The Dynamics of Transformative Ideas in Contemporary Political Discourse
METHODOLOGICAL NOTES RELATING TO MATERIAL LODGED IN THE ESDS DATA ARCHIVE
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The 'ideas' project was carried out at two main case-study sites, which were selected for their perceived profile in the development of policy ideas and their presence in contemporary policy discourse in the UK. We drew on a mix of methods for collecting and interpreting material, including semi-structured interviews, on-site observation and the reading of selected sets of literature produced at the case-study sites. The material lodged in the Data Archive reflects these three approaches, and includes:

- 25 transcribed interviews
- four 'diaries' recording on-site observations
- Six working paper, including literature surveys from the field and from the case-study sites.

These notes are intended to help users of the archive to navigate this material and explain some of our decisions about the collection and recording of material, including the lodging of 'semi-anonymous' interviews, our use of selective (not full or fully literal) transcription techniques, and our exploratory use of quasi-ethnographic 'diaries'.

Difficulties of 'anonymisation'

The research project was small and historically focused. It was based on case studies within two institutions that are unusually active in contemporary policy discourse. This is not to say that they are uniquely active (there are other high profile institutions we could have chosen), but rather that they cannot be made to stand for a broad group of institutions. Attempts to anonymise the institutions would not only be difficult, but would also detract from the historical interest of the research. We therefore name the two institutions – the London School of Economics (LSE) and the think-tank Demos – in our public literature and in our publications. In relation to the naming of individuals, we have adopted the usual scholarly practice of either anonymising quotations that we use our in our publications, or seeking the individual's permission to use an identifiable quote. However, it is less easy to anonymise entire interview transcripts, particularly when – as in this case – many of the individuals involved have a profile within their peer communities and often more publicly. And again, it would detract from the historical interest of the interviews to attempt to remove all identifying references. Therefore, with the agreement of ESDS and of the individual interview subjects, we have adopted a procedure of 'semi-anonymisation', using initials rather than full names. All our interview subjects were generous with their time, and often frank in their historical reminiscences. We are extremely grateful to those who agreed that their interviews could be lodged, as well as those who decided to withhold agreement.

Interviews
We carried out a total of 40 interviews: 20 at Demos, 17 at LSE and a further three interviews, for purposes of comparison, at other think-tank-like institutions (the Fabian Society, the Institute for Public Policy Research, and the National Centre for Social Research). Selection of interview subjects was more straightforward at Demos than at the LSE, largely because of differences in size and complexity of the two institutions. It should be stressed that LSE case study was not intended as a broad study of the School as such, but as a study of elements in the School likely to be active in the production and promotion of innovative policy ideas. All the interviews were carried out between January and November 2002. We used semi-structured interview techniques, based on a brief schedule of questions [cf the file: *Qnaire.doc*] that served as a guide to the topics to be covered, but could be adapted to the points of interest in any particular interview. The majority of interviews were audio-taped (exceptions are LSE1, LSE3, and Demos1, which were preliminary meetings where notes were taken; and Demos/6 where the tape recorder failed to work). . All but six of the taped interviews (where material overlapped with other interviews and/or observational recordings) have been transcribed. Others have not been lodged with the archive because their subjects have refused or not yet given permission.

The reports of the interviews are not literal transcripts in the courtroom sense (although they conform to the Hansard definition of preserving the sense). They were transcribed by a member of the research team and sections of the interviews were selected to identify issues of interest from the perspective of the research team. Although we were interested both in our subjects' narrative reports and in their representational practices, we were not looking for speakers' 'formulations' (in the ethnomethodological or conversation-analysis sense), where transcripts would need to include repetitions, hesitations and various tics of speech. Our aim was to have an early and readable version of the major relevant issues emerging from the interviews. This approach has been signalled by labelling the transcripts as 'Notes based on tape-recorded interviews'. Among the transcription practices followed, it may be noted:

- Small omissions are not signalled, and some editing for grammaticality (for ease of reading) has been done
- Larger omissions are signalled by the use of three points in square brackets […]
- Three points with no brackets signify an incomplete or interrupted thought.

On-site observation
Elements of on-site observation were included in both case studies, and we recorded these observations in a series of diaries. Our approach was informed by ethnographic traditions of diary keeping, and more generally the focusing of the ethnographic eye on sites nearer home (Marcus, 1999; Latour and Woolgar, 1979). Thus the diaries address the question of ethnographically problematising the case-study sites (for example, one theme that emerged was the control of access, the open and the locked); but at the same time, they also act as reports to supplement the interviews and literature studies; and, most importantly at the time, they provided a means of communication between researchers at the London sites and the academic team in Bristol.

The observational arrangements differed slightly at each site, reflecting the differences in the two institutions. At Demos we arranged that a researcher (JV) would have a desk in the office for two weeks, attending in-house meetings. This period was also used for carrying out interviews with the majority of Demos staff. In addition, a second researcher (JA) spent two weeks in the Demos offices, primarily with the purpose of reading the publications, but also contributing observational material. JV and another member of the research team (JS) also attended the Demos away week-end. JV also attended several seminars and other meetings organised by Demos during the period of the study (2002). At LSE we attempted to arrange a comparable observational period, but failed to do this in a part of LSE that would have been appropriate (our preferred site was in the Research Lab). On the other hand, LSE is in some respects a public place and during the period of the study JV attended lectures and seminars advertised as open to the public, and also used LSE library under its ordinary arrangements for academics from other British universities. In neither case did the observation amount to participant observation; that is to say, the researcher(s) remained outsiders. At Demos, we largely remained observers of Demos; at LSE, JV largely remained a member of the public. However, this in itself revealed issues of interest relating to the degree to which each site is open to outsiders, and the identity of permissible outsiders (ie outsiders allowed in) in each case. The observational material was recorded in a series of 'ethnographic diaries' by JV, JA and JS [consolidated in the files *JVDiary00.doc* and *JADiary00.doc* and *JSDiary00.doc*].

Institutional literature studies

The two institutional literature studies provide broadly semiotic readings of the texts that each institution produced for its respective public. [JA Demos writings.doc] addresses the development and ownership of ideas through Demos's collection of pamphlets, and [LSE public literature.doc] looks at the negotiation and maintenance of LSE's public image through its corporate (non-academic) literature. In addition, we carried out an analysis of newspaper coverage of the idea of the Third Way [The Third Way.doc].

Other files deposited

Other files deposited in the archive include the project report [R000239504.doc] and a list of publications and presentations.

References

Marcus, George E, 1999. *Ethnography Through Thick & Thin*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Latour, Bruno and Steve Woolgar, 1979. *Laboratory Life*,Princeton, Princeton UP.

University of Bristol
THE DYNAMICS OF TRANSFORMATIVE IDEAS IN CONTEMPORARY PUBLIC DISCOURSE

This ESRC-funded research project seeks to understand the way in which societal ideas emerge into the wider cultural and political arenas; how they are initiated, established, networked and modified as their 'careers' unfold. Traditional sociologies of knowledge and theories of ideology, whilst indispensable, are not fully adequate to the complex relations that hold between ideas, institutions, and the wider social context, whilst more recent scientistic notions of 'knowledge transfer' overlook the necessary fuzziness and performativity of the dynamic of social ideas.

The specific empirical focus is upon two 'ideational institutions', the think tank Demos and the London School of Economics. How do these sites seek to brand and inculcate their stylizations of the public intellectual? How do their organizational cultures work to stimulate the emergence of the 'next new societal idea'? The studies will initially be orientated around two different sorts of general societal ideas – the Knowledge Society and the Third Way – and will seek to account for the way in which these have become part of general discourse, partly through observing the ways in which Demos/LSE have contributed to their emergence and consolidation.

The methodology of the project combines ethnography, interviews, mini-conferences and discourse analysis of institutional documentation. The research team is drawn from three different departments at the University of Bristol, led by Professor Gregor McLennan (Sociology) and including Professor Nigel Thrift (Geography), Dr Thomas Osborne (Sociology) and Dr Judith Squires (Politics). The research associates are Dr Janet Vaux and Simon Hopper.

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SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS

1 What is your position and role in your institution?

(With particular reference to the production and promotion of research or new ideas; any issues of relations to others in institution)

2 How do you see the role of your institution?

(With particular reference to the production and promotion of research or new ideas; any issues of explicit goals and/or cultural expectations; rated on a range from advocacy to objectivity; compared to other institutions)

3 In general, do you think that new ideas focus or impact on policy making and related discussions?

(What do ideas mean in this context; are they usually just presentational or objective insights; are they important in forming a climate of opinion; relative importance of 'big ideas' and detailed concepts; is social science, specifically, important for policy)

4 What do you see as the role of institutions such as think tanks and research centres in relation to policy making and the climate of opinion?

(are social ideas more important than previously; what different sorts of thinking institutions are there – lobbying, researching, etc; what specific styles;)

5 In what ways may your institution be characterised as a thinking institution?

(Does your institution possess its own 'style' of intellectual capital? Can you give any examples of ideas particularly associated with your institution?)

6 In your own experience of communicating research or ideas, what role do different forms of networking play?

(peer/media/policy community; regular contacts in any of these; what audience(s) do you address; are members of this network also influential in instigating the ideas – eg, clients or peer discussion; other ways of propagating ideas)

7 Could you give us six or seven examples of people you regularly – or have recently – communicated your ideas to?

Demos's Writings

This paper discusses the publications of the think tank Demos. It attempts to outline a conceptual history of the Demos publications.[1] Such a conceptual history can either describe each of the main concepts and ideas as discrete entities (and perhaps try to describe the development of these concepts). Or it can attempt to show how several of the concepts are politically, philosophically, or ideologically connected, thus rendering it into a 'collective' history, perhaps also attempting to find out whether there are diachronic changes of the synchronically interrelated ideas.

It is largely the latter form which is opted for in this paper. I will argue that there to a large extend is a homogeneity—that is, certain recurring and interconnected themes and propositions—in the Demos publications even though the homogeneity not always clear cut. It is on the other hand more difficult to trace collective diachronic changes in Demos's production of ideas. Rather than attempting to find such collective diachronic changes, the text will therefore focus on some key concepts in Demos's publications and try to outline how they have been used recurrently over the 9-year period that Demos has been publishing.

It may be argued that Demos's publications are not conceptually and/or ideologically homogenous but that they simply are a collection of discrete ideas which have been deemed worthy of publication. Thinktankery, it seems, has an ethos and image of independence, eclecticism, pragmatism, innovation, flexibility, and independence. Indeed, think tanks often claim to be radical, exactly in the sense that they are innovative and creative and not restrained by such things as ideology and traditional party politics. People working at think tanks often see themselves as innovators rather than ideologues. Hence, pointing out the homogeneity can be taken to imply that there are ideological or political restrictions for what constitutes a good idea. It can be taken

to imply that ideology hinders innovation (hence explaining why 'ideology' has come to have so negative connotations). The answer to that objection would be two-fold.

First, the following literature review which progresses by describing key themes of the Demos publications is not intended to 'disclose' the ideology of Demos. It, and its 'collective approach, is simply a way of creating an overview of an extensive amount of texts. It also follows from this that those publication that are not part of this 'core' of key themes are more or less excluded. Secondly, the relative homogeneity of Demos's publications is due to the fact that Demos has developed some key arguments about decentralization, community, knowledge society etc. These ideas and arguments constitute Demos's 'position', politically, analytically, scientifically, and also ideologically, a position we may call center leftist. But that does not mean that these ideas all stem from a ready-made ideological platform (nor do they indeed all necessarily form a coherent ideological outlook). It is quite clear that the arguments in Demos's publications often stem from different and diverging positions. Arguments and positions which Demos then subsequently has refashioned and 'synthesised' into the position of Demos. In other words, one of the most interesting aspects of Demos' production is that Demos itself has created its 'position' by combining different elements—such as communitarism (with its links to American pragmatism), knowledge economy (with its links to postfordism and hence to Marxism), entrepeneurialism (with connotations to neo-liberalism) and self-reliance and decentralization (at least the former stemming from management theory)—which were not from the outset taken to be compatible and which certainly were not values traditionally associated with the left (nor necessarily the center).

Thinktankery, as mentioned, has acquired an ethos of independence, eclecticism, pragmatism, innovation, flexibility, and independence. But paradoxically, given that ethos, a think tank like Demos may also consciously seek a certain identity, a certain brand. One may indeed speculate that the challenge (or dilemma, or problem) for a think tank is to achieve a certain identity, a certain 'brand,' without being perceived of as being enslaved by an ideology. Yet, the need for a profile, or brand, of course also helps to ensure a certain homogeneity of the products of Demos. Furthermore, Demos, as an organization and workplace, of course has a certain culture which to a large extent is political and which also will sustain the articulation of certain key values and beliefs.

That said, the homogeneity is not clear-cut. And it is as written very hard to trace any collective diachronic changes. New ideas and concepts come while older ones go. Some older concepts clearly evolve into new ones (while others, equally important at a certain stage, vanish). But there are generally no clear collective changes. Ideas of course are not self-sustaining. Spiraling in and out of the conceptual history are the persons who create the ideas. Both the similarities of the ideas and the developments of the nature of the publications can to some extend be attributed to the particular writers of the Demos pamphlets. In terms of authors, there is a central axis consisting of Tom Bentley, Charlie Leadbeater, Geoff Mulgan, Perri 6, and Helen Wilkinson (and possibly Ian Christie and Ben Jupp). These writers have made the contributions that to a large extend have determined the profile of Demos. Certain topics, and their lineages, can be attributed to these individuals and certain topics and themes seem to disappear when their author no longer is connected with Demos. This is clearest in regard to Geoff Mulgan and Perri 6 where some of their topics and themes, e.g. forms of governance, taxation, and privacy, have more or less disappeared from Demos's agenda. But ideas do on the other hand also have a life on their own. Clearly, some ideas, such as 'holistic government', 'community, 'creativity' and 'brokerage' have survived as central concepts in Demos' discourse even when their authors have moved elsewhere.

Products, formats

Demos's publications basically come in three types. The first is the books, or pamphlets as they are called. These are rather short publications, normally spanning 30 to 50 pages (approx. 15,000-20,000 words). The layout of the pamphlets has changed, with the pamphlets from 1993 and 1994 in a different size and layout than the later ones and with several changes in layout since. From 1993 to 1998 Demos published a *Demos Quarterly* with each issue containing a range of essays. Often an issue would be devoted to a specific theme. Since 1998, *Demos Quarterly* has been replaced by *Demos Collections* which are anthologies, with short essays by different authors. Lastly, there are some publications outside these formats, such as. (Bentley, 2001; Leadbeater, 2002) In terms of sheer output, the amount of publications increased from 1993, peeking in

1997 (16) after which it has fallen (12 in 2001). It however now seems to be rising again.

