International Journal of Policy Sciences and Law

Volume 1, Issue 4

Conservatism: Analyzing the Relevance and Why Conservative Ideology is Gaining Power across the World

Pooja Kumar[1]

This Article is brought to you for "free" and "open access" by the International Journal of Policy Sciences and Law. For more, visit http://ijpsl.in/

To submit your manuscript, email it to us at editorial.ijpsl@gmail.com or click here.

[1] *B.A. Hons. Political Science, Lady Shri Ram College for Women, University of Delhi, India*

Abstract

The researcher has tried to analyze the relevance and reasons behind the rise of conservatives in power either in the form of a proper democratically elected government in a majority of its base voters or loyal electorates across the world. This paper mainly focuses on the rise of the ideology of conservatism. Conservatism is a political ideology that is widely based on upholding and promoting traditional values and being suspicious of and resisting any change in the conventional society or resisting progressive ideas. This paper explores the historical roots of conservative ideology and its meaning and interpretations and the views of Edmund Burke- widely known as the 'Father of modern conservatism'. The paper cites examples of major countries in the world, where conservatives are or were very recently in power. It also tries to cover the voter's mindset by citing some psychological reasons behind the voting pattern which usually sees a trend of older people leaning towards 'Right-wing' political parties (Conservatives). Linkages have been established between being older and inclination towards Conservatism.

1.0 Introduction

This Research Paper is based on the political ideology of Conservatism which falls on the 'Right-Side' (Right-Wing) of the universal political spectrum. This paper analyses its relevance in the modern world of contemporary times. This particular topic is chosen by the Researcher to question the possible reasons behind the growing trends and rise of conservatives in political power and arena across the globe especially in major countries and superpowers like, for example, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and India.

The researcher has tried to approach the topic starting with the Historical Perspective of the Ideology by tracing the roots of the ideology to the Tories and Tory Movement of the 1680s, and the French Revolution of 1789; tried to study the popular political philosopher Edmund Burke who is also known as 'the Father of Modern Conservatism' and his work through other author's lenses and/ or point of view. The paper then proceeds to lay down the definition(s) and meaning(s) of conservatism.

It then focuses on the Statement of Purpose (SOP) of this paper and tries to analyse the relevance of the ideology and some factors of why it is gaining power across the world by citing examples of some major right-wing nationalist conservative ruled nation-states in the world and tried to analyse the correlation in them if any. This paper also tries to understand the political pendulum post-cold war era about how the electoral base swings/shifts their vote based on various reasons like the demographics, social and psychological reasons which are tried to be explained in the paper.

Conservatism is one of the major political ideologies and political theories in the world. The researcher has tried to portray the relevance of the chosen topic in contemporary times. With the advent of time, it is very evident how conservatives are getting hold of the powerful nation-states and passing some laws and regulations which are indeed questionable or at least worthy of a serious ponder. If we consider the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) which indeed holds value in international affairs as a decisive board (their veto power) of countries like, its 5 permanent members which are the United States of America, United Kingdom, China, Russia and France. Except for China (which is not even a democracy in a true sense) every other country has seen/ is seeing a right-wing conservative ruled government elected or at least, a surge and a swing of voters to the right side of the political spectrum. It, therefore, becomes important to study this ideology which is slowly and gradually taking over the world and why.

2.0 A Brief Historical Retrospect

"In Great Britain, the Tory movement during the Restoration period (1660–1688) was a precursor to conservatism. Toryism supported a hierarchical society with a monarch who ruled by divine right."[1]

*Tory: "A Tory is a person who holds a political philosophy known as Toryism, based on a British version of traditionalism and conservatism, which upholds the supremacy of social order as it has evolved in the English culture throughout history." [2] ("The word "Tory" is first found in English politics in about 1680, and originates in an insult thrown at the Tories by their enemies

[1] "Divine Right of Kings." Wikipedia, 2021.
[2] "Tory." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, 2020.

which came to be worn as a badge of pride.")[3]

The first known use of the term in a political context was by 'François-René de Chateaubriand' (* "François-René de Chateaubriand was a French writer, politician, diplomat and historian who had a notable influence on French literature of the nineteenth century.") in 1818. "The word "conservatism" is believed to have been coined by a French Romantic thinker Chateaubriand in 1818 when he named his journal 'Le Conservateur'". "As a term of political idea or ideology, it came to be generally employed, like similar other terms such as "liberalism," "nationalism" and "socialism," since the middle of the nineteenth century. When it first gained currency in politics, it was associated with the name of various conservative political parties in European countries at that time. Among them were the British Conservative (Tory) Party, the Prussian Conservative Party, and the Danish Conservative People's Party. All of them stood for the defence of traditional aristocratic political order against the European wide upsurge of democracy and the rise of the labouring classes. For this reason, the meaning of the word "conservatism" remained fairly unequivocal until the beginning of the twentieth century. It was a term, which belonged primarily to the world of practical politics, and was linked with a particular political program and attitude." [4] "Although conservatism has much older roots in American history, the modern movement began to gel in the mid-1930s when intellectuals and politicians collaborated with businessmen to oppose the liberalism of the New Deal led by President Franklin D."

