



People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Mohamed Khider University of Biskra
Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of English Language and Literature

MASTER THESIS

Letters and Foreign Languages

English Studies

Literature and Civilization

The Economic and Social Effectiveness of Margaret Thatcher in United Kingdom

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Academic Year: 2022-2023

Declaration

I, ZOUZOU Sohaib, do hereby declare that this submitted work is my original work and has not previously been submitted for any institution or university for a degree. I also take full responsibility for any future possible issues related to the originality of this work. I equally declare that a list of references is provided forward indicating all the sources of the cited and quoted information. This work was certified and completed at Mohammed KHEIDER University of Biskra.

Algeria

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to my beloved parents, sisters and my grandparents.

I am so grateful to my classmates and close friends for their help and encouragement especially Menaceri Seif Eddine and Soualah Belkacem.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to Allah who gave me all the guidance. I express my deepest gratitude to my respected supervisor Ms. LOULOU Nadjiba, I would like to express my profound gratitude for her valuable guidance, positive attitude, continued support, and assistance.

Special thanks to the jury members; Mr. Smati Said , Mrs. Bougofa Zeyneb and Mr.

Senouci Zakaria for accepting to evaluate this thesis.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to my teachers in Mohamed

Khider University of Biskra.

Finally, I thank every person who has given me any help and advice to claim this work.

Abstract

Economic and social policies are considered a government's most important domestic policies and are designed and built by the government to serve and develop their interests. Since the end of World War Two, Britain as a country has suffered enormously; thus, each cabinet and prime minister sought to create and improve economic and social policies in their own way and vision. Therefore, this research attempts to present a historical and analytical overview of Margaret Thatcher's social and economic performance in the United Kingdom throughout her time as prime minister. To achieve that final goal, this research will look at Britain from the conclusion of World War Two to the end of Margaret Thatcher's term in 1990. In our research, the historical method in addition to an exploratory, descriptive, investigative approach will be used. The significance of the study lies in understanding a transformative period in British history and evaluating the impact of Thatcher's policies on the economy and society.

Key words: Economic and social policies, Margaret Thatcher, World War Two, United Kingdom.

List of Acronyms

WWII	World War Two
UK	United Kingdom
NCB	National Coal Board
NHS	National Health Service
MP	Member of Parliament
BMA	British Medical Association
NI	National Insurance
NAB	National Assistance Board
PACs	Public Assistance Committees
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
US	United States
UN	United Nations
NUM	The National Union of Mineworkers
OAPEC	The Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries
CPI	The Consumer Price Index
BBC	The British Broadcasting Corporation
ITV	Independent Television
IMF	International Monetary Fund
WLM	The Women's Liberation Movement
LSD	Lysergic acid diethylamide
CPS	The Centre for Policy Studies
BAe	The British Aerospace
BT	British Telecom
IPO	Initial Public Offering

Ofcom	Office of Communications
Ofgas	The Office of Gas Supply
Ofwat	Office for Water Services
ORR	The Office of Rail Regulation
Ofgem	The Office of Gas and Electricity Markets
PSBR	The Public Sector Borrowing Requirement
VAT	Value Added Tax
MTFS	Medium Term Financial Strategy
BMA	The British Medical Association
GP	General Practitioner
LEAs	Local Education Authorities

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General Introduction

Background

Margaret Thatcher was the first female British prime minister and the twentieth century's longest-serving British prime minister. She is considered a controversial character who succeeded in contributing plenty of things for her country, which was often referred to as "ungovernable". Since World War Two (WWII), several causes and events have put Britain in a difficult social and economic position.

Europe was the continent that suffered most from World War II. The war had caused widespread destruction, loss of life, and economic devastation across the continent. No matter how much the end of the war brought relief to the British Empire, it also brought numerous obstacles to overcome, destruction, and multiple cities that crashed due to bombing and the horrors of war. However, in order to reconstruct the country, rebuilding became a top priority for most of the prime ministers that governed, moreover, massive reconstruction projects were undertaken to restore cities, housing, and all the government systems.

The government implemented an ambitious post-war development plan, aiming to modernize the country and create a more equal society. To achieve these objectives, Britain and its major parties, the Labour Party and the Conservative Party, entered a vital period called the post-war consensus. Lasting from the late 1940s to the late 1970s, this consensus embraced the idea of a comprehensive welfare state with a focus on social welfare, Keynesian economics, and government intervention. It brought about significant social reforms, including the establishment of the National Health Service and the expansion of social housing and education.

Britain faced a series of economic difficulties, including high inflation, rising unemployment, and stagnant economic growth. The policies of the consensus, which emphasized Keynesian economics and government intervention, were unable to effectively address these challenges. In addition, the power of trade unions reached its peak in the 1970s, with regular strikes and industrial disputes disrupting the economy. The unions demanded wage increases and better conditions. As a consequence of economic challenges, the inability to resolve conflicts with trade unions and shifts in social attitudes and policies towards greater personal freedom, tolerance, and liberalization of social norms all led to the breakdown of the consensus, which lasted many years with its upgrades and downgrades. The development of the new right in the 1970s was crucial to challenging the previous system. Influenced by economists like Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek, he promoted deregulation, privatization, minimal government involvement, and free markets. Intellectuals, decision-makers, and corporate executives began to adopt these concepts as alternatives to the consensus era's interventionist policies. The emergence of the New Right, adopted by Margaret Thatcher, marked a turning point in British politics. It came with transformative decisions and policies, and it became known as Thatcherism.

Margaret Thatcher's time was defined by a mix of social and economic policies. Thatcher supported market-oriented reforms such as privatization, deregulation, and budgetary restraint on the economic front. She led the big privatization of state-owned companies, lowered government controls on entrepreneurs, and sought to manage inflation and cut government spending. These measures attempted to encourage entrepreneurship, boost competition, and revitalize the British economy while also implementing welfare reforms with the objective of increasing self-reliance and reducing dependence on the state

Statement of the Problem

The effectiveness of political leaders is a critical issue that is often the subject of public debate and discussion. Margaret Thatcher's tenure as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom is no exception, with opinions divided on her effectiveness as a leader and the impact of her policies. This study aims to provide an objective assessment of Thatcher's effectiveness as Prime Minister and to determine the impact of her policies, leadership style, and decision-making on the UK.

In light of the above-mentioned research contextualization, the research probes the following research questions:

- What variables fostered the spread of Thatcherism?
- What was the nature of Margaret Thatcher's leadership style and how did it impact her effectiveness as Prime Minister?
- How did Margaret Thatcher's policies and decision-making impact the UK?
- What were the key challenges and opportunities faced by Margaret Thatcher during her time in office and how did she respond to them?

Research Aims

This research aims to provide both a chronological and analytical study on the social and economic effectiveness of Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom during her term. In order to achieve that ultimate objective, this research will also dig into Britain from the end of World War Two until the end of Margaret Thatcher's term in 1990.

Methodology

In our research, we will use the historical method in addition to an exploratory, descriptive, investigative approach. Also, we will use library research to collect sources and literary reviews that are relevant to my research field. The research method will also include an overall reading of previous research and sources. It will also use the historical

material that would help to come up with helpful and important information about the economic and social impact of Margaret Thatcher in United Kingdom under her term. The above- mentioned findings will be supported by reliable websites, essays, articles, books, journals, and dissertations. The study is based on looking for the available studies made by historians, scholars and political scientists on this subject in relation to the new perspective in which we will attempt to highlight.

Chapter One: Historical Framework of Post War Britain

Introduction

The period of political accord that evolved in the United Kingdom (UK) following World War II is referred to as the post-war consensus, sometimes known as the Butskellite consensus. During this time period, the major political parties were generally in agreement on important topics, including the role of the state in the economy, the value of social welfare, and the requirement for full employment. The consensus was supported by adherence to Keynesian economics and faith in the government's ability to influence society and the economy for the good of all.

Scholars, historians, and political scientists have engaged in extensive discussion and research of the complex and varied phenomena known as the post-war consensus. While some contend that the consensus marked an exceptional and unprecedented era of political stability and social advancement, others see it as a restraint that stifled innovation and contributed to the 1970s economic downturn.

This chapter seeks to contribute to the ongoing debate on the post-war consensus by examining its origins, development, and impact on British politics and society. Specifically, we will explore the key factors that contributed to the emergence of the consensus, including the legacy of post-World War II, the ideas and policies of the major political parties, mainly the labour and conservative parties, and the changing social and economic context of the period. In addition, this chapter will include an analysis of the ways in which the consensus influenced policy-making in areas such as nationalization, social welfare, and economic management, as well as its impact on broader social and cultural trends in post-war Britain.

Overall, this chapter aims to provide a comprehensive and nuanced analysis of the post-war consensus in the UK, shedding light on its complexities and contradictions as well as its enduring legacy for British politics and society.

1.1 The Post War Consensus

The post-war consensus in the United Kingdom refers to a period of political agreement and social stability that lasted from the end of the Second World War until the late 1970s. During this time, there was an agreement among different political parties about the significance of state intervention in the economy and the necessity of providing social welfare services. Moreover, there was a commitment to promoting full employment and maintaining a mixed economy. This era was marked by a shared consensus on several crucial policy matters, such as the requirement for government expenditure on public services, the supervision of essential industries, and the application of progressive taxation on wealth and income (Marwick 2).

1.2 The Labour Party's Domestic Policies during the Post-War Consensus

During the time of post-war consensus, the Labour Party put into effect a number of domestic policies that reflected this consensus and tried to deal with the problems of post-war reconstruction and social welfare. The Labour Party governed the United Kingdom from 1945 to 1951, and again from 1964 to 1970. Their policies were meant to bring about social and economic security, cut down on inequality, and make people's lives better. Even though these policies had flaws and were criticized, they helped shape the modern British welfare state and the country's path after World War II. In 26 of July 1945, the Labour party gained the general election with 393 seats while the conservative party surprisingly only won 213 seats. Clement Attlee became the first Labour Prime Minister after the Second World War. Unfortunately, because of the wartime's debt, Clement Attlee's

government inherited around £4198 million (McCulloch 465). The Labour party adopted Keynesianism theory as its essential economic policies in the way of governing in order to promote economic growth, reduce social inequality, and create a stronger welfare state (Toye 169). key domestic policies of the Labour Party during the post-war consensus include:

1.2.1 Keynesianism

Keynesianism is an economic theory that was developed by British economist John Maynard Keynes in the early 20th century. It promotes the intervention of the government in the economy with the objective of fostering economic stability and growth. According to Keynesianism, during periods of economic recession, governments should employ measures such as increasing spending, lowering taxes, and/or reducing interest rates to encourage businesses to invest, hire more workers, and generate demand. As a result, these actions will trigger economic activity, leading to higher rates of employment. On the other hand, during periods of economic expansion, governments should adopt measures such as decreasing spending and raising taxes to prevent inflation and promote stability. The primary aim of Keynesianism is to use government policies to maintain equilibrium in the economy and forestall recessions or depressions (Baumol and Blinder 226).