Key topics

Generally, favored topics are ones such as education, forms of governance, labour market structures/demands, new forms of welfare, and new forms of urban regulation. It however often makes more sense to talk about favored arguments rather than topics. Key Demos arguments concerns such things as the need for public welfare provision that seek to mobilize, to strengthen, and to work together with (rather than govern top down) *communities* or civil society. Another main focus is on changes in relation to the new knowledge based economy both in regard to education, economics and labour market structures. It goes without saying that these are neither simply topics nor simply key contributions as the political values of Demos are becoming visible in the focus on these topics. The focus on community or civic society is for instance a key element in New Labour's policies—something which is pointed out in. (Brickell, 2000) And civil society (and the family) is, as another Demos publication points out, (Etzioni, 2000) a logical center of attention when a Third Way between free marketeering and a big state is sought.[2]

A popular Demos topic, in its more traditional sense, would be education. Standard arguments are that government funding of education needs to be increased—notable because Demos not normally argue for drastic financial redistributions. A second consistently appearing argument is that the National Curriculum should be halved. (Jupp, Fairly and Bentley, 2001; Leadbeater, 2002; Seltzer and Bentley, 1999)[3] That argument is often made in conjunction with an argument for increased diversity and specialization of schools, decentralization and more room for innovation (and entrepeneurialism) within the educational sector.[4] These, decentralization etc., are as we shall see key Demos themes. Two other main themes, strengthening community and adapting to the knowledge society, can also be found in relation to the education system (which of course hardly is surprising in regard to the second). As for community,

several of the publications argue for more civic education and for much stronger links between home (parents) and school. (Jupp et al., 2001; Worpole, 2000)

Apart form this key topic and the key themes, a very diverse range of topics can be found. Different aspects regarding information technology (other than new economic/labour market demands) feature quite heavily. (6, 1998a; 6, 2001; 6 and Briscoe, 1996; Freeman, 1997; Kruger, 1998; Rowan, 1997) There are two publications on the NHS. (Ham, 1996; Lilley, 2000) To name just a few other topics—more are listed in the section before the conclusion—there are two publications on British national identity, (Dodd, 1995; Leonard, 1997a) one on drugs culture, (6 et al., 1997) one on youth culture. (Bentley and Oakley, 1999) Other topics include animal rights (Scruton, 1996)and ethics. (Baumann, 1994; Bentley and Jones, 2001) The range of subjects is generally quite broad, with authors apparently being commissioned[5] to write on a subject of expertise. Naturally, the chosen topics reflect Demos's attempts to contribute to existing public debates and to set the agenda for the next ones. That sometimes involves the publication of texts with a rather narrow focus on a particular event in time, for instance a pamphlet that discusses what should to be done with the assets when four building societies are being privatized. (Shutt, 1996) Another clear influence of the choice of subject is of course external funding. Unless funded, it is—presumably—rather improbable that Demos would have undertaken research, and published, on the future of dentistry. (6, 1996)

Instead of outlining all the topics, one could perhaps try to 'imagine' topics that are missing. Questions regarding multiculturalism, ethnicity and race are such examples, and that in spite of the fact that many of Demos's writings are devoted to questions regarding community, social networks, and culture (these issues are however touched upon by. (Dodd, 1995; Landry and Bianchini, 1995) Globalization is another topic that has not been dealt with much. That both as a topic (one book on anti-globalization movements [Lloyd, 2001]) but also as a theoretical term for making arguments about the social and economical developments which new policies must respond to. Here notions of knowledge society, knowledge economy, 'new economy' (for a time) and information society play bigger roles. There are however publications on new, international, political relations. (Cable, 1994; Christie, 1999b; Cooper, 2000; Leonard, 1997b) Another thing that may be worth mentioning is that there are few statements *on*

the knowledge based economy or the information or network society. Rather, these notions are the *context* in which the subsequent arguments are made (hence, the propositions that these notions represent are accepted). In that sense, one may indeed say that Demos is brokering between descriptive academic theory and proactive policy making. Other subjects that are not covered are things such as intellectual property (mentioned because early Demos publications have suggestions about forms of taxation that relate to that problem [Mulgan and Murray, 1993]), or risks or ethical problems stemming from new technologies, for instance GM technologies or the British Beef scare (mentioned because these have featured very much in the public agenda and because Demos often touches on the importance of ethics and especially on the importance of trust).

The relations to key writers are easily visible in regard to the subjects of the publications. Key writers, Mulgan, Perri 6, Wilkinson, Leadbeater, Bentley have various subjects on which they have written several pamphlets. [6]

Key values and key themes: Communitarism

As already mentioned, *community* and civic society play highly significant roles in Demos's writings: Civil society must be strengthened: The state must support and interact with communities rather than govern them top down. Welfare provision and forms of governance must be flexible so that that community-based programs can grow 'organically'—instigated by 'social entrepreneurs.'[7] Lastly, in order for government, both central and local, to be able to sustain forms of community, public institutions need themselves a new structure *and* a new institutional *culture* (I will return to this argument about culture later)

Regarding community, the first key publication is. (Atkinson, 1994) The pamphlet argues for a strengthened sense of community through values of self-reliance (self-reliance is indeed a quite typical Demos concept).

> Attempts to help neighborhoods, whether in the Third World or the urban neighborhoods of the industrialised world will fail, however well funded, if they do not directly involve

> those they are designed to assist. The point is a simple, common sense one. Yet, the recent history of urban policy in the UK has been based on almost contrary principles. (Atkinson, 1994: 4)

> Yet in other areas of life self-reliance has become a basic principle. Far from being an utopian, 'soft'option, is has come to be seen as a far more effective way of organizing people's energies and their capacity to act as problem solvers than overdependence on the wisdom and knowledge of civil servants and elected officials. […] To see this, one need look no further than the modern Business. In recent years much has been made of the importation of business practices into government and charity. But few policy makers have quite grasped how much self-reliance has become central to modern business (Ibid: 5-6)

As it appears from the quotations the pamphlet places this in the context of new managerial forms in companies. It argues that self-reliance means decentralization and that communities must be based on ethics: compassion, mutuality and responsibility (mutuality is another concept that is used extensively in later Demos pamphlets). It thus argues for development trusts, forms of self-governance, and charitable institutions (Charities are by the way the topic of another relatively early book with a telling title, *The Other Invisible Hand* [Mulgan and Landry, 1995]). Moreover, Atkinson argues that the family is an important institution—which is to become another key theme in Demos's publications—and more than implies (Atkinson, 1994:16)that the welfare state has been instrumental in destroying that institution by providing for single parents. That statement is however followed by the caveat that the welfare system should not punish people who remain unmarried due to religious or moral beliefs. In terms of other institutions, the book argues that also schools are important institutions for (the strengthening of) the community (followed by an argument for increased autonomy of schools). The same are homes (Atkinson thus welcomes the sale of council housing) and public spaces (i.e. streets and parks). Finally, it welcomes governmental decentralization, among other things through the setting up of mini town halls.

Such communitarian values are to be found in many later Demos publications—both as central topics (Brickell, 2000; Etzioni, 2000; Leadbeater, 1997a)and in relation to other topics. (6, 1997a; Alexander, 1997; Briscoe, 1995; Christie, 1999a; Christie and 6,

1998; Freeman, 1997; Gates, 1996; Jupp, 1999; Jupp, 2000; Jupp et al., 2001; Leadbeater, 1996; Leadbeater, 1997b; Leadbeater, 1998; Leadbeater, 1999; Lilley, 2000; Watts, 1996; Wilkinson, 2000; Worpole, 2000; Worpole and Greenhalgh, 1996) It has seemingly also spawned several related ideas or concepts such as civic spirit and mutuals (I will deal with the idea of mutuality shortly). As mentioned several times earlier, it also seems to relate to other key themes in Demos's production, such as forms of governance, the importance of family, and entrepreneurialism.

One idea, which clearly is related to ideas of community and civic society, is *mutuality* or *mutuals*. This idea, which, together with the idea of civic spirit, mostly is advocated by Charlie Leadbeater, is used to advocate different forms of state supported (but not state controlled) mutuals. Mutuals, Leadbeater argues, combine justice, decency, community and choice. (Leadbeater, 1997a) Mutuality is also advocated by Etzioni (2000) in his Demos pamphlet on community *The Third Way to a Good Society*. Etzioni and others of course advocate mutuality because it transgresses boundaries between provider and user (Another key Demos theme, see also [Leadbeater, 2002]). One type of mutual, suggested by Leadbeater, is employee mutuals. (Leadbeater and Martin, 1998) The idea behind employee mutuals is that members would pay a small fee in exchange for which they would be entitled to services such as childcare and training. Unemployed would have to pay only token contributions but have to do work for the mutual. Employers who contribute would have to advertise all vacancies in the mutual. The idea is very much to help low wage, non-permanent job seekers, and to provide continuous training and support for flexibility to help people 'package' several part-time jobs into a decent wage. In other words, to ensure some form of stability for workers who are vulnerable in the new and volatile knowledge economy labour market. The foreword to the pamphlet is written by Michael Young who hails 'this new idea' by the ever 'creative' Demos think tank, stating that 'we need new forms of old ideals'. (Leadbeater and Martin, 1998: 8) This is a good example of the ethos or image of thinktankery.

Mutuals are also suggested by Ian Christie in his pamphlet on disability. (Christie, 1999a) This pamphlet is concerned with the exclusion of disabled people from society. It is argued that mutualism—together with more holistic policies by government—can lead to new forms of citizenship (a word that is used a lot throughout the publication).

The idea of employee mutuals has a precursor in a Demos publication by Perri 6. (6, 1997a) Perri 6 agues that public initiatives are needed to form (civic) networks outside of the traditional welfare state institutions. These networks are held to be important not only in order for the unemployed to find jobs but also to prevent the more general social exclusion that comes from being workless. The idea of mutuals also surfaces in the aforementioned early pamphlet on charities. (Mulgan and Landry, 1995) This particularly in relation to the discussion of CONNECT schemes where volunteer time is exchanged for public funding [see also (Briscoe, 1995]).

This argument, as many other Demos ideas, thus advocates forms of community based welfare provision that is capable of delivering, not 'services' because many of these initiatives aim to abolish the provider/client roles, but a form of welfare that is based on more active participation of the 'receiver', which is more locally based and thus more heterogeneous, and which leaves room for entrepeneurialism. For these reasons, it is more community-based forms of social security.

At the same time, this form of thinking of course also leads to deliberations about forms of governance—another Demos favorite subject. As Chris Ham puts it in relation to reform of the NHS, state command and control and privatization are both obsolete options. What is of interest is the space in-between. (Ham, 1996:9)

The emphasis on community-based forms of welfare provision in many ways overlaps with arguments about the need for a more flexible welfare state that can adapt to the volatility of the new knowledge based economy. That, it seems clear, is why for instance the notion of mutuals has come to play such a big role. That of course also means that many of Demos's arguments are as focused on the need for a flexible welfare state as they are based on a communitarian ideology per se. Communitarism and flexibility go well together. It also follows from this that there are publications that simply focus on the need for more flexible forms of welfare provision with little communitarian vocabulary being used. Yet also here such things as the need for more private-public cooperation is stressed (e.g. [Pinto-Duschinsky, 2001]). A third element in this synthesis is the notion of entrepeneurialism which I will deal with later.

Family values

Before moving to forms of governance, it is worth mentioning another topic or theme which also is closely related to theme of community and civic society, namely the *family*. The family is generally seen as an important institution. Here, however, the Demos writings are not univocal in terms of political values. On the one hand, several publications call for more 'European' forms of welfare support for the family, e.g. child care provision and parental leave. (Wilkinson, 1996; Wilkinson, 1997b; Wilkinson, 2002) On the other hand, the attempts to protect the family as an institution also revoke a certain amount of (American) conservatism, for instance when arguing that divorce should be made less easy and cohabitation discouraged. (Etzioni, 1993; Ringen, 1998) Further, it is argues that marriage generally should be the foundation of family life. (Wilkinson, 1997a) And that a whole new ethos or culture of marriage and family life should be created. (Straw, 1998; Wilkinson, 1997a) One might argue that this oscillation between increased welfare provision and conservative family values is quite typical of New Labour. But it no doubt also represents a certain tension.

Family also plays an important role in regards to education. More family based learning is called for. (Alexander, 1997) Quite surprisingly, the family is on at least two occasions—in relation to educational prowess and socioeconomic status in general—also attributed a high degree of causal power. That for instance when arguing that children brought up by single parents are less socio-economically successful (Wilkinson, 1997a)or that children with single parents under-perform educationally. (Alexander, 1997) In the latter publication, references are made to American research that argues that family background is a more important factor than class background.

Entrepeneurialism

The idea of *entrepeneurialism* is closely bound up both with notions of knowledge society or knowledge based economy where innovation and creativity are important. It is also linked to ideas about new forms of flexible welfare provision and governance that leave room for actors to operate, and innovate, independently. Entrepeneurialism first surfaces in Demos's publications in Atkinson's (1994) book on community. The context in that pamphlet is a suggestion to set up mini town halls. To help set up these,

and to ensure participation, Atkinson suggests that neighborhood officers should be employed.

> The Neighborhood officer is, in effect, a social entrepreneur. Just as the private economic sector depends on risk-taking, visionary people to construct new companies, products, services and wealth, so the third sector need social entrepreneurs. The role, once less vital, could perhaps be played by the village priest or the head of the village school. Today, a new breed of determined professional is needed who is employed by the active citizens of the neighborhood forum to bind together and empower the fractured community.
> (Atkinson, 1994:45)

In that text, as in other early discussions, the focus is on *social* entrepreneurs or innovators. (Mulgan and Landry, 1995) Charlie Leadbeater then later uses the term in the context of the knowledge economy (Leadbeater and Oakly, 1999; Leadbeater and Oakly, 2001)but also after that social entrepeneurialism is dealt with extensively in Demos's publications. The most elaborate use of entrepeneurialism in the context of the knowledge based economy (by Leadbeater and Kate Oakley, 2001) emphasizes how entrepreneurship nearly always is building upon collaborations and often is dependent on its environment. After giving a description of entrepreneurship—based on empirical cases—the authors therefore discuss the importance of geographical clusters. The authors furthermore argue that it on the one hand 'would be a mistake to overstate the impact public policies can have on entrepreneurship and innovation' (p. 81). On the other hand, they say that the development of knowledge entrepeneurialism cannot be left to chance and that 'public policy can affect every aspect of this process' (ibid). This seems to a good example of the New Labour argument for a small, but important and powerful state. They argue that the transformation of ideas and know-how into the production of goods creates demands for a new infrastructure of transport and media and a need for a 'soft' infrastructure of knowledge, education and learning. The authors moreover suggest to open a knowledge bank which would contain a bank or 'pool' for managerial talent and a patent bank to which big companies can donate redundant patents. The bank would furthermore promote and support business clubs, help broke or secure venture capital, start an innovation prize, and help sell products from small-scale

companies to the public sector (Leadbeater generally has the ability of coming up with some rather detailed policy recommendations). The authors also heavily criticize the Department of Trade and Industry and suggest a demerging of its various sectors and a spin off of some activities to a Business Services Agency.

Entrepeneurialism is in that way linked to notions of knowledge based economy and via that to an emphasis on the importance of education. As already mentioned, the emphasis in many other Demos publications is on social entrepreneurs. The links here are therefore as much to more community based and more flexible forms of governance and welfare provision. Social entrepreneurs should be given the space to roam. The government should not be the *possessor* of public space but only the *guarantor* of public space. (Brickell, 2000) The Demos Pamphlet on civic entrepeneurialism (Leadbeater, 1998)makes the same argument (in that text the idea of civic entrepeneurialism is by the way acknowledged to be the invention of Collaborative Economics, an organization in California). The pamphlet argues that there is a need for flexible forms of provision which only entrepreneurship can create, this will again strengthen community, while the traditional welfare state is too much top-down organized to do the same.

The notion of entrepeneurialism can be, and is, used in many different contexts which probably is one of the reasons for why the term is so popular. A Demos Pamphlet on the British childcare sector (Wilkinson, 2002)thus argues that the entrepreneurial potential of the childcare sector should be unleashed in order to improve it. What that means exactly is not made clear.

The notion of entrepeneurialims is linked with notions of community in ways other than through the notion of social entrepeneurialism. A publication on the loss of traditional careers in the knowledge economy (Flores and Gray, 2000)is a good example. The first half of the text describes the erosion of the traditional career, understood as the lifelong commitment to (and security of) a selected trade or vocation and the gradual accumulation of skills and knowledge within that trade. The argument is made that the loss of the career potentially leads to political (when the economy slows down the effects will be felt, the authors warn) and social and emotional unrest. This first half strongly resembles Richard Sennett's *The Corosion of Character* (Sennett is quoted and also thanked in the acknowledgements). The second half of the text

describes two new forms of working biographies, the wired and the entrepreneurial. Both are described as being more risk filled than the traditional careers, thus producing a deficit of trusts. This language of risk and trust is quite common in Demos' publications. Not so much in the sense that modern society is becoming more environmentally risky but in the sense that risk-taking is a positive and necessary element of modern life which however at the same time necessitates trust which is to be provided by government (and civic society). The last chapter gives a variety of suggestions for changed policies in regard to pension systems and education. The authors draw much on Bentley and Leadbeater in their argument that mutuals are the only way of securing both entrepreneurial risk taking and trust. The authors also argue that the educational system must be changed but are far from being specific.

This publication is perhaps also worth mentioning for the reason that is combines ideas about the transformation of the labour market and work biographies with (typical Demos) ideas about more community based forms of social security. It not the only publication which is written by people who are not Demos staff or associates that combines typical Demos discourse or concepts with the analysis of its given subject matter (e.g. [Kruger, 1998; Murray, 1999]). The latter is perhaps the best example of this. That pamphlet contains a very detailed discussion of problems regarding waste disposal and comes up with a range of quite detailed suggestions for policy. The last section in the book then argues that traditional centralized forms of government are inadequately suited to respond to the new economy. How waste and the new economy are connected is far from clear. The example suggests that the Demos publications, in the writing but especially the editing process, are made to contain key values and propositions associated with Demos.