2.1 Edmund Burke's Ideology

"Conservatism (also known as Classical Conservatism) began as a reaction against the liberal ideas taking hold of Europe during the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century. This type of conservatism differs from American conservatism. Edmund Burke, a British member of Parliament, observed the early stages of the French Revolution with great distress and predicted the violence and terror that would ensue. His book, Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790), is one of the founding texts of classical conservatism." [5]

[3] Gimson, Andrew. Why the Tories keep winning, 2017.
[4] MATSUI, Takayuki. (2019). "A-political Conservatism".
[5] SparkNotes. SparkNotes. Accessed February 19, 2021.

"Edmund Burke, an 18th-century politician who opposed the French Revolution, but supported the American Revolution, is credited as one of the main theorists of conservatism in Great Britain in the 1790s. Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790), which has been commonly (and rightly) considered as the most cardinal canon of all conservatism since the early nineteenth century, not only emphasized the importance of traditional aristocracy for the stability and prosperity of British civil society but also emphasised on the liberty of people, although the "people" he conceived was not the promiscuous adult members of the whole society as we understand now but those who had a certain amount of property more than was necessary for bare existence." For Edmund Burke, the father of modern conservatism, the essence of conservatism was individual liberty. [6]

3.0 What is Conservatism

"A simple definition of Conservatism would be a commitment to traditional values and ideas with opposition to change or innovation and the holding of political views that favour free enterprise, private ownership, and socially traditional ideas. Conservatism is opposition to rapid changes and supports keeping traditions in society. Conservatism is a political and social philosophy promoting traditional social institutions. The central tenets of conservatism may vary with the traditional values or practices of the culture and civilization in which it appears. The term is associated with right-wing politics. It has been used to describe a wide range of views. There is no single set of policies that are regarded as conservative because the meaning of conservatism depends on a given place and time." "Conservatism is partly a belief in pragmatism, which means not changing things unless there is a very good reason to do so." [7]

There are different definitions of conservatism: "First, the aristocratic theory defines conservatism as the ideology of a single specific and unique historical movement: the reaction of the feudal-aristocratic- agrarian classes to the French Revolution, liberalism, and the rise of the bourgeoisie at the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth century" "Second, the autonomous definition of conservatism holds that conservatism is not necessarily connected with the interests of any particular group, nor, indeed, is its appearance

[6] MATSUI, Takayuki. (2019). "A-political Conservatism".
[7] "Conservatism." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, 2021.

dependent upon any specific historical configuration of social forces. Conservatism is an autonomous system of ideas that are generally valid. It is defined in terms of universal values such as justice, order, balance, moderation. Whether or not a particular individual holds these values high depends not on his social affiliations but upon his personal capacity to see their inherent truth and desirability" "Third, the situational definition views conservatism as the ideology arising out of a distinct but recurring type of historical situation in which a fundamental challenge is directed at established institutions and in which the supporters of those institutions employ the conservative ideology in their defence. Thus, conservatism is that system of ideas employed to justify any established social order, no matter where or when it exists, against any fundamental challenge to its nature or being, no matter from what quarter. The essence of conservatism is the passionate affirmation of the value of existing institutions." The above three definitions differ only in respect to historical context. "The aristocratic definition limits conservatism to a particular social class in a particular society. The autonomous definition permits the appearance of conservatism at any stage in history. The situational definition holds that conservatism appears when challenging and defending social groups stand in particular relation to each other" [8]

There are different types of branches and, views and tensions within the political theory and ideology itself, like some conservatists, identify themselves as Cultural Conservative, Capitalist Conservative (this was rising collectively in USA and UK in the times of 40th President of the USA Ronald Reagon and Former Prime Minister of UK -Margaret Thatcher)[9], NeoConservative, Socialist-democratic Conservative and PaleoConservatives. There is a concept of 'One Nation Conservatism' and 'New Right Conservatism'. In simple words, both of these were in opposition of each other and the latter originated in opposing the former one. One Nation Conservatism is about 'welfarism', that too, for avoiding revolution against the rich from the poor. New Right can be defined as a term for various right-wing political groups or policies in different countries. It has also been used to describe the emergence of Eastern European parties

[8] Huntington, Samuel P. "Conservatism as an Ideology."
[9] Hoover, Kenneth R. "The Rise of Conservative Capitalism: Ideological Tensions within the Reagan and Thatcher Governments."

after the collapse of the Soviet Union. [10]

