

compass

# thinkPIECE

**The Challenge for Progressives:**  
*Change the Discourse*



September 2012

Thinkpiece No. 73  
[www.compassonline.org.uk](http://www.compassonline.org.uk)

**thinkPIECE**

**compass**

# ***The Challenge for Progressives: Change the Discourse***

by Timothy Davies

Compass Thinkpieces are intended to create real debate and discussion around the key issues facing the democratic left - however the views expressed in these publications are not a statement of Compass policy.



# The Challenge for Progressives: Change the Discourse

by Timothy Davies

## Introduction

**I**n his recent Thinkpiece (July, 2011), Alan O'Shea drew upon the writings of Antonio Gramsci to identify what needs to be done to shift the political culture away from 'market fundamentalism' towards one in which the economy is subordinated to the needs of society rather than the other way round.

Gramsci argued that in capitalist societies the interests of a dominant class were furthered where they were successful in promoting their sectional interests as in everyone's interest. Hegemony referred to the situation where the world view of a dominant class became accepted as common sense, i.e. what everyone in society, even those disadvantaged by the status quo, took to be obvious. Change therefore required a 'war of position' where those seeking change needed to reveal the self-interested nature of the dominant ideas and position themselves as more truly representing the general or public interest.

The starting point for such a counter-hegemonic movement, O'Shea argues following Gramsci, involves "an examination of dominant discourses and practices". My purpose in this article is therefore to examine 'neoliberalism' as the dominant discourse of this present historical conjuncture and analyse how its retrograde precepts have spread way beyond the confines of government into the wider institutional structure and into popular culture. My contention will be that for progressives to make any real progress they must directly challenge this discourse

for what it is – the ideological expression of the vested interests of a limited section of society - and offer an alternative social democratic vision of a 'good society'. They must, in other words, change the discourse.

## Discourse analysis

The notion of 'discourse' is most prominently associated with the French philosopher Michel Foucault, a writer both revered and reviled in roughly equal measure by social scientists. My purpose here is neither to promote nor defend his work as a whole - were I even equipped to do so. Rather, it is to draw upon a part of his work concerned with the relationship between knowledge and power and the

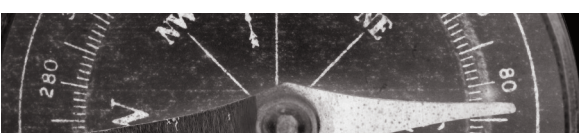
***"There is a theme here  
– the Tories set the  
agenda, Labour  
operates within it...."***

***If the next general  
election comes down to  
which party can best  
manage austerity,  
Labour is finished."***

(New Statesman, 23/01/12)

profound insight he offered into how this nexus comes to be embodied in discourses.

For Foucault, discourses – ways of thinking, talking and writing about the world represent the place where power and knowledge meet: the power to represent the world in particular ways which serve to constitute the 'reality' of everyday life for the ordinary member of society. Discourses link to power because there are potentially, at least, multiple, competing discourses surrounding any object, event or person, each with a different 'story' to tell. The crucial issue politically is which story gets told and which construction of reality is offered.



Central to any analysis of the role of discourses in society is an understanding of the role of language and before we can proceed to analyse neoliberalism as a dominant discourse we therefore need to pause and elucidate this.

## Language and the construction of reality

Everyday thinking suggests that the words we use to describe the world simply describe what is there: that they simply reflect some pre-existing objective reality. In a sense, of course, they do relate to something other than themselves, something 'out there'. But the crucial point to recognise is that the world around us is open to different interpretations and which words are used to describe what is out there helps determine how people understand the world.

In a vital sense, therefore, words don't simply describe the world, but construct the world. As Dale Spender put it in an early, influential study of language and sexism:

*Language helps form the limits of our reality...It is through language that... the world becomes comprehensible and meaningful, that we bring into existence the world in which we live.*  
(Spender, 1990, p.3)

To give an example, readers of The Guardian some years ago confronted by the headline *'Two Schools for Moslems Promised'*, might have been surprised if they had opened the same day's copy of the Sun to read about the same story under the rather different headline *'Schools for Virgins in Gymslips'!*

One further point needs making about the connection between language and the construction of reality. This is that the meaning of words comes in two main forms: what they denote and what they connote. Dictionary definitions of words usually indicate what they denote. But words with the same denotation can have significantly different connotations. Think, for example, of the nouns 'prostitute' and

'sex worker'. They both denote a person who sells sex for money, but whilst recent government publications, both Labour and Coalition, have stuck with the word prostitute, opponents prefer the term sex worker because it characterises prostitution rather differently – as essentially a service occupation.

