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The archipelago of Intervention: governing the awkward citizen

Robin Jamieson

Abstract

This doctoral thesis examines the changing ways in which the neoliberal state looks to engage with populations of marginalised, excluded and ‘awkward citizens’. Whilst some have argued that the neoliberal state has abandoned and/or adopted a punitive and revanchist stance towards ‘awkward citizens’, this thesis demonstrates that an ‘archipelago of intervention’ has developed which is dirigiste in nature and represents a manifold of assistive *and* regressive techniques of government. Targeting individuals defined as ‘problematic’ (those with ‘chaotic lifestyles’: substance misuse issues, offending behaviour, vulnerably housed males) the archipelago of intervention represents a spatially expansive, ideationally disparate and operationally intense project of marginal social welfare. In order to more closely analyse these evolving practices of intervention, three case studies are examined through the lens of Foucauldian governmentality: one-to-one case working aimed at those with chaotic lifestyles; two ‘Supported Accommodation’ projects for vulnerably housed males; and the ‘Unpaid Work’/Community Payback order delivered by the Probation Service. Using interviews with service users, staff and managers combined with ethnographies undertaken in Supported Accommodation projects and Visible Unpaid Work sites, the thesis demonstrates how these interventions share a commitment to working with individuals through consent rather than coercion. Located at the cutting edge of ‘roll out’ neoliberal social policy, the thesis shows how these techniques of government operate to reform the subjectivities of their target population through the application of ‘psy’ techniques, contractual governance, embodied discipline and re-worked ideas about the rehabilitation of offenders. Drawing on Lefebvre, space and time emerge as central problematics in attempts to govern awkward citizens. Each case study intervention is shown to carve out re-worked spatio-temporalities which are held to be generative of behavioural and attitudinal reform. Thus, the thesis makes an important contribution to debates on the unfolding neoliberalisation of the state and social policy by pointing to the complex assemblages of power and multiple practices through which the state governs problematic populations. Moreover, the PhD also contributes to theoretical debates around the idea of ‘governmentality’ by arguing for a geographically sensitive and materially open approach to systems of governance.

The archipelago of Intervention: governing the awkward citizen

One volume

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Submission for Doctor of Philosophy

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List of Abbreviations

BP: Bishop Place (pseudonym for a Supported Accommodation project in chapter five: Supported Accommodation)
CBT: Cognitive Behavioural Therapy
CS: Community Service
CCT: Client Centred Therapy
CSO: Community Service Order
CP: Community Payback
DETR: Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions
DTLR: Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions
DWP: Department for Work and Pensions
ECP: Enhanced Community Punishment
ESA: Employment and Support Allowance
HMIP: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation
IAPT: Improving Access to Psychological Therapies
IST: Intensive Support Tool (pseudonym for an intervention tool in chapter six: intensive support)
LA: Local Authority
MI: Motivational Interviewing
NLP: Neuro-Linguistic Programming
NOMS: National Offender Management Service
NPS: National Probation Service
NVQ: National Vocational Qualification
QAF: Quality Assessment Framework
RSU: Rough Sleepers Unit
SFT: Solution Focused Therapy
SP: Supporting People
TH: Thomas House (pseudonym for a Supported Accommodation project in chapter five: Supported Accommodation)
UpW: Unpaid Work
VUpW: Visible Unpaid Work
WSD: Work Skills Development (pseudonym for a training organisation encountered in chapter six: visible unpaid work)

Declarations

The material contained in the thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other institution. It is the sole work of the author, who takes full responsibility for any errors contained.

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I think it's fair to say: I need a mess of help to stand alone.

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Of course, any remaining errors, mistakes or shortcomings are my own.

1. The Archipelago of Intervention

The first section of this chapter outlines what is meant by ‘awkward citizens’ and provides a summary of the ‘archipelago of intervention’ as a time-space of governmental practice in which the specific cases are located. Secondly, the chapter considers how, in the wake of three decades of neoliberal re-structuring, both mainstream and marginal welfare practices have come to concentrate on the psyche of the individual and how the operation of welfare has become increasingly conditional. This section shows how these wider reformulations have seeped into the case studies presented later in the thesis. Having outlined the basic contextual and conceptual background the chapter then outlines the research questions. However, we will begin with an example taken from the ethnographic field work (see chapter five, Supported Accommodation) which demonstrates the operation of the ‘archipelago of intervention’:

1.1 Glen

I come into the office at Thomas House (TH) (one of the Supported Accommodation Projects in chapter five which provides residential assistance to homeless males). Glen, one of the residents I haven't had much of a chance to speak to, is sitting on one of the chairs with his head in his hands. Jillian [the Senior Support Worker] breaks off from asking him how he is to tell me that Glen has been having thoughts of suicide. She goes back to talking to him before stopping mid sentence: "I'll phone the [Community mental health] Crisis Team." What follows is a brief discussion. I obviously can only hear one side of this conversation.

Jillian: "He's feeling suicidal...yes...yes..." [holds hand against mouth piece and addresses Glen] "Do you have a mental health diagnosis?"

Glen: "No."

Jillian: "No, he doesn't...OK...Can you not come anyway? ... So he has to go to the hospital...Ok. [Putting phone down] They won't come out unless you have a diagnosis, but they said you can go to the hospital..."

Glen doesn't respond.

Jillian: We can't take you though; can you get a bus or a taxi?

Glen: "I've no money..."

I offer to drive Glen to the hospital – I have one of the Departmental cars. On the way to the hospital I ask Glen about how he came to reside at Thomas House. He's been at Thomas House on three previous occasions – but he says that the way things are at present are far better than how they were in the past. He's 23 now and hasn't worked for two years – his last job was working in a chicken processing factory which he left following a disagreement with the management. He currently doesn't have any long term goals and in the short term is concentrating on evading the fallout of a local dispute with former friends which ended in violence. In his teenage years he moved between

foster carers and the care system. He tells me that “I was kicked out of my last foster carers when I was sixteen, they stopped getting money for me and they didn’t give a shit. All they wanted was the money.” Whilst he didn’t get much out of school he enjoyed English (by way of demonstration he re-counts the plot of Hamlet in some detail) and Art and occasionally writes poetry having attended some workshops put on by an unspecified organisation. I’m not surprised by this – he comes across as notably intelligent and articulate.