"This main tradition of conservative thought derives from three central doctrines, which are themselves connected. The first and most obvious of them is traditionalism, which supports continuity in politics, the maintenance of existing institutions and practices, and is suspicious of change, particularly of large and sudden change, and above all of the violent and systematic revolutionary change. At its most rudimentary this is simply a widespread human disposition, present to some extent in everyone, though by no means universally predominant, to love the familiar and to fear the unknown. Suspicion of change is not the same thing as rigid opposition to it. But, for the conservative, if there is need to be changed it should be gradual, with each step carefully considered, as though one was venturing onto the ice. Political wisdom for the conservative is embodied, first of all, in the inherited fabric of established laws and institutions. This is seen as the deposit of a great historical accumulation of small adjustments to the political order, made by experienced political practitioners, acting under the pressure of a recognized need and in a cautious, prudent way. It follows that the management of public affairs is best remitted to those with extensive direct political experience and not to theorists with their privately fabricated abstract systems. What is needed for successful political practice is skill or know-how. Even less welcome to conservatives than abstract principles, such as doctrines of universally applicable natural or human rights, are utopias, systematic proposals for comprehensive social transformation. Political scepticism in its turn rests on the third central doctrine of conservatism, the conception of human beings and society as being organically or internally related. Individual human beings are not fully formed, except in their basic biological aspect, independently of the social institutions and practices within which they grow up. There is, therefore, no universal human nature." [11] "As a political practice and philosophy, conservatism is famously durable and flexible: hard to define precisely. For centuries, many conservatives have insisted that their politics is about preserving things and avoiding ideology." [12]

[10] Study Rocket. "Differing Views and Tensions Within Conservatism – A Level Politics Edexcel Revision." Study Rocket. Study Rocket, 2019.
[11] "A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy.", 2021.
[12] "'A Zombie Party': the Deepening Crisis of Conservatism." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, 2019

4.0 Differences

"The disagreements with liberals in these areas are real and important, but they aren't completely distinctive either. (Liberalism is a political and moral philosophy based on liberty, consent of the governed and equality before the law.) [13] Liberals believe in individual freedom, too — they just tend to become exercised about it in different areas. Likewise when it comes to revering the Constitution, upholding the limited government, and fretting about the dangers of overweening federal power. Liberals and conservatives do all of these things, although they disagree about the meaning of the Constitution, and about whether the government has a significant role to play in regulating the economy (as liberals believe) or policing sexual morality (as conservatives believe)." [14] Conservatism is a current within that liberal democratic western stream. It is less accommodating to mass immigration, believing that there is only so much change a country can take quickly, and more committed to institutions. Indeed, what gives British conservatism its particular flavour is its attachment to institutions. Families are one of these, and it is striking that the Conservative Party is less committed to family-friendly taxation than most of its counterparts elsewhere in Europe. [15] "The conservatives' history of their ideology discussed the guiding authority of liberty, but clearly the other faith was skepticism about the value of equality. For example, many conservatives in the 1950s and 1960s had little if any sympathy rights movement. This fact, reinforced by the liberal critique of anti-McCarthy intellectuals, helped to account for the southern-explanation of conservatism. On the whole, liberal historians dismissed conservative ideology and looked for something else - racial bigotry, advantage, greed - to explain the motives of the Right-Wing." [16]

5.0 Why is it gaining power across the world

5.1 Conservatism Post-Cold War

"The collapse of Soviet communism in the 80s, the apparent triumph of capitalism during the 90s, the western left's own splits, dilemmas and failures, and the ongoing surge of right-wing populism have all helped maintain conservatism's surface confidence." "At the beginning of the

[13] "Liberalism." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, 2021.
[14] Linker, Damon. "What Defines Conservatism Today?"
[15] Conservatism Is Better than Liberalism – and Putin Much, Much Worse than Either."
[16] Norrell, Robert J. "Modern Conservatism and the Consequences of Its Ideas."

1990s, a propitious set of circumstances appeared to exist for the flourishing of a confident and assertive conservative ideology. Indeed, history appeared to be on conservatives' side, with their major enemies – both within and without – decisively defeated. The collapse of the Soviet Union brought to a close nearly half a century of Cold War conflict, while the long-term retreat of labour movements and left-wing ideologies throughout the West was all but concluded. With the discrediting of many of the Left's most cherished ideals, including the state management of industry and centralized planning, it seemed that the 1990s would be a decade in which conservatism would be at its most triumphant." [17]

5.2 Conservatism in the status quo

If we look at the past and ongoing political trends around the world we could figure out how conservatives and centre-right parties are winning across major countries. Here, in this paper, the author would briefly mention countries like India, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Israel, Turkey, Brazil, Russia, Australia, Japan and some other countries.

1. India has seen a rise of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) since 2014 where they swept a majority in General Elections in May 2014 after decades of the coalition government in the centre. With Narendra Modi becoming the 14th Prime Minister of India, the rise of right-wing nationalism was initiated in the country. His government came back with a spectacular result again in the general election 2019 despite the opposition being united against BJP. This time, in 2019, his own party i.e, BJP secured a majority without needing any alliance. It gained more support than in 2014. 2019-2020 saw some serious bills being passed like the abrogation of Article 370 which gave the state of Jammu and Kashmir a special status and Citizenship Amendment Act 2019. Both of these policies saw huge protests against them.
2. Scott Morrison is the 30th and current Prime Minister of Australia. He is generally identified as a right-wing conservative socialist. He is a member of the Liberal Party of Australia. Australia's domestic spy agency says there has been a marked increase in far right-wing extremism in Australia in recent years. He took office in August 2018 upon

