

## COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL

# Thatchérisme : bilan ou héritage?

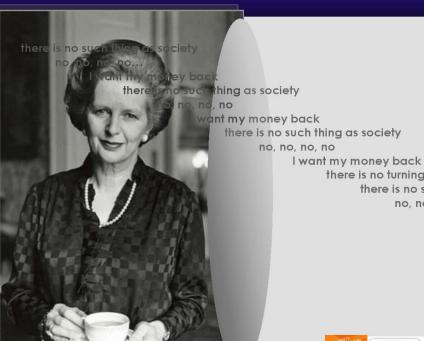
7-8 novembre 2014

Salle de Conférences, Maison Internationale Universitaire

9 rue Kessler

**Clermont-Ferrand** 

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I want my money back

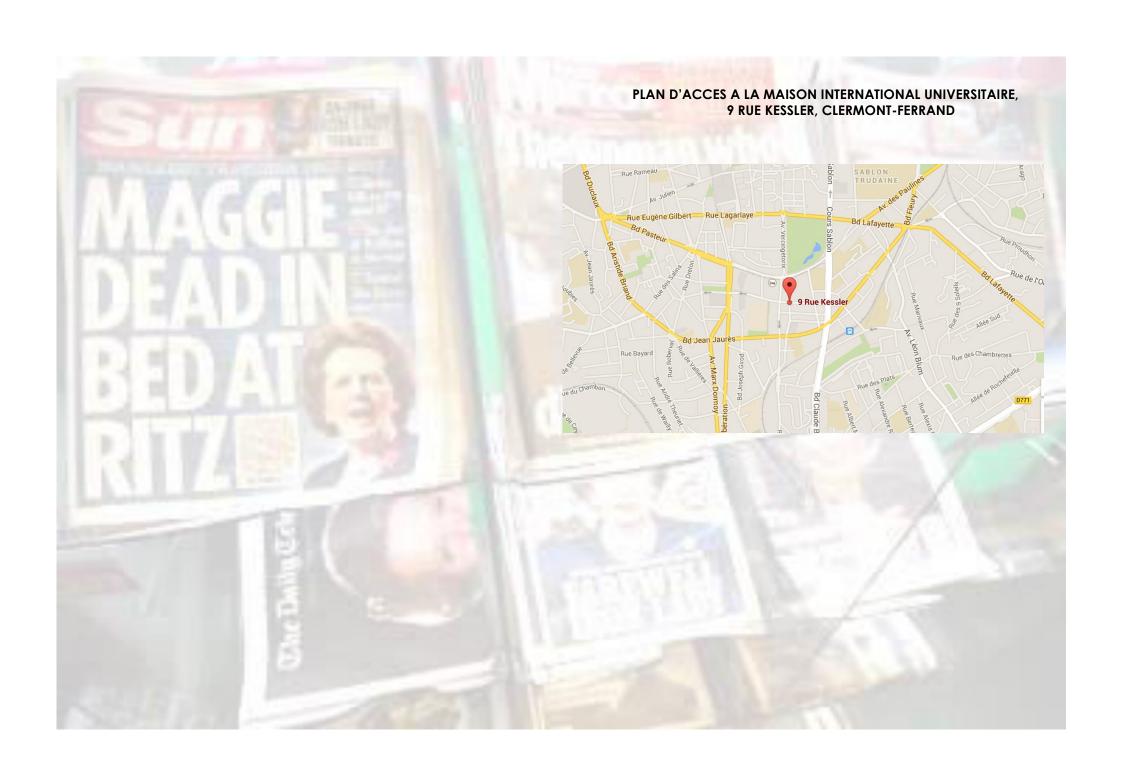


there is no turning back



there is no such thing as society no, no, no, no





#### **SAMEDI 8 NOVEMBRE**

**Présidente de séance, Martine Spensky**, Professeure Emerite, Université Blaise Pascal Clermont II, EHIC (EA 1087)

9H00: Peter Dorey, Cardiff University

### Marketisation and Managerialism: Thatcher's legacy on public sector reform?

Public services in Britain, such as education and health, have experienced relentless reform since the late 1980s, in the form of 'marketisation' and 'managerialism'. Marketisation refers to the process whereby the principles and processes of the private sector have been instilled into the public sector, to maximise competition, efficiency, and provide choice for service users. At the same time, 'managerialism' has resulted in public sector professionals being subordinated to increasing bureaucratic control and regulation, and routine monitoring exercises or inspections to measure their performance. This has resulted in a steady loss of professional autonomy, authority and discretion, and, arguably, a 'proleterianization' of many professionals in the public sector.