We arrive at the hospital but before we go in Glen insists he needs a cigarette. He asks me about my life. Like many of the residents he’s disappointed at my lack of a criminal record and lack of first hand experience of drug use. He then begins to explain the physiological operation of cannabis, having learnt this on a drugs awareness course. I ask if he fancies becoming a drug counsellor (a popular aspiration amongst former substance users) “nah, that’s what every junkie wants to be.”

Finally we make it into the hospital. We are directed to a ward far away in the sprawling complex. We amble off. Soon we are stuck in a huge dimly lit corridor. All the doors are locked. There are no signs and nobody about. We spend five minutes wandering aimlessly around before we ask a passerby for help who is thankfully able to point us in the right direction.

We arrive at a brightly lit ward with a locked door – the psychiatric ward. We press the buzzer and wait for a nurse to let us in. Opening the door ajar and asking us why we are here she pauses before letting us in. Once in we sit down and wait. After five minutes Glen is called into a consulting room and I am directed to another room which is populated by in-patients. A television which nobody is watching blares away in the corner.

After twenty minutes Glen re-emerges. “A fucking waste of time” he spits out under his breath. “Let’s go.” I ask him if they’ve done anything to help. “They just asked if I was psycho: I’m not a fucking psycho.” We drive back to Thomas House in near complete silence – I try to make small talk but, understandably, Glen’s not interested. On returning to TH Steve, the most ‘father-like’ of the support staff is on duty. “You have a lot to give you know, Glen”. Glen says nothing and goes back to his room

[...]

The next day I’m in the office alone. They are short staffed so I’m fielding phone calls. Glen staggers into the office with deep red marks round his wrists and blood all over his clothes. It takes me a few seconds to realise what’s going – the blood has clotted in high ridges around a gash in each of his wrists. At a total loss of what to do I run and get help. An ambulance is called and there is sick all over the driveway: Glen has also swallowed a large quantity of pills. Glen is back at Thomas House the next day. He’s ok but stays in his room for the next three days. Life at Thomas House goes on, as it must, as if nothing has happened.

(Field Notes, November 2009)

This most pressing and tragic event occurs towards the end of this episode: that much is obvious. Most troubling of all is that similar unsettling incidents are not exceptional in places such as Thomas House and Bishop Place (two Supported Accommodation projects encountered in chapter five). In the marginalised corners of urban space a mundane social catastrophe unfolds which appears to be widely tolerated and accepted (Scanlon and Adlam, 2008; 2010).

In this short and traumatic twenty-four hours Glen engaged or attempted to make contact with three state and quasi-state agencies (Thomas House, the Crisis Team, and the Hospital/Paramedics). Meanwhile, in a brief interaction Glen discussed interactions with the Police, the Probation Service, the Care system, Schools and various providers of training services. On one level, each of them has failed to provide Glen with any enduring and effective support, most clearly demonstrated by the absence of the 'Crisis Team'. Glen's life is characterised by a series of short term engagements with services which appear to have little lasting impact (Reeve, 2002).

What is abundantly clear is that the state has not abandoned Glen and citizens like him (Ferguson, 2010). Yes, it fails in a cynical manner, but it does not 'do nothing' (Scanlon and Adlam, 2008). The state is manifestly dirigiste (Fuller and Geddes, 2008; Schinkel and van den Berg, 2011). Whilst Wacquant (2008) details a massive retreat of state welfare apparatus and its replacement with authoritarian strategies in the US Ghetto and French banlieue, twinned with a battery of revanchist policy programmes (Mitchell, 1997; 2003; Slater, 2004; Smith, 1996), for the subjects detailed in this thesis, the state is very much interventionist in *both* punitive and assistive terms (Dikeç, 2007a; DeVerteuil, 2006; DeVerteuil, et al., 2009; Johnsen and Fitzpatrick, 2010; Cloke et al., 2010)

It is these interventions, in particular those which are assistive and operate through consent, which this thesis addresses. Through three case studies, the thesis explores how the state is re-formulating the ways in which it engages with awkward citizens like Glen. As shown above, the operation and experience of these interventions is very much a micro-practice of government. It is these micro-practices which are the focus of this thesis: the techniques, technologies and practices which the state deploys to remake problematic subjects.

This thesis addresses these questions through the use of three case studies (Intensive Support through counselling, Supported Accommodation (also known as homeless hostels) and Visible Unpaid Work/Community Payback). The case studies represent 'nodes' in the network of intervention which are particularly prominent (counselling), important (the provision of accommodation) and symbolic (Visible Unpaid Work/Community Payback). They show how practices of behaviour modification directed at 'awkward citizens' occur at 'street level' (Peck, 2004). This includes how individuals are identified as being in need, assisted and subsequently encouraged to reform their behaviours and attitudes. The case studies show how these practices and techniques

have come into being and how a range of actors have been entrained in this process of subject (re)formation. Thus, the case studies represent an intensive micro-politics of government situated within a wider system of marginal welfare.

The research presented here is empirically grounded, but it does not start with the premise of looking at where the breakdowns in the network of services occur. To draw on the above example, this thesis does not ask itself the question “why did the crisis team fail to act?” or “how can we better articulate the hospital with the hostel?” Instead, of primary concern here is the way in which the state seeks to govern its ‘awkward citizens’, and how the state looks to enhance the capacities and freedoms of its most ‘difficult-to-govern’ populations.

1.2 Contextualising the Intervention: Awkward citizens, the archipelago and the space-time of intervention.

1.2.1 Awkward citizens

This thesis is positioned between two concepts: the ‘awkward citizen’ and the ‘archipelago of intervention’ (figures one and two). What we mean here by ‘awkward citizen’ is a population of individuals variously described in benevolent terms as having ‘chaotic lifestyles’ (Reeve, 2002; Schneider et al, 2007) or being the ‘hardest to help’ (c.f. Freud, 2007). Whilst the idea of what a ‘chaotic lifestyle’ might entail is ill defined it generally consists of: intense and repetitive but short lived service use; temporary or permanent ‘bans’ from services; multiple and complex needs and a general difficulty with accommodation (Reeve, 2002). Despite attempts at theorisation and quantification (Schneider et al., 2007) it is perhaps more of a ‘practitioner-concept’. Tellingly, Reeve notes that between researchers and practitioners “we all know who we are talking about” (p. 13). The concept ‘hardest to help’ is a similar umbrella term but one which is broader and which includes less severe social problems and denotes both a general reluctance to engage with services and a lack of success during periods of engagement. It is, for example, often used to describe individuals who are considered to be ‘long-term unemployed’ but those without additional social problems (DWP, 2011a).

