioural difference between weekly churchgoers and the population at large."

## Embedded communities

Like other communitarian philosophers, Macmurray formulated an alternative discourse to that which dominated much political thought during the twentieth century. This saw the left/right debate give way to a new narrative, the primary concern of which was social justice; and it was this alternative discourse that Blair used when presenting his 'third way' for British society.<sup>47</sup>

Blair was born and lived in Edinburgh for the first year of his life. He later studied at Fettes College for five years and is said to have returned to Edinburgh<sup>48</sup> in 1974, in order to make "his youthful pilgrimage to meet the philosopher."<sup>49</sup> Despite getting as far as his house he didn't go in; perhaps "this was in deference to Macmurray's frailty."<sup>50</sup> Blair's friend and political mentor Peter Thomson, who did go in, recalled that Macmurray had been "deemed too frail to see more than one person."<sup>51</sup> Twenty years later Blair gained leadership of the Labour Party and was credited with, as Hale put it, renewing the momentum of a "modernisation process begun by Neil Kinnock."<sup>52</sup> This process may however, have had more to do with ideological realignment than the term 'modernisation process' tends to suggest. In that same year Blair said unequivocally that "If you want to understand what I'm

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<sup>47</sup> Giddens, in support of this new narrative, argued that "Third way politics should preserve a core concern with social justice, while accepting that the range of questions which escape the left/right divide is greater than before." Giddens, A. p39 'The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy' in *The New Labour Reader* Chadwick, A. & Heffernan, R. (eds.) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

<sup>48</sup> Blair was born in Edinburgh in 1953. He attended Fettes College in Edinburgh from 1966 until 1971. Temple, M. p13 *Blair* (London: Haus Publishing Limited, 2006)

<sup>49</sup> Bevir, M. (with O'Brien, D.) p28 *From Idealism to Communitarianism: The Inheritance and Legacy of John Macmurray* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003)

<sup>50</sup> Hale, S. p82 *Blair's Community: Communitarian thought and New Labour* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006) Macmurray died in 1976.

<sup>51</sup> Seldon, A. p33 *Blair* (London: The Free Press, 2004)

<sup>52</sup> Hale, S. p3 *Blair's Community: Communitarian thought and New Labour* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006) Macmurray died in 1976.

all about you have to take a look at a guy called John Macmurray. It's all there."<sup>53</sup> Thirteen years later he explained that, as a result of reading Macmurray, he had "developed a theory about the basis of socialism being about 'community'"<sup>54</sup> This theory held that individuals were in collective indebtedness to each other; we were embedded within - not unencumbered from, our communities. Blair's intention was to recover Labour's "true values from the jumble of ideological baggage that was piled on top of them."<sup>55</sup> It is interesting to note however, his continued use of the word 'socialism', perhaps in order to maintain the loyalty of more traditional Labour supporters.

### **Sharing a common life**

During Blair's formative years he came to understand that "religion starts with values that are born of a view of humankind" and that "politics starts with an examination of society and the means of changing it."<sup>56</sup> The former may be considered the *ethical*, and the latter the *pragmatic*, elements of his theory. Somewhat confusingly however, he also spoke of politics being about *values* and religion frequently being about *changing society*. This turnaround, he rationalised by explaining that "you start from a different place."<sup>57</sup> Few would argue against the notion that politics *and* religion normally have a stake in the values of, and changes within, a society. It does nevertheless seem perverse to have attempted to separate them out, simply in order to join them back up again. If anything, he was

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<sup>53</sup> Bevir, M. (with O'Brien, D.) p28 *From Idealism to Communitarianism: The Inheritance and Legacy of John Macmurray* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003) quoting from: T. Blair, *Scotland on Sunday*, 24 July 1994.

<sup>54</sup> Blair, T p79 *A Journey* (London: Hutchinson, 2010) People, according to Blair, "owed obligations to each other and were social beings, not only individuals out for themselves.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid* p79 These 'true values', Blair explains, were derived from his reading of books given to him, such as *Reason and Emotion* and *Conditions of Freedom* by John Macmurray.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid* p79 Here Blair confirms his belief that "life has to be lived for a purpose" and that, whilst religion and politics were not separated "the world is different if religion comes first."

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid* p79 This, Blair explains, "is vital in understanding my politics. I begin with an analysis of human beings as my compass; the politics is secondary."

demonstrating what Macmurray had said in *Conditions of Freedom*: this being that one can encounter difficulties when attempting to answer questions of a political nature because of the “indefiniteness and ambiguity of the language at our disposal.”<sup>58</sup> Macmurray had offered an alternative division – one in which the differences were so “radically distinct” that he considered any confusion as to their principles to have been capable of engendering “dangerous consequences.”<sup>59</sup> For him the human condition was intrinsically social. The type of human association formed however, rested on ‘principles of unity.’ These were not Blair’s *politics* and *religion* – rather, they were *society* and *community*. For Macmurray, a society existed when all within it were “united in the service of a common purpose.”<sup>60</sup> A community existed when all united “in sharing a common life.”<sup>61</sup> The former may be considered more transient in that, if the purpose for which a society existed no longer needed to be achieved, then that society also need no longer exist. The latter accepts its members as persons who share in the life of a community – not as functionaries, each playing their part in the achievement of some political or economic goal.

### **A feeling of alienation**

Despite being born and educated in Edinburgh, Blair seems not to have regarded his homeland as something to which he felt any attachment. In one of the few references his autobiography made to Scotland, he went so far as to say that “they (notice the ‘they’)

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<sup>58</sup> Macmurray, J. p35 *Conditions of Freedom* (1949) (New York: Humanity Books, 1993) Macmurray gives as an example of such ambiguity the term ‘society’, which he describes as “any form of human association which is more or less permanent.”

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid* p35 Macmurray considered these consequences to be dangerous “not in theory merely but also in practice.”

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid* p35 This position reflects Blair’s existential conviction that “life has to be lived for a purpose.” Blair, T p79 *A Journey* (London: Hutchinson, 2010)

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid* p35 Whilst Macmurray stated that “The two principles of unity, clearly, do not exclude one another” and that “A society may also be community”, he also pointed out that “this is not necessarily so; and even where both principles are effective in the same group, they may be effective in very different degrees. But the principles themselves are radically distinct.”

contrived to make me feel alien.”<sup>62</sup> Given that he drew attention to his use of the word ‘they’, one can perhaps deduce that any plans he had for Scotland were more likely formed for the benefit of the whole of the UK, and not out of any home grown communitarian sentiment for his place of birth.<sup>63</sup> This political leader, who believed that the basis of socialism was about community, and who led a party intent on delivering devolved power to Scotland, did not in fact demonstrate a particular commitment to any of the three. The party’s socialist agenda had been all but swept away to make way for the new third way agenda; any commitment to community may have been based on intellectual argument, rather than emotionally driven, and as far as devolution was concerned, he was less than sanguine. He professed never to have been a ‘passionate devolutionist’ - thinking it a hazardous route to take, and one where nationalism could easily lead to separation.<sup>64</sup> Craig described Blair’s scepticism of devolution, saying that he had “worried about the lack of proper political mandate”<sup>65</sup> and thus, pushed for a referendum to settle the matter. His rationale for supporting devolution seemed to have been based on the inevitability of it coming about sooner or later anyway.<sup>66</sup> This was, in effect, a grudging acceptance of

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<sup>62</sup> Blair, T p251 *A Journey* (London: Hutchinson, 2010) Blair blamed his feelings of alienation on what he called “nationalist sentiment unleashed.” Here he explained that “I always thought it extraordinary: I was born in Scotland, my parents were raised there, we had lived there, I had been to school there, yet somehow – and this is the problem with nationalist sentiment unleashed – they (notice the ‘they’) contrived to make me feel alien.”

<sup>63</sup> It is of interest to note however, that on a visit to Scotland during the campaign for the 2007 Holyrood election, Blair made this rather nostalgic observation: “I even got to visit the street in the Govan district of Glasgow where my dad used to live. It was odd to think of him in that poor part of the city all those years ago, collecting his lemonade bottles for cinema money, living in a corporation tenement, a wee Glasgow laddie whose son would one day become prime minister.” Blair, T p651 *A Journey* (London: Hutchinson, 2010)

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid* p251 Blair explained that he “was never a passionate devolutionist. It is a dangerous game to play. You can never be sure where nationalist sentiment ends and separatist sentiment begins.”

<sup>65</sup> Craig, C. p99 ‘His Finest Hour’ in *Donald Dewar: Scotland’s first First Minister* Alexander, W. (Ed.) (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2005)

<sup>66</sup> Blair, T p251 *A Journey* (London: Hutchinson, 2010) Blair reasoned that “Just as the nation state was having to combine with others in pushing power upwards in multinational organisations

Taylor's politics of recognition; an acceptance that there was now a requirement for a finely balanced approach; one capable of reconciling the politics of difference, with the difference-blind politics of equal dignity. A balance was going to have to be struck between universalism and difference. As far as the former was concerned, Blair wished Scotland to remain an integral part of the union. He knew therefore, that it would have to be treated as being of equal worth to the rest of the UK. Regarding the latter, he understood that change was afoot, and that the feelings of difference being expressed within Scotland were going to have to be addressed. But for Blair, any acknowledgement of equal worth for Scotland was of less importance than the constitutional safeguard he relied upon when stating that "whatever powers Westminster bestowed, it could usurp."<sup>67</sup>

### **An ideology reassembled**

In 1995, the revised Clause IV of the Labour Party's constitution signalled an ideological shift. The time-honoured left-wing focus on the need for 'common ownership of the means of production' was replaced by an appeal to the principles of 'common endeavour.' The new version showed the importance now attached to "community, rights and duties."<sup>68</sup> Such language reflects Taylor's vision of a communitarian society; one driven by the need to act in accordance with its own understanding of what constitutes the

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to meet global challenges, so there would be inexorable pressure to develop power downwards to where people felt greater connection."

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid* p251

<sup>68</sup> Hale, S. p30-31 *Blair's Community: Communitarian thought and New Labour* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

common good.<sup>69</sup> This shift was described by Freeden as “an ideology reassembled”,<sup>70</sup> whereby the communitarianism of Blair signified “the recognition of the duties individuals owe to one another and to society, as well as a view of collective power whose aim is the pursuit of the good and interests of individuals.”<sup>71</sup> Driver and Martell described the state’s function in all of this as being to “give structure and meaning to people’s lives” and “to promote ‘the community’ as a way of enriching individual lives.”<sup>72</sup> Blair himself said that “a society which is fragmented and divided, where people feel no sense of shared purpose, is unlikely to produce well-adjusted and responsible citizens.”<sup>73</sup>

Not everyone was convinced that New Labour’s ideology did in any significant way reflect the communitarian ideals espoused by some of its leading exponents. Hale described it as being “the myth of New Labour’s communitarianism.”<sup>74</sup> Seldon was equally dismissive, arguing that “the ultimate quality of Macmurray’s thinking is irrelevant, as is whether...Blair made a correct reading of it.”<sup>75</sup> The inclusion of the word *duty* within the revised Clause IV serves to exemplify Seldon’s point. Macmurray’s position on the concept of duty was that

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<sup>69</sup>Taylor, C. p119-120 ‘Cultures of Democracy and Citizen Efficacy’ in *Political Culture* 19:1 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007) What constitutes the common good within a society, according to Taylor, may be identified via what he calls the “social imaginary.” It is this which “incorporates a sense of the normal expectations that we have of each other, the kind of common understanding that enables us to carry out the collective practices that make up our social life.”

<sup>70</sup> Freeden, M. p48 ‘The Ideology of New Labour’ in Chadwick, A. Heffernan, R. (ed.) *The New Labour Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid* p47 Freeden likens this to a “formulation familiar to the new liberals a century ago” and also considers it linked to other ‘core concepts’ such as “social justice, cohesion, the equal worth of each citizen, equality.”

<sup>72</sup> Driver, S. & Martell, L. p149 ‘Left, Right and the third way’ in *Policy & Politics* Vol. 28, No. 2, 2000 (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2000)

<sup>73</sup> Blair, T. Speech on ‘*The rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe*’ (London: *Spectator* Lecture, 1995)

<sup>74</sup> Hale, S. p3 *Blair’s Community: Communitarian thought and New Labour* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

<sup>75</sup> Seldon, A. p32 *Blair* (London: The Free Press, 2004) With regard to Blair’s espousal of communitarian values, he later confessed that “I didn’t work these things out very clearly at the time.” Blair, T. ‘Interview’ *Daily Mail* 27.01.96



"the state is not an end in itself which the person serves but rather the state is a servant of the persons who put it in place and who make up its citizenry."<sup>76</sup> To act out of a sense of duty would be therefore to adopt a position of servitude in relation to the state. Macmurray did not discount the importance of duty; rather he indicated that it should be seen as a "subordinate dimension in genuine love and affection."<sup>77</sup> The question was "If our duty is to be servants, how can we be free?"<sup>78</sup> By 1996 this incongruity had been identified by the Press, who began to enquire of Peter Thomson whether he thought that Macmurray would have considered Blair to have "sold out."<sup>79</sup> But despite Thomson's difficulty in dealing with such claims, communitarian values were apparent in what Blair was trying to achieve.<sup>80</sup> The idea that what was being promoted in the name of New Labour constituted little more than a communitarian myth, may have been an unwarranted charge. Blair's assertion that collective power should be deployed in order that people could serve with common endeavour in the pursuit of the good and interests of individuals, for example, was in line with Taylor's view that, rather than individuals simply reacting to the vagaries of personal preference, the community of which they are a part should instead offer moral criteria against which such preferences may be judged.<sup>81</sup> In so doing, those preferences which contribute more to a community's common good then become considered of greater worth.

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<sup>76</sup> Costello, J. E. p159 *John Macmurray: A Biography* (Edinburgh: Floris Books, 2002) Here Costello analyses the contents of a speech entitled *The Unity of Modern Problems*, given in 1928 as his inaugural address in recognition of his appointment as Grote Professor at University College.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid* p159

<sup>78</sup> Macmurray, J. p202 *Freedom in the Modern World* (1932) (London: Faber and Faber, 1945)

<sup>79</sup> Seldon, A. p43 *Blair* (London: The Free Press, 2004) Thomson's inability to deal effectively with the press was described by Seldon in terms of him being "not well versed in such manoeuvring." The question as to whether Blair had 'sold out' was put to Thomson in an interview by Ian Hargreaves for *New Statesman* 31.05.96

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid* p43 Thomson was, according to Seldon, "on occasion put in an awkward position"... "not least from journalists, who kept probing him" on the soundness of Blair's communitarian position.

<sup>81</sup> Adherence to the vagaries of personal preference is an aspect of what Taylor calls "the contemporary culture of authenticity." This, he explains, "encourages a purely personal understanding of self-fulfilment, thus making the various associations and communities in

## The bond of unity

Blair, perhaps surprisingly, cited Hobbes as an important influence in the shaping of his policies.<sup>82</sup> In a speech given in 2006 he spoke of Hobbes addressing “the central question of political theory: how do we ensure order?”<sup>83</sup> There is a link between Hobbes’ assertion that without a “common power” to safeguard order “every man is enemy to every man”<sup>84</sup> and the more recent, and almost as troubling, claims made respectively by Taylor and MacIntyre, that we find ourselves in the grip of a “malaise of modernity”<sup>85</sup> and therefore, victims of the “predicament of moral modernity.”<sup>86</sup> Then, as now, it has been suggested that there exists a moral vacuum; at the centre of which is an ongoing conflict between the self’s individual desires and those responsibilities imposed upon him by society. By asking how we can ensure order, Blair was responding to a dilemma that has occupied the minds of communitarian thinkers for some time.

Macmurray did not dismiss Hobbes’ position out of hand; believing that he had fallen victim to consistent misrepresentation in the modern age. He understood Hobbes’ perspective on the nature of his fellow man to have been that “these aggressively egocentric individuals are rational beings”<sup>87</sup> and that the danger to each other likely to ensue as a

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which a person enters purely instrumental in their significance.” Taylor, C. p45 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>82</sup> This is surprising because central to Hobbes’ thesis was the “argument for the institution of an absolute sovereign.” Hampton, J. p1 *Hobbes and the Social Contract Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

<sup>83</sup> Baggini, J. ‘Blair’s philosophy’ *The Guardian* 12 January 2006

<sup>84</sup> Hobbes, T. p84 *Leviathan* (1651) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) Here Hobbes issues his famous warning that the life of an individual under conditions, where no absolute sovereign existed to “keep them all in awe” would be “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.”

<sup>85</sup> Taylor, C. p1 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) Taylor

<sup>86</sup> MacIntyre, A. pviii *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>87</sup> Macmurray, J. p134 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of The Form of the Personal* (1961) (London: Faber and Faber, 1995) Macmurray believes Hobbes’ position concerning the human

result of such mutual aggression would only ever be countered by the rational acceptance of an all-powerful protective state. Macmurray thought this understanding of the human condition to be “completely negative and egocentric.”<sup>88</sup> He argued that if these natural (almost animalistic) tendencies were so pronounced within a society, then the bonds of unity required to create and sustain any form of state would render the task impossible. The fact that “man’s animal nature provides already a bond of unity between man and man” was for Macmurray sufficient “to refute Hobbesism.”<sup>89</sup> Taylor also expressed concern over the egocentric and atomistic discourse inherent in much of the liberal philosophical tradition which, he said, could be traced back to Hobbes. Just as with utilitarianism and welfarism, Taylor believed that at the core of liberal thought lay a conviction that an individual’s value judgements “should not concern themselves, as some other modes of ethical thinking do, with the intrinsic moral quality of acts”<sup>90</sup> – the cumulative effect of all actions was what counted. Thus, the happiness achieved by all individuals would in turn provide society as a whole with a greater level of happiness. By citing Hobbes as an important influence therefore, Blair was perhaps endorsing a belief in what Taylor disparagingly called the ‘decomposability’ of goods; a belief that individual and collective goods were one and the same.<sup>91</sup> If this liberal principle played a part in informing New Labour’s understanding of what the consequences of common endeavour should be therefore, it offered something markedly different to what Taylor thought most important. For him the “principle of

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condition to be one in which “the persons who compose society are, by nature, isolated units, afraid of one another, and continuously on the defensive.”

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid* p138 Macmurray draws on the argument historically used in order to discredit Hobbes’ position; this being that “benevolence is as natural to man as self-love.”

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid* p138 Macmurray makes the point here that “even the behaviour of animals cannot be explained by reference to mere individual self-preservation.” He goes on to note “a tendency to behaviour which promotes the welfare of the species.”

<sup>90</sup> Taylor, C. p127 *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995)

<sup>91</sup> Rehg, W. p8 ‘Solidarity and the Common Good: An Analytical Framework’ in *Journal of Social Philosophy* Vol. 36, No. 1, Spring 2007 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007)

belonging and obligation"<sup>92</sup> - which had been long undermined - held out the prospect of a man being capable of developing a much less egocentric relationship with his fellow man, and as a result of this, with the state itself. Further to this, Bevir contended that New Labour's "concept of an enabling state clearly evokes a more individualistic vision of community than that voiced by earlier ethical socialists."<sup>93</sup> His characterization of a party (one of the primary objectives of which was the state empowerment of individuals) appears to have been at odds with that envisaged by Blair, when he said that "we are what we are, in part, because of (each) other."<sup>94</sup> This statement reflected the views of both Etzioni and MacIntyre. The former, summarizing the essence of self from a communitarian perspective, said simply that "the me needs the we to be."<sup>95</sup> The latter provided a similar but more polished explanation, saying that "virtues are those goods by reference to which, whether we like it or not, we define our relationships to other people with whom we share the kind of purposes and standards which inform our practices."<sup>96</sup> But statements such as these, which clearly reflect the benign nature of much communitarian thought, were never going to be satisfactorily reconciled with the patently aggressive egocentricity central to Hobbes' thesis. It was for such reasons that, when attempting to define the ideology of New Labour, some academics found it "hard to find any consensus as to 'what it is.'"<sup>97</sup> Blair later gave credence to this scepticism by saying that he "had set out an outline programme of

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<sup>92</sup> Taylor, C. p188 *Philosophy and the Human Sciences: Philosophy Papers 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

<sup>93</sup> Bevir, M. (with O'Brien, D.) p30 *From Idealism to Communitarianism: The Inheritance and Legacy of John Macmurray* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003)

<sup>94</sup> Valley, P. 'Does God vote Labour or Tory?' *New Statesman* 27 November 1998

<sup>95</sup> Etzioni, A. p166 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)

<sup>96</sup> MacIntyre, A. p191 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>97</sup> Kim, B. Y. p29 *The Role of Political Ideology in the Policy Development of Personal Social Services from 1960s to 2000s Britain*. (University of York, Department of Social Policy and Social Work: Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 2008)

sufficient substance to be credible but lacking in the details that would have allowed our opponents to damn it."<sup>98</sup>

## **Social inclusion**

In a sense, the answer as to 'what it is' was resolved by the party's representation of its new ideology as a 'third way'; an ideology defined as much by descriptions of "what it is not" as by those of "what it is."<sup>99</sup> Norris identified the main elements of what she labelled the "so-called 'third way'" by quoting from a 1998 Fabian Pamphlet, in which Blair spoke of "a modernized social democracy, passionate in its commitment to social justice and the goals of the centre left, but flexible, innovative and forward looking in the means to achieve them."<sup>100</sup> It was to be thought of as something transcending the conventional left/right axis and not therefore particularly suited to analysis on that basis. Driver and Martell described it rather disdainfully as having been "one of a number of attempts by Labour modernisers to find a synthetic term or language to capture New Labour politics."<sup>101</sup> This supposedly synthetic language promoted the concept of a 'stakeholder society' within which the state would aspire to achieve 'social inclusion' for all, and overarching this would be an "emphasis placed on 'community'"<sup>102</sup> Use of the term 'stakeholder society' is reminiscent of the

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<sup>98</sup> Blair, T p2 *A Journey* (London: Hutchinson, 2010)

<sup>99</sup> Kim, B. Y. p29 *The Role of Political Ideology in the Policy Development of Personal Social Services from 1960s to 2000s Britain* (University of York, Department of Social Policy and Social Work: Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 2008) Quoting from Driver & Martell 2000

<sup>100</sup> Norris, P. p1 *New Labour and Public Opinion: The Third Way as Centrism?* (Harvard University: John F. Kennedy School of Government, 1997) Quoting from: Blair, T. *The Third Way: New Politics for the New Century*. Fabian Pamphlet 588. London: Fabian Society.

<sup>101</sup> Driver, S. & Martell, L. p148 'Left, Right and the third way' in *Policy & Politics* Vol. 28, No. 2, 2000 (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2000) Driver and Martell argue that "The idea of a third way is attractive to Labour modernisers because it appears to challenge conventional notions of a political left and right – and thus reinforces the 'newness' of New Labour."

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid* p149 Party modernisers felt able to take up the 'third way' agenda as it was based on the argument that it offered "a communitarian rather than individualist view of society in which individuals are embedded in social relations which give structure and meaning to people's

language used by the Conservative Government under Margaret Thatcher where, as an integral part of the programme of de-nationalisation of the UK's utility services, people who ordinarily would not have bought shares (a stake) in the ownership of British Industry, were encouraged so to do; they were encouraged to become included.<sup>103</sup> In the context of New Labour's impetus to include rather than exclude however, what it proposed clearly reflected a crucial aspect of communitarian thought; this being the principle that an individual's position within a community was of vital importance, and that a fraternal and shared role such as this should never be underestimated.

Blair made clear that it would not be to New Labour's benefit to revisit the struggles of old. In a speech in 1997 he said it had instead to find a way of "marrying together an open, competitive and successful economy with a just, decent and humane society."<sup>104</sup> This however, created a problem for those within the party who had, as a result of this reassembled ideology, become identified as 'Old Labour.' For them the use of the term 'competitive' still pointed towards an economic system that gave rise to inequity within a society. It followed that such a system would be unlikely, in their eyes, to provide the justice, decency and humanity promised by their New Labour counterparts. Whereas the 'Old Left' was now marked by a discredited credo stating that it was acceptable "to grant rights but not to demand responsibilities"<sup>105</sup> – the new third way promoted a notion of duty,

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lives – and that it is the role of governments to promote the community as a way of enriching individual lives."

<sup>103</sup> Norpoth, H. p10 *Confidence Regained: Economics, Mrs. Thatcher, and the British voter* (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1992) Norpoth describes this 'key reform' of the Thatcher administration in terms of "The privatization of state-owned industries to reverse decades of nationalization undertaken by Labour governments with the acquiescence of the Conservatives."

<sup>104</sup> Blair, T. Speech to the European Socialists' Congress (Sweden: Malmö, 1997)

<sup>105</sup> Driver, S. & Martell, L. p149 *Left, Right and the third way* (The Policy Press: Policy & Politics vol 28 no 2, 2000) Here Labour 'modernisers' are described as having accused this 'Old Left' "of being too statist; too concerned with the redistribution (and tax-and-spend policies) and not the creation of wealth; too willing to grant rights but not to demand responsibilities; and of

whereby individuals were persuaded of the need "to match rights with responsibilities; and to foster a culture of duty within 'strong communities'."<sup>106</sup> Labour was rejecting what some now regarded as being the unbridled individualism of the New Right, and also the nanny state patronization of the Old Left. It was offering instead, a blend which consisted of "wealth creation *and* social justice, the market *and* the community."<sup>107</sup> This synthesis of two doctrines which were often considered irreconcilable, led Driver and Martell to compare the constituent elements of the third way with those of "traditional 'one nation' strands of Toryism, as well as more recent notions of 'compassionate conservatism'."<sup>108</sup> Further to this, comparison can be made between Blair and the Conservatives concerning the role of the family. Like many Conservatives, he believed that there had emerged an "indifference to the undermining of family life"<sup>109</sup> and that in order for society not to succumb to a "moral deficit" it was crucially important to understand that "family values are the key to a decent society." This was, as previously discussed, an important aspect of Etzioni's communitarian thesis; he having indicated a preference for families and schools as being the most useful "transmitters of correct conduct."<sup>110</sup>

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being too liberal and individualist in terms of social behaviour and social relationships such as the family."

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid* p149 This, according to Driver and Martell, represented an antidote to 'Thatcherite Conservatism' and its championing of "economic individualism which places the value of individual gain above wider social values."

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid* p149 This meant that "it could embrace private enterprise but not automatically favour market solutions; it could endorse a positive role for the state – for example, welfare to work – but need not assume that governments provide public services directly."

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid* p149 It is of interest to note that, according to Norman and Ganesh, the 'new left' position is that "compassionate conservatism is just communitarian thinking in disguise." Norman, J. & Ganesh, J. p27 *Compassionate Conservatism: What it is, Why we need it* (London: Policy Exchange, 2006)

<sup>109</sup> Barlow, A. & Duncan, S. p1 'New Labour's Communitarianism, Supporting Families and the 'Rationality Mistake' Working Paper 10 (Leeds: Families, Lifecourse and Generations Research Centre, University of Leeds, 1999) Here, Barlow & Duncan discuss a speech made by Tony Blair in 1996 – the content of which was in line with the values espoused in the subsequent 1998 Green Paper *Supporting families*.

<sup>110</sup> Freeden, M. p45 'The Ideology of New Labour' in Chadwick, A. Heffernan, R. (Ed.) *The New Labour Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

## With virtue

Much of New Labour's narrative concerning the rationale for introducing a third way may have led one to believe that it arose as a reaction solely to social and economic change within Britain itself; that it was time to reform and realign for the sake of some internal impetus to reinstate the lost values of a just, decent and humane society. Blair indicated however, whilst speaking in South Africa, that there was an external threat; a force capable of reeking massive (and almost immediate) damage, not only to a nation's jobs and industry, but also "to culture, to lifestyle, to the family, to established patterns of community life."<sup>111</sup> This threat was globalisation – a phenomenon to which he attributed the reason for the introduction of the third way. He confirmed this by stating that "The driving force behind the ideas associated with the third way is globalization."<sup>112</sup> Like Labour in the UK, the ANC government of South Africa also had to cope with the legacy of its own left-wing ideological past - and the expectations of its supporters, now that it was in power. Both were expected to provide equitably for their people, whilst at the same time competing successfully in the global market. In their own different ways, they were going to have to reconcile the egalitarianism inherent in New Labour's 'Social Inclusion' and the ANC's 'Rainbow Nation' narrative, with the harsh realities of global capitalism.<sup>113</sup> They were, in other words, going to have to cope with MacIntyre's 'predicament of moral modernity'<sup>114</sup> which, according to him,

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<sup>111</sup> Blair, T. Speech on '*Facing the modern challenge: the third way in Britain and South Africa.*' (South Africa: Capetown, 1999)

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>113</sup> According to Baines "Archbishop Desmond Tutu is usually credited with coining the phrase 'the rainbow nation'." He goes on to explain that the "metaphor of the rainbow with its spectrum of colours suggests that South Africa is a multicultural society." Baines, G. p1-2 'The rainbow nation? Identity and nation building in post-apartheid South Africa' in *Mots pluriels* No. 7, 1998 (Perth: University of Western Australia, 1998)

<sup>114</sup> MacIntyre, A. p viii *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)



would only be achieved when a society managed to function in ways that were not only economically efficient and effective, but that also ensured that the ends achieved held some form of morally justifiable worth. Needless to say, global capitalism is not normally associated with trying to achieve this particular undertaking.

Consequently, one may conclude that in addition to upholding the values associated with a just, decent and humane society, a form of economic protectionism may also have been a significant factor in shaping New Labour's reassembled ideology. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this approach was compatible with that of Macmurray who, when commenting on a previous and to some extent similar international situation, said that "We are in the grip of inscrutable forces that are too strong for us; and so on. But these are only excuses."<sup>115</sup> He argued that the nation would be better able to withstand economic threats at home and from abroad, if its people turned their attention to "solving the dilemma in our spiritual life."<sup>116</sup> The cumulative effect of communities acting with greater spirituality (with virtue) would have been that of enabling a nation to better endure the pressures of globalization. But if this were true, and all nations chose to compete against each other in a similar way, then it is difficult to imagine which, if any of them, would win in the *'holier than thou'* wars that would ensue.

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<sup>115</sup> Macmurray, J. p21 *Freedom in the Modern World* (1932) (London: Faber and Faber, 1945)  
Macmurray wrote these words just three years after the Wall Street Crash and at a time when much of the world, including the UK, found itself in the grip of what came to be called the Great Depression. Here he writes that "The modern world is, we say, extremely complicated. The international situation is very delicate. The network of finance is terribly intricate, so that only experts can understand it."

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid* p22 Macmurray argues that "The real trouble lies deeper. We shall never solve our economic troubles except in solving the dilemma in our spiritual life which produces them."

### **5.3 Brown and the principle of New Mutualism**

A principle, complementary in many ways to the ethos of both communitarianism and the Labour's Third Way, emerged at around the same time. This was New Mutualism.<sup>117</sup> Prideaux identifies a clear link between this principle and Macmurray's thinking, by contending that "Macmurray's belief that self-centred action prevents a relationship from being mutually enjoyed whereas other-centred action provides a true expression of the 'self as agent' in its invitation to others to reciprocate."<sup>118</sup> For Macmurray "the persistent and insistent fact of mutuality"<sup>119</sup> was a crucial component of an individual's development.<sup>120</sup> This echoes Taylor's thoughts on the dangers of excessive self-centred individualism and the likelihood of it causing a diminution of social engagement; this leading ultimately to self-isolation for those concerned. The view that a community could function better when its members were willing and able not only to live *with*, but also to live *for*, others was central to Macmurray's thesis – as it remains to adherents of mutualism today. Mutualism has been foremost in the ethos of the Co-operative Party, since it was founded in 1917. It remains an

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<sup>117</sup> Birchall identifies the term 'new mutualism' as first having been used by the journalist Peter Kellner "in a pamphlet he wrote for the Co-operative Party in 1998." Birchall explains that "Kellner was concerned with finding a 'big idea' for New Labour that would replace the old idea of socialism." Birchall, J. p8 'The 'Mutualisation' of Public Services in Britain: a critical commentary' in *Journal of Co-operative Studies* (Manchester: UK Society for Co-operative Studies, 2008)

<sup>118</sup> Prideaux, S. p59 *Not so New Labour: A sociological critique of New Labour's policy and practice* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005) Prideaux sums up Macmurray's position thus: "In short, the main emphasis behind Macmurray's train of thought was to define the ability to act as being predicated upon others. Indeed, it is our interaction with others that enables us to demonstrate our characteristic impulse to communicate and learn what is mutually acceptable, right or wrong."

<sup>119</sup> Fielding, M. p58 'The point of politics: Friendship and community in the work of John Macmurray' *Renewal* Vol. 6 No. 1 Winter (1998)

<sup>120</sup> Kettle, M. 'Blair Puts Faith in Community Spirit' in *The Guardian* (13 Mar. 1995) This sentiment is reflected in what Blair said whilst opposition leader. He asserted that "by the strength of our commitment to common endeavour we can achieve the conditions on which individuals can realise their full potential."

influential force in Labour politics.<sup>121</sup> Gordon Brown in 2007, wrote of being aware from when he “first joined the Co-operative Party”<sup>122</sup> of its stance on “social responsibility, global decency and people having a say in the running of their communities.”<sup>123</sup> Given the importance that MacIntyre attaches to “standards given by the traditions and practices”<sup>124</sup> of communities and how they impacted on lives led now, it was perhaps timely that this aspect of Labour’s political legacy should have re-emerged. Kellner saw the middle of the twentieth century as having been the point at which the “trajectory of socialism”<sup>125</sup> had peaked; its championing of the workers in their fight against the “exploitation of factory life”<sup>126</sup> no longer needed. The factories had gone, and so too had the hubs of many working-class communities: “the working men’s clubs, the mining villages and factory towns.”<sup>127</sup> In order for Labour to embark on a new trajectory, the aim of which held more relevance to a post-industrial landscape, Kellner advocated a fresh evaluation of what he reckoned to have been the original conception of the term mutualism.

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<sup>121</sup> Brown, G. ‘Beware the mask of Tory Social Concern’ in *The Observer* (2 Dec. 1990) Evidence of a lasting advocacy for mutualism is demonstrated here where Brown argues that “What the community can achieve by acting together to further individual well-being and freedom can be greater than anything individuals working only a free market ideology can achieve on their own.”

<sup>122</sup> Brown, G. ‘Forward’ to Rosen, G. *Serving the People: Co-operative Party History from Fred Perry to Gordon Brown* (London: The Co-operative Party, 2007)

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid* Forward’ Brown talks here of the conviction he shares that “social justice can best be achieved through co-operative action.”

<sup>124</sup> Hale, S. p61 *Blair’s community: Communitarian thought and New Labour* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

<sup>125</sup> Kellner, P. p3 *New Mutualism – The Third Way* (London: Co-operative Press Ltd. 1998)

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid* p3 Given the decline of Britain’s traditional industries and the resultant erosion of unionised working-class communities, Kellner argues that “Socialism has now gone the same way. It has not disappeared, but it has moved to the margins of political debate. We may regret, even deplore, this fact; but we should not be surprised.”

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid* p3 Kellner also includes “the large housing estates near to large industrial plants” in his list of hubs of working-class communities that had “now largely gone.” Gone too, it could be argued, was the spirit of mutuality that had been fostered within these industrial working-class communities.

## The common good

Mutualism for Kellner meant abandoning modern industrial socialism and reverting to its earlier meaning. He traced this initial incarnation back to Owen's social experiment at New Lanark, and the Co-operative Magazine's use, in 1827, of the word 'socialist'.<sup>128</sup> This to Owen meant "someone who co-operated with others for the common good."<sup>129</sup> Kellner viewed Owen's conception of socialism as being "an ethic by which people should run their lives, not an ideology by which politicians should run their countries."<sup>130</sup> This theme concerning the difference between an 'ethic' and an 'ideology' had previously been examined, specifically in relation to the Labour Party, by Drucker. He described the sometimes-clear division that could be discerned between the party's 'doctrine', and its 'ethos.' For him doctrine represented an "elaborated set of ideas about the character of social, economic and political reality"<sup>131</sup> that the party would wish to create, as a result of the successful implementation of a policy agenda. Drucker gave the example of equality as an important tenet of Labour doctrine, and therefore central to the party's reality: its ideology. The party's ethos, while every bit as important, was less easily defined. Whereas current doctrine tends to come about as a result of a blending of its historical ideological roots with the recent policy decisions of its leaders, its ethos is more likely to spring from

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<sup>128</sup> Claeys contends that "the origins and development of the concepts of "individualism," "socialism," and "social science" [were] often demonstrated in the pages of this journal." He further contends that "the early nineteenth-century development of British philosophical individualism can be traced to a reaction to early Owenite formulations concerning definitions of "socialism." Claeys, G. p81 "'Individualism," "Socialism," and "Social Science": Further Notes on a Process of Conceptual Formation, 1800-1850' in *Journal of the History of Ideas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986)

<sup>129</sup> Kellner, P. p3 *New Mutualism – The Third Way* (London: Co-operative Press Ltd. 1998) Owen was, according to Kellner, "arguably an unrealistic romantic in his attempt to banish selfish and competitive instincts."

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid* p3 Here Kellner says of Owen that "one thing he was not was an advocate of state control."

<sup>131</sup> Drucker, H. M. p8 *Doctrine and Ethos in the Labour Party* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979) Drucker explains that the Labour Party has "a number of ideas which are doctrines" and which collectively represent "a body of thought about the nature of man, of society and how they are related."

the party's grass roots. Drucker argued that such an ethos "arises out of an experience – in the case of the British working class, out of an experience of exploitation."<sup>132</sup>

It was Kellner's contention that the blame for transforming socialist ideology, built as it was on fairness, justice and co-operation "into an anti-capitalist ideology that sought public ownership and state control"<sup>133</sup> rested squarely with Karl Marx; and that ever since, the Left had been wrestling with the problem of trying to save socialism from being forever regarded as an obsolete dogma responding only to an outmoded conception of power, society and state. Held, who described Owen as having been a "utopian socialist", argued that the impetus for communism actually emanated, both from the utopian socialism of Owen and others, but also "from the daily struggle of workers to win dignity in and control over their lives."<sup>134</sup> Kellner believed that this struggle was now at an end and, in 1998, he proposed that Labour should abandon the use of the word 'socialism' altogether and instead embrace the term 'mutualism' as its new label – as its new doctrine.<sup>135</sup> Having languished for eighteen years in the political wilderness, it was understandable that Labour would wish to advance a vision of the future which did not hark back to a class struggle that most no longer wished to participate in; if indeed they were even aware of. Whilst not having been prepared to go so far as to adopt the term 'new mutualism', Blair did to some extent signal

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<sup>132</sup> *Ibid* p9 Drucker maintains that "People who are exploited need ways of dealing with their exploiters." He then goes on to argue however, that those of the working class who are exploited may react in a variety of different ways; the implication being that not all would necessarily join, or even support, the Labour Party. He also makes the point that 'labour aristocrats' who did not experience this form of exploitation were nevertheless drawn to the party for other reasons.

<sup>133</sup> Kellner, P. p4 *New Mutualism – The Third Way* (London: Co-operative Press Ltd. 1998) Kellner contended that Marx was responsible also for "implanting the notion of society as a machine."

<sup>134</sup> Held, D. p113 *Models of Democracy* Second Edition (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996) Held identified Saint-Simon (1760-1825) and Fourier (1772-1837) similarly as having been utopian socialists.

<sup>135</sup> Birchall, J. p1 *The New Mutualism in Public Policy* (London: Routledge, 2001) Birchall explains that "In a pamphlet published by the Co-operative Party, a well-known journalist and political commentator, Peter Kellner, suggests that New Labour should drop the word 'socialism', in favour of a new label, 'mutualism.'"

his support by writing the forward to Kellner's proposal; the content of which usefully illustrated the often-imprecise nature of Third Way language and reasoning. In it Blair spoke of negating the need to seek "to establish the primacy of any particular ideology" but instead to be concerned "with finding ways of promoting mutualist outcomes."<sup>136</sup> This seems rather illogical given that mutualism is perhaps best understood as an ideology in its own right; 'mutualist outcomes' being no more than the realization of the practical application of this ideology which, at heart, promoted the communitarian ethos of co-operation with others for the fulfilment of the common good.<sup>137</sup> What had gone before, Kellner believed, was a mechanical appreciation of society wherein the ideologies of left and right had battled it out over the true place of man, capital and the market; the significance of man's mutual relationship with his fellow man having been largely disregarded.<sup>138</sup> Macmurray, in 1935, captured this sentiment rather well when he spoke of "a time when a new life for mankind is pushing up young shoots, when the very newness of the mechanism of life is forcing our activities and our forms of human association to break with the traditions of the past in the effort to adapt themselves to circumstances, the urgent choices which we have to make are concerned not with the past but with the future."<sup>139</sup> Given that a youthful Tony Blair had read Macmurray in the early 1970s, one can understand why, on having taken leadership of Labour, he saw it as his mission to help drag his party (and his country) away from a class

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<sup>136</sup> Blair, T. Forward to: Kellner, P. *New Mutualism – The Third Way* (London: Co-operative Press Ltd. 1998) Blair goes on to say that "New Mutualism expresses both the fundamental values of mutual and co-operative societies and seeks to find modern ways of expressing those values."

<sup>137</sup> Fielding encapsulates Macmurray's position by saying that "one important fact about our human nature is ... its mutuality: we can develop our humanity only within the context of our reciprocal care for others." Fielding, M. p661 'Learning to be human: John Macmurray' in *Oxford Review of Education* Vol. 38, No. 6, December 2012 (London: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>138</sup> Kellner, P. p4 *New Mutualism – The Third Way* (London: Co-operative Press Ltd. 1998) Mutualism is described therefore, as being different not only from "socialism post-Marx" but also from "no-such-thing-as-society Thatcherism."

<sup>139</sup> Macmurray, J. p14 *Creative Society: A Study of the Relationship of Christianity to Communism* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1935)

conflict; the language of which held little or no relevance to most people. This in turn led him, in the opening statement of New Labour's 1997 manifesto, to declare that his would be "a party of ideas and ideals but not of outdated ideology", one where "What counts is what works. The objectives are radical. The means will be modern"<sup>140</sup>

### **Common purpose**

Ten years later Gordon Brown expressed a different, contradictory, and from Blair's perspective 'outdated' ideological notion. Despite this however, what he said still reflected key elements of communitarian thinking. Brown spoke of the "sense of common purpose" within communities which had "carried on for centuries."<sup>141</sup> He cited, amongst others, the Cooperative and Labour movements as having been instrumental in instilling this "strong sense of community and social responsibility." This then led him to believe that an evolutionary form of social mutuality could hold significant relevance for contemporary society. This was in keeping with MacIntyre's concept of narrative unity and the notion that one functioned within, and was dependent upon, the broader community to which one belonged.<sup>142</sup> An individual's identity, having been informed by traditions existent prior to his birth, and which would continue after his death, thus provided the moral starting point in his quest to live the good life. From a communitarian perspective therefore, the notion of a

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<sup>140</sup> Labour Party Manifesto p1 (UK General Election, 1997)

<sup>141</sup> Alexander, D. & Brown, G. p8 *Stronger Together: The 21<sup>st</sup> century case for Scotland and Britain* (London: Fabian Society, 2007) This sense of purpose has, according to Alexander and Brown, "carried on for centuries. In the industrial age it was taken on by early trade unionists, the founders of the Labour movement, workers educational associations, the co-operative movement. The trade union movement has played a historic role in Scotland and many Scottish leaders became British leaders, not because of their accent or birth place, but precisely because they believed in a strong sense of community and social responsibility."

<sup>142</sup> Porter, J. p41 'Tradition in the Recent Work of Alasdair MacIntyre' in *Alasdair MacIntyre* Murphy, C. M. (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

community understanding that its sense of common purpose today may have been informed in part by the narrative of its past, did not represent an outdated ideology.

But it was not long thereafter that this proposition was, to an extent, contradicted by an “uncomfortable truth” identified by Williams when he explained that “while grass-roots initiatives and local mutualism are to be found flourishing in a great many places, they have been weakened by several decades of cultural fragmentation.”<sup>143</sup> The case for New Mutualism was even further weakened by Williams when he observed that “The old syndicalist and co-operative traditions cannot be reinvented overnight and in some areas, they have to be invented for the first time.” And so, with the effects of ‘cultural fragmentation’ in mind, the difficulties that would be faced in attempting to convince a modern society of the merits of Macmurray’s thesis concerning its members becoming willing and able, to live both *with* and *for* others, become clear. Not everyone now lives in what they would necessarily describe as a community, and even if they do, then it may not be that of their forebears. But even if it is, its practices and traditions may now have been long forgotten; given that so many individuals now live the transient life of Macmurray’s ‘mass man.’

## **Blue Labour**

Towards the end of the period under investigation, something which appeared similar to New Mutualism surfaced at UK level: Blue Labour.<sup>144</sup> It may simply have been a cynical

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<sup>143</sup> Williams, R. p5 ‘The government needs to know how afraid people are’ in *New Statesman* 13 June 2011 The Archbishop of Canterbury’s solution to the ‘cultural fragmentation’ that threatens ‘grass-roots initiatives and local mutualism’ would however, be reliant on significant state intervention. Dr Williams argues that “surely one of the most important things of all – a long-term education policy at every level that will deliver the critical tools for democratic involvement, not simply skills that serve the economy.”

<sup>144</sup> Blue Labour, according to Pabst, “argues for a new consensus – a politics of the common good that recognises the legitimacy of estranged interests and brings about a negotiated solution



ploy to re-connect with lost Labour supporters, or a genuine next phase in mutualist thought, but some within the party became attracted to the notion of Blue Labour.<sup>145</sup> This concept was predicated on the idea that Labour should “develop the idea of a Good Society” – one where relationships were “built on reciprocity, mutuality and solidarity.”<sup>146</sup> Because the party had, according to Sage, “focused on abstract ends like equality and justice” it had “failed to articulate a vision of ‘the good society’” and thus, ignored “the rallying call of communitarian philosophers.”<sup>147</sup> Further, whereas Labour’s tradition had been strong, Glasman thought it had been weakened by the power of money, to the extent that “the virtual economy displaced a virtue economy.”<sup>148</sup> The party had, in effect, “presided over the leaching away of common meanings and social ties that bind people together.”<sup>149</sup> The emergence of Blue Labour thinking was therefore, as Jobson put it, something of a paradox in that “it appeared simultaneously old and new.” He went on to argue that “In this respect it offers a blueprint that future intellectual currents within the Labour Party might be well-advised to follow.”<sup>150</sup> Little of this debate however, appeared to hold any particular

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to conflict through civic institutions that promote virtue rather than vice. The aim is to shift the focus away from narrow self-interest and greed towards shared benefit and mutual flourishing.” Pabst, A. p21 ‘Blue Labour and the Politics of the Common Good’ in *Blue Labour: Forging a New Politics* Geary, I. & Pabst, A. (eds.) (London: I. B. Taurus & Co Ltd., 2015)

<sup>145</sup> Hickson and Beech describe the “strategic context” for Blue Labour’s appearance at this juncture as having been “Labour’s defeat in the 2010 general election; the formation of the Conservative – Liberal Democrat coalition; economic austerity resulting from the banking crisis and the global financial crash; and the changing political climate which ostensibly suggests a move from the ‘politics of the state’ to the ‘politics of localism’.” Hickson, K. & Beech, M. p1 ‘Blue or Purple? Reflections on the Future of the Labour Party’ in *Political Studies Review* Vol. 12, Issue 1, 2014 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publishing, 2014)

<sup>146</sup> Glasman, M. p27 ‘Labour as a radical tradition’ in *The Labour tradition and the politics of paradox* The Oxford London seminars 2010-11

<sup>147</sup> Sage, D. p372 ‘A challenge to liberalism? The communitarianism of the Big Society and Blue Labour’ in *Critical Social Policy* (Stirling: Sage Publications, 2012)

<sup>148</sup> Glasman, M. p29 ‘Labour as a radical tradition’ in *The Labour tradition and the politics of paradox* The Oxford London seminars 2010-11

<sup>149</sup> Sage, D. p373 ‘A challenge to liberalism? The communitarianism of the Big Society and Blue Labour’ in *Critical Social Policy* (Stirling: Sage Publications, 2012) Quoting: Rutherford, J. (2011) ‘The Future is Conservative.’

<sup>150</sup> Jobson, R. p102 ‘Blue Labour and nostalgia: the politics of tradition’ in *Renewal: a Journal of Labour Politics* Vol. 22, Issue 1/2, 2014 (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2014)

relevance to what was happening in Scotland. Hassan, writing at this time in the context of Scotland's constitutional future, argued that Labour's main perspectives had "nothing to really say on the nature of the British state and its multiple crises" and that Blue Labour is "silent on these issues, mostly completely ignoring them or mentioning them in superficial passing."<sup>151</sup>

#### **5.4 Dewar and the meaning of community in Scotland**

Gordon Brown, when setting out the motivation behind Donald Dewar's life-long adherence to the principle of social justice, said he had drawn "strength from his understanding of Scottish communitarian traditions."<sup>152</sup> Specifically, Dewar had been greatly influenced by his parents' "strong commitment to ethics and social responsibility."<sup>153</sup> This is consistent with those fundamental tenets of communitarianism which promote both the importance of an individual's position within a community and the good that can be achieved as a result of community cohesion.<sup>154</sup> Brown believed that Dewar's communitarianism had its roots in an understanding of the Scottish Presbyterian tradition of "progress towards social justice."<sup>155</sup> Rather than the notion of justice being understood merely in relation to the

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<sup>151</sup> Hassan, G. 'The 'forward march' of Scottish nationalism' in *Renewal: a journal of social democracy* Vol. 19, No. 2, 2011 (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2011)

<sup>152</sup> Brown, G p81 'As a Colleague' in *Donald Dewar: Scotland's first First Minister* Alexander, W. (Ed.) (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2005)

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid* p81 Dewar's parents influenced, according to Brown, their son's "own sense of what was just and unjust."

<sup>154</sup> During his speech, after winning the Glasgow Anniesland seat in the Scottish Parliament, Dewar said, in somewhat communitarian terms, "let us start building the new Scotland – remembering on all sides that civility is not a sign of weakness." Speech by Donald Dewar MSP, after winning the Glasgow Anniesland seat in the Scottish Parliament Friday 7<sup>th</sup> May 1999

<sup>155</sup> Brown, G p81 'As a Colleague' in *Donald Dewar: Scotland's first First Minister* Alexander, W. (Ed.) (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2005) The history of Scottish Presbyterianism concerned the wresting of power from bishops to congregations: from hierarchical control to ministry at community level. Dewar's respect for Presbyterianism derived therefore from a history that was about "progress toward social justice and not about kings and queens." Fitzpatrick described Dewar as "an agnostic who termed himself a 'cultural Presbyterian'."

historical progress of a society's ruling elite, this instead meant a form of social justice that should be accomplished by all within that society.<sup>156</sup> Consequently, in his speech at the opening of the Scottish Parliament, he called for the newly elected MSPs to work on behalf of those they now represented "for a future built from the first principles of social justice."<sup>157</sup> This reflected MacIntyre's position on the predicament of moral modernity. Rather than claiming the right to govern, based on an assertion of bureaucratic competency, and an ability to rule in accordance with the whims of instrumental rationality; instead Dewar fostered the idea that the morality behind the goals that they pursued was much more important.

It is of interest to note that, whilst a number of senior members of Blair's government were Scots, Dewar "was the only Cabinet-ranking minister to transfer to the Scottish Parliament"<sup>158</sup>; thus, leaving his fellow Scots to savour the power that came with a position in central government. Given the disdain often shown by Scottish Presbyterianism towards the over-centralisation of power, it is perhaps unsurprising that he would be the one to eschew his position in central government; albeit for a senior role at the devolved level.

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Fitzpatrick, B. – Principal Special Adviser 1999-2000 p206 'Donald's Legacy' in *Donald Dewar: Scotland's first First Minister* Alexander, W. (Ed.) (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2005)

<sup>156</sup> In the course of presenting the Second Reading of the Scotland Bill, Dewar as Secretary of State for Scotland explained that "the main case, the drive and thrust, is the democratic case for change and for trusting the people to take decisions that affect their lives: the attempt to reconnect the individual citizen to the political process." Dewar, D. p4 Moving the Scotland Bill (Second Reading) in the House of Commons (*Hansard*, 12 January 1998 vol. 304 cc19-117)

<sup>157</sup> Dewar, D. p2 Speech at the opening of the Scottish Parliament' 1<sup>st</sup> July 1999

<sup>158</sup> Keating, M. p46 *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making after Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005) The others, according to Keating, "have retained a political base in Scotland and provide an important link between Scottish and UK politics." In the second edition of Keating's book (published five years later) he reiterated this same fact.

## The meaning of community

Devine described Scottish Labour at this time as having represented an antidote to the ravages of Thatcherism;<sup>159</sup> when many Scots regarded this “new market philosophy as destructive of the community values they saw as central to their national identity.”<sup>160</sup> Here, in the context of Scotland, ‘community’ rather than ‘linguistic’ values are identified as being significant in terms of national identity. The impression that Labour’s conception of the term ‘community’, when used in relation to Scotland, was somewhat complex was exemplified by the “unusually literate and well-read”<sup>161</sup> Donald Dewar, when he addressed the Labour Party Annual Conference in 1997. Here he spoke of “consensus across the community” but also of “how we serve the people and build our communities.”<sup>162</sup> The following year saw him describe the devolution settlement as something which “recognises our community of interest.”<sup>163</sup> The ease with which he felt able to use this term, not only to describe Scottish society as if it were a single entity (within which existed the phenomenon: a ‘community of interest’), but also in order to characterize the plurality of communities that already existed (or were capable of being built) within that single entity, demonstrated more than one understanding of the meaning of the term. This multiple use of the term however, had nothing to do with laxity. Given that Dewar was a well-read Scot, it probably had more to do with his understanding of the term as denoting (in an historical sense) the “whole

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<sup>159</sup> Devine, T. p199 ‘History’s Judgement’ in *Donald Dewar: Scotland’s first First Minister* Alexander, W. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2005) Devine described Thatcher’s “utter contempt for the subtleties of the Union relationship by imposing the poll tax first in Scotland, as an experiment in what soon came to be regarded as a detested form of punitive and regressive taxation.”

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid* p199

<sup>161</sup> McCrone, D. p20 A Parliament for the People: Holyrood in an Understated Nation in *Scottish Affairs*, No. 50, Winter 2005 (Institute of Governance at Edinburgh University, 2005)

<sup>162</sup> Dewar, D. p2 Speech by Donald Dewar MP, Secretary of State for Scotland, at the Labour Party Annual Conference 1997.

<sup>163</sup> Dewar, D. p5 Speech by Donald Dewar MSP, First Minister, at the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative Conference Trinity College, Dublin; 30<sup>th</sup> September, 2000.

community of the realm of Scotland"<sup>164</sup> – and its contemporary relevance with respect to New Labour's agenda on the multiple-community based transformation of society. In fact, the variety of uses that he made of the term reflected Etzioni's particular conception; he having argued that whilst the term 'communitarian' would usually suggest communities such as small towns and villages, anything from a village to a nation state may be considered a community. For him community was actually "a set of attributes, not a concrete place";<sup>165</sup> this reflecting Taylor's view that community is essentially "a stock of history, culture and language."<sup>166</sup>

Dewar expressed unease that, while not a typical characteristic of the Scots, there remained some "for whom the next street is a foreign country."<sup>167</sup> By expressing this view he demonstrated sympathy for one of the fundamental principles of communitarianism; this being the embeddedness thesis, which refutes the notion that individuals could ever function wholly independently of the broader community. When summing-up the legacy of Donald Dewar, Wendy Alexander spoke of his ambition to build "communities where not only Scottish citizens but also the internationally mobile want to work and live."<sup>168</sup> But this ostensibly inclusive approach may have been at-odds with the very point of the embeddedness thesis. It may have been, as was pointed out by Macmurray, ultimately self-

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<sup>164</sup> The Declaration of Arbroath: A letter sent by the Scottish Magnates to Pope John XXII. Arbroath Abbey, 6 April, 1320

<sup>165</sup> Etzioni, A. p6 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996) Etzioni states here that "while the term "communitarian" often brings to mind communities, and especially villages and small towns, this is a study of what makes any social entity, from a village to a group of nations, into more of a community."

<sup>166</sup> Hale, S. p161 *Blair's community: Communitarian thought and New Labour* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

<sup>167</sup> Dewar, D. p3 'Speech by Donald Dewar MSP, First Minister, at the Irish-Scottish Academic Initiative Conference' Trinity College, Dublin; 30<sup>th</sup> September, 2000.

<sup>168</sup> Alexander, W. p224 'Donald's Legacy' in *Donald Dewar: Scotland's first First Minister* Alexander, W. (Ed.) (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 2005) Alexander went on to explain Dewar's internationalist perspective in economic terms by saying that "Attractive professional opportunities and prosperous communities will attract international migrants: they seek out better services, safer streets and good schools."

defeating. He warned of the dislocating effect, to families and communities, that uprooting for the purpose of finding work can have; claiming that, despite the resultant flexible workforce and dynamic economy, a break-down of the “the nexus of direct relations”<sup>169</sup> would nevertheless ensue. Individuals would, as a result, be uprooted from, as opposed to embedded within, their communities. Dewar had however, played a part in the development and introduction of Blair’s Third Way project; an integral element of which having been the intention to demonstrate Labour’s obligation to keep pace with the evolutionary nature of socio-economic systems. It would have been naïve in the extreme therefore, in a world gripped by globalization, for any Labour politician to attempt to turn the tide of modern-day transient employment patterns in order to have dealt with Macmurray’s concerns over ‘a breakdown of the nexus of relations.’

### **5.5 Cross border differences**

During the early years of devolution Cheetham spoke of the “still heady days of devolution”<sup>170</sup> and of the actions taken by the Scottish Parliament that were “based on egalitarian principles not always explicitly espoused by New Labour.”<sup>171</sup> Scotland began to take a different route as Dewar attempted to make real his promise of progression towards social justice. One of the first important pieces of legislation enacted at Holyrood (The Adults with Incapacity Act, 2000) was, during the final debate, described by the Minister for

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<sup>169</sup> Macmurray, J. p187 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of The Form of the Personal* (1961) (London: Faber and Faber, 1995) Macmurray issued a stark warning by stating that “The mobility of labour, for example, is a good thing from the economic point of view. It is a condition of efficiency in the system of production. From the personal point of view, it is an evil.”

<sup>170</sup> Cheetham, J. p626 ‘New Labour, Welfare and Social Work and Devolution: A View from Scotland’ in *British Journal of Social Work* (2001) 31

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid* p626 Somewhat in contradiction of the ‘Welfare to Work’ doctrine espoused by the Labour administration at UK level, Sam Galbraith a Minister in Dewar’s cabinet, is quoted here as stating that “Welfare is part of the way Scotland does its business.”

Community Care as being an Act intended, not for the powerful, vociferous or partisan within communities, but rather for the “voiceless and vulnerable.”<sup>172</sup> This would suggest that despite the extent to which Brown was said to have held sway over the Labour Party hierarchy in Scotland, he did not stand in the way of “the long-standing Scottish tradition of asserting its difference.”<sup>173</sup> Tacit support, from the UK Chancellor, for a law designed to improve the lot of those most vulnerable within Scottish communities, was something therefore to have been expected of Brown who, when writing of a man (Maxton) that he greatly admired, had said that for him “the only test of socialist progress was in the improvement of the individual and thus the community.”<sup>174</sup> Brown, unlike Blair, was said to have been “steeped in Labour lore” and for this reason likely to have been influenced more by socialist conceptions of community; as would have been other Labour figures of his generation who now occupied prominent positions within the Scottish Executive. Those of a more cynical disposition may however have noted that, were Brown to have attempted to use his influence in order to try and block the above devolved legislation, it might not have gone down well within his own Fife constituency.