1.2.2 Nationalization

The labour party under Clement Attlee as the United Kingdom's prime minister aimed to nationalize 20% of the economy. Several industries such as The Bank of England, The coal industry, the iron and steel. To establish a coordinated approach to production and supply to assure economic survival and efficiency in the face of war and post-war rebuilding was the main objective of nationalization throughout the post-war period. The government argued that in order to be more effective, they would need to have control of the most vital and productive sectors of the economy. They believed that certain sectors

were too significant to be left in private hands. Soon after the first implementation of nationalization, questions quickly surfaced. The demands of Labour's amateur and expert economic gurus, as well as bureaucracy, stifled the state industries. Their more radical concepts frequently began losing ground to the delicate harmony between pragmatism and principle. Additionally, because of competing with other government spending departments like education, health, and defense, the nationalized businesses had limited opportunity to obtain cash for long-term investment and modernization. A protracted era of underinvestment in these industries was the outcome (“The Guardian”).

1.2.2.1 The Bank of England

The Bank of England is the country's central bank and the inspiration for the majority of contemporary central banks. Before being nationalized in 1946, the bank was privately held. In addition to managing the nation's gold and foreign exchange reserves, it also finances public borrowing and prints banknotes. It serves as a key monetary policy advisor to the government and is mostly in charge of carrying out the decision through transactions on the money, bond, and foreign exchange markets (Howells 44).

1.2.2.2 The Coal Industry

By the end of the war, as the war drew to a conclusion in 1945, the government declared its desire to nationalize coal mining. The Coal Industry Nationalization Act of 1946 presented the process for doing it. The National Coal Board (NCB), which was passed on July 12th, 1946, granted exclusive authority over controlling and operating the industry.

As a result, to the unique challenges faced by the coal business, the Minister of Fuel and Power decided to maintain stringent ministerial controls over output, price, modernization, wage negotiations, and hiring. Eventually, this marked the end of the miners' protracted fight for public ownership of their sector. Wages and conditions did

improve after nationalization. Previously the uncommon, pit head baths now became the rule. Productivity increased significantly as a result of investments in sophisticated machinery. One of the finest paid occupations was mining. They still lacked influence in a sector controlled by the National Coal Board (NCB) and regional executives, though. The NCB's main goal was to maximize profits, not to address social needs. (“Nationalization of the mines”). After to a period of consistent production, a decrease in production occurred once more, greater than the rate witnessed during the interwar era. exceeded that of the period between World War I and World War II. The current issue involves to a decline in domestic consumption.

By the late 1950s, the amount of exports had significantly dropped. By the end of the 1950s, exports became low; domestically, a decrease in the relative price of competing oil products and, beginning in the late 1960s, competition from low-priced North Sea natural gas led to a sharp decline in coal production and employment (Robinson 3). Despite the oil crises that occurred in the 1970s has helped in little way on the industry, during the 1970s, the production output of coal remained stable at almost 120 to 130 million tons per annum. In response, the National Coal Board (NCB) formulated ambitious proposals to augment fabrication to 170 million tons per year by the end of the century (Robinson 4).

1.2.2.3 Iron and Steel Act 1949

The British Iron and Steel Federation, which was established in the interwar period to represent industry companies and set industry-wide prices, production quotas, levies, and the closure of redundant works under government oversight, marked the beginning of the UK government's involvement in the iron and steel sector. Then, during the Second World War, it was under the control of the The Ministry of Supply.

The Conservative opposition had been consistently against nationalizing the iron and steel industry, because as Abel stated “In Theory, the British Conservative Party opposes nationalization as a principle, as a philosophy, as a policy and as a program” (227). The law was put into operation in February 1951, which meant that it was put into effect only in time for the 1951 general election. (Thorpe 133)

1.2.3 The Welfare State and the Social Reforms

The welfare state is regarded as political system in which the government takes responsibility for the well-being of its citizens, especially in areas such as social protection, healthcare, and education. The meaning of welfare is taken principally as the system of social security which was developed by the Liberal William Beveridge who was a senior civil servant who spent plenty of time for working on welfare policy. He published the “Beveridge Report” in 1942 and implemented by the Labour government of 1945 as it was promised by Attlee’s government to adopt in case of winning the election (Whiteside 24-25). Furthermore, for a long time, historians have viewed that the Beveridge Report as a crucial component in the creation of the welfare state in Britain. He viewed that it is vital to tackle what he called the five giants; idleness, ignorance, disease, squalor and want. After a catastrophic circumstance that United Kingdom had both socially and economically, a welfare state was necessary to emerge (Beveridge).

1.2.3.1 Housing

After the World War two, Britain suffered overcrowding because of the war and its results. In order to tackle this issue, the labour government introduced the New Towns Act in 1946. It provided more than 20 new towns were built, most of them in England. Basildon; Brack- nell; Crawley; Hatfield; Harlow; Hemel Hempstead; Stevenage and Welwyn Garden City were all builded before 1950’s which tended to provide houses for fifty thousand people (Clapson 94). Then, during the 1960s, it was Harold Wilson's Labour

government that had the most ambitious plans to build new towns. Some of the biggest new towns in Britain after World War II were made by the New Towns Act of 1965. Some, like Northampton and Peterborough in East Anglia, have been towns for a long time, but after that time it was considered new towns because they have grown beyond their old borders (Clapson 97).

1.2.3.2 The National Health Service Act 1946

The National Health Service Act of 1946 served as the framework for the NHS in England and Wales. Additionally, Scotland and Wales had various laws in place. The Ministry of Health is to support the establishment of this Health Service, according to this 1946 law. Aneurin Bevan, a member of parliament (MP), was the first health minister appointed. "The collective principle asserts that... no society can legitimately call itself civilized if a sick person is denied medical aid because of lack of means" (Bevan 108).

The protection of individuals in both their mental and physical health was the main goal of this program. Additionally, efforts were made to advance the fields of diagnosis, treatment, and prevention. This Act made a variety of medical services available for free as part of healthcare. All public and nonprofit hospitals are part of this service, which hospital boards run. Local governments were in charge of providing community-based services, including immunizations and community midwives.

The National Health Service Act was passed by the Labour administration in 1946, although it had to overcome significant resistance. First, The British Medical Association (BMA) was concerned about doctors who were paid by the NHS losing their jobs. Second, many local governments and nonprofit organizations feared losing control over hospitals. Third, the NHS was often perceived as being too expensive. Despite these doubts and hesitations, the NHS was finally established on July 5, 1948 (Ramsden 63-66). The goal was to offer support in all areas from the start of life to the very end. It included that all

British residents should have access to free medical care, hospitals should be nationalized, and health centers should be established (to offer services like immunizations and maternity care). Finally, there is a greater distribution of doctors, optometrists, and dentists around the nation.

The National Health Service was created as a tax-funded, universal health care program. People did not have to pay to see a doctor on the NHS because it was and still is free at the point of use. However, some services provided by the NHS do require payment. Charges for prescriptions, dental work, and eyeglasses were introduced in 1952, and they are still in effect in England. (“British medical journal 845”).

1.2.3.3 Ignorance

The post-war plans for secondary education in Britain were designed with the objective of eliminating the existing disparities within the system. The percentage of available slots designated as 'free places' at grammar schools in England and Wales underwent a notable increase from approximately 33% to nearly 50% during the period spanning from 1913 to 1937. Nonetheless, in cases where underprivileged children were provided with complimentary admission, their guardians frequently had to decline the offer due to the supplementary expenses entailed. The Education Act of 1944 brought about significant alterations in the manner in which secondary schools were administered and provided for in England and Wales. The aforementioned legislation is commonly referred to as the "Butler Act," named after Richard Austen Butler, who served as the President of the Board of Education. It was widely embraced by all major political parties as a fundamental component of the post-World War II consensus. The legislation ensured that all students were entitled to receive a cost-free education at the secondary level (Jefferys 415-431).

The legislation (Education Act 1944) mandated the separation of primary education (for students aged 5-11) and secondary education (for students aged 11-15), a division that had already been implemented by several local authorities. The policy eliminated charges imposed on guardians for state-funded secondary education ("Education Act 1944"). The implementation of this system resulted in a fairer distribution of funding across various localities and school sectors. The legislative measure in question resulted in the rebranding of the Board of Education as the Ministry of Education, thereby endowing it with enhanced authority and an expanded financial allocation. When defining the age at which students are permitted to leave school as 15 years old (Bentley et al. 46).

1.2.3.4 Want

In 1946, the National Insurance (NI) Act was adopted. NI was required for all employees, with the exception of married women. Most individuals paid the very large 4s 11d per week (nearly as much as they earned in weekly family allowance for each child); Four shillings and eleven pence (4s 11d) in pre-decimal currency would be equivalent to approximately £0.245 in decimal currency ("Inflation Calculator").

Workers were compensated with benefits for "interruption of earnings" brought on by sickness, as well as for unemployment or old age. Men and women began receiving state pensions for the aged at the ages of 65 and 60, respectively. Two-thirds of males chose to work longer rather than retire, and older people were encouraged to do so (Beveridge 9).

Each time a child was born, mothers got a lump sum payment plus, if they had been contributing to NI, an allowance for 18 weeks. As an extension of the program, the Industrial Injuries Act provided compensation for those hurt or killed at work. Death grants assisted widows with funeral fees. Beveridge's proposals were supposed to be fully implemented by 1948, however this proved to be impossible. There was no national

minimum standard of living used to determine the benefit offered. The government promised to review the fixed rate every five years. These provisions were not included, despite Beveridge's proposals to provide benefits for divorced women, women caring for parents, and housewives receiving illness payments (Beveridge 8).

These advantages only extended to employees who were covered by insurance, therefore in 1948 the National Assistance Board (NAB) was established to assist individuals without insurance. The NAB took over the previous Public Assistance Committees (PACs), and for the first time, claimants were examined to determine the type of assistance they need without taking into account the family's income. (“The National Archives”).

The Elizabethan Poor Law 1601; an act of law approved by the English Parliament in the era of Queen Elizabeth I with the aim of establishing a protective mechanism for the most susceptible segments of the populace, such as the aged, the infirm, and those with disabilities (Yerli 88). It was canceled by the National Assistance Act of 1948 and aimed to guarantee that those over 16 who were "without resource" and not contributing to national insurance would get support. The National Help Board, which handled "National Assistance" in the form of grants or "assistance in kind" in lieu of financial aid, was founded by the Act (Bouguerra 29).

The board was responsible for setting up and maintaining receiving centers, which served as temporary homes for “unsettled people”. Furthermore, this Act made registration for residential care facilities for the aged and disabled (whether administered by the public, private, or nonprofit sectors) mandatory. Entry and inspection of care facilities may be authorized by the ministry of health or the registration authority. Local governments were expected to provide housing for the aged, feeble, and ill who needed assistance, as well as for anybody else who needed care or attention. Unless they could persuade the local

government that they had inadequate means to pay, those who could afford it may be asked to share the costs of their housing. The ability to establish plans for enhancing the welfare of those who were blind, deaf, or crippled by disease or accident was granted to local authorities. They also received the following powers: inform people about the services available to them, encourage employment, offer suggestions on coping with disability, and offer leisure opportunities (“UK Public General Acts”).