Drawing on previous research and the material presented in this thesis, we can understand 'awkward citizens' as those who have a number of characteristics which can include:

- Difficulty in accessing and maintaining tenancy in appropriate accommodation
- Short lived, repetitive, but intense service use
- Bans, either temporary or permanent from services
- Chronic and socially, economically and medically debilitating substance use (i.e. beyond *but not excluding* 'recreational use')
- Those recovering from the effects of the above
- Mental and physical ill health
- Frequent interaction with criminal justice agencies
- Low levels of education, literacy and numeracy
- A history of being in local authority care
- 'Chaotic' uneven and unsteady lifestyles
- Difficult and inconsistent relationships with family, friends, partners and children
- Unemployment or work-welfare cycling

1.2.2 The archipelago of intervention

The metaphor of the 'archipelago' was, in part, borne out of a realisation of the number, extent and variety of interventions open to awkward citizens. As figure one shows, within the case study region there exists a diverse ecology of organisations and institutions geared up for processing and engaging with problem populations and citizens. Despite rhetorics of state retreat and the rise of punitive governance, the left hand of the state retains an extensive grasp and long reach which is complimented, but not supplanted, by a robust right hand (Wacquant, 2001; Dikeç, 2007a; Peck, 2010). Of course, the state should not be understood as a vast, overarching and totalising machine which encompasses all. Nor should we understand every possible assistive and regressive state body as being part of this system of intervention. Rather, in this thesis, we mean intervention in terms of depth, and its extra-normal orientation and operation (see above). These interventions are many and varied but tend to share a number of characteristics:

- a) Intensity: in terms of the time and commitment required on behalf of the client (either mandatory or voluntary).

- b) Intimacy: in terms of what questions can legitimately be asked and what is taken as a legitimate terrain of knowledge.
- c) Close targeting: specific individuals with specific and diagnosable social, physical, behavioural or mental deficiencies.
- d) Certain elements of conditionality.

Of course, this 'archipelago of intervention' extends far beyond the three case studies in this thesis and covers a wide range of policy areas. Approached from the perspective of service users, this broad network of support (schematically outlined in figure one) ranges from the everyday services encountered by virtually every citizen (for example the National Health Service) to those institutions designed to contain specific individuals (the local Prison) via a gamut of support services (almost always partly state-funded) aimed at assisting individuals with their housing, substance misuse and training needs. Figure one takes 'River City' (a pseudonym for one of the urban areas in the sub-region) as an example. This schematic map shows the range of organisations which make up the archipelago of intervention and table one describes those organisations in more detail. A sample of the interconnections is shown in figure two. Together, they demonstrate the breadth of intervention available in an urban area with approximately 100,000 residents and show how these diverse interventions are bound together in a collective attempt to reform the subjectivities of awkward citizens.

Services graphically omitted from figure one include the Care system and the education system. However, these institutions nevertheless have something of a spectral presence in the life stories of the research participants (as demonstrated by Glen). It has already been stated in this chapter, but it bears repeating: the extent of support available is quite striking.