Holism and brokerage

The notion of *holism* first surfaces in a publication on the creative city. (Landry and Bianchini, 1995) This text is arguing against the instrumental forms of city planning of the 1950-60's. Instead of such rigid forms of planning, the author wants to maintain

identity and history in the face of globalization's erosion of locality. He argues that creativity is hindered by instrumental rationality and that city planning therefore needs to be more holistic. This notion of holism is taken up by Perri 6 in the 1997 publication on holistic government. Here, the term refers to governance that is preventive, culture changing, and outcome oriented. It should also be mentioned that the term as it is used in Landry's pamphlet is attributed some, but not much, importance. In later texts, it becomes the main theme. Perri 6's text argues for a new organization of government which no longer is structured around functions—to emphasize the vertical demarcations and hierarchical nature of these, Perri 6 calls them silos— but is organized around output and targeted results. Perri 6 argues that the main criteria for the 'old' form of management was activity within the silos while it instead should be results and outputs.

A new holistic form of organization would mean a new, and more comprehensive, form of decentralization. Here the argument is that the Conservative government did decentralize but that this only concealed the fact that it at the same time actually centralized fiscal power. Such calls for decentralization are often found in Demos publications. Holistic government would also mean tackling the complexity or multiplicity of causes of social bads, and lead to better and more 'seamless' (Leat and 6, 1997) service for the individual citizen where she/he no longer is forced to navigate between several agencies to get the help or service needed. The argument about multiplicity and interconnectedness of social forces is no doubt an early precursor to later arguments about complexity and 'connexivity.' It is in many ways the very basis for the arguments for why vertical, 'joined up,' structures are needed. Social problems such as, say, bad schools in an area, affect other things in the same community such as the housing market which may in turn increase the problems of the school (Worpole, 2000)

Further, holistic government also means a more extended focus on the prevention of social ills (e.g. crime). This is indeed taken further to an argument about anticipation rather than prevention. While holistic government as written is arguing for horizontal structures it also means an emphasis on bottom up, rather than top-down, forms of management—here parallels with notions of social entrepeneurialism are evident. Finally, holistic government is meant to be integrating rather than analysing, preventing rather (or more) than providing, and mobilizing rather than making.

As already mentioned, holistic government is in many was identical to the notion of joined up government. It is however holism that is used in Demos's publications up till 1999. After that, joined up and holistic government are both used, more or less with the same meaning. In 1999 a review of attempts to implements holistic government was also published. (6 et al., 1999) Here references are also made to joined-up policies. In the pamphlet, the authors recognize that there have been several problems with the implementation of these. They also emphasize that holistic government means more than just the pooling of budgets (see also below regarding brokerage.). Finally the importance of prevention is once again repeated.

The notion of *brokerage* is linked rather closely to arguments about holism and also to arguments about flexibility and partnerships (and see [Lawson, 1998] for arguments about holistic and flexible forms of governance but without brokerage). A Demos publication on public private partnerships (Jupp, 2000)for instance argues that this only can be achieved through brokerage that ensures joined-up *organizations*, as opposed to joined up or pooled *budgets*. The notion of brokerage is however not something that applies simply to private public partnerships. Rather, it denotes different forms of horizontal 'bridge building' between different organizational domains which will help ensure holism.

The notion of brokerage has become increasingly used and emphasized over the years[8] (Alexander, 1997; Horne, 2000; Jupp, 2000; Leadbeater and Oakly, 2001; Seltzer and Bentley, 1999) but also this concept has played a role throughout the life-time of Demos. It first appears in (Mulgan, 1995)which is dealing with future forms of government. Here it is argued that government should not weight society down. That is should be fractal (this is one of the first appearances of the vocabulary of complexity theory—see below) in the sense that it can emerge on many levels of society and that it should be brokering. Brokerage is also an interesting term because it, together with networks, often appears in accounts by Demos staff and associates of their own work. Demos staff often see themselves as brokering new ideas and as brokering between different organizations in their consultancy work.

In the same issue of *Demos Quarterly* where (Mulgan, 1995)appears, Perri 6 has a piece on *governing by cultures*. (6, 1995) Governing by cultures is later to become one of the central features of holistic government. Moreover, arguments that a given social

problem cannot be tackled simply by organizational restructuring (and sometimes increased funding), but that a cultural change is needed, also appear in several other Demos publications. (Atkinson, 1994; Brickell, 2000; Jupp, 1997; Wilkinson, 1997a) The first time this notion of the importance of culture surfaces is in one of the very first publications by Demos. (Hague, 1993) In that pamphlet it is argued that both private and public British institutions need a cultural revolution that among other things will render them learning organizations. The notion of culture that is being used is based on organizational sociology and the notion of the learning organization is taken from Howards Gardners (the first issue of *Demos Quarterly* is by the way on Howard Gardner's work).

Complexity

The last concept that this paper will touch on is *complexity*. The section on holism already made it clear that holism is a way of conceptualizing the (causal) interconnectedness—and thus complexity—of social problems. Complexity gets its most laborious treatment in a book by Tom Bentley published jointly by Demos and Routledge (or perhaps published by Routledge but with the Demos logo on the front also). This text is longer and more theoretical than the standard Demos pamphlets. The book's topic is new forms of education that to a much greater extent creates links between schools and the surrounding society (hence the themes of community and brokerage surfaces also here). Bentley builds this argument on notions of knowledge society and (Mulgan's) connexity.[9]

> With these capacities [information technologies; J.A.] has come a growing appreciation of the extent to which we are connected and interdependent. To make sense of the connections, to turn them into opportunities rather than threats, we must use information to create, share, and use knowledge.
> (Bentley et al., 2001: 3)

Bentley in the later sections of the book argues against grand, and he argues, simplistic narratives such as Christianity, Neoliberalism, and Marxism. Such simplicity is to be

substituted by complexity, one positive feature of which is that it is generative. This stress on the generative character of complexity, indeed, on emergence, clearly bears similarities to notions of bottom-up organization, flexibility, and decentralization.

Since Bentley's publication, the notion of complexity has been used in different contexts. Bentley himself has put it to its widest use in an article published in *Renewal* which more or less constitutes a mission statement for Demos. (Bentley, 2002) In this text, Bentley outlines the complexities that result from globalization, new information and communication technologies, the increased individualization, diversity and fluidity of identities, norms and values etc. That complexity, Bentley argues, has lead to renewed concerns about the need for social cohesion—something which very much has been the concern of the ruling social democrats of the 1990's—but it also renders central command and control unsustainable. The answer to that challenge of cohesion in a complex society, Bentley argues, is self-governance.

The language of complexity theory is also used by Charlie Leadbeater's 'open letter' to the new cabinet secretary. (Leadbeater, 2002) Like Bentley, Leadbeater also argues for more decentralization and for the abolishment of excessive auditing and financial control (criticism of excessive auditing first surfaces in) (Power, 1994). Complex systems, he argues, need constant innovation—but innovation from within—to ensure adaptation to a changing environment. Again, the decentralization argument features strongly. So do a range of other propositions often associated with Demos such as that national curriculum should be halved and that users of public services are co-producers of those services.

Complexity theory also features in a pamphlet on James Lovelock's Gaia theory (Midgley, 2001)and in a recent publication on systems theory. (Chapman, 2002) The latter discusses how systems theory and complexity theory can help improve governance of for instance the NHS. It has some similarities with the notion of holism but also gives a slightly more detailed account of the underlying theory than what is normal for the Demos Pamphlets.

Outside the coherence

So far, this paper has tried to outline some of the key themes, propositions and concepts of Demos's pamphlets, implicitly and explicitly arguing that many of the key themes both fit with each other and that they have been dominating the development of ideas over the years. But it must also be mentioned that there are many publications that do not fit into this mould. That mainly concerns publications written by people with little connection to Demos. Some of the topics of these texts were mentioned in the beginning of this paper. Others include the future of public television in Britain, (Hargreaves, 1993) identity politics, (Cable, 1994) crime, (Bright, 1997) the Asian 'tiger' economies, (Howell, 1995) standard practices for public appointments, e-commerce, (Rowan, 1997) disability. (Christie, 1999a) The EU and European cooperation. (Christie, 1999b; Leonard, 1998)

Excluded from the account above are also some of the most read and well known Demos publications such as Robert Cooper's pamphlet on the postmodern world order[10] (Cooper, 2000)—the impact of which however also stems from the fact that Cooper has published that thesis as an academic book also—and Mark Leonard's much publicized idea of rebranding Britain. (Leonard, 1997a) That pamphlet is by the way not the only one that deals with Britains's national identity. (Dodd, 1995)

Some often recurring subjects of, or themes in, Demos's publications have also not been described to an adequate degree. That is in particular the case of education which, as mentioned earlier, by far is the most often occurring subject of the Demos publications. (Alexander, 1997; Bentley, 1998; Bentley et al., 2001; Hargreaves, 1994; Hargreaves, 1998; Horne, 2000; Horne, 2001; Howland, 2002; Jupp et al., 2001; Morris, 2002; Seltzer and Bentley, 1999; Worpole, 2000) Education moreover represents one of the clearest diachronic developments of the Demos publications: only one pamphlet is published on education prior to 1997. Again, that can probably to some degree be attributed to specific persons' presence and influence (i.e. Tom Bentley). Another topic is taxation (Forman, 1997; Hague and Mulgan, 1995; Mulgan and Murray, 1993)which has not been given much attention in the last 5 five years (after Geoff Mulgan leaving).

Lastly, there are of course some publications that politically or ideologically are not of the center/(mildly) leftist nature. But not many. Of those that there are, (6, 1998b; Duncan, 1993; Forman, 1997; Hague and Mulgan, 1995) most are written by people directly affiliated with the Conservative Party. All of these belong to the left of the

party. The pamphlet by Alan Duncan (1993), Tory MP, is worth mentioning as it is quite critical of the 'boom and bust cycles' (p.27) of the British economy in the 1980's. Duncan even criticizes the Tory government's privatization of council housing. In the foreword Geoff Mulgan echoes the criticism of boom and bust and advocates prudence and also states that already existing structural inequalities have been made worse by Tory policies. This text, with its call for prudence, seems to have been an element in the attempt to ensure Labour's financial credibility.

The British Spring

One publication, titled the British spring, (Mulgan and others, 1997) needs special mentioning. It is written in 1997 by a core of Demos authors: Geoff Mulgan, Perri 6, Charlie Leadbeater, Helen Wilkinson, Ben Jupp, Tom Bentley and several others. This is (close to being) an election manifesto even though there is a disclaimer in the pamphlet saying that this is not an official manifesto of Demos but only reflects the opinions of the authors. As the group of authors however comprises all the people that have shaped the profile of Demos this is not very persuasive. That such a disclaimer is deemed necessary is however quite interesting.

The manifesto is built on a model containing three spheres. The first sphere represents life, the second survival, and the last thriving. The manifesto is more agenda setting than recommending as such. Regarding things needed for life, the authors argue that what need to be addressed are such things as crime, health (improvement of NHS), environmental risk, individual liberty (which is threatened by the state), homelessness, and military security. In terms of belonging what needs to be addressed is work, relationships/families, homes, foundations for learning, travel and mobility (improved infrastructure), savings and economical self-sufficiency (a culture of saving is needed), privacy and information technology, and drug use and abuse. And lastly, to thrive the following things must be addressed: Learning for life, freeing time, volunteering and new connections, creativity and fun, and celebrating the millennium.

An example of language use

As mentioned in one of the footnotes, this paper does not undertake a proper discourse analysis but simply attempts to review the Demos publications. A few notes with a more narrow focus on the use of key concepts may however be of interest. This section undertakes this, using the Demos Pamphlet *Class Room Assistance* (Horne, 2001) as its 'case.' This pamphlet examines the recruitment shortages, and low morale, of teachers. It argues, based on interviews and surveys of teachers, that teachers are not opposed to reform but that they are wary of further governmental centralization. Reform therefore must leave more room for individual teachers and schools, giving them more responsibility, thus helping to create a new professionalism, a 'culture change', among teachers. The pamphlet also contains some more specific policy suggestions such as a) reducing the administrative workload of teachers and giving each teacher a class room assistant, c) reshaping the Ofsted inspection system (making inspectors teach occasionally and creating new measures of quality), d) increasing the scope of teacher and pupil choice within the National Curriculum, e) letting unions become key providers of lifelong learning and professional development of teachers (Horne, 2001:10-1).

The pamphlet comprises 5 chapters with the title of the first chapter being 'The need for change.' This is followed by another, 'What kind of chance is needed.' Following that are two chapters on 'Teachers and society: workload, inspection and the curriculum' and 'Teachers and society: pay, quality of life and lifelong learning.' The last chapter is called 'Equipping schools for transformation.'

Many of the Demos writings are based on an argument that a *change* has occurred. This (contextual) change presents new challenges and necessitates a change also of the sector of society which is the topic of the pamphlet in question. As mentioned earlier, this general argument of social change is normally made with reference to increased dependency on knowledge, innovation, entrepreneurialism etc. This pamphlet is no exemption

> In many other sectors of society, and in particular among professionals, innovation and the use of knowledge have become the key to sustained success and status. The ability, both as an individual and working in a team, to use knowledge in effective, creative ways

> is becoming an emblem of employability. The acquisition of knowledge and skills and the development of social networks are seen as vital for self-advancement and organizational success.
> (Horne, 2001: 23)

Note however that it here is not used as a description of the society to which the educational system must adapt. The context, the problem which this pamphlet addresses is instead teacher shortage and low staff morale. It is instead when asking what is the key to achieve higher professional fulfillment that talk of 'innovation', 'networks' etc. appears. The pamphlet moreover emphasizes that teachers are willing to embrace such initiatives.

> The entrepeneurialism and success of many of these initiatives show that many teachers both have an appetite and the energy for shaping change.
> (Horne, 2001: 22)

Both these quotes are taken from chapter two which describes what kind of change is needed.

The next two chapters build more on responses from the interviews, using many quotations. This means that the point of view of the pamphlet becomes that of the individual, the subject. Individuals, moreover, whose out-looks are filled out by the massive contours of the bureaucracy:

> Ofsted is so huge. Everybody just gets themselves in a twist about them coming in for three or four days. You feel as if your whole career stands on three days of teaching. It's a huge strain and a huge stress on everybody…
> (Horne, 2001:30) (quote from an interview with a teacher)

Based on such statements, the pamphlet argues for better possibilities for individual professional responsibility, for a relief of administrative work for the individual teacher in his/her dealings with the central bureaucracy, and for better professional development through programs of life-long learning for teachers. It argues, thus, as many Demos pamphlets, for more decentralization. It uses a vocabulary of 'progressive

transformation', 'cultural change', 'entrepeneurialism', 'innovation', 'change', 'network', 'professionalism'. And it is individualistic.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be argued that Demos is building on a synergy between notions of community (mutuals, civic spirit), knowledge based economy (entrepeneurialism, innovation, education, human capital), and decentralization (flexibility, holism, self-reliance). A synergy that very much is created by Demos itself in its successful attempt to bring these ideas or values to the forefront of political thinking and debate. What is needed, the argument has been throughout, is more decentralized and flexible forms of governance that can respond to the diversity and fluidity of modern society. Moreover, state governance needs to be able to address social problems as wholes, that is, in their full complexity, which has lead to a notion of holism. This emphasis on complexity has later also reinforced the basis for arguments about the state's role. In complex and interconnected knowledge based societies nothing can be regulated centrally through command and control. But neither can anything be left to work on its own. In such a society, capitalism is dependent on knowledge and human capital, infrastructure, health, and many other things. The state must therefore interact (brokerage) with business and communities/social entrepreneurs to ensure that this environment is in place. As written, notions of complexity has renewed the basis for such an arguments. But the values or ideologies behind that argument have been there more or less from the beginning.

One could therefore argue that it is the 'energy' obtained from the synthesis of post-Marxist ideas about knowledge based economies, communitarism, and post-Thatcherite ideas about entrepreneurial welfare projects which Demos has thrived on. And that single notions such as mutuals, entrepeneurialism, holism, etc. have been the catalysts (or vehicles) for the continuation of this process.