1.3 The Labour Party's Foreign Policies during the Post-War Consensus

Similar to how it shaped domestic policies, the Labour Party additionally established foreign policies. The Cold War and the changing bond between the country and the United States affected these foreign policies. Overall, the Labour Party's foreign policies during the post-war consensus were based on a commitment to the transatlantic alliance, support for decolonization and nuclear disarmament, and a growing openness to European unity. Even though some people disagreed with and criticized these policies, they did show how the party wanted the world to be more peaceful and fair. key features of the Labour Party's foreign policies during this period:

1.3.1 Decolonization

With the stress of the Second World War on Britain, it became clear that the costs of keeping Britain's overseas colonies was becoming too great to handle. Several British territories moved toward independence under the Attlee administration (Melissen and Zeeman 85). Attlee personally backed and arranged the colonies' independence, with the help of his Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin (Smith and Zametica 237).

On August 15, 1947, the United Kingdom decided to grant independence to India and partition it into two states: India and Pakistan. The Indian Independence Act of 1947 formalized the process, marking the end of British rule in the region (Khan 45). Mohandas

Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah were among the leaders of this movement who all had a similar goal of an independent, democratic India free from British domination (Brown 53). Mass demonstrations, boycotts, civil disobedience, and nonviolent resistance to British rule were hallmarks of the Indian independence movement, which questioned the legitimacy of British rule in India and was motivated by a desire for more political, economic, and social rights for Indians (Chatterjee 68). The process of negotiating India's independence was complex, involving contentious debates over issues such as India's partition and the rights of minority communities; however, regardless of the obstacles and brutality related to the partition, India's independence marked an important event in world history, clearing the way for the decolonization of other nations in Asia and Africa (Wolpert 427-432).

Jordan obtained independence from Britain on May 25, 1946, following a period of political wrangling. According to Elizabeth Thompson's book "Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon," Jordan's independence was part of a larger trend of decolonization in the Middle East and North Africa following World War II (Thompson 145). In Jordan's instance, a group of nationalist politicians and intellectuals were inspired by the example of other newly independent governments in the region, such as Egypt and Syria (Khalidi 12). The negotiations between the British and Jordanian authorities were difficult, involving numerous controversial topics such as the status of British military bases in Jordan and the country's future relationship with Palestine (Morris 335). The process of decolonization in Jordan was not without its difficulties, as the country had considerable political and economic hurdles in the years following its independence from colonial rule. In his book titled "The Arabs: A History", Eugene Rogan makes the observation that once Jordan attained its independence, a period of political instability ensued as many factions

competed with one another for power and influence (Rogan 261). Additionally, the nation struggled to develop its industrial sector as well as its infrastructure (Holt 382), which resulted in economic challenges. Nevertheless, Jordan was able to establish itself as a stable and relatively prosperous state, with a strong tradition of political and social reform (Khalidi 28). This was accomplished in spite of the challenges that the country faced.

1.3.2 North Atlantic Treaty Organization

The establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 was greatly influenced by the contributions of the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom's participation in the establishment of NATO was driven by the country's objective to protect its own place in the international arena while also addressing the danger posed by the Soviet Union. The United Kingdom came to the realization that it could not accomplish its strategic goals on its own and, as a result, began making plans to form a collective defense alliance with other Western powers. The United Kingdom was a pivotal player in the formation of NATO, serving as the driving force behind the organization's inception and contributing significantly to the formulation of its aims and terms of membership (Sayle 41).

The military capabilities of the United Kingdom were an important part of the commitment that it made to NATO. The United Kingdom was a significant contributor to the military might of NATO, sending troops as well as equipment and strategic assets. During the course of the Cold War, the armed forces of the United Kingdom took part in a large number of military drills and operations, playing a pivotal part in the collective defense efforts of the alliance as a whole. The United Kingdom's military contribution to NATO was essential to the formation of the alliance's doctrine and strategy. This contribution also helped to ensure that the alliance was effective in its efforts to discourage the Soviet Union and to advance European security (Engelbrekt et al.36).

1.3.3 The Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan, was a US-led initiative to provide economic assistance of about 13 billion American dollars to Western Europe after World War II (Eichengreen et al. 13), and had an effect on the Labour Party in the United Kingdom by receiving 2.7 billion dollars (Barnett).

The British Labour leader Clement Attlee responded enthusiastically to the Marshall Plan as it would help his country massively; industrial production rose between 30 and 40% over the four years in Britain (Eichengreen et al. 19), as the British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin declared; “I felt that it was the first chance that we had been given since the end of the war to look at the European economy as a whole” (Mills).

1.4 The Conservative Party's Domestic Policies during the Post-War Consensus

The domestic policies of the Conservative Party showed a high degree of similarity with those of the Labour Party. Nevertheless, there were distinct variations in priority and approach. In the era of post-war consensus, the Conservative Party's domestic policies were marked by a general recognition of the Keynesian welfare state, although with a focus on efficacy, economics, and individual accountability. The Conservative Party governed the United Kingdom during the post-war consensus period for a total of 13 years, from 1951 to 1964, and again from 1970 to 1974. The political party aimed to enhance the viability of the welfare state and diminish the number of individuals receiving welfare benefits. Additionally, they supported the promotion of increased alternatives and variety in education, as well as more stringent policies regarding law enforcement. Although the policies of the party were not immune to controversy, they were indicative of widespread agreement among the political elites in Britain regarding the government's responsibility in overseeing the economy and furnishing public amenities throughout this era.

1.4.1 Butskellism

It was hardly surprising that the British journal the Economist created the composite character Mr. Butskell in 1954, combining the names of the two chancellors, detecting an essential continuity between Butler and his Labour predecessor, Hugh Gaitskell. The presence of a political consensus amongst the major parties at this time has been the subject of a historical discussion where the term "Butskellism" has been crucial (The Economist). Gaitskell and Butler had different policies and goals from one another, they had different long-term conceptions of how money should be distributed, and Gaitskell was more willing than Butler to use the annual budget as a tool of economic control. Some authors have gone even further and said that the move towards consensus was driven more by circumstances than by conviction. The Conservatives' hesitation to make significant changes was likely a result of their narrow victory in the 1951 election, their realization that they had made few inroads into Labour's core working-class vote, and their desire to allay concerns about any significant reversal of the popular achievements Labour had highlighted in their 1951 campaign. However, if 'consensus' is understood to mean a broad degree of agreement about how Britain should be run, based on a mixed economy and Keynesian demand management, it still remains a useful tool of historical analysis. There is undoubtedly a noticeable difference from the far more divisive positions adopted by Labour and the Conservatives in the 1970s and 1980s (Dutton et al. 5).

1.4.2 Nationalization

Conservative governments in the 1980s and 1990s would return such enterprises to the private sector, although the Conservatives from 1951 to 1964 only tinkered with Labour's dividing line between state and private control. Steel was denationalized after being included in Labour's nationalization agenda at the request of the party conference but against the advice of the leadership. Returning steel to private hands was comparatively

uncontroversial, and the Conservatives also found purchasers for a portion of the road haulage business, but denationalization did not go any further. (Dutton et al. 5).

1.4.3 Housing

Churchill appointed Harold Macmillan to the Ministry of Housing, which was considered a challenging position. Churchill had made a lofty commitment that a Conservative government would construct 300,000 residences within a 12-month period. In the event of his successful completion of the task, Macmillan's position within the political party would experience a notable enhancement. Conversely, in the event of his failure, his political trajectory could potentially be terminated. The policies of the Conservative and Labour parties were not identical, as previously stated. The preceding viewpoint emphasized the significance of the private sector in constructing the necessary housing units, while the subsequent perspective advocated for public provision and safeguarding tenants from potential exploitation in the private rental market. The Rent Act (1957) implemented by the Tories exhibited a distinct divergence in intention by easing regulations on the rental rates of 400,000 houses, which sparked vehement opposition from the Labour party. Overall, the housing policy of the Conservative party was aligned with a compassionate consideration for the populace, which was emblematic of their economic and social policies during this era. Significant advancements were achieved in the domain of slum clearance; however, a considerable amount of work remained unfinished at the time when the Conservatives were no longer in power (Jefferys 9-34).

1.5 The Conservative Party's Foreign Policies during the Post-War Consensus

The foreign policies of the Conservative Party in the post-war consensus era were marked by a resolute dedication to the transatlantic alliance, a measured endorsement of European integration, and a practical stance towards decolonization and Cold War

diplomacy (Harris 262). Although the policies of the party were not immune to controversy, they were indicative of widespread agreement among the British political establishment regarding the nation's global position at that time.

1.5.1 Korean War

The armed conflict known as the Korean War commenced on the 25th of June in the year 1950 and concluded on the 27th of July in 1953. The occurrence was a consequence of the incursion made by the communist military of North Korea into South Korea, which was not under communist rule. By this juncture, the Truman Doctrine had already been firmly established, signifying the United States' resolve to prevent the spread of communist ideology to other nations. As a result, they took action to intervene. During the initial stages of the conflict, the United Kingdom dispatched a contingent of 90,000 British military personnel to provide assistance to the United States and South Korea, the conflict resulted in the loss of over 1000 British male lives (United Nations Command). The Korean War was regarded as a pivotal moment for NATO, as it served to illustrate the magnitude of the Soviet menace, thereby reinforcing military partnerships with constituent nations. The participation of Britain in the War served to reinforce its distinctive alliance with the United States (Kupferschmidt 1).

1.5.2 Suez Crisis 1956

The 1956 Suez Crisis, in which the Egyptian Government overthrew the British and French-owned enterprise in charge of the Suez Canal, had significant repercussions for American relations with both European allies and Middle Eastern nations (Lahav 1299-1300).

The Suez Canal Company, which ran the Suez Canal and was owned by the British and French, was nationalized on July 26, 1956, by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The Canal gave Western nations access to Middle Eastern oil, therefore Nasser's

decision threatened both their equity stakes in the company as well as the delivery of oil to Europe. The subsequent Suez Crisis put regional security at jeopardy and strained ties between the United States and its two main Cold War allies, Britain and France (McDermott 135).

After the United States and Britain broke their previous agreement to finance the construction of the Aswan Dam, Nasser nationalized the canal. The Aswan Dam, a representation of Egypt's modernization, was built to manage the Nile's flood levels and supply energy and water to the Egyptian people (McDermott 137). After Nasser took several actions that seemed to be supportive of the communist bloc, such as signing an arms deal with Czechoslovakia (Skaggs 3) and recognizing the Chinese Government in Beijing, the United States and Britain withdrew their financial support for the Aswan Dam. Without assistance from the US and UK, Nasser was forced to rely on the money made from tolls levied on ships using the Suez Canal to help pay for the construction of the dam.

According to National Security Agency and Central Security Service, the nationalization of the canal by Nasser worried the United States, but it also sought a diplomatic solution. However, the situation was seen as a threat to the interests of Britain and France. So they looked for a military solution involving Israel. They communicated with the Israeli government covertly and planned a coordinated military operation in which Egypt and Israel would be warned by Britain and France to avoid the Suez Canal, while Israel would invade the Sinai and advance toward it. After that, under the guise of defending it, Britain and France would drop paratroopers into the Canal Zone. Israel voluntarily consented to this scenario because it provided an opportunity for Israel to seize control of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula, lift the Egyptian blockade of the Straits of Tiran, and exact revenge on Egypt for supporting Palestinian commando raids on Israel's western border during the previous two years (1-16).