Labour in Scotland may, if one accepts Nairn’s reading of the situation, have been preaching to the already converted. When designating the meaning of community in relation to Scotland, he contends that Sandel’s explanation of the “constitutive conception of community”<sup>175</sup> represented, in a general sense, a Scot’s view of his society. They were

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<sup>172</sup> *Ibid* p626 This Act is described as providing “a framework for safeguarding the welfare and managing the finances of adults who lack capacity due to mental disorder or inability to communicate.” *Adults with Incapacity (Scotland) Act 2000: A short guide to the Act* (Edinburgh: Scottish Government Publications, 2008)

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid* p625 This to the extent that, according to Cheetham “Mrs Thatcher’s writ did not run in Scotland. Indeed, her own Scottish Ministers would pursue policies, with the strong backing of the Scottish Civil Service, which were the opposite of those of their English counterparts.”

<sup>174</sup> Peston, R. p32 *Brown’s Britain* (London: Short Books, 2005) quoting from Brown, G. *Maxton* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 1986)

<sup>175</sup> Nairn, T. p228 *After Britain: New Labour and the Return of Scotland* (London: Granta Books, 2000) quoting from Sandel, M *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*

united "by a sense of community", not necessarily because they "profess communitarian sentiments" but instead because "they conceive their identity as defined to some extent by the community of which they are a part."<sup>176</sup> It is therefore an examination of the emphasis placed on community identity and perhaps solidarity, rather than on what may be the less tangible notion of communitarian sentiment, that one would think could help to differentiate between Labour's perception of the term community north and south of the border. But this would have been to stretch any such difference too far, and suggest that whilst Labour in England had embraced Blair's Third Way and his communitarian brand of politics, Scotland stood alone defending the last vestiges of, for example, Old Labour's ideology regarding working class solidarity. This was not the case, instead devolution and a separate place in which to debate, legislate and govern may simply have allowed the party in Scotland the space to introduce policies (some of which were communitarian in nature) that were different to those of the rest of the UK. Bradbury and Mitchell gave the example of the introduction of home care for the elderly as having been one of "a number of policy commitments that the second Labour First Minister, Henry McLeish, developed which resulted in Scotland taking a different course of action from England."<sup>177</sup> This then raises a question as to whether such a commitment to the elderly in Scotland may have been the type of initiative that the various communitarian writers would have been inclined to endorse. It raises a further question about whether they would also have condoned the

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<sup>176</sup> *Ibid* p228 To consider one's identity as being defined by the community of which one is a part is central to Taylor's thesis on the 'politics of recognition.' From this perspective therefore, Nairn's Scots do exhibit a form of communitarian sentiment.

<sup>177</sup> Bradbury, J. & Mitchell, J. p301 'Devolution and Territorial Politics: Stability, Uncertainty and Crisis' in *Parliamentary Affairs* (2002) 55 (London: Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 2002) Not all Scottish policy at this time may necessarily have taken a 'different course of action' from that being pursued elsewhere in the UK. Bradbury and Mitchell make the point that according to Fraser Nelson "the Scottish Executive under McLeish had developed an 'astonishing capacity for regurgitating work done in London'." Quoting from Nelson, F. 'Is This Devolution or Just Duplication?' *The Times* 26.7.01



actions of a political party that was prepared to take different measures, on such a fundamental issue as this, in the various parts of an ostensibly 'united' kingdom.

In relation to the first consideration, Taylor had reflected on the distress that could be experienced by a person who, for one reason or another, became detached from his community. He thought this to be something akin to an identity crisis wherein the individual, "would be at sea."<sup>178</sup> He believed that only through continued active membership of one's community could such disorientation be avoided. He considered the primary function of a community (having ensured that all of its members were included) was to enable them to continue to appreciate the forms of moral or spiritual background that were required, in order for them to retain an ability to determine for themselves "what is good, or worthwhile, or admirable, or of value."<sup>179</sup> Such a feat could not be achieved in isolation. This was a sentiment in keeping with one of the central tenets of New Labour's philosophy: the assertion that much of what was wrong in modern society, had come about as a result of individuals having been socially excluded.<sup>180</sup> It therefore followed that the policy of funding the home care of the elderly in Scotland, partly in order to increase the length of time that they were able to live as an integral part of their communities, could have been considered an approach likely to at least delay the disorientation that Taylor believed inevitable, when one was removed from one's community. When discussing a recurring theme within the

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<sup>178</sup> Taylor, C. p27 *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid* p27 Taylor argues that this is more easily achieved when an individual is able to participate in a culture, within a plurality of human cultures, "which has a language and a set of practices that define specific understandings of personhood, social relations, states of mind/soul, goods and bads, virtues and vices, and the like." Taylor, C. p1 'Two Theories of Modernity' in *The International Scope Review* Vol. 3, (2001), Issue 5 (Summer) (Brussels: The Social Capital Foundation, 2001)

<sup>180</sup> Tony Blair during his victory speech, having learned that he would be forming the first Labour government in eighteen years, promised "a Britain renewed...where we build a nation united, with common purpose, shared values, with no-one shut out, no-one excluded. Blair, T. Speech given at Sedgefield, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1997

doctrines of early modern European civic humanism, he talked of the notion of the inferiority of life experienced by "a mere householder" as compared to "one which also involves participation as a citizen."<sup>181</sup> From such a perspective, the act of removing an individual not only from any form of active citizenship, but also from his own household in order to be put into a possibly inferior life of care, almost gives the term 'care' a surprisingly sinister connotation. Labour in Scotland had however already offered a more positive appraisal of the worth of older Scots, having stated that the nation's "older citizens are one of our most valuable resources. With a lifetime of knowledge and experience to draw upon they will have a central role to play in the civic and community life of the new Scotland."<sup>182</sup> They were an integral element, as Taylor would have it, in the nation's stock of history, culture and language."<sup>183</sup> But once again those of a cynical disposition may conclude that, given the ageing electorate in Scotland at this time, the expression of such sentiments would do a party's election prospects no harm at all.<sup>184</sup>

With regard to the second question (that of a party varying the type of social care provided in different regions) MacIntyre defended the Aristotelian belief in the right of different individuals (and by extension, he argued, different communities) to judge for themselves what would constitute doing "the right thing in the right place at the right time in the right way."<sup>185</sup> There could be no universal definition of a virtue and therefore no

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<sup>181</sup> Taylor, C. p212 *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

<sup>182</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p9 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>183</sup> Hale, S. p161 *Blair's community: Communitarian thought and New Labour* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

<sup>184</sup> Goerres explains that "Many advanced industrial democracies are ageing. Therefore, the group of older voters who are usually very likely to vote, is growing in relative and absolute terms. Through their high voter turnout and demographic weight, older voters can have a fundamental impact on electoral results." Goerres, A. p258 'The grey vote: Determinants of older voters' party choice in Britain and West Germany.' In *Electoral Studies* (Edinburgh: Elsevier Publishing Company, 2008)

<sup>185</sup> MacIntyre, A. p150 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

"routinizable application of rules."<sup>186</sup> Inconsistency in the determination of how best to satisfy the social needs of different communities, at any given time, was the likely consequence of the implementation of a system of government designed to devolve such policy making decisions. Scotland had attained powers sufficient (in some policy areas) to determine what actions it believed to have been of the highest virtue, and therefore of the greatest necessity. But whilst the above offered a defence to communities – even nations within a state – who acted with inconsistency in relation to each other; it did not necessarily do so for a political party. Although Taylor argued for a balance to be struck between universal principles and the politics of difference, it would normally be expected of a political party to express a consistent message on all issues of moral importance, such as the care of the elderly - and that its moral stance would not differ from place to place merely as a result of the imperatives of a newly established system of devolved powers.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

In conclusion, after eighteen years in the political wilderness – where the Labour Party's once proud left-wing ideological stance had instead become something of an electoral liability – its new leader assembled a political narrative; one influenced by the communitarianism of Etzioni and Macmurray, and one which reflected important aspects of Taylor and MacIntyre's thinking. Blair's appreciation of communitarianism appears to have been both intellectual and spiritual; influenced as it was by his university studies and by his faith. It was not however, informed by any particular personal or emotional experiences of community witnessed by him during his formative years.

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<sup>186</sup> *Ibid* p150 Given MacIntyre's belief that "The genuinely virtuous agent ... acts on the basis of a true and rational judgement"; differences in social care provision north and south of the border may be acceptable, so long as this criterion is met by both.

It was fortuitous that a re-awakened interest in mutualism emerged during this same period. Not only did this aspect of Labour's political legacy serve as something of an emotional counterpoint to the more intellectually derived principles of the third way, it also offered a clear link between what the old and new elements within the party stood for. The renewed interest in mutualism, by those now at the helm of the party, implied that what had gone before was not simply to be derided; rather it was to be considered an earlier, but still important, Labour principle. This idea received further impetus, this time specifically in Scotland, when Dewar used the occasion of the opening of the Scottish Parliament to call for a future built from the first principles of social justice; a communitarian sentiment first learned from his own parents.

Scottish Labour, during this period, presented itself as an antidote to the excessive individualism of Thatcherism; a form of conservatism said to have threatened those community values which lay at the heart of Scottish national identity. Dewar, by using the term 'community' in a variety of different contexts, revealed a way of thinking that could be attributed both to Etzioni, and also to the Scottish people. This being the notion of community having as much to do with values, attributes and identity, as it has to do with any concrete place. However, in order to keep pace with the evolutionary nature of socio-economic systems, Labour had to acknowledge and accept those modern-day transient employment patterns which militated against the preservation of the communitarian principle of embeddedness or, as Macmurray put it, being an integral part of a community's 'nexus of relations.'

One of the main reasons for Labour in Scotland having been able to adopt different, and often communitarian, principles was the introduction of devolution. The nation now had its own legislative and executive institutions. The devolution settlement allowed Labour the space to introduce policies that were different to those of the rest of the UK. Home care for

the elderly was cited as an example of such regional difference. But it was more than that; it also complied with one of the principles advocated by Taylor; this being that no person should be detached from their community, for fear of them losing their identity and becoming disorientated. Home care was intended to help people remain embedded within their own communities. It is contended that Scottish Labour's ability to introduce different policies to those of the rest of the UK can be justified by reference to MacIntyre's understanding of Aristotle's belief that different communities must have the right to judge for themselves: what is the right thing to do. In MacIntyre's opinion, there can be no universal definition of a virtue and thus, no standard by which all rules must be set. Discrepancies in the way that different communities decide to satisfy various social needs are therefore, an inevitable consequence of the devolution of power.

Research indicated therefore, that communitarian thought was articulated by Labour in Scotland to a significant extent, as evidenced by the account given of the frequent use of the language of communitarianism, and of this having been evident in the various political narratives that were identified and examined.

## **Chapter Six: Extent to which communitarian thought impacted on the application of policy by Labour**

### **Introduction**

This chapter consists of four case studies integrated into a broader methodological approach which used political discourse analysis as a means of understanding how communitarian thought impacted on the political narrative, and subsequent policy initiatives, of Labour in Scotland during the period under investigation. Case studies proved beneficial in allowing the research to focus in greater depth on a smaller number of significant issues. From this a more comprehensive understanding was gained as to the effect that the language of communitarianism had upon the political narratives which ensued in Scotland, and of the extent to which the party in Westminster influenced political debate concerning the impact of communitarian ideas on strategy and policy north of the border.

The case studies undertaken dealt with the following four topics:

### **Case Study One: A Constitutional Narrative.**

This study examined the introduction of legislative devolution to Scotland, and the language and motives pertaining to this political narrative having been adopted. This significant constitutional change was considered both the achievement of a long-held Labour ambition to provide a measure of home-rule,<sup>1</sup> and a means of undermining the increasing popularity of the campaign for independence. The findings of this study showed that

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<sup>1</sup> Donald Dewar described the devolution settlement as having been, for him, "the fulfilment of a lifetime ambition." He went on to say that "I have campaigned for that parliament for all of my working life as an MP." *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p1 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

language and policy indicative of a communitarian 'turn' was evident in the party's imperative for constitutional change, but less so in the response it took to the increasing threat of Scottish nationalism. This "study of language-in-use"<sup>2</sup> brought to light narratives both in support of, and in opposition to the different political propositions examined.<sup>3</sup> The use of discourse analysis therefore, provided a clear understanding of the various political standpoints contested.<sup>4</sup>

### **Case Study Two: A Community Narrative.**

An appreciation of the importance of cooperative decision making is a vital element of political discourse analysis.<sup>5</sup> The complexities underlying any political system, and the society it serves, mean that any such decision making requires good judgement. Such complexities exist within Scottish society. With this in mind, this study investigated the extent to which the social policy decisions articulated and applied by Labour, expressed communitarian principles. Research indicated a belief that the application of a range of policies, many of which reflected communitarian ideas, would guarantee Labour's continued and unabated dominance in Scotland. Research also showed however, that whilst for most of the period studied the positive nature of much communitarian thought was mirrored in the political narrative pursued, towards the end the complex nature of Scottish society

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<sup>2</sup> Gee, P. J. p8 *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) (New York: Routledge, 2010)

<sup>3</sup> Disputed political positions examined include, for example, those between liberal and communitarian thinkers with regard to their differing stances on individualism and instrumental reason and those between Labour and the SNP in relation to Scotland's future constitutional position.

<sup>4</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>5</sup> Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. p17 'Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology' in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Wodak & Meyer (eds.) (California: Sage Publications, 2009)

meant that the party began to recommend somewhat draconian measures as a way of coping with a moral malaise it had identified; one akin to that depicted by MacIntyre.

### **Case Study Three: An Unfolding Narrative.**

This study questioned Labour's assumption that the coming of legislative devolution to Scotland was an event rather than a process; one representing the nation's settled will. Research showed that, from a communitarian perspective, the idea of a society holding a collective appreciation of what it is right to do, is one to be commended. It does not however see human relationships in such static terms; recognising instead the dynamic, unfolding nature of a collective will within societies.<sup>6</sup> Scotland, before and during the period in question, was one such society. The data analysed showed that events occurring prior to, and as a consequence of, the introduction of devolution, confirmed the unfolding nature of this process and that it did not constitute one specific event. These findings are in line with Fairclough and Fairclough's argument that there can be "no one institutional arrangement" which is capable of determining "in a universally accepted manner"<sup>7</sup> the collective will of any nation.

### **Case Study Four: A Coalition Narrative.**

How Labour's sharing of executive power with the Liberal Democrats affected the resultant political narrative was then examined. Because Labour did not win the first two

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<sup>6</sup> MacIntyre, for example, argues for the unfolding nature of one person's existence in relation to all those around him; stating that "I am part of their story, as they are part of mine. The narrative of any one life is part of an interlocking set of narratives." MacIntyre, A. p218 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>7</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) p176 Here Fairclough and Fairclough acknowledge the argument put forward by Sen, A. in *The Idea of Justice* (London: Allen Lane, 2009)



Scottish elections outright, the influence of their coalition partners formed an important aspect of this investigation. An evaluation of the connection between the policy initiatives adopted and the theoretical perspectives espoused by the various communitarian thinkers was undertaken. This entailed qualitative comparative analysis of communitarian discourse in relation to the words and deeds of politicians, in order to prove the reliability of the 'communitarian turn' assertion. This comparative method is regarded by Lijphart as "a method of discovering empirical relationships among variables, not as a method of measurement."<sup>8</sup> What emerged from this comparative study was that the Liberal Democrats, like Labour, often acted in support of policies indicative of communitarian thought.

### **6.1 Case Study: A Constitutional Narrative**

In 1988 a Constitutional Steering Committee, instigated by the Campaign for a Scottish Assembly, drew-up a *Claim of Right* for Scotland,<sup>9</sup> the intention being, according to Mitchell: "to achieve a more open, participatory democracy."<sup>10</sup> This was a precursor to the Scottish Constitutional Convention (SCC), which held a pivotal role in the constitutional narrative which resulted in legislative devolution for Scotland.<sup>11</sup> Established in 1989, its remit was to "engineer a compromise package on devolution amongst a range of Scottish political parties and interests."<sup>12</sup> The SCC was a partnership, within which the two most influential

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<sup>8</sup> Lijphart, A. p683 'Comparative Politics and Comparative Method' in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 65 Issue 3 (Sept., 1971) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971)

<sup>9</sup> Mitchell, J. p606 'New Parliament, New Politics in Scotland' in *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol. 53, No. 3 (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 2000)

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid* p606

<sup>11</sup> It was chaired by Canon Kenyon Wright who, according to Alex Salmond: "when posted to India developed a great interest in liberation theory." Salmond, A. Speech made at the memorial service of Scottish religious and political campaigner Canon Kenyon Wright. Given at Coventry Cathedral, Friday 3 March 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Lynch, P. p1 'The Scottish Constitutional Convention 1992-5' in *Scottish Affairs* No. 15, Spring 1995 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996) Lynch explains that "The first three years of the life of the Convention took place against a background of intense partisan conflict between Labour and the SNP, particularly because the nationalists left the Convention in

participants were Labour and the Liberal Democrats. This relationship nurtured a coalition narrative that resulted in an electoral system which, for the first eight years of devolved power, created a coalition of these two parties. Roddin considered this the inevitable consequence of “multi-party Scottish politics” where a “broadly proportional electoral system would result in no single party having a parliamentary majority” and where “coalition government was likely – and likely by design, not accident.”<sup>13</sup> The SCC’s hope was that a Scottish Parliament would hasten “a way of politics that is radically different from the rituals of Westminster: more participative, more creative, less needlessly confrontational.”<sup>14</sup> The following year saw the publication of a report, the preface of which was also a *Claim of Right for Scotland*. This asserted the “sovereign right of the Scottish people to determine the form of government best suited to their needs.”<sup>15</sup> For some Convention members there was, according to Taylor, even “a sense that they were reclaiming Scotland’s destiny.”<sup>16</sup>

Campaigners for devolution wanted, according to Bradbury and Mitchell, “a more consensual political culture” – one which ushered in “a ‘new-politics’, by which was generally meant a more cooperative style of inter-party relations than at Westminster.”<sup>17</sup> The

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1989.” In addition, as Kellas confirms: “the Conservatives refused to participate.” Kellas, J. G. p50-51 ‘The Scottish Constitutional Convention’ in *Scottish Government Yearbook 1992* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1992)

<sup>13</sup> Roddin, E. p24 ‘Has the Labour Party or the Liberal Democrats Proved More Successful in the Partnership for Scotland’s Coalition 1999-2003? An initial assessment.’ In *Scottish Affairs* No. 48, Summer 2004 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004)

<sup>14</sup> Shephard, M. & Cairney, P. p2 ‘The Impact of the Scottish Parliament in Amending Executive Legislation’ in *Political Studies* Vol. 53, Issue 2 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2005) Quoting from: Scottish Constitutional Convention (1995) *Scotland’s Parliament, Scotland’s Right* Scottish Constitutional Convention

<sup>15</sup> *Towards Scotland’s Parliament: A Report to the Scottish People by the Scottish Constitutional Convention* (Rosebery House Edinburgh: The Scottish Constitutional Convention, November 1990) From a constitutional perspective Kellas argued that “A summary of the Constitution’s Report in terms of academic analysis would place the scheme somewhere between devolution and federalism.” Kellas, J. G. p50-51 ‘The Scottish Constitutional Convention’ in *Scottish Government Yearbook 1992* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1992)

<sup>16</sup> Taylor, B. p45 *The Scottish Parliament* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999)

<sup>17</sup> Bradbury, J. & Mitchell, J. p257 ‘Devolution: New Politics for Old?’ in *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol. 54, Issue 2 April 2001 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Convention's final proposals<sup>18</sup> were the foundation of Labour's Scottish policy when it took office in 1997<sup>19</sup> and were, according to Mitchell: "closely associated with the rhetoric of new politics" – a rhetoric that was "inevitably pronounced within New Labour."<sup>20</sup> Davidson and Elstub concur, arguing that "Blair, influenced by his academic 'guru' Anthony Giddens, signed the party up to the philosophy of the 'third way' and thereby to cultivating a 'new politics' that is consensual, participatory and departs from the confrontational politics of 'old.'<sup>21</sup>

The SCC, according to Jeffery, "argued for the restoration of decision-making powers "home rule" to a political community made distinctive by an enduring sense of national identity and its growing dissatisfaction with government by a remote and apparently unresponsive UK Parliament."<sup>22</sup> This sentiment corresponds with that of Taylor, who argued during this period that: "A number of strands in contemporary politics turn on the need, sometimes the demand, for *recognition*."<sup>23</sup> The campaign in Scotland evoked, according to Jeffery, "a distinctive, if largely mythical Scottish constitutional tradition, notably a "claim of right" to popular sovereignty."<sup>24</sup> But from a communitarian perspective, this criticism allowed

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<sup>18</sup> Scottish Constitutional Convention. 1995. *Scotland's parliament, Scotland's right* Edinburgh: Scottish Constitutional Convention

<sup>19</sup> Jeffery, C. p293 'Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a Piecemeal Approach to Constitutional Change' in *Publius, The Journal of Federalism* Volo. 39, No. 2, (Spring, 2009) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

<sup>20</sup> Mitchell, J. p605 'New Parliament, New Politics in Scotland' in *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol. 53, No. 3 (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 2000)

<sup>21</sup> Davidson, S. and Elstub, S. p6-7 'Deliberative and Participatory Democracy in the UK' in *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* Vol. 16, Issue 3, 2014 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2014)

<sup>22</sup> Jeffery, C. p292 'Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a Piecemeal Approach to Constitutional Change' in *Publius, The Journal of Federalism* Volo. 39, No. 2, (Spring, 2009) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

<sup>23</sup> Taylor, C. p25 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>24</sup> Jeffery, C. p293 'Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a Piecemeal Approach to Constitutional Change' in *Publius, The Journal of Federalism* Volo. 39, No. 2, (Spring, 2009) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

an “independent ahistoric standard” to dominate an interpretation of traditions which actually represented an “historical and communal ‘embeddedness’.”<sup>25</sup>

Labour’s 1997 UK manifesto provided an unequivocal commitment to “devolve power to Scotland.”<sup>26</sup> The party believed this would strengthen the Union and remove “the threat of separatism.”<sup>27</sup> But, according to Paterson, this was to have misunderstood the constitutional position Scotland had occupied ever since the United Kingdom’s inception in 1707. He saw the Union as always having been “partial” - of having been “an amalgamation of Parliaments and little else.”<sup>28</sup> Devolution had existed from the start; the “major institutions of civic life, notably the church, the legal system and the system of local government” having functioned independently of Westminster’s control.<sup>29</sup> This commitment to a devolved settlement was therefore, to some Scots who harboured “thrawn suspicions,”<sup>30</sup> merely a transparent ploy to undermine SNP support. Nairn characterized

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<sup>25</sup> Kymlicka, W. p2 *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)

<sup>26</sup> Labour Party UK Manifesto p3 (UK General Election, 1997) Keating argues that “Devolution represents a radical change for the United Kingdom, although in another sense, it can be seen as a recognition of deep-seated and historic features of the British state and of the need to modernize the system to recognize for current realities.” Keating, M. p127 ‘Reforming the Union: Devolution and Constitutional Change in the United Kingdom’ in *Publius* Vol. 28, No. 1, winter, 1998 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid* p38 As a result of the realization of this commitment, Evans argues that “The constitutional reform programme which emerged ... has galvanized institutional and political forces across the ‘nations’ and ‘regions’ in a way that is fundamentally altering the nature of British constitutionalism.” Evans, M. p68 ‘New Labour and the Rise of the New Constitutionalism’ in *Ten Years of New Labour* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

<sup>28</sup> Paterson, L. p2 ‘Scottish Democracy and Scottish Utopias: The First Year of the Scottish Parliament’ in *Scottish Affairs*, No. 33, Autumn 2000 (Edinburgh: Institute of Governance at The University of Edinburgh, 2000)

<sup>29</sup> Wright explains however, that Labour saw devolution as being something radically different because it “implied that a ‘radical new deal’, would be the antithesis of ‘centralised power’ and they indicated that this was, but part of a ‘huge programme of reform’ the object of which was to bring ‘power back to the people’.” Wright, A. p1 ‘Introduction’ in *Scotland: the Challenge of Devolution* (Wright, A. (ed.) (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018)

<sup>30</sup> Bell, I. p46 ‘The Scottish Parliament Reconvenes, 12 May 1999’ in *Scotland: The Autobiography, Sample Extracts* Goring, R. (ed.) (London: Penguin Books, 2007) Bell encapsulates the Scottish temperament at this time thus: “The nation of Scotland, with all its thrawn suspicions, numberless confusions, apathy, clumsy rivalries and disparate hopes.”

Labour's mission as being no less than to "stop the separatist scoundrels in their tracks." It had become a choice "between an old-fashioned centralized state, and disintegration."<sup>31</sup> But Labour's use of devolution to assuage demands for independence predates New Labour; Geekie and Levy point out that in the 1960s and 1970s the party championed it "For reasons that had more to do with electoral expediency than a moral or philosophical commitment to Home Rule."<sup>32</sup> Taylor, whilst recognising that some forms of modern nationalism were "visibly evil"<sup>33</sup> did concede that some models of participatory self-rule held their own intrinsic value and could function as more than mere vehicles for the realization of equality and amity. Labour intended devolution to offer Scots the potential to participate as part of a union of nations, within which the underlying ideological driving force would be of a communitarian nature. The antipathy it exhibited towards separation however, betrayed a belief that fairness and justice within strong communities could only be achieved within the context of a United Kingdom. The message it sent was that the achievement of independence, and also of strong communities, were mutually incompatible goals.

Shortly after Labour's victory, on 22 July 1997, Dewar, now Secretary of State for Scotland, introduced a White Paper recommending a Scottish Parliament.<sup>34</sup> This reflected the SCC's final proposals and was approved by "a clear majority in the September 1997

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<sup>31</sup> Nairn, T. p66 *After Britain: New Labour and the Return of Scotland* (London: Granta Books, 2000) Nairn explains here that, for those who sought constitutional change in the form of devolved powers for Scotland "the only real enemy loitering out there is separatism."

<sup>32</sup> Geekie, J. & Levy, R. p399 *Devolution and the Tartanisation of the Labour Party* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) Jeffery and Hough confirm that there had been a "breakthrough of new sub-nationalist parties in the UK in the 1970s." Jeffery, C. & Hough, D. p248 'Devolution and electoral politics: where does the UK fit in?' in *Devolution and electoral politics* Jeffery & Hough (eds.) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

<sup>33</sup> Taylor, C. p142 *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995) Taylor did not consider all forms of modern nationalism to be evil; rather, he argued that "there are many strands of modern nationalism, and some of them are visibly evil."

<sup>34</sup> Bradbury, J. p115 'The Blair Government's White Paper on British Devolution: A Review of Scotland's Parliament and A Voice for Wales' in *Regional & Federal Studies* Vol. 7, No. 3, Autumn 1997 (London: Frank Cass, 1997)

referendum."<sup>35</sup> This was heralded as "a turning-point" where "by three to one the Scottish electorate opted to institute a Scottish Parliament."<sup>36</sup> It was also considered a 'turning-point' in a different sense, by MacWhirter, who argued that it had "provided an incubator for a fully-fledged Scottish Nationalism which has come to dominate Scottish political life."<sup>37</sup> The White Paper<sup>38</sup> was subsequently enacted in the 1998 Scotland Act,<sup>39</sup> which instituted the Scottish Parliament.<sup>40</sup>

This Act reflected the principles articulated in a report presented to the Secretary of State for Scotland by the Scottish Office Consultative Steering Group (CSG). The remit of this group, which was set up by the government, was "To bring together views on and consider the operational needs and working methods of the Scottish Parliament."<sup>41</sup> The first principle stated that "The Scottish Parliament should embody and reflect the sharing of power between the people of Scotland, the legislators and the Scottish executive"<sup>42</sup> - the

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<sup>35</sup> Jeffery, C. p293 'Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a Piecemeal Approach to Constitutional Change' in *Publius, The Journal of Federalism* Volo. 39, No. 2, (Spring, 2009) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

<sup>36</sup> Denver, D. Mitchell, J. Pattie, C. & Bochel, H. Forward to: *Scotland Decides: The Devolution Issue and Scottish Referendum* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000) The results were as follows:  
Q1. Support a Scottish Parliament? Yes 74.3%  
Q2. Give parliament tax-varying powers? Yes 63.5%  
Turnout. 64.4%

Pattie, C. Denver, D. Mitchell, J. & Bochel, H. p135 'Settled Will or Divided Society? Voting in the 1997 Scottish and Welsh Devolution Referendums' in *British Elections & Parties Review* Vol. 9, Issue 1, 1999 (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1999)

<sup>37</sup> MacWhirter, I. p11 *Road to Referendum: The Essential Guide to the Scottish Referendum* (Glasgow: Cargo Publishing, 2013)

<sup>38</sup> The Scotland Bill 1997/98: devolution and Scotland's Parliament; Scotland's Parliament White Paper (Bill 104 1997/98) Published Wednesday, January 7, 1998

<sup>39</sup> The Scotland Act 1998 (No. 3178): An Act to provide for the establishment of a Scottish Parliament and Administration

<sup>40</sup> Jeffery, C. p293 'Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a Piecemeal Approach to Constitutional Change' in *Publius, The Journal of Federalism* Volo. 39, No. 2, (Spring, 2009) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

<sup>41</sup> *Shaping Scotland's Parliament: A report presented to the Secretary of State for Scotland* p3 (Edinburgh: The Scottish Office, November 1997)

<sup>42</sup> Millar, D. p29 'Scotland's Parliament: A Mini Westminster, or a Model for Democracy?' in *Scotland: the Challenge of Devolution* Wright, A. (ed.) (Abingdon Routledge, 2018)

objective being “to provide an open, accessible and, above all, participative Parliament.”<sup>43</sup>

The devolution settlement, according to Stewart, consciously sought to engender a more consensual form of politics than was seen to take place in Westminster.”<sup>44</sup> Additionally, accountability together with equal opportunities, were included in the “principles to which the group argued the parliament should adhere.”<sup>45</sup> It was intended that these principles would result in a “more plural and collaborative political system.”<sup>46</sup> This “new politics narrative”<sup>47</sup> with its “emphasis placed upon improving the connection between Parliament and civic society”<sup>48</sup> is reflective of the communitarian critique of liberal neutrality, and the belief that identity is dialogically constructed within the context of the broader community<sup>49</sup> and achieved as a result of exchanges with “interlocutors”<sup>50</sup> important in one’s life, including the state. The communitarian turn was further evident in a speech delivered by Dewar at the opening of the Scottish Parliament. Here one’s embeddedness within custom and tradition as a means of shaping “our moral particularity”<sup>51</sup> was reflected in his assertion that

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<sup>43</sup> Davidson, S. and Elstub, S. p12 ‘Deliberative and Participatory Democracy in the UK’ in *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* Vol. 16, Issue 3, 2014 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2014)

<sup>44</sup> Stewart, J. p10 ‘Scottish solutions to Scottish problems’? Social welfare in Scotland since devolution’ in *Social Policy Review 16: Analysis and debate in social policy, 2004* Ellison, N. Bauld, L. & Powell, M. (eds.) (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2004)

<sup>45</sup> Bromley, C. Curtice, J. McCrone, D. and Park, A. p2 *Has Devolution Delivered?* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)

<sup>46</sup> Mackay, F. p175 ‘Descriptive and substantive representation in new parliamentary spaces’ in *Representing Women in Parliament: A Comparative Study* Sawyer, M. Tremblay, M. & Trimble, L. (eds.) (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006)

<sup>47</sup> Davidson, S. and Elstub, S. p12 ‘Deliberative and Participatory Democracy in the UK’ in *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* Vol. 16, Issue 3, 2014 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2014)

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid* p12

<sup>49</sup> Baumeister, A. p134 *Liberalism and the ‘Politics of Difference’* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000)

<sup>50</sup> Etzioni, A. p171 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)

<sup>51</sup> MacIntyre, A. p220 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

"The past is part of us. But today there is a new voice in the land, the voice of a democratic Parliament. A voice to shape Scotland, a voice for the future."<sup>52</sup>

Dewar's introduction to Labour's manifesto for the first Scottish Parliamentary Election stated that "Holyrood is our route to a fair society."<sup>53</sup> He described the "all-important journey to social justice" and his determination to avoid Scotland being "sidelined into sterile arguments about breaking up Britain."<sup>54</sup> MacIntyre too, expressed concern over the effect internecine conflict can have; considering it an evil capable of undermining social justice. He believed that such conflict, where virtues were no longer in harmony both at individual and state level, derived as "the result either of flaws of character in individuals or of unintelligent political arrangements."<sup>55</sup> Talk of independence could, from Dewar's perspective, have been judged an unintelligent discourse conducted by those of flawed character; this despite his own call ten years earlier for a "Scotland, independent within the UK."<sup>56</sup> The best line of defence now appeared to be to dismiss any discussion about independence as a sterile and unworthy argument. He seemed convinced that Scotland's journey to social justice would be fraught with danger, and that all must guard against the threat posed by the SNP and its independence rhetoric. Dewar however, made clear his support for a parliament capable of bringing "Scottish solutions to Scottish problems"<sup>57</sup> in accordance with what used to be called the "common weal."<sup>58</sup> It should be noted that the term 'common weal' was not just

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<sup>52</sup> Speech by Donald Dewar MSP, at the opening of the Scottish Parliament 1<sup>st</sup> July 1999

<sup>53</sup> *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p1 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) This parliament was to be, according to Dewar "devoted to building a new, prosperous and just Scotland."

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid* p1

<sup>55</sup> MacIntyre, A. p157 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>56</sup> Mitchell, J. p490 'The Evolution of Devolution: Labour's Home Rule Strategy in Opposition' in *Government and Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics* (Volume 33, Issue 4, October 1998)

<sup>57</sup> *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p1 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) The subsequent application of 'Scottish solutions to Scottish problems' resulted in the kind of 'cross border differences' (such as the introduction in Scotland of the Adults with Incapacity Act, 2000) described in the previous chapter.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid* p1



used by Dewar and Scottish Labour. Salmond, in praise of the Scottish radical Thomas Muir's devotion to "the cause of The People," also attempted to evoke this spirit of "the common weal."<sup>59</sup>

This appeal to the common weal echoed the communitarian appreciation of the importance of a society's shared vocabulary of values.<sup>60</sup> But, whilst Taylor believed such values still existed and should be encouraged, MacIntyre thought they held no particular relevance to contemporary liberal societies; claiming that the "notion of the political community as a common project is alien to the modern liberal individualist."<sup>61</sup> Labour nevertheless attempted to convince Scots that these two ostensibly disparate ideologies could in fact coexist, when stating that "individuals prosper in strong and secure communities, where rights are matched by responsibilities."<sup>62</sup> Its position therefore, appeared closer to Taylor's. But these differences form what Weiss and Wodak, in their examination of critical discourse analysis, call 'background': those variables which lead to disagreement because, in this field of study, there are inevitably differences and conflicts of

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<sup>59</sup> Salmond, A. p10 'Speech by Alex Salmond MSP, First Minister, at the Scottish National Party Spring Conference' 2011. Thomas Muir was a leading light in a late eighteenth century Scottish movement which "aimed at the social, political and cultural regeneration of Scotland. MacMillan describes this as "a vigorous movement, rooted in democratic principle, greatly influenced by the recent revolution in France and driven by many of the best minds of the day." MacMillan, H. p9 *Handful of Rogues: Thomas Muir's Enemies of the People* (Glendaruel: Argyle Publishing, 2005)

<sup>60</sup> Taylor argues that "It is in language, at least in this broad sense, that standards can be disclosed, can become objects of our awareness, as against just being explanatory notions accounting for our behaviour." Taylor, C. p271-272 'The person' in *The category of the person: Anthropology, philosophy, history* Carrithers, M. Collins, S. & Lukes, S. (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

<sup>61</sup> MacIntyre, A. p156 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007) Such is the level of alienation prevalent in modern times, according to MacIntyre, that he says "It is no wonder that friendship has been relegated to private life and thereby weakened in comparison to what it once was."

<sup>62</sup> *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p2 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) The example given as to how this match of rights and responsibilities may be achieved was however, more draconian than communitarian; it was the proposal to "set up a Scottish Drug Enforcement Agency to crack down on dealers."

interest.<sup>63</sup> In line with this Dewar, in a speech made in December 1998, stated that "If through experience and by consent, we want to adjust the settlement, the machinery is in place."<sup>64</sup>

The devolution settlement was never only the result of Scottish effort. Labour in Westminster over many years influenced the debate; the result being that communitarian ideas on strategy and policy became apparent north of the border. Dewar said in his acceptance speech, having won Glasgow Anniesland in the first Holyrood election, that this night was "a key point in the democratic renewal of the British constitution and its civil institutions that began with the election of a Labour government in May 1997."<sup>65</sup> Strategy therefore, designed to alter the representational framework of Scottish politics originated, at least in part, in London, and this emerging narrative exhibited an appreciation of communitarian principles in relation to policies the party intended to pursue.

The issue of whether Scotland would develop into a distinct nation of strong communities or simply an integral part of the Union (constrained by the limits of devolution) was compounded by the "new context for the devolution debate."<sup>66</sup> This, according to Cavanagh, came about as a result of the increasing importance of EU membership<sup>67</sup> and the

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<sup>63</sup> Weiss, G. & Wodak, R. p12 'Introduction: Theory, Interdisciplinarity and Critical Discourse Analysis' in *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity* Weiss, G. & Wodak, R. (eds.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003)

<sup>64</sup> Dewar, D. Speech on "the devolution settlement and setting up a parliament in Edinburgh after 300 years" Delivered in St Andrews, Fife. 'Dewar accepts Scotland's 'evolutionary nationalism' in *The Independent* Tuesday 1 December 1998

<sup>65</sup> Speech by Donald Dewar MSP, having won the Glasgow Anniesland seat in the Scottish Parliament Friday 7<sup>th</sup> May 1999

<sup>66</sup> Cavanagh, M. p1 *The Campaigns for a Scottish Parliament* (Glasgow: University of Strathclyde Department of Government, 2001)

<sup>67</sup> During the period under investigation the UK was, to an extent, drawn closer into the EU sphere of influence. Having come to power in 1997, Blair soon thereafter signed the Social Chapter of the Maastricht Treaty; something that the previous Conservative administration had been unwilling to do. Laurie, J. p5 *The Social Chapter: Research Paper 97/102* (House of Commons Library: 2 September, 1997) However, signs of awkwardness as to this administration's relationship with the EU quickly emerged. In a speech to Parliament that same year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that "in principle, a successful single currency within a

challenge it presented to "traditional relationships between the UK political, cultural and economic centre based in London and the peripheral regions."<sup>68</sup> It became apparent that questions concerning UK sovereignty were now as much external, as internal. Rather than forestalling separation, devolution encouraged Scots to begin thinking of themselves, no longer as merely part of a separate cultural community, but now as members of a distinct economic and political one too. Keating thought that this phenomenon may emerge, describing it as "competitive regionalism." He anticipated the effect devolution could have on "territorial communities that are naturally solidaristic" and thought they could even "emphasise social cohesion in the face of market forces."<sup>69</sup> But the idea that a nation could better cope with external economic threats, if its people exhibited solidarity, was not an hypothesis promoted only by Keating. Taylor recognised the potency of marginalization; when a nation's perception of itself was such that it considered its cultural survival (and by implication, its economic survival too) to have been at stake. In these circumstances he believed it reasonable for that nation to demand acknowledgement of its worth. He thought this argument particularly cogent in relation to Quebec and its relationship with the rest of Canada; saying that "Multinational societies can break up because of a lack of perceived

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single European market would be of benefit to Europe and to Britain." Yet he then went on to outline "five economic tests" which would have to be met, before he would be prepared to recommend to the House that the UK should join the European Monetary Union. Speech by Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown on the issue of European Monetary Union (House of Commons: 27 October, 1997) In the ensuing years of the Labour administration this recommendation was never made.

<sup>68</sup> Cavanagh, M. p1 *The Campaigns for a Scottish Parliament* (Glasgow: University of Strathclyde Department of Government, 2001)

<sup>69</sup> Keating, M. p199 *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making after Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005) Here Keating describes how "this has been argued in the case of Quebec and might be considered in the case of Scotland." In relation to Quebec Keating cites Noël, A. 'Is Decentralization Conservative?' in Young, R. (ed.), *Stretching the federation. The art of the state in Canada* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, 1999) For Scotland Keating cites McEwan, N. 'The Nation-Building Role of the Welfare State in the United Kingdom and Canada' in *The Dynamics of Decentralization. Canadian Federalism and British Devolution* Salmon, T. & Keating, M. (eds.) (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999)

recognition of equal worth of one group by another."<sup>70</sup> Devolution may therefore have accentuated the differences between Scotland and the rest of the UK; thus weakening a union that Labour, by introducing it, had intended to strengthen. Canovan, when discussing Arendt's 'analysis of action,' described her cautionary advice to any would-be political reformers. This being that the haphazard nature of relationships between "plural actors" can manifest itself in ways that "one cannot foresee even the effects of one's own initiatives, let alone control what happens when they are entangled with other people's initiatives in the public arena."<sup>71</sup> The law of unintended consequences meant that Labour's actions may unwittingly have initiated the first steps of Scotland "sleepwalking into independence."<sup>72</sup>

In a speech prior to the second Scottish election, McConnell "emphasised his aim to create stability within Scotland's devolved government."<sup>73</sup> When introducing Labour's second Scottish manifesto therefore, he took a different tack to his predecessor. Instead of a call to arms against 'sterile arguments about breaking up Britain,' his vision was of a "Scotland we can all be proud to call home."<sup>74</sup> He spoke of the "wasted years" when Scots "did not have

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<sup>70</sup> Taylor, C. p250 *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995)

<sup>71</sup> Canovan, M. pxviii 'Introduction' (1998) to Arendt, H. *The Human Condition* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.) (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958) Canovan, when explaining Arendt's position, spoke of "that miraculous unpredictability of action [having a] lack of control over its effects."

<sup>72</sup> Bort, E. p27 'Annals of the Parish: The Year at Holyrood, 2006-2007' in *Scottish Affairs*, no.61, Autumn 2007 Quoting from (Daily Record, 3 May 2007) Whilst there was nothing to suggest that anything particularly sinister could result from a combination of haphazard reforms, Orwell, many years before, made clear his view that there was not "anything to be proud of in being called a sleep-walker. Orwell, G. p15 *Why I Write* (1946) (London: Penguin Books, 2004)

<sup>73</sup> Speech by Rt. Hon. Jack McConnell MSP, First Minister of Scotland. September 2002 to the Institute of Directors.

<sup>74</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p2 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003) McConnell also spoke of a vision of "a Scotland with strong communities." This vision of strong communities had previously featured in Labour's 1997 UK manifesto, and its appearance six years later in a Scottish context perhaps illustrates the continuing influence on policy that the Labour Party in Westminster had on the party north of the border. Labour Party UK Manifesto p3 (UK General Election, 1997))

the opportunity to make our own decisions to change life in our communities.”<sup>75</sup> It is reasonable to assume he was referring to the failed (from a Labour perspective) 1979 home rule referendum<sup>76</sup> and subsequent eighteen years of what was considered a democratic deficit.<sup>77</sup> Such was Conservative unpopularity that, when they lost to Labour in the 1997 UK election, they held no Scottish seats. Only later in the introductory statement of his party’s manifesto did McConnell allude to the nationalist alternative to devolution by stating that the Scots could choose to “risk all the upheaval and uncertainty” that would result if “plans for a separate Scottish state”<sup>78</sup> ever came to fruition. This sentiment was reiterated in a speech three years later when he declared: “I’m passionate about Scotland. And I believe that Scotland’s future will be stronger within the UK.”<sup>79</sup> But it was the complexity of his understanding of Scotland’s relationship with the UK and beyond, that is of particular interest. In addition to Scotland’s “partnership inside the UK”<sup>80</sup> he spoke of its “unique

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid* p2

<sup>76</sup> The creation of a Scottish Assembly was not however, an initiative wholeheartedly supported by all within Labour. Lynch explains that “At Westminster, Harold Wilson’s pragmatic determination to implement devolution in order to stave off electoral defeats at the hands of the Nationalists was not shared by backbench colleagues, many of whom conspired to give the Scotland and Wales Bill and subsequently the Scotland Bill a very rough time in the House of Commons. Lynch, P. P10 *Scottish Government and Politics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001) Citing Bogdanor, V. *Devolution* (Oxford: Opus, 1979)

<sup>77</sup> In the course of this period the percentage vote won by the Conservatives in Scotland shrunk from 31.4% to 17.5%.

UK Election results in Scotland 1979-1997:

Year	Conservative		Labour		Lib Dem		SNP	
	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
1979	31.4	22	41.5	44	9	3	17.3	2
1983	28.4	21	35.1	41	24.5	8	11.7	2
1987	24	10	42.4	50	19.4	9	14	3
1992	25.7	11	39	49	13	9	21.5	3
1997	17.5	0	45.6	56	13	10	22	6

Source: Lynch, P. ‘The Scottish Conservatives Under Cameron: Reform, Relevance, Revival or Redundancy?’ (London: Political Studies Association Annual Conference, April 2011)

<sup>78</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p5 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003) Instead McConnell spoke of building “on what we’ve started, inside the UK, using the powers of devolution to take our country forward.”

<sup>79</sup> Speech by Rt. Hon. Jack McConnell MSP, First Minister of Scotland. 10<sup>th</sup> November 2006.

<sup>80</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p3 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003) This somewhat vague phrase appears to allude to the rather uneven balance of power that existed between the

identity at home and abroad,” comprising of (as Dewar made clear in the previous manifesto) “strong communities.” This document proposed that Scotland capitalize on its “increased profile and interest.... around the world.”<sup>81</sup> But it was inevitable that when a party promoted the differences between a nation and its sovereign superior, an increased level of debate concerning the ultimate locus of power was bound to result. McLeish characterized this ensuing debate thus: “politics, government and democracy north and south of the border are diverging and this is feeding into a stronger sense of nationality, identity and diversity.”<sup>82</sup>

Whereas Dewar sought to establish Scotland as having a separate identity, but firmly within a UK context – McConnell wanted to achieve the almost impossible task of positioning it as an international economic and cultural player; an integral part of the UK, and at sub-national level, a collective of ‘strong’ communities. His language exemplified a phenomenon concerning Scottish identity that emerged as a result of devolution, whereby UK sovereign power had relaxed sufficiently to tolerate part of the Union exploring anew, aspects of its national identity. This showed the Union to be an arrangement which could be flexible and accommodate difference. These competing conceptions of identity may only ever survive however, if Scots were able to act in accordance with Taylor’s assertion that recognition of the equal worth of each must be given, and in acceptance of Moreno’s contention that

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Labour administration in Westminster and its devolved counterpart in Scotland, and suggests an awareness, by McConnell, of the influence on policy that the Blair government enjoyed over Labour in Scotland.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid* p3

<sup>82</sup> McLeish, H. p10 *Scotland, The Growing Divide: Old Nation, New Ideas* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2012)

mixed and shared identities mean that it cannot be an exclusive choice between being either Scottish or British.<sup>83</sup>

In the introduction to Labour's 2007 Holyrood manifesto McConnell, perhaps sensing a change in the political climate, reiterated his warning that Scotland had "a choice between two futures."<sup>84</sup> Just as Dewar spoke of Scotland becoming "sidelined into sterile arguments about breaking up Britain"<sup>85</sup> - McConnell offered the option of either "building up Scotland" or "an uncertain route to breaking up Britain."<sup>86</sup> Pittock suggests that this campaign was "heavily influenced by Westminster, and focused on scaremongering about the Nationalists."<sup>87</sup> In Westminster that year, Labour Ministers warned that "Scotland cannot afford to sink into the morass of a constitutional crisis."<sup>88</sup> Using nation building language reflective of communitarian values, they stressed the importance of the contribution to the common good that derived from the UK's regional interdependencies; arguing that to separate would be to risk losing "the best opportunity of achieving a more just society."<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Moreno, L. p1 'Scotland, Catalonia, Europeanization and the 'Moreno Question' in *Scottish Affairs*, No. 54, Winter 2006 (Edinburgh: Institute of Governance at The University of Edinburgh, 2006) Here Moreno describes the "multiple and diverse" nature of national identity.

<sup>84</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p3 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007) With the benefit of hindsight and the knowledge therefore, that Labour was going to lose this election to the SNP, McConnell may have thought twice before stating in the manifesto that this election was "Perhaps the most important election in Scotland for a generation." Pittock described the outcome as "the Nationalists winning heavily enough to be the largest party, with a historic 47 seats to Labour's 46." Pittock, M. p173 *The Road to Independence? Scotland since the Sixties* (London: Reaktion Press, 2008)

<sup>85</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p1 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) In the eight years since Dewar's warning over sterile arguments about breaking up Britain, Mackay argues that "Far from killing Nationalism stone dead, devolution breathed new life into the SNP." Mackay, C. p79 'The SNP and the Scottish Parliament: The Start of a New Sang?' in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>86</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p3 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007)

<sup>87</sup> Pittock, M. p173 *The Road to Independence? Scotland since the Sixties* (London: Reaktion Press, 2008) This may therefore, represent another example of the Labour Party in Westminster influencing party strategy in Holyrood.

<sup>88</sup> Alexander, D. & Brown, G. p3 *Stronger Together: The 21<sup>st</sup> century case for Scotland and Britain* (London: Fabian Society, 2007)

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid* p5 Alexander and Brown go on to describe devolution as having been "the most radical rebuilding of the Union" and explain that "Scottish identity has been rightly re-affirmed and

McConnell spoke of Scotland standing at a crossroads, and by the narrowest of margins, choosing the road he would rather it had not.<sup>90</sup> Thus, on the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Act of Union, a nationalist party took the devolved reins of power; albeit as a minority administration. McLeish called it “a remarkable year in which the political landscape of the United Kingdom and Scotland was transformed.”<sup>91</sup> Scottish Labour had lost its first election since 1959.<sup>92</sup> Anticipating what was to come, Brown and McLeish indicated earlier that year that the SNP “now proposes a referendum on independence and the evidence suggests that the response might be the same as in Quebec: that the Nationalists could win an election and even be re-elected but fail to convince the people on independence.”<sup>93</sup> This proved an accurate prediction. But as with Labour’s two previous Holyrood manifestos, apart from a brief statement concerning the dangers of independence, no substantial explanation was given as to the nature of these dangers. The party now preferred to play down any debate on constitutional change.<sup>94</sup> This was, according to Gardiner, because it could “no longer

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the Scottish commitment to social justice given a new, dynamic way to express itself through the Scottish Parliament.”

<sup>90</sup> Jones speaks of “the cliff-hanger of the final result when the SNP beat Labour by just one seat.” He goes on to say that “That alone was history – the first time Labour had failed to win the largest haul of seats and votes in Scotland since 1955.” So too, according to Jones, “was the aftermath – the first Scottish National Party government in British political history.” Jones, P. p6 ‘The Smooth Wooing: The SNP’s Victory in the 2007 Scottish Parliament Elections’ in *Scottish Affairs* No. 60, Summer 2007 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007)

<sup>91</sup> McLeish, H. p13 *Scotland, The Growing Divide: Old Nation, New Ideas* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2012)

<sup>92</sup> Hassan, G. p144 ‘A Case Study of Scottish Labour: Devolution and the Politics of Multi-Level Governance’ in *The Political Quarterly* Volume 73. Issue 2. April 2002. Hassan explained here that “The Scottish party has not lost an election since 1959, whereas the UK party lost four in a row after 1979; this divergence of fortune has had significant consequences for both, leading them to develop different trajectories and psychologies that influence them to this day.”

<sup>93</sup> Brown, T. & McLeish, H. p143 *Scotland: The Road Divides: New Politics, New Union* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2007)

<sup>94</sup> Under McConnell’s second administration, Labour did however conduct an internal review to determine if it wanted to argue for more powers. But its conclusion was that devolution was fine as it is. When giving evidence, for example, to the House of Commons Justice Committee on 22 April 2008, McConnell said of the existing Barnett formula for funding the devolved Scottish Parliament that “the case has not yet been made to move away from that to a new



persuade the working-class and the young back to outright unionism.”<sup>95</sup> He further argued that young people, since the inception of devolution “showed the greatest optimism for independence and the most proactive stance towards it.” Labour may have come to realise that it could no longer, as Etzioni put it, “draw on strong shared values and moulding symbols.”<sup>96</sup> This was an ironic twist. Given its previous capability to invoke strong working-class sensibilities, and having been led nationally by a man professing to have been greatly influenced by the communitarian values of Macmurray, it had to recognise its much-diminished ability to associate itself with those community values it once so eloquently espoused.

Bell, when reflecting on Canada: a sovereign nation almost in thrall to its southern neighbour, spoke of a “national community of memory.”<sup>97</sup> Such communities consisted of individuals who not only share a “history going back several generations” (much more in the case of Scotland) but also turn “towards the future as communities of hope.” He believed that “ideals and aspirations embedded in the past experience of those communities” could be used in the future for “contributions to a common good.” Labour’s dilemma was that in playing down the memory of its Old Labour legacy, it was out of kilter with the ‘ideals and aspirations’ of an important sector of the Scottish electorate: the traditional working class;

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arrangement.” McConnell, J. quoted in p104 *Devolution: A Decade On: Fifth Report of Session 2008-9* Vol. 11, 12 May 2009 (London: Stationary Office Limited, 2009)

<sup>95</sup> Gardiner, M. p15 *The Cultural Roots of British Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004) Gardner explains that “in 1999, 43 per cent of eighteen-to-twenty-four-year-olds in Scotland favoured full independence as a constitutional option, and two-thirds of them expected independence to come before the end of the 2010s.” This data taken from Paxman, J. p49 *The English: A portrait of a People* (London: Penguin, 1999)

<sup>96</sup> Etzioni, A. p230 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993) Keating noted that this trend towards undermining long-standing shared values and moulding symbols could be applied to questions of nationhood. He contended that “A new politics of nationalism has emerged in which territorial societies are reinvented and rediscovered, below, beyond, and across the state system.” Keating, M. p17 *Plurinational Democracy: Stateless Nations in a Post-Sovereignty Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

<sup>97</sup> Bell, D. p125 *Communitarianism and its Critics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)

this to the extent that by 2011, in a speech given by Douglas Alexander, he stated that "Old Labour had ran its course."<sup>98</sup> For some therefore, Labour did not seem capable of setting the conditions for Scotland such that the most appropriate 'contributions to a common good' could be facilitated.

Rather than appealing to such values, McConnell concentrated on opportunities afforded by devolution. He said "We have the best of both worlds: the strength and stability of a large and powerful nation state and the dynamism and drive of devolved government."<sup>99</sup> This reiterated a sentiment expressed by Blair who justified constitutional change and the devolution of powers, by saying that "power should be exercised as close as possible to the people it affects."<sup>100</sup> Blair may therefore, have been influenced by liberal as well as communitarian ideology, in that this mirrored J. S. Mill's belief that "It is but a small portion of the public business of a country which can be well done, or safely attempted, by the central authorities."<sup>101</sup> Common ground is apparent in the way aspects of each ideology were applied. Labour strove to find a balance between the liberal imperative to allow as many decisions as possible to be made by those communities directly affected, and the communitarian necessity to reinvigorate those same communities through policies intended to allow for each specific community's conception of the common good to be realized.

The 2011 Holyrood election results proved Brown and McLeish accurate in their prediction that the SNP was capable of winning and then being re-elected, but not of

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<sup>98</sup> Speech given by Douglas Alexander MP. Shadow Foreign Secretary (Labour) at Stirling University. October 2011.

<sup>99</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p4 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007) This, in essence, was also Better Together's campaign in 2014.

<sup>100</sup> Blair, T. p114 'Doctrine of the International Community: Kosovo' in *Neoconservatism* Stelzer, I. (ed.) (London: Atlantic Books, 2004)

<sup>101</sup> Mill, J. S. p376 *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861) (London: Orion Publishing Group, 1972) Using language that is clearly in favour of the devolution of power, Mill goes on to suggest that "the legislative portion at least of the governing body busies itself far too much with local affairs, employing the supreme power of the State in cutting small knots which there ought to be other and better means of untying."

convincing all those who voted for them of the merits of independence. Whilst in 2007 the SNP defeated Labour by one seat and thus formed a minority administration, this time it achieved an overall majority<sup>102</sup> and formed a majority administration.<sup>103</sup> Labour had experienced its “worst showing in the popular vote (excluding Euro elections) since 1918.”<sup>104</sup> This was made all the worse because it lost a significant number of seats in Lanarkshire and Glasgow; communities long considered the party’s Scottish heartlands.<sup>105</sup> Braiden described the party as having been “buried in its spiritual birthplace”<sup>106</sup> and observed that “Lanarkshire, the birthplace of the Labour Party’s founder Keir Hardie and the industrial heartland of Scotland, will now be remembered as the place where the party’s 2011 humiliation began and became very real, very quickly.”<sup>107</sup>

Iain Gray, Labour’s leader in the Scottish Parliament from 2008 until 2011, barely mentioned the spectre of independence in the 2011 manifesto; merely stating that, if returned to power, there would be “No more distractions, no more constitutional

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<sup>102</sup> Curtice describes the impact of this result by saying that “The Scottish National Party (SNP) swept everything before it in the fourth Scottish Parliament election held on May 5<sup>th</sup> 2011. The party not only won its highest nationwide election, but it managed to secure an overall majority despite the use of a proportional electoral system.” Curtice, J. p51 ‘The 2011 Scottish Election: Records Tumble, Barriers Breached’ in *Scottish Affairs* No. 76, summer 2011 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011)

<sup>103</sup> The total number of seats won by each of the parties, and by an independent candidate, was as follows: SNP 69 (+23) Labour 37 (-7) Con 15 (-5) LibDem 5 (-12) Green 2 (+1) Margo McDonald 1 (+0) Due to boundary changes having occurred between this and the 2007 Holyrood election, direct comparisons cannot always be made. *Election 2011 Results Supplement* (Glasgow: Herald, 7.5.2011)

<sup>104</sup> Hassan, G. & Shaw, E. p145 *The Strange Death of Labour Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)

<sup>105</sup> Sandford confirms that “Some of the constituencies lost by Labour were in their traditional heartlands, in Glasgow, the West of Scotland, and the central belt. The Party leader Iain Gray held on to his seat in East Lothian by 151 votes over the SNP.” Sandford, M. p7 *Scottish Parliament Elections: 2011* Research Paper 11/41 24 May 2011 (House of Commons Library, 2011)

<sup>106</sup> Braiden, G. pviii *Election 2011 Results Supplement* (Glasgow: Herald, 7.5.2011)

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid* pviii

wrangling.”<sup>108</sup> Whilst his predecessor Wendy Alexander had, in May 2008, surprised her party by shifting position on the issue of a referendum on independence, by proclaiming her wish to “bring it on”<sup>109</sup> - Gray was thought to have “rather less interest in the constitutional question.”<sup>110</sup> For him the issue was primarily socio-economic. He illustrated his party’s vision for Scotland by comparing the economic challenge the UK faced during the Second World War and his party’s 1945 response - with today’s daunting economic challenge and his intention to provide Scotland with “an opportunity to rebuild and a new hope for the future.”<sup>111</sup> This approach, he argued, stood in stark contrast to the UK coalition government’s solution “of ideological cuts that have shown disregard for the weakest in our society.” Gray’s denunciation of the speed and depth of the UK government’s Comprehensive Spending Review cuts, and his apparent unwillingness to fully engage with

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<sup>108</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto pp3-5 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2011) Instead he claimed that he was “standing to be First Minister of Scotland, so that this Tory government cannot repeat the mistakes of yesterday and blight our tomorrows.” This was perhaps to have miscalculated the level of power afforded to the leader of a devolved administration in the UK, and the more immediate threat posed by the SNP in Scotland. It is also of interest to note that when concluding his manifesto introduction, by promising that Labour will “fight for what really matters” Gray listed his party’s priorities as being: “you, your family and your future.” No mention of ‘community’ was made.