Figure 1: The archipelago of intervention

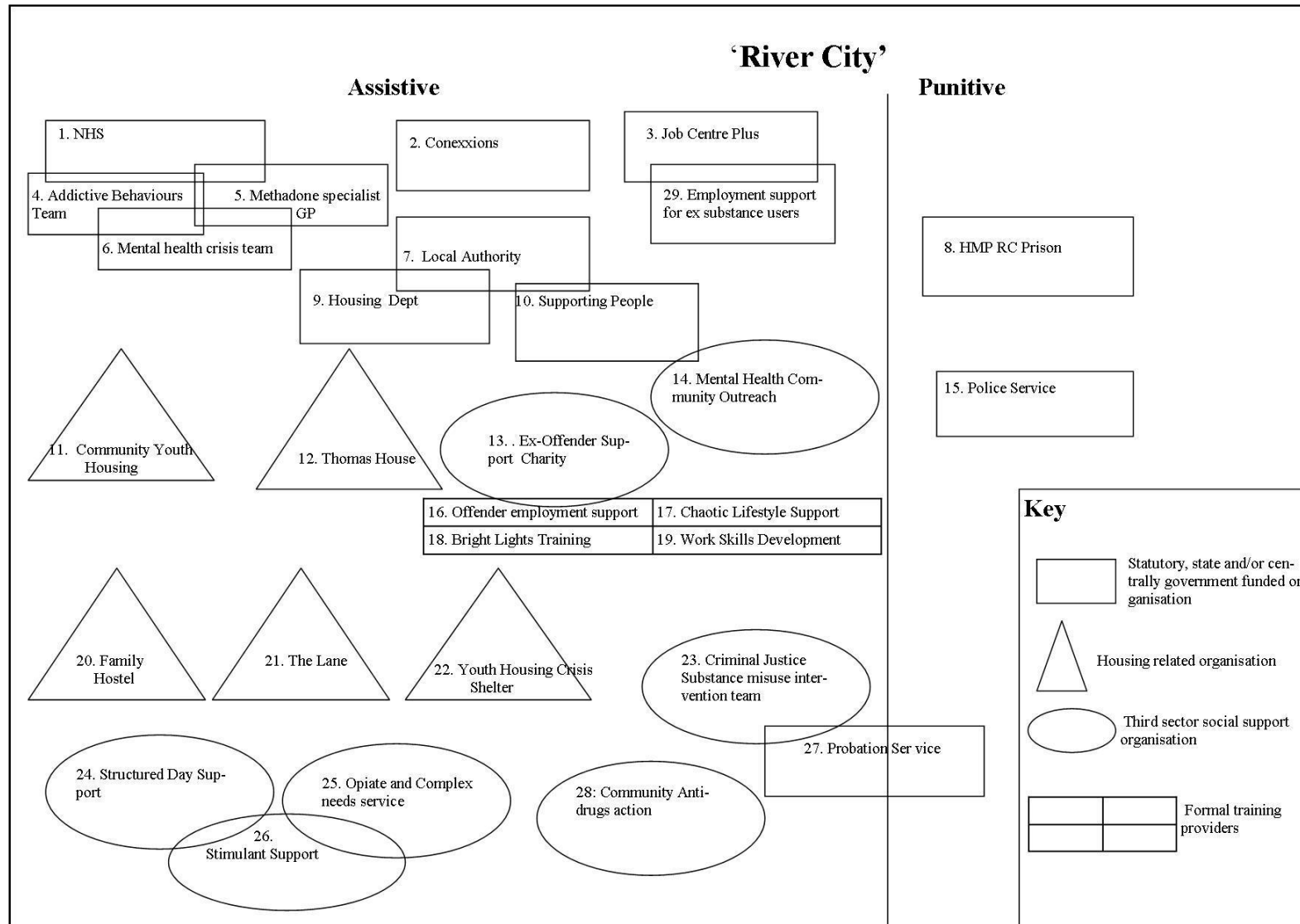


Table 1: Organisation details

Organisation in figure 1.	Description
1. NHS	National Health Service. Encountered by Glen in the opening section of this thesis and umbrella institution for services 4, 5 and 6.
2. Conexxions	A service for young people aged 13-19. In this context was used as a hub through which referrals to other support organisations could be made.
3. Job Centre Plus	Labour exchange and where welfare benefits could be accessed from.
4. Addictive Behaviours Team	A specialist service provided by the NHS which addresses those who have drug/alcohol issues and/or who need mental health support.
5. Methadone Specialist GP	A local GP practice tailored to the needs of opiate users including those unregistered with a GP. Provides emergency support to criminal justice agencies and takes on those banned from other GP services for violent behaviour.
6. Mental Health Service Crisis Team	A 24/7 emergency mental health service which is designed to offer 'out of hours' support to those suffering from mental distress.
7. Local Authority	The local administrative state, an umbrella organisation for Supporting People and the Housing Department and provider of funding to some services, especially housing related organisations.
8. HMP RC Prison	The local prison which referred former inmates to 'The Lane' and 'Thomas House' hostels.
9. Housing Department	The primary referral point to those in housing need and wishing to be classed as statutorily homeless.
10. Supporting People	'Supporting People' are an adjunct of the Local Authority and administered central government funding to organisations which provided residential support for vulnerably housed adults. Provided funding for 'Thomas House'.
11. Community Youth Housing	An organisation which provides housing support and training opportunities for homeless young people. Provided referrals for other organisations including Thomas House.
12. Thomas House	Thomas House is the name of one of the Supported Accommodation projects encountered in chapter five.
13. Ex-Offender Support Charity	A local branch of a national charity that provides re-settlement assistance to ex-offenders in a range of areas including social skills, housing and

	employment. Linked to their training arm (number 16 in this table).
14. Mental Health Community Outreach	Counselling, one-to-one support and assistance with training, benefits, employment and peer support group for people with mental health issues.
15. Police Service	Local police office that informally liaises with local hostels and Supported Accommodation projects (see figure 2).
16. Offender Employment Support	The training and education wing of 'Ex-Offender Support Charity' (13) which provided training in motor vehicle mechanics and salon training for ex-offenders.
17. Chaotic Lifestyles Support	A one-to-one support organisation that specialised in counselling and group work for people with substance misuse issues and chaotic lifestyles with the aim of returning them to employment.
18. Bright Lights Training	A long established training organisation which offered one-to-one social support, employability assistance, accesses to training and assistance with self employment.
19. Work Skills Development	A local office of a national welfare to work provider tasked with providing the 'employability' element of 'Community Payback/Visible Unpaid Work' (see chapter six).
20. Family hostel	A hostel for homeless families and women which received Supporting People funding and was designed as a short-term solution.
21. The Lane	A hostel which did not receive Supporting People Funding but where interviews with residents were carried out. Took referrals from the local prison (8.) and liaised with a number of other agencies.
22. Youth Housing Crisis Shelter	A short term night shelter for young people which no access alternative accommodation.
23. Criminal Justice Substance misuse intervention team	A service which targets adults who are involved in the criminal justice system and who's offending is linked to substance misuse. Offered one-to-one working, group work, and accesses to treatment and prescriptions.
24. Structured Day Support	A day-service for adult substance users committed to reducing their dependence and preparing for employment. Offering one-to-one support, group working, relapse and abstinence strategies, cognitive and social skills training, peer support and entry into employment.
25. Opiate and Complex needs service	Designed for active users of opiates (heroin, methadone, subutex). Offering a range of services including harm minimisation, Motivational Interviewing (see chapter four), life

	skills, coping strategies and budgeting. Aims to ensure regular attendance and progress before referral to more structured support (24, see above).
26. Stimulant Support	Similar to 25 (see above) although targeting users of crack, cocaine, cannabis or other stimulant drugs. Also offering Cognitive Behavioural Therapies and Solution Focused Therapy.
27. Probation Service	The local operation of the National Probation Service. Delivered Visible Unpaid Work/Community Payback as explained in chapter six.
28. Community Anti-drugs action	A locally founded community anti-drugs action organisation which offered counselling and support to substance users and their families, a needle exchange and also functioned as a local pressure group.
29. Employment support for ex substance users	Local office of a national welfare to work provider tasked by the DWP with offering specialist employability and social support to recovering (stable) substance users (see chapter four).

With the exception of the NHS, Jobcentre Plus and Connexions, most of the populace will not, in the course of their daily lives, come across these services. On the contrary, for those enmeshed in this network of services, interaction with at least some of these organisations is routine (e.g. methadone appointments). In addition, the form of engagement is intimate, deep and often intense: questions are detailed, probing and look to minimise the unknown. This depth of intervention is evident throughout the case studies. For example, potential residents of the Supported Accommodation projects (see chapter five) are interviewed to ascertain patterns of substance use, alcohol consumption, criminal convictions and mental/physical health whilst the counselling/psychological interventions in chapter four look to engage with an individual's possibly traumatic past and even their 'unconscious'. This, together with Glen's experience, demonstrates an extra-ordinary operation of state power: a productive, consent eliciting power licensed to function with an extent and intensity beyond that of the 'regular' state.

Figure two demonstrates the links between notionally discreet and disparate organisations. For the sake of clarity and legibility, one of the case study Supported Accommodation projects ('Thomas House') is taken as an example of this formal and informal inter-agency working and networking.