## Neoliberalism as a dominant discourse

The key idea informing neoliberalism is that individual freedom is best guaranteed by the 'free market' and that the role of the state is to promote markets where they don't exist (eg through privatisation) and remove barriers to the free operation of markets where they do exist (eg 'restrictive practices' by trade unions and financial regulation of stock markets). Beyond this the state should do as little as possible consistent with maintaining social order and the integrity of money - hence, neoliberals' opposition to 'Big Government'. As Pierre Bourdieu (1998) has put it, rather more succinctly: "What is neoliberalism? A programme for destroying collective structures which may impede the pure market logic".

To describe a particular discourse as 'dominant' is to make the claim that it is so embedded in a society that it is accepted almost unquestioningly as self-evidently true.

Politics globally since the late seventies has been dominated by neoliberal ideas, having been taken up by political and economic elites as the preferred solution to the dual problems of 'stagflation' (rising unemployment combined with rising inflation) and the crisis in the seventies of capital accumulation. David Harvey (2005) argues that almost all states, from those emerging from the collapse of the USSR, old-style social democracies like New Zealand and Sweden, post-apartheid South Africa to China, the UK and the USA, have embraced neoliberal tenets. Deregulation, privatisation and the withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision has been the inevitable concomitant of this ideological shift.

As Harvey puts it:

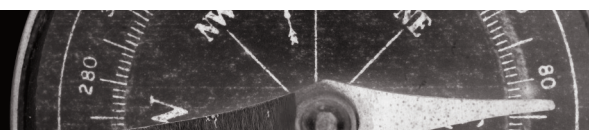
*"Neoliberalism has, in short, become hegemonic as a mode of discourse. It has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in and understand the world."* (2005, p.3)

At this point the reader may reasonably be thinking "Ok, but surely things have moved on since 2005? We have, after all, lived through - indeed are still living through the after-effects of - a global financial crisis in 2008. Surely you're not suggesting neoliberalism has been left unscathed?"

My answer would be both 'yes' and 'no'. 'No', it has certainly provoked some important new protest movements (notably, Occupy and UK Uncut) and even electoral developments (specifically the election of Francois Hollande in France) that I think offer some hopeful chinks in the armour of neoliberalism. But 'yes', neoliberalism remains dominant at present and as Colin Crouch has recently argued in *The Strange Non-Death of Neo-Liberalism* (2011) the financial crisis – a product many would argue of the wanton greed and lack of adequate regulation of finance capital - has been magically recast as a product of profligate government spending, the solution to which is austerity and drastic reductions in social expenditure by the state.

## The impact of neoliberal discourse

There is not the space here to provide a comprehensive review of the many ways in which the discourse of neoliberalism has infiltrated the culture and therefore the understandings of people in society. Instead I will identify what I consider to be some of the key areas where its impact can be seen and seek to highlight the role that language has played.



### 1) The denigration of the state and the public sector.

As Colin Leys (2011) has argued *"After 40 years of ideological onslaught, the very idea of 'the state' is close to joining others such as 'collective' (not to mention 'socialist' and even 'left'), in the depository of Unclean Concepts. 'State bad, private good' may be a crude slogan, but it is the very real starting point of many politicians and most media commentators..."*

One sees this for example in the taken for granted assumption that independent schools are superior to state schools, supposedly evidenced by their greater success in public examinations. The fact that with their selective intakes, smaller class sizes, enviable facilities and educationally-engaged parents they would need to be completely incompetent not to get better exam results is lost on most people. One can only imagine the frustration of the hard-pressed state school head on hearing the pleas to independent school heads from Ministers – both Labour and Coalition – to 'share their educational DNA' (Lord Adonis) with their benighted state sector 'colleagues'!

However, the area of the state where this denigration is perhaps most pronounced and therefore deserving of special attention, is the welfare state...