<sup>109</sup> Jeffery, C. p154 ‘The Scottish Parliament, Constitutional Change and the UK’s Haphazard Union’ in *The Scottish Parliament 1999-2009: The First Decade*, Jeffery, C. & Mitchell, J. (Ed.) (Edinburgh: Luath Press in association with Hansard Society Scotland, 2009) This confidence, by Alexander, as to the likely outcome of any such referendum was evident seven months earlier when she stated in a speech that “at no point has Scottish independence ever approached the sort of ideological hegemony, which would be necessary to see the dissolution of one of the most stable nation states ever known.” Alexander, W. p5 *A New Agenda for Scotland* A Keynote Lecture on a Future Vision for Scotland at the University of Edinburgh, Friday 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2007.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid* p155

<sup>111</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p8 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2011) Gray argued here that “We often hear that the UK faces one of the worst economic challenges since the Second World War. Yet, we must remember that Labour seized on the opportunity of 1945 to create work for hundreds of thousands, not throw our workers on the dole. There is an important lesson to be learned from this example. In every crisis, there is an opportunity to rebuild and a new hope for the future.” However, as previously suggested, this was perhaps to have miscalculated the level of power and influence that the leader of a devolved administration in the UK actually has; particularly when his party no longer controlled Westminster’s ‘corridors of power.’

the SNP on the issue of independence, resulted however in Scottish Labour appearing to lack any clear direction. As if in denial of reality, he said in a speech in 2009 that “The SNP are not a government. They are a campaign.”<sup>112</sup> This behaviour may then have contributed to an unravelling of support within those communities which had traditionally demonstrated the greatest allegiance, and given the impression that the party held no clear perspective as to what Scotland would benefit from, both constitutionally and in terms of socio-economic progress. It was using fear as an electioneering device – something that Macmurray counselled against; arguing that the “common life depends upon the extent to which the constraint of fear has been removed from it.”<sup>113</sup> Scottish Labour’s communities of traditional support therefore, no longer believed that the type of ‘common life’ they would have preferred was likely to materialize, if administered by a party trading on a fear of the policies and actions of rival parties. It was as if the “principle of cohesion”<sup>114</sup> that was of such importance to Macmurray, was no longer evident in what it offered, and as a result, that “which unified them so that they had come to form a real whole”<sup>115</sup> was no longer evident. Labour was no longer regarded as a unifying force by many within Scottish working-class communities.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Speech given by Iain Gray MSP. Leader of the Labour Party in the Scottish Parliament to the Labour Party Conference. 28<sup>th</sup> September, 2009.

<sup>113</sup> Macmurray, J. p15 *Conditions of Freedom* (1949) (New York: Humanity Books, 1993)

<sup>114</sup> Macmurray, J. p97 ‘The Conception of Society’ in *John Macmurray: Selected Philosophical Writings* McIntosh, E. (ed.) (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004)

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid* p97

<sup>116</sup> Unfortunately for Labour in Scotland, just at this time, according to Hassan and Shaw, the SNP emerged as a more potent unifying force; one attempting to “emphasise the catch-all nature of their party and emphasise that they are a truly national party in appeal, while also holding on to their centre-left credentials.” Hassan, G. & Shaw, E. p210 *The Strange Death of Labour Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)

## Conclusion

The use of discourse analysis as a means of studying what Gee called the 'study of language-in-use' proved useful in this analysis of Labour's stance on devolution. Of particular interest were the motives behind this ambition to introduce such a significant constitutional change. Analysis of this initiative revealed that underlying the publicly stated ambition to find Scottish solutions to Scottish problems, lay another imperative; this being the need to undermine the SNP's rising popularity. This case study concludes therefore, that the policy adopted by Labour, in terms of the language employed and the policy initiative pursued revealed that a political narrative indicative of a communitarian 'turn' was undoubtedly manifest in its aspiration for constitutional change. It is also concluded that aspects of communitarian thought, whilst evident in the party's response to the increasing threat of Scottish nationalism, were less obvious. Finally, this case study concluded that, despite a communitarian turn having been taken, Labour began to misread the mood of the Scottish electorate; this ultimately leading to an unravelling of support in many of its heartland communities.

### **6.2 Case Study: A Community Narrative**

The vision embodied within Labour's 1997 UK manifesto was one in which values of "the equal worth of all, with no one cast aside; fairness and justice within strong communities"<sup>117</sup> were central. In a clear rebuff of the previous eighteen years of Conservative governance, this document spoke, in communitarian terms, of "a society where

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<sup>117</sup> Labour Party UK Manifesto p3 (UK General Election, 1997) Having won this election, one of Labour's leading strategists then insisted that "the doubters" should "judge us after ten years of success in office. For one of the fruits of that success will be that Britain has become a more equal society." Mandelson, P. p7 'Labour's Next Steps: Tackling Social Exclusion' in *Fabian Pamphlet 581* (London: The Fabian Society, 1997)

we do not simply pursue our own individual aims but where we hold many aims in common and work together to achieve them."<sup>118</sup> This set the scene for the political narrative that followed two years later, when the first Holyrood election took place.

In Dewar's introduction to the Scottish Labour Party's manifesto that year, he asserted that his party had "started on that all-important journey to social justice."<sup>119</sup> This manifesto also emphasised the importance attached to family; stating that "strong families supported by decent incomes and top quality services are at the heart of our society."<sup>120</sup> This corresponded with communitarian thinking; Etzioni and Macmurray having emphasised the importance of family as being at the heart of a community.<sup>121</sup> But this aspiration, according to Macmurray, was less attainable in the modern world. He maintained that to "deliver the goods, in the maximum quantity, quality and variety for a given expenditure of labour" and thus ensure sufficiently high levels of income and services, the requirement for a high mobility of labour would lead to "a continuous breaking of the nexus of direct relations between persons and between a person and his natural environment."<sup>122</sup> This suggests that, rather than being one capable of supporting strong families, the economic

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<sup>118</sup> *Ibid* p3 Here, using language more usually associated with that of a totalitarian state, the party made the worrying, or perhaps merely careless, statement that "New Labour is the political arm of none other than the British people as a whole."

<sup>119</sup> *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p1 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) "Holyrood" Dewar went on to say "is our route to a fair society. A society which provides opportunity and rewards effort." This corresponds with what Etzioni has to say about "A *neo-communitarian* concept of citizenship" (a category of communitarianism that he identifies with); this being to "view citizens as both right-bearing individuals and as persons who must assume responsibilities toward each other and toward the community at large." Etzioni, A. p359 'Citizenship Tests: A Comparative Communitarian Perspective' in *The Political Quarterly* Vol. 78, No. 3, July-September 2007 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007)

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid* p2

<sup>121</sup> Etzioni puts it thus: "When we bond with family, friends and community members we live up to the basic principle of the good society." Etzioni, A. p13 *The Third Way to a Good Society* (London: Demos, 2000). Creamer encapsulates Macmurray's position thus: "Relationship is *constitutive* of human living." Creamer, D. G. p36 *Guides for Living: John Macmurray, Bernard Lonergan, James Fowler* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1996)

<sup>122</sup> Macmurray, J. p187 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of The Form of the Personal* (1961) (London: Faber and Faber, 1995)

environment envisaged by Labour could just as easily be divisive and different from the intended 'family friendly' outcome. Macmurray argued that the heart of society was unable to withstand "the destruction of the family and production of the 'mass-man'".<sup>123</sup> Dewar would not therefore, have been enamoured of New Labour's market liberalism. Given the social problems and family pressures he witnessed in his constituency, he is quoted instead as saying that "I give a high priority to the social justice agenda."<sup>124</sup>

Given that one of New Labour's guiding principles was a commitment to social inclusion; it was unsurprising that this manifesto pledged "to build a culture of lifelong learning."<sup>125</sup> This reflected the communitarian belief that the greater good is best achieved when a culture of community cohesion exists.<sup>126</sup> Consequently, a policy commitment such as this would likely appeal to MacIntyre, who attached great importance to those practices which provided a "coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity."<sup>127</sup> It also follows that a society committed to making education available in such a universal way, was more likely to engender the type of dialogical exchange advocated by Taylor as a means by which individuals could progress sufficiently as to be capable of defining their own identity.<sup>128</sup> This, he believed, would result in a sense of well-being and of

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibid* p187 This "economic field" is, according to Macmurray "for all workers, a field of necessity, not of freedom."

<sup>124</sup> Jones, P. p160 'The Modernising Radical' in *Donald Dewar: Scotland's first First Minister* Alexander, W. (ed.) (Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publishing, 2005)

<sup>125</sup> *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p3 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) This 'culture of lifelong learning' was intended by Scottish Labour to be one "which cuts across traditional boundaries and reaches Scottish people of all ages and backgrounds."

<sup>126</sup> Concerning Macmurray's opinion on the significance of education, Fielding says that "he argues for the central importance of education addressing fundamental issues of human purpose – how we lead good lives together, the emphasis on wisdom rather than knowledge alone, the advancement of a truly democratic culture, and the overriding importance of community in human flourishing." Fielding, M. p675 'Education as if people matter: John Macmurray, community and the struggle for democracy' in *Oxford Review of Education* Vol. 38, No. 6, December 2012 (London: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>127</sup> MacIntyre, A. p187 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>128</sup> Taylor describes the conditions under which individuals are able to define their identity by explaining that "Human beings always have a sense of self, in the sense that they situate



belonging. From Labour's perspective, those who were socially or economically excluded through lack of education, training and qualifications, would now stand a better chance of being included, and finding employment.<sup>129</sup>

A pledge was also made that Labour would "build a Scotland based on strong communities."<sup>130</sup> In-line with the communitarian critique of state neutrality, this pledge signalled the party's intention to use the state apparatus to enable communities to strive collectively to achieve a way of life which reflected their vision of the common good. It would be a pro-active state.<sup>131</sup> But, whilst the objective of building stronger communities was clearly redolent of communitarian sentiment; one method by which this was to be achieved was less so. This was by ridding society of "crime and the criminals who blight our communities."<sup>132</sup> Just as Blair had expressed admiration for the philosophy of Hobbes; this statement tended also to exemplify a central characteristic of Hobbesian theory: that distrust and fear of one's fellow man is best countered by the actions of a strong state. But

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themselves somewhere in ethical space. Their sense of who they are is defined partly by some identification of what are truly important issues, standards, goods, or demands; and correlative to this, by some sense of where they stand relative to these and/or measure up to them." Taylor, C. p58 'The Dialogical Self' in *Rethinking Knowledge: Reflections Across the Disciplines* Goodman, R. F. & Fisher, W. R. (eds.) (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) This thesis contends that a 'culture of lifelong learning' could, were it to be realised, enable individuals to more successfully define their own identity.

<sup>129</sup> Labour, in its 1999 manifesto, cited education as one of the means by which it intended "tackling social exclusion" *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p3 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>130</sup> *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p7 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) These were envisaged as being "strong and secure communities, where rights are matched by responsibilities."

<sup>131</sup> This is in direct contradiction of the contemporary version of liberalism which, according to Hurka, "rejects all forms of *state perfectionism*, that is, all efforts by a government to promote some ways of living that it thinks are superior to others." Hurka, T. p36 'Indirect Perfectionism: Kymlicka on Liberal Neutrality' in *The Journal of Political Philosophy* Vol. 3, No. 1, March 1995 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1995)

<sup>132</sup> *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p7 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) This aspiration was reinforced on the same page with a promise to "rid Scotland of the problems that weaken our society" and indicates, from a communitarian perspective, a dichotomy between 'a definition of' and 'a solution to' the problem. The former may be characterised in terms of the 'moral malaise', as described by both Taylor and MacIntyre; the latter as a solution more typically applied by totalitarian states.

this ran contrary to Macmurray's position.<sup>133</sup> He thought that Hobbes' mechanistic solution, wherein individuals required to be restrained by an external force, placed too low an expectation on man's ability to reason – and to nurture the ability of others within his community to reason too. He believed that any simplistic assumption, based on the premise that a community should be thought of as little more than an organic entity to which only relatively simple solutions could be applied, was to deny the existence of the incredible subtlety and complexity of human behaviour and relationships. Macmurray therefore argued that ultimately, it could only ever be through active participation within one's community, and the "reflective activity"<sup>134</sup> likely to ensue, that misguided individuals would be helped to see reason and, as a result, cease to engage in criminal and anti-social behaviour.

A particularly complex variant of Taylor's call for a balance to be struck, between universalism and difference, was evident in this manifesto.<sup>135</sup> Disparate elements of Scottish society were presented as the integral components of a collective solution designed to "rebuild communities."<sup>136</sup> These elements included "public, private and voluntary sector organisations" together with "family, friends and neighbours" and "Scotland's older citizens", in addition to its "half a million carers."<sup>137</sup> But this listing of the different constituent parts of

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<sup>133</sup> Costello says of Macmurray that "Contrary to Hobbes, Machiavelli and many other social thinkers, he claims that love not fear, is the normative and truest form of personal spontaneity." Costello, J. p96 'John Macmurray's Personal Universe' in *University of Toronto Press Journal* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998)

<sup>134</sup> Macmurray, J. p117 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of The Form of the Personal* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961)

<sup>135</sup> Malik considers Taylor to be amongst those who believe that "the heterogeneity and diversity that define contemporary societies, especially in the West, make old-style equality, rooted in Enlightenment notions of universalism, inadequate, even dangerous." From this perspective therefore, Labour's conception of a multifaceted modern Scotland reflected Taylor's notion of a heterogeneous and diverse society which was unlikely to benefit from universalistic social policies which viewed the nation's disparate elements in collective terms. Malik, K. p366 'Making a difference: culture, race and social policy' in *Patterns of Prejudice* Vol. 39, No. 4, 2005 (London: Routledge, 2005)

<sup>136</sup> *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p7 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid* p9

Scottish civic society, and then proposing to merge them and their functions with those of the state into some universal solution, could have been considered problematic. Arendt warned of a situation where "the dividing line is entirely blurred, because we see the body of peoples and political communities in the image of a family whose everyday affairs have to be taken care of by a gigantic nation-wide administration of housekeeping."<sup>138</sup> From a communitarian viewpoint however, this could be deemed worthy of support, in that it proposed the establishment of a society within which the collective needs of families and communities outweighed those of individuals. This corresponds with the communitarian perspective on the function of the state, as described by Daly; this being "to bring the welfare of communities into the centre of political discourse by establishing in the public domain the values of communal associations."<sup>139</sup> This sentiment was reinforced by the manifesto's claim that it was "vital for all our communities that decision making reflects the priorities of local people."<sup>140</sup>

In this manifesto a wide-ranging appreciation of the meaning of the term 'community' was taken. Included were references to "local solutions to local problems"<sup>141</sup>, "Scottish

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<sup>138</sup> Arendt, H. P28 *The Human Condition* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958)

<sup>139</sup> Daly, M. p1 *Communitarianism: A New Public Ethic* (San Francisco: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1994)

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid* p11 *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p11 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid* p7 This is in keeping with the European Union 'principle of subsidiarity' which requires that "powers or tasks should rest with the lower-level sub-units of that order unless allocating them to a higher-level central unit would ensure higher comparative efficiency or effectiveness in achieving them." Føllesdal, A. p190 'Survey Article: Subsidiarity' in *The Journal of Political Philosophy* Vol. 6, No. 2, 1998 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 1998) It may also be indicative of Dewar's Presbyterian leanings, where the principle of power being in the hands of those most directly affected is upheld. Further, subsidiarity is referred to as being an important aspect of what Bellah calls 'democratic communitarianism'; an idea which "asserts that the groups closest to a problem should attend to it, receiving support from higher level groups only if necessary." Bellah, R. N. p5 'Community Properly Understood: A Defence of "Democratic" Communitarianism' in *The Responsive Community* 6 No. 1 (Winter 1995/96) Glynn, P. (ed.) (Berkeley: University of California, 1995)

solutions to Scottish problems”<sup>142</sup> and also of Scotland’s shared destiny with the intertwined “communities of the United Kingdom.”<sup>143</sup> In addition the European Union was described as “a community which has served us well”<sup>144</sup>, given Scotland’s “shared history” with the other nations of Europe. This all-encompassing vision of community corresponds with that of Etzioni, who describes it as “a set of attributes, not a concrete place.”<sup>145</sup>

Pinkard would, in all probability, have supported the adoption of this type of broad-brush, or as he put it ‘cosmopolitan’ approach. He would likely have considered it a realistic, and therefore more practical, way for a state to maintain viable communities within the context of a complexity of socio-political layers that no community could reasonably be expected to avoid interaction with. When describing what he believed to be Hegel’s support for the ‘universality’ of the state, whilst at the same time attempting to play down Hegel’s communitarian credentials, he spoke of “the rather amorphous conception of

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<sup>142</sup> *Ibid* p1 Eleven years after this promise of providing ‘Scottish solutions to Scottish problems’ was made, George Reid wrote that “We have a solid record of legislative achievement. We have established a distinctive agenda of Scottish solutions to Scottish problems.” He went on to cite “Land Reform, the Ban on Smoking, University Tuition Fees, Free Personal Care for the Elderly” as being examples of this achievement. Reid, G. p39 ‘The Fourth Principle: Sharing Power with the People of Scotland’ in *Active Citizenship: What Could it Achieve and How?* Crick, B. & Lockyer, A. (eds.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010) This may be considered high praise, given that Reid, who was the 2<sup>nd</sup> Presiding Officer to the Scottish Parliament (2003-2007), had been a SNP MP and MSP.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid* p11 This idea of a nation and its people having a ‘shared destiny with intertwined communities within a nation-state’ is indicative of a communitarian perspective regarding an individual’s relationship with the state. Delanty states that “Citizenship in communitarian discourse is ultimately reducible to nationality which gives citizenship a sense of cultural cohesiveness.” Delanty, G. p291 ‘Models of citizenship: Defining European identity and citizenship’ in *Citizenship Studies* Vol.1, No. 3, 1997 (London: Routledge, 1997) From this viewpoint therefore, no state, and the nations and communities within it, could ever enjoy a shared destiny without there having been a degree of cultural cohesion.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid* p11 This wide-ranging understanding of the meaning of the term community is reflected in Manners’ description of the European Union’s ‘cosmopolitical/communitarian’ aspiration, wherein “a more just cosmopolitical world would be one in which communitarian, social rights of the self accommodate cosmopolitan, individual rights of others; where local politics and global politics commune.” Manners, I. J. p69 ‘The normative ethics of the European Union’ in *International Affairs* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2008)

<sup>145</sup> Etzioni, A. p6 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)

"community."<sup>146</sup> Pinkard argued that communities (or 'hometowns' as he put it) whilst appealing to the ideals of "modern communitarians and champions of localism", were more likely, if ever realised, to become "closed off to the world and were provincial in the derogatory senses of the word."<sup>147</sup> Labour's recognition of the wider role that it believed Scotland's communities could play, within and beyond its own borders, may therefore be considered the party's articulation of a cosmopolitan, as opposed to closed off, vision of Scotland's place in the wider world.

The party's 2003 manifesto argued in support of education and the beneficial results to communities that can accrue.<sup>148</sup> It also asserted that one's education occurred, not only within school or college – but also "in the community, youth club or voluntary organisation."<sup>149</sup> Particular attention was given to volunteerism; something that may be considered a communitarian endeavour, given its socially participative and interdependent nature.<sup>150</sup> The manifesto stated that "Voluntary work is the glue that holds many urban and

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<sup>146</sup> Pinkard, T. p315 *Hegel's Phenomenology: The Sociality of Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

<sup>147</sup> This 'closed' form of localism was, according to Pinkard, likely to "prevent the kind of universalistic point of view that is necessary to modern life and to having a non-alienated form of life."

<sup>148</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p19 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003) There was however, a caveat to accompany the positive tone of the statement that "It is education which opens the door to opportunity"; this being that "the opportunity of learning must not be hindered by barriers of income or background."

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid* p29 The central role that Labour in Scotland argues should be given to 'strong families and communities' in a revitalised Scottish society, is reflective of Levitas' analysis of Etzioni and New Labour's belief in "the characteristic centrality that both give to 'family' and 'community' as theatres for learning and social control." Levitas, R. *The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2005) As cited in Prideaux, S. p129 'From organisational theory to the Third Way: continuities and contradictions underpinning Amitai Etzioni's communitarian influence on New Labour' in *The Third Way and beyond: Criticisms, futures and alternatives* Hale, S. Leggett, W. & Martell, L. (eds.) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)

<sup>150</sup> Gallant, Aria and Smale assert that "The operationalization of communitarian thinking focuses on concepts of active participation, interdependence and shared experiences as critical components of community." Gallant, K. Aria, S. & Smale, B. p321 'Serious Leisure as an Avenue for Nurturing Community' in *Leisure Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Journal* Vol. 35, 2013 (London: Routledge, 2013)

rural communities together.”<sup>151</sup> But a very different tone was adopted by Labour regarding drug dealers in Scotland. It argued that their activities quite simply tore “families and communities apart.”<sup>152</sup> Such individuals demonstrated no conception of what Taylor describes as the “principle of belonging and obligation”<sup>153</sup> and it was the stated aim of Labour therefore, “to make the offender repair the community they have harmed.”<sup>154</sup>

Walgrave considers communitarianism to be a source of restorative justice which embodies “a reaction to the fragmentation of our postmodern Western societies” through the propagation of “the revival of community as the organic source of informal mutual support and control.”<sup>155</sup> The desire to ensure that such miscreants made good the damage they caused to their communities was therefore, an approach that MacIntyre may endorse. He tried to see beyond the polarity of attitudes represented by Adam Smith in his view that a distinct contrast could be discerned between, on the one hand “self-interested market behaviour” and on the other “altruistic, benevolent behaviour.”<sup>156</sup> MacIntyre argued that individuals could only ever flourish as rational animals, if they came to recognise “the inadequacy of any simple classification of desires as either egoistic or altruistic.”<sup>157</sup> By suggesting that the state would make individuals put right what they had damaged, Labour was signalling its intention to correct the behaviour of some, in order that they were able to

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<sup>151</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p31 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid* p31 Labour argues here that “Crime hurts. It hurts decent, hard-working people and eats away at the social and economic fabric of our communities.”

<sup>153</sup> Taylor, C. p188 *Philosophy and the Human Sciences: Philosophy Papers 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

<sup>154</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p33 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)

<sup>155</sup> Walgrave, L. p15 *Restorative Justice, Self-interest and Responsible Citizenship* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>156</sup> MacIntyre, A. p119 *Dependent Rational Animals: Why Human Beings Need the Virtues* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1999)

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid* p119 Maitland is of a similar opinion when he argues against the “crude bifurcation of human motivations into self-interest (which is seen as vicious or non-moral) and concern for others (which is virtuous). Maitland, J. p3 ‘The Human Face of Self-Interest’ in *Journal of Business Ethics* Vol. 38, Issue 1-2, June 2002 (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002)

"learn to share common goods, and participate in ongoing relationships."<sup>158</sup> In this way the offender may recognise, as MacIntyre put it "the limitations and blindnesses of merely self-interested desire"<sup>159</sup> and instead come to realise the consequences of his actions. It should not however be forgotten that MacIntyre recognised (and using Aristotle's commentary, argued against) the assumption made by some modern liberals, that it was the individual who determined his own morality. With this in mind, it may therefore have been the case that by forcing an individual to make-good the damage done, his community may have benefitted in a physical and measureable way – but it is with much less certainty that one may determine whether an already alienated individual would have, as a result of corrective punishment, necessarily considered his new role within the community to have been such that it made him permanently reappraise his behaviour. Labour seem to have anticipated this by promising the introduction of "acceptable behaviour contracts"<sup>160</sup> for those deemed anti-social. But this fell short of the approach advocated by Taylor. His concern was that often "a narrow focus to morality"<sup>161</sup> had been employed whereby decisions regarding the conduct of individuals were made in consideration of "what it is right to do rather than on what it is good to be."<sup>162</sup> In delineating the boundaries of acceptable behaviour and

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<sup>158</sup> *Ibid* p119 This communitarian version of the 'sharing of common goods' does not imply that the common good should be considered an amalgamation of individual desires, and as such, something that is ultimately reducible to personal preference. Knight describes: "communitarian accounts of the common good as something that cannot be exhaustively reduced to the good of separate individuals." Knight, K. p267 'Aristotelianism versus Communitarianism' in *Analyse & Kritik: Journal of Philosophy and Social Theory* 27/2005 Baurmann, M. Leist, A. & Tranow, U. (eds.) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005)

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid* p119

<sup>160</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p35 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003) The stated intention was to "support local authorities in setting up proactive anti-social behaviour units to work with the police and neighbourhood wardens."

<sup>161</sup> Taylor, C. P3 *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid* p3 MacIntyre, when quoting from page 27 of *Sources of the Self*, captures Taylor's position by explaining that we are defined by the "commitments and identifications which provide the form or horizon within which we can try to determine from case to case what is good, or valuable, or what ought to be done..." MacIntyre, A. p187 'Critical Remarks on *The Sources of*

attempting, by means of contractual arrangement, to enforce conformity, the state would express what Taylor called “a cramped and truncated view of morality.” The actions of individuals would be controlled, but they would never realise the essence of what it was to lead the good life.

In addition to making Scotland’s urban communities safer, this manifesto pledged to “encourage and develop thriving and sustainable crofting communities.”<sup>163</sup> When in office Labour passed three land reform bills; arguing that rural communities often had “no control over the decisions that are made around them.” But whilst Macmurray would likely have supported the communitarian ambition to develop sustainable communities, he thought it an illusion that a state had the skills of “political organisation to create community amongst men.”<sup>164</sup> It was perhaps naïve to suggest therefore, that by means of simplified crofting legislation, a culture all but destroyed could be reborn. Stewart concurred, describing the typical crofter’s attitude to the state as “aloof from outside interference”<sup>165</sup> and “even a little wary of it, however well it may be meant” – previous government measures having “done him little good.” These sentiments were reiterated over forty years later when McKendrick observed that this “culture of self-reliance”<sup>166</sup> within rural Scottish communities had led to a “paradox of invisibility” wherein the unmet needs of the poor are often only ever known by those within these communities. The history of crofting shows therefore, what can happen when the recognition of worth and value which Taylor said is needed to sustain a community is not afforded to that community. Labour’s attempt at a communitarian turn

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*the Self* by Charles Taylor’ in *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* Vol. 54, No. 1, March 1994 (Providence, Rhode Island: International Phenomenological Society, 1994)

<sup>163</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p35 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)

<sup>164</sup> Macmurray, J. p198 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of The Form of the Personal* (1961) (London: Faber and Faber, 1995)

<sup>165</sup> Stewart, K. p132 *A Croft in the Hills* (Edinburgh: Merkatt Press at James Thin, 1960)

<sup>166</sup> McKendrick, J. H. p154 ‘Rural poverty’ in *Poverty in Scotland 2007* (London: Child Poverty Action Group, 2007)



regarding rural communities was given more credence however, when Bryden and Geisler, for example, asserted that “in the current Scottish case, community-centric land reform has a promising future.”<sup>167</sup> It was possible therefore, that if successful, a community-centric approach such as this could uphold Macmurray’s assertion that not only the state holds the necessary ‘skills of political organisation to create community amongst men.’

Elements of this manifesto anticipated values later adopted within David Cameron’s concept of the Big Society,<sup>168</sup> and also in Blue Labour thinking.<sup>169</sup> Before becoming First Minister, McConnell described the devastating effects of marginalisation in run-down urban estates and de-populated Highlands and Islands communities. He considered the effect to have been “a complete absence of any reason to think that things can get better.”<sup>170</sup> This impotence was reflected in the statement that “many communities feel they have no control over the decisions that are made around them.”<sup>171</sup> More recently Cameron blamed government for often turning “lively communities into dull, soulless clones of one another.”<sup>172</sup> His government promised therefore, to “promote the autonomy and self-

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<sup>167</sup> Bryden, J. & Geisler, C. p1 *Community Based Land Reform: Lessons from Scotland* Paper presented at IRSA XI World Congress of Rural Sociology, Trondheim, Norway, July 2004.

<sup>168</sup> Sage describes the ‘Big Society’ as “an agenda which seeks to move conservatism beyond its association with Thatcherism by emphasising a centre right commitment to ‘decentralize state power, empower local communities, increase social justice and reduce poverty.’” Sage, D. p366 ‘A challenge to liberalism? The communitarianism of the Big Society and Blue Labour’ in *Critical Social Policy* (London: Sage Publications, 2012)

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid* p366 ‘Blue Labour’ is described by Sage as “a relatively new political tendency [which] argues that Labour must stand for a more cooperative and reciprocal civil society based on community action.” Comparison can however, be made between this ‘relatively new political tendency’ and the idea of ‘New Mutualism’ previously discussed. Developments such as the advent of ‘Big Society’ and ‘Blue Labour’, “arguably represent”, according to Sage, “a ‘communitarian turn’ in political and policy debates.”

<sup>170</sup> Davidson, L. p199 *Lucky Jack: Scotland’s First Minister* (Edinburgh: Black & White Publishing Ltd, 2005)

<sup>171</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p35 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)

<sup>172</sup> Cameron, D. p3 *Big Society Speech* given in Liverpool 19 July 2010. A different agenda is described however, by Coote when she argues that “Beneath its seductive language about giving more power to citizens, the ‘Big Society’ is a major programme of structural change that aims to overturn the post-war welfare state. The key idea is to divest the state of responsibility for meeting needs and managing risks that individuals cannot cope with alone. Functions that have been funded through taxes and carried out by publicly owned bodies for

determination of the individual and the neighbourhood – a rebalancing in favour of communities and citizen, not the state.”<sup>173</sup> But despite the obvious use of liberal terminology such as ‘autonomy and the individual’, this also articulated an important aspect of communitarian thought. Fox and Miller, for example, argue that “The weakness of representative democracy represents, for communitarians, an opportunity to resuscitate the direct democracy of the community.”<sup>174</sup>

Just as the Labour manifesto proposed devolution of power and responsibility “to elected local authorities and beyond”<sup>175</sup> and cited ‘tenants’ and ‘community residents’ as those more suited to the task of making decisions that directly affect their lives; Cameron spoke of ceding power from ‘officials’ and ‘authorities’, and recommended a new ethos of “voluntarism, philanthropy” and “social action.”<sup>176</sup> Similarly, Labour had argued that “voluntary work is the glue that holds many urban and rural communities together”<sup>177</sup> and expressed pride in “the voluntary work so many of our neighbours undertake.”<sup>178</sup> Cameron however, counselled against being “naïve enough to think that if the government rolls back and does less, then miraculously society will spring up and do more.”<sup>179</sup> This reflected Taylor’s view that modern times could be defined by “the disengaged instrumental mode of

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more than sixty years are to be transferred to ‘civil society’ and exercised through self-help, mutual aid, charity, philanthropy, local enterprise and big business.” Coote, M. p82 ‘Big Society and the New Austerity’ in *The Big Society Challenge* Stott, M. (ed.) (Cardiff: Keystone Development Trust Publications, 2011)

<sup>173</sup> From ‘Political Reform Draft Structural Reform Plan’ issued 27 July 2010 and quoted by Stoten, D. W. p3 ‘The coalition government and constitutional reform’ *Politics Review* Volume 20 Number 3 February 2011

<sup>174</sup> Fox, C. J. & Miller, H. T. p45 *Postmodern Public Administration: Toward Discourse* (California: Sage, 1995)

<sup>175</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p41 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)

<sup>176</sup> Cameron, D. p3 *Big Society Speech* given in Liverpool 19 July 2010

<sup>177</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p30 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003) It should be noted that the SNP, in that same year, stated its belief that “The growing importance of the voluntary sector in delivering services and securing Scotland’s well-being cannot be overstated.” Scottish National Party Manifesto p28 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid* p30

<sup>179</sup> Cameron, D. p3 *Big Society Speech* given in Liverpool 19 July 2010

life"<sup>180</sup>- something he believed had been experienced by many for the last two hundred years. He described the instrumental society within which the commercial and utility value of all activities and relationships had almost completely undermined any conception of virtue or "high purposes of life."<sup>181</sup> The atomistic imperative central to such conditions, he believed, was sufficiently divisive as to render individuals capable of sacrificing any commitment to community for the sake of mere personal gratification.

This stark message was previously expressed by Nozick. He suggested that such was man's disposition, that for any form of wide spread philanthropy to be successful, it would have to be compulsory, state organised and controlled. Only in this way, he reckoned, would they not "feel like suckers if they give while others do not."<sup>182</sup> With this cautionary advice in mind, Labour's intention to "introduce a national recognition scheme to support youth volunteering"<sup>183</sup> demonstrated acceptance of Taylor's assertion that modern man responds best when the reward is personal gratification; in this case public recognition. Martell however, warned of the possible dangers inherent in such forms of state sponsored 'mass individual participation.' He thought that those likely to participate would be the "more expert, informed and regularly involved"<sup>184</sup> and given the complex nature of modern capitalist societies, those who did would "require specialised expertise." The willing

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<sup>180</sup> Taylor, C. P499 *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid* p500 Instead, according to Redhead's reading of Taylor's position, "forms of instrumental rationality have played a pivotal role in shaping what Taylor refers to as the "malaises" of modern Western societies." Redhead, M. p9 *Charles Taylor: Thinking and Living Deep Diversity* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002)

<sup>182</sup> Nozick, R. p265 *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1974) Here Nozick poses the question: "Mightn't it be that that they *all* favour compulsory redistribution even though they would not make private charitable gifts were there no compulsion upon all?"

<sup>183</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p30 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003) It should however be noted that, by the time of the Scottish Labour Manifesto 2007, Labour had broadened its horizons by indicating its intention to create "a National Older People's volunteering programme." Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p78 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007)

<sup>184</sup> Martell, L. p102 'Rescuing the middle ground: neo-liberalism and associational socialism' in *Economy and Society* Volume 22 Number 1 February 1993

amateur's contribution would have proven negligible - even counter-productive. He concluded that community power in the hands of local 'experts' could ultimately lead to "the domination of personality, passion and intimidation over reason and compromise." There is nothing to say however that reason and compromise are necessarily virtues less likely to be exhibited at community level, just as it would be equally unsafe to suggest that the vices of passion and intimidation were.

Calder described communitarian thinkers as having an "enthusiasm for community" informed largely by a "nostalgia for a pre-modern age when the idea of a relatively homogenous community, bonded by substantial moral and cultural bonds, was rather more plausible than it is now."<sup>185</sup> This same criticism could also have been levelled at Scottish Labour's manifesto. Here an assumption was made about the benefits of an earlier form of community that may no longer exist, or be capable of replication. But this was not the view of Alexander and Brown. When characterising the 'Scottish way' as having always been "at the core of British history" in relation to citizenship, neighbourliness and civic pride, they described these not as "the values of yesteryear but modern values upon which modernised Britain is based...the shared values of the peoples of Britain."<sup>186</sup> This was their attempt at socialist-Unionist nation building, and trying to disinvent the conservative UK state and its traditions. The party seemed to share a belief that when something similar to Taylor's disengaged instrumental mode of life was combined with an existence in which an individual felt marginalised from, but wholly dependent upon, an over benevolent society - it had to

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<sup>185</sup> Calder, G. p2 *Communitarianism and New Labour* (Wales: University of Wales College, Newport, 2003)

<sup>186</sup> Alexander, D. & Brown, G. p9 *Stronger Together: The 21<sup>st</sup> century case for Scotland and Britain* (London: Fabian Society, 2007) Lee characterizes one of Brown's views as to what constitutes the 'British Way' in terms of an "attempt to finesse the political asymmetries of citizenship, identity and power arising from the unique nature of the British Union." Lee, S. p369 Gordon Brown and the British Way' in *The Political Quarterly* Vol. 77, No. 3, July – September 2006 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006)

end. Promises by Labour to re-vitalise latent community values were from this perspective perhaps little more than palliatives designed to ease the pain of the on-coming age of austerity, and the inevitable withdrawal of large tranches of welfare provision.<sup>187</sup>

By 2007, Scottish Labour's line on volunteerism had hardened. Whereas previously it spoke of voluntary work as if it were philanthropic glue that held communities together.<sup>188</sup> Now it promised to "streamline and stabilise funding arrangements affecting those social enterprise or voluntary sector organisations that provide services for local or central government."<sup>189</sup> But regardless of the level of support and funding intended to be given to Scotland's voluntary sector, the warnings issued by Taylor and Nozick were proved accurate – at least as far as the UK was concerned. According to the Henley Centre's 2006 annual report, as described by Johnson, "a majority of Britons believed that their quality of life would be improved most by "looking after ourselves" rather than "looking after the community's interests instead of our own."<sup>190</sup> Such a sharply defined dichotomy - where the preferred relationship of individuals to each other stood in stark contrast to that being

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<sup>187</sup> Fairclough describes New Labour's clever use of language when trying to prepare the country for the welfare reforms to come. He explains that the UK Government's Green Paper (a consultation document on welfare reform, published in March 1998) used language which was positive when referring to the proposed reforms, yet negative when describing the current system. Section 3.7 of the Green Paper, for example, explained that "Our comprehensive welfare to work programme aims to break the mould of the old, passive benefit system." Note here the positivity of the phrase "break the mould", in comparison to the negativity surrounding the phrase "old, passive benefit system." Fairclough, N. p13 *New Labour, New Language?* (London: Routledge, 2000)

<sup>188</sup> Walzer however, issues a warning as to the limits of volunteerism when he argues that "The voluntary giving of money, and also time and energy is central to associational life. But no dispersed community, without coercive power, can fund by itself the services necessary in a modern society." Walzer, M. p64 'Rescuing civil society' in *Dissent* Vol. 46, Issue 1, 1999 (Ideal, Illinois: Illinois State University, 1999)

<sup>189</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p82 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007) On the previous page, and under the heading 'The Third Sector' the declaration was made that "Scottish Labour recognises the growing contribution of the voluntary and social enterprise sectors in Scotland."

<sup>190</sup> Johnson, N. p26 *Separate & Unequal: How integration can deliver the good society* (London: Fabian Society, 2010) quoting from Henley Centre (2006) Quality of Life in Britain Report

promoted - presented an age-old dilemma. In such circumstances a party may opt for a populist approach: pandering to the unedifying spectacle of citizens placing their own selfish needs ahead of others. A party which chose to adopt this strategy may nevertheless have seen a significant increase in its electoral support. In contrast a party which chose to adopt a more statesmanlike approach, by taking the moral higher ground and trusting that in the fullness of time society would come to approve of its decision, may also have benefited.

By 2010, Johnson had identified the road the Conservatives, with their coalition partners, had chosen to travel. He had also identified the route that he would prefer Labour to take. He drew a "clear distinction between its (Labour's) own values, rooted in community and solidarity and the liberal individualism of the Coalition."<sup>191</sup> This led him to propose that Labour adopt "a communitarian outlook"- the focus of which would be "equality for all and interaction between all." Johnson's evaluation of the Conservative's vision of the Big Society resulted therefore, in him labelling it as 'liberal individualism' and as such at odds with much communitarian sentiment.<sup>192</sup>

Whilst initiatives originating at grassroots level often represent the legitimate aspirations of local people to wrest some control of community life from the state – the opposite may be concluded when it is the state signalling its enthusiasm to be released from its responsibilities, under the guise either of a liberal wish to minimize state intervention, or a Marxist imperative to place decision-making primarily within the context of the commune. Martell said as much when he pointed out that co-operation "is often contractual and

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<sup>191</sup> *Ibid* p81

<sup>192</sup> Hall considers Cameron's Big Society to be just the latest in a line of initiatives which collectively represent "the long march of the Neoliberal Revolution." Hall, S. p9 'The neoliberal revolution: Thatcher, Blair, Cameron – the long march of neoliberalism continues' in *Soundings: A journal of politics and culture* Vol. 25, Issue 6, 2011 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2011)

instrumental rather than based on an ideological commitment to it.”<sup>193</sup> Scottish Labour’s commitment to restore more autonomy to individuals and their communities was likely therefore to have been informed more by the dual necessities of revenue saving and responsibility transfer - than any genuine wish to foster greater levels of local empowerment. It thus followed that, only when the ineffectual nature of “the top-down imposition of community”<sup>194</sup> was understood, and the state became capable of “recognizing, encouraging and taking associationalism on board where it has been set up, not putting it in place” could a workable relationship between state and community ever be properly established.<sup>195</sup>

Labour’s 2007 manifesto expressed clear moral indignation, articulated by the use of strongly worded statements concerning acts of deviant behaviour that it pledged to address. These indicated a slightly disquieting attitude towards elements within the Scottish community. In relation to the ‘menace’ of loan sharks, Labour committed to ensuring that “surveillance evidence is admissible in court” and also to “provide increased protection to witnesses”<sup>196</sup> in order to “exclude loan sharks from the communities they prey on.” Notwithstanding the damage that loan sharks do, it was as if Labour’s intention was to

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<sup>193</sup> Martell, L. p102 ‘Rescuing the middle ground: neo-liberalism and associational socialism’ in *Economy and Society* Volume 22 Number 1 February 1993

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid* p103

<sup>195</sup> This ‘top-down’ imposition was still evident in 2000; for example, in the tenor of the language used by a senior Whitehall official who is quoted as having said that “Whilst we’ve said for years that the community must be involved, this time we really mean it.” Foley, P. & Martin, S. p482 ‘A new deal for the community? Public participation in regeneration and local service delivery’ in *Policy & Politics* Vol. 28, No. 4, 2000 (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2000)

<sup>196</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p79 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007) Under the heading of ‘Financial Inclusion’ the manifesto pledged to “develop community banking schemes” and “work with the commercial banking sector to ensure that all communities have access to basic banking facilities without having to pay more for them.” Unfortunately, this pledge was made at a time in the UK when “the least affluent third of the population has borne the brunt of two thirds of net closures from 1995 to 2012.” French, S. Leyshon, A. & Meek, S. p1 *The Changing Geography of British Bank and Building Society Branch Networks, 2003 – 2012* (Nottingham: School of Geography, University of Nottingham, 2013)

outlaw them from their communities, rather than consider any form of restorative justice. The communitarian notion of community membership being an essential component of one's identity and well-being seemed to be missing, at least as far as this issue was concerned. The adoption of such autocratic language, whilst clearly signalling recognition of a form of moral malaise at the heart of some communities, was not something that one would hitherto have expected of 'New' Labour.<sup>197</sup> More generally one may gain the impression that the attitude towards community expressed by some of the content of this manifesto was, at times, over-protective. A form instrumental reason - so abhorred by Taylor – was evident within its contents; parts of which seemed to represent a type of cost-benefit analysis wherein a calculation as to "the most economic application of means to a given end"<sup>198</sup> had been made. It was as if Labour strategists had decided to combine a variety of existing and proposed welfare measures, as a means with which to achieve a given end: that of electoral victory. Not only did it remind the electorate of the free personal nursing and care, central heating and nationwide bus travel that older Scots now benefited from, as a result of Labour's actions – it also promised to extend free school meals; ensure that all of those entitled were in receipt of full benefits and tax credit claims, and reduce by half the water and sewage bills of all pensioners. Despite the decidedly Old Labour tenor of much of this rhetoric, and the fact that such promises were not being made by the same party south of the border, Scottish Labour felt able to speak of the "Close partnership working between the

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<sup>197</sup> Dillow maintains that in adopting 'managerialism' as a method of governance, New Labour "In rushing from initiative to initiative" neglected to ask of itself "What core values underlie what I am doing?" In these circumstances he argues that "Action is often a substitute for thought." Dillow, C. p23 *New Labour and the Folly of Managerialism* (Petersfield, Hampshire: Harriman House Ltd., 2007)

<sup>198</sup> Taylor, C. p5 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)



Labour led administration in Holyrood and the Labour government at Westminster<sup>199</sup> – a close relationship that, during the earlier years of devolution, it had preferred to play down.

Other matters concerning the protection and wellbeing of Scottish communities were also discussed in this manifesto. Issues such as lack of respect between the generations; religious hatred; racism and homophobia were identified as problems to be tackled. This echoed Blair's concern that there had been a "decline of 'basic courtesies' in modern society", and that it was time to "restore respect to communities of Britain."<sup>200</sup> This unfortunately, from MacIntyre's perspective, represented an extremely naïve understanding of a state's capability in modern times; he having argued that man was no longer able to agree shared ethical values or common criteria as to what constituted a virtuous life.<sup>201</sup>

With regard to affordable owner occupied and social housing, Labour recognised the pressing need to resolve the problem of undersupply. It spoke of a determination to "unlock the land supply and create new communities."<sup>202</sup> This statement may also have demonstrated a certain level of naïvety in that, whilst a state clearly holds the power to release unused land and initiate the building of housing stock, its ability to follow this through by creating new communities is a much more difficult ambition to realise. Macmurray's warning that no state held the skills of political organisation sufficient to create

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<sup>199</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p78 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007) Keating confirms, for example, that "There have been very few arguments about competences, because the division in the legislation is reasonably clear and because neither side has chosen to make an issue of it." Keating, M. p144 *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making after Devolution* Second Edition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010)

<sup>200</sup> Seldon, A. p417 *Blair Unbound* (United Kingdom: Pocket Books, 2008) Seldon describes how "In one of the most personal speeches of his late premiership, Blair cited the socialist historian R. H. Tawney, who raised the danger of 'rights divorced from obligations'. He sought to bring about a 'fundamental shift' in society to give 'people control of their communities' so that they could rebuild 'the bonds of community for the modern age'."

<sup>201</sup> MacIntyre, A. p22 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>202</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p83 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007)

community amongst men should once again be remembered.<sup>203</sup> Despite this, the manifesto envisioned a combination of private and rented accommodation as leading to the creation of “strong mixed communities.”<sup>204</sup> This was to suggest that, by virtue of the varied nature of tenure in a newly built settlement, some form of ‘strength’ would be attained. No definition or explanation was however provided as to the meaning of this term in this particular context. A commitment was made, with some exceptions, to “maintain the right to buy.”<sup>205</sup> In the event, the policy of ‘right to buy’, originally introduced by Margaret Thatcher’s administration, was abandoned by the incoming SNP minority government.<sup>206</sup> Labour had failed to convince a sufficient number of Scottish electors to allow it to continue in government. Some, including Tony Blair, attributed this failure to a creeping tide of Labour unpopularity throughout the United Kingdom. In such circumstances there may have been little that McConnell and his colleagues in Scotland could have done – regardless of the merits of their manifesto. Blair concluded that his own swithering as to whether or not he should have resigned as Prime Minister earlier may have cost Labour the election in Scotland; later reflecting that “Jack McConnell was loyal and decent enough to deny this to me, but I wasn’t sure he meant it.”<sup>207</sup> This was a specifically beneficial by-product of

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<sup>203</sup> Macmurray argues that, if anything, modern states (given the economic imperative for a mobile and flexible workforce) tend to act in such ways as to break-down, rather than support “the nexus of direct relations” that must, according to him, exist within a community. Macmurray, J. p187 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of the Form of the Personal* (1961) (London: Faber and Faber, 1995)

<sup>204</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p83 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007)

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid* p83 King argues that council housing was “the most manifest example of municipal socialism and this was a particular target of the Thatcher government.” King, P. p8 *Housing Policy Transformed: the right to buy and the desire to own* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2010)

<sup>206</sup> Maxwell, S. p128 ‘Social Justice and the SNP’ in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>207</sup> Blair, T p651 *A Journey* (London: Hutchinson, 2010) Here Blair reflected that “With a new leader we could have done better, and in particular it is possible with Gordon we would have won Scotland.”

devolution for the SNP. Unlike Scottish Labour, it had no UK-wide equivalent - the fortunes of which could prove to be detrimental at Holyrood.

Whilst Scottish Labour's previous manifestos incorporated the term 'community' liberally from beginning to end – such was not the case in 2011. Not until the seventeenth page did it appear, and then concerning an initiative for local communities to recycle waste in order to generate income: a noble environmental cause, but not one to necessarily elicit a strong emotional response.<sup>208</sup> Despite the claim that "Scottish Labour believes that the foundation for a strong community is fairness" and that "Jobs, opportunity and prosperity must be spread more widely throughout our communities"<sup>209</sup> the campaign which ensued placed more emphasis on the threat to communities presented by knife crime and other illegal activities. Whilst maintaining that Scotland's justice system was universally admired "for its foundation in fairness and compassion"<sup>210</sup> this manifesto did nevertheless confirm the intention to support communities "in getting vandals, drug dealers and thugs off their streets."<sup>211</sup> As well as being removed, perpetrators would also be made to repay their communities.<sup>212</sup> This idea of placing a levy on convicted offenders was proposed as a way of funding support services for their victims. The opportunity to give communities the power to fight back against anti-social behaviour was proposed, whereby "community councils and

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<sup>208</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p17 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2011) Here, Labour asserted that "Not only will this reduce landfill, but profits will be reinvested in communities."

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid* p58 This manifesto also manifesto stated that "Strong communities are the basic building blocks of a better society" and that "Scottish Labour will be on the side of Scotland's communities"

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid* p46 It goes on to say however, that "this compassion and fairness must extend beyond offenders, it must support victims and our communities as well."

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid* p46 This, according to Labour, was intended to "ensure that the rights, wellbeing and protection of victims and law-abiding people are at the heart of our justice system."

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid* p46 This by way of a levy, wherein "offenders pay for their crimes by contributing to a Victim's Fund."

residents' groups" would have "a formal right to apply to councils for a fast-track ASBO."<sup>213</sup> There was a suggestion, in what Labour proposed, that it wished to replicate what Scraton called "a mythical "golden age" of social stability and moral purpose."<sup>214</sup> This ambition could be compared to those policies proposed by Thatcher's Conservative administration, which championed a return to 'Victorian Values.'<sup>215</sup> Just as taking delinquents off the streets and into a 'short, sharp shock' detention system had been the Conservative's preferred form of marginalization<sup>216</sup> – a 'fast-track' anti-social behaviour order system of social exclusion was being proposed by Scottish Labour. A similar comparison had however already been made by Luckhurst during the very earliest years of Holyrood, when he spoke of Labour in Scotland as occupying a role similar to the Communist Party in China, in the sense that it "is the establishment here, and a thoroughly old-fashioned, unreformed establishment it is. That is why it behaves so much like the Conservative Party in England"<sup>217</sup>

From Etzioni's communitarian perspective, any state action which resulted in the marginalization or exclusion of members of a community was anathema. He believed that

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<sup>213</sup> *Ibid* p51 Additionally, this manifesto explained that "Scottish Labour supports the system of community payback, which delivers visible, instant justice to low-level offenders on Scotland's streets and promotes genuine project work to benefit communities."

<sup>214</sup> Scraton, P. p131 'Streets of Terror: Marginalization, Criminalization, And Authoritarian Renewal' in *Social Justice* Vol. 31, Nos. 1-2 (2004)

<sup>215</sup> Crewe and Searing discuss Thatcher and her defence of Victorian values thus: "Discipline, obedience to the rules is probably the value that Mrs. Thatcher has held the longest. It is associated with self-discipline and Victorian virtues of hard work, thrift, and deferred gratification. The Thatcherite interpretation of discipline places strong emphasis on law and order." Crewe, I. & Searing, D.D. p261 'Mrs. Thatcher's Crusade: Conservatism in Britain, 1972-1986' in *The Resurgence of Conservatism in Anglo-American Democracies* Cooper, B. Kornberg, A. & Mishler W. (eds.) (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1988)

<sup>216</sup> With regard to the Thatcher administration's policy on anti-social behaviour amongst the young, Goldson explains that "the 1980 White Paper *Young Offenders* promoted Detention Centres with tough regimes designed to deliver a 'short, sharp, shock' and William Whitelaw, the Home Secretary, warned that the children and young people 'who attend them will not ever want to go back.' Goldson, B. p388 'New punitiveness: The politics of child incarceration' in *Youth Justice: Critical Readings* Muncie, J. Hughes, G & McLaughlin, E. (eds.) (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2002)

<sup>217</sup> Luckhurst, T. p3 'The New Statesman Essay – Scotland returns to the Dark Ages' in *The New Statesman* 21 May 2001

such action rendered it incapable of responding to the "true needs"<sup>218</sup> of all, and thus unworthy of being considered an 'authentic' community. Such a community, he argued, could exist only when the right equilibrium of 'order and autonomy' was struck. This was more easily achieved when sufficient attention was paid to the historical reasons for a community being as it was, and also to why some of its number now behaved as they did. It was Etzioni's contention that "When centripetal forces pull too much towards order, an emphasis must be placed on autonomy"<sup>219</sup> and vice versa. The relationship was for him 'peculiar': a symbiotic one in which, if properly balanced, these countervailing forces could enhance each other. He did however caution against allowing one force to become dominant and in so doing create antagonism within a community. From Etzioni's viewpoint therefore it may be concluded that Gray's intention to have some individuals removed and made to repay was a policy which erred too much towards support for the centripetal forces of law and order. From the perspective of those people whose communities had been blighted by such behaviour however, any measure which had the effect of ridding the streets of these dangerous people was likely to be acceptable, whether or not it conformed to a communitarian, or any other worthy, ideology. Labour would have recognised this when determining those policy areas it thought wise to place the greatest emphasis on, and this was demonstrated by the fact that during the period of Labour/Lib-Dem administration, the Scottish prison population rose from a daily average in 1999 of just under 6,000 to one

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<sup>218</sup> Etzioni, A. p1 'The Responsive Community: A Communitarian Perspective' in *American Sociological Review* Vol. 61, No. 1 February 1996 The true needs, according to Etzioni, in order to combat crime were: "to ensure that everybody has a well-paying job, is treated with dignity and not discriminated against, and is not alienated from society." Etzioni, A. p190 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid* p1 Etzioni encapsulates this principle by saying that "As a first approximation, it sufficed to suggest that a good society requires both a moral order and a bounded autonomy." Etzioni, A. p34 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)

which averaged 7,250 in 2007.<sup>220</sup> And so, whilst Macmurray may have been of the rather naïve opinion that “the fears that constrain us are fears of what others will think or say or do”<sup>221</sup> - Gray may have believed that some persistent miscreants cared little, if at all, about what others in their communities thought of their actions. He thus proposed the continuation of his party’s more pragmatic approach.

Regarding housing, Labour promised support to community-based housing associations and co-operatives, in order that they could “fulfil their roles as community anchors.”<sup>222</sup> The role of anchor would require such organisations to provide “a range of services for people in their local communities.”<sup>223</sup> Commitment was also given to enhance “community-led regeneration”<sup>224</sup> in order to redress damage caused by economic change that had led some urban centres to have “become virtual ghost towns.” Etzioni would likely have sympathised with this approach, given his belief that human dignity was best served when the communitarian principle concerning social justice was adopted; this being that “people have a moral responsibility to help themselves as best they can.”<sup>225</sup> He argued that it was better to encourage those within such communities to become actively involved in improving their collective lot, rather than languishing in despondency whilst awaiting state aid.

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<sup>220</sup> <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Crime-Justice/TrendPris>

<sup>221</sup> Macmurray, J. p10 *Conditions of Freedom* (1949) (New York: Humanity Books, 1993) Macmurray explains that “Even the fear of death, which seems so individual, and which is the symbol of all human fear, is the psychological equivalent of the terror of isolation, of being cut off irretrievably from the community to which we belong.”

<sup>222</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p61 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2011)

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid* p61 Here the pledge was made that “We will ensure that tenants are consulted on how their housing is provided and their local community is supported.”

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid* p62 This to include support for communities “to take ownership of derelict land and rundown properties, to refurbish it or turn it into new, green space, reviewing and seeking to expand the range of funding opportunities available to enhance community - led regeneration.”

<sup>225</sup> Etzioni, A. p144 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

## Conclusion

Wodak and Meyer's assertion that an appreciation of the importance of cooperative decision making is a vital element of political discourse analysis, informed this examination of the extent to which the social policy decisions articulated and applied by Labour, expressed communitarian principles. Research revealed a clear communitarian position evident in the narrative employed in those social policies pursued, and underlying this was an imperative to preserve the party's dominant position in Scotland. Research also indicated that whilst often reflecting communitarian principles, something of a mixed message was sent concerning what the party believed an individual's place within the community to be. On the one hand it advocated an inclusive approach based upon the principle that each person represented one of the component parts of a shared endeavour, capable of rescuing and rebuilding communities – on the other, it spoke of the need to rid communities of those who blighted them. This dichotomy revealed aspects of two very different communitarian 'turns' evident in Labour policy. Whilst the former exhibited Etzioni's optimism and call for social justice through moral responsibility; the latter expressed MacIntyre's pessimism and fear of a moral malaise engulfing the modern world.

### **6.3 Case Study: An Unfolding Narrative**

This study found legislative devolution not to have been a one-off 'event' which exemplified "the settled will of the Scottish people"<sup>226</sup> as proposed by previous Labour leader John Smith;<sup>227</sup> rather, it marked the next stage in a 'process'; an unfolding narrative of

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<sup>226</sup> Ichijo, A. p27 'Entrenchment of unionist nationalism: devolution and the discourse of national identity in Scotland' in *National Identities* Vol. 14, No. 1, March 2012 (London: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>227</sup> Dalyell however, later pointed out that when he had "cast blunt doubts about Smith's real belief in devolution. It was never contradicted by anyone." *The Importance of Being Awkward* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2011)

incremental adjustments, both legislative and constitutional, that had been in progress since the formation of the Union.<sup>228</sup> This reflects Fairclough and Fairclough's belief that no single institutional arrangement is ever capable of determining, in a universally accepted manner, the collective will of any nation.

Tranter who, in 1977, dismissed devolution as "a depressingly dull and bureaucratic phrase for something strong and vital which should instead ring out like a trumpet-call," nevertheless anticipate that, were it to be introduced, no matter how botched or fumbled, it would be impossible to "turn back the tide."<sup>229</sup> This research found that the momentum for change was real and apparent, for example, in the ad hoc addition of further devolved powers given to Holyrood; the emergence of "strong centrifugal forces"<sup>230</sup> via policy differences between Edinburgh and London, and the coming to power, in 2007, of a party committed to independence.<sup>231</sup> Devolution therefore, as McLeish latter confirmed, "is a process, not an event."<sup>232</sup>

"Action is the determination of the future. Freedom is the capacity to act, and so the capacity to determine the future."<sup>233</sup> From Macmurray's assertion we may deduce that, in

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<sup>228</sup> This 'process' represented to some however, as Curtice and Seyd put it, "the thin end of a wedge (or, alternatively, a stepping stone) that will eventually drive the component territories of the United Kingdom...apart" Curtice, J. & Seyd, B. p1 'Is Devolution Strengthening or Weakening the UK?' in *British Social Attitudes: 18<sup>th</sup> Report – Public policy, Social ties*, Park, A. et al, (eds.) (London: Sage, 2001)

<sup>229</sup> Tranter, N. pi 'Forward' to Webb, K. *The Growth of Nationalism in Scotland* (Glasgow: Molendinar Press, 1977)

<sup>230</sup> Jeffery, C. p289 'Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a Piecemeal Approach to Constitutional Change' in *Publius* Vol. 39, No. 2, Federalism and Constitutional Change (Spring, 2009) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid* p290

<sup>232</sup> McLeish, H. p10 *Scotland, The Growing Divide: Old Nation, New Ideas* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2012)

<sup>233</sup> Macmurray, J. p166 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of The Form of the Personal* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961) Macmurray goes on to issue a warning concerning the concept of 'cause and effect' by stating that "The freedom of any particular agent...depends upon his knowledge of the Other, and this knowledge is problematic. So far as his knowledge of the Other is infected with error, his capacity to act will be frustrated." This study found Blair's



providing its people with a level of freedom sufficient to determine their own future, a state may set in motion a series of events which it has no means of determining the consequences. Such was the case in 1999 when the Scottish Parliament was reconvened.<sup>234</sup> But in a speech made there the following year Blair presented his very different perspective on what the actions of a state can have. He said that "The settled will of the Scottish people is now a solid reality"<sup>235</sup> and that the impact of legislative devolution should be judged in "the broad sweep of history."<sup>236</sup> He seemed to think that nothing more than a single, albeit important, event had occurred. He did not consider this a catalyst for a series of events which led to a constitutional outcome he had never intended, nor wanted. Rather than signalling the beginning of the end of union, he believed it capable of bolstering the existing "diverse but strong union."<sup>237</sup> But when one considers what happened, even in the narrow sweep of Scottish history from 1999 to 2011, it becomes much less apparent what the settled will of the Scottish people actually was. It is therefore, futile to imagine that any society could arrive at such a stage in its history as to believe that it had reached its 'solid reality.'