Figure 2: Connecting the archipelago

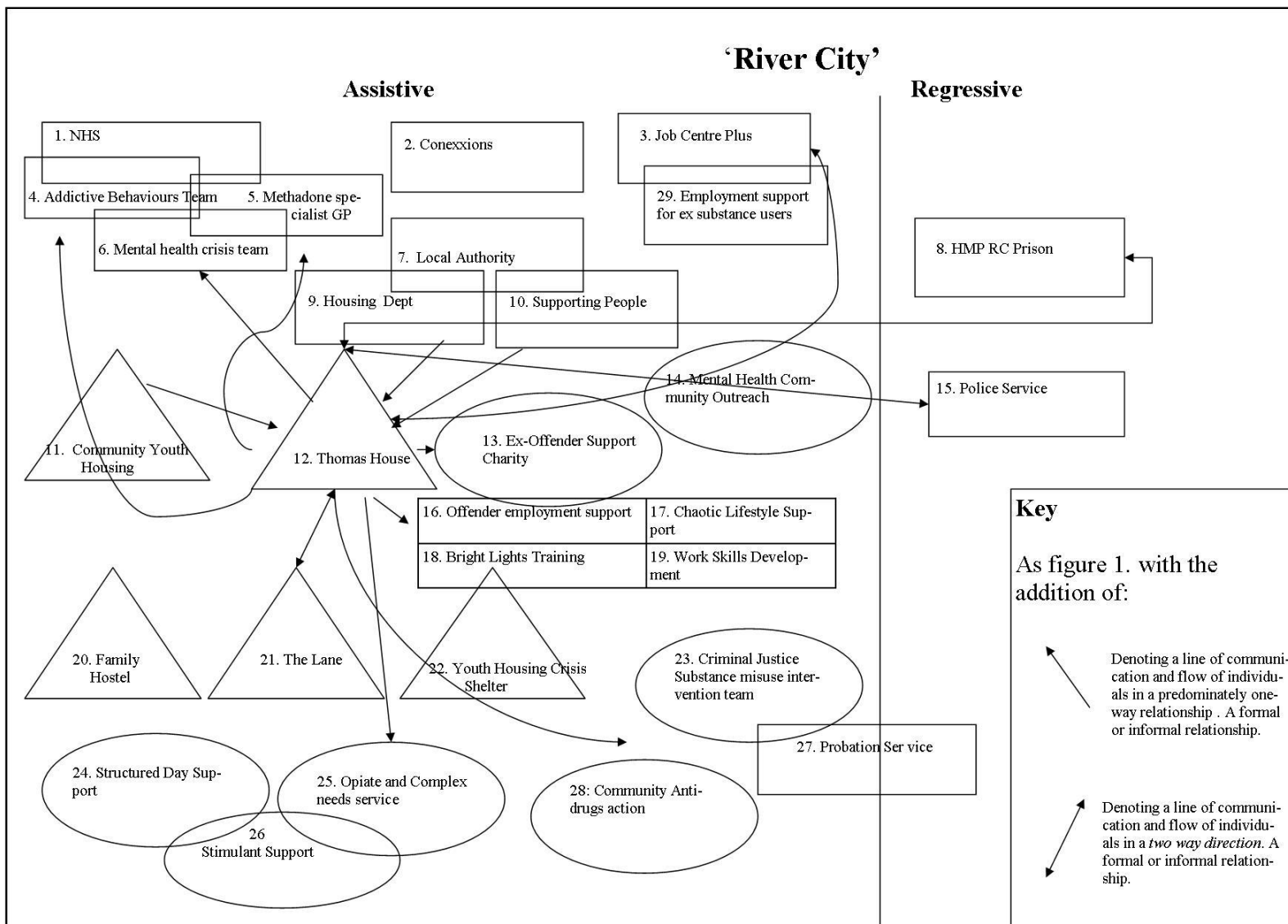


Figure two shows how Thomas House becomes a central node in the network of intervention and the myriad interactions it has with a range of organisations. This includes two-way informal information sharing relationship with the local police force as well as frequent communication with a range of other organisations. Obviously, a residential project is likely to be an especially intense locus of activity. Figure two illustrates the multitude of informal and formal connections which hold the archipelago in place. Thus, the archipelago of intervention can be seen as a spatially expansive but interconnected system of social intervention and regulation.

Between the information in figures one and two and table one (which provides details of each project) we can begin to see both the breadth and depth of services and agencies and the connections between them. Moreover, as will be shown in chapter four, which looks at counselling/psychological approaches to awkward citizens, some organisations which specialise in training also look to engage with problems beyond employment through counselling-style interactions. In addition, some organisations have dual functions. For example one anti-drugs organisation (see table one, number 27), which was founded by a local community activist, received local authority funding for various projects including a needle exchange, but also functioned as a hub for voluntary anti-drug action and self-help. It is into this complex, rich and technologically overlapping ecology of locally based governmentalities which the case studies in this thesis are situated.

Therefore, the 'archipelago of intervention' is considered to be a networked array of interventions which *specifically target populations which are deemed actually or potentially multiply problematic*. Considered through a bio-political lens (Foucault, 2004) these groups represent a problematic population. These interventions function in the *perceived best interests* of both individual awkward citizens *and* the population, and range from the passive and covert to the overt and intense. The archipelago of intervention should be understood as a mechanism of both *depth* and *breadth*. This is depth in its intensity of operation and close engagement with individuals and breadth through the range of agencies, organisations and institutions which can be penal and assistive, state or non-state. Importantly, our understanding of the archipelago of intervention pivots on those 'awkward citizens' discussed above. Specifically, this includes those with behavioural and/or attitudinal deficits which

undermine their ability to fully function as a free, capable and self controlled subject (Brown, 1995; Rose, 1993).

1.2.3 The space and time of intervention

The archipelago of intervention, and the specific interventions themselves, should be understood as *spatial* and *temporal* operations of power. As noted above, we can think of the archipelago as a networked series of institutions, organisations and agencies which materialise and spatialise state power through a range of techniques and practices (see below). Scale is important here: the archipelago is a manifestly local and urban phenomenon as demonstrated by the close formal and informal lines of communication between organisations demonstrated in figure two.