[17] Pilbeam B. (2003) Introduction: Understanding Conservatism after the Cold War. In: Conservatism in Crisis?. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

his election as leader of the Liberal Party and subsequently led the Coalition to victory at the 2019 federal election. [18]

3. France: Emmanuel Jean-Michel Frédéric Macron is a French politician who has been serving as the President of France since May 2017.[19] He is a member of the political party of France named 'La République En Marche!' which is considered to be a socialist, centrist and pro-Europe party.[20] He is generally popular as the 'centrist leader' against the extremes. There are various reports and articles about President Macron being tilted towards the right and passing such bills which are seen to be anti-immigrants (which is considered to be a sign of conservatism) despite luring left-leaning votes for his presidency elections. It can be said that he is trying to garner votes for his far-right opponent in politics who is 'Marine Le Pen'. [21]
4. "Donald Trump took over as 45th President of the United States of America in 2017." He is from the Republican Party. His election campaign was based on one major political slogan - 'Make America Great Again'. If we analyse this very slogan it can be seen how it is trying to invoke and ignite a sense of nationalism and patriotism. But with Trump's varied and controversial views on women and minorities, there were millions of others for whom 'Make America Great Again' made them fear a return to the pre-civil rights era USA. [22]
5. "Jair Messias Bolsonaro is a Brazilian far-right politician and retired military officer who is the 38th president of Brazil. He has been in the President's Office since January 2019." [23] He was elected in 2018 as a member of the Socialist Liberal Party which is identified as a right-wing conservative party. "Brazil elected far-right candidate Jair Bolsonaro in its presidential runoff breaking a nearly two-decade-old tradition of almost exclusively electing leftist presidents." He cut ties with the Socialist Liberal Party and remained independent for months and announced his new political party, namely, the Alliance for

[18] "Scott Morrison." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 14, 2021.
[19] "Emmanuel Macron." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 13, 2021.
[20] "La République En Marche!" Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 18, 2021.
[21] "Don't Be Fooled by Emmanuel Macron the 'Moderate' | Owen Jones." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, April 19, 2018..
[22] Barry, Aoife. "What Made Trump's 'Make America Great Again' Slogan so Powerful?"
[23] "Jair Bolsonaro." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 13, 2021.

Brazil (APB) in November 2019. [24] Bolsonaro started his campaign as a fringe candidate from a fringe party who was mostly known for his streak of racist, misogynistic, and anti-LGBT remarks and his professed fondness for the country's brutal military dictatorship. But his promises to restore security amid endemic violent crime and to stamp out the country's rampant political corruption won him support among voters looking for a change. [25]

6. Vladimir Putin is the President of Russia. It is his fourth consecutive president term i.e, from 2018 to the present. Earlier he had been President from the year 2000-2004, 2004-2008 and 2012-2018. [26] "The two main conservative parties in Russia are the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia led by Vladimir Zhirinovsky and United Russia, led by its de facto leader Vladimir Putin. United Russia is the ruling party of Russia and largest party of Russia, holding 74.4% of seats in the state Duma." "In the mid-19th Century, two intellectual and philosophical movements, the Westernisers and the Slavophiles emerged in Russian society. While the former insisted on the need to follow the footsteps of trending Western liberal values, the latter advocated Russia's traditional way of development, idealised the Russian nation's patriarchal nature and the principle of conservative romanticism." [27] "President Putin has time and again tried to portray himself as 'the father of the conservative values.'" Vladimir's third presidential term was a stark turn into the 'ideological shift' of Russia to Conservatism. His political party - 'United Russia' has Social Conservatism as their official ideology. After 2013, President Putin himself identified being a 'Pragmatist with a Conservative bend'. [28] [29]
7. Israel: Benjamin Netanyahu has been the prime minister of Israel since 2009. He is a member of the Likud political party and is elected on its ticket. Likud, officially the

[24] "Brazil's President Bolsonaro Launches New Political Party." BBC News. BBC, November 21, 2019.
[25] Kirby, Jen. "Corruption, Fake News, and WhatsApp: How Bolsonaro Won Brazil." Vox. Vox, October 29, 2018.

[26] "Vladimir Putin." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 10, 2021.
[27] "Politics of Russia." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 10, 2021.
[28] TRTWorld. 'Liberalism is dead': Putin's drive to unite the world's conservatives.
[29] "Russia Country Profile." BBC News. BBC, April 26, 2019.