The Scotland Act 1998 was designed, according to Burrows, "with the goal of decentralising power", in such a way as to "reflect the aspirations and needs of the people";

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'knowledge of the Other' in regard to the issue of devolution to have been 'infected with error.'

<sup>234</sup> Glen records that "On May 12, 1999 the Scottish Parliament assembled for the first time in almost 300 years. As a prominent Scottish National Party politician and the oldest member of the new Parliament, Winnie Ewing stated "I want to start with words that I have always wanted to say or hear someone else say – the Scottish Parliament adjourned on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of March in the year 1707 is hereby reconvened." Glen, C. M. p45 'The Politics of Language Policy in Scotland' in *The Annual of Language & Politics and Politics of Identity* Vol. 4, 2010 (Karlova, Tartu, Estonia: Univerzita Karlova, 2010)

<sup>235</sup> Blair, T. p1 'Speech by the Prime Minister to the Scottish Parliament' (Edinburgh: Assembly Hall of the Church of Scotland, 9 March 2000)

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid* p4

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid* p4

this “in order to complete what John Smith called “unfinished business.”<sup>238</sup> It provided a “reasonably clear division of powers between Westminster and the Scottish Parliament by listing only the powers reserved to the centre and leaving everything else in the devolved sphere.”<sup>239</sup> These included, for example, Education, Land Reform and Criminal Justice.<sup>240</sup> Scotland has however, since the inception of the United Kingdom in 1707, periodically appropriated devolved powers.<sup>241</sup> Over the last three hundred years there has been a process of constitutional change, often devolutionary in nature. It is inaccurate therefore, to describe what occurred in 1999, or at any other stage in the evolution of Scotland’s constitutional position, as ‘settled.’ In 1885, for example, the Scottish Office was created. Seven years later saw the appointment of the first Secretary of State for Scotland, and in 1926 that position was granted full Cabinet membership.<sup>242</sup> None of these ‘events’ are now recognised as having completed ‘unfinished business.’ Even the position of Scottish Secretary has lost much of its powers since the coming of devolution.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> Burrows, N. p241 ‘Unfinished Business: The Scotland Act 1998’ in *Modern Law Review* Vol. 62, Issue 2, March 1999 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999)

<sup>239</sup> Keating, M. Stevenson, L. Cairney, P. & Taylor, K. p112 ‘Does Devolution Make a Difference? Legislative Output and Policy Divergence in Scotland’ in *The Journal of Legislative Studies* Vol. 9, No. 3, Autumn 2003 (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Ltd., 2003) Keating et al. go on to explain that “Powers that are devolved correspond rather closely to the matters that were previously handled by the Scottish Office.”

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid* p115 It is argued by Keating et al. that in the first four years of devolution, to an extent, “There is an autonomous sphere in which Scotland has gone its own way without reference to the rest of the UK.” p110

<sup>241</sup> The 1707 Acts of Union provided for the Kirk, Scots Law and Scottish Education to remain under Scottish jurisdiction. These are described by Harvie as being “the semi-independent estates of kirk, law and education”, and the ‘semi-independent’ nature of this concession meant for him that “The ideology which triumphed in 1707 was not anti-Scottish.” Harvie, C. p11 *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707 to the Present* Fourth Edition (London: Routledge, 2004)

<sup>242</sup> Keating describes the Scottish Office as being a “long-standing example of devolved administration”, which acts in “preservation and development of those peculiarly Scottish institutions which have survived the two and a half centuries of union with England.” Keating, M. J. p133 ‘Administrative Devolution in Practice: The Secretary of State for Scotland and the Scottish Office’ in *Public Administration* Vol. 54, Issue 2 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell, 1976)

<sup>243</sup> Wright argues that “The Secretary of State for Scotland, who was a member of the UK Cabinet, and his ministerial team were appointees of the UK Prime Minister. Whilst a degree of political

From then until the end of the period under investigation, more additional ad hoc devolved powers were given to Holyrood; this belying any notion that the initial phase of legislative devolution had been a definitive event. In 2005, for example, responsibility for the Scottish rail system was transferred from the UK Department of Transport to the Scottish Executive.<sup>244</sup> In 2007 the Calman Commission was established as a result of a motion passed by the Scottish Parliament. Its terms of reference were "To review the provisions of the Scotland Act 1998 in light of experience and to recommend any changes to the constitutional arrangements."<sup>245</sup> The final report was published in 2009 and confirmed that "devolution has been a success, and is here to stay." It also recommended that, amongst other measures, "the Scottish Parliament should have substantially greater control over the raising of the revenues that make up the Scottish budget."<sup>246</sup> The following year saw the formation of a Conservative/Liberal Democrat UK coalition government, which pledged to implement the Commission's findings. By using these as the basis for the Scotland Act 2012,<sup>247</sup> this coalition acted therefore, in such a way as to refute the Labour assertion that what had occurred in 1999 represented the Scottish peoples' 'settled will.'

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authority resided in Scotland, however, there was no consensus over the extent to which Scotland enjoyed meaningful autonomy within the UK." Wright, A. p178-9 'The SNP and UK Relations' in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>244</sup> Jack McConnell, First Minister at this time called it "the most significant devolution of new powers to Scottish ministers since 1999." McConnell, J. *Interview* BBC News Channel Tuesday 18 January 2005. During this news feature the UK Transport Secretary was quoted as saying that "It is clear that the Scottish Executive is best placed to decide what is right for Scotland's railways."

<sup>245</sup> Holden, H. p1 *The Commission on Scottish Devolution – the Calman Commission* (London: House of Commons Library, 4 June, 2010) Any recommendations made were to be such that they "would enable the Scottish Parliament to better serve the people of Scotland...improve the financial accountability of the Scottish Parliament and...continue to secure the position of Scotland within the United Kingdom."

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid* p15-16 The Final Report also recommended that "responsibility for the regulation of airguns, the administration of elections, drink-driving limits and the national speed limit should be devolved."

<sup>247</sup> *Explanatory Notes: Scotland Act 2012* (Norwich: TSO, The Stationary Office, 2012)

In 2007, the year that Blair left Downing Street, a party with a very different vision for Scotland formed a minority administration in Edinburgh. Four years later the SNP held a majority. By then, Labour had not only been out of power in Holyrood for four years, but had also lost to the Conservatives at Westminster. There was now the prospect of Blair being remembered as the man who precipitated the eventual break-up of the union.<sup>248</sup> But years earlier Macmurray, the man to whom we were advised to refer if we wished to understand what Blair was “all about”<sup>249</sup> had warned that “when knowledge of the other is infected with error” the future for an individual “will be determined for him through his own act in a way which he did not intend.”<sup>250</sup> The error Blair may have made was in not having recognised, as Cochrane pointed out, that: “At times there seems to be a passive acceptance amongst Scots that they’re drifting, almost inexorably towards separation.”<sup>251</sup> Blair, by his actions, may (or may not) inadvertently have hastened that separation.

Use of the terms ‘settled will’ and ‘common weal’ cropped-up regularly in the period from 1999 to 2011. Dewar, in his introduction to the Scottish Labour Party manifesto 1999, spoke of the “fulfilment of a lifetime ambition” that “there shall be a Scottish Parliament” as being his, and that of his friend John Smith’s, understanding of what constituted “the settled will of the Scottish people.” Later in that same document he spoke of his party “Working for

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<sup>248</sup> In that year Norton argued that “Under Tony Blair’s premiership, the British constitution has undergone extensive change, unparalleled in recent British history, but without the Prime Minister having a developed view of what form of constitution is desirable for the United Kingdom. The changes that have taken place have had unintended consequences but with no mechanisms in place to deal with these consequences and illustrate the extent to which the constitutional framework of the United Kingdom is unravelling.” Norton, P. p269 ‘Tony Blair and The Constitution’ in *British Politics* Vol. 2 Issue 2, July 2007 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)

<sup>249</sup> Bevir, M. (with O’Brien, D.) p28 *From Idealism to Communitarianism: The Inheritance and Legacy of John Macmurray* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003) quoting from: T. Blair, *Scotland on Sunday*, 24 July 1994.

<sup>250</sup> Macmurray, J. p166 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of The Form of the Personal* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961)

<sup>251</sup> Cochrane, A. ‘What exactly has Scotland got to celebrate?’ in *The Daily Telegraph* Thursday May 7, 2009

what we used to call the common weal.”<sup>252</sup> But this rhetoric was not confined to Labour. Salmond too, in a speech to the SNP 2011 spring conference, ventured to invoke “our spirit...for the common weal”<sup>253</sup> by citing such Scottish luminaries as Robert Burns and Jimmy Reid. But it was Joad who categorically denounced any such notion; stating that “The state has no will of its own, because a will can belong only to a person.”<sup>254</sup> Given the convincing nature of this simple yet profound logic, it would be difficult to maintain any argument based on the notion that the five million separate, sentient and constantly evolving individuals, who comprise the ‘state’ of Scotland, would ever be capable of sharing a universally accepted judgement as to what constituted their common will.

Labour tended to the view however, that the Scots had accepted the devolution settlement as representing their common will, whilst the SNP continued to engage in the process of trying to convince those same Scots of the moral superiority still to be realized (both intellectually and constitutionally) of full national sovereignty.<sup>255</sup> But given the dominance of individual and sectional interests in the modern age, where man “appears detached from the natural bonds etc., which in earlier historical periods make him the accessory of a definite and limited human conglomerate,”<sup>256</sup> the likelihood of any party having been able to call upon a collective will may be considered a somewhat unrealistic notion. The dilemma that Labour faced, having been unable to convince sufficient Scots of

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<sup>252</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p2 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>253</sup> Salmond, A. p10 ‘Speech by Alex Salmond MSP, First Minister, at the Scottish National Party Spring Conference’ 2011.

<sup>254</sup> Joad, C. E. M. p321 *Philosophy for our Times* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1940)

<sup>255</sup> This realization came to be endorsed too, according to Keating, by some within academia, who argued that “As the reality of nationalism became apparent, some scholars abruptly changed tack to argue that England and Scotland had never really been integrated, that the Union was a mere veneer so that, as soon as external circumstances and internal calculations changed, it was bound to fall apart.” Keating, M. p2 *The Independence of Scotland: Self-government & the Shifting Politics of Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

<sup>256</sup> Marx, K. p83 *Grundrisse* Trans. M. Nicolaus (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973) quoted in Sayers, S. p88 ‘Individual and Society in Marx and Hegel: Beyond the Communitarian Critique of Liberalism’ *Science & Society*, Vol. 71, No. 1, January 2007

the merits of its position on devolution and independence, stemmed from its apparent reluctance to fully engage in debate over these issues. McLeish describes Scotland at this time as having lacked “choice because of the dominance of the SNP” and of “the refusal of Labour to offer a viable and sustainable alternative.”<sup>257</sup> Whilst having been prepared to make somewhat trite, and sometimes even meaningless, statements about its perception of the settled will of the Scots, Labour tended to dismiss genuine debate for fear of being “sidelined into sterile arguments about breaking up Britain.”<sup>258</sup>

MacIntyre pointed out however, that avoidance can deliver its own even more formidable problems. He warned that when individuals “have been introduced to rival and competing narratives, differences over which affect the substance of their lives, then at a certain point either they will have to raise seriously the question of truth, of how far either of the two narratives is true, or else they will have to retreat from the question into the security of their prejudices.”<sup>259</sup> But all such debate concerning the merits of one version of state governance over another demonstrated a lack of understanding as to the type of inter-personal relations that Macmurray believed best suited all communities. This misunderstanding had been, for him, one of the central features of what it was that made modern societies so different from his preferred model of community. Whereas he believed that the true essence of being human came about through finding one’s own personal worth by living with, and living for, others – Prideaux identified Blair’s approach as having been completely different. He argued that “the bond of Macmurray’s community was the

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<sup>257</sup> McLeish, H. p5 *Citizens United: Taking Back Control in Turbulent Times* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2017)

<sup>258</sup> Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p1 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>259</sup> MacIntyre, A. p13 ‘Alasdair MacIntyre on Education: In Dialogue with Joseph Dunne’ in *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2002. In this dialogue MacIntyre was talking specifically about the effect that an understanding (or otherwise) of the truth concerning different narratives, specifically in relation to students. What he said however can be applied more generally.

antithesis of the negative, impersonal bond of a so-called 'unity' in a competitive and overtly voracious social configuration."<sup>260</sup> From this perspective Blair, and by extension Scottish Labour, seemed to have pursued the latter with little regard for the notion of 'living with and for others' - save for those occasions when the rhetoric of community and volunteerism was employed. To accept this assertion without question however, would be to ignore the historical, and often profound, appreciation of the importance of community which was, and to an extent still is, an important component of Labour's traditional ideological position.<sup>261</sup>

Unfortunately for Labour a disparity in the settled wills of those living north and south of the border, concerning one of its flagship policies, surfaced almost immediately. Whereas the compulsory element, central to the ethos of Labour's New Deal programme, was met with approval<sup>262</sup> - this "modern balancing of rights and responsibilities"<sup>263</sup> was less well received in Scotland. At this time Fairley anticipated the emergence of a "Scottish consensus which differs from mainstream thinking south of the border."<sup>264</sup> He cited the example of the Scottish Affairs Committee which opposed the compulsory element of New Deal and urged the Government to think again. Similarly, the Scottish Trades Union Congress warned that "benefits sanctions should not be used as a means of coercing the unemployed."<sup>265</sup> Given

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<sup>260</sup> Prideaux, S. p60 *Not so New Labour: A sociological critique of New Labour's policy and practice* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005)

<sup>261</sup> Royston Pike, in 1948 when describing the socialist principle in relation to the Labour Party, said in somewhat stark terms that "The principle may be stated as the subordination of the individual to the community." Royston Pike, E. p65 *Political Parties and Policies: A Popular Explanation of the Principles of the Chief Political Parties and a Guide to the Understanding of Current Politics* Third Edition (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1948)

<sup>262</sup> Fairclough makes the point that, when launching and promoting the idea of the New Deal, the rhetoric employed used the first person ('our') when describing this new policy. The idea being to establish its position as the only solution able to "break the mould" of the old, passive benefit system. To this end, according to Fairclough, the party did "not encourage dialogue." Fairclough, N. p13 *New Labour, New Language?* (London: Routledge, 2000)

<sup>263</sup> Fairley, J. p6 'Labour's New Deal in Scotland' in *Scottish Affairs*, No. 25 Autumn 1998 (Edinburgh: Institute of Governance at The University of Edinburgh, 1998)

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid* p7

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid* p13 Quoting from 'Submission to Scottish Affairs Committee on Welfare to Work' (Glasgow: Scottish Trades Union Congress, 1997)

that a separate Scottish Parliament would soon be established, these views provided an early indication that the will of the Scottish people was somewhat different from that held elsewhere in the UK.<sup>266</sup> Concerning rights and responsibilities Ramsay, whilst agreeing that responsibility was “an essential concept of social life,” argued that “its justification and adoption depends on an inclusive moral community with overlapping ends and purposes.”<sup>267</sup> This indicates that it would be a difficult feat for any central government to sustain the delicate balance required in order to allow one part of its jurisdiction the freedom to evolve as an inclusive moral community, but at the same time reserve the powers required to impose the compulsory elements of its socio-economic policy – especially if each were functioning according to a different conception of what rights and responsibilities each community should adhere to. This would become all the more awkward, were the Scots then to engage in the pursuit of a common good which was different to that of their English counterparts. The likelihood of there being disagreement over ends and purposes began to look inevitable. However, by creating the circumstances in which Scotland was able to act upon a shared vocabulary of values (a vocabulary derived from its own particular appreciation of its history, traditions, customs and practices), Labour had acted in recognition of the importance of what Taylor called ‘external horizons of significance.’<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> If indeed, any such collective will (as has been argued in this thesis) has, or could ever, exist.

<sup>267</sup> Ramsay, M. p39 ‘Just Contribution’ in *Contemporary Political Theory*, Vol. 1 No. 1 March 2002 (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002)

<sup>268</sup> Redhead, when discussing this aspect of Taylor’s political thought, speaks of “a set of values that together define the moral horizon of Western modernity” and that “these diverse moral goods represent the glue that can hold a deeply diverse state together.” Redhead, M. p143 *Charles Taylor: Thinking and Living in Deep Diversity* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2002)



## Conclusion

By adopting the position that, as a result of the introduction of devolution, the Scottish people had arrived at a fixed point in their history (one in which all were in common accord), Labour had misjudged the complexity of the situation. The unfolding narrative which ensued represented a process of incremental change, and not the one-off event envisioned by Smith, Dewar and Blair. Labour's actions set in motion a series of events which culminated in the coming to power of a party which threatened the very existence of the Union. Because of an overly simplistic notion as to what constituted the 'common weal' (if indeed, as Fairclough and Fairclough pointed out, such a phenomenon could ever exist), Labour had shifted events in an unintended direction; one in which a devolution settlement designed in-part to 'kill nationalism stone dead' might precipitate the opposite.

### ***6.4 Case Study: A Coalition Narrative***

Labour did not win the 1999 Scottish election outright and the influence their coalition partners had on policy formed an important aspect of this investigation.<sup>269</sup> This involved the use of qualitative comparative analysis as a means of, as Lijphart put it, discovering empirical relationships among variables. Specifically, the relationships between communitarian theory and the language and policy decisions of both parties was compared and analysed; this in order to verify the 'communitarian turn' claim.

Despite claims that they pulled "New Labour to the left of centre ground on issues such as tuition fees and free personal care for the elderly", McAllion asserts that "New

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<sup>269</sup> Larkin argues that "The Scottish parliament was designed to break with traditional Westminster politics, in favour of a more deliberative, consensual modus operandi. An electoral system designed to deliver coalition government was central to this." Larkin, P. p61 'The politics of coalition in Scotland' in *Political Science* Vol. 63, Issue 1, 011 (Abingdon: Taylor Francis, 2011)

Labour was never pulled anywhere it really didn't want to go."<sup>270</sup> If anything, it was the Liberal Democrats who gave way and accepted such illiberal actions as the electronic tagging of children and the incarceration of the children of asylum seekers.<sup>271</sup> This did not sit well with a party described as having "become synonymous with the importance of 'community' or 'pavement politics'"<sup>272</sup> - its manifesto claiming that its policies were "firmly rooted in the Liberal Democratic belief of valuing each individual and building a society where each person is free to fulfil their potential."<sup>273</sup> But, as Taylor warned, this notion of a state intent on creating a society whose members were encouraged to freely fulfil their own potential would probably, if realised, result in "the atomism of the self-absorbed individual."<sup>274</sup>

Whereas Labour's manifesto expressed a commitment to improve access to colleges and universities, despite "the tough decisions that we have taken on student support"<sup>275</sup> – the Liberal Democrats made an unequivocal undertaking to "abolish tuition fees for all Scottish students at UK universities."<sup>276</sup> This proved to be "a major stumbling block to

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<sup>270</sup> McAllion, J. p32 'Estates of Scotland: Politics and Parliament' in *States of Scotland* Roy, K. (Ed.) (Glasgow: ICS Books, 2003)

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid* p32 McAllion argues that "The lust for office often involves the losing of long-cherished principles" and that "The Lib Dems were learning that harsh reality all over again after almost a century of principled opposition."

<sup>272</sup> Clark, A. p698 'Community Politics? Grassroots Liberal Democrats and the 2003 Scottish Parliament Elections' *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* Vol. 9, PT 4 2007

<sup>273</sup> *Scottish Liberal Democrat Manifesto* p2 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) Here the party argued from a communitarian perspective, by envisioning a society where "each citizen contributes to the life of the community particularly by showing responsibility to the community's most vulnerable members."

<sup>274</sup> Taylor, C. p9 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) Such citizens would gain the type of freedom described by Taylor, borrowing from Alexis de Tocqueville, in which they belong to "A society in which people end up as the kind of individuals who are 'enclosed in their own hearts', and where few will want to participate actively in self-government."

<sup>275</sup> *Scottish Labour Manifesto* p4 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>276</sup> *Scottish Liberal Democrat Manifesto* p4 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

coalition formation"<sup>277</sup> - a coalition which had been described by one of those who helped draft the Scottish Coalition Agreement as "*not* a Scottish Labour Government pursuing a Labour agenda but with Liberal Democrat participation; it is a genuine coalition government in terms of both policy and operation."<sup>278</sup> To fund all their manifesto pledges the Liberal Democrats anticipated that, in addition to eliminating waste "with Gladstonian vigour"<sup>279</sup> they would "if necessary" use tax-varying powers to increase by 1p, the standard rate of tax in Scotland. In contrast Labour offered a reminder of its 1997 UK election promise not to increase income tax,<sup>280</sup> and then made a commitment not to raise the tax in Scotland in its first term.<sup>281</sup>

Donald Dewar met Jim Wallace, the Scottish Liberal Democrat leader on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May 1999, with a view to forming a coalition. Despite coalition government having been the most probable consequence of the electoral system adopted,<sup>282</sup> Massetti explained that "no pre-election agreements or tactical co-operation between parties occurs."<sup>283</sup> The partnership

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<sup>277</sup> Lynch, P. p32 *Scottish Government and Politics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001) Lynch explains that the Lib-Dem's "commitment to remove tuition fees was frequently trumpeted at the 1999 election, and the party leader, Jim Wallace, made unequivocal statements that tuition fees would be abolished after the 6 May election."

<sup>278</sup> Goldenberg, P. p6 'The Scottish coalition agreement' in *Amicus Curiae*, Issue 20. September 1999

<sup>279</sup> *Scottish Liberal Democrat Manifesto* p32 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) Gladstone was from an early age, in the words of Matthew "nurtured on the supposed evils of the national debt" and "in favour of the curtailment of government spending." Matthew, H. C. C. p57 *Gladstone 1809-1898* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

<sup>280</sup> Scottish Labour Manifesto p2 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid* p5 Regarding the Scottish economy, this manifesto stated that "Labour is rewarding work and enterprise by providing the right tax regime for business. New Corporation Tax rates of 10p for new small companies will benefit 25,000 small and growing companies in Scotland. And 248,000 small businesses in Scotland gain from the 1p cut in the basic rate of tax."

<sup>282</sup> Lynch explains that "The decision to use a mixed electoral system with a degree of proportionality – the combined FPTP and regional list system – produced entirely different electoral outcomes. Majority government was made highly unlikely in the Scottish electoral system." Lynch, P. p21 *Scottish Government and Politics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001)

<sup>283</sup> Massetti, E. p16 'The Scottish and Welsh Party Systems Ten Years after Devolution: Format, Ideological Polarization and Structure of Competition' *Sussex European Institute Working Paper No 107*, University of Sussex, 2008

agreement was signed six days later.<sup>284</sup> Both were keenly aware that this agreement could undermine the policies on which each had campaigned. They were equally aware that the Liberal Democrats, having gained only fourth place in the election and not therefore deserving of a strong voice in the coalition, now held the position of king-maker to a party that would otherwise have been forced to form a minority government.<sup>285</sup> During those six days the two leaders established and then managed their respective negotiating teams in very different ways. Dewar picked his team with little consultation; it then performed its task in a very centralised way – seeking little advice from others.<sup>286</sup> The resultant document presented to the Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party for approval was little more than a *fait accompli*. The Liberal Democrats, having anticipated the possibility of finding themselves in this position, had already produced a Coalition Framework.<sup>287</sup> They dealt with the process in a more decentralised way; the negotiating team meeting frequently with its MSPs and members of the party's Scottish Executive. For them "any coalition agreement had to be based on a joint programme of government, approved by a two thirds majority vote of both the Executive and the Parliamentary Party."<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> Taylor describes how the coalition agreement document, unveiled on Friday 14 May 1999, "promises stable, cooperative, innovative and integrated government, arguing that 'these prizes mean more to the people of Scotland than party differences.'" Taylor, B. p10 *The Scottish Parliament* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999)

<sup>285</sup> Denver and MacAllister report that the "Liberal Democrats slightly strengthened their position in both share of the vote and constituencies won and certainly did better than the polls suggested they would. On the other hand they remain the fourth party in Scotland in terms of both popularity among voters and seats in the Parliament." Denver, D. & MacAllister, I. p22 'The Scottish Parliament Elections 1999: An Analysis of the Results' in *Scottish Affairs* No. 28, Summer 1999

<sup>286</sup> Oaten, M. p253 *Coalition: The Politics and Personalities of Coalition Government from 1850* (Petersfield, Hampshire: Harriman House Ltd., 2007)

<sup>287</sup> McGarvey, N. and Cairney, P. p111 *Scottish Politics: An Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

<sup>288</sup> Roddin, E. p9 *Has the Labour Party or the Liberal Democrats proved more successful in the Partnership for Scotland Coalition 1999-2003? An initial assessment* Scottish Affairs, No.48, Summer 2004

The issue of tuition fees was not resolved in time for the publication of the coalition partnership agreement. Instead, both parties recognised the controversial and complex nature of the issue and proposed that “a resolution of the Parliament should call on the Executive to establish urgently a Committee of Inquiry.”<sup>289</sup> The response to the recommendations of the resultant Cubie Committee<sup>290</sup> came from a special ministerial committee comprising the First Minister, Deputy First Minister and two others from each party. The Committee’s proposals, some of which deviated from those of Cubie, were sufficient for the survival of the coalition.<sup>291</sup> In essence students would not have to pay fees until later in their lives – the compromise having been spun as “the abolition of up-front student fees.”<sup>292</sup> On the issue of tax the Liberal Democrats did not get their way; the agreement stated simply that the Scottish Executive would “not use the tax-varying power in the course of the first Parliament.”<sup>293</sup> In an effort to assuage Liberal Democrat concerns however, the agreement earmarked £80 million specifically for educational purposes.<sup>294</sup>

The issue of free personal care proved particularly contentious during the early stages of coalition. The Scottish Liberal Democrat manifesto promised that “many more elderly

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<sup>289</sup> Dewar, D. & Wallace, J. p4 *A Partnership for Scotland: Joint statement by the Leaders of the Scottish Labour Party and the Scottish Liberal Democrats* 28 June, 1999

<sup>290</sup> Carney et al. explain that the Independent Committee of Enquiry into Student Finance (The Cubie Committee 1999) “concluded that a ‘mixed economy’ of tuition fee arrangements for further and higher education should be maintained” Cairney, C. McNeish, S. & McColl, J. p308 ‘The impact of part time employment on students’ health and academic performance: a Scottish perspective’ in *Journal of Further and Higher Education* Vol. 29, No. 4, November 2005 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005)

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid* p308 Carney et al. Go on to describe how “Following the publication of the Cubie report, the Scottish Executive proposed that tuition fees be abolished in Scotland and replaced with a graduate endowment scheme as part of the existing student loan scheme.”

<sup>292</sup> McGarvey, N. & Cairney, P p203 *Scottish Politics: An Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008)

<sup>293</sup> Dewar, D. & Wallace, J. p15 *A Partnership for Scotland: Joint statement by the Leaders of the Scottish Labour Party and the Scottish Liberal Democrats* 28 June, 1999

<sup>294</sup> Ingle, S. p275-289 ‘The Political Scene in 1999’ in *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol. 53, Issue 2, 1 April 2000 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

people would be able to remain in their own homes.”<sup>295</sup> Scottish Labour’s manifesto made no such promise. Prior to this the UK Labour Government rejected the Sutherland Report recommendation,<sup>296</sup> that the provision of long-term home care should be free and not subject to means testing. To have promised otherwise would have undermined an important tenet of New Labour’s welfare modernisation programme: that of targeting benefits at those most in need of them. Initially the Scottish Executive pursued this same policy – but the death of Donald Dewar and his replacement by Henry McLeish heralded a change in direction.<sup>297</sup> In an effort to “make his mark”<sup>298</sup> - or as a result of pressure from other parties to adopt the Scottish Parliament’s Health and Community Care Report recommendation to implement Sutherland in full - McLeish announced his intention to do just that. Whilst aware that this was likely to prove popular with the Scottish public, this was not the case as far as the Labour party leadership in London was concerned.<sup>299</sup> Further, he had not sought agreement from his cabinet colleagues, and their subsequent negative reaction saw him attempting to renege on his promise.<sup>300</sup> By this time however, public

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<sup>295</sup> Scottish Liberal Democrat Manifesto p8 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>296</sup> In December 1997 the Labour government asked Sir Stewart Sutherland to chair a Royal Commission with a brief to propose “a sustainable system of funding of long-term care for elderly people.” The key recommendation of the Commission, published in February 1999, was that such care be given to all: free and on the basis of need. This was dismissed by the UK Government due to the prohibitive costs that would accrue. The Scottish Executive however, in January 2001, declared its intention to implement this recommendation in full.

<sup>297</sup> Pollock explains that “The Scottish Executive’s dramatic decision not to charge elderly people for personal and social care in contrast to the decision of the United Kingdom’s Westminster government, has created policy inconsistencies within the UK.” Pollock, A. M. p311 ‘Social policy and devolution’ in *The British Medical Journal* 10 February 2001 (London: BMJ, 2001)

<sup>298</sup> McGarvey, N. & Cairney, P p101 *Scottish Politics: An Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008) McGarvey and Cairney argue that McLeish was “held in less esteem”, and “saw free personal care as an opportunity to address his position.”

<sup>299</sup> Hopkin described this situation as one of a number of “instances where the party leaders at devolved level were able to draw on their new institutional resources to defy the national leadership.” Hopkin, J. p13 ‘Party Matters: Devolution and Party Politics in Britain and Spain’ in *Party Politics* Vol. 15, Issue 2, 2009 (California: Sage Publications, 2009)

<sup>300</sup> McGarvey, N. & Cairney, P p101 *Scottish Politics: An Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008) McLeish, perhaps rather rashly, “announced his intention to pursue this policy on *Newsnight Scotland* without seeking cabinet approval.”

opinion was generally in favour of the policy and the SNP, Liberal Democrats and Conservatives intended to vote for it. Labour could not afford to back-down, and in so doing expose Cabinet level dissent. The introduction of free personal care in 2001, whilst initially judged "the price Labour paid for retaining office",<sup>301</sup> was subsequently considered one of the Coalition Government's flagship policies. It demonstrated the kind of divergence in approach that different executives could now adopt when dealing with important social issues. Devolution had created a "new territorial configuration of policy-making institutions."<sup>302</sup> Deacon however, characterised the junior party's view of this new configuration as corresponding to "the very bottom end of the Liberal Democrats' expectations of federalism."<sup>303</sup> Here, despite Taylor's antipathy towards much liberal thought, was something with which he would have been in accord. He too was in favour of federalism, saying that "Canada has been fortunate. We have a federal system, which has been prevented from evolving towards greater centralization on the model of the United States by our very diversity."<sup>304</sup>

This flagship policy did not go down well in London. Blair's Government feared that such a precedent "might stimulate similar demands from pensioners south of the border."<sup>305</sup> A conflict such as this, over one policy issue, was not necessarily symptomatic of deep-

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<sup>301</sup> *Ibid* p203 Other areas cited as being "the price Labour paid for retaining office" are "abolition of up-front student fees and proportional representation in local elections."

<sup>302</sup> Shaw, E. p3 *Devolution and Scottish Labour: The Case of Free Personal Care for the Elderly* Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association, April 2003, University of Leicester.

<sup>303</sup> Deacon, R. pp84-101 'Decentralisation', in Hickson, K. (ed.) *The political thought of the Liberals and Liberal Democrats since 1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009) quoted in: Leigh, D. p10 'An Equidistant Memory? The Liberal Democrats and Their Relationship with the Two Main Parties in Britain' *POLIS Journal*/Vol. 5. Summer 2011

<sup>304</sup> Taylor, C. p119 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991) Taylor goes on to argue that such a system has meant that "provincial units generally correspond with regional societies with which their members identify."

<sup>305</sup> Shaw, E. p5 *Devolution and Scottish Labour: The Case of Free Personal Care for the Elderly* Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association, April 2003, University of Leicester.

rooted ideological differences between Labour north and south of the border; it was instead an inevitable consequence of the devolution of power. There was nevertheless recognition that "too much internal differentiation could threaten a party's cohesion and its ability to govern at the central level."<sup>306</sup> More importantly devolution meant that, depending on where one lived, one's quality of life could be markedly different. This was not something that Macmurray condoned. For him generosity had to be balanced by justice - and so "to produce a minor mutuality which is hostile to the interests of the larger community" was for him generosity "at the expense of others."<sup>307</sup>

Given the disparity in the number of seats won and subsequent ministerial portfolios awarded to each of the coalition partners,<sup>308</sup> one would have expected Labour to dominate policy. This did not happen, given that "In terms of influencing policy, it is the smaller coalition partner that has proven able to obtain the disproportionately high level of influence."<sup>309</sup> This was illustrated by Roddin when he calculated that, of the Coalition's eighty-two jointly agreed initiatives a mere twenty-five had been Labour pledges, whilst fifty-seven could be attributed to the Liberal Democrats.<sup>310</sup> This is not to say that the Liberal

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<sup>306</sup> Hopkin, J. & Bradbury, J. p140 British Statewide Parties and Multilevel Politics in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 2006 vol 36, number 1.

<sup>307</sup> Macmurray, J. p189 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of The Form of the Personal* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961) Macmurray explains that "It is to create and defend a corporate self-interest, and this destroys the universality of the moral reference. To be more than just to some and less just to the others is to be unjust to all."

<sup>308</sup> Seats taken by Labour and the Liberal Democrats as a result of the 1999 Scottish Parliamentary Election and ministerial portfolios subsequently awarded to each of the coalition parties:

	MSPs	Ministerial Portfolios
Labour	56	18 (nine Cabinet members)
Liberal Democrats	17 down to 16 (Sir David Steel having left the party to become Presiding Officer prior to the formation of the coalition)	4 (two Cabinet members)

Source: Taylor, B. p4-11 *The Scottish Parliament* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999)

<sup>309</sup> Roddin, E. p13 'Has the Labour Party or the Liberal Democrats proved more successful in the Partnership for Scotland Coalition 1999-2003? An initial assessment' *Scottish Affairs* No.48, summer 2004

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid* p14



Democrats got all they asked for. In addition to failing to have tuition fees abolished, other demands were either “shelved or reduced in scope.”<sup>311</sup> Despite all of this the arrangement was from the start designed to be (as far as possible in party politics) an open one. Not only was the Deputy First Minister’s role one in which he was entitled to “engage in any issue where he considers that appropriate”<sup>312</sup> - in addition, a copy of all “relevant material” was to be sent to his office as well as the First Minister’s. Further evidence of a ‘disproportionately high level of influence’ became apparent. The two greatest rises in departmental expenditure were awarded to departments implementing policies that had, to an extent, been forced on Labour by the Liberal Democrats, namely: the abolition (more accurately ‘delay’) of university tuition fees and free personal care for the elderly. What is clear therefore, is that the junior partner in this first coalition did not allow itself to be a mere sleeping partner. Thus, the coalition survived; having gained and held power by forming an administration in accordance with the Machiavellian precept that a “government based on internal unity”<sup>313</sup> was most likely to survive.

Again, in the 2003 Scottish Election, Labour gained the greatest number of seats, but not an outright victory. Once more they formed a coalition government with the Liberal Democrats; the fourth party in terms of seats.<sup>314</sup> The resultant coalition agreement: *A Partnership for a Better Scotland* included a joint statement by the leaders of both parties, pledging to “Work to encourage and stimulate economic growth. Work to tackle poverty and disadvantage, to improve and sustain our environment and to help all our communities live

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<sup>311</sup> Taylor, B. p10 *The Scottish Parliament* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999) Skye Bridge tolls were frozen but not axed and the ban on beef-on-the-bone was to be subject to review, but not stopped.

<sup>312</sup> Dewar, D. & Wallace, J. p16 *A Partnership for Scotland: Joint statement by the Leaders of the Scottish Labour Party and the Scottish Liberal Democrats* 28 June, 1999

<sup>313</sup> Bull, G. p13 Introduction to: Machiavelli, N. *The Prince* (1532) (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1961)

<sup>314</sup> In 2003 Labour took 50 seats (down from 56 in 1999), the Liberal Democrats took 17 (the same number as taken in 1999) Source: Denver, D. p3 *A 'Wake Up!' Call to the Parties? The Results of the Scottish Parliament Elections 2003* Scottish Affairs, no. 44 summer 2003

in peace and safety.”<sup>315</sup> The Liberal Democrat manifesto described “empowering people within their communities”<sup>316</sup> as being central to their thinking. First Minister McConnell chose to appoint “a slimmer team of ministers,”<sup>317</sup> this time with three Liberal Democrats in Cabinet.<sup>318</sup> This coalition agreement was three times longer than the first, and was thought to indicate a maturity of understanding as to the importance of such a document to the subsequent success of a coalition. Given that the anticipated tensions which “might have arisen as a result of the ‘semi-congruent’ nature of government”<sup>319</sup> had not, according to Seyd, occurred<sup>320</sup> - by 2004, it looked as if such was the success of coalition government, it had become “a permanent feature of the new institutional arrangements.”<sup>321</sup> Each of the partners had demonstrated a preparedness to adapt for the sake of stable governance; Labour by demonstrating a willingness to share more information, and the Liberal Democrats by compromising more on policy pledges.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> McConnell, J. & Wallace, J. p3 *A Partnership for a better Scotland: Joint statement by the Leaders of the Scottish Labour Party and the Scottish Liberal Democrats* 15 May, 2003

<sup>316</sup> Smith, M. p2 ‘Fresh Thinking for Four More Years’ in *Scottish Liberal Democrat Manifesto* 2003

<sup>317</sup> White, I. & Yonwin, J. p12 *Devolution in Scotland* House of Commons Library: Parliament and Constitution Centre. 5 April 2004

<sup>318</sup> Laffin explains that the Liberal Democrats “gained a third Cabinet seat and a third junior ministerial post, reflecting the post-election shift in the Labour-LD ratio of seats.” Laffin, M. p16 ‘Coalition-Formation and Centre Periphery Relations in a National Political Party: The Liberal Democrats in a Devolved Britain’ in *Devolution and Constitutional Change* (Swindon: Economic & Social Research Council, 2005) “Jim Wallace was made Deputy First Minister, Nicol Stephen, the Minister for Enterprise and Lifelong Learning and Ross Finnie, the Minister for Environment and Rural Development.” Russell, A. and Fieldhouse, E. p47 *Neither left nor right? The Liberal Democrats and the electorate* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005)

<sup>319</sup> Seyd, B. p6 *Coalition Governance in Scotland and Wales* (London: The Constitution Unit, School of Public Policy, UCL, 2004)

<sup>320</sup> Mitchell, in 2005, considered it “remarkable that Executive defeats have been so rare”, arguing that “Power lies in the coalition at least so long as the coalition acts coherently.” Mitchell, J. p37 ‘Scotland: Devolution is Not Just for Christmas’ in *The Dynamics of Devolution: The State of the Nations 2005* Trench, A. (ed.) (London: UCL, The Constitution Unit, 2005)

<sup>321</sup> Seyd, B. p7 *Coalition Governance in Scotland and Wales* (London: The Constitution Unit, School of Public Policy, UCL, 2004)

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid* p17

Why a political party – the name of which acts as an epithet to a belief that individual liberty is paramount – would ever enter into government with a party dedicated to the furtherance of the collective ideal; makes little sense. Ostensibly therefore, the arrangement between Labour and the Liberal Democrats may simply have been viewed as an unholy Machiavellian alliance, formed for the sole purposes of taking and holding onto power.<sup>323</sup> If this were the case then they succeeded; they held power for eight relatively trouble-free years.<sup>324</sup> But there is more to it than this. The ideological development of each party had evolved in such ways as to make it possible for them to cohere. The individualism of early liberalism had given way to social democracy and a form of welfarism,<sup>325</sup> whilst the socialist collectivism of Labour had been superseded by a third-way imperative to balance the rights of the individual with his concomitant social responsibilities.<sup>326</sup> They had arrived at a point where their joint ambition was comparable to Etzioni's communitarian description of the 'common good'.<sup>327</sup> In order to achieve equilibrium between social order and personal

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<sup>323</sup> Russell and Fieldhouse offer a different perspective as to Liberal Democrat motives, by describing how "A senior Scottish strategist revealed his justification for the coalition" by explaining that he was "not one of those who was in the party because I like it to be a nice pressure group" and that he was "in the party to get things done ... So I'm quite pleased we're in power in Scotland." Russell, A. and Fieldhouse, E. p46 *Neither left nor right? The Liberal Democrats and the electorate* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005)

<sup>324</sup> This coalition, according to Cairney, "passed virtually all of its legislation without any significant opposition or radical amendment and it suffered only a handful of defeats on non-binding motions over eight years." Cairney, P. p269 'Coalition and minority government in Scotland: Lessons for the United Kingdom?' in *The Political Quarterly* Vol. 82, Issue 2, April-June 2011 (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 2011)

<sup>325</sup> The Scottish Liberal Democrats promised in their 1999 manifesto, for example, to "Assist low-income families and disabled people to claim their rightful entitlement to welfare benefits." p16 *Scottish Liberal Democrat Manifesto 1999*

<sup>326</sup> Third way thought is encapsulated in the following explanation given by Giddens "investment in human capital wherever possible, rather than the direct provision of economic maintenance. In place of the welfare state we should put the social investment state, operating in the context of a positive welfare state." Giddens, A. p117 *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998)

<sup>327</sup> Etzioni, A. p5 *Common Good* (Hoboken: Wiley Online Library, 2014) Etzioni explains that "the common good does not merely amount to an aggregation of all private or personal goods in a society" It occurs when members of a society act in accordance with what "they consider it the right thing to do – by itself, for itself."

autonomy, they were trying, as Hale put it, to find a "balance between social forces and the person, between community and autonomy."<sup>328</sup>

1999 was the optimal time to have formed a coalition. But this ideological convergence may have represented something more than a serendipitous coincidence; instead it may have corresponded to a shift in political momentum taking place within and beyond these shores. When writing about the liberal-communitarian debate, four years earlier, Taylor said that, whilst there were legitimate differences between the atomistic and holistic camps – particularly with regard to the theory of justice - there existed also "a lot of cross-purposes and just plain confusion"<sup>329</sup> in the debate. There was little to divide those who accepted (a), that society and its structures may be explained as a result of an examination of the characteristics and behaviour of its members; and (b), social goods, such as welfare provision, may be accounted for "in terms of concatenations of individual goods."<sup>330</sup> The result of linking together individual goods may therefore be seen as a collective response to the needs of a society - a response which, in Scotland, the coalition agreement demonstrated by promoting "the inclusion of ideas from all those who want to contribute to the process of making Scotland a better place."<sup>331</sup> This integration of atomistic and holistic imperatives is communitarian in character, and one that Sen would condone, given his conviction that it was "important to give simultaneous recognition to the centrality of individual freedom *and* to the force of social influences on the extent and reach of individual freedom."<sup>332</sup> The policy consequences of this fusion of party ideologies was not

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<sup>328</sup> Hale, S. p52 *Blair's community: Communitarian thought and New Labour* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

<sup>329</sup> Taylor, C. p181 *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995)

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid* p181

<sup>331</sup> McConnell, J. & Wallace, J. p3 *A Partnership for a better Scotland: Joint statement by the Leaders of the Scottish Labour Party and the Scottish Liberal Democrats* 15 May, 2003

<sup>332</sup> Sen, A. pxii *Development as Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

something that the UK Labour leadership was necessarily unconcerned about, given its necessity to “maintain a uniform political discourse appropriate for UK elections.”<sup>333</sup> Laffin and Shaw however, described the ‘territorial cleavages’ that ensued as having been contained by Labour through the use of “a high level of inter-elite collaboration grounded in a broad ideological consensus and a shared conception of the appropriate role of national and sub-national government.”<sup>334</sup> This was an approach that McConnell, more than his predecessor, had been comfortable with. The federal nature of Liberal Democrat organisation, and the fact that it formed no part of the UK executive, meant however that any such fusion of ideas represented much less of a problem to it.<sup>335</sup> As a result, it found itself in a position where it was more able to “ignore sensitive issues of intergovernmental relations.”<sup>336</sup>

## Conclusion

Qualitative comparative analysis of the relationships between communitarian theory and the language and policy decisions of both parties was used to identify what effect Labour’s sharing of executive power with the Liberal Democrats had. Despite the latter having exerted a disproportionately high level of influence, this coalition partner helped facilitate, rather than impede, the progress of a number of policies within which important

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<sup>333</sup> Hopkin, J. & Bradbury, J. p143 British Statewide Parties and Multilevel Politics in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 2006 vol 36, number 1.

<sup>334</sup> Laffin, M. & Shaw, E. p20 ‘The New Subnational Politics of the Labour Party’ *Party Politics*, 13, 1. 2007

<sup>335</sup> In relation to Liberal Democrat involvement in devolved politics, Laffin believes that “In their participation in coalition governments in Scotland and Wales, the Liberal Democrats have acted as a *nationalized* but not *centralized* party, despite the devolved nature of their federal constitution.” Laffin, M. p1 ‘Coalition-Formation and Centre Periphery Relations in a National Political Party: The Liberal Democrats in a Devolved Britain’ in *Devolution and Constitutional Change* (Swindon: Economic & Social Research Council, 2005)

<sup>336</sup> Hopkin, J. & Bradbury, J. p146 British Statewide Parties and Multilevel Politics in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 2006 vol 36, number 1.

elements of communitarian thinking were clearly evident. This happened at a time when a significant degree of ideological convergence occurred between both parties; the result of which being not only minimal inter-party discord, but also a coalition able to act in ways which would not, in the main, have offended those communitarian philosophers examined.

## ***6.5 Conclusion***

The cumulative effect of integrating these four case studies into the broader methodological approach, which collected data for the purpose of political discourse analysis, was to verify the substantial extent to which Labour in Scotland took a communitarian turn. The wide-ranging nature of communitarian thinking, as demonstrated by the various writers examined, was clearly evident in the political narrative and subsequent policy initiatives it pursued. These studies were valuable in that they enabled the research to concentrate on a limited number of important topics, and in so doing gain a more comprehensive understanding of the effect that communitarian discourse had upon the political narratives which resulted.

The first study demonstrated evidence of a communitarian turn in the party's push for constitutional change via the introduction of legislative devolution to Scotland. This was considered by Labour to be the realisation of a long-held ambition to provide a measure of home-rule; sufficient, as Dewar put it, to offer a route to a fair society by delivering Scottish solutions to Scottish problems. The evidence gathered for this study also indicated that the establishment of legislative devolution was intended by Labour to undermine the increasing popularity of the campaign for independence. It was therefore, used as a means by which to mitigate the effects of marginalization so abhorred by Taylor - but without the necessity for separation.

The second study verified that for much of the period under investigation the optimistic disposition of much communitarian thought was reflected in the social policies adopted; the party's stated intention having been to initiate a culture of social inclusion, fairness, and justice within strong communities. Research revealed Labour's belief that by introducing a range of social policies, many of which exhibited communitarian characteristics, such as the encouragement of lifelong learning, these would sustain its electoral dominance in Scotland. Research also showed however, that the party subsequently came to endorse harsher measures as a way of dealing with a modern moral malaise, as identified by MacIntyre.

The third study identified Labour's misplaced confidence that the devolution settlement had been an event which represented Scotland's settled will. Research indicated that this had instead been one element in an unfolding narrative which has been on-going since the inception of the Union. From a communitarian perspective, the notion of a society having achieved a mutual understanding as to what it is right to do, is one to be lauded. Communitarian thinking does not however, envisage human relationships in such static terms; rather, it recognises the constantly changing nature of a society's collective will. Scotland, before and during the period in question, was one such society. Evidence of this unfolding narrative became clear when, following the passing of the Scotland Act 1998, additional ad hoc devolved powers were subsequently granted. But worst of all for Labour, this Act proved to be the catalyst for the coming to power of a party which threatened the very existence of the Union.

The fourth study examined the consequences of Labour's sharing of executive power with its coalition partners. Despite the latter's disproportionately high level of influence, this proved not to have been obstructive to the advancement of policies within which significant features of communitarian thought were apparent. Research indicated that this was made

possible due to the ideological development of each party having been such that it was possible for them to cohere in a way that showed a joint ambition comparable with Etzioni's communitarian description of the 'common good.'

Research into the extent to which communitarian thought impacted on the application of policy confirms therefore, that the language of communitarianism was evident, to a significant degree, in the political narrative adopted by Labour in Scotland in relation to constitutional change, social policy, the 'event/process' debate, and the coalition. Labour in Scotland had, during the period under investigation, clearly taken a 'communitarian turn.'



## Chapter Seven: Extent to which communitarian thought was articulated by the SNP

### Introduction

This chapter argues that the SNP offered a mild form of nationalism; one intended as a vehicle mostly for the betterment of the lives of individuals and their communities,<sup>1</sup> rather than one designed to bolster any form of chauvinistic national sentiment.<sup>2</sup> Maxwell spoke of those seeking independence being driven “not primarily by linguistic or ethnic concerns but by a desire for a more responsive and effective form of Scottish Government.”<sup>3</sup> The chapter further claims that any attempt to employ the language of nationalistic revolutionary fervour would, in all likelihood, have fallen upon deaf ears. Whilst a separate Scottish identity was still clearly discernible, the SNP faced the problem of this being primarily cultural, rather than political in nature.<sup>4</sup> Its task was therefore, to alter the current perception of Scotland as being a nation, to that of it having the potential to become a nation-state. It will also be claimed that the heterogeneous quality ascribed to Scottish society made it difficult to nurture the kind of feelings of particularity that could aid its progress.<sup>5</sup> This resulted in the

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<sup>1</sup> King quotes Salmond as having said that he is campaigning “for independence not just as an end in itself, but as a means by which the Scottish economy can grow more strongly and sustainably; by which Scotland can take its rightful place as a responsible member of the world community; and by which the Scottish people can best fulfil their potential and realize their aspirations.” King, C. p114 ‘The Scottish Play: Edinburgh’s Quest for Independence and the future of Separatism’ in *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 91, No. 5, September/October 2012 (New York City: Council on Foreign Relations, 2012)

<sup>2</sup> Brubaker explains that SNP leaders emphasise “the party’s civic nationalism, especially its inclusive, residentially based definition of Scottishness.” Brubaker, R. p57 ‘The Manichean Myth: Rethinking the Distinction Between Civic and Ethnic Nationalism’ in *Nation and National Identity: The European Experience in Perspective* Kriesl, H. Armingeon, K. Siegrist, H. & Wimmer, A. (eds.) (Zürich: Rüegger, 1999)

<sup>3</sup> Maxwell, S. p26 *Arguing for Independence* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012)

<sup>4</sup> Bechhofer and McCrone caution against seeing “national identity as straightforwardly ‘political’.” They argue that “how ordinary people construe and articulate their national identity does not easily predict their politics.” Bechhofer, F. & McCrone, D. p2 *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change* Bechhofer, F. et al (eds.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

<sup>5</sup> Hearn, citing Cohen, argues that “national populations are heterogeneous, and will only converge on a common understanding of their material interests in the nation under exceptional

nationalist cause proceeding in a way that was slow, incremental and of a non-violent nature. It is further contended that national consciousness was affected not only by the Scots' own appreciation of their collective identity, but by their relationship with their nearest neighbour too.<sup>6</sup> Here, the importance of Taylor's view, that demands by some nations for basic recognition had been replaced by more vociferous demands for equal recognition, becomes apparent.

This chapter further argues that Alex Salmond, who led the party for most of this period, appreciated the importance of an individual's position within a community, and that this came as a consequence of the embedded nature of his own early life experiences; rather than as a result of any abstract intellectual deliberation.<sup>7</sup> The resultant feeling of rootedness, and the dialogical character of the individual identity formation that can ensue, is a communitarian experience not so easily ascribed to Tony Blair's early life; his more cerebral appreciation of communitarianism having derived chiefly from his university studies.<sup>8</sup> This chapter also argues that a range of disparate influences combined to point Salmond in a particular political direction: influences including the works of a Welsh nationalist poet; a study of the Scottish Wars of Independence; involvement in far-left political circles and a career as an oil economist. The resultant mix of historic, esoteric,

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circumstances." Specifically, in relation to Scotland (the primary focus of Cohen's research) it is suggested that "there is a common interest in having a national identity as such, precisely, and somewhat paradoxically, because it provides shared ground for articulating personal identities." Hearn, J. p663 'National identity: banal, personal and embedded' in *Nations and Nationalism* Vol. 13, Issue 4, 2007 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007)

<sup>6</sup> Kenny MacAskill, the SNP Minister for Justice (2007-2014) is quoted by Reicher, Hopkins and Harrison as having identified 'positive Scottish values' as being derived from "what we are, rather than what we are not." Reicher, S. Hopkins, N. & Harrison, K. p17 'Identity Matters: On the Importance of Scottish Identity for Scottish Society' in *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change* Bechhofer et al. (eds.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

<sup>7</sup> Salmond was born in Linlithgow in 1954, and, on his educational experience within that community, he is quoted by Belgutay as having said that "I had a fantastic schooling. Between Linlithgow and the Academy, I couldn't have had a better schooling anywhere in the world." Belgutay, J. 'Alex Salmond: My best teacher' in *The Times Educational Supplement Scotland* Issue 2203, Feb. 25<sup>th</sup>, 2011 (London: TES Global, 2011)

<sup>8</sup> Blair was born in Edinburgh in 1953. His was a less settled childhood, the family having emigrated to Australia and then returned to settle in England (Durham); all of this in the first five years of his life. Seldon, A. p3-5 *Blair* (London: The Free Press, 2004)

political and practical influences provided him with a shared vocabulary of values: much like what Taylor calls 'horizons of significance.'

The case will also be made that, since its establishment, the SNP's relationship with Scotland's communities has evolved;<sup>9</sup> as has its ideological position.<sup>10</sup> Given that it took a relatively long time to find its feet on each, and then reconcile one with the other, it will be argued that until recently it only ever experienced periodic waves of popularity. There came a time in the 1960s however, when it took its first tentative steps towards convincing working-class communities to support it; the support of such communities being vital to any party wishing to succeed electorally in Scotland.<sup>11</sup> This chapter argues that by the beginning of the period under investigation, the party presented a settled ideological position. It offered a gradualist approach to independence, and left-of-centre social democracy as its position on the left-right political axis.<sup>12</sup> This was a strategy it thought would appeal to various Scottish communities, but crucially, working-class communities.

Kenny MacAskill's political journey will then be described, because it typified that of many within the party. Having begun as a radical left-wing activist and lawyer, it later became expedient to adopt a moderate left-of-centre approach, more suited to someone

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<sup>9</sup> One example of an 'evolving relationship' is given by Brown, McCrone and Paterson, when they explain that "the Protestant working class slowly stopped voting on religious grounds, and shifted to the Labour Party (and later the SNP)." Brown, A. McCrone, D. & Paterson, L. p19 *Politics and Society in Scotland* Second Edition (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998)

<sup>10</sup> Lynch contends that "the SNP did not have a clear ideological position until the 1980s – the period when the party sought to present itself as left-of-centre in explicit terms through policy and party publicity." Lynch, P. p6 'From Social Democracy back to No Ideology? – The Scottish National Party and Ideological Change in a Multi-level Electoral Setting' in *Regional & Federal Studies* Vol. 19, Issue 4-5, 2009 (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2009)

<sup>11</sup> Finlay explains that by the 1960s "it was in the new urban settlements, among the new types of employment created by British state intervention, that the SNP found its most fertile ground." Finlay, R. p29 'The Early Years: From the Inter-War Period to the Mid-1960s' in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>12</sup> This was seen by some, according to Johns and Mitchell, as being "a major realignment ... whereby the SNP is simply replacing Labour as Scotland's centre-left or, in the party's preferred term, 'progressive' party." Mitchell, J. & Johns, R. p19 *Takeover: Explaining the Extraordinary Rise of the SNP* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2016)

intent on gaining office.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, he began to question the continued relevance of the left-right argument; arguing instead that attention should shift to the more pressing authoritarian-libertarian debate. It will be contended that MacAskill and his colleagues attempted to achieve Etzioni's notion of "a carefully maintained equilibrium of order and autonomy rather than the "maximization" of either."<sup>14</sup> Having shifted position from fundamentalist to gradualist regarding the attainment of independence,<sup>15</sup> what MacAskill had to say reflected those communitarian thinkers who urged that considerations about a nation's future constitutional position should never take precedence over the goal of its people achieving their full potential.<sup>16</sup>

This chapter also argues that the party came to understand the importance of moving the discussion beyond constitutional change and the rhetoric of nationalism. It needed to persuade Scots that they and their economy were strong enough, not only to thrive in the context of devolution, but also as an independent nation.<sup>17</sup> This task fell to John Swinney.

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<sup>13</sup> By 2004, MacAskill spoke of his party requiring to have "a social and economic profile as well as a constitutional one. It must be the party of independence, with a defined Social Democrat ethos." MacAskill, K. *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2004)

<sup>14</sup> Etzioni, A. p4 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)

<sup>15</sup> Mitchell explains that "Since its establishment, the major tension in the Scottish National Party has been between its *fundamentalist* and *gradualist* wings. The former identifies with the "independence-nothing less" position and is wary of the party becoming too closely associated with a position on the left-right ideological axis. The latter would see independence as the ultimate goal but would accept a constitutional arrangement short of this as a "stepping stone." Mitchell, J. p473 'Reports and Surveys: Recent Developments in the Scottish National Party' in *The Political Quarterly* Vol. 59, Issue 4, October 1988 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 1988)

<sup>16</sup> When describing this more considered approach, Paterson explains that "its ideology was a cautious communitarianism." Paterson, L. p47 'Sources of Support for the SNP' in *Has Devolution Delivered?* Bromley, C. Curtice, J. McCrone, D. & Park, A. (eds.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)

<sup>17</sup> Not everyone saw the need for this debate. As far back as 1970, Nairn spoke of "the tired legalistic arguments for independence" and the totally "Pickwickian economic problem of whether Scotland would be "viable" and could survive on her own – as if she was some kind of small shopkeeper, in fact not part of an international economic order." Nairn, T. p34-54 'The three dreams of Scottish nationalism' in *Memories of a Modern Scotland* Miller, K. (ed.) (London: Faber, 1970)

Whilst his tenure as SNP leader may not have been particularly successful,<sup>18</sup> his subsequent sure hand as Finance Secretary provided the party with an image of fiscal competence.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, this happened when, at a UK level, the full extent of Labour's profligacy was becoming apparent.<sup>20</sup> Swinney adopted a pragmatic and incremental approach, one which used devolution as a stepping stone to potential independence. It will be argued that this style suited many Scots, as it represented a tradition of prudence for the fulfilment of a common objective. Additionally, it will be argued that such a 'practice', as MacIntyre would have it, embodied the kind of "coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity"<sup>21</sup> the object of which was to better the lives of a nation's communities.