As outlined above, specific interventions (for example, the three case studies in this thesis) represent an intimate intervention in the lives of awkward citizens. This intensity is fundamentality *temporal* and *spatial*: the idea of being 'chaotic' suggests an instability and unpredictability. Firstly, the case study interventions demonstrate an enduring commitment to the refashioning and re-ordering of an individual's time. For example, in individual case work, dairy management and the arrangement of tasks becomes a marker of self discipline and self reform whilst Visible Unpaid Work deliberately occupies the time of the offender. Secondly, the case studies demonstrate how intervention takes on contingent spatial forms. The act of intervention requires the creation of social spaces which are amenable to the production of 'good conduct' (c.f. Huxley, 2006, 2007). For example, the Supported Accommodation projects in chapter five show how technologies such as CCTV have been introduced to regulate behaviours and produce a controllable space. At the same time, staff and managers grappled with the persistent opacity of problematic spaces which were held to be generative of unruly behaviour. Moreover, policy dictates and funding guidelines demanded the creation of a space whose primary function is reforming, rather than warehousing, vulnerably housed individuals (Bacon et al., 1996; Carr, 2005).

This focus on space and time positions this thesis in the midst of debates on the spatiality of governmentality (c.f. Rose, 1999; Raco, 2003; Murdoch, 2004; Huxley, 2006; 2007; Dikeç, 2007a; 2007b;

Elden, 2007a). Rather than space being thought of as a context for governmental power, this thesis argues that the shaping of space and time are essential to the practice of intervention (see in particular chapter seven, which summaries the interventions). The case studies show how interventions re-work and carve out modified spatialities and temporalities as essential aspects of their operation. For example, the chapter on Visible Unpaid Work shows how changes to the delivery of this community punishment involves not just a practical re-organisation of practice but an attempt to re-shape the *space* in which it occurs and, through this, the subjectivity of the offender. Through the reworking of space and time, strategies of intervention aimed at awkward citizens look to articulate governmental techniques which link the discipline of an individual body to wider strategies of government (Huxley, 2006).

1.3 Modes of intervention: conditionality, the psyche and the good citizen

The archipelago of intervention should be considered at once an apparatus of poverty management, a system of social governance and regulation and an emergent and re-calibrated system of welfare for those at the margins of society. In the wake of three decades of neoliberal restructuring, the welfare-state has been decisively re-figured (Esping-Andersen, 1999; Torfing, 1999; Jessop, 2002). Combined with a wider project of economic, social and cultural restructuring, these changes have reformed structures of governance, undermined old industrial regions, privatised swathes of formerly publically owned assets and distributed wealth towards the top of the income pyramid (Harvey, 2005; 2007). Moreover, these changes have been accompanied by a re-worked politics. This politics understands the economy as a fluid, global and irresistible phenomena which a given nation state can no longer control. The only option is thus to contort the state to best fit the demands of globalised capital (Fairclough, 2000). On the register of the economy, the state is cast as impotent. On the other hand, this politics seeks to regain its potency and virility through authoritarian measures which look to re-impose law and order, strengthen borders and discipline the poor (Wacquant, 2001; Garland, 2001; Crawford, 2003). This latter phase is most clearly demonstrated in chapter six of this thesis where we see how Visible Unpaid Work has been re-formed along punitive, demonstrative and spectacular lines.

Of particular interest in this thesis are not so much these macro-scale changes but the modification and re-ordering of the individual citizen. Whilst the previous, Fordist-Keynsian models of the welfare state were orientated around a paternal (but suffocating and patriarchal (Piven and Cloward, 1972; Offe,

1984) model of universal and unconditional social security premised on full (male) employment, the current model of welfare provision is somewhat different. On one hand, the practical operation of welfare programmes has become increasingly conditional in terms of both eligibility and the need for client activity and responsibility (DWP, 2010a; 2010b; Wiggan, 2011; Dwyer, 2002; Clarke, 2005; Gibson, 2009). On the other hand, the state has become particularly concerned with acts of shaping rationality, attitudes and behaviours in order to equip individuals against particular risks they encounter, rather than operating as a guarantor of wealth and prosperity (c.f. Rose, 1996; 1999; Miller and Rose, 2008; Peck, 2004; Prykett et al, 2011). Increasingly, the state's duty is to equip the individual with the capacities required to negotiate the post-industrial, globalised, hyper-individualistic society with at least a modicum of success *rather* than insulate the individual against risks and shocks. As a corollary of this, the individual's subjectivity has become an important target of intervention (Walkerdine, 1998, Nolan, 1998).

As this thesis will demonstrate, the forms of welfare offered to awkward citizens have mapped onto broader changes to welfare provision. At the level of service delivery, two strands are particularly prominent: seeing the subject of welfare in psychological terms, and an intensifying conditionality. Both of these themes traverse the thesis as a whole. Therefore, the interventions examined in this thesis should be understood as being situated at the leading edge of neoliberal social and urban policy.

1.3.1 The psychologisation of welfare

In line with increasing demands for behavioural modification (Peck, 2004), welfare at the margins has taken on a distinctly psychological dimension. Of course, this is neither new, nor exclusive to discourses of welfare. For example, Rose (1999) details the ways in which the 'psy' disciplines have shaped how we come to understand ourselves (see also Nolan, 1998; Stenner and Taylor, 2008). In addition, commentators have written extensively on the emergence of a 'society of therapy' during the early parts of the twentieth century (Nolan, 1998; Füredi, 2004; Lasch, 1979; Reiff, 1966; Wright, 2009). This creeping psychologisation has been critiqued as at once undermining traditional virtues and social order (Reiff, 1966) and dissolving politics and equating reality with perception (Lasch, 1979; Nolan, 1998; Füredi, 2004)

The provision of welfare is not immune to such developments (Edwards et al., 1999; Füredi, 2004; Gibson, 2009; Rose, 1996; Scanlon and Adlam, 2008; 2010; Stenner and Taylor, 2009). Moreover, Stenner and Taylor (2008) argue that the delivery of social welfare has, to some extent, always been concerned with the private lives of citizens. Meanwhile, Walkerdine (2003) has pointed to a long history of understanding class and inequality in individualised and psychologised terms. Ideas which;

“have reached their zenith in what has been termed neo-liberalism. By now, the subject is understood by many sociologists [...] as having been completely freed from traditional ties of location, class and gender and to be completely self-produced. [...] Freed from the ties of class, the new worker is totally responsible for their own destiny and so techniques and technologies of regulation focus on the self-management of citizens to produce themselves as having the skills and qualities necessary to succeed in the new economy.”