Key concepts, key catalysts, in Demos's publications have been (this is admittedly a rather arbitrary list):

Mutuality
Brokerage

Co-operation (and co-production, i.e. users of public services are co-producers of these services)
Community
Decentralization
Partnership (public-private and otherwise)
Entrepreneurialism
Self- (governance, policing, reliance)
Holism
Family
Culture (as opposed to, and in opposition to, structure)
Innovation
Creativity
Flexibility
Learning
Knowledge
Responsibility - as in rights *and* obligations.
Complexity

A few of these key concepts by the way also occur in a 'sign of the times' list in the first issue of the *Demos Quarterly*: (1993)

Out:	In:
Cold war	Hot peace
Quantity	Quality
Parties	Movements
Economics	Culture
Teaching	Learning
Ideology	Ethics
Passive ownership	Active ownership
Representative democracy	Direct democracy
New world order	Chaos of nations
Struggles between blocs	Struggles between nations
Imperial overstretch	Global overstretch

Consumer choice	Consumer overload
Government and market failure	Systems failure
Evil empire	Everyday evil
Culture of contentment	Culture of insecurity
Rights	Responsibilites

I have already written that the danger in presenting the Demos publications as being the rather homogeneous results of a synthesis of some core values is that some of the diversity is lost. Moreover, the changes in Demos's publications are also lost in such an account. The question is however to what extent Demos's publications actually have changed over the 9 years period other than what has already been mentioned? One change that may be pointed out is that the diversity of arguments seems to be bigger in the early period of Demos's life. That is probably due to the fact that more publications were written by people outside of Demos in that period, something which again was a logical consequence of Demos only having a very small staff in the first years (the practices of commissioning people outside of Demos to write pamphlets still exist though). But all of the core values, arguments and propositions are also existent in pamphlets from that period as well. Lastly, it seems that the practice of producing pamphlets in cooperation with other organizations has increased slightly.

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Pinto-Duschinsky, David (2001) *Welfare That Works*. London: Demos.

Power, Michael (1994) *The Audit Explosion*. London: Demos.

Ringen, Stein (1998) *The family in question*. London: Demos.

Rowan, Wingham (1997) *Guaranteed electronic markets*. London: Demos.

Scruton, Roger (1996) *Animal rights and wrongs*. London: Demos.

Seltzer, Kimberly, & Bentley, Tom (1999) *The Creative Age*. London: Demos.

Shutt, David (1996) *The Building Society Bounty*. London: Demos.

Straw, Ed (1998) *Relative values*. London: Demos.

Watts, A.G. (1996) *Careerquake*. London: Demos.

Wilkinson, Helen (1994) *No Turning Back*. London: Demos.

Wilkinson, Helen (1996) *Parental leave*. London: Demos.

Wilkinson, Helen (1997a) *The Proposal*. London: Demos.

Wilkinson, Helen (1997b) *Time Out*. London: Demos.

Wilkinson, Helen (1997c) *Tomorrows Women*. London: Demos.

Wilkinson, Helen (2000) Family Business. London: Demos.

Wilkinson, Helen (2002) *Créche barriers*. London: Demos.

Wilkinson, Helen, & Mulgan, Geoff (1995) *Freedom's Children*. London: Demos.

Worpole, Ken (2000) *Linking Home and School*. London: Demos.

Worpole, Ken, & Greenhalgh, Liz (1996) *The Freedom of the City*. London: Demos.

[1] This is not to be a detailed discourse analysis of Demos's work or a detailed tracing of specific concepts. The aim is to give an account of the central and often occurring themes, values and propositions of the texts that Demos has published. More detailed discourse analysis would not only be a rather daunting task given the amount of publications (exceeding 110). It would also loose sight of the more general values and themes of Demos publications. On the other hand, the birds eye's perspective of the present analysis does seem to attribute a perhaps exaggerated homogeneity to Demos's publications—something which is discussed several times in the text.

[2] See of course also the discussion of civil society in Gidden's Third Way.

[3] Also (Hargreaves, 1994)one the one hand acknowledges that the national curriculum has helped to ensure standards but on the other calls for more diversity. He does however not make any explicit recommondations as to whether it should be halved.

[4] There are plenty of exiting ideas around; people just need permission and support to try them out so that the seeds germinate and flower - or deservedly wither and die a natural and unmourned death. The legislative powers of a Secretary of State are better used sparingly, and more in removing the barriers to change rather than in imposing the inevitably flawed blueprint devised for a party manifesto. (Hargreaves, 1994:55)

[5] This commissioning policy is worth discussing with key Demos people.

[6] E.g. tax:; (Hague and Mulgan, 1995; Mulgan and Murray, 1993) forms of governance; (6, 1997b; 6 and Briscoe, 1996; 6 et al., 1999) family/gender; (Wilkinson, 1994; Wilkinson, 1996; Wilkinson, 1997a; Wilkinson, 1997b; Wilkinson, 1997c; Wilkinson, 2000; Wilkinson, 2002; Wilkinson and Mulgan, 1995) creativity/knowledge economy/entrepreneurship; (Leadbeater, 1996; Leadbeater, 1998; Leadbeater, 1999; Leadbeater, 2002; Leadbeater and Oakly, 1999; Leadbeater and Oakly, 2001) education/young people. (Bentley, 1998; Bentley, Fairley and Wright, 2001; Bentley and Oakley, 1999)

[7] This is, I argue later, one of the points where the Etzionian communitarism conjures with Leadbeater's work on the knowledge society and entrepreneurism.

[8] Alexander talks about parent-partnership coordinators.

[9] This notion actually has an interesting geneology. Mulgan has published a book on this idea of connectedness to which Bentley refers but the term also appears in. (Mulgan and Murray, 1993) Here it is used is a different sense, namely as meaning a loss of connectedness, a loss of life-world or shared experience (p. 10). A footnote is then added which reads: "this term was coined by Andre Levi-Gourhan in *Le Geste et le Parole*, Albin Michel: Paris 1964. It has been used by Pierre Dupuy, 'Myths of the informational Society' in *Myths of Information: Technology and Post-Industrial Society* ed. Kathleen Woodward, Routledge, London, 1980. (p.48)

[10] Second edition.

Contracting The Third Way

The impact of the idea of the Third Way on British newspaper discourse

This paper describes how selected British newspapers have reported on and debated the idea of the Third Way which has been one of the main (if not *the* main) elements of New Labour's political platform. The aims of the analysis are simple. I want to investigate first of all the impact of the term, or the idea, the Third Way. I also want to establish who the main 'carriers' are, both newspapers and journalist. Lastly, I want to investigate with which references the term is used, how it is debated, which values are attached to it, and whom (politicians, intellectuals), if any, it is attributed to. Only the last question requires qualitative analysis while answer to the first, and to a wide extent the second, can be found through quantitative analysis.

The paper is structured as follows: The first section will describe the data and the method for the data retrieval and analysis. It will also outline the basic quantitative findings. A second section will look at which papers and which journalists have been the main 'carriers.' Following that, six sections, each covering a specific period, will describe in which contexts and with which references term is used. After that, the last section before the conclusion will look at the meanings, or predicates, that are attached to the Third Way, e.g. as a "third way between capitalism and socialism" or as a "pragmatic and flexible tool for government".

Data and Quantitative Findings

The data for the analysis comes from a selected group of British newspapers. The objective was of course to get a broad selection of papers from broadsheets to tabloids. In reality however, the selection had to be based on the availability of papers. The selected papers are the ones where

copies going back to the beginning of the 1990's can be downloaded in an electronic format from the news database Lexis-Nexis. The selected newspapers are:

The Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday
The Economist
The Financial Times
The Guardian/Observer
The Evening Standard
The Independent
The Mirror
The Scotsman/Scotland on Sunday
The Times/Sunday Times

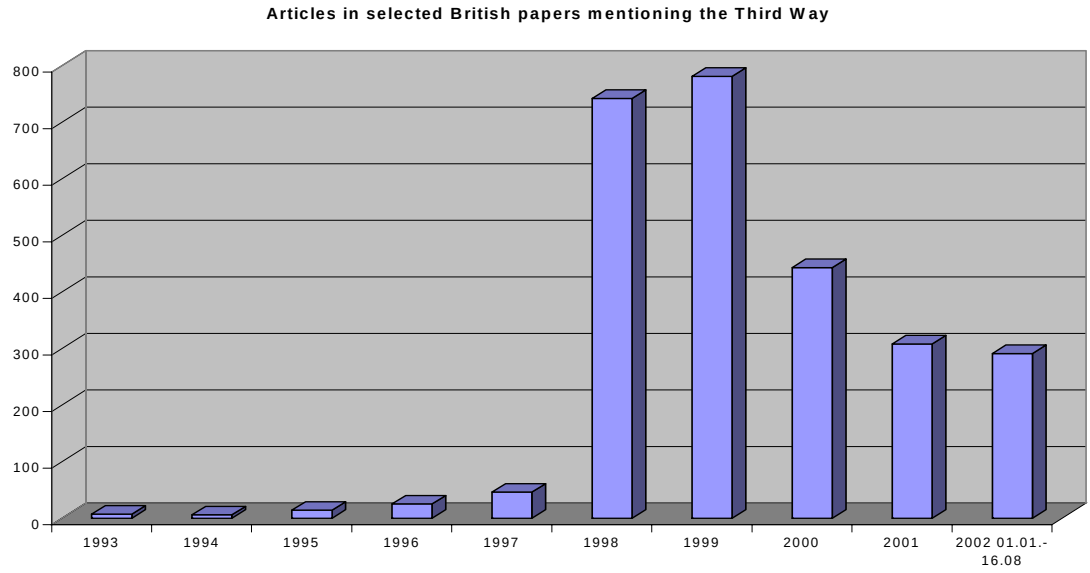
Copies from 1994 to mid August 2002 of all the papers just mentioned could be retrieved. Other papers such as The Sun and the Daily Telegraph were not available and had to be omitted.

The articles were downloaded from the database Lexis-Nexis. The data was sampled, also using the database, as only every 10th article, from 1998-2002, was downloaded in a full format and used for qualitative analysis. [1]Between 1993 and 1997 the term appears only sporadically. Therefore, all articles from these years have been analysed. As written, Lexis-Nexis contains copies of all articles of the selected newspapers in the chosen period. The quantitative data is therefore in general reliable. The database does however tend, occasionally, to download the same article twice, meaning that there in the data are some articles that occur twice.

It should also be mentioned that the period of 1994 to mid August 2002 was chosen because little mentioning of the Third Way, and no references to New Labour, can be found in earlier articles.[2] The term is hence used three times in 1993 with no reference to British politics or to a middle way between capitalism and socialism. It is however, in a few articles older than 1993 used in the "between-socialism-and-capitalism" sense with reference to the German model of social democracy (see also below). So this meaning of the Third Way has existed for quite a while. That fact makes the sudden impact in the British newspapers only more astonishing. If ideas can be understood as having virus like abilities to spread and 'infect' public discourse, then British newspapers suddenly contracted the Third Way in 1998. The amount of articles where the term is being used exploded from 46 articles in 1997 to 742 in 1998 (Figure 1). That sudden explosion will of course be

investigated in much more depth later in the paper. But it gives an immediate impression of how a concept or term can influence news discourse and also public debate.

Figure 1: Number of articles, in selected British papers, in which the term 'Third Way' (with capital letters only) appears.



Carriers and Disseminators

As it appears from Table 1, references to the Third Way are more often found in the big broadsheets than in tabloids such as The Daily Mail, The Mirror, and the Evening Standard. The references also seem to distribute themselves along a political spectrum with most references in The Guardian, followed by The Independent, The Times, The Scotsman and The Financial Times

Table 1: Distribution of articles containing the term 'Third Way' (33 articles unaccounted for). Selected British papers 1994-mid August 2002.

The Daily Mail	186
The Economist	52
The Evening Standard	90
The Financial Times	201
The Guardian/Observer	706
The Independent	563
The Mirror	51
The Scotsman	239
The Times/Sunday Times	543

It is also possible to present some simple and tentative statistics regarding which journalists most often refer to the Third Way. This data is not wholly reliable as many of the articles do not state the name of the journalist (Probably also due to faults in the database). Also, all the editorials, who often discuss the Third Way, have no names listed. As it appears from Table 2, the journalists mentioned in the data are all political correspondents or columnist from the broadsheets.

Table 2: The journalist who have made the most references to the Third Way (number of articles).

Roger Boyes	German correspondent. Times	52
Peter Riddell	Political correspondent, columnist. Times	33
Anne McElvoy	Political correspondent, Independent	28
Andrew Rawnsley	Political correspondent, columnist. Observer/Guardian	27
Michael White	Political editor, Guardian	26
John Lloyd	Scotland on Sunday, Financial Times, Times	20
Patrick Wintour	Chief political correspondent, later Political editor. Observer	20
Nick Cohen	Columnist, Observer	18
Steve Richards	Political correspondent, Independent	18
David Aaronovitch	Columnist, Independent	18
Will Hutton	Observer	18
Roy Hattersley	Guardian, Observer, Scotland on Sunday	17
Peter Koenig	Business correspondent. Independent	17

1993-1997

Until 1995, the term ‘Third Way’ is used with mainly reference to an Israeli party (a breakaway fraction of Labour) which is opposed to Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories; to the German welfare state as a synonym of ‘the so-called German way, a half-way house between communism and capitalism’[3]; and to Fascism in Italy.

In 1995, in the Guardian[4], the term appears in the headline of an article on a new initiative proposed jointly by the Co-operative Movement and the Labour MP and former minister for disabled Alf Morris. The proposal is made in a speaach by Mr. Morris which the article covers. It is not clear if the usage of the term in the headline is due solely to the journalist or if it also is due to Mr. Morris. In the quotes from Mr. Morris’s speech the term ‘third kind of care’ is used, but not ‘Third Way’.

In 1996 nearly all the references are to the Israeli Party (this is the year Binyamin Netanyahu won the election). In the two remaining cases it is used with reference to Marshall Tito’s style of communism (which by the way is one of the oldest forms of usage that refers to a compromise between capitalism and socialism, NATO and the Warsaw pact etc.) and to a Scottish break-away fraction of the National Front which publishes a journal called The Third Way and which later also takes the name Third Way as the name for its political party. However, on two occasions the term is used with reference to the policies of New Labour. Indeed, it is used to denote the central political idea of New Labour. The first time, in the Guardian, it is used in a discussion of another idea, namely that of the stakeholder society. The article opens as follows:

> In the past week, we have become familiar with a new concept: the stakeholder economy. If it turns out to be nothing more than a new Blairite soundbite, it will soon be forgotten. Potentially, however, it is a Big Idea, which could turn out to have as much resonance as the buzzwords of the Eighties, such as Thatcherism and privatisation. It may well be an important signpost on the road to that elusive Third Way in politics, between discredited state intervention and untrammelled laissez-faire individualism.[5]

As was the case with the article about co-operatives, the use of the term is here not attributed to Mr. Blair nor to any other Labour politician. The article is far from critical of the Third Way—and for that matter of the idea about a stakeholder society. It is only skeptical as to whether the use of such language—which it claims is useful not only for New Labour but, because it has such a broad appeal, also for Tories and liberal democrats—simply is empty rhetoric or if it will lead to serious policy making.

The next time the Third Way is used with reference to British politics, the use of the term is attributed to Tony Blair. On November 16, 1996, The Financial Times published an article reporting on Tony Blair's visit to France where he had a meeting with President Jacques Chirac. The main issue of the meeting was the possibility that Britain would join the single currency. But Tony Blair also gave a speech in Paris on which the paper reports:

> Mr Blair also used his Paris speech to set out his belief that EU states needed to adopt alternative forms of economic development in the next century, rejecting both old-style state corporatism and laisser-faire economics. Giving this belief the new title of "The Third Way", he said there was an economic role for government that was "enabling not dirigiste" and where policy in the labour market was geared to raising the skills and employment opportunities of the workforce. [6]

In 1997, the term 'Third Way' appears in 46 articles. Two articles use the term with reference to the publication the Third Way and two refer to the German model. Another two references are to the political party also called the Third Way. 15 articles now refer to Tony Blair and New Labour. The remaining are all dealing with Israel. In the 15 articles referring to New Labour, most are merely reporting on politicians' use of the term or in passing using it in articles about politics. The definitions of the term are consequently the ones New Labour has presented it, e.g. as a way to "reconcile social cohesion with a free-market, global economy."[7] It is however worth noting that the term on most occasions is defined. It is perhaps also worth mentioning that the term Third Way clearly is defined and understood not only as a compromise between left and right but also is seen as a redefinition of the role of the state in a globalized world.[8] The term or idea is also being discussed by political commentators in much the same fashion as the idea of the stakeholder society was in the example above. The commentaries range from rather positive to negative. All however center on the fact that the meaning of term is elusive. The two most critical, indeed downright hostile, articles are both from *The Scotsman* who heavily criticizes the vagueness of the term.[9] The first of the two articles centers on Tony Blair who is criticized for being all style and no content, the

Third Way just being one possible aspect of the chameleon personality of Mr. Blair. The second deals more in depth with the Third Way whose ambiguity is criticized.

Interestingly, in terms of the trajectories or infrastructures of ideas and debate, an article in The New Statesman about the Third Way apparently triggered two articles in the Independent and The Guardian.[10] Both these articles, published in the week after the publication of the New Statesman article, make references to and quote the NS article which apparently was quite positive about the Third Way but still had to admit that 'it's not easy to discern the guiding contours of Blair's Third Way.'[11] These two are among the five (one of the Scotsman articles included) most in-depth discussions of The Third Way in 1997. A common denominator of most of the 1997 articles that deal more in-depth with the Third Way is of course that they reflect on and assess the first period of the New Labour Government, trying to size up Blair and New Labour.