Israeli forces crossed the border on October 29, 1956, routed the Egyptian army in the Sinai, took Sharm al-Sheikh, and thereby secured Israeli strategic control over the Straits of Tiran (Skaggs 75). By issuing their ultimatum and deploying troops, Britain and France effectively carried out the planned action. However, in response to the situation, the Soviet Union and the United States demanded a cease-fire. The United States also demanded that Israeli, French, and British military be removed from Egypt under the control of a specific United Nations force in a resolution that was brought to the UN. Mid-November saw the arrival of this army in Egypt. While Israel kept its troops in Gaza until March 19, 1957, when the United States finally forced the Israeli Government to withdraw its troops, the last British and French troops had left Egyptian territory by December 22 (Skaggs 76).

Conclusion

The period of the post-war consensus in the United Kingdom was characterized by a prolonged period of stability and advancement that consisted of approximately three decades, launching in 1945 and concluding in the mid-1970s. The Labour Party and Conservative Party reached a wide-ranging consensus on various economic, social, and foreign policy matters, which enabled the successful execution of significant initiatives such as the formation of the National Health Service, the inception of the welfare state, and the process of decolonizing the British Empire. The Labour Party aimed to implement nationalization of crucial industries, redistribute wealth, and establish universal healthcare and social welfare systems. In contrast, the Conservative Party aimed to modernize the British economy by making some industries to private hands but didn't reach success, also, it adopted other rules to fix the lack of housing and make life better for people. In the end, it was important to engage in foreign affairs with its allies especially United States.

Chapter Two: The Fall of the Post War Consensus and Emergence of a New Strategy

Introduction

After the Second World War, Great Britain entered a huge period in their history called “post-war consensus.” This chapter aims to provide what happened after this agreement broke down. It focuses on the causes and events that tore apart the once strong fabric of stability, cooperation, and shared values. By looking at the problems, changes in ideas, and social and political changes that led to its fall. Moreover, this chapter provides the permissive society of Britain and the incredible transformation in the tradition of the society. In addition, this chapter also examines and provides the approach of the UK to the new right and the sources of its ideas and how important to the government, and an introduction of the term Thatcherism which was presented by the prime minister Margaret Thatcher.

2.1 The Collapse of Postwar Consensus

The mandate of Britain’s Prime Minister Edward Heath witnessed The National Coal Miners' Strike which was a major industrial action that took place in the UK in 1972 and 1974. The strikes brought attention to the growing disagreement between the government and organized labour, besides that, they proved the huge influence of trade unions and their ability to mobilize significant social and political support and to rally large numbers of people in their cause (Phillips 190). However, this created a threat to the present situation by questioning the legitimacy of current social and economic structures and the conventional authority of the labour government and other establishment institutions and spread concerns toward the public from the government's ability to handle the economics’ issues that has made the political ground worse (Hughes 5).

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the government of the United Kingdom were in conflict over wages during the 1972 UK miners' strike. Unlike other industrial workers, miners' pay had not increased since 1960. Miners went on strike on January 9, 1972, and returned to work on February 28, 1972. However, the results of the strike were positive, and the miner's wages became almost the highest among the working class, with an increase of 4-5 percent (Phillips 198).

In the 1970s, Britain experienced severe inflation; specifically, it emerged when the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) members, led by Saudi King Faisal, implemented an oil embargo in October 1973, kicking off the 1973 oil crisis, or as some people call it, the first oil crisis. According to an article of Al Jazeera entitled "The October Arab-Israeli War of 1973: What happened?", the embargo targeted countries that supported Israel during the Yom Kippur War or as Arabs name it by the October War; a war between Israel, Egypt and Syria ("Al Jazeera"). Nevertheless, this action was directed at Britain. According to the professor of Middle East history in the College of Middle East and North African Studies at the University of Arizona, Charles Smith states that when the embargo ended in March of the year 1974, the cost of oil had augmented by approximately three hundred percent, (Smith 329).

The energy crisis of 1973 was the last phase of a number of economic challenges that began in the second part of the 1960s and continued into the early 1970s. During the years 1968 to 1972, the Consumer Price Index (CPI) experienced an average inflation rate of 6.6%, which was significantly higher than the average inflation rate of 2.5% recorded between 1958 and 1962. Even as the economy shrank, inflation increased, indicating labor unrest, energy shortages, and a rising oil price (Goodwin 2). Moreover, inflation went up in the 1960s and 1970s because "money illusion" was no longer true, as inflation accelerated, workers realized their wage increases were being eaten away by rising costs and pushed for

higher pay. Average real earnings increased more rapidly in the 1970s than in any other postwar decade due to workers' increased negotiating power (Goodwin 2).

In addition to the oil crisis, trade unions were immensely noticeable in the UK throughout the 1970s, and they frequently engaged in collective bargaining and strike action to obtain greater salaries and improved working conditions for their members. This resulted in greater labor expenses for firms, contributing to the period's overall price increase, which plays indirectly a significant role in high inflation (Trevithick 221).

As a response to the energy crisis that was occurring in the country, The Three-Day Week was one of several things the Conservative government of Edward Heath did in 1973 and 1974 to save energy (Heath), as the majority of the United Kingdom's electricity was generated by power stations that burns coal (A brief history of British Electricity Generation). On December 13, 1973, he made a number of announcements related to the Fuel and Electricity (Control) Act of 1973. One of these was the Three-Day Work Order, which went into effect at midnight on December 31. Every week, companies would only be able to use power for three days straight. Heath's goals were to keep businesses going and keep them alive, and to stop more inflation and a financial problem. Instead of risking a total shut down, working hours were cut to make the fuel last for a longer period. Every night at 22:30, TV shows were supposed to end, and most bars were closed. Because of the power surges at 22:30, the Central Electricity Generating Board pushed for a staggered end time for The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Independent Television (ITV), which was finally put into place. The limits on TV programming started on December 17, 1973. They were put on hold over Christmas and New Year's, but they were lifted on February 8, 1974 (Howard).

One crucial reason of the decline of consensus is public spending as the government sought to expand the role of the state in the economy and society. However,

this expansion of public spending was not without controversy, and it contributed to growing concerns about inflation and government borrowing which led to balance payments with the oil crisis (Pettinger). The 1976 balance of payments crisis was a momentous economic event that had enormous implications for the country's economy and political scene. Numerous of causes contributed to the crisis, including a drop in the value of the pound sterling (Kramer), rising oil prices, and a lack of competitiveness in industry. The economy was failing in the early 1970s due to rising prices and a fall in productivity. In order to increase exports while decreasing imports, the government depreciated the pound sterling in 1972. This, however, had little effect, and the balance of payments continued to deteriorate (Coates 142). The 1973 worldwide oil crisis triggered substantial increases in oil prices in UK, which had a significant impact on the economy. Britain was strongly reliant on imported oil, and rising prices resulted in a considerable increase in the cost of life. The spike in oil prices caused the pound to fall in value as investors lost faith in the economic prospects.

By 1976, the balance of payments crisis reached its height because the country lacked sufficient foreign currency reserves to cover its imports. The United Kingdom experienced a peak in its balance of payments crisis in 1976 because of a lack of foreign currency reserves to finance its imports. The Labour government decided to borrow money from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to help the country's economy. Some of the conditions of the IMF loan were making government expenditure and higher interest rates in downfall (Bentley et al. 42).

These initiatives provoked social upheaval and political strife and were widely rejected by the public. However, they helped restore Britain's banking system's confidence and keep the country's economy stable. In the end, the 1976 balance-of-payments and

other crisis was a turning point in British economic policy, helping to pave the way for the Thatcher era.

2.1.1 The Winter of Discontent

In 1978, The British political scene was fuming from the current situation of the government by the time of releasing a new “White Paper” i.e. a policy documents produced by the Government that set out their proposals for future legislation according to UK parliament, that limits salary raises for the coming year to 5% regardless of the trade union congress's rejection to any new type of agreements (Hay 546). Also, Ford workers began striking to ask in order for a pay raise of 17% (Wells). By time, drivers of oil truck also participated in these strike, including truck drivers, school cafeteria workers, pilots and printers as becoming one of the biggest strikes in Britain’s history (Williams).

Among these actions were also strikes by trash workers left garbage on the streets and in public locations like London's Leicester Square, while gravediggers went on an unofficial strike in Liverpool (Wells). Furthermore, NHS ancillary workers blocked hospital doors with picket lines, forcing several facilities to limit patient admissions to those with life-threatening conditions (Hay 547).

In his personal diary on January 22, 1979, The Secretary of State for Energy Tony Benn wrote:

‘Today was the Day of Action for local government employees and 1.25 million workers took the day off. The press is just full of crises, anarchy, chaos, disruption – bitterly hostile to the trade union movement. I have never seen anything like it in my life’ (Shepherd 108–129).

2.2 The Permissive Society

The 1960s and 1970s were transformative decades for social liberation in the United Kingdom. During this period, significant social and cultural changes occurred,

challenging traditional norms and fostering a spirit of liberation and individual freedom (Edmiston 508). The sexual revolution was an important part of the movement toward social equality at this period. Traditional views on sexuality and relationships were challenged, giving way to a more modern attitude (Wallhead).

2.2.1 The Contraceptive Pill

On December 4, 1961, the National Health Service (NHS) began providing the contraceptive pill at a monthly cost of 2 shillings to all qualified women. While solely offered to married women at first, the NHS Family Planning Act of 1967 expanded access to single women (Samuels 177), the development of the contraceptive pill in the 1960s was a major step forward in allowing people to exercise choice over their sexual lives. Then, sex before marriage, homosexuality, and other ways of life all gained more acceptance as a result of this growing tolerance (Tyrer). This act significantly lowered the possibility of an unintended pregnancy, and liberated women to progress in their jobs and gain more money and become financially secure and independent before beginning families.

2.2.2 The Women's Liberation Movement

In addition to, one of the most consequential political and social movements of the twentieth century was the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) (Dahlerup 1). From the far north of Scotland to the south coast of England, and from East Anglia to the West of Wales, the WLM had hundreds of active groups across the island of Great Britain (Mahon 196). WLM tended to achieve equal pay, equal education and opportunity, twenty-four hour nurseries, and free contraception and abortion on demand, which were adopted in 1970, also, demanding for financial and legal independence which was adopted in 1974, and the final demand, an end to all discrimination against lesbians and freedom from intimidation by threat or use of threat or violence, which saw the light in 1975 (Flaherty 8).

2.2.3 Homosexuality

The term "homosexuality" might be used to describe couples where both partners are of the same sex. The term gay is frequently used as a synonym for homosexual; female homosexuality is often referred to as lesbian (Cardoso and Werner 204). In United Kingdom, it has been illegal and unwanted since 1885 due to Christianity that forbids these acts ("Eduqas" 9). The 1950s saw many people convicted by this, in 1954 alone, 6,600 men were arrested and sued for homosexuality in UK (Boxer 50). In 1958, thousands of individuals gathered in London as it was the first time gathering of the Homosexual Law Reform Society. The Sexual Offenses Act of 1967 is when it finally passed into law. When Labour MP Leo Abse requested time to introduce this, Home Secretary Roy Jenkins made it happen. It was passed not to encourage or promote homosexuality, the only reason was to prevent people from threatening and blackmailing homosexual people ("Eduqas" 10).