(Walkerdine, 2003, pp. 240-241)

If the ‘old’ welfare state ensured that citizens succeeded in the economy through (amongst other things) maintaining demand during downturns through income replacement policies and access to plentiful social housing, then the ‘new’ (neoliberal) welfare state looks to form ‘free’ subjects capable of coping with the vagaries of a post-industrial society (Rose, 1999). Whereas the ‘old’ model centred on the distribution of material assets, the neoliberal version of welfare looks to produce appropriate subjectivities. Glen’s material and psychological problems may stem from the fact that he is poor and lacks stable accommodation. However, if only he could equip himself with the correct subjectivity then perhaps he would be more able to get training, hold down a job and access private rented accommodation. The state will provide opportunities to deal with his psychological deficiencies, but will not *unconditionally* provide him with a decent place to live and supply him with adequate material assistance.

In this thesis, we see these ideas come to the fore in each case study. In chapter four, techniques are derived from counselling and psychology and represent a form of intervention on their own, whilst in

chapter five attitude and disposition are twinned with the body as a site of state action. Finally, in chapter six, which examines Visible Unpaid Work, employability is seen as the only available method of rehabilitation. Each differs in terms of its specific practice but what they have in common is the idea that it is *primarily the role of the awkward citizen to extricate themselves from their situation through the reform of their subjectivity.*

1.3.2 The conditional and contractual welfare state

As is well documented, the principle of New Labour's approach to social policy and welfare can be summed up in the 'something for something' mantra:

'For too long, the demand for rights from the state was separated from the duties of citizenship and the imperative for mutual responsibility on the part of individuals and institutions'

(Blair, 1998, quoted in Lister, 2011b, p. 214)

Although most clearly and obviously exercised in active labour market policies, where receipt of out-of-work benefits becomes conditional on various forms of employment related activity (Peck, 2001), this thesis will show how this conditionality has spread into homelessness policy (Dobson and McNeill, 2011; see also Johnsen and Fitzpatrick, 2010). At a concrete level, this conditionality is brought into being through increasingly contractual relations of government. As Jordan notes;

"In the UK, the New Contract for Welfare, which spells out duties of self responsibility in markets [...] is now underpinned by a whole series of new contracts and penalties (parenting contracts, acceptable behaviour contracts, job-search contracts, etc.) for those who fail to attain these standards. In addition, the evidence of debt, obesity, drug and alcohol abuse, disorder and family breakdown bears witness to the failures of markets and contractual relations to achieve self-regulation and self-fulfilment [...]."

((2010; p. 15)

The effect of these reforms, which are being continued by the current government, has been both a re-negotiation of the relationship between the citizen and the state and between the citizen and the labour market (Trickey, 2001). To summarise, citizenship and the subject of social welfare have been, and continue to be, recast along contractual lines of self responsibility and conditionality (DWP, 2010a; 2010b; Wiggan, 2011; Dwyer, 2002; Clarke, 2005; Gibson, 2009).

Here, conditionality appears prominently in the case studies on Supported Accommodation (chapter five) and Visible Unpaid Work (chapter six). In the case of Supported Accommodation, conditional support is produced through contractual modes of governance which effectively debar some citizens from accessing support. Meanwhile, Visible Unpaid Work invokes conditional and exclusive notions of citizenship and community through the wearing of distinctive clothing. Thus, the case studies presented in this thesis should be understood as operating at the cutting edge of social policy development. Increasingly, mechanisms of conditional inclusion (and sometimes outright or temporary exclusion) are directed at marginalised populations as ways of ensuring compliance. Driven by populist demands for retribution against transgressors and a faith-like commitment to the supposed rationality of the individual, these systems of conditionality find especially pernicious resting places in interventions aimed at awkward citizens. And, given recent discussions on linking housing benefit with income replacement programmes, it appears that an increasingly networked and conditional welfare system is emerging (BBC News, 2011; DWP, 2008a; Home Office, 2008). As such, we could view the interventions discussed in this thesis as a laboratory for new forms of social welfare as well as the extension and deepening of logics initially intended for other domains.

1.4 Research questions

The research is centred on one key problematic: given the persistent nature of social marginalisation and exclusion, how is the state changing its modes of intervention when dealing with ‘awkward citizens’? (Question one). Questions two and three look to explore this problematic more fully through

looking at specific cases of intervention and examining what sort of methods are deployed to achieve this.

- 1) Given the persistent social problems faced by those termed here 'awkward citizens', how and why is the state changing its modes of intervention to deal with these populations?
- 2) How do these interventions operate on the ground in specific cases?
 - a) How do these specific cases relate to wider social, political and economic changes?
 - b) How are individuals identified, interventions developed, and progress made?
 - c) What ideas, discourses and practices does each intervention draw and operate upon?
- 3) Given the archipelagic nature of intervention, to what extent, and in what ways, are space and time important in the operation of these specific interventions?

1.4.1 Question one: How and why is the state changing its modes of intervention to deal with awkward citizens?

The development of this archipelago of intervention is understood as one which represents the development of a neoliberal governmentality which takes the population as its central focus and accordingly develops particular micro-interventions which it deploys to deal with particularly problematic shards of that population (Foucault, 2010a). This chapter has sketched out the notion of the awkward citizen and provided details of the changing nature of welfare provision. Chapter two details how, since the seventeenth century, the population has emerged as the primary target of governmental action and how the neoliberal state has changed its approach to the government of awkward citizens. The chapter then goes on to explain how and why populations of awkward citizens have become a target of a political power which looks to re-shape conduct through various means and strategies.

In response to the first question, this thesis details an emerging system of social welfare which focuses on specific problem populations. As described above, this archipelago of intervention encompasses a network of institutions, actors, policies and programmes which look to reform the conduct, behaviour and attitude of awkward citizens. Firstly, the existence of poverty and inequality are not themselves considered problematic. Rather, this problematisation is shifted to the individual who bears the excesses and effects of such inequality is. As this, and the following chapter show, the Keynesian welfare

state has been extensively re-structured (Jessop, 2002). Focusing less on re-distribution of various sorts, inequalities have been allowed to grow (National Equality Panel, 2010) and have become entrenched.