### 10H00: Louise Dalingwater, Université Paris 3 Sorbonne Nouvelle, CERVEPAs Dismantling the Public Sector: The legacy of Thatcherism

Margaret Thatcher brought about sweeping changes to the public sector in the 1980s. The traditional concept of public, defined by Samuelson as "non-rivalrous" and "non excludable", was called into question. This paper will describe the transformation of the public sector under Margaret Thatcher and the legacy of these changes. It will consider how Thatcherism has altered the notion of public good and what effects this has had on the British economy since 1979.

10H30: Pause café

### 10H45 : Agnès Alexandre-Collier, Université de Bourgogne, Centre Interlangues (EA 4182) Euroscepticism under Margaret Thatcher and David Cameron: from Theory to Practice

Margaret Thatcher was often portrayed as the « spiritual mother » of Euroscepticism. But with hindsight, one can argue that Thatcher's Euroscepticism was actually more a question of style than substance. More than twenty years later, David Cameron's European policy, though inspired by Thatcher's European vision, is now based on a clear-cut Eurosceptic agenda which is yet criticised for being more moderate than what today's Eurosceptics advocate.

### 11H15: Sabine Michelon, Paris III Sorbonne Nouvelle, CREW (EA 4399) Prime Ministerial communication – the Thatcher legacy

This paper will argue that Margaret Thatcher's communication as Prime Minister was an integral part of Thatcherism. Our study will therefore aim at assessing her legacy as far as Prime Ministerial communication is concerned, by focusing on how the subsequent four Prime Ministers' uses of communication have been managed in terms of shape, style and content in the wake of and in comparison with the model she had established.

### THATCHERISM: ASSESSMENT OR LEGACY?

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On 8th April 2013, Margaret Thatcher passed away at the age of 87. The controversial question of whether she was to have a state funeral, usually reserved for members of the Royal Family or for outstanding statesmen (Winston Churchill in the 20th century for example), had been settled prior to her death at a meeting between Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and Gordon Brown, the Prime Minister in office at the time, in accordance with Margaret Thatcher's wishes. She was buried in St Paul's Cathedral after a ceremonial funeral on 17th April 2013, a rare homage paid to a very controversial political figure. This alone was enough to polarise public opinion. Twenty-three years after the end of her third and last term in office, Margaret Thatcher was still dividing public opinion, and provoking heated debate amonast politicians and scholars. Such public discord surrounding a particular political figure, especially at the time of his or her death, is rather a unique phenomenon in contemporary Western Europe. Political leaders more often than not sink into oblivion and very few remain as controversial as Margaret Thatcher two decades on. Is this because Britons have a long memory? Is it perhaps that Thatcherism is still alive and well?

In 2008, in his conclusion to *Thatcher's Britain*, historian Richard Vinen presented the Thatcher era as an "episode in history rather than an aspect of present-day politics" (p.319), suggesting however that it might be rather too early for certainties. Today, scholars (historians and political analysts) as well as journalists no longer speak of an assessment of Thatcher's policies but of her legacy, implying that if Margaret Thatcher is dead, Thatcherism is not. Yet, in the *Financial Times* of 16 April 2013, Richard Vinen insists that: "Cameron cannot revive Thatcherism".

#### **VENDREDI 7 NOVEMBRE**

9H30: Ouverture du colloque

Pr Timothy Whitton, Directeur de l'EHIC (Espaces Humains et Interactions Culturelles, EA 1087).

Président de séance: Timothy Whitton, Professeur, Université Blaise Pascal Clermont II

10H00: Keynote Speaker: Dennis Kavanagh, Professeur émerite, University of Liverpool

#### Thatcher after 25 years: Myths and Reality of Repercussions

The Thatcher legacy has been a subject of bitter political and scholarly debate. The lecture will evaluate the differing claims about its consequences for the political system, political culture and the political parties.

11H00: Pause café

**11H15: Nathalie Champroux et Nicholas Sowels**, Université Paris XII Créteil, CERVEPAs, Université Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, CREW (EA 4399)

The Monetarism of Early Thatcherism. What is the legacy of the Medium-Term Financial Strategy?

This joint communication examines the origins, application and legacy of monetarist economic policy conducted by the first Conservative government (1979-1983), and as specifically formulated in the Medium Term Financial Strategy (MTFS).