Context and reference 1998

Figure 1 clearly shows the truly massive increase of articles in which the term ‘Third Way’ occur, going from XX in 1997 to 1997 in 1998. The term is suddenly being used often. Further analysis shows that the term is used in a range of contexts, with articles reporting on many different events or discussing different things. It is however immediately clear that the diversity of referents of the term ‘Third Way’ at the same has decreased significantly: the term now refers nearly exclusively to New Labour and to Tony Blair. References to the Israeli Party and to the British rightwing party and the journal not only occur very sporadically.[12] There are no longer any references to other political third ways.

The only ‘exemption’ to this—it is, as we shall see, not an exemption—is references to Germany of which there are many. But that now *not* with reference to the earlier mentioned ‘German Model’ but rather to the newly elected German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder’s version of the Blairite Third Way, named the New Middle (Neue Mitte). Thus, confusingly, the ‘Third Way’ was first used with reference to the (old) German social democratic compromise between socialism and capitalism after which it became a name for the policies of Blair and New Labour after which it now again refers to a, new and more rightwing, model of social democracy in Germany. Articles on the new German leadership dominate in 1998. Some articles report on the new Chancellor. Others compare Schröder’s Third Way or ‘New Centre’ with Blair’s ditto. Others again focus on the attempts by

Blair and Schröder to strengthen the political alliances between the two countries. Lastly, the in Britain much vilified member of Schröder's cabinet, Oscar Lafontaine, is the subject of several articles and is routinely described as a threat to the Third Way (to both the German and the British Third Ways which indicates that the Third way is taken to be a European project though this seldom is stated explicitly. Also, this concern about Lafontaine is found in nearly all the papers, but mostly the ones on the right). As is generally the case with news articles, many of these articles report on specific events, for instance a visit by Schröder to Downing Street.[13] Others are more feature-like, for instance a portrait of the German equivalent to Peter Mandelson.[14]

Another occasion that causes the Third Way to be mentioned in 1998 is the seminar on the Third Way which was held in New York with Prime Minister Blair, President Clinton and Chairman of the European Commission Prodi attending. Also the increased cooperation between the Liberal Democrats and New Labour causes several articles to discuss how both parties are occupying the middle ground, as a consequence often mentioning the Third Way. In a piece by Paddy Ashdown published in The Independent, the co-operation with New Labour is defended. Mr. Ashdown argues that the Third Way tries to occupy the political territory of the Lib. Dems. because it is 'fertile territory' and the only adequate political response to the challenges of globalization and increased individualization.[15] Globalization is as mentioned often playing a significant role when describing and defending the Third Way

As was the case of the 1997 articles, the two most common types of article are features by political commentators and background reports on a speech or suggested policy suggested by New Labour.[16] The degree to which these articles deal specifically with The Third Way of course differ[17] but generally there are many background articles[18] which deal with the Third Way.

On a much lighter note, jokes about, or more humoristic or ironic comments on, the Third Way also begin to appear in abundance. Even John Prescott is reported to have made the following joke during his speech at the Labour conference.

> Mr Blair's recent speech on the Third Way was on sale in the conference bookshop, he said. It was a best-seller "but they really must take it out of the mystery section".[19]

The clearest feature of the 1998 articles remain the fact that the Third Way is more excessively discussed in this period than the following. In comparison, more of the articles are features, and these features in 1998 are more focused on discussing and analyzing the Third Way compared with

later periods. Also, more articles give in-depth accounts of speeches on the Third Way. As a result of the Third Way being discussed at length, more negative accounts of the Third Way of cause also surface. But the occurrences of such comments remain (remarkable?) few. There are in the sample analyzed only two articles that express oppositions to the Third Way.[20] However, in addition to that, several of the jokes or humorous comments on the Third Way may be taken to express opposition. But critical comments are few. Moreover, no critics of the Third Way are quoted or have statements attributed to them in any of the articles. The opposition tends to come from columnists rather than people used by journalists as sources or interviewees. This strongly indicates that it is this period is difficult to voice negative views on the Third Way.

1999

The amount of articles mentioning the Third Way in 1999 increases slightly. Similarly, there are only small changes in the way the papers report on the Third Way. The amount of commentaries and features that extensively discuss the Third Way does however decrease somewhat. As was the case in 1998, specific events trigger reports that mention the Third Way. Most notable is Peter Mandelson's resignation, where several articles either describes him as one of the architects behind the Third Way and/or discuss how the Third Way as a political project is to fare without him. Other occasions are a meeting of the socialist Internationale with all the ruling European social democrats attending, a NATO meeting, and another seminar on the Third Way with Blair and Clinton attending. There are in the analyzed data one article that refers to the British nationalist party the Third Way, one reference to the Israeli Third Way party, and two references to the German Neue Mitte. There are a few articles on the Liberal Democrats but the topic of these articles is now, apart from one which discusses how Labour and the Lib. Dems. both occupy the political center, the resignation of Paddy Ashdown.

The decrease of commentaries and features that deal more or less exclusively with the Third Way does not mean that there are less features or commentaries that mention the Third Way. But the Third Way tend more to be mentioned in passing when addressing the topic of the article.

> Today's political leaders must share a good deal of the blame for this. Too many have grown too used to power; there is a feeling, shared as much by Tony Blair as his older Social Democrat colleagues on

> the Continent, that political process belongs to the professional practitioner, not to the people. Too many of them, moreover, have assumed that globalisation, regional integration and free trade are irreversible, and that no explanation, let alone a convincing case, needs to be given to the public. Cronyism has become entrenched in European politics, Third Way or Old Way.[21]

Nevertheless, Tony Blair's speeches on the Third Way continue to get a high amount of attention, often with lengthy quotes.

> "Slowly but surely the old establishment is being replaced by a new, larger, more meritocratic middle class," Mr Blair said. "A middle class characterised by greater tolerance of difference, greater ambition to succeed, greater opportunities to earn a decent living. A middle class that will include millions of people who traditionally may see themselves as working class, but whose ambitions are far broader than those of their parents and grandparents."[22]

Such an article—this one, quite typically, from *The Guardian*—is a good example of how the Third Way helps Tony Blair and New Labour to generate headlines, quotes, and media attention in general. Such articles are not only found in the more left leaning broadsheets but also in *The Times* and *The Financial Times*.[23] It is generally very much the broadsheets that report on speeches and subsequently also the broadsheets that mention the Third Way the most.

While there are not that big differences in the quantity of references to the Third Way, the various political positions of the newspapers influence the ways the Third Way is being described. But it seems that the political differences manifest themselves not so much in terms of whether the Third Way is described in positive or negative terms but in what characteristics and values are being attributed to the Third Way. The two articles from The Guardian[22] and The Times[23] are good examples. The two articles report on Blair giving a speech at a conference (Guardian), and on Blair talking at a press conference after a visit to Bristol together with Dutch Prime Minister Vim Kok (Times). The Guardian's emphasis is on meritocracy; the Times' emphasis is on how attempts to secure social justice should not weaken the economy. Different values are in other words attributed to the Third Way in such reports (or at least constitute the background for such reports). The same thing can be observed in features and commentaries that of course work even more actively in the definition of the Third Way. A good example of a more 'right wing' feature on the Third Way is again coming from the Times, namely a feature whose overall argument is a call for

decentralization but which in the process of that also makes the case that the Third Way's emphasis on entrepreneurship and risk-taking is incompatible with centralized government. [24]

2000

The amount of articles that refer to the Third Way decrease in 2000. Moreover, while the referents of the Third Way in the previous two years tended to be the political project of New Labour, the cluster of referents now again broadens. What is referred to is now not only New Labour or Tony Blair, but also a range of other political compromises between socialism and capitalism, private enterprise or state ownership etc. As a result, the 'Third Way'—it in fact ceases to be *the* Third Way and becomes just different forms of Third Ways—now also refers to the policies of Vladimir Putin in Russia[25] and Vicente Fox of Mexico.[26] Likewise, when dealing with American politics, the Third Way is no longer the property of Clinton and Gore, but attributed to the political platform of presidential candidate George W. Bush.[27] That is however done by *The Times*. I have just mentioned how different papers seem to attribute different values to the Third Way. It may very be so that they also attribute the Third Way itself to different political actors according to political sympathies. Hence a republican presidential candidate becomes a Third Way politician in a report by a right leaning newspaper.

Another relatively clear trend is that there are fewer articles that actually deal extensively with the Third Way. It is more and more often mentioned in passing, for instance in the following article about Ken Livingstone's candidature for Mayor of London.

> Does it matter that London is about to elect a mayor from the unreconstructed left? Many Britons do not think so. They will admit to unease that Ken Livingstone is leading the race. It is, after all, unseemly for the land of the Third Way to have such a prominent politician going around likening international capitalism to Hitler.[28]

The importance of the Third Way is marginal here firstly because its role in the content and discursive structure of the article is marginal but also, secondly, because no values or features are ascribed to the Third Way. Still, there are a few articles where the Third way has a more central role and where some values are attributed to it. In the case of the most elaborate analysis of the Third Way that attribute is however vagueness.[29] That is far from the first time that The Third Way is

described, and criticized, as being vague. But until this point, such criticism has not in this way surfaced in more 'serious' political commentaries. These have been preoccupied with analyzing the 'content' of the Third Way. Hitherto, the vagueness argument has been found in the tabloids and in ironic or humorous remarks, made in passing, about the Third Way—and in Francis Wheen's column in The Guardian.

The second article where the Third Way is discussed is a commentary in Tony Blair's badly received speech at The Womens Institute (That is what WI stands for, isn't it). That article develops into a more general assessment of the New Labour Government. It hence also dwells on the Third Way which however now has got a new name; 'progressive governance.'

> The trouble for Blair is that he can see that communities are endangered by globalisation, but that wealth is generated best by systems that harness enterprise. His project is therefore more difficult, precisely because it is synthetic. In this week's New Statesman, one of our few intellectual journalists, John Lloyd, reported from a meeting in Florence to discuss "Progressive Governance" (which is what the Third Way has now been redubbed).
> Lloyd, defining PG, came up with this:
> "It is an attempt to construct societies that can protect their citizens in an age of globalisation; to democratise the contents and practices of globalisation; and to recast the explicit and implicit contracts that citizens make with the state." [30]

A striking thing about this passage is that it is similar to discussions on the Third Way described earlier in two ways. Firstly because the columnist is drawing on an article from The New Statesman (see the mentioning of 'infrastructure' on p. 7 and endnotes 10 and 11). [31] Secondly because Progressive Governance is described in the context of globalization which also was the case of many early descriptions of the Third Way.

2001

If one can speak of a 'trend', consisting of the facts that discussions of the Third Way disappear and are replaced with passing references to it and that it no longer is defined but simply mentioned, then that trend certainly continues in 2001. Also the phenomenon that the Third Way now is being used with reference to politicians abroad, who not necessarily belong to the center-left, continues here. It

is used with reference to Bush again and to Canadian Prime Minister Chretien. There seems in fact to be yet another feature of the 'trend', namely that jokes and ironic comments about the Third Way also seem to disappear. The Third Way seems to cease being a contested, discussed, and sometimes ridiculed, concept and simply becomes a term that is used occasionally.

However, the Third Way is at times discussed as Tony Blair's government continues to be discussed and assessed. An article in the Financial Times that gives an assessment of Tony Blair's time as PM hence both mentions the Third Way and also defines it. But it uses the past tense when doing so and is generally negative.

> He entered government espousing a vapid philosophy of a "Third Way" between capitalism and socialism that petered out for lack of substance.[32]

Moreover, the mentioning of the Third Way plays a very small role in the discursive structure of the article as a whole. (perhaps a graphic model of discursive structure of this compared to other early) article?). Another example where the Third Way still is given some emphasis is an interview with Mr. Blair in *The Observer* a week after the election was called. In a very positively biased article, Mr. Blair talks about the need for civic society and declares himself 'Mr. Third Way'[33] But the discussion of The Third Way ends right there. Indeed, Mr. Blair is in another article reported to be very irritated about the lack of media interest in his arguments about the Third Way.[34]

2002

That the medias' interest in the Third Way has somewhat dissipated may not be read out of attempts to slack off the Third Way by different commentators. And yet, when one of the most elaborate statements on the Third Way in 2002 is the following, then there might be something to it:

> Ingratitude and studied incomprehension of his motives may have driven the Prime Minister to the London School of Economics last week, where, under a portrait of Sidney and Beatrice Webb busily preparing Clause Four of Labour's constitution, he once again set out his Third Way philosophy. This was a far more cogent exposition of where he stood than has been heard recently but the audience - mainly New Labour loyalists - failed to catch fire. The caravan has moved on, and Blair's broader audience in Labour and the unions has learned to separate rhetoric from reality.[35]

In spite of that, the Third Way is discussed more elaborately on two occasions, namely in an article reporting on a speech Peter Mandelson gave at a seminar on the Third Way arranged by himself and in an article that discusses the different 'big ideas' that New Labour has come up with. That is not the only article of its type, discussing the ideas of New Labour[36] or discussing the intellectuals and academics who have the ear of the government.[37] The article on Peter Mandelson[38] is in its form a 'classical' report on a political speech—the type of article which dominated in the years 1997-9 with articles reporting on speeches by Tony Blair. Here, as an exemption from the general trend, a predicate is also attributed to the Third Way, namely prudence.

The predicates of the Third Way

So far, the qualitative analysis has concentrated on the contexts of the references to the Third Way. This analysis found that article on the Third Way come in different types, of which the most important are articles that report on key speeches (or interviews or press conferences) on the Third way; articles which report on suggested policies which are promoted by politicians as Third Way policies; articles which assess the New Labour Government and who in the course of that also discuss the Third Way; and finally features that discuss the Third Way in itself. These are, it needs to be repeated, rough and slightly arbitrary categories. A fifth category is the one consisting of articles that simply in passing mention the Third Way—a category that is often found in 2000-2.

It has also been mentioned already that a clear trend is that articles from 1997-9 tend to attribute more predicates to the Third Way. I indeed believe that this is the clearest trend in the development of news discourses on the Third Way. 1997-9 saw not only a discussion of the Third Way but also a series of interpretations that themselves helped to define and shape the meanings of the Third Way. Not so that it simply were columnists or journalists that attributed predicates and thus defined the Third Way (even though that certainly also is what happened, e.g. [41]). Many articles reported on statements by politicians and intellectuals with a specific focus on their definitions of the Third Way. The general impression is that these years were dominated by a 'coming to terms with' or 'making sense of' the Third Way, a process that both consisted of reports on key speeches by politicians and intellectuals and by discussions by political correspondents and columnists.

These years in particular were also the scene of a political struggle between proponents and opponents of the Third Way. That discussion becomes clearer when we now begin to look at the predicates attributed to the Third Way. The most often found predicates are of course the one defined by two poles which the Third Way is to bridge. The most often occurring dichotomy is capitalism and socialism. But also left and right; social justice and economic strength; rights and responsibilities, and local and central government appear as dichotomies which the Third Way is to bridge. In fact, all these appear in 1998. The Third Way is very often linked with the challenge of globalization. By Tony Blair himself, quoted in *The Guardian*, it is described as a compromise between accepting the inevitability of globalization and yet still take action: ‘"Accept the challenge of the future, but refuse to consider ourselves powerless to overcome it."’[39] Further, the Third Way is described as a response to the Knowledge Economy and to the need for entrepreneurship and innovation (by Charlie Leadbeater in a seminar speech reported in the Guardian). A similar argument can be found in a definition in The Evening Standard which also centers on the need for economic competition and entrepeneurialism. Here, the Third Way is defined as follows:

> The general idea underpinning the "Third Way" is that modern societies need to harness the enterprise of the market place to the wider aim of social advance. This means, in part, making sure that the state provides the right human and physical infrastructure - good schools, decent health care, adequate roads and railways and so on.[40]

The Third Way is also defined as an attempt to strengthen civic society and increase the emphasis on citizenship, to increase collaborations between state, charities and businesses in order to ensure welfare and social improvements, to respond to individualization, and to help create a new British identity (with reference to Demos’s ‘Rebranding Britain’). Another feature is that The Third Way promises fiscal prudence and effective distributions of state funds. And it is linked to the idea of the stake holding society.[41] Finally, it is linked with meritocracy in an article which I quoted earlier [22] (see p. 10).