### 2) The demonising of the welfare state

The crowning glory of the post-WWII Labour government, a comprehensive welfare state designed to support people 'from the cradle to the grave' is now associated in many people's minds simply with 'scroungers', 'benefit cheats' and the 'something-for-nothing brigade'. The key linguistic intervention was Margaret Thatcher's use of the term 'nanny state' to refer to the welfare state, with its connotations of a set of institutions that kept the British people in a state of child-like dependency, thereby encouraging irresponsibility and the development of a 'benefits culture'.

It hardly needs pointing out that the term militates against a rational consideration of the circumstances where government intervention to protect or promote the well-being of citizens would be desirable. Instead, by framing the issue in this way it encourages a knee-jerk rejection of whatever is being proposed. For example, at present in the USA whilst a number of individual states have banned mobile phone use by drivers, there is no federal ban. The announcement by the US Transportation Secretary, Ray LaHood, in April of this year that such a ban was necessary predictably produced headlines such as the following (on the Freedom Informant Network): "Nanny State: Fed Wants Nationwide Ban on Cell Phone Use While Driving".

### 3) The reconstruction of citizens as consumers

Within neoliberal discourse people are constructed primarily as consumers. All kinds of implications follow from this. For one, pupils and students, patients, even defendants at courts in England and Wales are now, first and foremost, 'customers'. The 2011 annual report for Her Majesty's Court Services (now HMCTS) proudly reported in its Foreword:

*"This year we made good progress in improving our understanding of the needs of our customers, and in meeting those needs we have continued to promote Lean ways of working to reduce our costs and streamline processes providing even better services for court users."*

But, since 'the customer is always right', this reconfiguration inevitably risks undermining the authority of teachers, nurses, doctors, legal advisors, etc. Whilst no one would defend the tyrannical teacher or supercilious doctor of old, treating crooks as customers is surely a step too far!

For another, as customers, people expect choices. Neoliberalism attacked the public provision of health, welfare and education as state monopolies which denied people

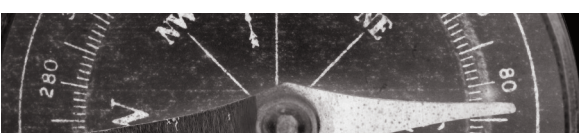
choices, were unnecessarily bureaucratic and subordinated individual needs to the vested interests of trades unions and professional associations. 'Choice' has become the rhetorical device used by successive governments since Margaret Thatcher's to sell the subsequent reforms of these services to the public (cf 'NHSchoices' – the name of the NHS website today). An inspired piece of spin, because who could possibly argue against the desirability of offering people more choice?

This is not the place to try to address the wide ranging and complex issues raised by these reforms, a topic richly deserving of a Thinkpiece in its own right. However, a thought provoking starting point was provided by Bill Jordan in a paper on individualism and the choice agenda published in 2005. Jordan attacks the idea that public services should be treated like a commodity. To do so is to neglect two vital elements that make such services distinctive: 'voice' (participation and collective action) and 'loyalty' (interdependence and belonging). In other words, health, welfare and education play a vital part in helping to promote social integration in society and a sense of mutual responsibility and citizens should have the chance to play a significant role in the design of such services. Farming them out to 'Any Qualified Provider' will lead to the further fragmentation of our already divided society.

### 4) The eclipse of the 'social'

David Cameron may have partially rehabilitated the notion of 'society' with his talk of the 'Big Society' (of which, more later), but when Margaret Thatcher declared in 1987 'There is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women and there are families', she was articulating a central tenet of neoliberalism that can be traced back directly to its putative founding father, Friedrich Hayek.

If there is no such thing as society it follows that sociology is an illegitimate intellectual endeavour and the attempt to explain people's behaviour as a product of social



processes and structures of which they may not even be aware and which lie largely outside of their control, is bogus.

Today, individualism rules. If you are obese, for example, it's because you've chosen to eat too much and exercise too little. And, of course, if one only considers the situation from an individualistic perspective, this is true: people who are obese have chosen to engage in health-damaging behaviour, just like people who smoke and those who use illicit drugs. The point, however, is to recognise that this is a partial truth masquerading as the whole story. It is, in other words, ideological. Sociological research indicates that for all three behaviours there is a clear social class gradient: the lower the class, the higher the proportion engaging in such behaviour. People choose, but their choices are never completely 'free'. They are shaped by their socio-economic circumstances, their values and beliefs, their level of self-esteem and so on. And all of these represent social, not individual, influences.