National Liberal Movement, is the major centre-right conservative right-wing political party in Israel. He identifies himself as a Nationalist leader. [30] "Israeli society was long perceived as culturally, socially, and politically liberal, similar in orientation to societies in North America and western Europe." "Though Israel's conservative turn is unmistakable, its critics overstate it for three reasons. First, many elements of Israel's original Zionist framework would be considered conservative today, particularly its strong nationalism and defence of national sovereignty. Second, the idea of liberalism itself has shifted, meaning that those who have not followed are considered to have shifted rightward—even if they have not moved at all. Those who exclusively promote universalist values and individual choice are suspicious of those who insist that such commitments need to be balanced with values based on the particularity of specific communities. Third, Jewish religious culture is inherently conservative, emphasizing traditional institutions, norms, family, and a particular identity. Its extraordinary capacity to reproduce itself—even in the absence of a state—means that these traditional values have repeatedly reemerged in Jewish groups throughout history." [31]

8. Turkey: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is a Turkish politician serving as the current President of Turkey. He is a member and the leader of his political party- 'The Justice and Development Party'. [32] The party's official ideology is right-wing conservatism/ social conservatism/national conservatism/conservative democracy. "Conservatism in Turkey tends to be inspired and strongly influenced by political Islam, with conservative values arising from local orders, Islamic tarikats and village traditions. Turkish conservatism, therefore, tends to be more socially conservative, religious and in favour of strong centralised leadership, therefore often being characterised as authoritarian by critics. Turkish conservatives also tend to show greater approval to the return of Ottoman culture as opposed to the western-inspired culture and values originating from the Republic era."[33]

[30] "Benjamin Netanyahu." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 18, 2021.
[31] Kaplan, Seth D., Yitzhak Klein."The Rise of Conservatism in Israel." American Affairs Journal, August 20, 2020.
[32] "President of Turkey." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 15, 2021.
[33] "Conservatism in Turkey." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, January 30, 2021.

9. Japan: Shinzo Abe is a Japanese politician who served as Prime Minister of Japan and President of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) from 2006 to 2007 and again from 2012 to 2020. He is the longest-serving prime minister in Japanese history. [34] Liberal Democratic Party of Japan is considered to a right-wing conservative, Japenese nationalistic and neo-conservatist political party. Yoshihide Suga is a Japanese politician who has been Prime Minister of Japan since 16 September 2020 following the resignation of Shinzo Abe due to his health concerns. [35]
10. United Kingdom- "Alexander Boris de Pfeffel Johnson (known as Boris Johnson) is a British politician and writer who has been Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Leader of the Conservative Party since July 2019." [36] The Conservative Party, officially the Conservative and Unionist Party, and also known colloquially as the Tories, Tory Party, or simply the Conservatives, is a political party in the United Kingdom. Ideologically, the Conservatives sit on the centre-right of the political spectrum. [37] This is the same political party from which 'Modern Conservatism' as an Ideology traces its root. Mr. Johnson's decisive win in a hotly contested national election illustrated, the conservative movement in the West now has become markedly more populist and nationalist, and appeals to a distinctly more working-class constituency. Fiscal restraint, once a cardinal tenet of conservatism, matters less; rewriting the rules that have governed the global economy matters more. Boris Johnson is the prime minister to openly campaign on the issue of 'Brexit (Brexit was the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community)' [38]

5.3 Why are people voting for conservative parties?

These recent contemporary political trends across the world, especially in the major countries mentioned in the paper, which holds a certain power, accountability, influence, and

[34] "Shinzo Abe." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 16, 2021.
[35] "Liberal Democratic Party (Japan)." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 1, 2021.
[36] "Boris Johnson." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 13, 2021.
[37] "Conservative Party (UK)." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 8, 2021.
[38] Fidler, Stephen, and Gerald F. Seib. "Boris Johnson Joins Trump in Redefining Conservatism." The Wall Street Journal. Dow Jones & Company, December 17, 2019.

responsibility shows how Conservative parties and leaders, be it either extreme right or centre-right, are getting elected and re-elected in power or are already in power. If we observe recent past year's political trends (later half of the 2010s, especially), we have a certain time period where, in major countries, conservatives were ruling at the same point of time. This indeed implies the rise of conservatives. Why are voters across so many countries, with few commonalities among them, voting in conservative governments?

"Each country has its own tune and rhythm of political change. It is rare for local events to be linked across countries except in unusual circumstances, for example, war, extreme economic distress and other external dangers. This is what makes this conservative shift in global politics remarkable. There is no one grand theory to explain these changes, but there is one rather interesting possibility.

In 1939, American historian Arthur Schlesinger Sr. proposed the cyclical theory of American politics that explained the fluctuation between liberalism and conservatism based on the nation's mood. Schlesinger argued that discontent with present conditions drives voters towards newer ideas in the hope that they would serve as a corrective. These preferences become the swing between liberal and conservative political choices. Schlesinger downplayed ideology and individuals and stressed on economic reasons for the electoral choices made by voters." [39]

"(*Schlesinger's Theory: Schlesinger Jr. to explain the fluctuations in politics throughout American history. In this theory, the United States's national mood alternates between liberalism and conservatism. Each phase has characteristic features, and each phase is self-limiting, generating the other phase.") [40]

The rise of modern conservatism in contemporary times can also be attributed to the 'Silent Majority'(*silent majority- "The silent majority is an unspecified large group of people in a country or group who do not express their opinions publicly. The term was popularized by the U.S. President Richard Nixon in a televised address on November 3, 1969, in which he said,