These are predicates attributed to the Third Way. Most of them are either positive or relatively value free. The most often found negative predicate is “vagueness”. That predicate appears often but the fact remains that it is most often is used by neutral or positive observers who do grant that the term has an inherent vagueness to it or that the term can be used so indiscriminately that it looses its meaning.[42] Only once in the sampled data is an opponent of the Third Way quoted or

referred to. A related but much more positive argument about the Third Way is that it is an example of pragmatism, that is, that it is non-ideological in a positive sense.

> This Labour Party is the party of government, of technocrats and meritocrats getting on with the job of running the country - and doing so tolerably well. If Labour is not yet established as the natural party of government then it is certainly a competent one, with sensible ministers pursuing sensible policies unmoved by ideologies apart from the central tenet of the Third Way - what works is what matters. The Queen's Speech was part of that, another instalment of modernisation and reform and rebuilding of the public services.[43]

Throughout the sampled material, this argument about pragmatism is more dominant than the negative arguments about vagueness or lack of substance. But this argument may also itself appear in a negative form.

> It is the view of the New Labour insiders that they won because of the media and the related conversion of Middle England: nothing should be done to alienate either. This is why it is a scared government. The focus groups, The Sun, the Daily Mail, all shape the perimeters of policy much more than the Third Way or any other guiding philosophy.[44]

Another quite clear tendency is that the really negative attacks—apart from the two earlier mentioned articles in the Scotsman in 1997 and a few later in The Financial Times—are to be found in readers' letters to the editor. The features on the Third Way tend to be, if not more respectful, then at least more analytical. They are of course also caught in a dilemma from the beginning. It is difficult to write a whole feature analyzing the Third Way with the basic argument being that the Third Way has no content. It has to warrant analysis.

Another argument against the Third Way, which sporadically appears, is that it more or less *a priori* accepts globalization as an inevitable historical fact. A third negative argument, also sporadically appearing, is simply that it is too market friendly.

As already mentioned, it is in 1998 and 1999 that the most predicates are attributed the Third Way. Many of the predicates from 1998, entrepeneurialism, decentralization, private-public partnerships, are repeated in 1999. The only addition in the sampled data from 1999 is 'firmness'. This predicate is attributed by Tony Blair who promises that the new Third Way leaders will be as firm when dealing with Kosovo as their predecessors would have been.[45]

In 2000 the descriptions and thus predicates of the Third Way begin to dry out. It is, with reference to Tony Benn, described as rebranded Thacherism, and explained or justified with reference to globalization. The only new predicate is a compromise between 'rampant individualism and excessive government.'[46] That predicate is however attached not to New Labour or Tony Blair but (by The Times) to George W. Bush.

In 2001, the Third Way is described by Tony Blair as an attempt to create a new and stronger civic society. Apart from that there are no definitions except a passing reference where is it described as lacking substance.[32] In 2002 it is linked to the promotion of public private partnership.

Conclusion

The analysis started out by showing the rather dramatic impact which the Third Way had on British news discourse in purely quantitative terms. Clearly, the Third Way suddenly became a theme in news discourse. The qualitative analysis has further confirmed this: The Third Way was not only a concept or term which suddenly became used. It was discussed, criticized, analyzed, and interpreted. But the qualitative analysis has also pointed out that there is a marked difference between the discourses of the two periods 1997-9 and 2000-2. It is in the first period that the meaning of the Third Way is discussed and indeed constructed in the news discourse. In the latter period, the term has itself become a predicate which more or less in passing can be attributed to New Labour, to specific policy suggestions and indeed to other politicians and policies who aim at the center of the political spectrum. The Third Way has moved from being a term that was discussed to a term that is being used.

The analysis also strongly indicates that the discussion of the Third Way at least not only was a political discussion for and against the Third Way but that it also was a 'negotiation' of the meanings of the Third Way. Different columnists and political correspondents would in discussions of, and reports on, the Third Way emphasize different aspects of the Third Way. And the predicates attributed to the Third Way were seemingly—some caution is needed when deducting such statements from a qualitative study of limited scope—distributed on a political axis. Hence, a paper like The Times would be more focused on such things as entrepeneurialism and fiscal prudence (I mentioned earlier as an example the feature on entrepeneurialism and risk-taking where the

columnist is worried that the ‘old public service ethos’ will hinder the Third Way[47]) while The Guardian would be more focused on social justice.

What gave the Third Way such impetus? Perhaps the Third Way, with its abstractness and vagueness, in fact invited journalists and columnists to discuss it. Here there was a chance of gaining influence by adding meaning to this abstract term. And columnists with different political positions could each see some (different) grains of gold in the term. By discussing the term, they also helped New Labour and Tony Blair to be agenda setting. Secondly, the Third Way, like any brand, has a range of positive effects when it comes to communication. Rather than selling a car on a, for both sender and receiver in the communicative process, elaborate, laborious, and time consuming list of technical specifications, it is more effective to sell it on an image, a feeling, an emotion, a brand. It is more effective to create an affect rather than effect. The Third Way perhaps does the same. Rather than seeking to communicate detailed policy suggestions, New Labour attempted to sell a brand. It is at least certain that there in the data are many examples of Tony Blair and others attributing rather imprecise predicates such as ‘taking control of the future’ or ‘being progressive’.[48] But is equally clear that such ‘empty talk’ has the most negative affect on how journalists comment on the Third Way. So the strategy has its limits. Thirdly, the impetus quite naturally stems from the fact that there now is a new government, a political change. This obvious reason is mentioned because it its effect no doubt was enlarged and sustained by attempts to market the Third Way as a more global political movement. The beyond any doubt most ‘headline generating’ events were different international seminars on the Third Way and the election of the new German government. These events gave the impression—and are indeed often described as such—that the Third Way was an international phenomenon, a global force even. Fourth, the media no doubt create their own impetus. What is written in the newspapers is important because it is written in the newspaper. What is written in the newspapers is therefore so important that journalists have legitimate reasons for writing more on it in newspapers. That does however not have to be a wholly self-referential process. I mentioned earlier several references, in newspaper articles, to articles on the Third Way and Progressive Governance in the New Statesman. There is little doubt that such journals are early stages in the biographies of public ideas. That is, that columnists and political correspondents pick up themes from these journals and then subsequently distribute them more widely through the newspapers. But that also at least in part implies a more slow dissipation of ideas and themes and therefore in itself does not explain the sudden impact which the Third Way had on British news discourse.

[1] A general rule of thumb is that samples for qualitative analysis should be between 10 and 5%[Altheide, 1996 #221].

[2] The data spans the period 1993 to 2002. A sample consisting only of *Guardian* and *Observer* articles shows that between 1984 and 1993 the term 'Third Way' is used 14 times.

[3] 'Education and innovation keys to recovery.' *Scotland on Sunday*, September 24, 1995, Business section p. 4.

[4] Co-op "Third Way" scheme aims to revolutionize care for the elderly.' *The Guardian*, May 29, 1995. Home section p. 6.

[5] 'Trust me, says Blair as he raises the stakes.' *The Observer*, January 14, 1996. Review section p. 3.

[6] 'Blair admits single currency 'difficulty'' *Financial Times*, November 16, 1996, Saturday, News section p.6.

[7] 'Blair comes back to work - and to earth.' *The Times*, August 28, 1997. Features section.

[8] E.g. 'Has the State Lost its Power?' The Times, December 29, 1997. Features section.

[9] 'A Blair for all seasons.' *The Scotsman*. June 24, 1997. First section p. 17.

'Tony Blur's biggest test.' *The Scotsman*, September 29, 1997. First section p. 19.

[10] 'We still don't know what Blairism means.' *The Independent*. June 14, 1997. First section p. 19 (leader).

'WHEEN'S WORLD; What exactly is this Third Way?' *The Guardian*, June 18, 1997. G2 p. 5.

[11] Quoted in 'WHEEN'S WORLD; What exactly is this Third Way?' *The Guardian*, June 18, 1997. G2 p. 5.

[12] In the sample, there are two articles that refer to the Israeli party.

[13] 'German leader honours Blair' *The Independent*, November 2 1998. First section p. 12.

[14] 'SPD 'traitor' turns troubleshooting reformer for Schroder'. *The Guardian*, December 1, 1998, First section p. 16 .

[15] We can only achieve our aims by co-operating with Labour.' *The Independent*, November 17, 1998. Features section p. 4.

[16] E.g. 'Blair in harmony; A new politics of values' *The Guardian*, September 30, 1998. First section p. 21 which discusses a speech given by Tony Blair.

[17] As an example, while the Guardian article above nearly exclusively discusses the Third Way, an articles from the evening Standard gives a background account of the inner circle of number 10 and in that context then also describes the main architects of the Third Way ('These are the people now running the rattling train.' *The Evening Standard*. December 24 1998. First section p. 4).

[18] That is, articles that focus less on the reporting of specific events but instead look at the causes and consequences, underlying implications, and who of course in the present cases discuss and evaluate. See [Dijk, 1988 #424:103].

[19] 'Labour Conference: Crash, bang, wallop finish; The Sketch.' *The Independent*, October 3, 1998. First section p. 8.

[20] 'Third way ahead: Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, Romano Prodi and others are looking for ways to add intellectual nourishment to centre left politics.' *Financial Times*, September 21, 1998. Comments and Analyses p. 22.

'Sinn Fein can halt the carnage now.' *The Times*, August 18, 1998. Features section (no page number listed).

[21] ' The Ghost of Fascism Stalks the European Landscape.' *The Independent*, October 26, 1999. Comment section p. 3.

[22] 'Meritocracy to replace 'old establishment.' *The Guardian*, January 15, 1999. First section p. 3.

[23] E.g. ‘Blair puts jobs at top of Europe's agenda.’ *The Times*, February 3, 1999. Features section (no page number listed).

[24] ‘Time for new Labour to risk loosening the reins of control.’ *The Times*, September 13, 1999. Features section (no page number listed).

[25] ‘Wrestling with the past: Hopes are rising that Vladimir Putin can combine strong leadership of Russia with liberal economic reform, but the country's recent history is not on his side, says John Thornhill.’ *The Financial Times*, January 5, Comment and analysis p. 20.

[26] ‘MAN WHO SOLD HIS POLITICS LIKE COCA-COLA.’ *The Independent*, July 4, 2000. First section p. 3.

[27] ‘His own man.’ *The Times*, August 5, 2000. Features section (no page no. listed).

[28] ‘What a difference a mayor makes to a city.’ *Financial Times*, May 2, 2000. Comment and Analysis p. 19.

[29] ‘TONY DOESN'T NEED TO KEEP ALL OF US HAPPY ALL OF THE TIME.’ *The Independent*, March 5, 2000. Comments section p. 28.

[30] ‘ THE PM MAY BE TONGUE-TIED, BUT HE'S ON THE RIGHT TRACK.’ *The Independent*, June 9, 2000. Comments, p. 3.

[31] It is not known if the columnist, David Aaronovitch, also is the author of the leader (endnote 10).

[32] ‘Blair versus Blair.’ *The Financial Times*. December 27, 2001. Comment and analysis p. 10

[33] “'We can be proud. But we must finish the job.'” *The Observer*, May 13, 2001. First Section p. 13.

[34] ‘EVEN AT HIS MOST REVEALING, MR BLAIR REMAINS AN ENIGMA’ *The Independent*, March 20, 2001. Comments, p. 3.

[35] ‘ THE RUMOURS ARE SWIRLING, THE WAR DRUMS BEATING - REBELLION IS IN THE AIR.’ *The Independent*, March 18, 2002. Comments, p. 4.

[36] .E.g. “Let us mourn the death of the old 'isms.'” *The Times*, March 20, 2000. Features section (no page no listed) and ‘New Labour's brashness hides its lack of self-belief; It is time to recognise that governing is very different from winning an election. ’ *The Independent*, July 9, 1998. Comments p. 4

[37] E.g. ‘The new establishment.’ *The Economist*, September 4, 1999. No page no listed.

[38] ‘ALL PARTIES ARE THATCHERITE NOW, SAYS MANDELSON.’ *The Independent*, June 10, 2002. First section p. 2.

[39] ‘Blair in harmony.’ *The Guardian*. September 30, 1998. Features. First section p. 21.

[40] ‘Why monopoly is more than a game of politics.’ *Evening Standard*, February 9, 1998. First section p. 16

[41] ‘Workers need incentives, too.’ *The Independent*, October 11, 1998. Business p. 25

[42] ‘Third way ahead.’ *The Financial Times*, September 21, 1998. Comment and Analysis p. 22.

[43] ‘ A BOLD PROGRAMME, ONLY MARRED BY THE EXCESSES OF THE CONTROL FREAKS.’ *The Independent*, November 18, 1999.

[44] ‘New Labour's brashness hides its lack of self-belief.’ *The Independent*, July 9, 1998. Comment p. 4

[45] ‘War in Europe: When 'progressives' go to war, it has dangers. One is optimism.’ *The Guardian*, April 13, 1999. First section p. 16

[46]‘ His own man.’ *The Times*, August 5, 2000. Features section (no page no listed).

[47] 'Time for new Labour to risk loosening the reins of control.' *The Times*, September 13, 1999. Features section (no page number listed).

[48] 'TONY BLAIR'S CONFERENCE SPEECH.. THAT MESSIANIC POSTURE.' *The Independent*, October 2, 1999. Features p. 6.

Classifying Think Tanks, a Brief Literature Review

Janet Vaux

The literature on think tanks is small and somewhat incestuous. Several of the most influential works discuss think tanks within a specific policy area, such as international relations (Abelson, 1995; Wallace, 1994); others are specifically, or in practice, interested in policy making in Washington (Ricci, 1993; Weaver 1989). There is also a growing literature on the British scene (Cockett, 1994; Denham and Garnett, 1998), and on think tanks around the globe (Stone, 1998; Stone, Denham and Garnett, 1998; McGann and Weaver, 2000). Issues of common discussion include attempts to describe and categorise think tanks, through typologies and through lists of functions or roles. Finally, different approaches to histories of think tanks also yield different ways of categorising them. My main aim here has been to set out some of the main trends in argument, rather than comment on them.

Weaver's three types

Kent Weaver, a Brookings Fellow, publishing in 1989, observed that there was a new type of think tank in Washington. After many years when there had been basically two types of think tanks – academic or 'universities without students', and contract research organisations – the new type, which he called 'advocacy tanks', were smaller, less scholarly, and tended to have a strong ideological or interest bias. (I don't think he invented the term 'advocacy tanks', he introduces it as if the term is in use in the think tank community.) Others have challenged and refined Weaver's three-fold model, but it is a frequent starting point and worth describing in some detail.

1) Universities without students

Heavy reliance on academics as researchers; funding primarily from the private sector; books the primary research product. Distinguished from universites because focus on policy issues rather than disciplinary questions. Distinguished from policy makers because tend to be interested in 'ten years down the road'. Examples: Brookings, American Enterprise Institute, Hoover Institution; plus some smaller specialised institutions, tending to rely on academic researchers, such as Institute for International Economics, Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

2) Contract research organisations

Tend to write reports for specific government agencies, and tend to have close ties to particular agencies. For example, Rand Corporation working for Department of Defense. Tend to employ PhDs. Possible issues of conflict between agency links and aspirations to objectivity.

3) Advocacy tanks

Combine a strong policy, partisan or ideological bent with aggressive salesmanship and an effort to influence current policy debates. 'Spin' existing research, rather than carry out their own. Produce policy issue papers. 'The Heritage Foundation, for example, aims to make its policy issue papers brief enough to read in a limousine ride from National Airport to Capitol Hill'[1]

[1] Cf comments by Demos people – eg interview with Matthew Horne. Weaver attributes this observation to Jim Bencivenga, 'Young, Brash and Conservative', *Christian Science Monitor*, 5 October, 1984.

Examples include Heritage, the AARP (American Association of Retired Persons) Public Policy Institute, and the Economic Policy Institute which is funded by labour unions. (McGann and Weaver, 2000, add the UK's Centre for Policy Study as the main example of an advocacy tank.)

McGann and Weaver (2000) extend the typology to include, as a fourth category, 'party think tanks', a fairly self-explanatory category, staffed by party members and addressing party issues; their main example is the German think tank Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. McGann (1995) used Weaver's three categories plus three more, 'publishing house', 'policy enterprise', and 'state-based think-tank' (which weren't adopted in the later joint publication).

Denham and Garnett (1998), in *British think-tanks and the climate of opinion*, consider the applicability of Weaver's categories to the British scene. They suggest that there are really no British equivalents of the universities without students, but that the 'contract research' model fits several British tanks, including PSI and NIESR, and that British examples of 'advocacy tanks' include the Centre for Policy Studies and Adam Smith Institute. But they warn against taking the classifications too literally, and that in particular the Institute of Economic Affair is very difficult to locate in this typology.