2.2.4 The Death Penalty

The practice of putting criminals to death goes back to many centuries and it is common throughout the globe. The act of execution was used in pre-Christian China, Babylon, Egypt, Greece, and Rome for a wide variety of crimes and carried out in brutal ways, such as hanging and burial alive (Bridges). In Britain, the most frequent methods were hanging, drawing, burning alive and Boiling to death ... (Bridges). In the UK, people were becoming more against the death penalty because in 1950s, about 15 people were hanged each year (Knowles 5). There were three important cases in the 1950s and 1960s that made things change to the better and to the abolition of the death penalty (Campbell).

The first case was Derek Bentley's case that was in 1952, although still a teenager, Bentley participated in a bank robbery in London. During the robbery, a police officer was shot, but the young guy responsible for the crime was too young to get the death penalty. The 19-year-old Bentley with learning disabilities was executed in 1953 for telling his

friend, "let him have it, Chris." The prosecution said he was ordering the youngster to fire his gun rather than hand it over to the police officer. A long fight to remove his identity began when around 200 legislators signed a petition to stop his execution and public debate in the media (Watson 40).

The second case was around Ruth Ellis, Ellis grew up in Rhyl, Wales, then, her family moved to Basingstoke. The Welsh woman grew up and became a British nightclub hostess, the mother of a 3-year-old child, had been abused for years by her partner who was a racing driver who was engaged to another woman, she was found guilty of killing him using several gunshots. People didn't agree with the judge's sentence, and there was a big protest in front of the jail the night before she was to be killed (Lavender).

The third and last case which was the turning point about the death penalty was about Timothy Evans, born on 20 November 1924 at Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorgan, Wales. Because of his health problems, he missed a lot of school and almost learned nothing from it. In spite of this, he was able to establish himself professionally as a painter and then a truck driver after moving to London with his family in 1935. Evans was found guilty of killing his wife Beryl and 14-month old baby daughter Geraldine and put to death in 1950. John Christie, a friendly postal worker and ex-police special constable, testified in court about hearing the couple argue. Surprisingly, he was exposed as a serial murderer and necrophilia; a person who likes dead bodies in a sexual way (Aggrawal). After it was too late it was revealed and informed that from Christie's victims list, it included the poor Beryl and baby Geraldine. Unfortunately, he wasn't going to face justice until after Timothy Evans had already been executed. Many people didn't like the idea of the death penalty because this could happen in other situations (Evans).

Members of Parliament had discussed abolishing the death penalty for a long time. House of Commons members voted to abolish capital punishment in 1947 and again in

1956, but the House of Lords disagreed. Then under the 1957 Homicide Act, it was only for murders of police or prison personnel, deaths caused by gunshot or bombing, and murders committed while arrested that were acceptable for the death sentence under the 1957 Homicide Act. The fight to stop executions in Britain was made possible by Evans's wrongful conviction and subsequent hanging. The use of the death penalty in England and Wales was temporarily suspended in 1964 and finally abolished in 1969. Evans cleared of the murder charge in 2004 (Evans).

2.2.5 Censorship

Censorship is when the government restricts a person's access to a certain material. Up until the 1960s, it was widely held that the British government had a duty to maintain control over the public's thoughts and behavior, including deciding which topics were unacceptable for open discussion. The Obscene Publications Act of 1959 reformed this norm by declaring that no adult book that contributes positively to science, literature, art, or education may be considered indecent and immoral (“Eduqas” 11).

2.2.6 Drugs

During the 1960s, especially with young people, drug use grew up a lot. People who liked West Indian and black American music started smoking weed as a way of entertainment. Moreover, hippies took drugs like Lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD), which became popular by bands like The Beatles. In those years, people used cocaine and heroin aggressively than before, which they call it hard drug, anyway, it rose massively in the first half of 1960's (Waller 91). In the other hand, the soft drugs such as cannabis was used a lot more in the other half of 1960's. In 1964, the Drugs Prevention of Misuse Act made it illegal to use amphetamines for entertainment, and in 1967, the Dangerous Drugs Act made it illegal to own drugs like heroin, cocaine, and weed (Davis 26–49). Finally, the decisive and important law was the 1971 Misuse of Drugs Act which it established the

crime of selling drugs and reinforced punishments for drug trafficking and distribution (Stäuber).

2.3 The New Right

The term "new right" refers to those individuals who belong to a political right-wing ideology that is characterized by its incorporation of the principles of neoliberal economic policy and neoconservative social policies (Williams 1). It stands on an ideology, which defined as a collection of ideas and concepts. The first one was implemented during the conservative administrations of Margaret Thatcher and John Major in the United Kingdom between the years 1979 and 1997, and during the republican administrations of Ronald Reagan and George Bush between the years 1980 and 1992. Both governments were appointed as a response to the economic failures of earlier methods, especially in the 1970s ,1960s and the inability of Keynesian economics to effectively combat stagflation in Britain (Williams 1). They committed to completely organize the economy while supporting concepts of national pride and returning to conservative principles, and attack the huge social liberalization that has speeded out such as homosexuality, the legalization of abortion, and the abolition of death penalty.

2.3.1 Sources of The New Right

The new right movement can be linked to four key sources that made a huge contribution in the movement's history.

2.3.1.1 Milton Friedman

Milton Friedman Born on July 31, 1912, this American economist and statistician is best known for his influential research in the domains of consumption analysis, monetary history and theory, and the complexities of stabilization policy, for which he was awarded the 1976 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences ("Award Ceremony Speech"). Over the years, his views shifted from a classical liberal and Keynesian thoughts to a libertarian

and free-market supporter. The relationship between Friedman's ideas and the development of the New Right is complex, and there are different interpretations of nature of this relationship (Gonda 28).

Early in his career, Friedman's was known as a representative of monetarism; a school of thought that believes that the level of money in circulation has a significant impact on the level of economic activity (Tavlas 1). When we see the differences between the Monetary idea of Friedman and Keynes's Keynesianism, the important one is the neo-classical reliance in the efficiency of the "self-regulating" mechanism of the market, that permits growth in production without "injections" from the state budget. Keynesianists saw the capitalist economy as an unstable system that required systematic corrections, whereas Friedman and monetarists saw the cause of destabilization in state intervention itself, viewing a capitalist economy as a principle (Gonda 29). According to the article of the Economic Vladimir Gonda which is published in Faculty of National Economy, University of Economics in Bratislava, Friedman came at the following findings after doing his own examination of the market's need for currency: demand for money is extremely regular. Changes in interest rates have an almost little impact on the supply for money and the function of the rate of money circulation has a permanent nature (Gonda 29).

“Indeed, a major source of objections to a free economy is precisely that it does this task so well. It gives people what they want instead of what a particular group thinks they ought to want. Underlying most arguments against the free market is a lack of belief in freedom itself.” (Friedman 4).

Milton insists that in order to ensure the maximum level of human freedom, markets plays a vital role in it, and when it comes to the distribution of resources, markets are stronger than planned economies (Bentley et al. 51).

2.3.1.2 Friedrich August von Hayek

Friedrich August von Hayek is widely considered one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century, and as a leading intellectual figure in the rebirth of classical liberalism, he influenced many economists, such as Milton Friedman and many others. During his lifetime (1899–1992), he saw the fall of the communist empire and every other major event of this eventful century. From the early 1920s through the late 1980s, as those events inspired and helped him in his life, the Austrian economist also served in the First World War. Later, he said that this experience and his desire to help people not make the same mistakes that led to the war were what led him to study economics (Ján 20). Later, he said that this experience and his desire to help people not make the same mistakes that led to the war were what led him to study economics. He wrote extensively on topics as diverse as law, politics, philosophy, psychology, and even evolutionary theory, in addition to his primary area of experience, economics (Machlup 498).

Hayek said that the government should only do two things: protect people's rights and make sure the law is followed. According to him, too much government involvement in the economy would make people less free and, in the end, lead to totalitarianism. In other words, government intervention in the economy leads to Dictatorial (Gamble 148).

Hayek always believed that free markets were the best way to get resources and grow the government's economy. Further, he stated that if, by any chance, the government got involved in the business, it would lead to inefficiency, confusion, and things that the government didn't mean to happen (Bowles et al. 215-217). This idea was adopted by the New Right movement, which helped push for free-market policies like deregulation, privatization, and trade reform. Particularly, Thatcher's government was known for its efforts to support free-market policies and lower the government's role in the economy.

2.3.1.3 Enoch Powell

Enoch Powell was a British leader who helped shape the ideas of the New Right movement in a crucial way (Bentley et al. 51). The British man was a part of the Conservative Party, and he was also a Member of Parliament for more than 30 years, from 1950 until 1987, when he retired.

Unlike the two influential economists Friedrich A. Hayek and Milton Friedman, Powell was afraid of the power of immigrants, The United Kingdom experienced a significant increase in its Asian and Black communities, as Commonwealth citizens were entitled to unrestricted entry and the right to remain in the country as holders of British passports prior to the 1961 Act (Dean 57-74). The 1948 Act granted nationality rights to individuals born in the British Empire, further contributing to this trend (Crines et al. 72-94). He stated in speech which is referred by 'Rivers of Blood' speech, which was delivered to a Conservative Association meeting in Birmingham: "We must be mad, literally mad, as a nation to be permitting the annual inflow of some 50,000 dependents, who are for the most part the material of the future growth of the immigrant-descended population. It is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping up its own funeral pyre." ("A Quote by Enoch Powell").

As a result, and as mentioned before, during this speech, Powell expressed his dissatisfaction with immigration because it will have a negative impact on British society. In addition to his opinion on immigration, Margaret Thatcher; the future prime minister of Britain, she remarked that 'people are rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture'. According to the future Prime Minister: "we must hold out the clear prospect of an end to immigration" (Feldman).

2.3.1.4 Think Tanks

It is quite hard to give the exact definition of Think Tanks, the Professor Diane Stone said that it is "an umbrella term that means different things to different people"(Stone 9). The definition of US and UK think tanks required an enormous amount of research to have the ability in order to define it. For example, in United States, the professor at Georgetown University and a senior fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution Kent Weaver define it as "the non-profit public policy research industry" (563-578). While in United Kingdom, Professor of Archaeology at the University of Leicester in England Simon James provides a more comprehensive definition, he argues that a think tank is "an independent organization engaged in multi-disciplinary research intended to influence public policy" (492). James also says that there are three principals about think tanks. First, think tanks are separate from the government in terms of their ideas, but what they come up with is based on what the government wants. Second, they do study that is in the public interest and is important. Lastly, James says that most think tanks are politically biased, though this "shows up in different ways." (Tesseyman 28-29).

The fourth crucial source of the New Right thoughts was those Think Tanks which were important in the 70's and 80's in Britain. The two conservative members Margaret Hilda Thatcher and Keith Joseph founded the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) in 1974, making it one of the most notable think tanks related to the New Right in the United Kingdom (Denham and Garnett 240). In addition, several Think Tankers distributed huge ideas to new right and social policies to Margaret Thatcher's government such as Adam Smith Institute, which was founded in 1977 and promoted free-market economics and individual liberty, and the Institute of Economic Affairs, which was founded in 1955 and advocated for market-based solutions to economic and social problems. All of these has

helped to promote the idea of New Right thinkers like Hayek, Enoch Powell and Friedman (Bentley et al. 51).