Finally, this chapter will argue that, as with Labour, towards the end of the period under investigation, evidence of the SNPs communitarian turn became less easy to locate. This was revealed, for example, in Salmond's preparedness to adopt an 'everything to

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<sup>18</sup> Having become leader in September 2000 he, according to Mackay, "Inherited a party ill at ease with itself and its place in the new political situation facing Scotland." Mackay, C. p82 'The SNP and the Scottish Parliament: The Start of a New Sang?' in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>19</sup> Paterson talks, for example, of "John Swinney's budget, out-maneuvring opponents by his headline-catching redistributive use of minor taxation powers that were already coming Scotland's way as the long-term consequence of his party's electoral victories in 2007 and 2011." Paterson, L. p24 'Utopian Pragmatism: Scotland's Choice' in *Scottish Affairs* 24.1 (2015) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015)

<sup>20</sup> "New Labour's *raison d'être* had been to distinguish itself from the profligacy of previous Labour governments and to demonstrate that the economy was safe in its hands. However, the economic crisis revealed that Labour had spent the income of the boom years and not saved for recession. Gordon Brown had not followed his own golden rule of keeping the public finances in balance over the medium term." Smith, J. M. p818 'From Big Government to Big Society: Changing the State – Society Balance' in *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol. 63, Issue 4, 1 October, 2010 (Oxford: Oxford Academic, 2010) This outcome was not anticipated, Keegan having commented that "In the manse where [Brown] was brought up, prudence was indeed celebrated as one of the cardinal virtues. In years to come, those who came into contact professionally with Gordon Brown were to be impressed by the sense of industriousness that accompanied his prudent approach to life." Keegan, W. p20 *The Prudence of Mr Gordon Brown* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2003)

<sup>21</sup> MacIntyre, A. p187 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

everyman' approach to policy.<sup>22</sup> But that is not to say that he no longer proposed anything of a communitarian nature. It will be argued that, by suggesting his party in government should be instrumental in forming the 'public purpose' by way of some kind of social programme, he adopted a stance which ran contrary to the liberal fixation with state neutrality and the unchecked individualism that could ensue. Instead he proposed a form of state involvement which chimed more with communitarian thinking. But despite his party's continued appreciation of the importance of community in the life of an individual; there also persisted a view that the role of an individual Scot, as a constituent element of the whole nation, deserved attention. This, it will be argued, culminated in Salmond's depiction by his party as an individual Scot whose characteristics reflected those of the whole nation. This resulted in him enjoying a mild form of cult-status;<sup>23</sup> a phenomenon that MacIntyre considered wrong. It will be concluded however that, as an electoral tactic, it worked.

### **7.1 Nationhood, community and individual Scots**

"'Tis time to part"<sup>24</sup> was the conclusion reached by Paine, concerning the American colonies and their relationship with Britain, soon after his arrival in America.<sup>25</sup> Despite the different circumstances pertaining to Scotland and its constitutional relationship with the UK, it was this same sentiment that the SNP, by 2011, hoped it had edged Scots further towards accepting.<sup>26</sup> The SNP's communitarian turn therefore, centred on the idea of nation building

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<sup>22</sup> Gallagher goes as far as to describe him as "a self-confident, popular and utterly disingenuous rogue." Gallagher, T. p3 'Scotland's Nationalist Folly' in *The National Interest* No. 132 (July/August 2014) (Washington DC.: Center for the National Interest, 2014)

<sup>23</sup> Marr speaks of "the enigmatic, provocative and (to some) highly charismatic figure of Alex Salmond." Marr, A. p10 *The Battle for Scotland* (London: Penguin Books, 2013)

<sup>24</sup> Paine, T. p87 *Common Sense* (1776) (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd. 1976)

<sup>25</sup> Paine, according to Kaye, "emboldened Americans to turn their colonial rebellion into a revolutionary war, defined the new nation in a democratically expansive and progressive fashion, and articulated an American identity charged with exceptional purpose and promise." Kaye, H. J. p4 *Thomas Paine and the Promise of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005)

<sup>26</sup> This was the year in which, according to Curtice, the SNP "swept everything before it in the fourth Scottish Parliament election held on May 5<sup>th</sup> 2011. The party not only won its highest nationwide share of the vote ever in a parliamentary election, but it managed to secure an

as a means to elicit greater support, not only for the party, but also for the goal of independence.<sup>27</sup> Its interest in communitarian values stemmed from the fact that they had the potential to fulfil two useful roles. Firstly, such values could be used as a means by which a belief in nationhood could be nurtured as a precursor to the ultimate goal of independence. Secondly, they could act in support of the claim that Scotland constituted a distinct society with divergent values, aims and objectives from the rest of the UK.<sup>28</sup>

Despite frequently being referred to as nationalists, this concept does not appear to have been foremost in the minds of Salmond and his party colleagues. If anything, the mild form of nationalism expressed within the party may principally have been used as a convenient device with which to achieve other goals; these being independence and the fairer and more prosperous Scotland they believed would ensue.<sup>29</sup> This perception was reflected in the assertion made that "The SNP policy on citizenship and its general policy stances suggest that it conforms with civil or liberal nationalism, as distinct from ethnic nationalism."<sup>30</sup> Strong nationalistic sentiment was something that MacIntyre too disapproved of. For him, allegiance to one's nation should not now be afforded any particular

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overall majority despite the use of a proportional electoral system." Curtice, J. p51 'The 2011 Scottish Election: Records Tumble, Barriers Breached' in *Scottish Affairs* No. 76, summer 2011 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011)

<sup>27</sup> McCrone, some years earlier, said that "There is, of course, no denying that Scotland has a degree of statehood (a devolved parliament, a governing bureaucracy), but it is best described as a stateless nation, an imagined community with considerable institutional autonomy, and, at least as yet, no sovereign parliament." McCrone, D. p6 *Understanding Scotland: The sociology of a nation* Second Edition (London: Routledge, 2001)

<sup>28</sup> A significant communitarian value, pertinent to this particular issue is reflected in what Rorty calls the "eloquent defence of the politics of cultural survival" – as provided by Charles Taylor in *Politics of Recognition*. Rorty, A. D. p152 'The Hidden Politics of Cultural Identification' in *Political Theory* Vol. 22, No. 1, February 1994 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994)

<sup>29</sup> George Reid, when an SNP MP, is quoted by Henderson as having expressed this rather muted form of nationalism when he said that "Independence by itself is far less important than what Independence is actually for" Reid, G. 10<sup>th</sup> *Donaldson Lecture* (Edinburgh: 1995) Henderson then argues that "this implies that the promotion of confidence and self-worth are important components of the nationalist drive for greater political autonomy." Henderson, A. p17 'Political Constructions of National Identity, in Scotland and Quebec' in *Scottish Affairs* No. 29, autumn 1999 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999)

<sup>30</sup> Mitchell, J., Bennie, L., & Johns, R. p5 *The Scottish National Party: Transition to Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

significance. Patriotism, which he considered to have been a virtue, was no longer held in the same standing,<sup>31</sup> and whatever integrity the term may have held, had been displaced, in part because of the duty now required of a patriot to adhere to those national values regarded by the state as “universal and not local and particular.”<sup>32</sup> Orwell observed that the term ‘patriotic’ had become abused to the extent that it now held “several different meanings which cannot be reconciled with one another.”<sup>33</sup> This disapproval towards various modern forms of strong nationalistic sentiment was not only something that communitarian thinkers were likely to have approved of,<sup>34</sup> it was also redolent of MacAskill’s plea to his party to “stand up for the People not just the Nation.”<sup>35</sup> An important strand of SNP thinking therefore, was at one with MacIntyre when he spoke of “a well justified suspicion that in the modern world patriotism is often a façade behind which chauvinism and imperialism are fostered.”<sup>36</sup>

## Community and individual

The expectation now, according to MacIntyre, was that patriotic allegiance should be given to the government, rather than to “a political and moral community.”<sup>37</sup> Whereas individuals used to hold some station (albeit a humble one in most cases) within their community; he believed the significance of these communities had been supplanted by

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<sup>31</sup> Patriotism, according to MacIntyre, “is not to be confused with a mindless loyalty to one’s own particular notion which has no regard at all for the characteristics of that particular nation.” MacIntyre, A. p287 ‘Is patriotism a virtue?’ in *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An anthology* Matravers, D. & Pike, J. (eds.) (London: Routledge, 2003)

<sup>32</sup> MacIntyre, A. p254 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>33</sup> Orwell, G. p109 *Politics and the English Language* (1946) (London: Penguin Books, 2004)

<sup>34</sup> MacIntyre makes the point that the term ‘patriotism’ may be positioned “on a spectrum with two poles” During the nineteenth century, it was commonly regarded as a ‘virtue’, but by the nineteen sixties, for some, it had become a ‘vice.’ MacIntyre, A. p287 ‘Is patriotism a virtue?’ in *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An anthology* Matravers, D. & Pike, J. (eds.) (London: Routledge, 2003)

<sup>35</sup> MacAskill, K. p43 *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2004)

<sup>36</sup> MacIntyre, A. p254 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid* p254



powerful nation-states, acting to ensure that most of the populace were “excluded from membership in the elites that determine the range of alternatives between which voters are permitted to choose.”<sup>38</sup> Despite this ever having been the case, MacIntyre contended that people were now being duped into holding patriotic allegiance to “oligarchies disguised as liberal democracies.”<sup>39</sup> In Scotland, he explained, the shift in power and influence from communities to national government had long since occurred; this having been aided by a trend in which “the values of the market and of growing wealth were to prevail increasingly, and those of kinship and of local community were to be correspondingly eroded.”<sup>40</sup> Given this erosion of community and distrust of government, it was perhaps inevitable that what Taylor described as the “development of certain modern character forms, of a highly independent individualism”<sup>41</sup> would culminate in the emergence of atomistic societies. There was little point therefore, in the SNP mounting any campaign which exhibited, as Keating put it, “the revolutionary fervour one might expect in a nationalist party.”<sup>42</sup> Whilst superficially appealing to those Scots of a romantic or atavistic nature, any form of fervent nationalism advanced by a political party in modern Scotland would have been unlikely to withstand close scrutiny by those same Scots who, in all probability, had also become increasingly atomistic in outlook.<sup>43</sup> Some Scots may even have adopted the life of what Macmurray called the ‘mass-man’ who, for the sake of “An economic efficiency which is

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<sup>38</sup> MacIntyre, A. p237 ‘Politics, Philosophy and the Common Good’ in *The MacIntyre Reader* (ed.) Kelvin Knight (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998)

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid* p237

<sup>40</sup> MacIntyre, A. 258 *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (London: Duckworth Publishers, 1988)

<sup>41</sup> Taylor, C. p38 *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

<sup>42</sup> Keating, M. p56 *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making after Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005)

<sup>43</sup> As Reiche, Hopkins and Harrison put it, in relation to Scottish national identity “When all the smoke and the mist and the noise drifts away, people ultimately act in terms of self-interest.” Reicher, S. Hopkins, N. & Harrison, K. p18 ‘Identity matters: On the Importance of Scottish Identity for Scottish Society’ in *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change* Bechhofer, F. & McCrone, D. (eds.) (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

achieved at the expense of the personal life"<sup>44</sup> had fallen victim to "a continuous breaking of the nexus of direct relations between persons and between a person and his natural environment."<sup>45</sup> No longer did they inhabit, as MacIntyre put it, "a single homogenous moral community"<sup>46</sup> within which there existed "a tolerably well-established moral framework with a tolerably well-established moral vocabulary."<sup>47</sup> Instead they had to go it alone and make individual moral choices, having been "solicited from different standpoints."<sup>48</sup> Under these conditions, such a disengaged Scot may have evolved his own moral vocabulary - one less susceptible to the idealistic rhetoric offered by political parties. It followed therefore, that given the pluralistic impulses implicit in any such atomistic existence, a Scot exposed to a variety of different political positions would not necessarily have supported the SNP's position, were it to have been based primarily upon an overtly nationalistic message.<sup>49</sup>

## National identity

Anderson argues that nationalism has "proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone analyse"<sup>50</sup> and yet despite this it has also proven to have exerted immense influence on the modern world. Hopkins regards it "as an ideological process in which a particular category of belonging ('the nation') is offered as the basis for self-definition such that individuals are

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<sup>44</sup> Macmurray, J. p187 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of The Form of the Personal* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961)

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid* p187

<sup>46</sup> MacIntyre, A. p51 *Secularization and Moral Change* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967)

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid* p50

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid* p51 It is of interest to note that here MacIntyre uses the disparaging term *solicit* to describe the range of moral alternatives that an individual who does not belong to a "single homogenous moral community" may encounter.

<sup>49</sup> It could however, be argued that in allowing for such 'pluralistic impulses' to be freely expressed, Scottish society did, in fact, conform to what Taylor called 'deep diversity'; this being described by Brooks as achieving "a sense of communal solidarity through permitting a plurality of ways of belonging." Brooks, S. pxii *Introduction: The Challenge of Cultural Pluralism* Brooks, S. (ed.) (Westport, CT.: Praeger Publishers, 2002)

<sup>50</sup> Anderson, B. p3 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991)

recruited to a 'national' identification."<sup>51</sup> From an SNP perspective, the advice given by Bond may have been particularly apposite; this being that an aspirant nationalist movement should be "strongly concerned with a desire to see the coincidence of national and political boundaries, to ensure one's nation is also a nation-state."<sup>52</sup> Herein lay the party's dilemma: many regarded Scotland their 'nation' – fewer their 'state'.<sup>53</sup> This may have been as a result of an adherence to the vague notion that "national identity represents the self-defined sense of belonging to an 'imagined' community that occurs through the incorporation of national values."<sup>54</sup> Maxwell speaks of nationalism being about "blood and belonging, about instinct and emotion, not reason."<sup>55</sup> What Scots had been less exposed to was "the politicisation of cultural national identity, in particular by political parties."<sup>56</sup> But such had been the slow (for the most part), incremental and non-violent nature of the SNP's progress that Lynch, when comparing the issue of Scottish nationalism, identity and constitutional change with that of other contemporary European examples described it as having been "a tame affair."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Hopkins, N. p183 'National identity: Pride and Prejudice?' in *British Journal of Social Psychology* Volume 40 Issue 2 (The British Psychological Society, 2001)

<sup>52</sup> Bond, R. p17 'Squaring the Circles: Demonstrating and Explaining the Political 'Non-Alignment' of Scottish National Identity' in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 32, summer 2000

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid* p3 Here, using the results of the 1997 Scottish Referendum Survey, Bond showed that, when asked the so-called 'Moreno' question,\* only 32% of participants indicated a preference for being identified as 'Scottish not British.' All other participants indicated that they considered themselves to have been, to varying degrees, British. Perhaps encouragingly, from an SNP perspective, 32% considered themselves to have been 'More Scottish than British.' \*This question asks participants to choose from one of the following six categories (the percentage results of the 1997 survey cited above have been included in brackets) Scottish not British (32) More Scottish than British (32) Equally Scottish and British (28) More British than Scottish (3) British not Scottish (3) Don't know/none (2)

<sup>54</sup> Henderson, A. p3 'Political Constructions of National Identity in Scotland and Quebec' in *Scottish Affairs*, no.29, autumn 1999

<sup>55</sup> Maxwell, S. p25 *Arguing for Independence* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012) This is in contrast to Hamilton's understanding of the SNP's perspective on nationalism, which he considers to be of the 'civic variety.' This variety, he argues, can be "taken to be the 'good' nationalism and in principle, free of the atavistic, irrational features associated with the organic or ethnic variety." Hamilton, P. p31 'The Greening of Nationalism: Nationalising Nature in Europe' in *Environmental Politics* Vol. 11, No. 2, Summer 2002 London: Frank Cass, 2002)

<sup>56</sup> Henderson, A. p5 'Political Constructions of National Identity in Scotland and Quebec' in *Scottish Affairs*, no.29, autumn 1999

<sup>57</sup> Lynch, P. p2 'Constitutional Change without Bullets: Parties, Pressure Groups, Elections and Devolution in Scotland' from University of Stirling: Stirling Online Research Repository 2009 <http://hdl.handle.net/1893/2629>

This lack of nationalistic zeal may in part be attributed to the longstanding linguistic, geographic and religious divisions evident in Scotland; the effect of which was to dampen the more extreme forms of patriotic expression. Gellner said as much when describing the Scottish variant of nationalism as running contrary to most others because of its tendency to exclude language from its argument.<sup>58</sup> He contended that most nationalist movements utilized it as part of a 'precedent argument', whereby language was used to substantiate claims of separate cultural identity. In a sense, the SNP's precedent argument rested on the more pragmatic claim that decisions made by Scots in Scotland would be of socio-economic benefit to the Nation. It spent little time arguing that Scotland had a separate cultural or linguistic identity.<sup>59</sup> McCrone points out that Scotland, like other modern nations, was not capable of imposing "what Weber called *Kultur politische*, the political protection of cultural identity."<sup>60</sup> Maxwell maintained that whilst "the majority of the people who live in Scotland identify themselves as Scots" most "would be hard pressed to provide a definition of Scottish identity which would be acceptable to the next half dozen self-identifying Scots they met on the street."<sup>61</sup> It was not going to be easy therefore, for the SNP to, as Taylor put it, "foster particularly"<sup>62</sup> in the heart of the Scottish electorate.<sup>63</sup>

This lack of particularity was not something that necessarily undermined the notion of Scotland as a distinct nation. Diversity is not something new, nor has it been detrimental in

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<sup>58</sup> Gellner, E. p44 *Nations and Nationalism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1983)

<sup>59</sup> Duclos argues that "The SNP's lack of reliance on linguistic distinctiveness has been interpreted as a strength, as it means that one does not have to speak a specific language to feel part of the national community." Duclos, N. p105 'The Idiosyncrasies of Scottish National Identity' in *National Identity: Theory and Research* Verdugo, R. R. & Milne, A. (eds.) (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc., 2016)

<sup>60</sup> McCrone, D. p33 *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London: Routledge, 1992)

<sup>61</sup> Maxwell, S. p27 *Arguing for Independence* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012)

<sup>62</sup> Taylor, C. p42 *Multiculturalism and the "Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>63</sup> Scottish particularity is however, according to Stewart, a phenomenon which has emerged as a result of the devolution settlement. He cites, for example cross-border policy divergence on issues such as free personal care for the elderly as being a "case in point." Stewart, J. p2 *Taking Stock: Scottish social welfare after devolution* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2004)

the evolution of Scotland. Its heterogeneous nature was evident even in 1138 when the English were said to have “confronted an astonishing assembly of diverse peoples who comprised the kingdom of the Scots.”<sup>64</sup> In more recent times Salmond cited “the existence of bodies like Scots Asians for Independence” as being an example of “the vibrant Asian community in Scotland.”<sup>65</sup> This suggests that the SNP considered Scotland to be an assortment of communities; the sum of which yielded something greater than its constituent parts.<sup>66</sup> This reflects what Calhoun described, when utilizing List’s conception of nationhood. Here modern nations were characterized as collectives able to produce “true individuality out of heterogeneous constituents and influences.”<sup>67</sup> This model of nationhood, he portrays as a “willed community” within which all “became one in their commitment to the whole.”

## **Nation and neighbour**

There was an additional factor; one that gave rise to a particularly Scottish variant of nationhood. It was based on the contention that a form of national consciousness had emerged which had less to do with a Scot’s conception of self and nation, and more to do with Scotland’s relationship with its nearest neighbour.<sup>68</sup> This view, attributed to Nairn by Gallagher, held that “the strongest argument for a Scottish state is neither the strength of

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<sup>64</sup> Lynch, M. p53 *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1992) Here Lynch is referring to the Battle of the Standard 1138, in which the Scots were led by David I and had within their ranks Normans, Germans, English, Northumbrians, Cumbrians, Galwegians, Scots and men of Teviotdale and Lothian.

<sup>65</sup> Salmond, A. p1 ‘Scotland and Ireland’ in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 25, autumn 1998

<sup>66</sup> Hepburn, when discussing Scottish nationhood from an SNP perspective, cited the *SNP General Election Manifesto 1997 ‘Yes We Can: Win the Best for Scotland’* in which the party claimed to be “sensitive to the needs of other communities which are part of the rich tapestry of Scotland.” Hepburn, E. p520 ‘Citizens of the Region’: Party Conceptions of Regional Citizenship and Immigrant Integration’ in *European Journal of Political Research* 50, 2011 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011)

<sup>67</sup> Calhoun, C. p46 *Nationalism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997) Here Calhoun refers to a contemporary of Marx: Friedrich List (Szporluk 1988:115)

<sup>68</sup> Lindsay put it thus: “The identity we project onto the group from which we seek to distinguish or assert ourselves is an important aspect of defining ‘us’. The relevance of this to Scotland is self-evident.” Lindsay, I. P. p134 ‘The Uses and Abuses of, National Stereotypes’ in *Scottish Affairs* Vol. 20 (First Series) summer 1997, Issue 1. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997)

Scottish culture nor the threat to Scottish identity but the failure of the British state."<sup>69</sup> It followed therefore, that a significant aspect of modern Scottish nationalism now stemmed from the realisation that no one cared for the Scots more than they did for themselves.<sup>70</sup> This reflected Taylor's view that the modern world had reached a point where any basic need for recognition had, in some nations, been superseded by the more fundamental demand for equal recognition; something unlikely to be gained if Scotland remained within the United Kingdom. A wind of change<sup>71</sup> had, as Mullin pointed out, led more than the colonies to contemplate "their feasibility as 'sovereign' states."<sup>72</sup> Indeed, Pittock noted the political divergence that had occurred between Scotland and England by the time of the introduction of devolution,<sup>73</sup> and the lack of interest in this shown by the English media. He described how, at a time when news output was increasing exponentially, it was "not so much that Scottish news goes unreported in England as that there is more news than ever, and no more is reported than if Scotland were Shropshire."<sup>74</sup> This schism, fuelled as he

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<sup>69</sup> Gallagher, T. p171 *The Illusion of Freedom: Scotland under Nationalism* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2009) Here Gallagher quotes from Brown, G & Alexander, D. p29 *New Scotland, New Britain* (London: Smith Institute, 1999)

<sup>70</sup> Seawright describes a "sea change of opinions that took place in Scotland in the mid-1970s" This, he argues, was when "The Unionist ethos was no longer rooted in Scottish consciousness, the Conservative Party in Scotland would now be the party perceived as having an 'alien' identity; an 'anglicised' one." Seawright, D. p7 'Conservative and Unionist Party: the lesser spotted 'Tory'?' in *POLIS* Working Paper No. 13, February 2004. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association, 5-7 April 2002.

<sup>71</sup> UK Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's 'Wind of Change' speech was made in Cape Town on 3 February 1960 to the South African Parliament and heralded the end of Empire for Britain in Africa. Stockwell, S. and Butler, L. J. 'Introduction' in *The Wind of Change: Harold Macmillan and British Decolonization* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 2013) Stockwell and Butler assert that "The phrase 'wind of change' quickly achieved significant purchase not only entering the British lexicon of decolonization, but wider public discourse."

<sup>72</sup> Mullin, R. W. A. p113 'The Scottish National Party' in *Multi-Party Britain* Drucker, H. M. (ed.) (London: The MacMillan Press, 1979)

<sup>73</sup> Keating cites a number of divergent policy areas, when comparing Scotland and England since the advent of devolution. Foremost amongst them, according to him, "concerns modes of public service." He argues that unlike the Scottish devolved administration, its English counterpart has "moved furthest away from the ideal of uniform, public provided services towards differentiation, internal markets and mixed models of service delivery." Keating, M. p11 'Policy Convergence and Divergence, in Scotland under Devolution' in *Regional Studies* Vol. 39, Issue 4, 2005 (London: Routledge, 2005)

<sup>74</sup> Pittock, M. p88 *The Road to Independence? Scotland since the Sixties* (London: Reaktion Press, 2008)

believed by ignorance as to the UK's "multinational polity" and a resentment of each nation by the other, represented for him "the key risk factor in the possibility of its future dissolution." The apparent increased disregard held by each towards the other came at a time when both were also reassessing their respective positions on the international stage. England, arguably the dominant nation<sup>75</sup> within the UK, had to come to terms with its post-colonial status within a new world order, whilst Scotland witnessed the rebirth of small northern European nations: freed from the constraints of the USSR.<sup>76</sup> Thucydides' maxim, as used by Chomsky, that "large nations do what they wish, while small nations accept what they must"<sup>77</sup> need not, in the case of Scotland, necessarily have held true any longer. This, the SNP would have been more than aware of.

## ***7.2 Salmond and a feeling of rootedness***

When considering what constituted the ideal society, Macmurray asserted that "The structure of my practical experience will determine the structure of my ideal."<sup>78</sup> Whereas Blair was influenced by the tempered tones of Macmurray's communitarian narrative more than any practical experience of community,<sup>79</sup> Salmond's formative political influences – although of a more radical nature – appear to have been moderated by the practical

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<sup>75</sup> It should nevertheless be noted that the UK government during this period was dominated largely by Scots such as Blair, Brown, Cook and Darling.

<sup>76</sup> Lithuania, for example, which in 1999 had a population of 3.524 million, was the first Baltic state to declare itself independent of the Soviet Union in 1990. The following year it was admitted to the United Nations and in 2004 became a member of the European Union. Vardys, V. S. & Sedartis, J. B. *Lithuania: The Rebel Nation* (New York-London: Routledge, 2018)

<sup>77</sup> Chomsky, N. p16 *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Domination* (London: Penguin Books, 2004)

<sup>78</sup> Macmurray, J. p43 *The Philosophy of Communism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1933)

<sup>79</sup> It should be noted, from what has been previously stated, that Macmurray alone did not influence Blair. Edwards reminds us that "Macmurray's influence alone might have given Blair a project for moral mobilisation; as we have seen, Blair's actual thinking is equally marked by a devisive authoritarianism which can be traced back to Hobbes." Edwards, P. p10 *Putting the responsible majority back in charge: New Labour's punitive politics of respect* (Manchester: Manchester School of Law, 2009)

experience of the community within which he lived.<sup>80</sup> He described the combination of family, school and church as having given him a “pretty fixed world view” and of making him “quite extraordinarily non-judgemental in terms of morality.”<sup>81</sup> A former student friend explained that although Salmond “wasn’t a romantic”; he nevertheless felt “that where he came from was very important.”<sup>82</sup> Unlike Blair’s Scottish experience, Salmond’s upbringing did not result in him having felt “alien.”<sup>83</sup> Instead, he spoke of a feeling of ‘rootedness’ – which stemmed from him regarding his hometown of Linlithgow as having been “a sort of extended family in itself.”<sup>84</sup> Such a sentiment is redolent of the conventional communitarian understanding that “Society itself consists of persons in relation to one another.”<sup>85</sup> It may therefore be that Salmond’s conception of the good society was rooted in a reality quite alien to Blair’s life experience.

## Early radicalism

During his formative years Alex Salmond, like other SNP stalwarts, became somewhat enthralled by the politics of the Left. This was equally true of the young John Macmurray. But, just as Macmurray’s allegiance shifted<sup>86</sup> to a set of principles collectively labelled as being communitarian; some of those same principles became evident in the communitarian

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<sup>80</sup> Salmond’s formative political influences are described by Jack thus: “The Red Clydeside didn’t flow through the sitting room. Both parents were civil servants who worked in the local national insurance office. His dad voted Labour and his mother Tory, Salmond suspects his nationalism was inspired by his grandfather, the town plumber, who would walk him around Linlithgow and point out its connection to the old flow of Scottish history.” Jack, I. ‘Reasons to be chipper’ in *The Guardian* Saturday 31 January 2009

<sup>81</sup> Torrance, D. p292 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>82</sup> Interview with Peter Brunskill conducted by David Torrance on 1.2.2010 from: Torrance, D. p11 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>83</sup> Blair, T p251 *A Journey* (London: Hutchinson, 2010)

<sup>84</sup> *Scottish Daily Mail* 31/5/2008 as quoted in: Torrance, D. p16 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>85</sup> Macmurray, J. p46 *The Philosophy of Communism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1933)

<sup>86</sup> Creamer describes how, during the 1930s, Macmurray undertook “a serious study of the writings of Karl Marx” and that “In later works from the period, a fading of sympathy towards Marxism is apparent.” Creamer, D. G. p16 *Guides for the Journey: John Macmurray* Lonergan, B. & Fowler, J. (eds.) (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1996)



turn taken by Salmond and his party, during the period under investigation. An early example of a communitarian principle became apparent in the last year of his schooling, when he became rather captivated by the work of R. S. Thomas.<sup>87</sup> Thomas was not only a priest and poet, but also a strident Welsh nationalist; one who believed that the onslaught of materialism and modernity signified a very real threat to the survival of the essential character of his nation's communities.<sup>88</sup> For him, England in particular "represented the vulgar modernity and commercialism that he loathed."<sup>89</sup> The "older moral horizons"<sup>90</sup> as Taylor would have it, which "gave meaning to the world" were, according to Thomas, under threat from the kind of excessive individualism which inevitably accompanied modern materialism. This "waning of traditional values" as Etzioni put it, inexorably gave way to "the unbridled pursuit of self-interest and greed."<sup>91</sup> There was a dark side to Thomas's thinking however; one which the SNP would not condone. He spoke of parts of his country having "long been overrun by invaders."<sup>92</sup> By this he meant English settlers in Wales. Given this awkward truth, it is perhaps surprising that later in Salmond's career; he made no attempt to conceal his admiration for such a man.

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<sup>87</sup> When he was sixteen, Salmond wrote twice to the poet, "telling him what his poems meant." Torrance, D. p18 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>88</sup> Below is the last verse of Thomas's poem *Welsh History* (1952) in which he laments what has become of his country, whilst also offering hope for its future; sentiments felt by those within the SNP too.

We were a people and are so yet.  
When we have finished quarrelling for crumbs  
Under the table, or gnawing the bones  
Of a dead culture, we will arise  
And greet each other in a new dawn.

Thomas, R. S. *R. S. Thomas: Collected Poems 1945-1990* (London: Phoenix, 1993)

<sup>89</sup> Massie, A. p1 'The enduring wisdom of a strange Welsh bard' in *The Telegraph* 16 March 2013

<sup>90</sup> Taylor, C. p3 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>91</sup> Etzioni, A. p24 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

<sup>92</sup> Wynn Thomas, M. p160 'R. S. Thomas and Modern Welsh Poetry' in *The Cambridge Companion to Twentieth-Century English Poetry* Corcoran, N. (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

## Nation as community

Salmond took a degree in Economics and History at St Andrews. In his honours year he studied under Professor Geoffrey Barrow, whose book *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm* greatly influenced him. He was impressed particularly by the emphasis placed on the phrase 'Community of the Realm' and considered it "one of the first expressions of national feeling in medieval Europe."<sup>93</sup> This is indicative of a difference in perception that can be discerned between Labour and the SNP, as to the meaning of the term 'community.' Whereas Labour frequently, but not exclusively, used it when discussing more parochial political issues – the SNP tended to use it as a metaphor for the whole nation.<sup>94</sup> It is of no great surprise therefore, that during his university years Salmond obtained a book on John F. Kennedy, from which he regularly quoted.<sup>95</sup> Perhaps the entreaty to "ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country"<sup>96</sup> represented, for Salmond, a fitting modern 'expression of national feeling.'<sup>97</sup> It did, after all, deal with one of the main tenets of communitarian thought; this being that the value of individual autonomy should never be over-stated, at the expense of the good that can materialise as a result of community cohesion. But, in order to be able to 'do for your country', one would have to remain within it. To this end, just as Macmurray had articulated his concern over the increasing frequency with which people were uprooted and relocated in order that an ever

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<sup>93</sup> *Scotland on Sunday* 15/8/2010 as quoted in: Torrance, D. p27 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>94</sup> Writing in 1994 however, Brand, Mitchell and Surridge argued that "The SNP has not been able to establish a reputation as a credible party of government which could take over the role of the spokesperson for the national community." Brand, J. Mitchell, J. & Surridge, P. p161 'Social Constituency and Ideological Profile: Scottish Nationalism in the 1990s' in *Political Studies* December 1994 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994)

<sup>95</sup> Torrance, D. p33 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>96</sup> US President John F. Kennedy on the occasion of his Inaugural Address. 20 January 1961

<sup>97</sup> It is of interest to note that, according to Schlesinger, on the morning of the inaugural address Kennedy, while reading over his text "had scratched out 'will' and replaced it by 'can'." Schlesinger, Jr., A. M. p4 *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1965)

more flexible workforce would be created<sup>98</sup> – Salmond, whilst still at university, expressed a similar concern when vowing that “the SNP does not intend to stand idly by while our people drift in one direction in search of jobs.”<sup>99</sup> This ‘one direction’ was emigration, which inevitably led to the uprooting of Scottish communities and the concomitant loss of Scottish talent.<sup>100</sup>

## Grassroots

Salmond therefore, appears to have been inspired by the same kind of unrequited need for national recognition, identified by Taylor in relation to the plight of the Quebecois. Evidence suggests however, that he could also have been influenced by a belief that, as a result of independence, a specific ideological framework – in this case Socialism – could more easily be established in Scotland.

When Salmond was a student, he spent time in the company of, and was influenced by, the far-left of the party. On one occasion in 1977 he attended a meeting, likened by a contemporary to “a gathering of a revolutionary cell in St Petersburg before the Russian Revolution.” Here his oratory skills and the realistic nature of what he said made him stand out against those around him who were described as having been “unrealistic people” with “wild ideas.”<sup>101</sup> But despite the moderation implied in this description of his character,

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<sup>98</sup> Macmurray, J. p189 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of the Form of the Personal* (1961) (London: Faber and Faber, 1995)

<sup>99</sup> *St Andrews Citizen* 24/9/1977 as quoted in: Torrance, D. p40 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>100</sup> In the early 1970s, Forsyth and Mercer claimed there was “the need to modernize Scotland’s industrial structure if the high level of net migration is to be counteracted.” Forsyth, D. J. C. & Mercer, G. p95 ‘The emigration of graduates from Scotland, 1966-1969’ in *Regional Studies* Vol. 7, Issue 1, 1973 (Abingdon: Taylor Francis Group, 1973) This was a problem that did not go away. Writing in 1977, Salmond had signalled a concern that was still remained pertinent twenty-seven years later when First Minister McConnell stated in 2004 that “population loss was the ‘single biggest challenge facing Scotland in the 21<sup>st</sup> century’.” Harper, M. p5 *Scotland No More: The Scots who left Scotland in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2012)

<sup>101</sup> Torrance, D. p41 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

Salmond at that time considered himself to be more socialist than Callaghan's Labour government. Torrance went as far as to say that he had "Marxist leanings" and that this was evident in the type of language he used. Salmond when criticising the then West Lothian Labour MP Tam Dalyell's anti-devolutionist stance, for example, described him as an aristocrat guilty of ignoring "the majority wish of his constituents"<sup>102</sup> - after the ill-fated referendum of 1979. But this aristocrat versus commoner rhetoric could just as easily have been considered an opportunistic cheap shot, as opposed to any legitimate form of class-based Marxist analysis. Years later it was observed that Salmond had always taken the utmost care "to attack Labour's leadership rather than its grassroots support, a portion of the electorate that – after all – he wanted to convert to Nationalism."<sup>103</sup>

In 1979, not only did Labour fail to convince a sufficient percentage of the Scottish electorate to vote, in a referendum, for a measure of home-rule<sup>104</sup> - it subsequently lost in a general election to a Conservative administration which made clear its unwillingness to countenance any form of devolved power being allocated to Scotland. Salmond summarised the situation by saying that "Scots Tories may have betrayed their country, but Labour have betrayed their class."<sup>105</sup> Maxwell later claimed that this "struggle with Labour and the challenge of Thatcherism" had the effect of educating and stabilizing "the SNP's sense of social justice around policy" which would prove "well matched to the politics of devolved Scotland."<sup>106</sup> The situation in 1979 however, was thought by some on the left of the SNP to have provided the ideal opportunity to coax disaffected Labour supporters into transferring

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<sup>102</sup> *Ibid* p56

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid* p278

<sup>104</sup> Despite the 'Yes' campaign having gained 51.6% of the vote, to the 'No' campaign's 48.4% - this win accounted for only 32.8% of the possible total electoral vote (official estimate) and did not therefore achieve the required 40% threshold. Kellas G. J. *The Scottish Political System* (4<sup>th</sup> edition) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

<sup>105</sup> Linlithgow Journal and Gazette 12/6/1981 as quoted in: Torrance, D. p63 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>106</sup> Maxwell, S. p124 'Social Justice and the SNP' in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* Hassan, G. (Ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

their loyalty from, what appeared at the time to have been a spent party, to one that seemed to offer a logical solution: an independent socialist Scotland. This cause was spearheaded by a faction who styled themselves the '79 Group.' Salmond was one of its prominent members.<sup>107</sup> When describing the conduct of this election, Labour's defeat (and that of the SNP in Scotland), he spoke of "the class-dominated election of 1979."<sup>108</sup> This was thought typical of the "simplistic Marxist analysis"<sup>109</sup> he espoused at the time.

The party became increasingly disapproving of this group and Salmond amongst others was, in 1982, briefly expelled for his conduct;<sup>110</sup> probably because of his association with the Scottish Socialist Society: a cross-party grouping which counted amongst its members, some who professed to be Communists.<sup>111</sup> Years later John Swinney, the man who would lead the party for four relatively unsuccessful years – and then play a pivotal role in subsequent SNP administrations - recalled bemoaning "What are we doing to ourselves? We've lost the plot here, we've totally lost the plot."<sup>112</sup> Gordon Wilson, who was the Party Chairman at this time, was later gracious enough to concede that during a special meeting held by the party's National Council in order to consider ending the expulsions, Salmond spoke "for the appellants with a complete absence of nerves" and "made a notable contribution."<sup>113</sup> Wilson was also of the opinion however, that Salmond whilst not having been "the main irritant during the 79 Group affair" - had been involved in activities that "had

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<sup>107</sup> Jackson described this group as "an organisation which aimed to promote a decisively left-wing agenda within the SNP." Jackson, B. p5 'Editorial – The moderniser: Alex Salmond's journey' in *Renewal: a Journal of Labour Politics* Vol. 20, Issue 1, 2012 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2012)

<sup>108</sup> *The Salmond Years* (STV) 18/2/2011 as quoted in: Torrance, D. p59 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>109</sup> Torrance, D. p62 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>110</sup> Edwards, at the time of the expulsion, said that the party "by expelling Mr Stephen Maxwell, Mr Alex Salmond and their five associates have committed intellectual suicide." Edwards, D. E. 'SNP indulge in the justice of Culloden' in *The Scotsman* 27 September 1982

<sup>111</sup> Torrance, D. p171 'The Journey from the 79 Group to the Modern SNP' in *The Modern SNP: from protest to power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>112</sup> Torrance, D. p71 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>113</sup> Wilson, G. p216-217 *SNP: The Turbulent Years 1960-1990* (Stirling: Scots Independent (Newspapers) Ltd., 2009)

almost caused the party to self-destruct.”<sup>114</sup> But even after having been reinstated later that year (1983), Salmond continued to associate with the Scottish Socialist Society.<sup>115</sup> He later characterised his actions as having been those of a “brash young man.”<sup>116</sup>

But this is not to suggest that all his political influences came from the Left. Having completed his degree, he went on to become an energy economist – first for a department within the Scottish Office, and then for the Royal Bank of Scotland.<sup>117</sup> Consequently, according to Torrance, there developed a “political tension between two different Alex Salmonds: one a self-professed socialist, the other a liberal-minded financier.”<sup>118</sup> This so-called tension later came to characterise not only Salmond’s ideological position, but that of others within his party.<sup>119</sup> It was in fact a tension that Macmurray, many years before, had endeavoured to resolve. He believed that any such collectivist versus individualist friction would never be settled; instead therefore, he proposed that a new and complementary duality should be acknowledged. For this reason, he asserted that disparate ideologies such as “Individualism and communism are opposites and irreconcilable.” whereas “Individuality and community are correlatives.”<sup>120</sup> The evidence suggests that Salmond’s ideological position reflected the latter of these two statements.

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<sup>114</sup> *Ibid* p235

<sup>115</sup> Salmond, in 2008, admitted that “I was always getting into trouble before I became leader. And then my troubles stopped! I got expelled from the SNP in 1982 as a rather brash young man. I’ve often reflected that there was a considerable amount of fault on my side.” Torrance, D. p162 ‘The Journey from the 79 Group to the Modern SNP’ in *The Modern SNP: from protest to power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>116</sup> Black, A. ‘A profile of SNP leader Alex Salmond’ *BBC News: Scotland Politics* 6 November 2012

<sup>117</sup> Marr describes Salmond thus: Once a wiry, leftist dissident who worked as a highly effective oil economist at the Royal Bank, he always enjoyed provocation: he used to keep a bust of Lenin on the mantelpiece of his stately New Town office.” Marr, A. p10 *The Battle for Scotland* (London: Penguin Books, 2013)

<sup>118</sup> Torrance, D. p76 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>119</sup> Lynch points out however, that the heterogeneous nature of their ideological character “makes regionalist parties difficult to classify in conventional left-right terms”; this because “Ideological profile can be understood as a secondary characteristic of regionalist parties, as opposed to their primary characteristic of support for self-government.” Lynch, P. p1 ‘From Social Democracy back to No Ideology? – The Scottish National Party and Ideological Change in a Multi-level Electoral Setting’ in *Regional and Federal Studies* (London: Routledge, 2009)

<sup>120</sup> Macmurray, J. p96 *The Philosophy of Communism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1933)

It would appear therefore, that the feeling of rootedness Salmond derived from his childhood experience of community, and the later influences of left-wing politics and liberal economics, may have combined to act as 'horizons of significance' which, in turn, may have provided him with the kind of dialogically constructed identity that, according to Taylor's thesis, may be considered authentic.<sup>121</sup>

### ***7.3 Evolving relationships with Scotland's communities***

Whilst the SNP's *raison d'être* has remained steady, the same cannot be said of its relationships with the numerous communities in Scotland. Since its inception, the party has gone through a series of changes, not only in its evolving relationships with these communities, but also in the ideological stances it has taken. Both were clearly linked. Only by managing to attract the support of prevalent communities within a nation could a party such as the SNP hope to achieve significant electoral success.<sup>122</sup>

#### **Waves of success**

For much of its existence, the party had not necessarily represented the interests and aspirations of significant sections of Scottish society. Even when it had gone through periods

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<sup>121</sup> Anderson describes Taylor's political philosophy, with regard to identity, as being "centred on the claim that a good society is one that ensures the availability of adequate resources – cultural and institutional, as well as material – for a rich diversity of individual forms of meaningful self-realization." Anderson, J. p18 'Personal Lives of Strong Evaluations: Identity, Pluralism, and Ontology in Charles Taylor's Value Theory' in *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory* Issue 3, 1996 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996) The evidence suggests therefore, that Salmond's 'resources' in terms of cultural, institutional and material influences, were sufficient to provide him with an 'authentic' dialogically constructed identity.

<sup>122</sup> Traditionally the most prevalent types of community in Scotland were considered (and thought themselves) to be working class. This then often formed the basis of their voting behaviour. Heath, Yang and Goldstein however, caution against continuing to attach too much importance to the "relationship between class and vote." They contend that "the class basis of voting is in long-term decline, thus perhaps opening the way to radical change in British politics." Heath, A. Yang, M. & Goldstein, M. p389 'Multilevel analysis of the changing relationship between class and party in Britain 1964-1992' in *Quality & Quantity* Issue 30 (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996)

of electoral success, the sporadic nature of this tended to give the party's image something of an ephemeral quality.<sup>123</sup> Kellas encapsulated the feeling of impermanence often associated with the party's occasional popularity and electoral success when, in relation to the tenure of William Ross as Labour Secretary of State for Scotland, he spoke of "the then-current wave of nationalism."<sup>124</sup> This epitomised the commonly held perception of the SNP that, perhaps more than most of the other parties in Scotland, it periodically benefitted and then suffered from substantially differing waves of support.<sup>125</sup> From its inception in 1934, the party had to contend with ideological tensions derived from the conditions under which it was formed. This formation came about as the result of an amalgamation of two short-lived parties: The National Party of Scotland and The Scottish Party; each of which held distinctly different objectives. The former was defined by "its left-wing bias and its tendency to aim at complete separation from England"; the latter was considered to have adopted "a more moderate tone."<sup>126</sup> Lynch nevertheless described the stance taken by the Scottish Party in a way that made it appear less moderate, by characterizing its views as having been "right-wing and imperialist."<sup>127</sup> These differences inevitably led to antagonism "between moderate and extreme elements"<sup>128</sup> within the party. This resulted in the withdrawal, in

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<sup>123</sup> Mitchell describes how "The Scottish National Party had struggled to become part of the mainstream of Scottish politics for most of its existence" and that only with Winnie Ewing's Hamilton by-election victory in 1967, did the party begin what was to be "the start of continuous SNP presence in the Commons." Mitchell, J. p31 'From Breakthrough to Mainstream: The Politics of Potential and Blackmail' in *The Modern SNP: from protest to power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>124</sup> Kellas, J. G. p43 *The Scottish Political System* (4<sup>th</sup> edition) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

<sup>125</sup> This may be because of what McCrone and Paterson call an "unusual feature"; this being that "there is no simple relationship between preferring independence as a constitutional option, voting for the SNP, and defining oneself as Scottish." McCrone, D. & Paterson, L. p54 'The Conundrum of Scottish Independence' in *Scottish Affairs* No. 40, summer 2002 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002)

<sup>126</sup> Donaldson, G. p128 *Scotland: The Shaping of a Nation* (Nairn: David St John Thomas Publisher, 1993)

<sup>127</sup> Lynch, M. p434 *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1992)

<sup>128</sup> Donaldson, G. p128 *Scotland: The Shaping of a Nation* (Nairn: David St John Thomas Publisher, 1993) It is of interest to note that Donaldson characterised left-wing and separatist tendencies as having been 'extreme' whilst those of the centre/right-wing and Home Rule persuasion to have been 'moderate.' But whilst he was discussing the early years of the SNP,



1942, of the moderates in order that they could form a Scottish Convention; an act that had more to do with strategy than ideology.<sup>129</sup>

Debate regarding the constitutional position of Scotland in relation to the rest of the UK has therefore been a crucial and often divisive one within (and beyond) nationalist circles.<sup>130</sup> Even when the objective of separation was agreed, argument over how this ambition would best be achieved proved to no less troublesome.<sup>131</sup> In addition to questions of Scottish national sovereignty the SNP has also, throughout its history, had to grapple with the thorny ideological dilemma concerning the position it should occupy within the left-right political axis. This was never a dilemma peculiar to Salmond. No party formed in the first half of the twentieth-century would have been likely to stand on the single issue of independence and somehow operate in denial of, what was for that century, the big issue. Within the ranks of the SNP therefore, the socio-economic debate as to what shape an independent Scotland would take has raged often just as fiercely. Analysis of aspects of

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the sentiment conveyed could equally be applied to Labour in Scotland, much more recently. When Donald Dewar warned of the SNP's "sterile arguments about breaking up Britain", his was (he hoped) the voice of 'moderation', protecting Scotland from the 'extremes' of a social and political schism. Scottish Labour Party Manifesto p1 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>129</sup> Lynch, P. p237 'The Scottish National Party and the Challenge of Political Representation' in *From Protest to Power: Autonomist Parties and the Challenges of Representation* Elias, A. & Tronconi, F. (eds.) (Vienna: New Academic Press, 2011)

<sup>130</sup> This to the point that, according to Kidd "some of the varieties of Scottish unionism overlap significantly with certain expressions of Scottish nationalism. The unionist spectrum ranges from assimilation and anglicisation to the outspoken defence of Scottish rights within a strict constitution of the union – a position which verges on nationalism and is sometimes interpreted as such." Kidd, C. p6 *Union and Unionism: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

<sup>131</sup> The 'troublesome' nature of the debate over how best to gain independence centred on the argument between 'fundamentalists' and 'gradualists.' According to Mitchell "The fundamentalist position rejects the legitimacy of the existing state and would perceive any measure of self-government short of independence with suspicion." Whereas gradualists consider this position "untenable", preferring instead "to use any interim position (for example a Scottish devolved assembly) as a means by which Scotland could edge forwards towards the ultimate goal of independence." Mitchell, J. p52 'Factions, Tendencies and Consensus in the SNP in the 1980s' in *Scottish Government Yearbook 1990* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1990)

communitarian thought evident in the policy initiatives and actions taken by the party in more recent years were thus informed by this legacy.

### **Ordinary working-class communities**

In the formative years, and for much of the SNP's subsequent early history, the task of identifying just what communities in Scotland it represented was no less of a problem. Its initial membership was depicted by Kellas as having been in the tradition of mid-nineteenth century Scottish romantics, comprising more of noblemen, academics and solicitors and "few businessmen, trade unionists, churchmen or 'ordinary people'."<sup>132</sup> It was not the obvious voting choice for Scottish working or middle-class communities. Thus, it achieved little in the way of electoral success; apart from the fleeting success of Dr Robert McIntyre in the 1945 Motherwell and Wishaw parliamentary by-election, where he held his seat for only six weeks,<sup>133</sup> and the SNP's "strong performance in West Lothian" in a 1962 by-election, where it began to acquire working-class votes and its candidate Billy Wolfe "gained 23.3 per cent and came second"<sup>134</sup> to Labour's Tam Dalyell. Wolfe was subsequently credited with having helped nurture "the beginnings of the SNP's social democrat profile."<sup>135</sup> It was not until Winifred Ewing's 1967 overturning of a Labour majority of 16,000 in the Hamilton by-election, that the party showed any real sign of being capable of appealing to sufficient 'ordinary people.' Because of this result, and the success of the party in the following year's

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<sup>132</sup> Kellas, J. G. p128 *The Scottish Political System* (4<sup>th</sup> edition) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

<sup>133</sup> Lynch, M. p435 *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1992) This victory was short-lived largely as a result of the fact that "Six weeks later, now shorn of its monopoly of the anti-government vote, it lost the seat at the general election."

<sup>134</sup> Lynch, P. p102 *SNP: The History of the Scottish National Party* (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2002)

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid* p103 Lindsay explains that "Although Billy Wolfe was not generally seen by the media and the public as a strong leader, he had a very clear strategy when he took over as Chair [in 1969] to strengthen party democracy and to move in a clear centre-left direction." Lindsay, I. p98 'The SNP and Westminster' in *The Modern SNP: from protest to power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

local authority elections (its vote reached 30 per cent), Lynch identified it as the moment when "Two-party politics were at an end."<sup>136</sup> As if to confirm this, in 1973 Margo MacDonald won a by-election victory in Labour's shipbuilding community of Govan.<sup>137</sup> Once again, the SNP had managed to overcome a majority of 16,000. Govan, not having been noted for its wealth (in the conventional sense) of 'noblemen and academics', had demonstrated that the SNP now held the potential to appeal to voters in ordinary working-class communities. By aligning "itself increasingly with what it judged to be the prevailing social values of Scottish society"<sup>138</sup> and adopting values that were "broadly left of centre"<sup>139</sup> - it had, according to Lynch, become capable of "taking thousands of votes away from Labour, especially in its own heartlands."<sup>140</sup>

### **The need for a settled strategy**

The following year saw two elections at which the party won seven, followed by eleven, seats.<sup>141</sup> By 1979 this number had been reduced to only two.<sup>142</sup> But even during the relatively short-lived period of popularity, the other two main parties cast doubt over just exactly who, and what, the SNP represented. Lynch described its predicament at this time

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<sup>136</sup> *Ibid* p444 1968 was also the year in which, as Hanham explains, "the SNP took control in the first municipal elections in the world-famous experimental new town of Cumbernauld, with 18 of the 21 council seats." Hanham, H. J. 'The Scottish Nation faces the Post-Imperial World' in *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Analysis* December 1, 1968 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1968)

<sup>137</sup> Levy, C. p60 'A woman's place?: The Future Scottish Parliament' in *Scottish Government Yearbook 1992* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1992)

<sup>138</sup> Maxwell, S. p57 'Tackling Scottish Poverty – Principles and Absences: A Critique of the Scottish Government's Approach to Combating Scotland's Problem of Poverty and Inequality' in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 69, Spring 2009

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid* p58

<sup>140</sup> Lynch, P. p115 *SNP: The History of the Scottish National Party* (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2002)

<sup>141</sup> Kellas, J. G. p106-107 *The Scottish Political System* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

<sup>142</sup> Keating, M. p55 *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making after Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005)

as being that of a party “uncomfortable with adopting a clear ideological profile”<sup>143</sup> and thus vulnerable to attacks from both Labour and the Conservatives. Labour labelled the party as “Tartan Tories, whilst the Conservatives were able to depict the SNP as left-wing separatists.”<sup>144</sup> In order to achieve sustained and substantial approval in Scotland it was either going to have to offer a very clear vision of what it stood for, or alternatively develop a more subtle strategy whereby it managed to appear to be loosely representative of the views and aspirations of a diverse range of individuals and communities within Scotland. This thesis contends that, in the main, it chose to adopt the latter strategy.

Keating points out that, not only was the party prepared to accommodate “a diversity of views, from home rulers who would be content with a Scottish Parliament within the United Kingdom, to those seeking a radical break with the British state”<sup>145</sup> - but that in the 1970s and 1980s, even how any option should be achieved was the subject of intense debate within the party. The gradualists were content to move slowly towards independence; using any form of devolution introduced to Scotland by a future Labour administration as a means to this end.<sup>146</sup> Alternatively, the fundamentalists preferred to go all-out for independence; the introduction of devolved powers to Scotland being seen as no more than a diversionary tactic designed to “deprive the movement of its momentum.”<sup>147</sup> With regard to its ideological profile the party had, by the 1980s, repositioned itself and adopted a left-of-centre stance more redolent of the type of socialism that the Labour Party

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<sup>143</sup> Lynch, P. p157 *SNP: The History of the Scottish National Party* (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2002)

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid* p157 Hassan characterizes the ‘Tartan Tory’ slur as coming at a time “when Labour was struggling to find a credible and relevant message in response to the SNP’s attack.” Hassan, G. p149 ‘The Auld Enemies: Scottish Nationalism and Scottish Labour’ in *The Modern SNP: from protest to power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>145</sup> Keating, M. p56 *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making after Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005)

<sup>146</sup> Marr describes this strategy as “a programme of what might be called Fabian nationalism, moving stealthily and in stages towards ultimate independence.” Marr, A. p10 *The Battle for Scotland* (London: Penguin Books, 2013)

<sup>147</sup> Keating, M. p56 *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making after Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005)

leadership had been in the process of discarding.<sup>148</sup> The 1990s saw further change when the party signalled its preference for the label 'social democrat', as opposed to the now potentially vote-losing 'socialist' tag. But by the turn of the new century, and the period to which this thesis is primarily concerned, the SNP had settled into considering itself to be "a democratic left-of-centre party committed to Scottish independence."<sup>149</sup>

#### **7.4 MacAskill and an ideological journey**

Kenny MacAskill became an MSP in 1999 and, on his party assuming power in 2007, the Cabinet Secretary for Justice; a post he held until 2014. His ideological journey and career progression, typified that of a number of his cabinet colleagues - in particular, that of Alex Salmond. Described as having initially been "a radical young lawyer whom Salmond persuaded to join the SNP following years of intermittent activism"<sup>150</sup> he later shifted from his far-left position to one which occupied something closer to the centre ground of Scottish politics. He too had been a member of the 79 Group,<sup>151</sup> and during the 1980s played a leading role, for the SNP, in the anti-Poll Tax campaign.<sup>152</sup> To further add to his radical credentials he was considered part of the party's fundamentalist faction in the debate over how best independence could be attained. Gordon Wilson, who was Party Chairman from 1979 until 1990, remembered MacAskill as having been part of the party's 'hard-left', and of

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<sup>148</sup> Sassoon describes Labour's actions as a "departure from a British national road to socialism." Sassoon, D. p10 *Looking left: European socialism after the Cold War* (London: I. B. Taurus Publishers, 1997)

<sup>149</sup> Keating, M. p57 *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making after Devolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005)

<sup>150</sup> Torrance, D. p162 'The Journey from the 79 Group to the Modern SNP.' in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* Hassan, G. (Ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>151</sup> This group, inaugurated in August 1979, "stated its aims to be independence, socialism and republicanism." Mitchell, J. p473 'Reports and Surveys: Recent Developments in the Scottish National Party' in *The Political Quarterly* Vol. 59, Issue 4, October 1988 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley – Blackwell, 1988)

<sup>152</sup> MacAskill, along with other activists involved in the anti-Poll Tax campaign "advocated a campaign of non-payment of the poll tax, which triggered legal proceedings for some individuals." Camp, E. 'The Scottish National Party (SNP): A Party of Government in the early 21<sup>st</sup> Century' in *Revue LISA E-Journal* Vol. 12, No. 8, 2014

his involvement in the publication of a pamphlet entitled *A New Image for a New Age*. This, according to Wilson, had “urged ‘militant opposition’, the ‘escalation of civil disobedience’, the realisation that ‘constitutional change is not enough’ and a claim that ‘it is incumbent upon the SNP...to become the political vanguard of the Scottish Labour Movement.’”<sup>153</sup> By 2007 however, MacAskill was part of Scotland’s political establishment and as such embraced his party’s increasingly gradualist line on independence. He later reflected that “The 79 Group was a product of its time” and that “The attitudes of Alex Salmond and I have changed because we live in a different society. Left-wing nationalism needed [then] to have a voice, now it’s got a government.”<sup>154</sup>

### **Liberty versus Authority**

What MacAskill wrote in 2004, affords an opportunity to better understand this central figure within the SNP administration’s thinking. When setting out his stall as to where he believed the party should position itself, in relation to the debate surrounding the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish people, he began by identifying what he thought it was no longer primarily about. For him the left/right debate and the contests between public/private ownership and capital/labour dominance were now outdated. He argued instead for the need to address the question of the “authoritarian versus libertarian state and liberal versus neo-conservative economics.”<sup>155</sup> It became apparent however, when we consider different aspects of his party’s application of policy, that whilst it did not advocate any form of neo-conservative agenda; there existed an element of tension in the way policy could, in some instances, have been considered liberal, but in others authoritarian.<sup>156</sup> This was a party

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<sup>153</sup> Wilson, G. *SNP: The Turbulent Years 1960-1890* (Stirling: Scots Independent (Newspapers) Ltd., 2009)

<sup>154</sup> Torrance, D. p261 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>155</sup> MacAskill, K. p16 *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2004)

<sup>156</sup> Scot and Mooney posed the question, one year after the formation of the SNP minority administration, as to “whether the approach proposed by the Scottish Government in

offering Scots not only the opportunity to live in a free and independent land, but one which also issued the threat of “tough community punishments” should they transgress.<sup>157</sup> But this was also a tension evident within communitarian theory. Whilst having little difficulty with the idea of individual freedom, communitarian thinkers often counselled against any notion that individuals could ever function wholly independently of their culture; Taylor went as far as to suggest that a “self which has arrived at freedom by setting aside all external obstacles and impingements is characterless, and hence without defined purpose.”<sup>158</sup> The difficulty for communitarians and the SNP alike was, in determining the extent to which the state should act, in order to deal with those individuals who chose not to allow it, communities, or others, to impinge on their lives. This difficulty could be overcome, according to Etzioni when expounding his theory of the ‘new golden rule’, by the application of a communitarian solution which rested on the argument that “a good society requires a carefully maintained equilibrium of order and autonomy rather than the “maximization” of either.”<sup>159</sup> MacAskill and his colleagues seemed to be attempting to find that equilibrium.