Stone (1996) departs more substantially from Weaver. She divides think tanks into 'old guard' and 'new partisans', the latter being post-1970s and including the Heritage Foundation, CPS and IPPR. She further subdivides the new partisans into:

1) 'ideological tanks' (inc New Right)
2) 'specialist tanks' (esp in US)
3) 'state tanks' (esp in US)
4) 'think and do tanks'. The example she gives of this latter category is the Centre for Democracy's 'Gift of Democracy' programme, which included gifts of PCs and other equipment to the Polish legislature.

Lists of think-tank functions and roles

Several authors have provided lists of what they take to be the main functions or roles of think tanks (usually given with caveats that different points apply to different think tanks). For example, Wallace (1994) suggested seven functions of think tanks (pp 142-3):

1) Intellectual analysis of policy issues; using approaches drawn from history, social sciences, law, or even mathematics, applied to issues relevant to govt;
2) Concern with the ideas and concepts which underlie policy; examining and questioning the conventional wisdom which shapes day-to-day policy making;
3) Collection and classification of information relevant to policy – ranging from detailed research to the provision of press reports and documents on which others can draw;
4) A longer term perspective than that which is open to policy makers, looking at trends rather than immediate events;
5) A degree of detachment both from govt and from the immediate partisan political debate;

6) A degree of involvement with govt – whether seeking to influence it indirectly through publications and through its impact on the policy debate or to engage in discussions with ministers or officials directly;
7) A commitment to inform a wider audience: through publication, through meetings and discussions which involve a wider and more diverse group than govt or the academic community alone.

Denham and Garnett suggest that only the third (collection and classification of information relevant to government) and sixth (a degree of involvement with govt) apply to newest British think tanks (ie post New Right). In relation to older British think tanks, they suggest that there are two main common functions – to influence climate of opinion, and to inform public policy decisions (however, Denham and Garnett are also in dispute with some commentators on the new right in relation to just how influential these think tanks were, especially the IEA).[2]

Weaver (1989), in the paper already mentioned, gave a four-fold list of think-tank roles as: source of policy ideas; source and evaluator of policy proposals; evaluator of govt programmes; source of personnel. This was extended by Weaver and McGann (2000):

1) basic research on policy problems
2) advice on immediate policy concerns
3) evaluation of govt programmes
4) facilitators of issue networks and exchange of ideas
5) suppliers of personnel to govt and bolt hole for out-of-office politicians
6) interpreting policies and current events to media

[Number 4 seems particularly appropriate to Demos.]

Ricci (1993) identifies think tank roles under three main categories:
Knowledge roles: to work credibly; to popularise reliable knowledge of social affairs (research brokering).
Mobilisation roles: To influence climate of opinion, in the long run through journal articles etc, in the short turn through media appearances etc.
Policy process roles: through issue networks, through talking directly to govt, and (when gain office) through implementing own advice.

Historical descriptions

Different historical emphases in the different texts reflect the range of institutions studied.

Wallace (1994) for example, traces the development of foreign policy think tanks, and of the academic discipline of international relations, from the period following the First World War when an academic/policy elite was called on to advise and inform government (led by Britain, where British Institute of International Affairs was founded in 1920). Following the Second World War and the onset of the Cold War, political and ideological differences emerged. In the US, especially, the govt demanded a commitment to anti-communism, and imposed tests and secrecy on its chosen advisers. Post-war growth of academic analysis of military strategy and policy analysis fed back from US to

[2] In particular, they suggest that Cockett 1994, has overstated the influence of the New Right think tanks, especially the IEA. Michael Oliver (in Kandiah and Seldon, 1998) attempts to restate Cockett's case.

Europe (eg Institute of Strategic Studies, set up in London in 1958). Further weakening of post-war consensus, 1960s and 1970s, led parties and factions to set up own political 'clubs'. Distinguishes between '*forum think tanks*' (to inform debate without adopting a particular perspective, eg Chatham House and other first wave institutions) and '*committed think tanks*' esp from beginning of cold war, including peace research institutes (Institute of Policy Studies in Washington, founded 1963) and conservative, anti-communist institutes (eg Hoover Institution, from 1959; CSIS founded 1962).

Denham and Garnett (1998) conclude their study with a brief history of British think tanks, distinguishing three 'waves':

> *The first wave* beginning in the 1930s (they start here, rather than with the Fabians, arguing that a pattern can be discerned from the 30s), in response to global economic crisis. The differences between economists (eg in the Economic Advisory Council set up by Ramsey MacDonald in 1931), esp re the value of Keynes, suggested something independent of govt was needed. NIESR finally emerged in 1938 in response to this. PEP (Political and Economic Planning), set up in 1931, was similarly distracted by disagreements about what a 'national plan' might involve.
>
> *The second wave* involved an attack on the post-war consensus, represented by alleged tendencies towards collectivism and control on the part of govt, as well as NIESR and PEP. The Institute of Economic Affairs (founded 1955) is an early precursor of the second wave; but the second wave proper begins in response to the oil shock of 1973-4, usually identified as the point where consensus ended (as IEA had expected it would). The Centre for Policy Studies was founded in 1975 and the Adam Smith Institute in 1977.
>
> *The third wave* began in the late 1980s and was 'clearly influenced by the success of the second [wave]'. IPPR (1988) was founded to give the Labour Party its own CPS; the Social Market Foundation (1989) to do the same for the Social Democrats. (Politea (1996) and European Policy Forum (1992) arose because of splits or gaps in the second wave.) IPPR adopted a 'soft left' identity, following Kinnock, which was superseded by the advent of Blair. 'Demos had obvious links to Labour through Geoff Mulgan, but whereas the other new think tanks seemed to be in search of a clear line Demos rejoiced in its lack of one; it posed as a forward-looking think tank in a post-modern, post-ideological world [p 195]'. They argue that the third wave tanks are inherently unstable because of their lack of ideological glue.

They also comment that the differences between first wave and third wave think tanks make a common definition almost impossible. PEP (now PSI) and NIESR still behave like first wave think tanks; the new institutions behave like political parties, instead of informing them, they 'court the media with policy ideas which focus on problems of current, short-term vogue'. At the same time, pressure groups like Greenpeace put a lot of effort into research (though third wave institutions not yet into direct action).

Some other issues

'American exceptionalism'. At least until the early 1990s, there was an argument that think tanks were peculiarly appropriate to the US, and would not easily prosper

elsewhere. For example, Wallace (1994) contrasts British lack of resources and political openness to US open liberalism. Denham and Garnett suggest that the small, closed world of British politics may actually make it easier for think tanks to have an influence, in contrast to the highly competitive and 'permeable' US scene.

Relation to civil society. McGann and Weaver (2000) counter an argument that think tanks fall into the 'gray areas of civil society', organised to assist govts. They argue that think tanks are an integral part of civil society, and may be seen to be

1) playing a mediating role between govt and public
2) identifying, articulating and evaluating current or emerging issues, problems or proposals
3) transforming ideas and problems into policy issues
4) serving as an informed and independent voice in policy debates
5) providing a constructive forum for the exchange of ideas and information between key stakeholders in the policy formulation process

Stone (1998) responds[3] that this involves a very North American perspective and that in Asia, for example, think tanks tend to be 'regime enhancing'.

Where think tanking fits. Ricci (1993) argues that to understand where think-tanking fits, we must shift attention from the production to the reception of ideas, and view Washington as a contest over the public agenda.[4] Also refers to 'policy entrepreneurs' as engaged in 'joining together' all the elements of the policy process (p 197):

> [H]ere a problem, there a public opinion poll, here a programme proposal, there a series of press briefings, here an election trend, there a new item of technology. The objective is to combine all of these into a package of considerations that will justify a new governmental approach to some set of social, economic or security conditions.

Think tanks, he suggests, are one site of operation of policy entrepreneurs.

Wallace, 1994, points to political culture and a 'demand for ideas' as important (p 159):

> As we have seen in reviewing different national patterns of policy influence, the freedom with which advice is given has much less to do with financial dependence or independence, and much more to do with the presence or absence of competing demands for ideas and with the prevailing political culture.

Speaking Truth to Power. (Smith 1991, quoted Wallace, 1994 in a discussion of the 'dilemmas of influence and independence' – and cited elsewhere also):
Truth speaks to power in many different tones of voice. The philosopher and cloistered intellectual, free of the ambition to serve a leader directly, can speak with an authority that does not need to bend the truth to justify pressing political ends. … The policy adviser and expert, however, if they aspire to be of use, must speak to power in a political

[3] She responds to an earlier version of the book, published in 1999; though her report was allegedly submitted in 1998 - I suppose this a phenomenon of research-council-grant time.
[4] He references Kingdon (1984) for a theory of agendas

and bureaucratic context; and they must always speak a useful truth. Their claim to speak the truth must always be viewed in the light of their relationship with power.

Think Tanks literature

[**NB** This is a consolidated list from various sources (I haven't seen them all).]

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BRAND IN LSE'S PUBLIC LITERATURE

Janet Vaux

Like most universities, LSE has its logo: the letters LSE in an elongated san serif typeface, contained in a blocked square of either red or black. In addition, it has some more informal brand images, most notably pictures of the new library, which are used by the School and also the various component research centres of the Research Lab (which is located at the top of the new library building). However, LSE's projection of brand in its (non-academic) publications is not so much to do with images, in the tradition of corporate logos, but more to do with maintaining an identity or reputation. In the interviews, people talked about 'brand' in terms of recognition and endorsement of the institution by outsiders (such as journalists, civil servants). Brand in this sense is empty, but valuable. It is maintained in part through performing a certain sort of identity: not only as a 'top' school in research terms, but also as an institution that interacts with major international figures (public lectures by the likes of Bill Clinton and Kofi Annan) and contributes to the intellectual/political agenda.

One of the available tools for maintaining this identity are publications that are aimed at different audiences in various combinations, including: insiders (academics and students), alumni, potential students, and simply 'members of the public' (although the latter category is somewhat problematic). These publications include: a brochure *LSE events*, a tabloid news-sheet *LSE News & Views*, and a magazine called *LSE Magazine*. The first two publications are given away free, circulated around the university and available to anyone wandering around the university, for example in the lobby of the Old Building. *LSE Magazine* is a glossy magazine of more than 40 pages, which is primarily intended for alumni, to whom it is circulated free. Each publication does brand in a slightly different way, reflecting its different intended or implied audiences.

One of the key publications in supporting LSE's public events is a little, glossy, fold-out brochure called *LSE events*. It is published three times a year at the beginning of each term, in a print run of about 40,000, and carries notices of the Public Lecture series, a Musical Events series, and various other events put on, for example, by different research centres. It is circulated [internally and externally?] primarily through a mailing list. Besides reminding LSE insiders of major events, it also presents the LSE to a wider public, and invites that wider public in: a prominent strap on the front cover declares it as 'A diary of events open to the public', and alongside the diary of public lectures it reiterates that these events are open to the public:

> Everyone is welcome to attend LSE Public Lectures where you can hear some of the most influential figures in the social sciences. Most lectures are followed by a lively question and answer session where you can take part in the debate.

This addresses the public as an audience looking for intellectual stimulation, and as a possible participant in such events, while emphasising the importance of the speakers. The brochure also includes photographs of the various eminent speakers. Giddens own photograph is usually to be found in relation to some event. And famous speakers of the past, including Bill Clinton and Kofi Annan, are also pictured in a notice for the Global Dimensions series that was run in two of the three brochures published in 2002. However, there is a certain ambiguity in the use of these latter images, since these events

were not open to the public, but restricted to LSE staff and students only (requiring the production of an LSE ID card to enter). Such restricted events do not seem to be advertised in advance in *LSE Events*; so they don't actually have to be announced as exclusive, while images from past events can be used very effectively to maintain LSE's brand as a place where the world's power elite come to speak. These important intellectual and political figures are complemented by cultural events: Musical Events, Art at LSE, and events at the Peacock Theatre. In addition, the brochure usually carries a notice for the Student Recruitment Office and sometimes for LSE Executive Education – both ways of converting the public to paying consumers.

LSE News & Views is the School's main internal newsletter; it is a tabloid single news sheet, which comes out every week in term time and is laid out in a news style with clearly defined stories topped by headlines in large type. It carries news about the LSE, including prizes and honours won by the School and its staff (eg 'CEP wins Queen's Anniversary Prize') and notable happenings within the School, such as important appointments, which in general promote a sense of achievement. In a more parochial mode, it also carries notices about internal training and development courses, school societies, and so on, as well as a Small Ads section offering rooms to rent and transcribing services. Nonetheless it does not entirely exclude outside readers: its Diary of events, which includes departmental seminars as well as public lectures, includes the small note that: 'Events are open to all LSE staff/students and the public unless otherwise stated'.

LSE Magazine addresses alumni as its primary audience and is the most important of the three publications in terms of maintaining the School's identity across a range of activities and achievements. At the same time, the identity of the reader as alumnus/alumna is maintained through an alumni news section in the second half of the magazine, but also throughout the magazine by identifying LSE alumni wherever they appear. For example the biographical notes accompanying an article by Paul A Volker on global finance describes the author thus:

> Emeritus Professor of International Economic Policy at Princeton University. He attended LSE from 1951 to 1952.[1]

Features make up the largest section of the magazine. They include descriptions of research and research projects, interviews, and historical and other stories about LSE. In narrative tone, they include two very broad and overlapping strands: stories of 'the new', such as new research, new projects, new centres and new professors; and stories that could perhaps be summarised as 'LSE in the world', that is, features by a variety of international figures who have become associated with LSE, features about global issues from an LSE perspective, and occasionally features about other parts of the world. The first strand includes stories about new research centres and other initiatives – for example, John Hills writing about CASE[2], when it was launched in 1997 (vol 9.2); Richard Burdett writing about design issues for London in an article that coincided with the setting up of the Cities Programme and also covers the government's Urban Task

[1] Vol 11.1 Summer 1999, p 11
[2] The Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion.

Force, an influential body on which LSE academics were well represented (vol 10.2); a new cross-disciplinary Human Rights initiative (vol 11.1); Richard Layard talking about the Research Lab after it was launched in 2001 (vol 13.2); and two collaborative initiatives in internet learning (UNext.Com) and knowledge provision (Fathom) (vol 12.2). New professorial appointments are also sometimes marked by a feature. For example an extract from an essay by Ulrich Beck (vol 9.2), Bruno Latour describing the field of science studies (10.1), followed their respective appointments as Visiting Professors. When John Gray was appointed School Professor of European Thought he co-authored a feature on studying Europe (10.1). LSE's profile as an international player is in part underlined by high profile Visiting Professors, from France and Germany. In addition, however, a number of features focus on international figures at home and abroad: for example, the speeches given on the occasion of an honorary degree by Nelson Mandela (vol 12.1), and J K Galbraith (vol 11.2); George Soros was interviewed by Giddens (vol 10.1) and an interview with Kenneth Clarke on cabinet government was run over a couple of issues (11.2, 12.1). In addition to the new ventures and powerful figures, a smaller number of features relate to the history of LSE: for example, a feature on the Webbs (vol 12.2), on LSE's link with Italian anti-fascists in the 1930s (11.1) and Lakatos's time at LSE (vol 13.2).

The second half of the magazine addresses alumni more directly. It includes a news section about LSE, as well as a regular section called Alumni News. The latter has a 'Where are they now?' section (brief individual news notes) and obituaries (obituary notices and occasional larger obituaries), but also frequent news stories about alumni events and clubs, and overseas alumni groups. It offers the idea that alumni need never cut their ties with the School. The London Activities Committee, for example, offers a range of general interest activities (visiting the Royal Academy) as well entry to some LSE events not open to the public (eg the debate on the role of an elected mayor in London, in March 1997). Two LSE Clubs – the LSE Environmental Initiatives Network (LSEEIN), and LSE Media Group – both provide continued links within specific interest areas. Both also bring alumni together students and others sharing the same interest. LSE Media Group, for example, 'was set up to bring together LSE alumni, students, and the wider media community' (vol 9.2). LSEEIN reported in 1997 (vol 9.2) that it was encouraging participation from 'non-alumni … particularly students'.

The invitation to alumni to continue participating in the life of the School is endorsed by the significance of LSE, produced throughout the magazine by the reiteration of its links to the famous and powerful, and its contribution to leading edge social science research. This also provides the context for several stories about fundraising efforts, the need for funds, and what funds are being spent one.