"And so tonight—to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans—I ask for your

[39] Chandrasekaran, Gayatri. "Conservatives of the World Unite." mint, May 13, 2015.
[40] "Cyclical Theory (United States History)." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, November 16, 2020.

support."") [41] [42]

It should also be noted here that President Richard Nixon who was 37th President of the United States of America was a member of and contested from the Republican Party which is generally believed as a political party with a Conservative ideology. [43] It could be believed that the term - 'Silent Majority was used for referring to Conservative citizens who did not participate in public discourse but still would vote for the Conservatives. The political sphere of the world or any nation has a 'Political World Clock' and the shift in political ideology by the electoral base of citizens can be seen as a 'Pendulum' that keeps changing its side as time moves ahead. The conservatives, despite their views which usually revolve around racist, misogynistic, capitalistic, and anti-LGBTQIA+ ideologies, continue to dominate several big, major and important countries. To understand the fluctuation/shifting nature of the political pendulum of the political world clock, it is of utmost importance to know and try to understand the psyche of the electoral base and demographics of the voters/citizens of the nation. There is various research already being done on the psychology of the voters. Usually, old-age (ageing) tends people to tilt towards right-wing (Conservatives), be it either centre-right or far-right. "A review of 92 scientific studies shows that intellectual curiosity tends to decline in old age and that this decline explains age-related increases in conservatism." [44] According to Psychology, the ability and power to make rational judgements diminish with age. The speed of information-processing, a core ingredient of judgment and intelligence, peaks around the mid-20s. " A review of 88 studies in 12 countries shows that older people are generally less tolerant of ambiguity, and have a higher need for closure and structure. This is often manifested by their stronger set of principles and rules, and a tendency to dismiss information that conflicts with their views. In addition, older people are also more likely to make categorical judgments about events, things, or people. This often involves acting in more prejudiced ways – to pre-judge means to judge before really

[41] "Silent Majority." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 11, 2021.
[42] "President Nixon Calls on the 'Silent Majority.'" History.com. A&E Television Networks, November 16, 2009.
[43] "Richard Nixon." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 13, 2021.

[44] Roberts BW;Walton KE;Viechtbauer. "Patterns of Mean-Level Change in Personality Traits across the Life Course: a Meta-Analysis of Longitudinal Studies."

judging – because in older ages preserving old knowledge is more important than acquiring new knowledge." Another reason could be not wanting to accept changes in society and being more comfortable in a familiar environment. Older people generally tend not to accept gradual changes. "Research has shown that in older age conservatism is positively related to self-esteem. The implication is that remaining open-minded when you are old may cause not only counterproductive uncertainty, but also insecurity and self-doubt." [45] [46] Although these are some generalised notions prevalent. There are young conservatives and old non-conservatives too.

Susceptibility to change- A lot of voters are susceptible to change, they've been comfortable with conservative parties, for example in case, in Britain, where Tories continue to dominate. The voters have found a sense of comfort in not changing, which provides for a more established state, hence, tories continue to be in power. In a lot of countries such as Brazil which has been going through several national crises, they care more about a strong party controlling it rather than their views on important issues such as climate, equality, etc. The Conservatives usually are from the majority (race, religion, ethnicity, etc.) of a country. Here comes the role of 'Majority Vote-bank politics'(Vote Bank: a group of people who can be relied upon to vote together in support of the same party). For example, in India, The Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) conducted a survey, during April and May 2016, in partnership with Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS). They spoke to 6,122 respondents, aged 15-34. The results portrayed a huge number of Indian youth- the future of the nation is Traditional Conservative and were a 'vote bank' for the ruling in India- BJP (a right-wing political party) [47]
Rampant fake News- With the advent of technology and access to social media on fingertips, people tend to share greater amounts of fake news, especially which could swing the political results of a nation. For example, on Facebook and Twitter. Though research shows that people on either extreme of the political compass share more fake news, according to new CU Boulder Research, those on the far ends of the liberal-conservative spectrum are most likely to share it. [48]

[45] Hiel, Alain Van, and Lieven Brebels. "Conservatism Is Good for You: Cultural Conservatism Protects Self-Esteem in Older Adults."
[46] Chamorro-Premuzic, Tomas. "Why Are Older People More Conservative?"
[47] Kartikeya, Charu. "Traditional, Conservative & Anxious: India's Youth a Ready Vote-Bank for BJP."
[48] Marshall, Lisa. "Who Shares the Most Fake News?

6.0 How the future looks like

Generally, Conservatives seek to preserve a range of institutions for the glorification of their past/history such as any form of government, organized religion, or patriarchal values and its imposition on people who identify as women. Conservatives are growing in large numbers and it doesn't seem conservatives can go back to being moderates anymore. As the contemporary trends reflect the rise of the share of power and voters across the globe in the favour of conservatives governments, it won't be wrong to say that conservatism and its forms always made a mark in world history are still here in the political scene even after the ideology majorly criticized for being 'regressive' and rise of liberal values amongst the new generation- younger people. It could be said that with the passing of time the political scenario of the world would be changed as and more the younger generations play a significant role in making or breaking a government. Though it's safe to say that conservatism would be very much in relevance for decades from now.