### 5) The 'death' of class

Under the influence of neoliberalism, 'social class' has been excised from the political lexicon in the UK. This is hardly a matter of surprise in the case of politicians of the right. David Cameron's view (expressed in 2008) that "I don't believe this is a class-ridden society. I think that's a load of rubbish.", was entirely predictable. But politicians on the left are no more willing to talk about class. One of Ed Miliband's key themes is the 'squeezed middle', referring presumably to the middle class(es). But the word itself appears to have entered Colin Leys' depository of unclean concepts.

Why is this? It has to be acknowledged that the usefulness of class as a concept for understanding contemporary society is a matter of debate even amongst sociologists. Indeed there are those who have announced its demise (e.g. Pakulski and Waters: *The Death of Class*). Certainly, there appear to be lower levels of class consciousness today (although this is notoriously difficult to measure). And, with

the proliferation of lifestyles associated with the growth of a consumer society, distinct social class sub-cultures are less evident today than they were. But 'class' has been primarily a vehicle for talking about socio-economic inequality in society and the irony is that the period during which the concept has faded from political discourse has been the same one during which economic inequality in the UK reached its highest level in recorded history (NEF, 2011).

This is no coincidence. Rather it is precisely the consequence of the dominance of neoliberal discourse. To talk about class inequality is to engage in 'the politics of envy'. Better not to do so, particularly as the right wing tabloids would like nothing better than an excuse to roll out yet again that tired old bogey man 'Red Ed'!

### 6) The reconstruction of equality strategies as 'political correctness'

The discourse surrounding political correctness provides a paradigmatic illustration of my thesis.

Over the last 40 or 50 years various minority groups have fought to overcome their marginalised position in society and stigmatised social identity. This has involved both linguistic and social reform. In neoliberal discourse, linguistic and social reform are reconstructed as political correctness and 'PC' is presented as a real social movement orchestrated by left-wing extremists. The problem facing society in this discourse is not the marginalisation of minority groups but the restrictions placed on people's freedom to do and say what they want by political correctness.

The term itself has had a chequered history (Cameron, 1995) but its most recent incarnation dates from the seventies when it was appropriated by those on the right wishing to attack the curriculum reforms being introduced by progressives in some universities in the USA. Since then its acronym has become globally recognised and its message widely embraced: 'it's political correctness gone mad'; 'here come

the thought police'; 'the cult of political correctness'. Its power is revealed by the fact that, rather than being recognised as embodying a partisan viewpoint, it is widely perceived as common sense.

Now, of course it is true that there have been examples of ludicrous neologisms and of actions that represent high handedness in the name of linguistic and social reform (although it's also true that the right have deliberately invented neologisms and fabricated events in order to tighten the screw). But language reform has played a crucial role in the progress made by minority groups and every movement for change inevitably includes a lunatic fringe. Consequently, as Neil Thompson (1998) has persuasively argued:

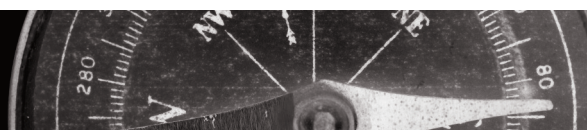
*"PC refers to a reaction against equality practice, rather than a genuine approach to promoting equality. It is a reified, reductionist concept used ideologically to demean, ridicule and therefore undermine equality strategies."*

## Framing the debate

Another way of thinking about the issues raised by the dominance of neoliberal discourse is suggested by George Lakoff, a professor of linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley. In his book *Don't Think of an Elephant!* (2004) he talks about the importance of 'frames', unconscious cognitive structures that shape the way we view the world. 'When we hear a word', he argues, 'its frame or collection of frames is activated in our brain'. Thus, if instructed not to think of an elephant, we are unable to prevent the image of an elephant nevertheless entering our mind.