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*Achieving our Potential* can deliver the reductions in inequalities that have been suggested at the same time as producing solutions that empower individuals, communities and the ‘nation.’ It remains a real challenge for the SNP Government. The SNP’s political commitments to solidarity and to fairness and cohesion have, until the economic crisis, been couched in a neo-liberal framework of economic growth and competitiveness and history shows that at the very least there are massive tensions between these opposing objectives.” Scott, G. and Mooney, G. p384 ‘Poverty and Social Justice in the Devolved Scotland: Neoliberalism meets Social Democracy?’ in *Social Policy and Society* Vol. 8, Issue 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) Citing: Scottish Government (2008a) *Achieving our Potential: A Framework to Tackle Poverty and Income Inequality in Scotland* Edinburgh: The Scottish Government

Maxwell concurs, saying that “Over the last decade as the SNP’s social heart has become more attached to social democracy, its economic head has inclined to neo-liberalism.” Maxwell, S. p131 ‘Social Justice and the SNP’ in *The Modern SNP: from protest to power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>157</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p12 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007)

<sup>158</sup> Taylor, C. p157 *Hegel and Modern Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)

<sup>159</sup> Etzioni, A. p4 *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)

## The fraternal community

It was MacAskill's contention that "In a modern society communities seek rights and influence as well as the state."<sup>160</sup> For him, the class war was over and Scotland now had to decide the socio-economic model it wished the state to adopt, and the population to inhabit. But whatever model was chosen, the balance had to be re-set in such a way as to allow communities to play their rightful part. This would not necessarily be a new experience for Scots. He had come to think it "overly simplistic" to designate Scotland a left-wing nation.<sup>161</sup> Scots, he believed, exhibited a form of egalitarianism which derived from a perspective that was "more cultural than political."<sup>162</sup> He cited the establishment of parish schools and the resultant "drive to educate all and for all to participate"<sup>163</sup> as having been an example of how Scottish communities previously played their rightful part. This represented one of the fundamental tenets of communitarian thought; this being that the participative, fraternal and shared role that an individual holds within his community should never be underestimated.<sup>164</sup>

His was an ideological perspective similar to that of a Scandinavian Social Democrat. He believed that what had been done in Sweden and Finland could be replicated in Scotland,<sup>165</sup> and his party could, given the right circumstances, deliver "a vibrant economy, a

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<sup>160</sup> MacAskill, K. p43 *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2004)

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid* p43 Davidson both confirms and explains this by saying that "Scotland has been subject to the same neoliberal regime as the rest of the world." Davidson, N. px 'Introduction' in *Neoliberal Scotland: Class and Society in a Stateless Nation* Davidson, N. McCafferty, P. & Miller, D. (eds.) (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010)

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid* p43

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid* p43)

<sup>164</sup> Etzioni put it thus: "A communitarian perspective recognizes both individual human dignity and the social dimension of human existence." Etzioni, A. pxxv *The Essential Communitarian Reader* (Lanham, Maryland: Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998)

<sup>165</sup> Whilst generally in support of the "Scandinavian model for Scotland", MacAskill acknowledges that "the Swedish social welfare model is no longer an option in an independent global economy." Maxwell, S. p131 'Social Justice and the SNP' in *The Modern SNP: from protest to power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)



just society and a democratic community.”<sup>166</sup> Consequently, he was reiterating what Macmurray proposed many years before, when he spoke of “the essential nature of human personality, of which economic need is only one aspect.”<sup>167</sup> But hindering any prospect of meaningful progress in Scotland, MacAskill believed, had been the creation of a devolved parliament which, amongst its many other faults and inadequacies, had to cope with absurdities such as “being responsible for justice but not drugs.”<sup>168</sup> This situation was made to look all the more absurd when it became clear that MacAskill - in his capacity as Justice Secretary - held a level of decision-making power sufficient to enrage even the most senior figures within the US administration; this over his decision to grant, for compassionate reasons, Abdelbaset al-Megrahi leave to return home to Libya.<sup>169</sup> But such incongruities seemed merely to substantiate MacAskill’s belief that the early years of any nation’s constitutional adjustment would inevitably be fraught with difficulty and disappointment. In his view, the effort was nevertheless worth the goal. Rather tellingly however, he did concede that in relation to Scotland “Devolution is irrevocable even if Independence is not certain.”<sup>170</sup> One reason for him reckoning this was his unease over what he perceived to be a particularly negative aspect of the Scottish psyche – that of “lacking in self-confidence.”<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> MacAskill, K. p44 *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2004)

<sup>167</sup> Macmurray, J. p94 *The Philosophy of Communism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1933)

<sup>168</sup> MacAskill, K. p20-21 *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2004)

<sup>169</sup> When announcing this decision on August the 20<sup>th</sup> 2009, MacAskill explained that this compassion was derived from the fact that “in Scotland we are a people who pride ourselves on our humanity as a defining characteristic of Scotland and the Scottish people.” Mooney, G. p1 ‘The Scottish Independence Debate: Class, Nation and the Politics of Criminal Justice’ in *British Society of Criminology Newsletter* No. 74, summer 2014 (London: British Society of Criminology, 2014)

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid* p23 MacAskill, K. p23 *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2004)

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid* p73 This stands in stark contrast to what Hassan describes as “the message and psyche of the SNP: one representing the potential of a mature, evolving, self-governing Scotland. This has in the last few years shifted from the politics of gripe and grievance about what is wrong to one emphasising positivity.” Hassan, G. p1 ‘The forward march of Scottish Nationalism’ in *Renewal: a journal of social democracy* Vol. 19, No. 2, 2011 (Dagenham: Renewal Ltd., in association with Lawrence & Wishart, 2011)

This had been evident to him ever since he witnessed “the spirit that ebbed, if not flowed, out of Scotland as the aspirations of the seventies were crushed by the Thatcherism of the eighties.”<sup>172</sup> But whilst having accepted that “Thatcherism caused pain and massive social dislocation, damaging individuals and fracturing communities”, he also accepted that “many problems in modern Scotland are self-inflicted and that the cure comes from within.”<sup>173</sup> The difficulty lay in convincing sufficient Scots of their ability to do just that – to cure their nation’s problems independently of the UK. This mirrored the plight of many Quebecois whose intention, according to Taylor, was “not to turn inward but to have access to the outside world, which they have been denied by being buried as a minority.”<sup>174</sup>

The problem, according to MacAskill was – and this applied to any nation suing for statehood in the modern world: “how do you build an independent nation in an interdependent world?”<sup>175</sup> For him, at least as far as Scotland was concerned, the answer lay within Holyrood itself; and it was for this reason that he urged his party to “support not disparage the Parliament.” Gaining power, even within the limited context of a devolved settlement was for him “the only realistic route by which independence can be obtained.”<sup>176</sup> He did nonetheless, counsel his party against becoming so enthralled by constitutional considerations that it forgot its moral obligation to allow the Scottish people “to reach their full potential irrespective of the constitutional settlement that prevails upon them.”<sup>177</sup> It was important to him that his party stood “up for the People not just the Nation.”<sup>178</sup> These

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<sup>172</sup> MacAskill, K & McLeish, H. p136 *Global Scots: Voices From Afar* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2005)

<sup>173</sup> MacAskill, K. p68 *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2004)

<sup>174</sup> Taylor, C. p52 *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993)

<sup>175</sup> MacAskill, K. p24 *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2004)

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid* p36 MacAskill had therefore, in the period from 1979 to 2004, changed from being a fundamentalist to a gradualist in terms of the strategy he favoured as a means of Scotland gaining independence.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid* p40

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid* p43

sentiments echoed those of Mulhall & Swift who, when describing a communitarian critique of the liberal stance concerning an individual's relationship with his nation, said that it "ignores the extent to which it is the societies in which people live that shape who they are and the values that they have."<sup>179</sup>

### ***7.5 Swinney and a prosperous and just nation***

Given MacAskill's assertion that Scotland deserved to have a vibrant economy, one capable of reaching its full potential; it was essential to convince the Scottish electorate that the SNP was capable of achieving this. In order to do this the party had to acknowledge the fact that not all of which had gone before had been wrong - despite it having happened whilst Scotland remained within the UK.

### **Narrative unity in Scotland**

The party had to accept, as MacIntyre argued, that every individual's identity was embedded within a constantly evolving narrative.<sup>180</sup> It also had to acknowledge that Scotland, like any other nation, was constantly evolving, and that independence couldn't therefore be depicted in such stark terms as to suggest that it represented an option whereby the nation had to start again from scratch, and thus negate all that had already been achieved throughout its long history.<sup>181</sup> Instead independence had to be represented in such a way as to show that by building upon the practices of the past, a good and prosperous future was possible. The party had therefore, to go beyond the rhetoric of

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<sup>179</sup> Mulhall, S. & Swift, A. p13 *Liberals and Communitarians* Second Edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996)

<sup>180</sup> Hinchman, L. P. & Hinchman, S. K. p12 *Memory, Identity, Community: The Idea of Narrative in Human Sciences* (Albany, New York: University of New York Press, 1997)

<sup>181</sup> Sinclair made the point in 1999 that "An independent Scotland would continue to maintain a special relationship with the rest of the UK. Private, public and civil sector links are likely to continue after independence." Sinclair, D. p5 *Issues Around Scottish Independence* (London: The Constitutional Unit, 1999)

nationalism and instead convince Scots that they and their economy were sufficiently robust, not only to prosper under devolution, but potentially in the context of independence too.<sup>182</sup> But despite Salmond's background in Banking and Economics, his robust style of politics was perhaps not best suited to this task.<sup>183</sup> The party had to show that it had another more moderate side. It had to prove that it could be a party of government; not just of protest and opposition. John Swinney represented this alternative aspect of the party's character. His task was to prove the SNP capable of ensuring that what moral and economic progress the Scots had already made could be advanced further. In so doing he would be reflecting MacIntyre's notion of the narrative unity of an individual's life, which argued that in order for one to lead the good life, one had to give due consideration to what had gone before in one's own life. It was the past which provided context, not only for the present, but also for what one may choose to pursue in future.<sup>184</sup>

### **A counter-weight to radicalism**

In 2000 Salmond relinquished leadership of the SNP and, whilst retaining his Westminster seat, did not stand in the 2003 Holyrood election. The leadership position was then taken by the rather self-effacing John Swinney. An Edinburgh man, he had studied Politics at Edinburgh University before working in strategic planning, and also business and

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<sup>182</sup> It is of interest to note that research in relation to support for Scottish independence, undertaken by Curtice and Ormston and published in 2012, showed that "economic expectations are more closely related to support than is national identity." Curtice, J. & Ormston, R. p122 'Scottish Independence: The state of the Union: public opinion and the Scottish question' in *British Social Attitudes* No. 29 (London: NatCen Social Research, 2012)

<sup>183</sup> Giovannini however, argues that Salmond's "strong and charismatic leadership" could have the effect of "strengthening rather than weakening a party's structures and values as well as its ability to govern." Giovannini, A. p85 'Leadership, Charisma and Identity: The case of the Scottish National Party under the lead of Alex Salmond' in *Region Practica: The Italian Platform for Humanity and Social Sciences* June 2016 (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2016)

<sup>184</sup> Rudd puts it thus, when describing the importance of narrative from MacIntyre, Taylor and others' perspectives: "Our sense of self is bound up with our capacity to tell a coherent story about ourselves." Rudd, A. p60 'In Defence of Narrative' in *European Journal of Philosophy* Vol. 17, Issue 1, March 2009 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009)

economic development. In 1997 he was elected to the UK Parliament, and two years later to Holyrood. When seeking election as leader, he embodied the gradualist wing of the party; the stratagem of which was to “emphasize pragmatism and an incrementalist strategy that embraces devolution and self-government as a stepping-stone to independence.”<sup>185</sup> This restrained form of leadership was thought by some within the party to portray a more palatable image to a Scottish electorate not yet convinced by the independence argument. This was probably just as well, given that he would have struggled to “match the charismatic style of his predecessor.”<sup>186</sup> He was instead, credited with moving his party towards a “business-friendly approach to economic policy”<sup>187</sup> and, more generally, one acceptable to “middle Scotland.”<sup>188</sup> Swinney had, according to Roth, an appropriate “personality for this new era of Scots politics: a cheerful, reasonable man with an inclusive approach.”<sup>189</sup> He even managed to buck the trend of more men than women supporting the SNP; Lindsay having noted “that the 2003 election results provide evidence of the party managing to reposition itself with female voters under the leadership of John Swinney.”<sup>190</sup> Additionally, and despite much resistance from some parts of his party, he was recognised as having been able to “put effective structures in place which modernised the party.”<sup>191</sup> This was not an approach universally welcomed. Mike Russell, a future cabinet colleague, had intended to take this criticism further by describing Swinney in his book *Grasping the Thistle* as having been “a technocrat party manager who was unable to invigorate the

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<sup>185</sup> McGarvey, N. & Cairney, P. p50 *Scottish Politics: An Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008)

<sup>186</sup> Mackay, C. p82 ‘The SNP and the Scottish Parliament: The Start of a New Sang?’ in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>187</sup> Black, A. p1 ‘In profile: John Swinney’ *BBC News Scotland* 13 October 2010

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid* p1

<sup>189</sup> Roth, A. ‘John Swinney: North Tayside (1997- )’ *guardian.co.uk*, Sunday 25 March 2001

<sup>190</sup> Mackay, F. & Kenny, M. p49 ‘Women’s Political Representation and the SNP: Gendered Paradoxes and Puzzles’ in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>191</sup> Hassan, G p3 *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

national debate and take it in new directions.”<sup>192</sup> Salmond however, having regained leadership of the party deemed this comment very dangerous and, as a result, it was not included in the final text. Unfortunately for Swinney, squabbling within the party that he seemed unable to control, and disappointing results in the 2004 EU parliamentary elections, led him to resign his position as leader.<sup>193</sup>

## **Prudence as a practice**

But this was not the last that would be heard of Swinney. His belief that the party had to cease being simply a movement and instead “become a modern political party” - capable of offering a coherent set of policies, in the same way as any other political party<sup>194</sup> soon gathered momentum. For him, the issue was primarily about convincing the Scottish electorate that, not only could their nation gain independence, but crucially: that there was a party in-place capable of the professional governance of that independent state. His gradualist and technocratic ‘safe in our hands’<sup>195</sup> approach therefore, continued to act as a counter-weight to the more radical ‘independence or nothing’ message still favoured by some of his colleagues. His chance to do this came in 2007 when the SNP formed its first administration with him in the position of Finance Secretary. Within two years, and as part of his government’s National Conversation on Independence, he had launched *Fiscal*

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<sup>192</sup> Torrance, D. p237 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>193</sup> In a press release he stated that it had become clear that “the constant and relentless speculation over” his position was “obscuring - and crucially in my judgement, will continue to obscure – the political objectives of the SNP.” SNP (2004) ‘John Swinney to Step Down’ *SNP Press Release* 22 June, <http://www.snp.org/node/11745>

<sup>194</sup> Macdonell, H. p113 *Uncharted Territory: The story of Scottish devolution 1999-2009* (London: Methuen Publishing, 2009)

<sup>195</sup> This ‘safe in our hands’ approach by Swinney is exemplified by Whiteside in her description of him labelling the use of private finance initiatives as “fiscal recklessness.” She quotes him as having called it “one of the worst excesses of the age of financial irresponsibility.” Whiteside, H. p91 ‘Stabilizing Privatization: Crisis, Enabling Fields, and Public-Private Partnerships in Canada’ in *Alternative Routes: A journal of Critical Social Research* Vol. 13, 2013 (Athabasca, Alberta, Canada: A U Press, 2013) Quoting from: Fraser, I. ‘John Swinney slams PFI legacy’ in *The Sunday Times* April 19, 2009.

*Autonomy in Scotland*.<sup>196</sup> This Scottish Government initiative revealed the subtler approach now taken.<sup>197</sup> Whilst the ultimate goal remained full independence, another less stark option was now on offer; this being that Scotland could remain within the union, but with its parliament holding enhanced devolutionary powers. This option came to be known as 'devo-max.' Central to these new powers would have been the right of Holyrood to raise, gather and administer all taxes and expenditure in Scotland, whilst at the same time contributing to UK funds for the provision of retained services.<sup>198</sup>

All of this happened during the period in which the Scottish electorate witnessed two very different approaches to fiscal management, north and south of the border. While Brown and Darling were having to deal with the consequences of their administration's inability to control government borrowing and spending<sup>199</sup> and its reluctance to regulate the activities of the banking sector,<sup>200</sup> Swinney was able to portray an image of quiet, prudent

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<sup>196</sup> The document *Fiscal Autonomy in Scotland: The case for change and options for reform* was launched in February 2009. Harvey, M. & Lynch, P. p6 *From National Conversation to Independence Referendum?: The SNP Government and the Politics of Independence* Political Studies Association Conference, 29<sup>th</sup> March 1<sup>st</sup> April, 2010, Edinburgh.

<sup>197</sup> The difference in tone between Swinney and Salmond is indicated by Tench thus: "the sharp comments made by Alex Salmond (notably not by John Swinney, the Finance Secretary in Edinburgh) after the tight settlement for the Scottish Parliament in the Comprehensive Spending Review were intended to indicate the political importance of the issue." Tench, A. p10 'Introduction: The Second Phase of Devolution' in *The State of the Nations 2008: Into the Third Term of Devolution in the United Kingdom* Tench, A. (ed.) (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2015)

<sup>198</sup> This initiative offered a variety of options including: enhanced devolution, devolution max and independence; the latter being the SNP administration's preferred option. Section 6.15 stated that "The Scottish Government believes that independence is the only option which will enable Scotland to meet its full potential, giving this country the same range of responsibilities as other successful independent countries in Europe and across the world." *Fiscal Autonomy in Scotland: The case for change and options for reform* (Scottish Government, February 2009)

<sup>199</sup> Sowers describes the result of this as "a run up of public deficits prior to the current financial and economic crisis, which broke the government's own fiscal rules. This in turn prepared the way for a substantial deterioration in public finances when the current crisis broke, a deterioration which may take years, if not decades to set right." Sowers, N. p77 'From Prudence to Profligacy: How Gordon Brown Undermined Britain's Public Finances' in *Observatoire de la Société Britannique* (Marseille: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2011)

<sup>200</sup> It seems somewhat ironic that, according to Moosa, "In his speech to the G20 finance ministers in November 2009, the former British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, argued forcefully for a better economic and social contract between financial institutions and the public, based on trust and a just distribution of risks and rewards." Moosa, I. p319 'The myth of too big to fail'

confidence. He was a Finance Secretary who, despite the financial restrictions imposed as a result of the new UK coalition government's 2010 Comprehensive Spending Review, was able to continue funding such popular measures as the phasing-out of prescription charges and the ending of student tuition fees in Scotland.<sup>201</sup> He epitomised what Maxwell described as the party's "competence in using devolved powers to secure improvements in public services and living conditions."<sup>202</sup> This saw him using something normally derided by Taylor: instrumental reason and the calculation of the most economic application of means to a given end; but in this case it was used for the best of communitarian reasons. It enabled the state to maintain a fraternal role in support of individuals within their communities.<sup>203</sup> In light of this apparent ability to keep a prudent hold on the Scottish devolved budget, in a way that Brown had proven incapable of at a UK level, Swinney had shown the kind of financial canniness typified by the old Scots adage 'neither a lender nor a borrower be.' The fact that he had the power to do neither was perhaps less well broadcast, than were the popular measures that he managed to find the money to fund. He did nevertheless, help his party develop what Maxwell characterised as "policy dualism: the economic head and the social heart."<sup>204</sup> This tradition of prudence in pursuance of a commonly held objective – that of bettering the lives of a nation's communities – exhibited the kind of "coherent and

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in *Journal of Banking Regulation* Vol. 11, Issue 4, September 2010 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

<sup>201</sup> Reed and Horton describe this package of cuts as "the most severe period of fiscal retrenchment in Britain since the 1970s" Reed, H. & Horton, T. p1 'The distributional impact of the 2010 Spending Review' in *Radical Statistics* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2010)

<sup>202</sup> Maxwell, S. p58 'Tackling Scottish Poverty – Principles and Absences: A Critique of the Scottish Government's Approach to Combating Scotland's Problem of Poverty and Inequality' in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 69, Spring 2009

<sup>203</sup> Butler and Park argue that whilst "Communitarians agree that the bottom line counts", so too do "more positive community relations." Butler, C. & Park, N. p131 'Mayday Payday: Can Corporate Social Responsibility Save Payday Lenders?' in *Rutgers University Journal of Law and Urban Policy* Vol. 3, Issue 1 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006)

<sup>204</sup> Maxwell, S. p131 'Social Justice and the SNP' in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* Hassan, G. (Ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)



complex form of socially established cooperative human activity”<sup>205</sup> which MacIntyre argued in support of, and Swinney appears to have considered a Scottish tradition worth reviving.

## **7.6 Contradictory messages**

As previously discussed, by 2007 support for Labour was floundering in Scotland and evidence of communitarian values in the narrative it adopted was less obvious. The SNP at this same time was steadily gaining support.<sup>206</sup> Important elements of communitarian thought remained in the narrative it pursued, but this was occasionally clouded by the contradictory statements made by Salmond. Evidence of this emerged when he regained the party leadership and identified the task at hand as being to “refresh the SNP’s social democratic message.” But this was undermined soon thereafter by the use of ‘everything to everyman’ rhetoric, in which he spoke (during an acceptance speech) in a style that was “slick, centrist and controlled”, and later (at an adoption meeting) in language that was “populist, left-wing and folksy.”<sup>207</sup>

## **Dialogical construction**

The following year saw him promising to “match and marry economic efficiency with a social programme which shapes the public purpose.”<sup>208</sup> This concurred with principles of communitarian thinking. Firstly, the attainment of economic efficiency was not a goal that

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<sup>205</sup> MacIntyre, A. p187 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>206</sup> This is evident when comparing the SNP’s results in the 1999 and 2007 Scottish Parliamentary elections. In 1999 the party took 28.7% of the Constituency vote across Scotland; by 2007 this had increased to 32.9%. The Regional results also showed an increase: from 27.3% in 1999, to 31.0% in 2007. Hassan, G. p7 ‘The Making of the Modern SNP: From Protest To Power’ in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>207</sup> Torrance, D. p231 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010) quoting Hutcheon, P. in *The Sunday Herald* 5/9/2004

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid* p235 from *The Scotsman* 24/9/2005

any communitarian writer would necessarily have argued against.<sup>209</sup> More importantly, attempting to shape the public purpose via some form of social programme was something that Taylor would most probably have approved of. Given his criticism of the liberal fixation with state neutrality, and his belief that this can result in a form of individualism where “self-choice falls into triviality and hence incoherence”<sup>210</sup> it is likely that he would support the shaping (he would say ‘dialogical construction’) of public purpose. Salmond’s use of the term common weal over the years, suggested a rejection of the notion that Scots should rely merely on a kind of selfish instrumental reason predicated on the goal of individual well-being.<sup>211</sup> By proposing that some form of government sponsored social programme could help shape the nation’s purpose, he was implying that collectively the “loss of resonance, depth, or richness in our human surroundings”<sup>212</sup> may be reduced. From a communitarian perspective, the primary purpose of the state had to be of ensuring that “each of us can be a distinct and unique individual, yet remain related to all other distinct and unique individuals.”<sup>213</sup> To do otherwise would have been not only morally wrong, but also ultimately unworkable; the communitarian view being that “institutional orders inconsistent with our human character will not survive.”<sup>214</sup> The onus upon the SNP, now that it was coming into power in Scotland, was on ensuring that it accurately identified and then helped shape the public purpose in a way consistent with the ambitions of the Scottish people.

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<sup>209</sup> The communitarian position, according to McCluskey: “is not to reject policies promoting economic security, but to tie them to stronger regulation of morality.” McCluskey, M. T. p823 ‘Efficiency and Social Citizenship: Challenging the Neoliberal Attack on the Welfare State’ in *Indiana Law Journal* Vol. 78, Issue 2 (Bloomington: Indiana University Maurer School of Law, 2003)

<sup>210</sup> Taylor, C. p39 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>211</sup> Duclos cites Salmond as having used the phrase “shared sense of the common weal” in speeches made between 2007 and 2011. Duclos, N. p1 ‘The SNP’s Conception of Scottish Society and Citizenship, 2007-2014’ in *French journal of British studies* XXI-1 (Toulouse: Université de Toulouse Jean-Jaurès, 2016)

<sup>212</sup> Taylor, C. p6 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>213</sup> Kohler, T. C. p727-728 ‘Individualism and Communitarianism at Work’ in *The Selected Works of Thomas C. Kohler* (Boston: Boston College Law School, 1993)

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid* p728

## The cult of personality

Not long thereafter a more worrying phenomenon became apparent: that of the cult of personality.<sup>215</sup> This was most evident in 2007 when the party's election strategists developed a plan to market its leader as if he were a brand. They identified the potential of using the phrase 'Alex Salmond for First Minister' on regional list ballot papers, and not, as would normally have been expected, the party's name.<sup>216</sup> This was described as being "a near presidential style of campaign, presenting Alex Salmond as first minister in-waiting."<sup>217</sup> Jim Sillars thought this to have been "Scotland's first-ever experience of the cult of personality."<sup>218</sup> Despite the party continuing to make clear the importance it attached to community, there persisted a view that the role of an individual Scot, as a constituent element of the nation, also deserved attention. It does sometimes follow however, that when a party has adopted such a stance and is then electorally successful, its leader (regardless of any obvious charismatic short-comings) may have placed upon him an element of cult status.<sup>219</sup> In effect, his party attempted to create out of him an amalgam of

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<sup>215</sup> Schiller, when reflecting on the frailties of office, argued that "All human institutions have a way of growing into perversions of their original purpose that block its attainment ... Those who run the institutions are allowed to acquire interests that conflict with the professed purpose of the institutions they serve." Schiller, F. C. S. *Logic for Use* (New York: Hardcourt, Brace, Javonovich, 1930) as quoted in Herman, C. S. p3 'The Cult of Dignity' in *English Linguistics Research* Vol. 6, No. 2, 2017 (Richmond Hill, Ontario: Sciedo Press, 2017)

<sup>216</sup> Hepburn explains that "After the previous year's poor poll ratings, the return of Alex Salmond to the party leadership resuscitated the Scottish National Party" Hepburn, E. p84 'The 2007 Scottish Elections: A Dark Day for Participatory Democracy' in *Regional and Federal Studies* Vol. 18, No. 1 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008)

<sup>217</sup> McEwen, N. p60 'From Devolution to Independence? Scots Elect their First Nationalist Government' in *Policy Options* June 2007

<sup>218</sup> Sillars, J. *Holyrood Magazine* 29/2/2009 mentioned in Torrance, D. p239 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010) Jim Sillars, who was Salmond's deputy in the early 1990s had, according to Gordon "become a frequent critic" and "one of Alex Salmond's most pungent critics." Gordon, T. 'Serial Alex Salmond critic comes to former leader's defence' in *The Herald* 30<sup>th</sup> August, 2018

<sup>219</sup> Curtice however, when offering analysis of the reasons for the SNP's electoral success in 2007, speaks of the party posing "a more effective challenge to Labour than it did in 2003, as exemplified by the popularity of its charismatic leader, Alex Salmond." Curtice, J. p9 'Where stands the Union now?: Lessons from the 2007 Scottish Parliament election' Part of a series

all within the nation; the political personification of a good citizen. Torrance described Salmond's ability to take on "the guise of a Scottish everyman; his personality traits simply reflected that of the nation as a whole."<sup>220</sup> This attribute, Martin argued, was put to good use when, in 2011, Salmond "eviscerated his enemies and turned Scottish politics into a tartan personality cult."<sup>221</sup> MacIntyre however, many years before, could not have been clearer in his condemnation of any such phenomenon when he said that "classes of explanation that appealed to such notions as "cult of personality" are wrong."<sup>222</sup> But whilst this is not to suggest that the Scots came under the spell of some benign form of Stalinism: the cult of 'Salmondism'<sup>223</sup> – the tactic of placing a leader above his party's name, ideology and policies was, for some, a worrying development.<sup>224</sup> The fact remained however, that Salmond and his colleagues did seem to have accurately gauged the mood of the electorate, and in so doing, confirmed Machiavelli's maxim that "the one who adapts his policy to the times prospers."<sup>225</sup>

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of commissioned research papers for IPPR's *Future of the Union* project. (London: Institute of Policy Research, 2008)

<sup>220</sup> Torrance, D. p241-242 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>221</sup> Martin, I. p2 'The Eurozone crisis has exposed Alex Salmond's greatest weakness' in *The Telegraph* 16 Dec. 2011. In the 2011 Scottish Parliamentary Election the SNP, according to Duclos, employed a strategy wherein it "used two parallel campaign slogans: the first slogan, "Re-elect a Scottish Government Working for Scotland", was also the title of the party's election manifesto, and the second one, Re-elect Alex Salmond as First Minister", for instance appeared at the top of a list made public a few days before the election and showing the names of 200 businessmen who had agreed to support the "Re-election of Alex Salmond as First Minister." Duclos, N. 'The Scottish Parliament election of May 2011: internal factors in the SNP's victory' in Collection électronique du centre de recherche interlangues Vol. 5, 14 June 2013

<sup>222</sup> MacIntyre, A. p69 (1962). Quoted in Turner, S. P. p80 'MacIntyre and the Philosophy of the Social Sciences' in *Alasdair MacIntyre* Murphy, M. C. (Ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

<sup>223</sup> This term was coined by the journalist Ian Bell in *The Herald* 7/7/2007. quoted in Torrance, D. p263 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>224</sup> Marr describes how, when Salmond was an MP "His enemies even then, thought him a dangerous demagogue." Marr, A. p103 *The Battle for Scotland* (London: Penguin Books, 2013)

<sup>225</sup> Machiavelli, N. *The Prince* (1532) (Middlesex: Penguin, 1961)

## ***7.7 Conclusion***

In conclusion, the SNP pursued a mild form civic nationalism; one which made no claim to racial superiority but instead reflected Taylor's principle of the politics of recognition. It did not particularly strive to appeal to Scottish patriotic values. Instead, it tried to persuade Scots that with independence a fairer society would come; one that better represented the collective identity and aspirations of the nation and its communities. All of this was done in such a way as to take full advantage of Labour's failure to maintain support within its working-class heartlands.

For most of the period researched the party was led by Alex Salmond, a man whose upbringing was embedded within a community, the dialogical character of which was instrumental in helping to shape his identity. This, plus his education and earlier political experiences, culminated in him revealing clear communitarian sensibilities. But just as he had taken some time before arriving at a settled political position, so too had his party. First it had to lose its 'Tartan Tories' and 'left-wing separatists' tags. Then it had to develop a narrative; one subtle enough to appear loosely representative of the views and aspirations of a diverse range of individuals and communities within Scotland. Finally, it had to establish and promote a gradualist and incremental strategy for gaining independence. It had come to understand that most Scots did not have the stomach for immediate and fundamental change.

Kenny MacAskill was another senior SNP figure who made a similar ideological journey. Having initially been something of a left-wing firebrand, he subsequently came to think that the politics of left and right had become supplanted by a more pressing issue concerning the extent to which the state should be allowed to impinge on the lives of individuals and their communities. His solution reflected that of Etzioni, who described a good society as requiring equilibrium between order and liberty; the maximisation of either being something which must be avoided. Just as important however, was a necessity for the

party to show itself capable of equilibrium regarding its ability to govern. It had to demonstrate a moderate side; one not always apparent under Salmond's earlier, more robust, leadership. It needed to be seen as a party capable of government, rather than one capable only of protest and opposition.

John Swinney seemed better fitted to fill the role of moderate and careful political leader; one capable of pursuing prudent economic policies in such a way as to better the lives of Scotland's communities. He proved able therefore, to enable the type of coherent and complex cooperative activities championed by communitarian thinkers such as MacIntyre to be achieved. Whilst figures such as Salmond and MacAskill exemplified the traditional side of the party's image, Swinney came across as a competent and businesses-like leader; this at a time when his Labour counterparts were seen to have been less than prudent in their handling of the UK economy.

This shift in popularity from Labour to SNP, brought with it a tendency by Salmon to send mixed political messages as to where he stood. What remained constant throughout this period though was his persistent rejection of the liberal fixation with state neutrality so abhorred by Taylor. For Salmond, the state existed in order to identify the 'public purpose', and then to act on that mandate. The fact that SNP strategists employed a mild form of the cult of personality in order to gain the power to achieve this was not something that communitarian thinkers would necessarily have sanctioned however. Research showed therefore, that communitarian thought had been articulated by the SNP to a meaningful extent, as demonstrated by the account given of the regular use of the language of communitarianism in the different political narratives identified and examined.

## **Chapter Eight: Extent to which communitarian thought impacted on the application of policy by the SNP**

### **Introduction**

As with Chapter Six, this also consists of four case studies; each integrated into a broader methodological approach which utilised political discourse analysis in order to understand how communitarian thought impacted on the political narrative, and subsequent policy initiatives, of the SNP. As before, case studies enabled the research to concentrate on a smaller number of significant issues, through which a clearer understanding of the effect that the language of communitarianism had was gained.

The case studies undertaken dealt with the following four topics:

### **Case Study One: A Recognition Narrative.**

This study examined the SNP's civic nationalism; how this determined who it recognised as a Scot and what that identity entailed. It investigated the party's drive to encourage Scots to recognise themselves as inclusive, modern, international facing, accepting of the multi-layered character of their nation and as such, capable of making their own way in the world. It promoted the dual virtues of compassion and enterprise; the existing constitutional position having left Scotland stifled and unable to properly demonstrate its internationalist credentials. The party offered an escape from what it believed was the false homogeny of Britishness, and consequently reflected the principles of Taylor's notion of the 'politics of recognition.' This study also found the party prone to a somewhat sentimentalized view of Scotland's history; but this being one that Kymlicka approved, given his belief that such endorsement of a nation's traditions and history actually revealed an acknowledgement of an important communitarian principle. Research also showed that the party wanted to change the status of Scots from subjects to citizens; the

implication being that the nation would then consist of active citizens, rather than submissive subjects. Throughout this study political discourse analysis proved useful, in that it provided an appreciation of how, as Gee puts it: "language, both spoken and written, enacts social and cultural perspectives and identities."<sup>1</sup> This study was intended therefore, to test the contention that the SNP's ambition to encourage Scots to obtain a form of recognition not currently afforded, signified an important aspect of its communitarian 'turn.'

### **Case Study Two: A Socio-Economic Narrative.**

An understanding of the importance of cooperative decision making as a crucial element of political discourse analysis informed this study.<sup>2</sup> Here the party's commitment to creating a prosperous and just nation was found to be the main influence on its socio-economic policy. This study considered the extent to which these policy decisions articulated communitarian principles. Research revealed a belief that it was not sufficient for Scotland merely to gain cultural recognition; competitive commercial recognition was necessary too. It promised therefore, to create "a prosperous and just nation"<sup>3</sup> - one with "a top international brand and reputation." Research also revealed a concern that some communities were gripped by what communitarian writers call a moral malaise. Deviant behaviour meant that some no longer had any meaningful relationship with their communities; they had no connection to their community's traditions and social hierarchy; what Taylor called the 'chain of being.' This study found that the SNP rejected this destructive individualism so detested by communitarians, and instead promoted policies intended to transform the morally ambiguous lives of such individuals. More generally

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<sup>1</sup> Gee, P. J. taken from the introductory page of *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) (New York: Routledge, 2010)

<sup>2</sup> Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. p17 'Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology' in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Wodak & Meyer (eds.) (California: Sage Publications, 2009)

<sup>3</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p3 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)



however, the party signalled its intention to use education as a means to enable Scots to realize their essential nature; this through the advancement of a 'world view' calculated to foster recognition of the nation's particularity.

### **Case Study Three: A National Conversation.**

This case study examined the SNP instigated National Conversation; an initiative intended to stimulate debate in order that Scots could determine the shape of their nation's future. Research showed that this was an important element in the party's strategy of engendering support for independence. Almost immediately however, the three main unionist parties initiated a review of Holyrood's existing powers: the Calman Commission. This seemed little more than a thinly veiled attempt to undermine the National Conversation. It did nevertheless demonstrate that, as with the devolution settlement, there can be "no one institutional arrangement" which is capable of determining "in a universally accepted manner"<sup>4</sup> the collective will of any nation. As for those who participated in the 'conversation', they tended to find issues of policy and local empowerment of more interest than the constitutional debate itself. This reflects what Macmurray would have thought most likely to happen, given his view that the interests of community tend to displace those of society, because primarily individuals prefer to relate to other individuals. Analysis of the amount and type of discourse which resulted from this initiative revealed the debate not to have been a particularly productive exercise for the party. Scottish society participated at a lower level than had been hoped and given the SNP's minority parliamentary status, a Bill for a referendum on independence could be published, but not put to the vote. Salmond

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<sup>4</sup> Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. *Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) p176 Here Fairclough and Fairclough acknowledge the argument put forward by Sen, A. in *The Idea of Justice* (London: Allen Lane, 2009)

was nevertheless, confident that the following year's Scottish election would see his party in a position to secure the passage of such a Bill.

#### **Case Study Four: A Transformative Narrative.**

This study found that the party's 2011 manifesto further developed the theme of nation building by offering a transformative vision of Scotland that would project both confidence and responsibility. The role of education was now intended to take Scottish Studies beyond the realms of history and culture and become an integral part of as many curricular activities as was possible. This approach matched that of Taylor's solution to the plight of the Quebecois. Research also showed that by this time the SNP believed it had disassociated itself, in the minds of many Scots, from the other main parties and the increasingly dysfunctional UK political system they represented. Whilst they had undermined their standing with the Scottish electorate, the SNP administration argued that it had, to an extent, enhanced its reputation by introducing initiatives which helped mitigate the effects of the deepening economic crises. It appeared therefore, that as a result of the failings of the other parties (especially Labour) and of the steady-handed approach to government of the SNP, combined with its various nation-building strategies, the already existent Scotland-UK cleavage with regard to identity and ideology was now such that many Scots had recalibrated to a specifically Scottish dynamic. The SNP had thus initiated a transformative narrative in Scottish society.

### 8.1 Case Study: A Recognition Narrative

Henderson argues that "Values, rather than social characteristics, form the litmus test of identity."<sup>5</sup> The SNP's commitment to civic nationalism reflects this value-based approach which essentially undermines any adherence it may have had to the socially derived notion of ethnic nationalism. Maxwell argues that Scottish nationalism "is often presented as a search for Scottish identity or nationality,"<sup>6</sup> and on becoming leader in 1990 Salmond argued against "exclusory nationalism" and instead promoted "a non-ethnicized, territorially located 'impeccably civic' Scottish nationalism."<sup>7</sup> This meant, according to Leith, that by 2005 the SNP's conception of 'Scottishness' had "transformed from being somewhat ethnic and occasionally exclusive to being now civic and inclusive with the territorial aspect almost solely emphasised."<sup>8</sup> To be a Scot was, from an SNP perspective, to be someone who made Scotland their home. For Salmond, what attracted him to Scottish nationalism was: "that it's very much a multi-layered identity."<sup>9</sup> He even endorsed the notion of 'post-nationalism',

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<sup>5</sup> Henderson, A. p15 'Political Constructions of National Identity in Scotland and Quebec' in *Scottish Affairs* No. 29, Autumn 1999 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999)

<sup>6</sup> Maxwell, S. p27 *Arguing for Independence* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012)

<sup>7</sup> Mycock, A. p53-69 'SNP, identity and citizenship: Re-imagining state and nation' in *National Identities* Vol. 14, Issue 1, 2012 (Abingdon: Taylor Francis, 2012) This is confirmed by Johns and Mitchell, who explain that "the party – particularly under Alex Salmond's leadership – engaged in a conscious effort to define its version of nationalism in various ways that would make it difficult to associate it with ethnic nationalism." Johns, R. & Mitchell, J. p22 *Takeover: Explaining the Extraordinary Rise of the SNP* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2016)

<sup>8</sup> Leith, M. S. p83 'Scottish National Party Representations of Scottishness and Scotland' in *Politics* Vol. 28, Issue 2, 2008 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publishing, 2008) These findings are based on research undertaken on "SNP manifestos issued for British general elections from 1970 to 2005."

<sup>9</sup> Salmond, A. quoted in Duclos, N. p100 'Idiosyncrasies of Scottish National Identity' in *National Identity: Theory and Research* Verdugo, R. R. & Milne, A. (eds.) (Charlotte, N. C.: Information Age Publishing Inc., 2016) Salmond goes on to say that "It's never been sensible to tell people they have only one to choose ... I've got a British aspect to my identity but I've got Britishness and a European identity." This view does not contradict the SNP's position that it is "a committed civic-nationalist party which advocates the independence of Scotland within the institutional framework of the European Union." Hamilton, P. p36 'The Greening of Nationalism: Nationalising Nature in Europe' in *Environmental Politics* Vol. 11, No. 2, Summer 2002 (London: Frank Cass, 2002)

where Scotland was constructed as a "modern, open and international-facing country."<sup>10</sup> In keeping with this sentiment, his parliamentary colleague Sandra White stated that "The SNP is a national party not a nationalist party."<sup>11</sup> Given that the "dual national identity of Scottish society is a key characteristic of the Scottish electorate"<sup>12</sup> - this undermining of any ethnic narrative in relation to Scottish identity<sup>13</sup> was thought likely to attract the support of those groups holding dual identity, such as English people<sup>14</sup> in Scotland; Asian Scots,<sup>15</sup> and Scots with an Irish-Catholic heritage.<sup>16</sup> It was an inclusive vision, one which recognised the equal worth of "indigenous minorities as well as more recently settled minorities."<sup>17</sup> This inclusive sentiment - encapsulated in Bashir Maan's<sup>18</sup> idea of the New Scots<sup>19</sup> - was an embedded SNP principle by the time of this study.<sup>20</sup> It shows cognisance of Taylor's concern over how

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<sup>10</sup> McAnulla, S. D. & Crines, A. p437 'The Rhetoric of Alex Salmond and the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum' in *British Politics* Vol. 12, No. 4, (London: MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 2017)

<sup>11</sup> Sandra White SNP MSP quoted in: Tummers, K. p35 *Scottish Muslim Nationalists* (Utrecht: University of Utrecht, 2009)

<sup>12</sup> Lynch, P. p177 *Scottish Government and Politics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001)

<sup>13</sup> Instead of adopting an ethnic narrative in which the nation is defined by characteristics such as a common ethnic ancestry and faith, the SNP adopted a civic narrative which adheres to liberal values such as tolerance and equality.

<sup>14</sup> Jedrej and Nuttall pointed out, three years before devolution, that "the English born people have in many respects assimilated themselves into many aspects of Scottish life ... it could be argued that the broader English population in Scotland has experienced some form of Scottishing' effect." Jedrej, G. & Nuttall, M. p3 *White Settlers: The Impact of Rural Repopulation in Scotland* (London: Routledge, 1996)

<sup>15</sup> With regard to Asian Scots, many of whom are Muslims, Tummers reports that "there has been a major political shift from the Labour Party to the SNP among Muslims in Scotland." Tummers, K. p40 *Scottish Muslim Nationalists* (Utrecht: University of Utrecht, 2009)

<sup>16</sup> The Irish Catholic population of Glasgow, according to Grant, had traditionally provided "massive support for the Labour Party." Grant, N. 'Intercultural education in the United Kingdom' in *Intercultural Education: Theories, Policies and Practices* Woodrow, D. Verma, G. K. Rocha – Trindade, M. B. Campani, G. & Bagley, C. (eds.) (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018) In the 1970's Catholics "were only a third to a half as likely to vote SNP as other Scots." Bennie, L. Brand, J. & Mitchell, J. p113 *How Scotland Votes* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997)

<sup>17</sup> Kelly, E. p83 'Stands Scotland Where It Did? An Essay in Ethnicity and Internationalism.' In *Scottish Affairs* No. 26, Winter 1999 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999)

<sup>18</sup> Bashir Mann, according to Meer and Peace, "blazed a trail for all British ethnic minorities by getting elected to represent Glasgow's Kingston ward for Labour in 1970." Meer, N. & Peace, T. p26-27 'The 2015 Election: BME Groups in Scotland' in *Race and Elections* Khan, D. & Sveinsson, K. (eds.) (London: Runnymede, 2015)

<sup>19</sup> Maan, B. *The New Scots: The Story of Asians in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992)

<sup>20</sup> According to Hepburn and Rosie "The SNP is probably the most pro-immigrant of the major parties in the United Kingdom as a whole, confounding any assumption that minority nations and in

"frustration is generated if the various identities are not given public recognition at the political level."<sup>21</sup> By 2011 this form of identity was evident in Scotland; Leith and Soule having characterised it as being "overwhelmingly civic rather than ethnic, *demos* rather than *ethnos*" and "based on a 'sense of place' rather than a 'sense of tribe'."<sup>22</sup> The party's version of Scottishness was therefore "based on living in a common territory despite clear and abiding social, religious and geographical differences."<sup>23</sup> McCrone, borrowing from Plamenatz, characterised it thus: "civic/territorial forms of nationalism (good) and ethnic/cultural forms (bad)."<sup>24</sup> But this version of Scottish identity had come about not simply as a result of SNP influence, and was "far from synonymous with voting for the SNP"<sup>25</sup> - Camp-Pietrain arguing that in Scotland before and after devolution, the other political parties "had never sought to racialise their discourses."<sup>26</sup>

The SNP's 1997 UK manifesto envisioned a Scotland returning to "the virtues of enterprise and compassion" - combined with a commitment to become "independent and pay our way in the world."<sup>27</sup> It expressed dissatisfaction that Scotland was "living in the

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particular minority nationalists, necessarily view immigration as a threat to their indigenous culture and traditions." Hepburn, E. & Rosie, M. p241 'Immigration, Nationalism, and Politics in Scotland' in *The Politics of Immigration in Multi-Level States* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

<sup>21</sup> Beiner, R. p6 'Nationalism's Challenge to Political Philosophy' in *Theorizing Nationalism* (Albany: State University of New York, 1999)

<sup>22</sup> Leith, M. & Soule, D. P. J. p3 *Political Discourse and National Identity in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011) To an extent this may help explain why, according to Bonino "The 2011 Census shows that Scottish Muslims feel more Scottish (24%) than English Muslims feel English (14%)." Bonino, S. p1 'Muslims in Scotland: Demographic, social and cultural characteristics' in *Religion and the Public Sphere* (London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 2016)

<sup>23</sup> McCrone, D. p22 *The Sociology of Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 2000) McCrone describes the SNP as priding "itself on the 'mongrel' character of the Scots."

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid* p8

<sup>25</sup> Curtice, J. p63 'Devolution, the SNP and the Electorate' in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* Hassan, G. (ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>26</sup> Camp-Pietrain, E. p116 'Scotland's Devolved Institutions and Immigration: A Challengingly Welcoming Attitude' in *The Politics of Ethnic Diversity in the British Isles* Garbaye, R. et al. (eds.) London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

<sup>27</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p1 (UK General Election, 1997)

shadow of our neighbour, who speaks for us but not of us"<sup>28</sup> and that whilst Scots were "internationalist people, who look outwards to the rest of the world,"<sup>29</sup> they were governed according to an "insular, Little Englander mentality at Westminster." In using such rhetoric, it tried to establish the incongruent nature of this relationship; its intention being to encourage Scots to consider (what was for the SNP) the positive nationalist sentiment associated with independence - the benefits to accrue being not only of an entrepreneurial and societal nature, but also of a less tangible nature that could derive as a result of renewed national empowerment.<sup>30</sup> Not only was the party expressing Maxwell's view that "hope for the future can be as strong an emotion as grievance at past injustices or indifferent government"<sup>31</sup> - it offered an escape from what Taylor believed dominant cultures often imposed on minorities; this being an "homogenous mould that is untrue to them."<sup>32</sup> The party was therefore, adopting the principles of Taylor's 'politics of recognition.'

As well as looking enthusiastically to the future, the party also employed somewhat mawkishly sentimental language. It spoke of "The song of Scotland – the steady rhythm of our past."<sup>33</sup> This may be a delayed response to the words of the Chancellor of Scotland in

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid* p6 Revest argues that "The "us and them" approach goes back many tears and has had many faces." The following rather disquieting example is then provided: "During a BBC Scotland programme after the 1987 general election, Scottish historian (and future MSP) Christopher Harvie denounced the fact Margaret Thatcher personified all those English features (e.g. snobbery and selfishness) Scots had always hated." Revest, D. p93 'Homo Anglicus/Homo Scotus: The Naturalisation of England and Scotland in Scottish Political, Economic and Social Discourse in Recent Times' in *Études Écossaises* Vol. 16 (Marseille: Open Edition Journals, 2013)

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid* p6 Part of a quote from Dr Winnie Ewing, then MEP and SNP President and European Parliamentary Leader.

<sup>30</sup> The rhetoric of 'nationalist revival' used here by the SNP came out at a time when, according to Hearn, "with the decline of empire and ailing industrial capitalism, it was almost inevitably being revived as Scotland's peripheral position in relation to the English core was more and more revealed." Hearn, J. p754 'Narrative, Agency, and Mood: on the Social Construction of National History in Scotland' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 44 (4) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002)

<sup>31</sup> Maxwell, S. p27 *Arguing for Independence* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012)

<sup>32</sup> Taylor, C. p43 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>33</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p6 (UK General Election, 1997)

1707 when he had said "now there's ane end of ane auld sang"<sup>34</sup> following the signing of the Treaty of Union.<sup>35</sup> But this, to Kymlicka, would not be something to dismiss as mere sentimentality. He contended that adherence to tradition and an appreciation of one's nation's history were important communitarian principles. Political debate which relied on theories located on the left-right axis tended to offer precepts that were primarily of an "independent ahistorical"<sup>36</sup> nature; through these one could dispassionately evaluate the historical and cultural traditions and practices of a nation. By adopting a communitarian perspective however, one could interpret those traditions that continued to be practiced, from the more subjective standpoint of "historical and communal embeddedness."<sup>37</sup> To call-up the past when considering the present was to recognise the important residual influence of a disparate range of factors never fully understood when only (often ahistorical) left-right analysis was undertaken. The SNP acknowledged this when it asserted that voting behaviour "can be dictated by tradition, reason or emotion."<sup>38</sup> Macmurray recognised the often-ill-defined nature of an individual's conception of his nationality, and of the state to which he was expected to be loyal. Whereas the State was fundamentally a territorial and legal entity, specific to a clearly defined land mass; nationality, according to him, had "no inherent

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<sup>34</sup> Paterson explains how "At the end of the Scottish Parliament's last debate on the Treaty of Union, the Earl of Seafield described the outcome as marking "ane end of ane auld sang." Paterson then argues that this "sentiment has echoed down the centuries." Paterson, L. p104 'Ane end of ane auld sang: Sovereignty and the Re-Negotiation of the Union' in *Scottish Government Yearbook 1991* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991)

<sup>35</sup> In the year before the signing of the Treaty of Union Lord Belhaven, an ardent opponent of this union, delivered what came to be known as the 'Mother Caledonia' speech. Here, he made an emotionally charged plea that Scotland remain independent of England: "I think I see a free and independent kingdom delivering up that, which all the world hath been fighting for since the Days of Nimrod." Lord Belhaven *Speech to the old Scottish Parliament* (Edinburgh: 2 November, 1706)

<sup>36</sup> Kymlicka, W. p2 *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid* p2 Eckersley explains that from a communitarian perspective there exists a 'boundedness' which "shapes and constrains the field of ethical and political possibilities; our ethics are correlative with the various particularistic bounded communities to which we belong." Eckersley, R. p93 'Communitarianism' in *Political Theory and the ecological challenge* Eckersley, R. & Dobson, A. (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

<sup>38</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p7 (UK General Election, 1997)

reference to territory."<sup>39</sup> Instead it had to do with "a sense of kinship" - a bond that was spiritual. He believed that, regardless of any inability to justify the scientific basis of an assertion of nationhood, such was the "unifying force [of] human association" that nationality became a psychological, as opposed to a geographical fact.<sup>40</sup> It was therefore, Macmurray's contention that through common experience and tradition would come "national consciousness."<sup>41</sup>

The SNP, in recognition of the complex social and political nature of Scottish society, offered a balanced agenda. In order to satisfy those who looked primarily to the left-right debate when deciding how to vote, it extolled the virtues of compassion and enterprise. To those concerned with Scotland's future constitutional position, and also those harbouring some vague sense of kinship, it offered the non-threatening model of nationalism<sup>42</sup> outlined above; based as it was on an understanding that what often motivated those (from whatever ethnic background) able to vote in Scotland, was likely to have been influenced by a complex amalgamation of tradition, reason and emotion. While the Labour Party offered a Union that would be "strengthened and the threat of separatism removed"<sup>43</sup> - the SNP

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<sup>39</sup> Macmurray, J. p38 *Conditions of Freedom* (1949) (New York: Humanity Books, 1993)

<sup>40</sup> When describing what she calls the 'Communitarian Model' Conover says that "citizens need and want to be psychological members of cultural communities, of "communities of character," through which they can understand their identities and from which they can adopt moral principle." Conover, P. J. p5 'The Elusive Ideal of Equal Citizenship: Political Theory and Political Psychology in the United States and Great Britain' in *The Journal of Politics* Vol. 66, Issue 4, November 2004 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

<sup>41</sup> Macmurray, J. p38 *Conditions of Freedom* (1949) (New York: Humanity Books, 1993)

<sup>42</sup> Keating, in his explanation of 'civic nationalism' cites the SNP as being part of a movement which encourages the "growth of a self-consciously "civic nationalism." Keating, M. p4 'European Integration and the Nationalist Question' in *Politics & Society* Vol. 31, No. 1, March 2004 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2004)

<sup>43</sup> Labour Party Manifesto p38 (UK General Election, 1997) The 'threat' implied here is explained by Leeuwen and Mashuri thus: "to members of the majority, separatist movements constitute a threat to the continuation and integrity of their national identity." Leeuwen, E. V. & Mashuri, A. p1648 'Intergroup Helping in Response to Separatism' in *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* Vol. 39, No. 12, 2013 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2013)  
It is of further interest to note that by 1999 and the first Scottish Parliamentary Election, according to Mav, "the term separatist had become 'tired and over-worked, the Prime Minister Tony Blair and the Labour Party began to work to counter the SNP threat in the impending historic election of the first Scottish Parliament by adopting the slogan 'divorce is an expensive business'." Mav, T. A. p317-318 'Globalisation, regional integration and the



proposed that Scotland “regain its independence.”<sup>44</sup> Rather than invoking the pessimism often associated with the term separatism, it appeared determined to conjure an optimistic image of an independent Scotland that was not only a wealthy nation in its own right, and a member of the European Union,<sup>45</sup> but also a good neighbour to England.<sup>46</sup> In order to allay any fears that independence would cause difficulty in this relationship, the SNP pledged that only the political union would end: “our social union will be as strong as ever.”<sup>47</sup> Citizenship in an independent Scotland would be based on birth or residency, and EU citizenship would entitle those from member states to take up residence too.<sup>48</sup> This inclusive approach indicated an appreciation of the long-standing links between Scotland and its neighbours. It was also a form of nationalism based on a sense of kinship, as described by Macmurray.

In the chapter headed ‘A Scotland for all her People’<sup>49</sup> - a pledge was made that, when independent, Scotland would gain a written constitution<sup>50</sup> and a Bill of Rights.<sup>51</sup> In

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evolution of the independence rhetoric of the PQ and the SNP’ in *British Journal of Canadian Studies* Vol. 18, Issue 2 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press Online, 2005)

<sup>44</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p9 (UK General Election, 1997)

<sup>45</sup> The SNP position of wishing Scotland to be a sovereign nation and member of the European Union (previously the European Economic Community) was adopted when the party “did an abrupt, dramatic U-turn, at the Inverness Annual National Conference in September 1988” Macartney, A. p35 ‘Independence in Europe’ in *Scottish Government Yearbook 1990* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1990)

<sup>46</sup> Alex Salmond is recorded as having said, in anticipation of Scottish independence, that “England stands to lose a surly lodger and gain a good neighbour.” Weight, R. p153 ‘Review of *Breaking up Britain: Four Nations after a Union*’ Perryman, M. (ed.) in *Renewal: Journal of Labour Politics* Vol. 18, No. 1-2, 2010 (Dagenham: Lawrence and Wishart, 2010)

<sup>47</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p7 (UK General Election, 1997)

<sup>48</sup> The pledge made was that “There will be full citizenship and a continuing right of residence for everyone who currently lives here. An Independent Scotland will protect in its written constitution residency rights for all those living here, or entitled to live here, at the time of independence, whether or not they become Scottish citizens. Citizenship will be established on the basis of residency or birth. Membership of the European Union will also permit residence for citizens from other European Union members.” Scottish National Party Manifesto p7 (UK General Election, 1997)

<sup>49</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p10 (UK General Election, 1997)

<sup>50</sup> This was not a particularly new development. A draft Scottish Constitution, for example, was written by Neil MacCormick and others in 1997, and revisited in 1991. MacCormick, N. p721 ‘Is there a Constitutional Path to Scottish Independence?’ in *Parliamentary Affairs* (2000), 53. (London: Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 2000)

<sup>51</sup> Hamilton explains that “The party endorses a bill of rights; a written constitution, racial equality, unilateral disarmament, and citizenship based on residency or birth in Scotland.” Hamilton, P. p36 ‘The Greening of Nationalism: Nationalising Nature in Europe’ in *Environmental Politics* Vol. 11, No. 2, Summer 2002 London: Frank Cass, 2002)

addition, a Scot's status would be elevated from subject to citizen<sup>52</sup> and, whilst the Monarch would remain Head of State, the Scottish legislative system would no longer be subject to "the mumbo jumbo of Royal assent." Talk of a written constitution with attendant rights is normally associated more with liberal thinking. We know already that Taylor worried about contemporary moral thought (by which he invariably meant liberal thought) and its tendency to focus on "the content of obligation rather than the nature of the good life."<sup>53</sup> The SNP could however, be forgiven for suggesting that an independent Scotland would be entitled to such documents; these being almost a prerequisite for any emergent independent nation.