7.0 Conclusion

Before the paper is recapitulated, the researcher would like to acknowledge the flaws in the paper. A paucity of time prevented the paper from being as well researched as it could have been, and many aspects could have benefitted from greater analysis and description. This paper is far from the greatest academic piece on the topic. Incorporation of other works of various authors, as well as a deeper and/ or wider study of individual ideologies, and therefore their intermingling, can lend greater credibility and clarity to research on the concerned topic. The research for this paper is based on a multiplicity of academic texts, articles and news reports spread across the spectrum of knowledge regarding the topic in question collected through various sources.

At the same time, the researcher hopes that the paper fulfils the burdens it set upon itself, and only hopes it was an interesting read. At the same time, the researcher could not examine in detail Indian Conservatives and could not look at the topic chosen through Indian lenses. There are certain books and issues that the researcher could not focus upon because of the non-availability and non-accessibility of the books, limited access to resource materials and paucity of time. They include 'The Indian Conservative: A History of Indian Right Wing

Thought' written by Jerry Rao in 2019, 'National Populism' written by Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin in 2018, 'Conservatism: The Fight for a Tradition' written by Edmund Fawcett in 2020, 'Conservative Victory' written by Sean Hannity in 2010, 'Why We Whisper: Restoring Our Right to Say It's Wrong' written by J. David Woodard Senator Jim DeMint in 2007. The issues include the catastrophic split of the Conservative Party (UK) in 1846, criticisms of the ideology and, various differences within the ideology of conservatism itself, growing trade deals and forums within the conservative-ruled countries, for example, QUAD (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) which consists of USA, Japan, India and Australia and elaborative and substantive historical aspects.

Bibliography

"A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy." Accessed February 9, 2021.https://eltalondeaquiles.pucp.edu.pe/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Robert-E--Goodin-Philip-Pettit-Thomas-W--Pogge-A-Companion-to-Contemporary-Political-Philosophy-2-Volume-Set-Blackwell-Companions-to-Philosophy-2007 pdf. Pg. 285-286

Badeau, Kevin (2017). "Le livre qui raconte l'intimité d'Emmanuel Macron". Les Echos. Retrieved 20 May 2017.

Barry, Aoife. "What Made Trump's 'Make America Great Again' Slogan so Powerful?" TheJournal.ie. https://www.thejournal.ie/trump-slogan-make-america-great-again-3071552-Nov2016/

"Bolsonaro anuncia saída do PSL e criação do Aliança pelo Brasil" (in Portuguese). R7. 12 Nov. 2019. Archived from the original on 12 November 2019. Retrieved 12 November 2019

"Brazil's President Bolsonaro Launches New Political Party." BBC News. BBC, November 21, 2019. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-50507996

Chamorro-Premuzic, Tomas. "Why Are Older People More Conservative?" Psychology Today. Sussex Publishers, October 11, 2014. https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/mr-personality/201410/why-are-older-people-more-conservative

Chandrasekaran, Gayatri. "Conservatives of the World Unite." mint, May 13, 2015. https://www.livemint.com/Opinion/3iWxHpk1QyU2l4oT9yvv4J/Conservatives-of-the-world-unite.html

Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics, Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan, Third edition 2009, ISBN 978-0-19-920516-5.

"Conservatism (political philosophy)". Britannica.com. Retrieved 1 November 2009.

"Cyclical Theory (United States History)." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, November 16, 2020. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyclical_theory_(United_States_history).

"Erdoğan". Collins English Dictionary. HarperCollins. Retrieved 19 September 2019

Fidler, Stephen, and Gerald F. Seib. "Boris Johnson Joins Trump in Redefining Conservatism." The Wall Street Journal. Dow Jones & Company, December 17, 2019. https://www.wsj.com/articles/boris-johnson-joins-trump-in-redefining-conservatism-11576277776.

Gimson, Andrew. Why the Tories keep winning, May 15, 2017. https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/elections/2017/05/why-tories-keep-winning.

Hiel, Alain Van, and Lieven Brebels. "Conservatism Is Good for You: Cultural Conservatism Protects Self-Esteem in Older Adults." Personality and Individual Differences. Pergamon, September 22, 2010. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0191886910004320.

"Don't Be Fooled by E NJE emmanuel Macron the 'Moderate' | Owen Jones." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, April 19, 2018.

"Hon Scott Morrison MP". Parliament of Australia. Archived from the original on 26 March 2020. Retrieved 7 February 2019

Hoover, Kenneth R. "The Rise of Conservative Capitalism: Ideological Tensions within the Reagan and Thatcher Governments." Comparative Studies in Society and History 29, no. 2 (1987): 245-68. http://www.jstor.org/stable/179097.

https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/apr/19/emmanuel-macron-moderate-owen-jones.