Lakoff is politically active and has advised both Bill Clinton and Howard Dean on their political campaigning in the USA. His key message is:

*"...when arguing against the other side, don't use their language because it evokes their frame and not the frame you seek to establish."*



Let's spell out the implications of this drawing on some of my previous examples. Every time a left of centre politician uses a phrase such as 'PC' or 'nanny state' they reinforce a neoliberal discourse. Even if they were to say 'Actually, I'm in favour of a nanny state' or 'I support PC', the effect is the same: reinforcement of a frame designed to promote neoliberal ideas. The only way round this is to **reframe the debate** by using either neutral terms or terms that carry positive connotations: 'We support the need for an interventionist state' or 'We believe in linguistic sensitivity'\*.

Mehdi Hasan, writing in the *New Statesman* earlier this year, persuasively draws on Lakoff's work to urge Labour to reframe its message. Instead of talking about cuts, austerity and the need for 'tough choices' he argues that Labour must fight the battle on its own terrain by offering a different narrative:

*"There is a theme here – the Tories set the agenda, Labour operates within it... If the next general election comes down to which party can best manage austerity, Labour is finished."* (*New Statesman*, 23/01/12)

Hasan urges Labour to 'change the subject' and offer voters a different narrative focused on jobs and growth.

## Changing the discourse

So what are the implications of the argument I've sought to sketch out above?

The fundamental implication is that until and unless progressives directly challenge the dominant neoliberal discourse, it will continue to provide the frame through which all political issues are viewed.

The remarkable successes of the feminist movement, the black civil rights movement, the gay rights movement and the disability rights movement over the last 50 years are instructive in this regard. Whilst there is still some distance to go before full equality is

attained, there can be no disputing the progress made by women, ethnic minorities, LGBT groups and disabled people.

How was this achieved? Whilst in no way seeking to minimise the importance of leadership, activism, commitment and public education, a crucial component was discourse change. For most of the twentieth century the dominant discourses surrounding disability and homosexuality, for example, were medical ones. Disabled people and homosexuals were represented as 'ill' (mentally ill in the case of homosexuals), in need of medical care and, ideally, a 'cure'. Towards the end of the twentieth century these medical discourses were challenged by new civil rights discourses which argued instead that these groups were oppressed citizens and that what they needed were civil rights – equal treatment as citizens.

What are the key elements of the discourse that progressives need to promote? I would suggest the following:

- **Embrace the 'L' word:** political parties that believe in social justice and recognise the social harms generated by indiscriminate marketisation should not be afraid of embracing the label of a **Left** wing party.

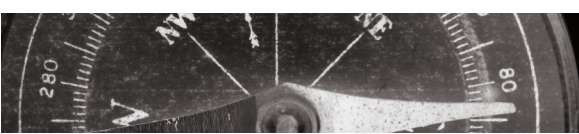
Older readers will recognise my reference to the salutary case of Michael Dukakis, the Democratic Presidential nominee in 1988. (Younger readers need to know I'm not referring to a popular USA TV series about Lesbians!) In a speech in the run up to the election, Ronald Reagan asserted that it was time "to talk issues; to use the dreaded L word" and that Dukakis's policies were "liberal, liberal, liberal." (In the American context, for Republicans, to be a 'liberal' at that time was tantamount to being a communist in the McCarthy era.) How did Dukakis respond? Did he say 'Yes, I'm a liberal and I'm proud of it!' No. He caved in to Reagan's ideological attack, declaring that the "L word" of his candidacy was not "Liberal" but "Leadership". Dukakis lost!

Neoliberal discourse has demonised 'left'. It's time to reclaim the term.

- **Social democracy, not socialism:** the left is presented in neoliberal discourse as a unitary entity. Yet democratic socialism and social democracy are as different as traditional liberalism and conservatism. In my view, 'socialism' is incapable of being rescued at this point in time from the negative connotations attached to it in the public mind. This, of course, presents something of a problem for the Labour Party given that Clause 4 of their Rules states that "Labour is a democratic socialist party". Do we really want another Tony Blair Clause 4 moment? Probably not. But to pretend that there is no inconsistency between this official identity and talking as a centre left party is to offer a hostage to fortune and a discursive gift to the right.