2.4 Thatcherism

Margaret Hilda Thatcher, Baroness Thatcher born October 13, 1925, Grantham, Lincolnshire, England and died in April 8, 2013, London had replaced Edward Heath as Conservative leader in February and came to introduce the historical and influential term Thatcherism; it is a collection of economic, political ideas and policies put forward by Margaret Thatcher (Holmes 3). Basically, these ideas and policies focused on privatizing government-owned industries, limiting the government's role, free markets, low taxes, individuality, and the right to decide for oneself ("Thatcherism"). Thatcher and her administrations were convinced that "to roll back the frontiers of the State" was their key objective (Green 18). This was to be done by changing the mixed economy with a market economy that was controlled by the private sector. This, in turn, was supposed to be supported up by changes to and cuts to the welfare state, a reduce in direct personal taxes, and more people buying their own homes. Institutions, like trade unions, that made it hard for the market to work were to have their formal rights and powers limited. Lastly, the main goal of economic strategy was low inflation, not full employment (Green 19). In short, the objective and aim of Thatcherism were to question and eventually break down the institutions, practices, and beliefs that supported what was called "the post-war consensus" (Thatcher 3).

Conclusion

In the end, the collapse of the post-war agreement and the rise of the New Right, which was best demonstrated by Thatcherism, showed a big change in political and economic ideas of the country. The end of the consensus was caused by a mix of changing global dynamics, changes in ideas, and economic facts and crises such as inflation, public

spending and new economic ideologies gained prominence as a reaction to Keynesianism, the ideas of social welfare also was put into questioning. As a result, the rise of the New Right and Thatcherism, there was a new way of looking at things that promoted the free market, limited government involvement, and independence.

Chapter Three: The Economic and Social Effects of Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990)

Introduction

Mrs. Margaret Thatcher served as the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990, leaving an incredible mark on the country's political, economic and social area. This chapter is devoted to Thatcher's economic and social impact on United Kingdom. The first part of this chapter contains the economic reforms such as monetarism, privatization and deregulation in order to tackle the obstacles in the previous governments especially inflation, unemployment and limiting the power of trade unions. The second part is dedicated to show the social reforms that has been done in the country, such as the NHS, education and housing, and in the end conclude whether these economic and social reforms had an impact on United Kingdom or not.

3.1. The Economic Reforms

During her tenure as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher tried to solve the previous governments' failure in developing the economy. In order to achieve that development, she sought to banish the consensus economic policies by implicating several new reforms.

3.1.1 Monetarism

Margaret Thatcher adopted monetary ideas and policies when she won the election and came to power at 1979 in Great Britain. However, what is monetarism and what is its policies? According to monetary theory, economic activity and price levels are strongly impacted by the amount of money in circulation, and monetary policy goals are best met by focusing on the rate of increase in the money supply, which obviously play a key role on the economy of the country (Sarwat and Papageorgiou 38).

As it was mentioned before, most people link monetarism with the works of the economist Milton Friedman, who said that controlling the money supply was a better way to keep aggregate demand stable than Keynesian fiscal measures, as he argues that government should intervene to manage demand for goods and services (Lioudis). Friedman suggested in 1948 that the government pay for budget deficits by making new money and pay off old money with budget balances (Friedman 256-264). As mentioned previously, Thatcher's main thinking was about controlling the inflation and also maintaining and improving the rate of unemployment. When she took office in May 1979, the rate of inflation was 10.3% (Healey 37-41). Based on the idea of monetarism, she pushed for a major change by cutting back on the government's spending by a lot and pushing for numerous companies to be private.

3.1.2 The Supply Side Policies

Mrs. Thatcher did not have the strength or courage to begin her politically tense objectives for reorganizing the supply side until the second half of 1982. There have been three major threads in that program: limiting union influence, privatization and deregulation, and tax reduction (Matthews and Minford 65).

3.1.2.1 Privatization and Deregulation

Both the Heath administration of 1970-1974 and the Labour government of 1974-1979 had prepared for some ways to achieve privatizations, it arranged the sale of some of the state's shareholding in the British Petroleum company (BP) exactly in 1977 (Hoopes 15). However, a plan to privatize public services did not begin in the United Kingdom until 1979, when Margaret Thatcher became the country's Prime Minister. Although privatization did not figure significantly as a policy in the Conservative Party election program of 1979, it became one of the most important legacies of Mrs. Thatcher's

administrations throughout the 1980s and went on to become one of the most important legacies during the 1990s. As Margaret Thatcher has stated:

Privatization... was fundamental to improving Britain's economic performance. But for me it was also far more than that: it was one of the central means of reversing the corrosive and corrupting effects of socialism..... Just as nationalization was at the heart of the collectivist programme by which Labour Governments sought to remodel British society, so privatization is at the center of any programme of reclaiming territory for freedom (Thatcher 676).

In their political plan for the 1979 general election, the Conservative Party worried that privatization would be unpopular among citizens and it would not be the best way to reduce the role of the state in society. Furthermore, they made just a short mention of privatization, promising to sell back to private hands the newly nationalized aircraft and industries of ships (Veljanovski 564).

In November 1981, by only selling the first half of its share, the Cable & Wireless enterprise was the initial company to go through privatization during the term of Margaret Thatcher. Then, in February 1982, the UK government gave Mercury Communications Ltd a license to set up a communications network to compete with British Telecom (Garside). Another enterprise that have been privatized in Britain is Britoil, half of it was privatized in 1982 and the other half in 1985, but the government kept as known "golden share" so that the company's power wouldn't change in a way that was bad for the public. Britoil have been the fourth biggest oil and gas producer in the North Sea, after Shell, Total, and BP (Scouller 52).

In the first term of the conservative government, exactly in February 1981, The Government has sold 51.6 % of the shares of The British Aerospace (BAe) as the first major company, then, in May 1985, all the remaining shares were finally sold, but the

government kept one "Golden share" worth £1, which gave it the power to stop any foreign ownership. Moreover, it privatized the nuclear research company Amersham International in February 1982 (Parker 5).

The second part started when British Telecom was sold. These are the known "public utility" industries, which include the telephone, gas, water, and power. In these industries, all of the output comes from one company because it requires a network, so competition is not possible. When these companies are privatized, a public monopoly becomes a private monopoly, which needs to be controlled so it can't take advantage of customers (Veljanovski 565,566).

As it is mentioned, during the second term of the government, the privatization program sped up and moved into a new phase. It has begun with British Telecom; a big company in the phone business, was one of the most famous companies to be private that time. Through an initial public offering (IPO) in 1984, the government sold 50.2% of its shares in BT. The goal was to make the telecoms industry more efficient and open it up to competition. The separation of BT led to more private ownership and also made it easier for people to spend, try new things, and make technology advances (Parker 6).

The Gas Act of 1986 set up the rules for the gas supply business in Great Britain to become private. With this law, the British Gas Corporation would become privately owned instead of being owned by the government or state (Holder 5).

In addition, in 1989, almost all of the water supply and wastewater-related resources in England and Wales, which serve about 50 million people (Council et al. 121), were sold to private companies. This was the biggest and greatest privatization in the world (Portes).

In order to protect consumers from monopoly abuse, new governing organizations were established up. The first was the Office of Telecommunications Oftel, which is now

part of Office of Communications (Ofcom), followed by the Office of Gas Supply (Ofgas) for British Gas, Office for Water Services Ofwat for the water and sewerage industry, Offer in electricity, and the The Office of Rail Regulation (ORR) for the railways. Later, Ofgas and Offer were combined to form Ofgem, the Office of Gas and Electricity Markets (Parker 3). This governing system was put together in pieces and without much thought, and its effects are still being felt today in the form of disagreements over the rules, structures, and processes of regulation.

Considering the Thatcher privatization initiative as an organized, cohesive plan with a single or entirely consistent set of goals is incorrect. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury at the time, in 1983, was the first to clarify what the goals of the privatization system were. Some of the most important ones are: reducing the government's role in business decisions; allowing entrepreneurs to borrow money from the capital market on commercial terms and without a government guarantee; bringing in more money and lowering the Public Sector Borrowing Requirement (PSBR); allowing wide share ownership; creating an enterprise culture; encouraging worker share ownership in their companies; increasing competition and efficiency; and getting rid of owners (Veljanovski 566).

By the time Margaret Thatcher was out of the office in 1990, more than 40 UK businesses that were owned by the government and employed 600,000 people had been sold to private owners. Over 60 billion British Pounds worth of state property was sold, and the share of jobs in nationalized businesses dropped from 9% to less than 2% (“Privatising the UK’s Nationalised Industries in The1980s”). The number of people who owned shares went up. Kenneth Baker, who was a government minister at the time, said that; “When we came into office, there were about three million people who owned shares

in Britain. By the end of the Thatcher years, there were 12 to 15 million shareholders.” (“Lessons From History: Where Privatisation Falts”).

3.1.2.2 Taxation

In order to achieve and strengthen the supply side of the economy was by taxes on spending. Another objective from taxation was to encourage economic activity, investment, and wealth creation. The government aimed to lower tax rates, particularly for businesses and high-income individuals, to support economic growth and attract investment (Buiter et al. 315,337).

According to the two professors Willem Buiter of London School of Economics and National Bureau of Economic Research and Marcus Miller of University of Warwick and Princeton University about taxation during thatcher’s term in their article “Changing the Rules: Economic Consequences of the Thatcher Regime”, the lowering in income tax rates was one of Thatcher's tax policies' defining characteristics. Several types of cuts were made by her government, mainly impacts the wealthier citizens.

In 1980, the top effective income tax rate was lowered from 83% to 60%; by the end of her term, it had been further lowered to 40%. These budget cuts were to reward hard effort, encourage investment, and reward success. Critics counter that these cuts increased income inequality and disproportionately favored the wealthiest (316). Thatcher wanted to encourage economic growth and a business-friendly atmosphere. She thought that lowering tax burdens would encourage investment, entrepreneurship, and productivity, especially for income and capital gains. The objective was to inspire people and businesses to take chances, be creative, and advance overall economic growth (Deeds 97-115), as it was expressed by Thatcher: “I believe the person who is prepared to work hardest should get the greatest rewards and keep them after tax. That we should back the workers and not the

shirkers: that it is not only permissible but praiseworthy to want to benefit your own family by your own efforts” (Reed).

When Income tax rates have been decreased, on the other hand, the Value Added Tax (VAT) was raised from 8% to 15% in the June 1979 budget, the highest instantaneous increase in indirect tax rates in UK history (Kay and Morris 1). The purpose of these hikes was to extend the tax base and create more income for the government. However, they were criticized for disproportionately affecting lower-income people, as consumption taxes were unfair.

Mrs. Thatcher's signature property tax policy was to replace a sensible tax with the Community Charge; often known as the Poll Tax, despite the recommendation of her chancellor, Nigel Lawson, and the fact that homes and houses had not been modified since 1971. England and Wales adopted the new tax in 1990, after Scotland did so in 1989. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher implemented the Community Charge or Poll Tax in Scotland, then in Wales and England. The tax replaced domestic rates with a new method of funding local governments: imposing an essential per person, fixed-rate tax on all adult inhabitants, with the precise amount established at the level of the city (Smith and McLean 2). The poll tax, which demonstrated how deeply unpopular it was, finally caused Mrs. Thatcher to step out of her position in 1990 (Brazier 471-491).