Huntington, Samuel P. "Conservatism as an Ideology." American Political Science Review 51, no. 2 (1957): 455–56. https://doi.org/10.2307/1952 202

Kaplan, Seth D., Yitzhak Klein. "The Rise of Conservatism in Israel." American Affairs Journal, August 20, 2020. https://americanaffairsjournal.org/2020/08/the-rise-of-conservatism-in-israel/.

Kartikeya, Charu. "Traditional, Conservative & Anxious: India's Youth a Ready Vote-Bank for BJP." CatchNews.com, 2017.

Kirby, Jen. "Corruption, Fake News, and WhatsApp: How Bolsonaro Won Brazil." Vox. Vox, October 29, 2018. https://www.vox.com/world/2018/10/29/18025066/bolsonaro-brazil-elections-voters-q-a

Marshall, Lisa. "Who Shares the Most Fake News? New Study Sheds Light." CU Boulder Today, June 24, 2020. https://www.colorado.edu/today/2020/06/17/who-shares-most-fake-news-new-study-sheds-light

MATSUI, Takayuki. (2019). "A-political Conservatism":非政治的保守主義: A Shared Uniqueness in the Thought of Takamaro Hanzawa and Michael Oakeshott—半澤孝麿とオークショットにみられる保守主義政治思想の比較考察. The Annuals of Japanese Political Science Association. 70. 1_225-1_247. 10.7218/nenpouseijigaku.70.1_225.

McLean, Iain; McMillan, Alistair (2009). "Conservatism". Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press. "Sometimes [conservatism] has been outright opposition, based on an existing model of society that is considered right for all time. It can take a 'reactionary' form, harking back to, and attempting to reconstruct, forms of society which existed in an earlier period". ISBN 978-0-19-920516-5.

"Netanyahu". Dictionary.com – Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary. Retrieved 29 April 2020

Norrell, Robert J. "Modern Conservatism and the Consequences of Its Ideas." Reviews in American History 36, no. 3 (2008): Pg 459. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40210947

Pilbeam B. (2003) Introduction: Understanding Conservatism after the Cold War. In: Conservatism in Crisis?. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230596863_1

"President Nixon Calls on the 'Silent Majority.'" History.com. A&E Television Networks, November 16, 2009. https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/nixon-calls-on-the-silent-majority

Roberts BW;Walton KE;Viechtbauer. "Patterns of Mean-Level Change in Personality Traits across the Life Course: a Meta-Analysis of Longitudinal Studies." Psychological bulletin. U.S. National Library of Medicine. https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/16435954/.

"Richard Nixon." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 13, 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Nixon.

Roberts BW;Walton KE;Viechtbauer. "Patterns of Mean-Level Change in Personality Traits across the Life Course: a Meta-Analysis of Longitudinal Studies." Psychological bulletin. U.S. National Library of Medicine. Accessed February 18, 2021. https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/16435954/

"Russia Country Profile." BBC News. BBC, April 26, 2019. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17839672.

"Silent Majority." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, February 11, 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silent_majority.

Schlesinger, Arthur Jr. (1999). The Cycles of American History. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

SparkNotes.https://www.sparknotes.com/us-government-and-politics/political-science/political-ideologies-and-styles/section2/page/3/

Stuart Ball (2013). Portrait of a Party: The Conservative Party in Britain 1918-1945. Oxford U.P. p. 74.

TRTWorld. 'Liberalism is dead': Putin's drive to unite the world's conservatives. TRT World, July 17, 2019. https://www.trtworld.com/opinion/liberalism-is-dead-putin-s-drive-to-unite-the-world-s-conservatives-28311

Turner, John. "The British Conservative Party in the Twentieth Century: from Beginning to End?." Contemporary European History 8#2 (1999): 275–87.

"Vladimir Putin". Biography.com. Retrieved 1 July 2016

“What Defines Conservatism Today?” The Week - All you need to know about everything that matters. The Week, October 27, 2015. https://theweek.com/articles/585165/what-defines-conservatism-today

Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.-a). Benjamin Netanyahu. - Wikipedia. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benjamin_Netanyahu

Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.-b). Boris Johnson. - Wikipedia. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boris_Johnson.

Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.-c). Conservative Party (UK). - Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conservative_Party_(UK).

Wikipedia contributors. (2021). Conservatism. - Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conservatism

Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.). Divine right of kings. - Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Divine_right_of_kings

Wikipedia contributors. (2014, August 27). Emmanuel Macron. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emmanuel_Macron

Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.-b). Jair Bolsonaro. - Wikipedia. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jair_Bolsonaro

Wikipedia contributors. (2021c, May 15). La République En Marche! Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_R%C3%A9publique_En_Marche%21

Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.-d). Liberal Democratic Party (Japan). - Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_Democratic_Party_(Japan).

Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.-c). Politics of Russia. - Wikipedia. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Russia

Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.-e). President of Turkey. - Wikipedia. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_Turkey

Wikipedia contributors. (2021c, May 15). Scott Morrison. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scott_Morrison

Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.-f). Shinzo Abe. - Wikipedia. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shinzo_Abe

Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.-b). Tory. - Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tory.

Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.-d). Vladimir Putin. - Wikipedia. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vladimir_Putin