It was however, the proposal to turn Scots from subjects into citizens which is of more relevance.<sup>54</sup> This ambition to reassign identity in such a way had more of a communitarian ring to it. To label people as subjects was to suggest that their primary function was that of being subject to the observance of laws, rules, procedures and rights. The actions of a subject would thus be judged morally acceptable if they conformed to these strictures; if they conformed to what a liberal would consider to be 'right.'<sup>55</sup> By suggesting that Scots should be recognised as citizens, the SNP sent a signal more in keeping with a communitarian sentiment shared by MacIntyre and others; this being that the good should

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<sup>52</sup> Such 'elevation' has, in the view of Isin, something of a dark-side to it. He asserts that "Citizenship is a dynamic (political, legal, social and cultural but perhaps also sexual, aesthetic and ethical) institution of domination *and* empowerment that governs *who* citizens (insiders), subjects (strangers, outsiders) and objects (aliens) are and *how* these actors are to govern themselves and each other in the body politic." Isin, E. F. p371 'Citizenship in flux: The figure of the activist citizen' in *Subjectivity* Issue 29 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

<sup>53</sup> Kerr, F. p89 'Taylor's Moral Ontology' in *Charles Taylor* Abbey, R. (Ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

<sup>54</sup> Magnette describes how "citizenship in the time of the ancients appears in the texts to be an institution meant to *draw the outline of the political community*, by defining who belongs to and who is excluded from the civic body. This is what, nowadays, we call 'nationality'." This, at first glance, may not seem to be a particularly 'communitarian' position – given the exclusion that those deemed not to be members of the civic body would experience. But given the emphasis placed upon identity and recognition by communitarian writers (Taylor in particular), it is inevitable that those identified as not being citizens, would feel excluded. Magnette, P. p7 *Citizenship: The History of an Idea* (Colchester: ECPR Press, 2005)

<sup>55</sup> As 'subjects', according to Kymlicka, we would "misconstrue our capacity for self-determination, and neglect the social preconditions under which that capacity can be meaningfully exercised." Kymlicka, W. p199 *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)

take precedence over any liberal preference for the right.<sup>56</sup> Whereas a subject was a passive recipient of rules and rights determined by others, the idea of citizenship suggested a proactive role; one where some form of telos may be detected.<sup>57</sup> It was MacIntyre who argued that a society's traditions helped determine its shared goal, and any form of morality arising from this could only be deemed rational and objective if it were the result of that shared goal.<sup>58</sup> The SNP's conviction that there existed a common weal signalled a belief in a shared goal, and any such collective teleological imperative would, by its reckoning, more likely be achieved by a population consisting of active citizens, rather than submissive subjects.

Salmond's introduction to the SNP's manifesto for the first Scottish Election described its contents as indicating "the potential of independence, and what it can deliver to the Scottish people." Its land reform package, for example, claimed that it "empowers communities throughout Scotland."<sup>59</sup> Whereas Dewar disparaged the idea of independence, and vowed to stop Scotland being "sidelined into sterile arguments about breaking up

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<sup>56</sup> MacIntyre puts it thus: "My own critique of liberalism derives from a judgement that the best type of human life, that in which the tradition of the virtues is most adequately embodied, is lived by those engaged in constructing and sustaining forms of community directed towards the shared achievement of those common goods without which the ultimate human good cannot be achieved." MacIntyre, A. pxii *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>57</sup> This proactive role involves, according to MacIntyre, living out a "history that is my own and no one else's that has its own peculiar meaning" – one that demonstrates, in one way or another "movement towards a climax or a *telos*." MacIntyre, A. p217 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>58</sup> These traditions, or as MacIntyre puts it "social circumstances" then "constitute the given of my life, my moral starting point" and are therefore, "in part what gives my life its own moral particularity." MacIntyre, A. p220 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>59</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p1 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999) It is of interest to note that in August of that year, Labour and the Liberal Democrats, having formed a coalition administration, impressed Wightman sufficiently for him to enthuse that "It is quite a remarkable juncture in the whole history of land reform and of course of Scottish politics. After so many decades, a Parliament with its full legislative powers begins a session next week which will see not one but two bills on land reform introduced and, hopefully, passed into law." Wightman, A. p6 'Land Reform: Politics, Power & the Public Interests' at *The Sixth John McEwan Memorial Lecture on Land tenure in Scotland* (Post Office Theatre: Edinburgh International Book Festival, 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1999)

Britain”<sup>60</sup> – the SNP, whilst recognising that “By definition a devolved Parliament is limited in what it can do”<sup>61</sup> intended to use this new phase in the evolution of Scottish politics as a stepping stone to independence.<sup>62</sup> Throughout the document, and in relation to a number of policy statements, the phrase ‘on to independence’ was employed. When listing the party’s priorities, the promise of “a referendum within the first four year term of the Parliament” came last.<sup>63</sup> Salmond, when criticized about this, was dismissive; justifying his party’s position by saying that, whilst “everyone knew that independence was the SNP’s top priority” he believed “it couldn’t be achieved by the Scottish Parliament so was not a top issue for this election.”<sup>64</sup> The SNP appeared to have been committed to a policy that their leader did not yet think achievable. The intransigence of Labour’s position stood in stark contrast to the SNP; devolution for Labour having been a one-off event,<sup>65</sup> whilst for the SNP it represented part of an unfolding process.<sup>66</sup> But it was Waltzer who warned that, within some unions “Sometimes political and historical communities don’t coincide.”<sup>67</sup> When it

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<sup>60</sup> Labour Party Manifesto p1 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>61</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p13 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>62</sup> The phrase ‘stepping stone to independence’ is one of a number of emotive metaphors to have emerged as a means of anticipating just what the end result of Scottish devolution may be. Curtice, for example, combines two other such metaphors into one sentence when arguing that “devolution has to date neither proven to be a slippery slope to independence nor put the nationalist genie back in the bottle.” Curtice, J p102 ‘A stronger or weaker Union? Public Reactions to Asymmetric Devolution in the United Kingdom’ in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* Vol. 36, No. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

<sup>63</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p4 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>64</sup> Macdonell, H. p5 *Uncharted Territory: The story of Scottish devolution 1999-2009* (London: Methuen Publishing, 2009)

<sup>65</sup> Donald Dewar, when the Secretary of State for Scotland, and in anticipation of the coming of the devolution settlement, was much less sanguine; he having admitted that having spent years “speculating on the possible implications of constitutional change”, and that “it’s a little bit daunting, although extremely exciting, to discover that we are now facing the real thing.” Dewar, D. p4 ‘Understanding Constitutional Change: The Scottish Parliament’ in *Scottish Affairs* Vol. 25, Issue 2 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998)

<sup>66</sup> Hearn points out that “The recent establishment of a modern democratic parliament in Edinburgh, officially opened on 1 July 1999, was the outcome of three decades of building pressure for this constitutional change.” Hearn, J. p745 ‘Narrative, Agency, and Mood: on the Social Construction of National History in Scotland’ in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 44 (4) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002)

<sup>67</sup> Waltzer, M. p29 *Spheres of Justice: A Defence of Pluralism and Equality* (Oxford: Martin Robertson & Company Ltd., 1983)

became apparent that certain sensibilities were no longer shared across communities, political adjustment (what he called 'distributive decisions') had to be implemented to satisfy "the requirements of those units." He further stated that when such political adjustment resulted in the establishment of "bonds of commonality" the people would "under whatever constraints, shape their own destiny." Scottish Labour had perhaps begun to wrongly consider the nations within the UK to be primarily static political entities, when in fact soon thereafter, Scotland could have been better likened to an evolving historical community; one with growing recognition of its separate identity.<sup>68</sup> The 1999 SNP manifesto therefore, offered both a description of what it pledged to do were it to gain devolved power, and what more could be achieved were Scots prepared to make the leap and shape their own destiny. It offered a version of Waltzer's political adjustment that Labour was not prepared to countenance.

Whilst Labour used the term 'community' liberally and in different, sometimes vague, contexts; with this and the previous manifesto the SNP was often more specific. It promised, for example, to pilot rural land councils "Where there is proven community intent."<sup>69</sup> More generally it argued that "Traditionally Scots have believed in the values of compassion, community and the common weel."<sup>70</sup> It cited schools as often being "the focus of their community especially in the case of rural primary schools"<sup>71</sup> and spoke in praise of local

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<sup>68</sup> McCrone, for example, makes the point that "during my lifetime I have witnessed the development of a growing awareness of Scotland's separate identity and the confidence that goes with it." McCrone, G. p1 *Scottish Independence: Weighing Up the Economics* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2013)

<sup>69</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p7 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 1999)

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid* p19 This conforms to the view of communitarianism, as expressed by Jarvie, when he states that "Communitarians have tended to view community not simply as an object of analysis but as the true source of values." Jarvie, G. p140 'Communitarianism, Sport and Social Capital' in *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* Vol. 38, No. 2, 2003 (London: Sage Publications, 2003)

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid* p22 This idealistic concept of schools as the focus of community betterment is one endorsed by Lauglo, who describes "the internationally influential progressive education ideas which; influenced by pragmatist philosophy, favour a curriculum that should relate directly to the pupils' concerns and needs outside of schools, and which also see schools as a potential force for social reconstruction." Lauglo, J. p233 'Rural Primary School Teachers as Potential

voluntarism within the Scottish social economy as being something capable of “further enriching our communities.”<sup>72</sup> But despite these references to community, just as much emphasis was placed on constitutional change and a need to rebuild Scotland; in order to, as Salmond put it, “make Scotland a nation once again.”<sup>73</sup> Were this to happen, Scots were promised “a Parliament that can focus on our needs and our potential.” Appeals such as this: to the needs of individuals, communities and businesses, informed much of the content, and many of the pledges, within the manifesto. The impression gained was of a party convinced that through strong leadership and recognition of independent nationhood, the benefits to its citizens, communities and entrepreneurs would greatly improve.<sup>74</sup> Whereas Labour, through devolution, believed it could tilt Scotland’s future in such a way as to undermine the potential for independence, the SNP acted in a way redolent of what Etzioni believed “a good communitarian society requires.” Such a society, he argued, needed “those who are socially aware and active, people of insight and conscience, to throw

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Community Leaders? Contrasting Historical Cases in Western Countries’ in *Comparative Education* Vol. 18, No. 3, 1983 (Abingdon: Taylor Francis, 1983)

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid* p20 Fyfe observed that “it perhaps says something about the political significance of the third sector in Scotland that in September 1999 one of the first major debates in the newly established Scottish Parliament focused on voluntary organizations and volunteering.” Woolin, M. Mills, S. Hardill, I. & Rutherford, A. p47 ‘Divergent geographies of policy and practice? Volunteerism and devolution in England, Scotland and Wales’ in *Geographic Journal* Vol. 181, No. 1, 2015 (London: Royal Geographical Society, 2015)

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid* p1 Cohen reminds us that “nationhood has been an articulate concern in Scotland since at least the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320. It can be discerned throughout the history of Scottish letters, and was central to the Scottish Enlightenment. The Question of Scottish sovereignty has rarely been absent from the political agenda, although the degree to which it has commanded attention and support has varied considerably over time.” Cohen, A. P. p146-147 ‘Peripheral vision: nationalism, national identity and the objective correlative in Scotland’ in *Signifying Identities: Anthropological perspectives on boundaries and contested values* Cohen, A. P. (ed.) (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>74</sup> Alex Salmond put it thus, when he said he was campaigning “for independence not just as an end in itself, but as a means by which the Scottish economy can grow more strongly and substantially; and by which Scotland can take its rightful place as a responsible member of the world community; by which the Scottish people can best fulfil their potential and realize their aspirations.” Salmond, A. Quoted in King, C. p114 ‘The Scottish Play: Edinburgh’s Quest for Independence and the Future of Separatism’ in *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 91, No. 5, September/October 2012 (Buffalo: William S. Hein & Co., 2012)

themselves to the side opposite that *toward* which history is tilting.”<sup>75</sup> The SNP’s task was to convince Scots of an alternative direction of travel to the historical future envisioned by Labour.

The results of this election left the SNP in a new, if somewhat awkward, position. It gained thirty-five to Labour’s fifty-six seats. Of the seats won, as Lynch points out, “only seven were won on the first past the post section of the ballot: of which six were already held by the SNP at Westminster.”<sup>76</sup> It lost nevertheless, to a party unable to form a majority administration, and in addition, became for the first time, the official opposition within an, albeit devolved, parliament.<sup>77</sup> This did however, provide increased impetus for the SNP in its ambition to encourage more Scots to recognise themselves as capable of achieving independence and, in so doing, make their own way in the world.

## Conclusion

Political discourse analysis proved beneficial in gaining an understanding of how the SNP used language intended to highlight social and cultural perspectives and identities pertinent to its stance on national recognition. It helped in locating the form of civic nationalism - one in support of Scotland’s multi-layered identity – adopted by the party. The SNP encouraged Scots to recognise their nation as capable of establishing its own place in the international community; the existing constitutional position having left it powerless to demonstrate its international credentials. It offered escape from, what was for it, the erroneous homogeny of Britishness; and in so doing reflected Taylor’s argument relating to

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<sup>75</sup> Etzioni, A. pxix-xx *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)

<sup>76</sup> Lynch, P. p232 *SNP: The History of the Scottish National Party* (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2002)

<sup>77</sup> Bradbury and Mitchell point out that, had the old Westminster electoral system been used in this Holyrood election “Labour would have had an overall majority of 20 in the Scottish Parliament and the Liberal Democrats would have been the main opposition.” Bradbury, J. & Mitchell, J. p258 ‘Devolution: New Politics for Old?’ in *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol. 54, Issue 2, April 2001 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

the 'politics of recognition.' Whilst the party showed a propensity to engage in an often-sentimental discourse on Scotland's history, this was not something that Kymlicka would have disapproved, given his conviction that the validation of a nation's traditions and history actually demonstrated recognition of an important aspect of communitarian thinking. Analysis further showed the party to have an ambition to transform the status of Scots from submissive subjects to active citizens. This study therefore supports the contention that the SNP's objective of encouraging Scots to seek a form of recognition, not currently afforded to them, formed an important aspect of its communitarian turn.

## **8.2 Case Study: A Socio-Economic Narrative**

The 2003 manifesto expressed the party's commitment to creating "a prosperous and just nation."<sup>78</sup> It believed this would happen if there was greater understanding (at home and further afield) of Scotland's key selling points; these being: environment, natural resources, location, skills and education. But for this to happen Scotland would have to identify itself primarily as a marketing brand.<sup>79</sup> Henderson anticipated this, four years earlier, when she suggested that Scotland may see a shift in emphasis to one primarily concerned with a "greater identity-centred debate now that the Holyrood Parliament has been created."<sup>80</sup> Whether this would happen, she said at the time, "remains to be seen." It was clear nevertheless, that the SNP had ambition beyond Taylor's 'equality of recognition.' This party wanted to take the concept of recognition further. It was not sufficient simply for

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<sup>78</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p3 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)

<sup>79</sup> One version of how this may be achieved (and an idea with a hint of communitarian rhetoric) was proposed by Yeoman, Brass and McMahon-Beattie. They argued that in order to 'grow' Scottish tourism "Authenticity has been identified as a future key consumer-driver and as a trend that matches Scotland's brand equity proposition of "human, enduring and dramatic". Yeoman, I. Brass, D. & McMahon-Beattie p1128 'Current issues in tourism: The authentic tourist' in *Tourism Management* No. 28, 2007 (Edinburgh: Elsevier Ltd., 2007)

<sup>80</sup> Henderson, A. p16 'Political Constructions of National Identity in Scotland and Quebec' in *Scottish Affairs*, no.12, autumn 1999



Scotland to achieve cultural recognition; competitive commercial recognition was imperative too.<sup>81</sup>

A political executive able to make well-judged use of those assets listed above, and a nation prepared to demonstrate greater levels of self-reliance would, according to the manifesto, be capable of “delivering social justice.”<sup>82</sup> The party’s position rested on the premise that a self-reliant, well-paid and highly skilled workforce would create a prosperous economy which, in turn, would result in the establishment of a just society. Taylor considered such a position, for which he coined the term ‘affirmation of ordinary life’ as having come “from a moral tradition of some depth.”<sup>83</sup> It centred on the conviction that one’s calling, one’s way of finding the good life, lay in the humble tasks associated with working for the purpose of providing for one’s family.<sup>84</sup> The good life was not found in the higher realms of contemplation or religious asceticism.<sup>85</sup> This initially Puritanical conception of an individual’s roll, Taylor believed, later emerged as an Enlightenment secular appreciation of the same. He saw it as a rejection of “the false prestige of the “higher” goods.”<sup>86</sup> Similarly, the SNP rather than making lofty claims that independence could in itself provide a level of prosperity hitherto unknown, instead appealed to an almost Weberian

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<sup>81</sup> Law and Mooney label this ‘competitive nationalism’, wherein the Scottish state attempts to “attract mobile global investment and secure the accumulation of indigenous capital.” Law, A. & Mooney, G. p10 ‘Competitive Nationalism: State, Class and the Forms of Capital in Devolved Scotland’ in *Environment and Planning: Government and Policy: Devolution Ten Years On: Excavating the Political Economic Geographies of the United Kingdom* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2012)

<sup>82</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p3 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)

<sup>83</sup> Taylor, C. p144 *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995)

<sup>84</sup> Etzioni is of similar mind, saying that “When we bond with family, friends or community members we live up to the basic principle of the good society.” Etzioni, A. p12 *The Third Way to a Good Society* (London: Demos, 2000)

<sup>85</sup> Instead Taylor’s good or ‘ordinary’ life, according to Smith, centred on “the pursuit of happiness through work and family life as a perfectly legitimate human aspiration.” Smith, N. p205 *Charles Taylor: Meaning, Morals and Modernity* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2002)

<sup>86</sup> Taylor, C. p144 *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995) The “false prestige of higher goods” is undermined by Taylor’s support for what he labels ‘life goods.’ These include: “benevolence, respect of individual rights, universal justice, the minimization of suffering, ordinary life, and the dignity of adult rational subjectivity.” Smith, N. p214 *Charles Taylor: Meaning, Morals and Modernity* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2002)

work ethic - one it must have assumed persisted within Scotland. The difference between this and previous conceptions of a nation prospering through a regime of work and self-reliance was that now it had to accept collective responsibility in cultivating the image of a top international brand. The emphasis was now on the duty of, and expected gains for, the individual in relation to society as a whole.<sup>87</sup>

This manifesto, like Labour's at this time, mentioned the harm to Scottish society resulting from drug misuse and related crimes. But whereas Labour proposed that drug dealers should be made to correct their criminal behaviour and "repair the community they have harmed,"<sup>88</sup> the SNP stated that emphasis would be placed on harm reduction, education and rehabilitation. It maintained that for these to be successful "Community based work is essential."<sup>89</sup> Priority was therefore to be given to vulnerable individuals in need of support from their communities; the state's role being two-fold. In addition to stabilising the funding allocated to community organisations providing such support, it would also apprehend those who distributed drugs. This conception of the relationship that should exist between communities and central government was one endorsed by Locke who, according to Lloyd Thomas, believed that "there is, in the end, nothing to hold the community together but its common resolve to establish civil society."<sup>90</sup> He further believed that a community was not necessarily dependent on "the continued existence of an

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<sup>87</sup> In relation to Scottish Nationalism and the 'concept of civil society', Hearn argues that "the entire project of trying to understand collective social action and its attendant identities can be construed as fundamentally Weberian." Hearn, J. p24 'Identity, class and civil society in Scotland's neo-nationalism' in *Nations and Nationalism* Vol. 8, Issue 1, 2002 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Willey Blackwell, 2002)

<sup>88</sup> *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* p33 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003) Here Scottish Labour argue that "Far too many youngsters, and more than a few adults, put their selfish and ignorant behaviour before respect for others. There is a difference between right and wrong. There is a difference between civilised behaviour and unruly, yobbish contempt and all Scots must recognise that." Sentiments such as these echo those of the communitarian writers examined; for example, in relation to their conception of a 'modern moral malaise.'

<sup>89</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p8 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003) Such 'community-based work' would, according to this manifesto, "reduce the damage that drugs and drug related crime does to Scottish society."

<sup>90</sup> Lloyd Thomas, D. A. p26 *Locke on Government* (London: Routledge, 1995)

established constitutional government.” Only when there was no government would the resultant instability lead to the dissolution of communities. Government was required therefore, to act as a stabilising influence upon a nation, and its communities. It was for communities to determine the type of society they wished, and how those who deviated from its norms should be helped.<sup>91</sup> The SNP signalled a recognition of the potential for a community-based approach to dealing with an increasingly deep-rooted problem when it spoke of setting the conditions (through the use of multiple agencies) such that young people were less likely to drift towards alcohol, drugs and crime, but instead “improve their aspirations” and be encouraged to “establish connections with their communities”<sup>92</sup>

This meant it not only recognised that some Scottish communities were in the grip of a moral malaise, but also that what Taylor called the “chain of being”<sup>93</sup> must be re-connected. Social deviants identified in the SNP manifesto conformed to Taylor’s description of individuals with no connection to their community’s traditions and social hierarchy. They had broken loose from what he called the “older moral horizons”<sup>94</sup> and were no longer able to take meaning from their world, other than that which was of mere “instrumental significance.”<sup>95</sup> The SNP appeared therefore, to reject the excessive individualism so

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<sup>91</sup> For communitarians, according to Etzioni, it is a “question of balance between individual rights and social responsibilities, between autonomy and the common good.” For him “the theory of a good society will need to deal simultaneously with both dangers; with a society whose communal foundations are crumbling and with one in which they have risen to the point that they block out individual freedoms.” Etzioni, A. pxi *The Essential Communitarian Reader* (Lanham, Maryland: Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998)

<sup>92</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p9 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003) In this regard, Bruhn argues that “We are embedded in networks of unique relationships which give meaning to our lives, provide social support, and create opportunities.” Bruhn, J. G. p1 *The Sociology of Community Connections* Second Edition (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011)

<sup>93</sup> Taylor, C. p3 *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991)

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid* p3 According to Taylor, “People were often locked into a given place, a role and station that was properly theirs and from which it was almost unthinkable to deviate. Modern freedom came about through the discrediting of such orders.” The net result for Taylor and MacIntyre, was the aforementioned ‘modern moral malaise.’

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid* p3 Taylor’s model, according to Lehman, “moves away from the modern forms of procedural liberalism which rely on instrumental reasoning to devise politically neutral principles.” Lehman, G. p221 ‘Discovering new worlds: a role for social and environmental accounting

abhorred by communitarian writers, and instead promoted the transformative effect that communities (with the support of the state) could have on wayward individual's lives. Writing in support of this position, Carmichael described communities acting collectively in order to better deal with issues; the consequence of this being "indigenous communities choosing to live within a common structure."<sup>96</sup> This, she maintained, allowed such communities to be "strengthened by a central government which can focus on and legislate for issues which may be too difficult, controversial or sensitive for the small community." One such issue, and a blight on many Scottish communities: that of alcohol abuse, was subsequently tackled by the SNP when it took the reins of devolved government.<sup>97</sup>

Whilst continuing to use the term 'communities' sparingly in manifestoes, especially when compared to Labour, the SNP now applied it in different contexts. The continued pledge to ensure that "our rural communities flourish"<sup>98</sup> was now matched by a promise to secure the status of the Gaelic<sup>99</sup> and Scots languages, and also to encourage "community languages"<sup>100</sup> – none of which were specifically identified. This was a curious term to attach to languages (presumably such as Urdu and Polish) which, despite being of minority status

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and auditing' in *Accounting, Organizations and Society* Vol. 24, Issue 3, April 1999 (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1999)

<sup>96</sup> Carmichael, K. p17 'Introductory Essay: Society' in Roy, K. (Ed.) *States of Scotland* (Glasgow: Institute of Contemporary Scotland, 2003)

<sup>97</sup> McCambridge, Hawkins and Holden report that in 2008 the SNP (having taken control of the Scottish Executive/Government) sought formal submissions to its consultation on "Changing Scotland's relationship with alcohol." This being "the first government publication within the UK to adopt a whole population approach to alcohol policy, including measures to introduce minimum unit pricing (MUP)." McCambridge, J. Hawkins, B. & Holden, C. 'Industry Use of Evidence to Influence Alcohol Policy: A Case Study of Submissions to the 2008 Scottish Governmental Consultation' in *PLOS Medicine Journal* April 23, 2013 (San Francisco: PLOS Medicine, 2013)

<sup>98</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p14 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)

<sup>99</sup> Two years previously McLeod argued that "Although Gaelic has benefitted from an unprecedented programme of promotion and development in recent years, Gaelic issues stand at the margins in Scottish political life." McLeod, W. p1 'Gaelic in the New Scotland: Politics, Rhetoric and Public Discourse' in *Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* Summer 2001 (Schiffbrücke: ECMI Publications, 2001)

<sup>100</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p18 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)

in Scotland, had in international terms much wider usage than either Gaelic or Scots.<sup>101</sup> In pledging to secure the status of indigenous Scottish languages, and encourage the continued use of more recent ones; the party acted in line with Taylor's insistence that an ostensibly fair society can, by ignoring and thus undermining a minority group's linguistic identity, find itself acting in a discriminatory way.<sup>102</sup> The term community was further used to encourage Scots to think differently about their future relationship with other countries. It was the SNP's contention that with independence Scots could take their "full and rightful place in the international community" and thus fully contribute to "the international community of nations."<sup>103</sup> Such statements would hold historic resonance for any student of Scottish medieval history. They hark back to that period immediately after the Battle of Stirling Bridge and the letters sent from Scotland by Andrew Murray and William Wallace, "by consent of the community of that realm"<sup>104</sup> to the communes of various Hanseatic cities.<sup>105</sup> Having managed (albeit temporarily) to win independence from its southern

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<sup>101</sup> Within ten years of this promise having been made, Moskal reported that "migrant children and youth from Poland comprise the fastest-growing segment of the Scottish school-age population." Moskal, M. p142 'Language and Cultural Capital in School Experience of Polish Children in Scotland' in *Race, ethnicity and education* Vol. 19, Issue 1 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014) Moskal sourced this data from: *Scottish Government Pupil Census, Supplementary Data* (2012). Online document on [www.scotland.gov.uk](http://www.scotland.gov.uk)

<sup>102</sup> On this issue Taylor is more than a dispassionate academic bystander. He has, for example, served as a member of "the Conseil de la Langue Française, the body responsible for advising the Quebec government on its controversial language laws." Smith, N. p16 *Charles Taylor: Meaning, Morals and Modernity* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2002)

<sup>103</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p24 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003) An important aspect of this strategy for international recognition emerged, according to Jolly, in 1987, and "was in full swing" by the regional election of 1990. Quoting from the SNP's 1990 manifesto, he describes how this manifesto made clear "that the EU is at the heart of the SNP independence strategy: Scotland's future lies as an independent member of the European Community...we can and must achieve the premier league status of an independent and equal partner in the European family of nations." Jolly, S. K. p123 'The Europhile Fringe? Regionalist Party Support for European Integration' in *European Union Politics* Vol. 8, Issue 1 (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2007) Quoting from: *Scotland's Future- Independence in Europe Manifesto for the Regional Elections* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Party, 1990)

<sup>104</sup> Fisher, A. p119 *William Wallace* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2003)

<sup>105</sup> The Hanseatic League was one of many unions comprising independent trading town created in the 13<sup>th</sup> century which "in the absence of a single jurisdiction, each state was liable to free-ride or to default on its obligations." Marks, G. p9-10 'Europe and Its Empires: From Rome to the European Union, JCMS Annual Lecture 2011' in *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 50, No. 1 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2011)

neighbour, the letters were "letting Scotland's trading partners know that it was a case of 'business as usual'."<sup>106</sup> In invoking such sentiment the SNP may have been attempting to encourage Scots to believe that once again they could take their place within the 'community of nations.' But much has changed in the intervening centuries. Brown depicted modern nations as being "communities of fate, thrown together," explaining that "given the arbitrariness of borders all communities were once accidents."<sup>107</sup> He argued that such was the effect of globalization that the embryonic global civil society increasingly diminished the importance of national borders and rendered any "purely parochial account of community less than persuasive." By arguing that Scotland should take its place within the community of nations, as opposed to adopting a more insular and nationalistic approach, the party was signalling recognition of the evolving nature of modern nationhood. It was adopting Taylor's position; this being that any nation aspiring to be properly recognised, will more likely achieve its goal if it manages to find the correct balance between universalism and difference.<sup>108</sup>

The 2003 results were not good for the SNP. Despite Swinney having, as Torrance put it: "presented his manifesto with flair and endured a reasonable campaign"<sup>109</sup> - the Scottish electorate was not convinced. His attempt "both to recruit from the disillusioned left and to offer a pro-business tax-reducing agenda"<sup>110</sup> had not worked as well as expected. The party reduced its share of the constituency vote by almost 5% to 23.8% and took only 20.9% in the regional ballot. It lost ten list MSPs.<sup>111</sup> But despite being able to form a second coalition with the Liberal Democrats, Scottish Labour "had recorded the lowest Labour vote in a

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<sup>106</sup> Mackay, J. p158 *William Wallace: Brave Heart* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 1996)

<sup>107</sup> Brown, C. p225 *Sovereignty, Rights and Justice: International Political Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005)

<sup>108</sup> Taylor, C. p38 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>109</sup> Torrance, D. p219 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>110</sup> Bort, E. & Harvie, C. p4 'After the Albatross: A New Start for the Scottish Parliament?' in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 50, winter 2005

<sup>111</sup> Torrance, D. p219 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

national election since 1931.”<sup>112</sup> The claim made by Labour’s Douglas Alexander, only seven weeks later, that electoral results over the last six years had “smashed Labour’s main enemies and secured it sustained incumbency both at Westminster and Holyrood”<sup>113</sup> was therefore somewhat hollow. It no longer seemed capable of engendering what Sandel had labelled “a ‘constitutive conception’ of community.”<sup>114</sup> This came about when people acted collectively and “their powers of choice were increasingly, and often unconsciously, configured by institutions in which they (often ‘proudly’) dwelt.”<sup>115</sup> Labour, an institution once adept at harnessing a constitutive conception of community, particularly within the Scottish urban working-class, now looked to have lost its touch.<sup>116</sup> Even at this low point in the fortunes of the SNP lay an opportunity to capitalise on Labour’s ill-fortune. But this opportunity would not be spearheaded by Swinney. This “respected but somehow unmemorable”<sup>117</sup> politician resigned the leadership in 2004, citing his failure “to sell the party’s message.”<sup>118</sup>

By 2007, the party had hardened its approach to miscreants. It now intended to introduce “a new emphasis on tough community punishments,”<sup>119</sup> in order to halt the “rotating door of short-term custodial sentencing.” But whilst this stood in sharp contrast to the ethos of education and rehabilitation espoused previously, the party now confusingly

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<sup>112</sup> McAllion, J. p27 ‘Estates of Scotland: Politics and Parliament’ in Roy, K. (Ed.) *States of Scotland* (Glasgow: Institute of Contemporary Scotland, 2003)

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid* p28

<sup>114</sup> Nairn, T. p228 *After Britain: New Labour and the Return of Scotland* (London: Granta Books, 2000) Quoting from Sandel, M. in *In Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid* p229

<sup>116</sup> This may not however have been as much of a problem as once it might; Law and Mooney having stated that “the concept of class no longer occupies centre stage in devolutionary Scotland. Academic policy and journalistic discourses about Scottish society have been largely de-classed.” Law, A. & Mooney, G. p2 ‘Devolution and Social Policy “We’ve Never Had It So Good”: The Problem of the Working Class in the Devolved Scotland’ in *Critical Social Policy* Vol. 26, Issue 3, 2006 (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Journals, 2006)

<sup>117</sup> Bort, E. & Harvie, C. p4 ‘After the Albatross: A New Start for the Scottish Parliament?’ in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 50, winter 2005

<sup>118</sup> Black, A. ‘In profile: John Swinney’ *BBC News Scotland* 13 October 2010

<sup>119</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p12 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007) This was in order to provide “a stronger focus on safer communities.”

pledged “increasing support for schemes that offer a route out of crime.” These contradictory messages could have left both criminals and their law-abiding victims confused as to the party’s actual position.<sup>120</sup> MacIntyre, when considering the increasingly secular modern age, describes a duality of moral frameworks prevalent within communities. First there remain those conducting their lives “within a tolerably well-established moral framework with a tolerably well-established moral vocabulary.”<sup>121</sup> These represent, for him, collectively held sets of virtues which, whilst not necessarily having been rationally determined by the individuals concerned, were accepted as being right on account of a generally held view that they constituted what ought to be done. Secondly there were those who were not part of any “single homogenous moral community.”<sup>122</sup> These individuals were instead “solicited from different standpoints” and having to make choices whilst being morally adrift in comparison to the first group. But given MacIntyre’s argument that there are no “objective impersonal standards” - only the understandings of others as to what should be considered virtuous, it was difficult to criticize.<sup>123</sup> There was, he believed, an element of paradox in much moral debate. This can be discerned in the confusing signals emitted by the SNP in this manifesto. Were those who made wrong choices and acted as

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<sup>120</sup> Within two years of the SNP having been returned to power, the Scottish Government recognised, according to Law, Mooney and Helms, that “In terms of recorded data, the geography of crime and victimisation mirrors the geography of multiple deprivation. Neighbourhoods suffering from economic disadvantage also suffer from disproportionate levels of crime.” Law, A. Mooney, G & Helm, G. p5 ‘Urban ‘Disorders’, ‘Problem Places’ and Criminal Justice in Scotland’ in *Criminal Justice in Scotland* Croall, H. Mooney, G. & Munro, M. (eds.) (Abingdon: William Publishing, 2012) Citing: Scottish Indicators of Multiple Deprivation, General Report (Edinburgh: The Scottish Government, 2009)

<sup>121</sup> MacIntyre, A. p50 *Secularization and Moral Change* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967)

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid* p51 They belonged to what Croall described as “socially excluded communities.” Croall, H. p161 ‘Criminal justice in the devolved Scotland’ in *Exploring Social Policy in the ‘New’ Scotland* Mooney, G. & Scott, G. (eds.) (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005)

<sup>123</sup> Mooney, Croall, Munro and Scott argue that “Scotland is by no means homogenous, and there was a perception of a very different mindset between the constituent parts of the country: most usually the East coast (Edinburgh and its environs) is contrasted with the West (Glasgow and its hinterland) and both with the Highlands and Islands. It was known for example in the civil service that ‘wherever your Minister comes from your policy will shift to there.’” Mooney, G. Croall, H. Munro, M. & Scott, G. p212 ‘Scottish Criminal Justice: Devolution and Distinctiveness’ in *Criminology & Criminal Justice* Vol. 15, Issue 2 (Thousand Oaks, California, 2014)



they ought not, to be severely punished as well as educated and rehabilitated? The former indicated a desire for retribution, the latter a preference to reinstate. If therefore, values do 'form the litmus test of identity in Scotland' then the SNP, on the issue of crime and punishment, demonstrated a lack of clarity in its understanding of the approach Scots would have preferred; which one corresponded to their moral values, and as such helped to define their collective identity.<sup>124</sup> But this is perhaps an unfair conclusion to draw. The SNP were of similar mind to MacIntyre in recognising a level of moral ambiguity amongst some; an ambiguity which inhibited an individual from becoming what "he-could-be-if-he-realized-his essential-nature."<sup>125</sup> The SNP simply took a pragmatic approach to dealing with the problem. Four years later, and having had the opportunity to put this approach into action, it confidently described what it considered to have been "effective community punishments" and contended that petty criminals, having been punished within their own communities, were now "far less likely to re-offend."<sup>126</sup>

The 2007 manifesto also pledged to wrest some control from the state and redistribute it to individuals, families and communities. Wherever possible it would "seek ways to devolve power from local authorities to community level."<sup>127</sup> Central to this policy was the devolution of greater levels of responsibility to community councils. Interestingly, it

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<sup>124</sup> McCulloch and McNeill did however observe that, on taking the reins of devolved power, the SNP Government produced a number of key documents such as *Protecting Scotland's Communities: Fair, Fast and Flexible Justice* (Scottish Government, 2008); the general theme of which was that "collectively they attest to the emergence of an increasing emphasis on repatriation – offenders paying back for their crimes." McCulloch, T. & McNeill, F. p187 'Adult Criminal Justice' in *Social Work and the Law in Scotland* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition Davis, R. & Gordon, J. (eds.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

<sup>125</sup> MacIntyre, A. p52 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>126</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p18 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2011) This is reflective of a conception of the good that may accrue from a communitarian turn taking place; wherein society is "envisaged as a community of communities in which communal bonds can be re-established. Localism, in this view, becomes the spatial and institutional expression of such social imagination whereby localities are expected to frame the reconstruction of a sense of community in fragmented and atomized societies." Madanipour, A. & Davoudi, S. p14 'Localism, Institutions, Territories, Representations' in *Reconsidering Localism* Davoudi, S. & Madanipour, A. (eds.) (New York: Routledge, 2015)

<sup>127</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p44 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007)

cited Fort William as the type of community which, because of its approximate population of 10,000, was considered a community worthy of a grant of £30,000.<sup>128</sup> Given the often-ill-defined nature of the term community when used by this party, this offered an insight into its conception of the optimum size.<sup>129</sup> Macmurray thought this important, explaining that because social groups functioned permanently and with unity only when there existed "some inherent structure in it which makes a real whole, so that it behaves as a single entity and not as a mere number of individuals who happen, accidentally, to be together."<sup>130</sup> For this to work, he believed "it must consist of so many members and no more." This suggests therefore that, at least from Macmurray's perspective, the term community has often been used so imprecisely as to render those uses meaningless.

Concerning education, the party's vision of a modern curriculum spoke of the need to embed Scottish history, culture and heritage in order to "provide a Scottish world view."<sup>131</sup> This reflected Taylor's dictum that it was essential for a nation to "recognise and even foster particularity."<sup>132</sup> When writing about teaching social subjects, he argued that the theories

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<sup>128</sup> *Ibid* p45 Community Councils are described by The Highland Council (within who's jurisdiction Fort William is placed) as being "voluntary organisations that express the views and concerns of local people within their area across a wide range of issues" The Highland Council *Community councils – boundary maps* <https://www.highland.gov.uk>

<sup>129</sup> Etzion describes such institutions as "the webs that bind individuals, who would otherwise be on their own, into groups of people who care for one another and who help maintain a civic, social, and moral order." Etzioni, A. p248 *The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1993)

<sup>130</sup> Macmurray, J. p97 'The Conception of Society' in *John Macmurray: Selected Philosophical Writings* McIntosh, E. (Ed.) (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004) He goes on to say that "Any composite whole, consisting of existent individuals is a whole in virtue of some objective principle of unification inherent in it which unite these individuals, and the group-identity is then individual's so united."

<sup>131</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p52 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007) This is to suppose that within Scotland a single 'view', as expressed via history, culture and heritage could be identified. Edensor thinks not. He argues against any contention that "the nation 'represents' the socio-historical context within which culture is produced, transmitted and received." Edensor, T. p2 *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2002)

<sup>132</sup> Taylor, C. p43 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) Taylor does nevertheless argue that the "notion of equal respect" and the conflict that may ensue as a result of the two competing modes of it being achieved, means that an ideological dichotomy is likely to emerge. This is because the act of treating "people in a difference blind fashion", results in a negation of their "identity by forcing people into a homogenous mould that is untrue to them"

taught “serve more than descriptive and explanatory purposes”<sup>133</sup> - they also “serve to *define* ourselves; and that such self-definition *shapes* practice.”<sup>134</sup> For this reason, he emphasised the need to “look at what we *do* when we theorize.”<sup>135</sup> Those who taught were not just instruments of explanation; they were capable of shaping and disrupting practice too. It could therefore be argued that any curricular intervention intended to help young Scots define themselves in relation to some prescribed ‘world view’ would have to be carefully watched.<sup>136</sup> A state attempting to influence its citizens into holding some officially stipulated perspective could, in the process, create an artificial understanding in their minds as to theirs, and their society’s, relationship with the rest of the world. In the case of the SNP, there appeared to be a quite blatant attempt to engender a belief in Scottish nationhood, particularly in the young, as a precursor to the ultimate goal of independence.<sup>137</sup> So, whilst Taylor argued that a nation has to be able to “recognise and even foster particularity” - he did not argue that it was the state’s function to determine that particularity. But there was more to it than simply using history, culture and heritage as vehicles to instil a Scottish national and world view. These were also regarded by the party

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<sup>133</sup> Taylor, C. p116 *Philosophy and the Human Sciences: Philosophy Papers 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid* p166

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid* p166

<sup>136</sup> This in order that those being educated were not, as Freire puts it “maneuvered by intoxicating propaganda.” Freire, P. p11 *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1969)

<sup>137</sup> Hopkins and Reicher argue that “to define oneself in terms of a national category inevitably implies a matrix of social relations structured in terms of international relations and the pursuit of “the national interest.” It could therefore be argued that in advocating the use of the education system in order to propagate the notion of a ‘Scottish world view’, the SNP wished to be in control of any such ‘national definition.’ It could therefore, be argued that in advocating the use of the education system in order to propagate the notion of a ‘Scottish world view’, the SNP wished to be in control of any such ‘national definition.’ Hopkins, N. & Reicher, S. p72 ‘The construction of Social Categories and Processes of Social Change: Arguing about National Identities’ in *Changing European Identities: Social Psychological Analysis of Social Change* Breakwell, G. M. & Lyons, E. (eds.) (Oxford: Butterworth – Heinemann, 1996)

as marketable properties, suitable for exploitation in order to “target the global market, particularly the Scottish diaspora.”<sup>138</sup>

Despite the party offering what Fairclough described as an “eclectic raft of initiatives”<sup>139</sup> the results of the 2007 election<sup>140</sup> enabled it “to form a minority administration, having secured one seat more than Labour.”<sup>141</sup> By the end of the year it had “approval ratings in excess of 60%.”<sup>142</sup> The SNP was judged to have evolved from its 1970s incarnation as a party of “ideological contestation” to one described by Lynch as “consensual, ideology-lite and electorally successful.”<sup>143</sup> It had come to realise that whilst ideological contestation may be an interesting, even exciting, condition; to the electorate it simply meant the party was not sufficiently united to be capable of providing coherent and effective government.<sup>144</sup> The SNP therefore, decided to play it ideologically safe.

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<sup>138</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p56 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007) A prominent aspect of this global market targeting is, according to Basu “the phenomenon of ‘roots tourism’ in the Scottish Highlands and Islands.” This involves journeys being made by “people of Scottish descent ordinarily living in the United States of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other regions where Scots have historically settled.” Basu, P. p1-2 *Highland Homecomings: Genealogy and heritage tourism in the Scottish diaspora* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007)

<sup>139</sup> Fairclough, P. p30 ‘The SNP in government’ in *Politics Review* Volume 17, Number 4, April 2008

<sup>140</sup> The 2007 Scottish Parliamentary election produced the following result in terms of MSP numbers:

- Scottish National Party 47
- Scottish Labour Party 46
- Scottish Conservatives 17
- Scottish Liberal Democrats 16
- Scottish Green Party 2
- Margo MacDonald 1

From: *SPICe briefing: Scottish Parliament Electoral Results 2007* (Scottish Parliament Information Group, 8 May 2007)

<sup>141</sup> Fairclough, P. p30 ‘The SNP in government’ in *Politics Review* Volume 17, Number 4, April 2008

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid* p30

<sup>143</sup> Lynch, P. p635 ‘From Social Democracy back to No Ideology? – The Scottish National Party and Ideological Change in a Multi-level Electoral Setting’ in *Regional & Federal Studies* (London: Routledge, 2009)

<sup>144</sup> This result was seen nevertheless as representing “a watershed, or even a revolutionary change in the nature of Scottish politics”, one in which “the warnings of those who argued that devolution would put Scotland on a ‘slippery slope to independence were proving all to prescient.” Curtice, J. McCrone, D. McEwen, N. March, M. & Ormston, R. *Revolution or Evolution? The 2007 Scottish Elections* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

## Conclusion

An appreciation of the significance of collaboration as a vital element of political discourse analysis proved beneficial to the research for this case study.<sup>145</sup> The SNP's wish to establish a prosperous and just nation was the primary stimulus for its socio-economic narrative, and for the communitarian principles embodied in the ensuing policies. The party thought it insufficient for Scotland only to achieve cultural recognition; competitive commercial recognition was also required. Consequently, it pledged to accelerate Scotland's success in order that it gained "a top international brand and reputation."<sup>146</sup> Concern was voiced however, that a moral malaise pervaded some communities, and that deviant behaviour inhibited some from experiencing any meaningful relationship within these communities. They were not connected to their community's traditions and social hierarchy; they did not experience Taylor's 'chain of being.' The SNP spurned such damaging individualism, so abhorred by communitarians, and adopted policies intended to change such individual's morally ambiguous existences in order to reinstate them into society. Additionally, the party pledged to embed Scottish history and culture within the curriculum in such a way as to engender a Scottish world view, as reflected in Taylor's belief in the importance of a nation recognising and fostering its own particularity. A policy such as this would have been deemed useful as a way of engendering feelings of nationhood as a precursor to the ultimate goal of independence; especially amongst young Scots. Despite the 2007 manifesto having offered a rather eclectic set of policies, the election result enabled the party to form its first administration and thus shift from being a party in continual ideological debate, to one that was settled, consensual and ideologically safe; a position the Scottish electorate seemed more comfortable with.

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<sup>145</sup> Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. p17 'Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology' in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Wodak & Meyer (eds.) (California: Sage Publications, 2009)

<sup>146</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p3 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2003)

### 8.3 Case Study: A National Conversation

The composition of the first two devolved Scottish administrations, having been led by the same party that held power at Westminster, resulted in a relatively cosy relationship, wherein any cross-border tensions tended to be minimised.<sup>147</sup> But the more generous *per capita* spending on Scots during this period;<sup>148</sup> frequent criticism of the UK government by the newly formed SNP administration, and a heightened awareness of Scottish national identity, now served to highlight tensions on both sides of the border. This meant that *in extremis*, as Curtice pointed out, England may become “so discontented with the advantages accorded to Scotland...that it decided to sue for divorce.”<sup>149</sup> Post-devolution England was, as a result of events north of the border, having to come to terms with the “ambivalences and ambiguities characterizing English identities.”<sup>150</sup> This was not necessarily a problem of identity crisis for the English, rather it represented the onset of a period in which they (partly as a result of their observation of the evolving situation in Scotland) were spurred into a process of re-evaluation; one in which they began to reaffirm their own distinct identity.<sup>151</sup> Taylor argued that such a relationship between two societies, rather than

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<sup>147</sup> This was a relationship, described by Hazell, as one in which “There have been no major rows, no bitter constitutional or financial disputes, no public posturing of the kind that characterises federal state relations in many more mature systems.” Hazell, R. ‘Conclusion: The Devolution Scorecard as the Devolved Assemblies Head for the Polls’ in *The State of the Nations: The Third Year of Devolution in the United Kingdom* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2003)

<sup>148</sup> Midwinter points out that during the first four years of devolution “Forecasts of a spending squeeze and budgeting constraint have not materialized and Scotland’s share of the UK budget has remained stable.” Midwinter, A. p1 ‘Financial Devolution in Practice: The Barnett Formula and the Scottish Budget, 1999-2003’ in *Public Money & Management* Vol. 24, Issue 3, 2004 (Abingdon: Taylor Francis, 2004)

<sup>149</sup> Curtice, J. p1 ‘Is there an English backlash? Reactions to devolution’ in *British Social Attitudes: The 25<sup>th</sup> Report* (London: Sage, 2009)

<sup>150</sup> Bond, R. Jeffrey, C. & Rosie, M. p462 ‘The importance of being English: national identity and nationalism in post-devolution England’ in *Nations and Nationalism: Journal of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism* 16 (3) 2010

<sup>151</sup> Curtice and Heath, having undertaken research using the ‘Moreno method’, observed that in the period from 1997 to 1999 the percentage of English correspondents sampled who identified as ‘English, not British’ rose from 7% to 17%. Curtice, J. & Heath, A. p158 ‘Is the English lion about to roar? National identity after devolution’ in *British Social Attitudes: Focussing on*

resulting in ethnocentricity, could instead yield a better understanding both internally and externally. He maintained that "it will frequently be the case that we cannot understand another society until we have understood ourselves better as well."<sup>152</sup>

Henderson believed that the egalitarian nature of the Scots, coupled with what she perceived as a democratic intellect, had combined with recent political events to "foster a sense of identity marked by a coexistent low self-belief and political indignation."<sup>153</sup> The SNP was, in 2007, well placed to exploit these feelings of inferiority and annoyance. Whilst its previous manifestos may have been little more than the wish-lists of a party in perpetual opposition – this one, given the election result, represented something more akin to a statement of intent. The party had, according to Maxwell, "developed from a fringe political group to a major political force."<sup>154</sup> Despite having been similar to the 2003 manifesto, Salmond described it as "more than a manifesto – it is a programme for government, with a real opportunity to be implemented in government."<sup>155</sup> A parliament intended by its creators to bury the independence bandwagon once and for all had "given the Scottish National Party a political platform and status it could never have otherwise achieved."<sup>156</sup> Not only could the votes of the party faithful be relied upon, so too could those of "voters looking to punish Labour on left wing grounds,"<sup>157</sup> but unwilling to support the recently fractured far left. Even

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*Diversity – The 17<sup>th</sup> Report* Jowell, R. Curtice, J. Park, A. Thomson, K. Jarvis, L. Bromley, C. & Stratford, N. (eds.) (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2000)

<sup>152</sup> Taylor, C. p129 *Philosophy and the Human Sciences: Philosophy Papers 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

<sup>153</sup> Henderson, A. p12 'Political Constructions of National Identity in Scotland and Quebec' in *Scottish Affairs*, no.29, autumn 1999 here Henderson refers to Beveridge, C. & Turnbull, R. *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989)

<sup>154</sup> Maxwell, S. p58 'Tackling Scottish Poverty – Principles and Absences: A Critique of the Scottish Government's Approach to Combating Scotland's Problem of Poverty and Inequality' in *Scottish Affairs*, no. 69, Spring 2009

<sup>155</sup> Torrance, D. p241 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010) quoting The Edinburgh Evening News 12/4/2007

<sup>156</sup> Mackay, C. p79 in *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power* Hassan, G. (Ed.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)

<sup>157</sup> Davidson, N. p2 'Socialists and Scottish Independence' in *International Socialism* Issue 114, 9 April 2007

the Liberal Democrats were, for some, "excluded as an alternative (to Labour) because they are part of the coalition."<sup>158</sup>

For this election the title of the party's manifesto was simply "It's time."<sup>159</sup> In his introductory statement Salmond expressed frustration at the preceding eight years of "low ambition and low achievement,"<sup>160</sup> which Scotland had experienced under the stewardship of Labour and its coalition partners. By both discrediting what had gone before and offering the alternative of a party "working hard to earn the trust and support of the people of Scotland," he was attempting to present an image which, rather than appearing to be radical, looked instead to offer a safe pair of hands. Instead of pushing for independence it was now more relaxed and happier to "trust Scots to take the decision on Scotland's future in an independence referendum." The Union was, according to this manifesto, "no longer fit for purpose"<sup>161</sup> and Scotland would do well now to emulate the success of other similar nations such as Norway, rated by the UN as "the best place in the world to live," and Ireland "now the fourth most prosperous nation on the planet." Subsequent adverse economic developments in Ireland and elsewhere did however expose the SNP to ridicule by other parties, over its choice of examples of small independent nations that it argued Scotland could aspire to be like.<sup>162</sup> Nevertheless, the values that the party thought epitomised the character, the identity, of the Scottish population were those of health, prosperity, justice and peace; values best achieved in the context of community, family and independence.

Now in power, the SNP was able to open such a dialogue; this to enable Scots to better understand themselves, and what future they wished for their nation. By using the

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<sup>158</sup> *Ibid* p2

<sup>159</sup> *Scottish National Party Manifesto* p1 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007)

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid* p5 It was time, Salmond argued, "for fresh thinking and a new approach."

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid* p7 This was a 300-year-old Union which, according to this manifesto, "was never designed for the 21st century world. It is well past its sell by date and is holding Scotland back."

<sup>162</sup> O'Toole describes how "Even as late as February 2008, the first minister of Scotland, Alex Salmond was pledging that 'we will create a Celtic Lion economy to rival the Celtic Tiger across the Irish Sea.'" O'Toole, F. *Ship of Fools: How Stupidity and Corruption Sank the Celtic Tiger* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 2009)



National Conversation<sup>163</sup> as an element in its strategy of engendering a belief in nationhood as a precursor to independence, it was relying on communitarian values espoused particularly by Taylor. Specifically, the politics of recognition were employed in order to support the claim that Scotland constituted a distinct society with divergent values, aims and objectives from the rest of the UK.<sup>164</sup> The explicit message of this National Conversation – at least from the new Scottish Government’s point of view - was that “an independent Scotland would be recognised as a state in its own right by the international community.”<sup>165</sup>

The National Conversation was initiated by a white paper introduced on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August; this within the first 100 days of Salmond’s 2007 administration, and as promised in the manifesto.<sup>166</sup> The First Minister called on the other parties to engage in a debate which was “open, robust and dignified.”<sup>167</sup> The minority status of this SNP administration meant however that, as Harvey and Lynch put it, “it could use government but not parliament as a mechanism to discuss the constitutional issue.”<sup>168</sup> Bort, when discussing the white paper, saw “no chance of a parliamentary majority for the referendum envisaged in it.”<sup>169</sup> But this

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<sup>163</sup> Lynch explains that “After the 2007 Scottish election, all of the main parties proposed institutional change to the Scottish government and parliament, with the SNP holding its National Conversation during 2007-2009 and the Conservatives, Labour and Liberal Democrats publishing the results of their Commission on Scottish Devolution in 2009.” Lynch, P. p255 *The Scottish National Party* 2011 <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/cd>

<sup>164</sup> Moore explains, citing Scotland as an example, that Taylor “has argued that the inextricable interdependence of nationalism with modern notions of popular will and popular sovereignty suggests that once we understand the modern context of nationalist consciousness, we will have a strong appreciation for the prominence of nationalism and the centrality of national forms of identity.” Moore, M. p10-11 *The Ethics of Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

<sup>165</sup> *Choosing Scotland’s Future – A National Conversation: Independence and Responsibility in the Modern World* p22 (Scottish Executive, August 2007)

<sup>166</sup> “On August 14 2007, the Scottish Government published *Choosing Scotland’s Future: A National Conversation: Independence and Responsibility in the Modern World*” McIver, I. p6 *The new Scottish Government* (London: House of Commons Library, 2008)

<sup>167</sup> Torrance, D. p252 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>168</sup> Harvey, M. & Lynch, P. p1 *From National Conversation to Independence Referendum?: The SNP Government and the Politics of Independence* Political Studies Association Conference, 29<sup>th</sup> March 1<sup>st</sup> April, 2010, Edinburgh.

<sup>169</sup> Bort, E. p48 ‘On the threshold of independence? Scotland one year after the SNP election victory’ in *The Romanian Journal of European Affairs* Vol. 8, No. 2 2008

was not intended to be primarily a party political debate – it was to be one in which all of the nation had the opportunity to participate.<sup>170</sup>

The idea of Scotland engaging in this collective debate may appear initially to have been a very democratic way to determine its future. Who better to ask than the people themselves? But anyone in accord with Plato's view that only those of sufficient intellect should decide such matters, would deride any such democratic inclusion as nonsense.<sup>171</sup> This issue was not even one that the nation's 'philosophers' would necessarily have been any better equipped to decide; given that at the core of the debate lay the hypothetical question: 'what would it be like if we separated?'<sup>172</sup> This is not to say that the work of experts engaged in some deterministic foray would not have been of any use. At best however, they could only provide what MacIntyre rather dismissively termed "probabilistic generalizations."<sup>173</sup> But ultimately, no one is ever any more capable of predicting whether a belief in the virtues of independence is well founded than anyone else. Kirkpatrick, when outlining Macmurray's position on this, explained that "belief is ultimately "proven" by its reference to action in the world" and is "usually determined over the long run."<sup>174</sup> It may be for this reason that the Scottish Government tended instead to try to encourage people to think more about what kind of Scotland they thought they could actually shape for

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<sup>170</sup> Perhaps in an attempt to broaden the debate beyond party political lines therefore, the SNP manifesto encouraged Scots to believe that "Independence is the natural state for modern nations like our own"; this implying that independence for Scotland is more than political – it is 'natural.' Scottish National Party Manifesto p8 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2007)

<sup>171</sup> Jay recounts how "A host of ancient Greek authorities, like the philosopher Plato, could be quoted to explain how appalling the brief experiment with democracy in ancient Athens had been, and how men of intellect, breeding and substance had been marginalised when politics fell into the hands of the unrestrained, uneducated mob." Jay, R. p121 'Democracy' in *Political Ideologies: an introduction* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition) Eccleshall, R. Geoghegan, V. Jay, R. Kenny, M. MacKenzie, I. & Wilford, R. (eds.) (London: Routledge, 1994)

<sup>172</sup> What is evident however, is that Labour's attempt to stifle nationalist ambition through the introduction of devolution by, as Hadfield put it, "strengthening the Union through decentralization and subsidiarity and consequently of weakening any separatist tendencies" had, by 2007, gone somewhat awry. Hadfield, B. p214 'Devolution: a national conversation' in *The Changing Constitution* Seventh Edition. Jowell, J. & Oliver, D. (eds.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

<sup>173</sup> MacIntyre, A. p91 *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* Third edition (London: Duckworth, 2007)

<sup>174</sup> Kirkpatrick, F. G. p67 *The Ethics of Community* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001)

themselves. As MacAskill said just three years earlier, there was a dream for “not just a free and independent land but a just and prosperous one”<sup>175</sup> too. Where Salmond demonstrated particular skill at this time was, according to Field, in his ability to “engage with voters well beyond the SNP tribe.”<sup>176</sup> The party’s agenda was two-fold: this being firstly to generate “wider public and political support for the idea of a referendum” and secondly to allow the administration sufficient breathing space to formulate “more complete policy answers to Scottish issues.”<sup>177</sup>

The SNP was, to an extent, taken by surprise by its victory.<sup>178</sup> Equally surprised were the three leading opposition parties. Their response, initiated by Labour leader Wendy Alexander, was to call for a review of the Scottish Parliament’s powers.<sup>179</sup> Whilst publicly claiming that the resultant Commission on Scottish Devolution was an attempt to determine “whether that settlement now needs to be adjusted in the interests of all the nations of the United Kingdom”<sup>180</sup> - some considered it a thinly veiled unionist attempt to undermine the National Conversation’s momentum. One Conservative MSP labelled it “a knee-jerk reaction to the SNP’s election win.”<sup>181</sup> Himsworth described the resultant contest as a “turf war between the SNP Government’s National Conversation about Scotland’s constitutional future

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<sup>175</sup> MacAskill, K. p17 *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2004)

<sup>176</sup> Field, F. as quoted in Brown, T. & McLeish, H. p85 *Scotland: The Road Divides: New Politics, New Union* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2007)

<sup>177</sup> Mooney, G. Scott, G. & Mulvey, G. p387 ‘The ‘Celtic Lion’ and social policy: Some thoughts on the SNP and social welfare’ in *Critical Social Policy* Vol. 28 August 2008

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid* p379 This victory is described as “representing a symbolic breakthrough for nationalist politics in Scotland, a seismic shift on the Scottish political map.”