3.1.2.3 Trade Unions

There is no denying that since 1979, the political influence of unions has dramatically decreased. The changes are being made for a variety of reasons. The unions and Labour administrations have traditionally had a deeper, if not always completely friendly, relationship. The relationship between the government and the unions would undoubtedly get worse after the Conservatives were elected in 1979. Moreover, the

Conservatives also believed of less intervention from the government unlike the labour party, which will be a bad strategy for the unions (Marsh 110).

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Trades Union Congress had limited power over the shape of government industrial relations legislation; nevertheless, previous to 1979, many observers saw trade unions as untouchable. The government's careful approach to industrial relations reform was definitely influenced by their judgment of the unions' success (Marsh 110).

The government has introduced several acts, the first one was the employment act 1980, it limited the concept of acceptable picketing to those who were themselves parties to the dispute and who were picketing at their own employer's premises. It also created ballots on the presence of closed shops, and at least 80% of workers in a certain industry must favor their preservation. Removed the rules of the Employment Protection Act of 1975 that allowed independent trade unions to seek acceptance for collective bargaining purposes (“Trade Union Legislation 1979-2010”).

The second act was the employment act 1982, which aimed to address specific cases of dismissal related to non-compliance with union membership agreements by providing compensation from public funds. It also included amendments to laws concerning workers, employers, trade unions, and employers' associations. Additionally, the act covered provisions related to awards granted by industrial tribunals, as well as the procedures followed by the Employment Appeal Tribunal (“Trade Union Legislation 1979-2010”).

In 1984, the government introduced the Trade Union Act; Secret pre-strike ballots to guarantee that industrial action were safe from tort suits, a trade union may only begin industrial action if it had been authorized by a simple majority in a secret vote held no more than four weeks prior. In addition, trade unions were required to guarantee that all

voting members of their executive committees were chosen directly by secret vote at least once every five years (Marsh 74).

The Thatcher government took a significant step forward in 1988 by introducing another act of employment, it allowed union members to make a complaint with an industrial tribunal against unfair union punishment. In the absence of a valid ballot, union members might ask a court for an order blocking strike action. Dismissal for refusing to join a closed shop proved unjust in all circumstances (Dorey 10). Finally, the last employment act during Margaret Thatcher's mandates was the Employment act 1990, made it illegal for companies to reject job candidates on the grounds that they are not union members. After all, the closed shop is now banned (Dorey 10).

When mentioning the clashes between unions and Margaret Thatcher, it is essential to include the 1984/5 Miners' Strike. Margaret Thatcher announced on 6 March 1984 that 20 collieries would to shut down. Hence, 20,000 mines workers would lose their primary source of income (Scargill).

3.1.3 Inflation

The administration of Margaret Thatcher specifically the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Geoffrey Howe in his Budget speech of 26 March 1980 started a new strategy called Medium Term Financial Strategy (MTFS), a four-year plan whose main goal is to lower inflation but which also aims to boost the economy (Hill 88). In a letter to the House of Commons Treasury and Civil Service Committee in February 1980, the Chancellor of the Exchequer wrote; "The main objectives of the Government's economic strategy are to reduce inflation and to create conditions in which sustainable economic growth can be achieved" (Buiter et al. 315).

According to the two scholars Nathalie Champroux and Nicholas Sowels in their article "The Monetary and Fiscal Policies of Early Thatcherism and the Legacy of the

Medium Term Financial Strategy”, the results were what was expected. After a slow rise to 11.4% in July 1979, an increase to more than 15% in June, and a dramatic increase to more than 20% in March 1980, inflation started going down in May 1980. By December 1980, it was down to 15%, less than 10% in April 1982, and less than 5% in March 1983(135–61).

The main problem with the MTFFS experiment was that the link between the amount of money in circulation and inflation broke down quickly. The link between the amount of money in circulation and prices turned out to be very hard to figure out, which means it couldn't be controlled, this shows what became known as Goodhart's law i.e. the proposition ‘that any observed statistical regularity will tend to collapse once pressure is placed upon it for control purposes’ (Steele) which means that the regularities must always be taken into consideration with the extreme caution (Chrystal and Mizen 1-2). In fact, other policies, such as tax and public spending promises, financial reforms, and the effects of the deep recession in the early 1980s, made it harder to use monetarism (Nathalie Champroux and Nicholas Sowell 135–61).

Moreover, Inflation went down in the end because of budget cuts, tight money, and high unemployment. Inflation started going down in 1982 and hit 4.5 percent in 1983. As the next five years, inflation stayed around 5%, which was an increase that helped the economy grow strongly. Oil money and a strong pound made it possible to end exchange rules that had been in place since World War II. This was the most important step toward a free market. Sterling could once again be used around the world, and British buyers could look for the best profits anywhere in the world. London's role as a financial center was strengthened, and the rise of foreign investments made Britain an important part of the new world economy (Reitan 31-32). While economy of the kingdom had recovered and grew, unfortunately, as a result unemployment rose (Boughton 4).

With inflation remaining at 5%, people became more confident and spent more. This started a demand-side rise, which was helped by similar growth in the US and other countries. Those who had jobs gained. During the four-year time, prices went up by an average of 4.7% per year, while wages went up by an average of 7.7% per year. Imports went up by 30% because British people was spending in an enormous way², buying foreign cars, TVs, cameras, and taking vacations abroad. The oil from the North Sea helped keep the balance of payments in good shape, and the value of sterling stayed high (Reitan 55).

The Exchequer Nigel Lawson kept up the Thatcher's fiscal strategy. This meant shifting taxes from wages to spending, controlling spending, reducing public borrowing, and keeping inflation low. Oil from the North Sea and sales of businesses that had been taken over by the government helped bring in more money. Spending was closely watched, and the rate of growth was much slower than the growth of revenue. This made it less and less important to borrow money over time. In 1984, Lawson cut the taxes that companies had to pay. He made up for the money that was lost by getting rid of a bunch of unnecessary tax breaks for corporations (Dodwell).

In 1985, the basic deduction for the personal income tax was raised by a lot. This helped a lot of low-income people save money on taxes. The tax break for mortgage interest was made bigger, which helped homeowners. As money came in, Lawson said he would lower the income tax base rate from 30% to 25%, starting with a 1% cut in 1986 and another 2% cut in 1987. Up until 1988, the top rate stayed at 60% (Reitan 55).

As deregulation went on, banks were allowed to lend on mortgages and building societies, which in the US are called savings and loan groups, were allowed to act more like banks. Less control of hire purchase led to more spending and debt by consumers. As house prices, especially in London, rose quickly after Lawson's tax cuts, it was hard not to think of the Health Ministry. Lending institutions had a lot of cash on hand, and home

loans were easy to get at 100% of the value and with low interest rates. Buyers were ready to take out big mortgages because they thought prices would go up even more (Reitan 56).

Although by from 1986 to 1990 the rate of inflation started to rise again to reach 9.6% (Matthews). the government ensured that it has to remain stable and don't go higher. Eventually, a rate of 10.3% of inflation when she took office in May 1979 that went down to 2.5% in 1986 was considered a win (Bentley et al 54).

3.1.4 Unemployment

The most obvious economic successes of the Thatcher years are the drop in inflation and the stabilization of the state budgets. On the other hand, unemployment rate has been the most obvious thing that went wrong and failed. Critics say this is because the government's economic and monetary measures have made things worse. But the government has defended itself by saying that, even though unemployment is bad, it is because of decisions made by the private sector and not because of what the government has done (Bean and Symons 21-22).

Early in Thatcher's administration from 1979 to 1983, unemployment maintained to rise more and more especially in 1983 when it reached 3 million. The country was experiencing a serious recession, which became worse by the government's efforts to control inflation and implement austerity measures. Particularly affected were industries such as manufacturing and mining, resulting in employment losses in these sectors (BBC News).

By the end of 1986, Britain was in the early stages of an economic boom. Unemployment dropped below 3 million and hit a 10-year low of 1.6 million in December 1989. But in 1989, the rate of economic growth slowed down. Inflation was getting close to 10%, and the national media was full of news about how an economic crisis was coming

soon. The government raised interest rates to try to keep inflation in control (Plunkert 3–16).

Alongside the battle with inflation, one of the major factors of unemployment was the restructuring of industries and deindustrialization process. Numerous traditional manufacturing facilities were shut down as a consequence of the Thatcher administration's modernization and streamlining policies. As a result of increased competition, technological advances, and changes in the global market dynamics, numerous jobs were lost in industries such as coal mining, steel production, and heavy industry (Wardley-Kershaw and Schenk-Hoppé 387).

Other frequent reason for the rise in unemployment is the effect of new technology, especially computers. This has made a lot of people's human capital useless, especially those who worked with their hands in standard manufacturing businesses like making cars and ships (Bean and Symons 24). Innovations in technology can increase efficiency and productivity, allowing businesses to produce more with fewer resources, including human labor.

3.2 The Social Reforms

As she entered the office, Thatcher wasn't a great a supporter of the welfare state, however, she didn't intend to abolish it. Mainly, because the welfare state has always highly valued by the public and deeply rooted in British society and had wide public support. Although, she went for decreasing the spending on the welfare state as she reduced the cuts 7% between 1979 and 1989 (Scott-Samuel et al. 55). It is important to note that thatcher and the government focused on individual responsibility and freedom, market oriented solutions, and a desire in reducing the role of the state especially in the life of British citizens, however, in order people obtain privileges, they should work, rely on

themselves and to take ownership of their own lives and make individual efforts to succeed. As a result, she implemented social reforms for a better life and a better Kingdom.

3.2.1 The National Health Service

Margaret Thatcher represented a total rejection of the Post-war consensus, in which the major political parties essentially agreed on the basic issues of Keynesianism, the welfare state, nationalized industry, public housing, and economic regulation. The only notable exception was the National Health Service, which was very popular and had wide support within the Conservative Party, as she stated that “NHS is safe with us” (Travis).

The Griffiths report of 1983 was an important moment for the NHS, introducing general administration at all levels of the institution. This was undoubtedly a turning point in the history of NHS management. Indeed, it is reasonable to assume that NHS administration would not appear or act the way it does without The Griffiths report of 1983 (Exworthy et al. 135).

This proposed for the appointment of general managers in the NHS, who would be accountable. The report also advocated for greater medical professional involvement in management (Exworthy et al. 146). Financial challenges continued to tackle on the NHS. As a result, the government provided an additional £101 million to the NHS in 1987.

Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister, initiated a review of the NHS in 1988. This evaluation resulted in the publication of two white papers, *Working for Patients* and *Caring for People*, in 1989. These defined the introduction of the "internal market," which would determine the structure and organization of health care for the majority of the following decade (Mold 509), and also aim to improve performance through managed competition (Gorsky 446). Despite strong resistance from the British Medical Association “BMA”, who preferred a trial study or changes in a single region, the internal market was implemented (“BMA Policy Book 2019-2020”).