I realise, of course, that for many on the left this is a heretical suggestion, so let me try to justify it. Firstly, given where we're at, the most important thing over the next few years is to elect a government that offers at least some hope of reducing the obscene inequalities in our society. Secondly, because of the success of a neoliberal discourse, anything left of centre is now seen as politically suspect by your average Joe. I would identify myself as of the Hattersleyite tendency and have had the bizarre experience over the last 30 years of finding myself increasingly seen by others as a dangerous radical! Thirdly, the so-called 'collapse of communism' was actually a collapse of state socialism and – rightly or wrongly – few members of the public would see the demise of those regimes as any kind of tragedy. Finally, nobody can agree about what a socialist society would entail any longer. I respect those who nevertheless cling to their vision of a socialist society as a long term goal, but don't see this as strategically viable in the here and now.

- **An enabling state:** if 'the left' needs rescuing from the negative connotations loaded onto it by neoliberalism this is even



more true of 'the state.' 'Big Government,' 'state interference,' 'statism,' 'nanny state' - the neoliberal connotative onslaught has been unrelenting. Yet the state is the only ultimate safeguard we have against the capture of society by vested interests and it has the potential at least to enable the needs and interests of all to be considered when government policy is being formulated. As Leys has argued in relation to the various elements of the welfare state, we need to see them "as the historic collective achievements they are, as expressions of what a mature society can accomplish through collective effort, achievements we have a collective responsibility to protect and sustain".

David Harvey cites Karl Polanyi's work – an important if somewhat neglected thinker today – to explore some of the different connotations of 'freedom.' Polanyi acknowledged that market societies had brought in their train many freedoms which people rightly cherish, such as freedom of speech, freedom of association and the freedom to choose one's employment. But Polanyi cautioned that what he called 'liberal utopianism' also produced a range of negative freedoms:

*"the freedom to exploit one's fellows, or the freedom to make inordinate gains without commensurable service to the community, the freedom to keep technological benefits from being used for public benefit, or the freedom to profit from public calamities secretly engineered for private advantage."*  
(Polanyi in Harvey, 2005, p 36)

Without state intervention, fat cat financiers will continue to award themselves gigantic bonuses ('because you're worth it'), the obesity epidemic will continue to spiral out of control, multi-national corporations will continue to secrete vast funds in tax havens, and so on.

- **Less inequality:** Supporters of *Compass* hardly need convincing of the importance of a more equal society. The social case for this has already been cogently argued in an earlier Thinkpiece by Bill Kerry of the

Equality Trust. Drawing on what is surely one of the most significant pieces of social research of the last 50 years – The Spirit Level by Wilkinson and Pickett - he outlines their findings that more equal societies are 'better for everyone' and that the most unequal societies, the UK and the USA in particular, inevitably generate a host of social dysfunctions. Similarly, the economic case for a more equal society has recently been persuasively made by Stewart Lansley in his book *The Cost of Inequality*. The concentration of income and wealth in the hands of a small, super-rich elite, as has happened for example in the UK and USA, is incompatible with economic stability and dynamism, Lansley argues.

Yet we have to recognise that 'equality' is the *bête noir* of neoliberalism and is loaded down with negative connotative baggage: equality = treating everyone the same = communism. Labour politicians eschew references to 'equality' for good reason! It may sound a bit lame, but nevertheless the way forward linguistically may be to talk about the advantages of less inequality, rather than greater equality.

## Conclusion

In keeping with *Compass's* mission, this article is addressed to progressive thinkers generally, but it would be naive to suppose that there is currently any other party besides Labour in a position to challenge electorally the neoliberal hegemony I have sought to describe above. My concluding comments are therefore more narrowly focused on the Labour Party specifically. There are, I believe, a number of reasons to be optimistic about Labour's chances at the next general election, not the least of which is Ed Miliband's appointment of Jon Cruddas as co-ordinator of Labour's policy review.

Miliband's championing of "responsible capitalism" is moving in the right discursive direction: an opportunity for the public to learn about the difference between the denotative synonyms: 'free market' and 'capitalism'. Also, only vulgar

Marxists believe that Britain is controlled by a unified 'ruling class'. There are divisions at the top of the class structure as there are lower down and Labour can exploit the different interests of finance and industrial capital in dealing with the right wing bias of the British press.