It starts by examining the theoretical origins of the policy, founded largely in the monetarist theory of Milton Friedman and the Chicago School of (neo)liberal economics. It then proceeds to recall how this policy was implemented shortly after the election of the Conservatives in 1979, with the Medium Term Financial Strategy, which aimed at bringing down inflation by setting out clear, forward-looking targets for broad money growth and government spending. In the event, the strategy failed in its purist form. It will move on to examine how policy was debated in Cabinet during this period of economic trauma and policy flux, drawing on Cabinet minutes which are now in the public domain. It will also look at how the MTFS shifted into being more a policy of fiscal austerity with the 1981 budget.

In terms of legacy, the communication will present how the MTFS was succeeded by numerous other policy experiments, including Britain's hazardous membership of the EMS (ERM), direct inflation targeting and increasing central bank independence.

As for fiscal policy, we will examine how the Thatcherite drive to austerity in the early 1980s has been recalled in the more recent past by the austerity policy of today's coalition government. In many ways, the present government, and especially Chancellor George Osborne are banking on repeating the success of the early Thatcher years, namely that tight control of government spending will help pave the way to stronger growth.

12H15: Déjeuner

Président de Séance : Pr Nick Parsons, Cardiff University

**14H00**: **Anne Beauvallet**, Toulouse Jean Jaurès, CAS

### Thatcherism and Education in England: A One-way Street?

Margaret Thatcher, as Education Secretary from 1970 to 1974 and as Prime Minister from 1979 to 1990, overhauled the English education system. Thatcherism can be described as a genuine educational legacy through its own institutions, ideology and rituals. However, the influence of Thatcherism on English education is not a one-way street since her dreams in this field have not been completely fulfilled.

**14H30 : Françoise Granoulhac,** Université de Grenoble 2, IUT de Valence, Laboratoire de Recherche Historique Rhône-Alpes (UMR 5190)

Turning the clock back: The revival of Thatcherism in the 'new Conservatives' education policy

In education as in other public services, continuities between New Labour and the Thatcher and Major administrations have often been underlined. Since 2005 the "new conservatives" have endeavoured to distance themselves from both their predecessors and to set out a new vision for education. This paper, which focuses on primary and secondary education, discusses and compares discourse and policy, and suggests that the expected renewal has been superseded by a re-enactment of 1980s policies and a revival of Thatcher's ideas and values.

### 15H00: Manel Salem, Université Montpellier 3, EMMA (EA741) The Conservative ideology in Thatcher's immigration policies

Enoch Powell's harsh criticism of excessive bureaucratic government, state intervention and lenient race relations during the sixties was supported by the Conservative Member of Parliament Margaret Thatcher who said in a 1978 television interview that the British people were fearful of being "swamped by immigrants" from the new Commonwealth and Pakistan. Once in office, she was favourable to the introduction of quotas and her Government legislated to re-define British nationality to protect British identity. She was also adamant that Britain's independence be preserved. This was particularly visible in her attitude to Europe.

15H30: Pause café

**16H00**: Thierry Labica, Université Paris X Nanterre, CREA (équipe 370) Le thatchérisme, les séquences du néolibéralisme et la place de la question syndicale

Dans l'abondant débat critique contemporain sur le néolibéralisme, ou l'ère néolibérale, l'évocation du thatchérisme occupe la place privilégiée d'une expérience fondatrice dont l'ombre portée est généralement présumée s'étendre jusqu'à la conjoncture actuelle. Cette contribution propose alors de réfléchir sur ce que peut être la spécificité du thatchérisme dans la succession de séquences et de discours constitutifs, les uns et les autres de la période dite néolibérale. De ce point de vue, il paraîtra nécessaire d'en revenir à la manière dont ce –isme s'est constitué dans une confrontation stratégique au monde syndical et à l'ensemble du modèle du partenariat social d'après-guerre.

16H30: Marc Lenormand, Université Montpellier 3, EMMA (EA741) Interpreting Thatcherism: the British Labour movement and the political legacy of the period of Conservative rule (1979-1992)

The political legacy of the long period of Conservative rule will be examined through its impact on the British labour movement. The electoral victories of the Conservatives, from 1979 to 1992, and the broad political phenomenon referred to as "Thatcherism", have often been interpreted in conflicting ways in the trade union movement and the Labour Party. It is this very conflict of interpretations which has driven the contested process of "modernisation" of the trade unions and Labour Party.

19H30: Dîner Chez Flo