Working for Patients outlined the Conservative government's vision for transforming the NHS into a more patient-centered and efficient healthcare system. General Practitioner (GP) fundholding was introduced, allowing GPs to hold budgets and purchase services on behalf of their patients. This gave GPs greater autonomy and control over healthcare decisions and resources (Scott-Samuel et al. 62). Moreover, the paper suggested separating the tasks of purchasing and providing. Purchases of healthcare services from a variety of suppliers, including as hospitals, clinics, and specialized units, were within the responsibility of health authorities (Scott-Samuel et al. 55).

While Caring for People emphasized the value of working together amongst healthcare authorities, providers, and other partners. In order to improve the health of patients, it wanted to promote teamwork and integrated care (Rummery and Coleman 1775). Another key element of caring for people is standards and quality, the document underlined the importance of strong quality assurance systems, such as clinical governance and the development of clinical standards. To guarantee the delivery of high-quality treatment, it underlined the necessity of observing and assessing healthcare providers (Greengross et al. 8).

However, despite the high profile aspect of the internal market, which drew international attention, its attempt to bring competition with the creation of the internal market mostly failed to achieve what was hoped for (Dragoonis 153).

3.2.2 Education

As soon as the Tory leader won the election, she attempted to develop the education section, by introducing acts that tried to impact not just the school curriculum but also local education authorities and teachers.

Thatcher's government was intent to reduce the power of Local Education Authorities (LEAs) by decreasing their control and responsibility and instead giving

parents an even greater role in school administration. The consequence of these policies the 1988 Education Reform Act, that created the National Curriculum and the primary years of compulsory education with a goal on raising standards. the consequence of these policies (Khalki 146).

Margaret Thatcher's first educational legislative action as Prime Minister and Leader of the Conservative Party was the Education Act of 1979. It abolished Labour's Act of 1976 and allowed Local education authorities (LEAs) the ability to choose kids for secondary education at the age of eleven, under the leadership of Mark Carlisle as first Education Secretary. This Act required Local Authorities to place a greater focus on parental choice when allocating school places (Khalki 147).

The Education Act of 1980 established The Assisted Places Scheme by Education Secretary Mark Carlisle, it gifted youngsters who could not afford to attend fee-paying schools were offered free spots provided they passed the school's admission test (Batey 191).

Furthermore, Keith Joseph, Margaret Thatcher's second Education Secretary, passed the Education (No. 2) Act 1986. The Act transformed the different responsibilities of the government, parents, local education authorities, and head teachers in school governance, allowing parents equal participation on school governing boards beside LEAs and introducing for the first time a responsibility to organize parents' meetings (Hollis et al. 79). It also restricted physical punishment in state schools and private schools receiving public funds, in addition, it prohibited "political indoctrination" by teachers in schools, and stated that discipline was the duty of the principal (Khalki 149-150).

In 1988, Secretary of State Kenneth Baker introduced The Education Reform Act of 1988, also referred to as the "Baker Act", it was the most significant piece of legislation for British education since 1944 (Khalki 150). Its major goals were to establish the

National Curriculum, create grant-maintained schools funded by the central government, and move authority from LEAs to the Education Secretary. Furthermore, the Act transferred practically all responsibility for the school budget from LEAs to school governing bodies (Harris 106).

The national curriculum was implemented to direct the learning process for all students from the age of 5 to 16 in both primary and secondary schools. The curriculum contained 11 subjects: three core subjects (English, science, and mathematics), seven foundation courses (history, geography, art music, technology, economic awareness, environmental education, and physical education), and one contemporary foreign language subject (Métais 13-14).

3.2.3 Housing

When the Iron Lady took place in office, she introduced the Housing act 1980 which was important and valuable for the citizens (Britain 266). The Housing Act 1980 was a United Kingdom Parliament Act that granted council house people in England and Wales the right to buy their home from their local government. The Act went into implementation on October 3, 1980, and is regarded as a key policy of Thatcherism (Davies 421). The strategy was first announced by Thatcher in a special television presentation, she said; “If you have been a council tenant for at least three years, you will have the right, by law, to buy your house” (Howard).

The concept of a 'Right to Buy' for council house tenants emerged after 1945 as part of the Conservative attempt to build a 'property-owning democracy'; however, it was considered inappropriate and of unclear political value by party leaders until Conservative councils implemented successful local sales schemes in the late 1960s (Davies 421).

It solved many issues for people although it required conditions to have the Right to Buy; first, according to the Act, renters who had been in a council house for three years or

more had the opportunity to acquire a home. Second, someone don't reside in sheltered housing or any type of accommodation that is especially suited for the elderly or those with disabilities (“Your Right to Buy Your Home” 6).

On the other hand, the government proposed discounts which included, Three-year tenants would receive a minimum discount of 33%. Also, an extra 1% would be added for each year of tenancy that is longer than three. In addition, a discount of up to £50,000 could not be applied (“Your Right to Buy Your Home” 12).

Unfortunately, sales began modestly, just 55 council properties were purchased in England during the final four months of 1980 under the new legislation. Some Labour local officials were purposefully slow to respond to potential bidders. Council employees in the London borough of Greenwich refused to hand out application papers and occasionally rejected the existence of a right to buy. However, Michael Heseltine, as Environment Secretary, was in charge of the legislation that established the policy, announcing that; “no single piece of legislation has enabled the transfer of so much capital wealth from the state to the people” (Howard). After that, sales started to soar: in 1981, 66,321 English right to buy transactions were made; in 1982, that number rose to 174,697, a sales high that would be routinely approached for the remainder of the 1980s but never reached (Beckett).

Sales reached their peak in Wales in 1982 as well. People in Scotland were more circumspect, with 1989 marking the year with the highest annually number. Regional differences also existed: in England, sales grew most quickly in London, the south-east, and the south-west, while they slowed down in north (Beckett).

As it was successful, several problems appeared for example, since there were many individuals who can buy properties, they resell them for greater prices and rent them

out privately for higher rates. The Act reduced the availability of local homes, which increased rental prices (Colin and Murie 99).

Conclusion

Margaret Thatcher's demise as Prime Minister was caused by a number of reasons. Internal Conservative Party splits increased, notably over the unpopular Community Charge poll tax and her aggressive leadership style. Thatcher's policies of market liberalization and privatization were criticized for increasing inequality, while economic hardships and social unrest, such as protests against the poll tax, lost popular support. Her strong opposition to European integration further alienated some party members, and she resigned in 1990 in response to a leadership challenge from Michael Heseltine.

To sum up, Margaret Thatcher had an incredible economic and social impact on United Kingdom in most of the areas. From an economic standpoint, her policies such as monetarism, deregulation and privatization improved the kingdom's weak economy that caused inflation, on the other hand, unemployment was a vital issue and kept declining because it was the consequence in the winning battle of the government against inflation. On the social front, Thatcher's thoughts of individual responsibility and self-reliance and forget the reliance on the government had an impact on citizens by reducing dependency on the state and encourage individuals to take charge of their own lives. The Iron lady did not create the idea of house ownership, but she did much to improve it by the introduction of right to buy which helped plenty of poor people as it was her biggest contribution to the social policies. Her touch to the NHS was important by implementing the Griffiths report of 1983 which granted new managerial and organizational changes to the Kingdom. Also, her contribution to the education policies was highly successful in the social scene in Britain and impacted the school curriculum, local education authorities and teachers.

Regardless of the non-solvable issues during her time, Margaret did have an impact on the social and economic policies and made Britain great again.

General Conclusion

By providing a long reflection on the past and sufficient examination of the present, this thesis attempted to explore, investigate, and describe the impact of economic and social policies accomplished by the leader of the conservative party and prime minister of Britain.

To sum up, the first chapter laid the foundations for the theoretical framework of postwar Britain to better understand the country's policies domestically and abroad, in addition to investigating aspects of the consensus era. After that, the research introduced the domestic and foreign policies of the Labour Party and the Conservative Party to set the basis for the process of investigating the impact of Margaret Thatcher in the coming chapters.

In the second chapter, the study showed the era in Britain in which stagflation crisis trade union power and decline of traditional industries have emerged. There were also significant social and cultural changes occurred, challenging traditional norms and fostering a spirit of liberation and individual freedom; the contraceptive pill, women's liberation freed and movement, homosexuality, drugs, censorship and death penalty. All this led to significant changes allowing the merge of a new ideological movement as a response to the previous ideology. This new wright would not be accomplished without the contributions of several economists, thinkers and scholars. Moreover, an important point in Britain's economy was the arise of Thatcherism which can be seen also as a specific manifestation of the broader New Right movement

Finally, in the third chapter, an attempt was made to investigate and explore the economic and social impact of the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher during her mandate

(1979-1990). Through her economic and social reforms, the study was able to explore the areas that she had an impact on. It is noticed that the monetarism policy was adopted from the government in order to control and maintaining inflation and decrease the rate of unemployment. Although, unemployment's rates did not improve to the best, Thatcher's policy succeeded in curbing inflation. Furthermore, Margaret Thatcher's side supply economy was highly popular, with privatization, it was the end of state monopolies and opened more markets to competition and improved efficiency. Whereas taxation policies had both positive and negative impacts on the United Kingdom, lower tax rates for businesses and high-income individuals open room for investments, while, the poll tax was met with significant opposition and had several negative impacts. Margaret Thatcher's administrations undermined unions' influence in the 1980s, particularly by making it harder to strike legally. Furthermore, in the social level, with the changes of Thatcher's education policies, not only influenced the school course of study, but also local education authorities and teachers, mainly, by transforming public services into a market and shift authority from local governments to central government. In addition, government pursued various measures aimed at promoting homeownership, reducing the role of the state in housing provision, mainly from privatization and right to buy policy. Finally, Thatcher's impact on health sector and The National Health Service remains a topic of debate and varying opinions, the introduction of the internal market tended to promote competition, efficiency, and improved patient choice, but in the other hands failed to achieve what was hoped for.

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الملخص

تعتبر السياسات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية أهم السياسات المحلية للحكومة وهي مصممة ومبنية من قبل الحكومة لخدمة وتطوير مصالحها. منذ نهاية الحرب العالمية الثانية، عانت بريطانيا كدولة معاناة هائلة؛ وبالتالي، سعت كل حكومة ورئيس وزراء إلى إنشاء وتحسين السياسات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية بطريقتهم ورؤيتهم الخاصة. لذلك، يحاول هذا البحث تقديم لمحة تاريخية وتحليلية عن الأداء الاجتماعي والاقتصادي لمارجريت تاتشر في المملكة المتحدة طوال فترة عملها كرئيسة للوزراء. لتحقيق هذا الهدف النهائي، سينظر هذا البحث في بريطانيا من نهاية الحرب العالمية الثانية إلى نهاية ولاية مارغريت تاتشر في عام 1990. في بحثنا، سنستخدم الطريقة التاريخية بالإضافة إلى نهج استكشافي ووصفي واستقصائي. تكمن أهمية الدراسة في فهم فترة تحويلية في التاريخ البريطاني وتقييم تأثير سياساتها على الاقتصاد والمجتمع.

الكلمات الرئيسية: السياسات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية، مارغريت تاتشر، الحرب العالمية الثانية، المملكة المتحدة.