Cameron's discourse of the 'Big Society' has already (hopefully) been dealt a fatal blow by Rowan Williams' scornful dismissal of it as "aspirational waffle designed to conceal a deeply damaging withdrawal of the state from its responsibilities to the most vulnerable". And Nick Clegg's espousal of a discourse around the 'open society' requires little in the way of critical deconstruction given the barriers posed to an open society (and particularly to social mobility, Clegg's personal hobby-horse) by extreme economic inequality.

Nevertheless, the divisive precepts of neoliberalism are so embedded in our political culture that if Labour is to rescue us from their baleful influence it must be both linguistically sophisticated and discursively aware.

Timothy Davies

\* A term coined by Neil Thompson.



### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Joe Cox of Compass for his constructive comments on earlier drafts of this article.

### References

Bourdieu, Pierre, (1998) The essence of neoliberalism. *Le Monde diplomatique*, (English Edition), December, 1998.

Cameron, Deborah, (1995) *Verbal Hygiene*, Routledge.

Crouch, Colin, (2011) *The Strange non-death of Neo-Liberalism*, Polity Press.

Freedom Informant Network, (2012) *Nanny State: Feds Wants Nationwide Ban on Cell Phone Use While Driving* (Jim Forsyth, 27/04/2012, Reuters) [www.freedoinfonetwork.org](http://www.freedoinfonetwork.org)

Harvey, David, (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, OUP.

Hasan, Mehdi, (2012) Don't think of an elephant, *New Statesman*, 23/01/2012

HMCS, Annual Report and Accounts 2010-11, The Stationery Office.

Jordan, Bill (2005) Public Services and the Service Economy: Individualism and the Choice Agenda. *Journal of Social Policy*, 35,1,p143-162

Kerry, Bill (2009) Taking Equality Out of the Left Ghetto, *Compass*, June, 2009.

Lakoff, George, (2004) Don't Think of an Elephant. [Summary published by CapitolReader.com on December 2, 2004]

Lansley, Stewart (2012) *The Cost of Inequality*, Gibson Square.

Leys, Colin (2011) *Healthy Alternatives*, Red Pepper, July, 2011.

O'Shea, Alan (2011) Lessons from Gramsci on political mobilisation, *Compass*, July, 2011

Pakulski, Jan and Waters, Malcolm (1996) *The Death of Class*, Sage.

Shaheen, Faiza (2011) *Ten Reasons to Care About Economic Inequality*, New Economics Foundation, October, 2011.

Spender, Dale, (1980) *Man Made Language*, RKP.

Thompson, Neil, (1998) *Anti-Discriminatory Practice*, 2nd edn, Palgrave Macmillan.

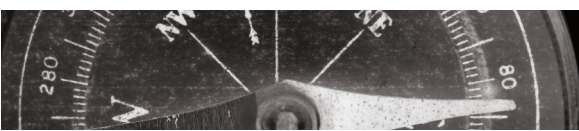
Wilkinson, Richard and Pickett, Kate (2010) *The Spirit Level*, Penguin.

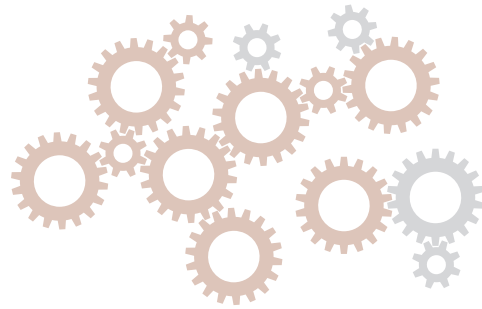


**thinkPIECE**

Join today and you  
can help change  
the world of tomorrow -  
[www.compassonline.org.uk/join/](http://www.compassonline.org.uk/join/)

***The Challenge for Progressives:  
Change the Discourse***





**thinkPIECE**

**Join today and you can help change the world of tomorrow -**  
[www.compassonline.org.uk/join/](http://www.compassonline.org.uk/join/)

**compass**

Southbank House, Black Prince Road, London SE1 7SJ  
T: +44 (0) 207 463 0633 | E: [info@compassonline.org.uk](mailto:info@compassonline.org.uk) | [www.compassonline.org.uk](http://www.compassonline.org.uk)