Abelson 2002 [t/c - Oct]. "By focusing on the policy cycle, issue articulation (that is, getting issues on the political agenda) and policy formation and implementation (actually affecting the outcome of policies already on the political agenda), he argues that think tanks have sometimes played an important role in shaping the political dialogue and the policy preferences and choices of decision-makers, but often in different ways and at different stages of the policy cycle." [description in Amazon synopsis]

Abelson 1995 Re the growing involvement of think tanks in the policy making process, and their efforts to shape major foreign policy debates.
Ch 2 Development of think tanks in US from non-partisan research organisations to avowedly ideological organisations
Ch 3 Channels of influence
Ch 4 Think tanks and the use of media
Ch 5 Case study of Central America
Ch 6 Theories of how foreign policy is mad
Ch 7 Importance of understanding role of think tanks in US foreign-policy making.

Denham and Garnett 1998. [Think tanks as ideological entrepreneurs - Gamble in Foreword]. That Cockett (1994) about specific (New Right) think tanks rather than generalising. Taking Weaver's three-fold category: 1) not really any British equivalent of the 'universities with out students'; 2) 'contract research' model fits several British tanks, including PSI and NIESR; 3) 'advocacy tanks' are identified by Weaver as a distinctive new think-tank model, British egs include Centre for Policy Studies and Adam Smith Institute. Advocacy tanks may be difficult to distinguish from pressure groups, but one difference is that they tend to operate across a broad range of policy issues. NB p 12, Weaver on Heritage Foundation and short papers.

They suggest that, of Wallace's seven functions of think tanks, only the third (collection and classification of information relevant to government) and sixth (a degree of involvement with govt) apply to newest British think tanks (ie post New Right). (And (p175), cheap operations compared to US – British phenomenon of one or two creative minds and a typewriter) Wallace's functions don't apply to all; but two main common functions – to influence climate of opinion, and to inform public policy decisions (NB partic claims made by and for New Right tanks in Br); and NB Ricci's (1993) claim that 'since ideas are the coin of their realm' there is no way to assess the impact of think tanks.

US vs UK – argument tt US better ground for think tanks, because richer, more open govt; but D&G tt could argue tt v permeability of US govt makes influence a more competitive game, and tt the 'extreme centralisation' of Br govt, within two/three sq miles, makes influence easier. (p19)

p109 IEA's influence not unqualified success.

Kandiah and Seldon, 1996, 1998. Two volumes of essays and interviews; inc transcripts of some R4 Analysis programmes. [Vol 1 orig??; Vol 2 orig special edition of *Contemporary British History*, Vol 10.2, 1996].

An essay by Tim Bale on 'Demos: Populism, Eclecticism and Equididstance in the Post-Modern World' (Vol 2, pp 22-34), is largely based on an interview with Mulgan, and seems heavily influenced by Mulgan. Claims that Demos has deliberately distanced itself from the Labour Party, although that is difficult in practice. On possible influences on Labour Party – that Etzioni-style language of rights combined with responsibilities, has been evident in Labour Party pronouncements. (Cf essays on other thinks in Vol 2: John Callaghan on Fabian Society, Michael Harris on CPS, Peter Ruben in IPPR.)

Andrew Gamble (Vol 2, pp 1-21), 'Ideas and Interests in British Economic Policy', gives an overview of role of concepts 'ideas' and interests' in analyses of British economic policy. Suggests three rival theories: 1) policy is shaped by general doctrines of the age (eg Dicey); 2) policy is shaped by interests (eg Marx), leading either to scleroticism (eg Olson) or, according to Public Choice theory, according to public interest; 3) but both of the above are reductionist – need historical studies showing complexity of actual decisions. Cf Greenleaf, theory of cycles …[???]

There's also evidence of a little local dispute re significance of New Right think tanks. Michael Oliver (Vol 2, pp 80-86) accuses Denham and Garnett (Vol 1, pp 43-61) falsely charging Cockett (1994) of overstating the influence of the New Right on policy. Denham and Garnett's 1998 book makes the case in more against the IEA in particular (NB that the Seldon of Kandiah and Seldon is Anthony Seldon, a former Director of IEA).

McGann and Weaver (eds), 2000. Collection of papers on think tanks around the work (no paper specifically on Britain, but included in "Think tanks in Western Europe" by Alan J Day). The point is to 'understand the explosion of think tanks around the world'.

Address issue of relation of think tanks to civil society. That some argue that think tanks fall into the gray areas of civil society, because organised to, at least indirectly, assist govt. But McG and W argue 'that think tanks are an integral part of the civil society'. That they are

1) playing a mediating role between govt and public
2) identifying, articulating and evaluating current or emerging issues, problems or proposals
3) transforming ideas and problems into policy issues
4) serving as an informed and independent voice in policy debates

5) providing a constructive forum for the exchange of ideas and information between key stakeholders in the policy formulation process

So, definition of think tanks as 'Policy research organisations that have significant autonomy from govt and from societal interests', but that 'autonomy is relative.

Suggested roles of think tanks (though not all do the same thing):

1) basic research on policy problems
2) advice on immediate policy concerns
3) evaluation of govt programmes
4) facilitators of issue networks and exchange of ideas
5) suppliers of personnel to govt and bolt hole for out-of-office politicians
6) interpreting policies and current events to media

Four basic types (addition to Weaver 1989):
Academic
Contract research
Advocacy tanks
Party think tanks

Ricci, 1993 Identifies think tank roles under three main categories (pp 162 ff):
Knowledge roles: to work credibly; to populrise relaiable knowledge of social affairs (research brokering).
Mobilisation roles: To influence climate of opinion, in the long run through journal articles etc, in the short turn through media appearances etc.
Policy process roles: through issue networks, through talking directly to govt, and (when gain office) through implementing own advice.

Prevalence of ideas, but effects incalculable.

On the politics of ideas (Ch 8). Pp 162 ff, argues that to understand where think-tanking fits, we must a) have a new perspective, shift attention from the production to the reception of ideas, and b) employ special terms of analysis. (The latter turns out to be based on theories of agendas, especially influenced by Kingdon, 1984.) Point is to see Washington as a contest over the public agenda.

P193:

> Anyone who can raise enough money and hire the right sort of experts can establish a think-tank and start churning out books, newsletters, briefings, conferences, and the like. The really acute questions are who will pay attention to these sorts of things, if at all, and why.

Also introduces idea of ‘policy entrepreneurs’ joining together all the elements in the policy process (p 197):

> [H]ere a problem, there a public opinion poll, here a programme proposal, there a series of press briefings, here an election trend, there a new item of technology. The objective is to combine all of these into a package of considerations that will justify a new governmental approach to some set of social, economic or security conditions.

Think tanks, he suggests, are one site of operation of policy entrepreneurs.

He also (p 34) makes use of Gouldner's concept of a 'new class', secular, rational and educated, controlling business and politics. In his concluding chapter, he contrasts Baconian concept of 'Saloman's House', the utopia of knowledgeable people, with the idea of Washington as a marketplace for ideas. Suggests Washington is a bit of both – but all ideas will equal attention, need money to hire competent researchers and pay for advertising. So think tanks are not well balanced to represent public interest at large.

Stone (1996). Divides think tanks into 'old guard' and 'new partisans', the latter being post-1970s and including the Heritage Foundation, CPS and IPPR. She further subdivides the new partisans into:

1) 'ideological tanks' (inc New Right)
2) 'specialist tanks' (esp in US)
3) 'state tanks' (esp in US)
4) 'think and do tanks'. The example she gives of this latter category is the Centre for Democracy's 'Gift of Democracy' programme, which included gifts of PCs and other equipment to the Polish legislature.

Suggests that IPPR is 'different from tradtional 'socialist' organisations. It is not commited to particular forms of public provision [etc]' (p 24). A single reference to Demos, as not choosing to appoint permanent staff (p 38).

Makes use of concept of 'epistemic communities'.

Stone (1998) uses a policy network approach (especially the idea of 'epistemic community) to assess the influence of think tanks on policy. The study covers think tanks in the US, UK, Australia and Asia-Pacific, with particular emphasis on the latter. She remarks on the diversity of think tanks – that some aspire to being 'non-ideological' and 'scientific'; some are academic in style and geared to developing society's knowledge base; and some engaged in advocacy and the marketing of ideas. She also suggests a growth in specialised think tanks, eg in areas such as environment or women. Her analysis is given under six headings: (i) knowledge development; (ii) civil society enhancement; (iii) responses to globalisation; (iv) governance; and (v) their influence, primarily in regard to (vi) networking.

i) Think tanks such as Brookings Institute and Chatham House carry out policy-driven academic research "As such, they occupy a political and cultural space between academia and government but attempt to provide a forum which links the academic world with decision-making domains."

ii) In N America think tanks assumed to share democratic convictions - "Thus, think tanks are said to contribute to plurality of society and to act as catalysts for civil society (McGann & Weaver, 1999)" But in Asia, tend to be 'regime enhancing'.
iii) "The transnationalisation of think tanks is creating new hierarchies, the emergence of global think tank establishment (epitomised by Global ThinkNet, an annual directors meeting of the world's leading think tanks) and unequal power differentials."
iv) in areas of governance, think tanks may be used in various service roles; also may act to consolidate orthodoxies (eg neo-liberalism)
v) variety of influences, but their power tends to be limited and dependent; may be useful in periods of critical transition – eg Heritage Foundation advising incoming Reagan administration; Russian 'instituteniki' significant in changing policy orthodoxies of 'glasnost' etc; may also fill a gap (RAND's influence on US nuclear policy in 1950s and 60s).

Wallace 1994. Wallace's study 'Between two worlds. Think-tanks and foreign policy', is solely about the field of foreign policy; but he tends to get quoted by authors writing about think tanks more generally. He looks at the origins of the discipline of 'international relations' and growth of institutions from the situation post First World War, when an academic/policy elite was called on by govt. (The British Institute of International Affairs was found in 1920; LSE appointed its first Prof of International Relations in 1924.)

He identifies seven functions of think tanks (pp 142-3):

1) Intellectual analysis of policy issues; using approaches drawn from history, social sciences, law, or even mathematics, applied to issues relevant to govt;
2) Concern with the ideas and concepts which underlie policy; examining and questioning the conventional wisdom which shapes day-to-day policy making;
3) Collection and classification of information relevant to policy – ranging from detailed research to the provision of press reports and documents on which others can draw;
4) A longer term perspective than that which is open to policy makers, looking at trends rather than immediate events;
5) A degree of detachment both from govt and from the immediate partisan political debate;
6) A degree of involvement with govt – whether seeking to influence it indirectly through publications and through its impact on the policy debate or to engage in discussions with ministers or officials directly;
7) A commitment to inform a wider audience: through publication, through meetings and discussions which involve a wider and more diverse group than govt or the academic community alone.

In addition, he suggests a distinction between 'forum think tanks' and 'committed think tanks'.

Contrasts British lack of resources and openness to US open liberalism (the latter as more friendly to think tanks) (pp 150-1).

(pp 157 ff) Think tanks as ‘speaking truth to power’? [cf quote from Smith, 1991]. Advisers, bridging the gap between academics and policy makers (if latter admit there is a gap).
P 159:

> As we have seen in reviewing different national patterns of policy influence, the freedom with which advice is given has much less to do with financial dependence or independence, and much more to do with the presence or absence of competing demands for ideas and with the prevailing political culture.

NB 1977 CPRS’s ‘Review of Overseas Representation’, from within govt, but most controversial of foreign policy documents; the team decided they had been ‘too intellectually honest’ (Blackstone and Plowden, 1988). And financial and political independence does not neccy protect think tanks from pressure to conform – cf right wing attacks on Chatham House in 1980s.

Weaver 1989 [of Brookings Institute] Think tanks as ‘policy entrepreneurs’. A three-fold categorisation: 1) Universities without students, 2) contract research organisations, 3) advocacy tanks.

1. Publications:

Published:
McLennan (2004): 'Travelling with Vehicular Ideas: The Case of the Third Way', *Economy & Society*, 33 (4), 484-99.
McLennan and Osborne (2003): 'Contemporary "Vehicularity" and "Romanticism": Debating the Status of Ideas and Intellectuals', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 6(4), 51-66.
McLennan and Squires (2004): 'Intellectuals and Tendencies', *Soundings: A Journal of Culture and Politics*, 27, 86-94.
Osborne (2003): 'Against Creativity: A philistine rant', *Economy & Society* 32(4) 507-525.
Osborne (2004): 'On Mediators: intellectuals and the ideas trade in the knowledge society', *Economy & Society* 33(4).
Thrift: 'Movement-Space: The Development of New Kinds of Spatial Ideas', *Economy & Society* 33(4)

Accepted and in press/forthcoming:
Thrift (2004) *Knowing Capitalism*. London: Sage. 356pp.

Under review:
Arnoldi: 'Informational Ideas', *Sociological Review*.
McLennan: 'Sociologists in/on "Knowledge Society"', *Sociology*.
McLennan and Vaux: 'The Condition of Publicity: how LSE engages with the wider world' (with Janet Vaux), *British Journal of Sociology*

To be submitted:
Squires: 'Ideas in Political Analysis', *Politics*.
Squires: 'Innovation Networks: Representation, Deliberation and Ideas', *Political Studies*.
Vaux, McLennan and Squires: 'Think Tanks, Ideas and their Publics: an analysis of the Demos phenomenon', *Political Quarterly*.

4. Journal Special Issue
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Contents

Steve Fuller (Warwick) 'Intellectuals: an endangered species in the 21st century?'

Thomas Osborne (Bristol) 'On Mediators: Intellectuals and the Ideas Trade in the Knowledge Society'

Marilyn Strathern (Cambridge) 'Social Property: an interdisciplinary experiment'

Steve Woolgar (Oxford) 'Marketing Ideas'

Alan Finlayson (Swansea) 'The Idea of Modernisation: Rhetorical Invention and Metaphor in New Labour Discourse'

Gregor McLennan (Bristol) 'The Third Way as a Vehicular Idea: the end in sight?'
Colin Hay (Birmingham) 'Spectacular to Vernacular? The Normalising Role of Rationalist Assumptions in the Genealogy of Neoliberalism'
Grahame Thompson (Open) 'Some Ideas About ICTs, Networks and Knowledge'
Nigel Thrift (Oxford) 'Movement-Space: The Development of New Kinds of Spatial Ideas'
Keith Tribe (Keele) (Review Article) 'Educational Economies'.

2. <u>Papers and talks:</u>

<u>McLennan:</u>
'Ideas and Intellectuals: What's Next?' University of Bristol Social Sciences Faculty Research Strategy Workshop Series, Feb. 2002.
'Societal ideas and institutional branding', LSE March 2003
'Think Tanks and Intellectual life', Ideas, Intellectuals and the Public conference, London, June 2003.
'Connections, Mediations, Intellectuals', plenary address, *Connections* postgraduate conference, University of Bristol, Nov. 2003
'Sociologists in/on 'Knowledge Society', Sociological Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand conference plenary session, Auckland, Dec 2003
'Ideas and Intellectuals in the Knowledge Society', Sociological Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand conference, Auckland, December 2003.
'Intellectuals, Researchers and Grants', Cultural Studies Association of Australia conference, Christchurch, New Zealand, Dec 2003
'Whither the 'Third Way' as an Idea', Sociological Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand conference plenary session, Auckland, December 2003
'"Knowledge Society": Critical Assessments and Reflexive Dilemmas', British Sociological Association conference, York, March 2004.
'Sociologists, Ideas and their Audiences', British Sociological Association conference plenary session, York, March 2004.

<u>Osborne:</u>
'Intellectual Innovation in a Knowledge Society', Social Science Faculty Research conference, University of Bristol, May 2003
' Intellectuals as Mediators: reflections on the ideas trade in the knowledge society', University of Warwick Sociology Department Feb 2003; University of Bristol Ideas conference, Nov 2003; Said Business School, University of Oxford, Feb 2004; University of York Sociology Department March 2004; Birkbeck College March 2004; University of Cambridge Department of Anthropology, May 2004.

<u>Squires:</u>
'Ancient and Modern Democracy: Deliberative Democracy and the Knowledge Economy', British Academy Lecture, Bristol October 2002
'Representation and the Knowledge Economy', European Consortium of Political Research, Edinburgh, April 2003

<u>Thrift:</u>
'Selling Knowledge', LSE March 2003
'Making an Ideas Factory', Bristol 'Dynamic of Ideas' conference, Nov 2003

Arnoldi:
‘Demos’ Writings’, Demos, London, Sept 2002
‘Informational Ideas’, Danish Sociological Association conference, Aalborg, Denmark, Feb 2003

Vaux:
Attendance/contribution to ‘Changing Societies, Changing Knowledge’ conference, University of Cambridge, Jan 2003
‘The model of a (post)modern university? LSE academics in the public sphere’, Higher Education Studies Group, London, Oct 2003.