<sup>179</sup> This was undertaken by the Calman Commission, which had as its remit: “To review the provisions of the Scotland Act 1998 in the light of experience and to recommend any changes to the present constitutional arrangements that would enable the Scottish Parliament to serve the people of Scotland better, improve the financial accountability of the Scottish Parliament, and continue to secure the position of Scotland within the United Kingdom.” Calman, K. p3 *Serving Scotland Better: Scotland and the United Kingdom in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century – An Executive Summary of the Final Report – June 2009* (Edinburgh: Commission on Scottish Devolution, June 15, 2009)

<sup>180</sup> Macdonell, H. p225 *Uncharted Territory: The story of Scottish devolution 1999-2009* (London: Methuen Publishing, 2009)

<sup>181</sup> Torrance, D. p2253 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

and, on the other hand, the Calman Commission established by resolution of the Scottish Parliament and with the support of the UK Government.<sup>182</sup> Sir Kenneth Calman, was charged with the task of examining “all aspects of the devolution settlement, except independence.”<sup>183</sup> The SNP declared nevertheless, that “The national conversation train has left the station – it’s a matter for the London-based parties which compartment they want to get on.”<sup>184</sup> But despite the often combative language used by each side of the argument, the resultant debate was considered to have shed light not only on these two views, but also on the more nuanced “multitude of attitudes within them.”<sup>185</sup> What can happen however, when people have the opportunity to speak to politicians, is that they do so on topics other than those intended. In the course of the National Conversation this often happened.<sup>186</sup> Those participating tended to show more interest in “policy issues and local empowerment”<sup>187</sup> than in the constitutional debate itself.<sup>188</sup> Macmurray, had he witnessed such a dichotomy, may have thought it one in which the interests of society had been, to an extent, displaced by those of community. The politicians on both sides appear to have

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<sup>182</sup> Himsworth, C. p3 ‘Greater than the sum of its parts: the growing impact of devolution on the processes of constitutional reform in the United Kingdom’ in *Amicus Curiae* Issue 77 Spring 2009

<sup>183</sup> Macdonell, H. p225 *Uncharted Territory: The story of Scottish devolution 1999-2009* (London: Methuen Publishing, 2009)

<sup>184</sup> Brown, T. & McLeish, H. p93 *Scotland: The Road Divides: New Politics, New Union* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2007)

<sup>185</sup> Macdonell, H. p259 *Uncharted Territory: The story of Scottish devolution 1999-2009* (London: Methuen Publishing, 2009)

<sup>186</sup> Harvey reports that the issue of the constitutional future of Scotland “played second fiddle to the many policy concerns that the public had, and comprised only a fifth of the questions asked over the course of the public events.” Harvey, M. p11 ‘Consulting the Nation: Public Engagement on the Constitution in Scotland and Wales’ Paper prepared for the annual conference of the Political Studies Association (Cardiff: March, 2013)

<sup>187</sup> Harvey, M. & Lynch, P. p3 *From National Conversation to Independence Referendum?: The SNP Government and the Politics of Independence* Political Studies Association Conference, 29<sup>th</sup> March 1<sup>st</sup> April, 2010, Edinburgh.

<sup>188</sup> At public events held to facilitate the National Conversation “the public enjoyed the opportunity to raise a multitude of issues with government ministers, even if the constitutional debate was not of primary concern for the majority.” Harvey, M. p4 ‘A chat’s a chat for a’ that: the SNP’s National Conversation as the Constitutional Policy of a Nationalist Party in Government’ Based on a paper presented to the European Consortium for Political Research: Federalism, Regionalism and Public Policy Conference (Edinburgh: August, 2010)

assumed that participants in the conversation would act primarily as a society would and “co-operate to achieve a specific purpose”<sup>189</sup> - that of defending or disbanding a constitutional entity. Instead they behaved as Macmurray believed communities would; that is by “relating to one another as persons” – and in so doing, attempting to maintain a moral entity where individuals demonstrate a wish to be bound by a loyalty to each other.<sup>190</sup> But this should not have come as a surprise to MacAskill who, in 2004, wrote of the Scots’ aspiration “to not just Nationhood but a land worthy of its people.”<sup>191</sup>

Once three years of public consultation was complete, and in order to determine the will of the Scottish people, the Government intended to put a Referendum Bill to Holyrood in 2010.<sup>192</sup> A number of papers relating to the impact that independence, or the enhanced devolved powers recommended by the Commission on Scottish Devolution, may have had were published by the Scottish Government. One such paper was entitled ‘People and Communities.’ It concentrated on issues surrounding children, health, housing and law and order. In it the Scottish Government gave assurance that gaining independence would “not inhibit mutually beneficial cooperation agreements with the residual UK.”<sup>193</sup> Nevertheless, it also stated that “independence is the natural state for nations like Scotland.”<sup>194</sup> Only by

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<sup>189</sup> McIntosh, E. p9 Introduction to: *John Macmurray: Selected Philosophical Writings* (Ed.) Esther McIntosh (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004)

<sup>190</sup> In relation to Macmurray’s position, McNiff explains that “Collaborative working therefore becomes more than a ‘we’; it is ‘I in dialogical relation with me and others’, the development of a dialogical community.” McNiff, J. p9 *Action Research: Principle and practice* Third Edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013)

<sup>191</sup> MacAskill, K. p17 *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2004)

<sup>192</sup> Guibernau explains that “A white paper for the Bill setting out four possible options ranging from no change and full independence was in print on 30 November 2009. A draft bill for public consultation was published on 25 February 2010. It set out a two question yes/no referendum, proposing both further devolution, and full independence.” Guibernau, M. p70 ‘Devolution and Independence in the United Kingdom: The Case for Scotland’ in *Magazine of automatic and federal studies* No. 11, 2010 (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis de l’Autogovern, 2010)

<sup>193</sup> *People and Communities: Taking forward our National Conversation* p6 (Scottish Government, November 2009) It is of interest to note the SNP administration’s use of the quite dismissive term ‘residual UK’ when describing what would be left (the residue) were Scotland to detach from the rest of the UK.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid* p7 This statement is taken verbatim from the SNP’s Scottish Election manifesto.

gaining this natural state of independence did the SNP believe Scots could experience what Taylor called the further demand “that we all *recognize* the equal value of different cultures; that we not only let them survive, but acknowledge their *worth*.”<sup>195</sup>

This paper spoke of “levers of power” already in use to “build safer and stronger communities.”<sup>196</sup> They consisted of “Law, regulation, services systems and investment” in cooperation with “national and local government.”<sup>197</sup> Missing was mention of communities, either as levers of power or as entities with which to cooperate. Even when introducing an action plan on community empowerment, as a vehicle for bringing “people together from across communities to deliver real and lasting change,”<sup>198</sup> Alex Neil the Minister for Housing and Communities, spoke of his delight at the plan “being launched jointly with COSLA.”<sup>199</sup> This represented a conception of community empowerment that Maxwell described as “still entangled in the rhetoric of partnerships.”<sup>200</sup> He considered the term community to have become “one of the most deceiving words in Scotland’s political lexicon.” Communities were, for him, often just one relatively weak voice amid a myriad of much more powerful ones, invariably directed by the local authorities.<sup>201</sup> He nevertheless thought community empowerment too important to be rejected out of hand. What did need to be rebuffed was what he called the ‘ideological baggage’ that surrounded it. This baggage, he believed, was

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<sup>195</sup> Taylor, C. p64 *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992)

<sup>196</sup> *People and Communities: Taking forward our National Conversation* p15 (Scottish Government, November 2009)

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid* p5

<sup>198</sup> Neil, A. p2 *Scottish Community Empowerment Action Plan: Celebrating Success – Inspiring Change* Housing and Regeneration Directorate, The Scottish Government, March 2009

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid* p2 The Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) describes itself as “the voice of Local Government in Scotland”; its function being to provide political leadership on national issues, and work with councils to improve local services and strengthen local democracy.” [www.cosla.gov.uk](http://www.cosla.gov.uk)

<sup>200</sup> Maxwell, S. p1 ‘Power to the People: How much do we really value community empowerment in Scotland’ in *View Magazine*, Issue 4, Winter 2005

<sup>201</sup> Burns argues that “new ‘communities of identity’ are being formed which may be of more significance than identification as a member of a defined locality.” Burns, D. p968 ‘Can Local Democracy Survive Governance?’ in *Urban Studies* Vol. 37, No. 5-6, 2000 (thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publishing, 2000)

expressed as a belief in a form of communitarianism which held that "local communities operate as cohesive, self-enforcing moral communities."<sup>202</sup> But given the multicultural nature of modern British society, Maxwell argued that it was possible that social conflict could arise rather than the "social solidarity around shared norms and values"<sup>203</sup> normally associated with a communitarian model.<sup>204</sup> The SNP's approach to community was not necessarily a denial of its importance in the decision making process; rather, it indicated the party's perception of community in its fullest sense as being the nation as a whole.<sup>205</sup> This coincides with Dennis's view of a community as containing "all or most of the elements of a complete social system,"<sup>206</sup> and whilst it could range between "the total social system or a microcosm of it" - in its most complete form it was synonymous with the nation. This then gave the impression that sub-national community politics were less important. But, as Cochrane suggested in a somewhat Marxist manner, "Even if it is difficult to imagine community politics on its own providing the basis for long-term political organisation, it may provide fragmentary insights about future possibilities."<sup>207</sup> At this time however, the position of local communities in Scotland was made clear by Sinclair when he stated that "In its broadest sense community planning means 'any process through which a Council (comes) together

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<sup>202</sup> Maxwell, S. p1 'Power to the People: How much do we really value community empowerment in Scotland' in *View Magazine*, Issue 4, Winter 2005. This communitarian form of 'self enforcing morality' is described by Frey and Bohnet as being "the social embeddedness of individuals' choice within *community*." Frey, B. S. & Bohnet, I. P323 'Cooperation, Communication and Communitarianism: An Experimental Approach' in *The Journal of Political Philosophy* Vol. 4, No. 4, 1996 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell, 1996)

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid* p1

<sup>204</sup> Frazer says as much when describing the communitarian model which, whilst promoting the values of "traditional settlement, socially constructed reason, intra-community trust, reciprocity, mutuality and inter-dependency" fails "to endogenise the movement of individuals across social formations and the antagonism and conflict that this engenders." Frazer, E. p3 *The Problems of Communitarian Politics: unity and conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

<sup>205</sup> This corresponds with Anderson, who speaks of nation as an "imagined community." Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983)

<sup>206</sup> Dennis, N. p191 'The Popularity of the Neighbourhood Community Idea' in *The Sociological Review* Volume 6, Issue 2, December 1958

<sup>207</sup> Cochrane, A. p72 'Community politics and democracy' in *New Forms of Democracy* Held, D. & Pollitt, C. (Ed.) (London: Sage Publications, 1986)

with other organisations to plan, provide for, or promote the well-being of the communities they serve’.”<sup>208</sup>

Despite all the effort, the National Conversation was reckoned by some not to have been a particularly fruitful exercise. In addition to the publication of various documents, meetings were held throughout the country and these “included local events with Ministers, local communities and pressure groups.”<sup>209</sup> The purpose throughout was to set-out the argument for a new constitutional settlement. Harvey and Lynch confirmed that “according to the Scottish Government, 15,000 people were involved in the National Conversation process, with 5,300 people attending events.”<sup>210</sup> Included in the itinerary of forty two “consultations/discussions with civil society and local communities”<sup>211</sup> were locations such as “Inverness, Castle Douglas, Perth and Uist.”<sup>212</sup> Much of this was however judged to have “existed beneath the political radar in Scotland”<sup>213</sup> - the consequence of which was a lack of “awareness or analysis of the conduct of the National Conversation as a consultative process.”<sup>214</sup> Whether this was due to ineptitude on the part of the organisers, or apathy on

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<sup>208</sup> Sinclair, S. p153 ‘Community planning partnerships’ in *Poverty in Scotland 2007* McKendrick, J. et al (ed) (London: CPAG, 2007) Quoting from: Community Planning Working Group, *Report of the Community Planning Working Group*, The Scottish Office/COSLA, 1998, p5

<sup>209</sup> Harvey, M. & Lynch, P. p2 *From National Conversation to Independence Referendum?: The SNP Government and the Politics of Independence* Political Studies Association Conference, 29<sup>th</sup> March 1<sup>st</sup> April, 2010, Edinburgh.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid* p7 Harvey and Lynch point out that this attempt to encourage Scots to engage in a constitutional dialogue was only part of a wider strategy. They argue that the SNP’s “performance in office was intended to demonstrate its competence as a government.” Harvey, M. & Lynch, P. ‘*Inside the National Conversation: The SNP Government and the Politics of Independence*’ in Scottish Affairs No. 8, Summer 2012 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid* p9 One of the Inverness consultations/discussions took place on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June 2009 and was attended by two Scottish Cabinet Secretaries: Housing Minister Alex Neil and Environment Minister Roseanna Cunningham. Attendance by two members of the Government was a common occurrence at such events.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid* p9

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid* p3 Harvey elsewhere argues that “there can be no question that the SNP achieved some success in building consensus on the need to change the constitutional settlement.” Harvey, M. p15 ‘Consulting the Nation: Public Engagement on the Constitution in Scotland and Wales’ Paper prepared for the annual conference of the Political Studies Association (Cardiff: March, 2013)

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid* p4 Baxter confirms that “very little has been written on the information management and communication issues surrounding government consultations, nor on the mechanisms of the



the part of the Scottish people, it may not have done the independence agenda any harm.<sup>215</sup> Apathy can play a part in an agenda setter's armoury, as the 'sleep-walking to independence' warning pointed out.<sup>216</sup> But there may have been a third reason – one that involved neither ineptitude nor apathy. It may be that many Scots were talking about a new constitutional settlement to each other, but not to politicians. One year before the launch of the National Conversation, Cabinet Secretary Mike Russell wrote about the impact of social networking and its increasing impact on the democratic process. He spoke of the coming of a "second age of enlightenment" - one where "knowledge and thought are being opened up to all, and are no longer the preserve of a few, and particularly no longer the preserve of the democratic gatekeepers."<sup>217</sup> This shift in the locus of power was also observed by MacAskill, who noted that "Community activism has grown almost in direct comparison to the decline of formal political activity."<sup>218</sup>

It was clear that the Unionist majority at Holyrood – despite Wendy Alexander's exhortation to "bring it on"<sup>219</sup> - would not support the holding of a referendum. Himsworth put it thus: "A government without a majority in the Parliament is disabled from engaging in

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consultative process more broadly." Baxter, G. p253 'The Best Laid Schemes? The Provision and Accessibility of Government Consultation Information in the UK' in *LIBRI – International Journal of Libraries and Information Services* Vol. 6, No. 3, 2010 (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2010)

<sup>215</sup> Indeed, in the subsequent 2011 Scottish Parliamentary Election, the SNP gained 53.5% of the seats available. Carman, C. Johns, R. & Mitchell, J. p6 *More Scottish than British? The 2011 Scottish Parliament Election* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

<sup>216</sup> In this regard, Condor explains that "Apathy is a convenient construct for explaining away any form of political inaction." Condor, S. p531 'Devolution and national identity: the rules of English (dis) engagement' in *Notions of Nationalism* Vol. 16, Issue 3 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010)

<sup>217</sup> MacLeod, D. & Russell, M. p59 *Grasping the Thistle* (Glendaruel: Argyle Publishing, 2006)

<sup>218</sup> MacAskill, K. p49 *Building a Nation: Post Devolution Nationalism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2004) For MacAskill this meant: "establishing links in the community but working with, not imposing on, local groups and national organisations that are involved in that specific field."

<sup>219</sup> Hazell, R. p101-111 'Britishness and the Future of the Union' in *The Political Quarterly* Vol. 78, Issue 1, September (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007)

politically controversial legislative initiatives.”<sup>220</sup> This judgement was reiterated by Torrance when he stated that “The British constitution had always been a remarkably flexible creature, and there was no way the election of an SNP minority government was going to upset it.”<sup>221</sup> In September 2010, and in recognition of this, Salmond announced that the Bill would be published, but not put to the vote.<sup>222</sup> He now thought it best to let Scots decide after the following year’s election. Then, he believed, his party would have been re-elected and better able to “secure passage of the referendum having successfully mobilised the people over the blocking tactics of the Unionist parties.”<sup>223</sup>

## Conclusion

The National Conversation, an SNP initiative intended to encourage constitutional debate on the shape of Scotland’s future, formed a significant part of the party’s strategy for generating support for independence. In response the unionist parties instigated a review of Holyrood’s current powers: the Calman Commission. This obvious attempt to undermine the National Conversation substantiated Fairclough and Fairclough’s assertion that no single institutional arrangement will ever be capable of determining the collective will of any nation in a universally accepted manner. Evidence suggests that participants in the ‘conversation’ were inclined to find policy and local empowerment issues more important than the constitutional debate itself. This is in keeping with Macmurray’s view that the interests of a community tend to displace those of wider society; individuals preferring mainly to relate to

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<sup>220</sup> Himsworth, C. p4 ‘Greater than the sum of its parts: the growing impact of devolution on the processes of constitutional reform in the United Kingdom’ in *Amicus Curiae* Issue 77 Spring 2009

<sup>221</sup> Torrance, D. p247 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

<sup>222</sup> Carrell explains that “The SNP had originally wanted to unveil a full bill for Holyrood on 25 January, Burns Day, and hold the referendum on 30 November this year, St Andrew’s Day. Those target dates have now been dropped.” Carrell, S. ‘Alex Salmond unveils Scottish independence referendum plans’ in *The Guardian* Thursday 25 February, 2010 (Manchester: Guardian, 2010)

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid* p272 Torrance, D. p272 *Salmond: Against the Odds* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2010)

fellow individuals. Analysis of the discourse which resulted from this initiative showed the debate to have been less fruitful for the party than intended. Participation, at least in official forums, was lower than anticipated and the party's minority parliamentary status meant that a Bill for a referendum on independence could be published, but not put to the vote. Salmond was confident however, that the following year's Holyrood election would put his party in such a position as to be able to secure the passage of the Bill.

#### **8.4 Case Study: A Transformative Narrative**

Having held power at Holyrood for four years the SNP, in its 2011 manifesto, declared that despite difficult economic circumstances,<sup>224</sup> progress had been made.<sup>225</sup> Its key assertion was that "Together, we can make Scotland fairer."<sup>226</sup> Sturgeon later, in validation of this sentiment, claimed that "countries with the least inequality are also the most successful."<sup>227</sup> She did not cite any specific nation, but the Scandinavian model was an appropriate example.<sup>228</sup> What mattered was creating an environment which enabled more Scots to share in their nation's wealth. A commitment to increase the level of engagement between government and the communities and individuals it served was made; this in order

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<sup>224</sup> Wiggan reports that "Public expenditure reductions have reduced the resources available to the Scottish Government and to low income households in Scotland reliant upon social security benefits", and that "Conversely, the imposition of austerity has fed into an anti-Tory political culture in Scotland and weakened the case for remaining in the UK." Wiggan, J. p640 'Contesting the austerity and welfare reform narrative of the UK Government: Forging a social democrat imaginary in Scotland' in *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* Vol. 37, No. 11/12, 2017 (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2017)

<sup>225</sup> Cairney cites "some high-profile successes, including a bill to abolish the graduate endowment (and less importantly to abolish bridge tolls)" as being examples of the progress made. Cairney, P. p270 'Coalition and Minority Government in Scotland: Lessons for the United Kingdom' in *Political Quarterly* Vol. 82, Issue 2, April-June, 2011 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, Political Quarterly Publishing Co. Ltd., 2011)

<sup>226</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p2 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2011)

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid* p5

<sup>228</sup> In his analysis of the draft consultation for an independent Scotland, Bulmer notes that when drawing on the successes of independent nations similar in population size to Scotland "Most of these references are to small European liberal-democracies which feature in the SNP's own arguments for independence, such as Ireland, Denmark and Sweden." Bulmer, W. E. p2 'An analysis of the Scottish National Party's Draft Constitution for Scotland' in *Parliamentary Affairs 2011* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

to reduce top-down, and often inappropriate, 'solutions' imposed on Scottish civil society.<sup>229</sup>

In this context the term 'culture of independence' was employed to indicate the party's conviction that by nurturing "a culture of responsibility and confidence across our nation"<sup>230</sup> - increased powers could be devolved to those communities. The resultant community empowerment would in turn "create the necessary platform for success at a national level too." An obvious comparison was being made here between the beleaguered plight of the whole of Scotland and that of its individual communities, wherein the virtues of independence, responsibility and confidence were thought applicable both to the nation, and to its constituent parts.

One area identified again as an important component in the strategy of nurturing greater acceptance of Scotland's distinctiveness was Education. Following on from the previous manifesto's vision of a modern curriculum which embedded Scottish history, culture and heritage, such that it provided a Scottish world view,<sup>231</sup> a commitment was made to "develop the concept of "Scottish Studies" in our schools."<sup>232</sup> The intention was that this distinct strand of learning would permeate many, if not all, aspects of curricular activity. This reflects Taylor's view when discussing the plight of the Quebecois. Just as they wished to be recognised as separate from the rest of Canada in order that their culture was protected and

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<sup>229</sup> This corresponds with the principle of subsidiarity which, according to Føllesdal, "regulates authority within a political order, directing that powers or tasks should rest with the lower-level sub-units of that order unless allocating them to a higher-level central unit would ensure higher comparative effectiveness in achieving them." Føllesdal, A. p190 'Survey Article: Subsidiarity' in *The Journal of Political Philosophy* Vol. 6, No. 2, 1998 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1998)

<sup>230</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p23 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2011) This ethos of responsibility and confidence was also discussed in relation to the party's 'new curriculum' and the intention to "nurture young people as successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens."

<sup>231</sup> According to Naugle, the term 'worldview' was first used in a religious context: the Christian worldview' by "the Scottish Presbyterian theologian, apologist, minister and educator James Orr (1844-1913)." Naugle, D. K. p5 *Worldview: The History of a Concept* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002)

<sup>232</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p24 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2011) The stated intention was to create "a distinct strand of learning focused on Scotland and incorporating Scottish History, Scottish Literature, the Scots and Gaelic Languages, wider Scottish culture and Scottish current affairs."

nurtured, the SNP held a similar ambition for the Scots.<sup>233</sup> Taylor also said of the Quebecois "that their intention is not to turn inward but to have access to the outside world"<sup>234</sup> - something he believed had been denied by a federal Canada. This reflected the SNP's wish to turn Scotland into a fully participating member of the international community; something it believed impossible whilst part of the United Kingdom. Further, Taylor argued that whilst ostensibly his approach may appear to be a type of positive discrimination, where one community enjoys a privileged position over others; this need not be a problem, so long as the rights and liberties of the other Quebec communities were not violated. The SNP was of similar mind, as demonstrated by its support of the languages used by Scotland's minority communities. At a national level however, the SNP's commitment to policies which talked first of a Scottish world view and later of teaching Scottish Studies across the curriculum, suggests that it would have concurred with Taylor's assertion that "If this is denied or set at naught by those who surround us, it is extremely difficult to maintain a horizon of meaning by which to identify ourselves"<sup>235</sup> and just as difficult to engender the kind of positive attitude towards Scottish nationhood that it sought to promote.

The clearest indication of the party's thinking on the importance of community emerged in this manifesto. It stated that "strong and vibrant communities are at the very heart of a more successful Scotland."<sup>236</sup> Whilst previously use of the term community was often limited to discussions concerning rural issues, it was now applied to city

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<sup>233</sup> Bond argues however, that "while we can certainly see the political as a major influence upon national identity in Scotland, this is not to say that for individual Scots conceptions of national identity are largely determined by political beliefs." Bond, R. p15 'Squaring the Circles: Demonstrating and Explaining the political 'Non-Alignment' of Scottish National Identity' in *Scottish Affairs* No. 32 (First Series) Issue 1, Summer 2000 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000)

<sup>234</sup> Taylor, C. p52 *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993)

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid* p52 Taylor asserts that "This is especially evident when we appreciate how important the self-respect of a culture is. It is gained through realization, but the value of realization depends to a great degree on the recognition of others, on how the people are seen internationally by the world at large."

<sup>236</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p26 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2011)

neighbourhoods, towns and villages. In all these manifestations the party now signalled a wish to make such communities “more pleasant places to live, work and bring up a family.”<sup>237</sup> But despite this recognition of the value of community, and of the need for central government to avoid top-down intervention, it proposed that community well-being would be enhanced by the introduction of Social Impact Bonds.<sup>238</sup> Various public-social partnerships would be piloted and, if judged successful, centrally funded and coordinated by what were described as ‘multi-agency responses.’ The culture of independence, responsibility and empowerment being proposed perhaps came with bureaucratic strings attached. The assumption pervading the party’s attitude to community was that community transformation could only be derived through increased funding; this administered by a multiplicity of agencies, who were in-turn state- funded. The idea that any innate momentum could exist within a community itself, without the need of money or political intervention, seemed lost on the party. It was Macmurray who pointed out that even when the wishes of the various members of a community were “inherently incompatible” there often existed a tendency to mediation “through the system of interdependence in which we live.”<sup>239</sup> But this was not the SNP’s view. It claimed that Scotland’s communities had in the previous four years been empowered as a result of the transformed “relationship between central and local government.”<sup>240</sup> But Macmurray expressed a very different view about the relationship between individual and state. In defence of Rousseau’s position concerning the

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<sup>237</sup> *Ibid* p26

<sup>238</sup> The world’s first Social Impact Bond was, according to McHugh, Sinclair, Roy, Huckfield and Donaldson: “announced by then (Labour) UK Justice Secretary Jack Straw in March 2010.” McHugh, N. A. Sinclair, S. Roy, M. Huckfield, L. and Donaldson, C. ‘Social Impact Bonds: a wolf in sheep’s clothing?’ in *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice* Vol. 21, Issue 3 (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2013)

<sup>239</sup> Macmurray, J. p32-33 *Conditions of Freedom* (1949) (New York: Humanity Books, 1993) Macmurray sounds a cautionary note in this regard however, by saying that “The efficiency of organized co-operation depends upon an orderly subordination of those persons or groups who exercise superior functions. If there is an incompatibility of intentions, those with superior power will achieve freedom at the expense of their functional inferiors.”

<sup>240</sup> Scottish National Party Manifesto p26 (Scottish Parliamentary Election, 2011)

'sovereignty of the Popular Will', he saw the problem as being one of finding a system of protective association capable of creating a community within which a man "while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and remain as free as before."<sup>241</sup> For Macmurray moral responsibility was compatible only with free individual initiative and could not therefore be imposed by any power external to himself. For this reason, he would, in all likelihood, have rejected any suggestion that a culture of independence, responsibility and empowerment could ever be bureaucratically imposed on communities from above, by elements of central and local government working in unison. He summed his position up by stating that "to be ourselves is to live in communion with what is not ourselves."<sup>242</sup> Only when, to misappropriate the words of Adam Smith, 'the invisible hand of the community'<sup>243</sup> allowed for all of its members to freely determine their own moral responses, would such a community (unencumbered by the state) function effectively. But this naïve notion would not have been readily accepted by all. Murdoch commented that "as far as I could see there was no metaphysical unity in human life: all was subject to mortality and chance."<sup>244</sup> Thus, it may be assumed that what Macmurray believed would result in communion, could just as easily end in conflict.

Whereas the SNP's success and popularity during its first few years in office had been dismissively attributed to "a combination of luck, political judgement and external

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<sup>241</sup> Macmurray, J. p114 'Government by the People' in *John Macmurray: Selected Philosophical Writings* McIntosh, E. (Ed.) (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004) Laski's interpretation of Rousseau's understanding of the Popular Will was that "Government, if it is to be secure, must so act as to obtain at least the passive consent of the major portion of the community." This seems to have been the intention of the SNP, albeit in a somewhat interventionist way. Laski, H. J. p204 'The Theory of Popular Sovereignty' in *Michigan Law Review* Vol. 17, No. 3, January 1919 (Michigan: Michigan Law Review Association, 1919)

<sup>242</sup> Macmurray, J. p207 *Freedom in the Modern World* (1932) (London: Faber and Faber, 1945)

<sup>243</sup> Kennedy points out that the metaphor 'invisible hand' appears in a number of Mill's books, and in a variety of different contexts. 'Misappropriate' is perhaps therefore, too strong a term to use. Kennedy, G. p240 'Adam Smith and the Invisible Hand: Metaphor or Myth' in *A Journal of the American Institute for Economic Research* Vol. 6, No. 2, May 2009 (Great Barrington, Massachusetts: American Institute for Economic Research, 2009)

<sup>244</sup> Murdoch, I. p92 *The Sovereignty of Good* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970)

circumstances”<sup>245</sup> later, as Mitchell put it, “attention focused on competence and leadership to the SNP’s advantage.”<sup>246</sup> This was perhaps why the party won the majority of seats in the 2011 election<sup>247</sup> and, in recognition of this, MacDonald observed that “Labour doesn’t have a heartland any more. The SNP do. It’s called “Scotland.”<sup>248</sup> The SNP was in a very favourable position in comparison to those other parties that it frequently referred to as ‘London based.’<sup>249</sup> Some thought it had come to a point where any distinction between the Scottish and UK components of these parties was almost negligible.<sup>250</sup> This was illustrated by Gordon who wrote that there was little point now in the SNP bothering even to criticize the Tories, given that most Scots had “long since recalibrated to the Scottish dynamic.”<sup>251</sup> But this was to forget that any such criticism helped perpetuate an important Scotland-UK cleavage with regard to identity and ideology. Labour was now associated primarily with a promise of fiscal prudence that had turned into feckless profligacy.<sup>252</sup> The Liberal Democrats were seen as having reneged on key pledges, particularly in relation to student fees south of the border –

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<sup>245</sup> Macdonell, H. p259 *Uncharted Territory: The story of Scottish devolution 1999-2009* (London: Methuen Publishing, 2009)

<sup>246</sup> Mitchell, J. p20 ‘The 2011 Scottish elections: Why did the SNP win?’ in *Politics Review*, Volume 21, Number 1, September 2011.

<sup>247</sup> SNP parliamentary representation at Holyrood increased from 47 to 69 of the 129 seats, thus providing the party with a clear and overall majority – sufficient, for example, for it to introduce a Bill for a referendum on independence. Mitchell, J. p18 ‘The 2011 Scottish elections: Why did the SNP win?’ in *Politics Review*, Volume 21, Number 1, September 2011.

<sup>248</sup> MacDonald, K. p19 ‘The 2011 Scottish elections: Why did the SNP win?’ in *Politics Review*, Volume 21, Number 1, September 2011.

<sup>249</sup> Denver speaks of “a sensational triumph for the SNP which took opposition politicians by surprise and astonished media commentators. The proportional electoral system, they assumed would make it virtually impossible for a single party to win an overall majority of seats.” Denver, D. p33 ‘Another ‘Historic Moment’: The Scottish Parliament Elections 2011’ in *Scottish Affairs* No. 76, Summer 2011 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011)

<sup>250</sup> Myslik explains that, in the UK context, the SNP “throughout its existence has represented only Scottish interests, with no central structures overlooking its policies, or direct tie to any other party present in the UK” Myslik, B. p138 ‘Semantic Networks Analysis of Political Party Platforms: Coalition Prediction Based on Semantic Distances in Scottish Elections 1999-2011’ in *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracovienis: Studia Politologica* xiii (2014) (San Francisco: Online College, 2014)

<sup>251</sup> Gordon, T. p8 ‘In Poll Position’ in *The Sunday Herald* 01 May, 2011

<sup>252</sup> Sowels describes how “Gordon Brown, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and then Prime Minister, presided over a massive expansion in public spending”, the result of which was “a run up of public deficits prior to the current financial and economic crisis.” Sowels, N. p77 ‘From Prudence to Profligacy: How Gordon Brown Undermined Britain’s Public Finances’ in *Observatoire de la Société Britannique* Vol. 10, (Toulon: Université de Toulon, 2011)



and all for the sake of the chance of high office.<sup>253</sup> The Conservatives appeared to be engaged in a process of rolling back the state, through the implementation of the type of cuts in social provision that the Thatcher administration could only have dreamt of.<sup>254</sup>

Meanwhile in Scotland the SNP not only distanced itself from what it considered a dysfunctional UK political system - it offered the potential to deliver independence from it.<sup>255</sup> The Scots, according to Bell, were now "ready for independence, thanks to the multiple disillusionments offered by Westminster."<sup>256</sup> Furthermore, despite the global nature of the deepening economic crisis, within Scotland communities continued to benefit from social initiatives such as the free provision of home care for the elderly, higher education and prescription medicines. The SNP's standing may therefore, have been enhanced partly by default: it hadn't caused, nor had it to deal directly with, the worsening economic crisis – and partly through a populist strategy: the Scots having received various benefits which helped mitigate some of the effects of these hard times.<sup>257</sup> Salmond put it thus: "We have

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<sup>253</sup> Quinn describes how, having been opposed to tuition fees, and certainly to the "proposed increase to £9,000 per year. Most Liberal Democrat MPs subsequently voted in favour of the increase." Quinn, T. p29 *Mandates, Manifestos and Coalitions: UK Party Politics after 2011* (London: The Constitution Society, 2014)

<sup>254</sup> Grimshaw and Rubery offer a stark commentary of this process by saying that "the UK is witnessing an intensified neoliberal policy emphasis, a redrawing or abolition of minimum standards and failures to meet changing patterns of social needs." Grimshaw, D. & Rubery, J. p105 'The end of the UK's liberal collectivist social model? The implications of the coalition government's policy during the austerity crisis' in *Cambridge Journal of Economics* Vol. 36 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

<sup>255</sup> With independence would come, according to Jackson, "A narrowing of income and wealth inequality, a reduction in poverty, greater economic security – all this, Scottish nationalists argue, can be delivered through the agency of a Scottish welfare state and an active government in Edinburgh" Jackson, B. p53 'The Political Thought of Scottish Nationalism' in *The Political Quarterly* Vol. 85, No. 1, January-March, 2014 (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2014)

<sup>256</sup> Bell, I. p14 'Yes, independence is a moral issue' in *The Sunday Herald* 01 May, 2011

<sup>257</sup> Talking to the Guardian in 2011, Salmond argued that an important sign of successful governance in Scotland was whether it had "created a 'good society': a society which, in difficult times, keeps hold of some things that are more important than economic circumstances, things that should be removed from budgetary pressure." Salmond, A. *Interview* (Manchester: The Guardian, October 2011)

sheltered the community from the economic storms in so far as it is in our power to do so."<sup>258</sup>

The dilemma was, as Salmond observed, that whilst he and his party had "a 21<sup>st</sup> century vision", the Scots were being "held back by 19<sup>th</sup> century prejudices and structures."<sup>259</sup> It was the perception of prejudice that played such a crucial role in the fortunes of his party during this period. But prejudice tends to be a wrong that can work both ways. It was discussed previously, in relation to the fortunes of Labour in Scotland, that when individuals "have been introduced to rival and competing narratives, differences over which affect the substance of their lives, then at a certain point either they will have to raise seriously the question of truth, of how far either of the two narratives is true, or else they will have to retreat from the question into the security of their prejudices."<sup>260</sup> Salmond was treading a fine line between the competing narratives of 'future nationhood' and of 'current oppression'; mindful that it was sometimes easier to depict Scotland's relationship with the UK in a negative light, than it was to illustrate what may be the positive benefits of independence. Taylor maintained that "the politics of nationalism has been powered for well over a century partly by the sense that people have had of being despised or respected by others around them."<sup>261</sup> Tronconi voiced a similar opinion when he spoke of 'ethnoregionalist parties' (of which he considered the SNP to be one) frequently stealing support from that "portion of disaffected or disappointed voters"<sup>262</sup> which the traditional and more established

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<sup>258</sup> Salmond, A. p2 Speech to SNP Autumn Conference (Inverness: 22 October 2011)

<sup>259</sup> Salmond, A. p9 Speech to SNP Spring Conference (Glasgow: 12 March 2011)

<sup>260</sup> MacIntyre, A. p13 'Alasdair MacIntyre on Education: In Dialogue with Joseph Dunne' in *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2002. In this dialogue MacIntyre was talking specifically about the effect that an understanding (or otherwise) of the truth concerning different narratives, specifically in relation to students. What he said however can be applied more generally.

<sup>261</sup> Taylor, C. p250 *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995)

<sup>262</sup> Tronconi, F. p138 'Ethnic Identity and Party Competition. An Analysis of the Electoral Performance of Ethnoregionalist Parties in Western Europe' in *World Political Science Review* Volume 2, Issue 2, 2006

parties had come to expect.<sup>263</sup> Negative elements such as these may have been significant contributory factors in the SNP's electoral success in 2011. Hassan however proffered a very different version of events. He observed that, during this election campaign, the party successfully drew "on the work of American psychologist Martin Seligman and his 'positive psychology' who has argued that elections are won by parties stressing positive messages."<sup>264</sup> If anything therefore, the SNP had managed successfully to inculcate in the minds of many voters, a balance of concern for the present and optimism for the future.

Prideaux, when describing Macmurray's blueprint for a 'truly communal society', spoke of it materializing when the "elevation and maintenance of a personal life (lived through others)" came to be accepted "as the ultimate and determining value."<sup>265</sup> Similarly, and just two months prior to his party's victory, Salmond used a style of language reminiscent of Macmurray, when he indicated that Scots were "ready to play our part in the world, to help from the personal to the universal."<sup>266</sup> But like much of the rest of the world, Scotland found itself having to face a difficult, complicated and delicate international situation; a situation similar to that described by Macmurray in 1932, when he explained that "the network of

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<sup>263</sup> As if in anticipation of what was to come, Brand predicted in 1979 that "If the SNP replaced Labour as the majority party in Scotland, the probability of Labour forming a British government would be seriously diminished." Brand, J. p4 *The National Movement in Scotland* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979)

<sup>264</sup> Hassan, G. p3 'Anatomy of a Scottish Revolution: The Potential of Post-Nationalist Scotland and the Future of the United Kingdom' in *Political Quarterly* Vol. 82, No. 3, July-September 2011 Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi argue that in "the field of positive psychology" in terms of the social level "it is about the civic virtues and the institutions that move individuals toward better citizenship: responsibility, nurturance, altruism, civility, moderation, tolerance, and work ethic." Seligman, M. E. P. & Csikszentmihalyi, M. p5 'Positive Psychology: An Introduction' in *American Psychologist* Vol. 55, No. 1, January 2000 (Washington, D. C.: American Psychological Association, 2000)

<sup>265</sup> Prideaux, S. p61 *Not so New Labour: A sociological critique of New Labour's policy and practice* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2005)

<sup>266</sup> Salmond, A. p9 Speech to SNP Spring Conference (Glasgow: 12 March 2011) This phrase is reminiscent of Macmurray when he, according to Bevir, defended an analysis of the self as embedded in personal relations thus: "the Self is constituted by its relation to the Other – it has its being in its relationship" Bevir, M. p10 *From Idealism to Communitarianism: The Inheritance and Legacy of John Macmurray* (with O'Brien, D.) (Berkeley: University of California, 2003) Quoting from Macmurray, J. p17 *Persons in Relation: Volume II of The Form of the Personal* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961)

finance is terribly intricate, so that only experts can understand it."<sup>267</sup> In these circumstances, then as now, it followed that a nation would be likely to think twice before breaking away from a union it had been an integral part of for over three hundred years.<sup>268</sup> This was the dilemma faced by the SNP; but, as if in anticipation of this, Macmurray had counselled that "difficulties are the reflection of our own desire to avoid action"<sup>269</sup> and that as soon as these difficulties are faced, they can be resolved. This he believed to be true of a nation as well as of its communities. For one commentator the probability of Scotland resolving, or at least coping with, these difficulties separately was more than likely. Hassan maintained that "The direction of Scottish politics, society and institutions points towards the continued evolution of Scotland as a distinct political community."<sup>270</sup>

## Conclusion

The SNP's party's 2011 manifesto continued the theme of nation building and provided a transformative vision of Scotland which projected both confidence and responsibility. Education was now intended to take Scottish Studies beyond the realms of history and culture, in order that it became an integral part of all or most curricular activities; this being in line with Taylor's thinking *vis a vis* the Quebecois. Research indicated

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<sup>267</sup> Macmurray, J. p21 *Freedom in the Modern World* (1932) (London: Faber and Faber, 1945) Taylor explains that "The classic explanation of financial crisis, going back hundreds of years, is that they are caused by excesses – frequently monetary excesses – which lead to a boom and an inevitable bust." Taylor, J. B. p1 *The Financial Crisis and the Policy Response: A Empirical Analysis of What Went Wrong* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2009)

<sup>268</sup> This is what happened. In the run-up to the 2014 Scottish referendum on independence, a member of the 'Better Together' team came up with the term 'Project Fear.' Pike described this as "the tongue-in-cheek name members of the No campaign used to describe the nationalists' response to their operation. It was a knowing nod to the negativity of many of Better Together's key messages – the risks and uncertainties of independence – and to the relentless accusations of scaremongering from their opponents." Pike, J. *Project Fear: How an unlikely alliance left a kingdom united but a country divided* (London: Biteback Publishing Ltd., 2015)

<sup>269</sup> Macmurray, J. p21 *Freedom in the Modern World* (1932) (London: Faber and Faber, 1945)

<sup>270</sup> Hassan, G. p6 'Anatomy of a Scottish Revolution: The Potential of Post-Nationalist Scotland and the Future of the United Kingdom' in *Political Quarterly* Vol. 82, No. 3, July-September 2011

that by 2011 the SNP thought it had distanced itself from the 'UK based parties' and the ever more dysfunctional political system it believed they represented. The SNP administration argued that, whilst other parties had undermined their standing with the Scottish electorate, it had improved its, by launching a number of initiatives designed to help mitigate the effects of the worsening economic down-turn. As a result of the failings of the other parties (especially Labour) and of the SNP's stable approach to government, combined with various nation-building strategies, the already existent Scotland-UK cleavage concerning identity and ideology meant that many Scots had recalibrated to a distinctively Scottish dynamic. The SNP had therefore instigated a transformative narrative within Scottish society.

### ***8.5 Conclusion***

The consequence of incorporating these four case studies into the wider methodological framework, which accumulated data for the purpose of political discourse analysis, was to confirm the significant extent to which the SNP took a communitarian turn. Communitarian thinking was apparent in the political narrative and subsequent policy initiatives this party introduced. These studies were beneficial in enabling the research to deliberate on a restricted number of key topics, and in so doing gain a wide-ranging appreciation of the effect that communitarian discourse had upon the political narratives which followed.

The first study tested the contention that the SNP's ambition to encourage Scots to obtain a form of recognition that it believed was not currently given to them, signified an important aspect of its communitarian turn. During this period the party made obvious its determination to use devolution as a stepping stone towards the ultimate goal of independence. To this end it tried to inspire Scots to recognise their nation as being capable of making, and paying for, its own way in the world. At the heart of this lay an ambition that

Scotland would be able to demonstrate the dual virtues of enterprise and compassion. In addition, the party expressed a desire to alter the position of Scots from subjects to participative citizens of a nation that afforded them proper recognition. The party argued therefore, that Scotland's constitutional arrangement left it powerless to properly validate its internationalist credentials and that through independence the false homogeneity of Britishness would no longer have to be endured. Accordingly, it would receive that form of recognition advocated by Taylor.

The second study revealed evidence of a communitarian turn in the party's civic narrative concerning social policy decisions; the main influence of which was a commitment to create not only a just and prosperous nation, but one which embedded Scottish history and culture within school curriculums in order to, as Taylor would have it: 'foster particularity.' But it was not sufficient, according to the SNP, for Scotland just to attain cultural recognition; international commercial recognition was likewise essential. The party also recognised however, that some Scottish communities were in the midst of a moral malaise, one in which deviant behaviour resulted in some individuals having no meaningful connection to their community's social hierarchy and traditions. Taylor's 'chain of being' was thus broken. The SNP rebuffed this destructive individualism so detested by communitarian writers, and recommended several policies designed to change the lives of these people, and their communities. More broadly the SNP began to present itself, no longer as a radical party of protest, but rather as one that could be trusted in government. It hoped that by proving this at a devolved level, it would convince sufficient Scots of the benefits that could accrue were they to choose independence instead.

Having gained devolved power, the SNP then initiated a National Conversation. The third study examined whether the consequent political dialogue helped Scots determine the shape of their nation's future in the pro-independence way intended by the party. It became apparent however, that those who participated in this national dialogue were inclined to find

issues of policy and local empowerment more relevant to them than the constitutional debate itself. They acted as Macmurray would most probably have predicted, by displacing broad societal issues with those specific to the interests of community. In one sense this 'conversation' was judged not to have been particularly successful; the relatively low number of participants, for example, bear this out. Far greater dialogical exchange nevertheless, appears to have taken place via social media, and in this way Taylor's belief that only through such conversation can individuals progress sufficiently as to be capable of defining their own identity, may have been made more real.

The final study investigated a transformative vision for Scotland which became apparent in the party's narrative towards the end of the period examined. This was a vision of a confident nation; a nation which understood the virtues (from an SNP perspective) of independence, and was therefore prepared to take responsibility for determining its own future. The impetus for this transformational strategy came from the party's conviction that, for many Scots, the unionist parties now exemplified a dysfunctional political system; this at a point where the SNP believed it had gained in reputation through steady-handed governance and policy initiatives which helped alleviate, to an extent, the consequences of the worsening economic crises. The party believed therefore, that as a result of this approach, and its nation-building strategies - such as the intention to use education as a means of engendering a Scottish world view - that the identity and ideological cleavage between Scotland and the UK meant that many had now recalibrated to an explicitly Scottish dynamic. A transformative narrative was therefore being recommended. This, the party believed, would enable Scots to achieve what Taylor considered crucial: the identification of a horizon of meaning by which they were able to define their national identity and, as Salmond put it (in a way reflective of Macmurray) one in which they could play their part in the world in ways that range from the personal to the universal.

## Chapter Nine: Conclusion

This thesis concludes that the language of communitarianism was apparent in the political narratives espoused by the SNP and Labour Party in Scotland. Research enabled a critique of communitarianism to be undertaken and also analysis of the mostly implicit role this philosophy had in influencing each party during the first twelve years of legislative devolution. A 'communitarian turn' was clearly evident in the political discourse and strategies adopted, and this coincided with their need to face some particularly pressing challenges. The principle themes surveyed were therefore: discourse and narrative, communitarian theory and policy and strategy.

Political discourse analysis revealed how communitarian theory, combined with unfolding political events, caused the language employed and policies implemented to create a specific political narrative. The investigation was dialectical in the sense that it examined discourse between competing points of view; such as communitarians and liberals, and unionists and nationalists. This dialectical process used argumentation theory to determine that, not only were the discourses offered by various communitarian writers different; so too were the communitarian inspired actions taken by each party.

Research found three elements of communitarian thought particularly relevant. The first concerned the critique of modernity and assertion that society is in the midst of a moral malaise; this as a consequence of excessive individualism and lack of observance of society's customs and traditions. The second focused on the embeddedness thesis and the critique of liberal neutrality. Communitarians believe that liberalism tends to nurture individualistic behaviour; this to the extent that some are no longer embedded within a community - membership of which would constitute their identity. The third element concerned the value of recognition and the damaging effect misrecognition has on individual and group identity. Specifically, the attitude of minority groups was found to have changed, such that whilst



previously a basic demand for recognition was made - now there was a more fundamental demand for equal recognition of worth.

This research resolved three central questions. It identified the challenges both parties faced, and how these caused them to take a communitarian turn. It investigated the particular set of moral and political perspectives the communitarian philosophers took, and how these positions differed. It examined the strategies, policies and manifesto pledges adopted by each party which were inspired by or reflected communitarian ideas.

Labour faced the challenge of ideologically repositioning itself to embrace the market without abandoning its long-standing moral imperative to foster social solidarity. This was done, for example, by implementing the 'welfare to work' and 'social inclusion' policies; initiatives which corresponded with Etzioni's advocacy of the work ethic, combined with opposition to self-gratifying individualism. Research indicated that this influenced New Labour principles which promoted neither left nor right-wing ideological solutions, but instead a 'third way' which echoed communitarian narratives espoused by Etzioni, Macmurray and others. This inquiry established however, that residual left-wing sentiment in Scotland meant that this 'turn' alienated elements of Labour's long-established working-class support.

The SNP faced the challenge of promoting Scottish national identity as a precursor to independence. Research showed that by adopting a communitarian approach, its strategy for independence resembled Taylor's stance concerning the politics of equal recognition. It also found that the party lessened its resistance to devolution when it became apparent that it could ultimately work to its benefit. This tactic proved successful - so much so that in 2011 it formed a majority administration. This communitarian turn was further identified in the link between Salmond's assertion that this result represented a victory for his party and for the Scottish people, and Macmurray's assertion that while a state can initiate great change, only its people can see it through. Research confirmed that as a result of a series of

incremental changes, the party was able to push for a referendum on independence - and in so doing, satisfy Taylor's criteria of having gained sufficient subordinate authority to call for constitutional change.

Investigation revealed that the positions adopted by communitarian writers on occasion differed. MacIntyre's view of the human condition, for example, was pessimistic; his portrayal of the modern moral malaise being more dispiriting than Taylor's. Communitarians did however, agree that individuals were now often unencumbered, in that customs and traditions held mere instrumental significance; incomprehension as to the linear nature of their lives making it difficult to understand that actions have consequences. Etzioni depicts this as a decline in traditional values where no ethical alternative exists, and worries that this amalgamation of individualism and instrumental reason has resulted in those things in life which should matter, now being judged dispassionately and similarly to cost-benefit analysis. Research also revealed Macmurray's contention that individuals can now detach their emotional lives from any intellectual conclusions. From MacIntyre's perspective, moral debate has become emotivist; moral judgement being simply an expression of preference. As to the communitarian critique of liberal neutrality, research indicated a belief that individuals would better understand their identity if embedded in communities. This is why, from their perspective, authentic individual identity can only be dialogically constructed; no one having the linguistic skills to achieve self-definition independently of others. This investigation also established the importance that Taylor attaches to the ideal of authenticity and how this needs to be rescued and properly applied. To this end the value of external horizons of significance in relation to this ideal is paramount. Such authenticity, it is contended, can only come about if individuals are willing to contribute to a shared vocabulary of values. Finally, the question of recognition and identity was examined. Recognition and the detrimental effect that misrecognition can have

on individual and group identity was found to be a crucial factor in this aspect of communitarian thinking.

Strategies, policies and manifesto pledges, inspired by or reflective of communitarian ideas, were then examined; the constitutional options proposed by each being central to this inquiry. In Labour's case, legislative devolution was intended to minimize Scottish discontent with Westminster and reduce the threat of independence by instigating Taylor's notion of the politics of difference. Research showed the SNP to have regarded devolution as merely a staging-post on the road to independence. Taylor's stance on equal worth was evident here in the party's emphasis on what it considered Scotland's incongruent relationship with its more dominant neighbour. Its response mirrored that of many Quebecois who, like the SNP, believe that only through independence can they engage with the world rather than turn inward and become a 'buried' minority. SNP strategy rested therefore, on the need to instil a greater sense of national consciousness and collective identity in the Scottish psyche.

Another area of particular relevance to communitarian theory concerned policies on the issue of community transformation. In Labour's case this was evident in its move to replace socialist collectivism with the communitarian imperative to find equilibrium between individual rights and social responsibility. Etzioni's conception of the common good was, for example, exemplified in Brown's support for helping society to act as a moral community rather than a collection of individuals. Similarly, the influence of Scottish communitarian traditions on Dewar was apparent in his wish to create a future built from the first principles of social justice. Research further revealed that central to Labour's thinking on community transformation was Etzioni's assertion that communities represented the repositories of a shared moral language and practices. Likewise, the SNP's position centred on a conviction that traditionally Scots believed in the values of compassion, community and the common weel. This too is representative of Etzioni's position, which emphasised that people are

socially embedded and any formulation of the good inevitably follows from that. Examination of the party's aspiration to achieve independence, and a parliament which focussed on the needs and potential of Scottish communities, reflected a communitarian belief in the importance of strongly democratic communities. In this regard, MacIntyre's fear that nation-states now expect patriotic allegiance at the expense of one's own political and moral community was allayed by the SNP's form of civic nationalism; one intended primarily for the betterment of communities.

Research also showed a renewed interest in mutualism, a principle in accord with Macmurray's belief that individuals should live not only 'with' but also 'for' each other. To do otherwise would, as Taylor explained, lead to social dis-engagement and ultimately self-isolation. This served as an emotional counterpoint to the more intellectual values pertaining to third way politics, and provided a link between 'Old' and 'New' Labour. Research also found Scottish Labour to have portrayed itself as an alternative to the excessive individualism associated with Thatcherism. Further, by using the term 'community' freely, Dewar revealed an outlook similar to Etzioni's - this being that community has as much to do with values, attributes and identity, as with any specific setting. This investigation also found however, that to keep up with changing socio-economic patterns, Labour acceded to modern-day transient employment developments which work against the principle of embeddedness, and as such, jeopardise Macmurray's nexus of community relations.

Research showed devolution to have been a key reason for Labour in Scotland being able to articulate distinctive, often communitarian, principles. It provided autonomy sufficient to pursue policies unlike those at Westminster. Home care for the elderly illustrated this divergence and adhered to Taylor's view that no one should be isolated from their community and as such disorientated and deprived of their identity. This policy was intended to enable elderly people to remain embedded within their communities. The freedom to introduce different policies could be justified by reference to MacIntyre's

conviction that communities must judge for themselves what it is right to do. For him there was no universal definition of a virtue, and differences in how communities chose to meet social needs were an inevitable consequence of power devolved. For such reasons therefore, this investigation found that communitarian thought had been articulated by Labour in Scotland to a significant extent.

Regarding the SNP, research found it to have adopted a civic nationalism which made no claim of racial superiority. Instead of concentrating on patriotic rhetoric, it argued that independence could provide a just society; one which represented the collective identity and aspirations of its people. Whereas Blair's communitarian vision was somewhat abstract and intellectually derived, Salmond's experience of community was very real. He had experienced, and been influenced by, a conception of communitarianism which held that a society consisted of people in relation to each other. This feeling of rootedness stood in stark contrast to the alienation expressed by Blair. Research revealed that by the time devolution arrived the SNP had chosen a strategy which appeared to represent the views and aspirations of a diverse range of Scottish communities, whilst replacing the stark rhetoric of separation with the more palatable language of gradualism in an attempt to persuade them that Scotland's economy was sufficiently robust to prosper; not only within the confines of devolution, but crucially as a sovereign nation. This strategy was thought to have been further enhanced by the application of positive psychological messaging, as advocated by Seligman. On the issue of party leadership, Salmond's often robust style was not always appreciated, whilst Swinney was considered a more moderate leader. His prudent hand and gradualist approach became a boon in this regard. By offering economic efficiency, coupled with a social agenda intended to shape society's purpose, this two-fold message suggested that the Scottish economy could be safe in SNP hands and that what Taylor saw as a liberal fixation with state neutrality and excessive individualism should not

be cultivated. Research confirmed therefore, that communitarian thought had, to a significant extent, been articulated by the SNP in the political narrative it pursued.

To gauge the extent to which communitarian thought impacted on the application of policy, a case study approach was adopted. To this end specific policy issues were analysed from the perspective of discourse and narrative in relation to communitarian theory. The Labour studies considered respectively: the constitutional narrative surrounding the introduction of legislative devolution; the extent to which social policy decisions expressed communitarian principles; the contention that devolution was a 'one-off-event' representing the people's 'settled will,' and the effect of coalition government on the resultant political narrative. The SNP studies examined: the party's drive to encourage Scots to recognise their capability to function as an independent nation; the party's socio-economic narrative and the degree to which this articulated communitarian principles; the National Conversation as a strategy to engender belief in nationhood as a precursor to independence, and the party's transformative vision for Scotland. The cumulative effect of integrating these case studies into the broader methodological framework was to verify the substantial extent to which each party had taken a communitarian turn.

The first Labour study indicated a communitarian turn in the party's introduction of legislative devolution. This was perceived as a means to a fair society whereby Scottish solutions resolved Scottish problems. Evidence indicates however, that it was also intended to weaken support for independence whilst mitigating the effects of marginalization so abhorred by Taylor - without the need to separate. In the event, devolution may have had the opposite effect. By accentuating the differences between Scotland and the rest of the UK, and thus weakening the union it was intended to strengthen, Labour had fallen victim to the law of unintended consequences. It had set in motion a series of events, the outcome of which there was no way of knowing. The next study identified communitarian thinking in the party's social policy; its intention being to introduce a culture of social inclusion, fairness,

and justice. On the issue of restorative justice, Labour articulated concern over deviant behaviour which exemplified what some communitarians described as resulting in a moral malaise. Its thoughts on reforming miscreant behaviour corresponded with those of both Taylor and MacIntyre. By proposing that wrongdoers enter into contractual arrangements wherein they agree to live according to acceptable patterns of behaviour, it was intended that they would come to appreciate, for example, Taylor's principle of belonging and obligation and thus, experience feelings of equal worth towards other members of their community. The third study uncovered Labour's misplaced belief that devolution was a one-off event representing Scotland's settled will, and found it instead to be just one component in an on-going narrative. Whilst ostensibly the notion of a settled will may seem laudable, this static conception of the good did not accord with communitarian thinking on the unfolding nature of a society's collective will. Confirmation of this unfolding narrative came when additional ad hoc devolved powers were subsequently established. The final Labour study considered the result of its sharing of power with the Liberal Democrats. This found the coalition to have been conducive to policies where significant aspects of communitarian thought were evident, and that this had been made possible because the ideological development of both parties had cohered to demonstrate a collective ambition similar to Etzioni's vision of the 'common good.'

The first SNP study investigated its strategy of nurturing a spirit of nationhood, but without exhibiting the strong nationalistic sentiment that communitarians such as MacIntyre dislike. Its aim was to convince Scots that theirs was a distinct society; divergent in its values and aims from the rest of the UK. The party exhibited a form of nationalism which, as MacAskill explained, was as much about standing up for the people, as it was about revering the nation. Whilst in a cultural sense most Scots considered their country to be a distinct nation, not enough (from the SNP's perspective) envisaged it becoming a nation-state. In its favour nevertheless, was a perception that the British state had failed to give Scots proper

recognition and that ultimately, no one cared more for them than they did for themselves. This reflected Taylor's observation that a nation can reach a point where its basic need for recognition may become supplanted by a more fundamental demand for equal recognition. The next study found evidence of a communitarian turn in the party's socio-economic narrative. This advocated a just and prosperous nation; one where Scottish history and culture were embedded within school curriculums such that, as Taylor would have it, particularity was fostered. With regard to restorative justice the intention was to enable recalcitrant citizens to re-connect with their communities and thus become part of Taylor's chain of being. Rather than being motivated to act merely as the result of a calculation of instrumental significance, they could instead learn to connect with older moral horizons. The SNP was therefore, acting in accordance with the communitarian rejection of excessive individualism, and at the same time concurring with MacIntyre's view that some individuals exhibit a level of moral ambiguity such that it inhibits them from ever realizing their essential nature. The third study examined the political dialogue initiated by the National Conversation. This afforded Scots the opportunity to engage in public dialogue in order to better understand themselves and the future they wanted for their country. This intention to highlight national particularities and capitalize on them, was redolent of Taylor's politics of recognition; utilized here in the hope of showing Scots that they held different values and objectives from those of their immediate neighbours. The somewhat nuanced response from those who did participate saw them speaking of many things and exhibiting a multiplicity of attitudes; this reflecting Macmurray's view that, when given the opportunity, people tend to reflect on those issues affecting their community, before considering wider societal matters. Participation in officially organized events however, was not all that happened. Given the advent of social media, many spoke to each other about a new constitutional settlement, without the need to engage directly with politicians. The locus of power had shifted such that, as Russell observed, the politicians were no longer the democratic gatekeepers. The



final study examined the party's transformative narrative; one which projected the vision of a confident nation capable, in the SNP's view, of independence and of determining its own future. The momentum behind this lay in its belief that the unionist parties now represented a dysfunctional system - whilst it had gained a reputation for stable governance. It believed that its nation-building policies had caused many to recalibrate to an explicitly Scottish dynamic, and that this would allow Scots to gain what Taylor considered vital: a horizon of meaning by which they can define their own national identity.

This research into the extent to which communitarian thought impacted on the application of policy confirms therefore, that the language of communitarianism was evident, to a significant degree, in the political narratives adopted by both parties, and in the policy initiatives they subsequently pursued. Case studies proved valuable in enabling the research to concentrate on a limited number of important topics, and in so doing gain a more comprehensive understanding of the effect that communitarian discourse had. Overall, the outcome of this investigation was the identification of a significant gap in current understanding concerning the influence of communitarian thinking on the strategies and policies adopted by Labour and the SNP during the period under investigation, and confirmation of the validity of the hypothesis that both had taken a 'communitarian turn' in their respective political narratives, in order to cope with the distinct challenges that each faced.

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