Thus, an intense network of support has developed (see figure one) which delivers post-hoc social assistance to those in need of help. This support is: a manifestly local experience; usually targeted at the individual (in particular the psyche of that individual); sometimes conditional and; largely voluntary. Even chapter six, which examines a community punishment (Visible Unpaid Work), involves aspects of voluntary engagement. Thus, the power dynamics are more complex than those that operate in other welfare delivery systems such as workfare (Peck, 2001).

Therefore, many of the organisations in the archipelago operate through consent rather than coercion. Chapter two explains how the art of government is one which looks to govern populations in line with a particular governmental rationality (in this case 'liberalism'). As these systems of rule have evolved (especially over the last thirty years), they have increasingly incorporated and deployed mechanisms which call for the individual to preside over their own conduct and disposition. It is these complex systems of identification, action and reform that this thesis examines through the use of three case studies.

1.4.2 Question two: How do these interventions operate on the ground in specific cases?

Given the decidedly local and urban operation of these organisations, the thesis looks at three types of intervention through the use of in-depth case studies. These case studies demonstrate the 'street-level' operation of welfare at the margins. The first case-study (chapter four) looks at counselling-style systems of intervention, the second (chapter five) examines what are generally referred to as 'homeless hostels', whilst the third (chapter six), discusses the community punishment known as Visible Unpaid Work. Each case demonstrates not only how they function in a 'day-to-day' sense, but how they work with, modify and operationalise particular discourses and ideas.

The case studies detail the way in which the state engages with awkward citizens through a range of agencies and how individuals are constructed and identified as problematic entities in specific cases. Be that through confessing to substance misuse, inappropriate thought patterns, or deviant behaviour, each practice constructs its subject as a problem of one sort or another. On one hand, this construction occurs 'off site' through various forms of knowledge making (research, practice manuals, court judgements etc.). On the other hand, each intervention actively constructs its target subjects through an assortment of techniques which look to 'know' problematic individuals. These local and intimate practices put in place, and act upon 'sensible evidences' (Dikeç, 2007b) which constitute individuals as subjects of intervention. Progress and success are variously defined as psychological stability (chapter four), independent living (chapter five) and the self construction of a non-offending/entrepreneurial subjectivity (chapter six). Although differently defined, progress is assessed in terms of attitudinal and behavioural transformation.

Each of the cases engages in dialogue with a range of ideas and discourses which influence its function. For example, chapter four understands its subject as one whose existence is overdetermined by their psyche. As such, the only viable mode of intervention is the individual's subjective experience. Therefore a range of 'psy' knowledges and techniques are deployed. Of course, this relates to the increasing dominance of 'psy' knowledges in explaining social life (Nolan, 1998; Füredi, 2004; Lasch, 1979; Reiff, 1966; Wright, 2009) and the expansion of the state's psy-welfare apparatus (Scanlon and Adlam, 2008; 2010; Stenner and Taylor, 2009). Chapter five (Supported Accommodation) demonstrates how individuals are identified as being suitable for assistance and the application of conditional/contractual modes of government similar to those used in other policy areas (e.g. Anti-Social Behaviour Orders and Workfare interventions). Finally, chapter six (Visible Unpaid Work) shows how ideas of the entrepreneurial self (Peters, 2001; Fejes, 2010) have been cast as a form of rehabilitation.

Through analysis of these three interventions, the thesis demonstrates how the neoliberal state is increasingly managing its problem populations through a range of techniques. What emerges is an increasingly conditional and psychologised system of welfare at the margins, but one which is not simply revanchist or punitive. Rather, assistive elements of state power are overlapping and working with regressive approaches to social regulation pointing to an increasingly ambidextrous state (Peck, 2010).

Moreover, this dirigiste-ambidextrous state can be thought of as a complex and contingent assemblage of ideas, practices and techniques which draw on a diverse range of ideational basis (e.g. the low-level anti-psychiatry of Neuro-Linguistic Programming in chapter four to the rational-actor theory of the 'contract' in chapter five).

1.4.3 Question three: To what extent and in what ways are space and time important in the operation of these specific interventions?

Chapter seven reflects on the thesis as a whole and argues that we should understand intervention as a practice of government which looks to produce particular space-times as a way of inducing desired behaviours, attitudes and dispositions. Drawing on Massey (2005), space and time emerge as essential modes of judgement and reform and are thus central to the operation of governmental power. Space and time are thought of as malleable substances (rather than abstract absolutes) which can be re-ordered when needed. For example, in the case of psy-based intensive support, the individuals past and present are re-interpreted whilst in the case of Visible Unpaid Work, the offence and the offender are re-spatialised and re-temporalised in particular problem neighbourhoods. Thus, the thesis argues for the importance of the spatial and the temporal in understanding governmental action and points towards spatialised and materialised readings of governmentality.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter outlined what is meant by 'awkward citizens' and 'archipelago of intervention' and explained the importance of time and space to the act of intervention. Most importantly, it framed the key problematic of the thesis: how is the state changing the way it intervenes in the lives of awkward citizens? The changing architecture of welfare provision was also highlighted. The next chapter engages with the conceptual and theoretical debates which consider the changing role of the neoliberal state and the practice of government.

2. Chapter two: Neoliberalism, governmentality and social space

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the three major concepts which struate the thesis: the neoliberal state; Foucauldian governmentality and; social space. The chapter also looks to outline the conceptual and theoretical terrain on which the following chapters and empirical examples are based, providing both an elucidation and explanation of the central analytic concepts which are deployed throughout the thesis. Section one discusses the emergence of neoliberalism and the changing ways in which the state has sought to govern awkward citizens. Within this, social policy is situated at the cutting edge of neoliberal attempts to re-configure and re-orientate the respective roles of the citizen and the state. In order to analyse these attempts to govern awkward citizens, Foucault's concept of governmentality is examined in section two. This approach articulates the rational and conceptual aspects of government with practices, techniques and technologies of rule. Using this framework allows us to engage with the ideational and technical aspects of the case study interventions that will be introduced in chapters four, five and six. Finally, section three looks at the way in which space emerges as a central aspect of intervention.

2.2 Section One: Neoliberalism, Welfare and the archipelago of intervention

By the end of the 1960s, global capitalism was beginning to catch up with its own contradictions: the labour-capital pact of the Keynesian welfare state had lost stability; a recession in 1973 acerbated the crisis and the architecture of international trade (The Bretton Woods accord) disintegrated (Jessop, 2002; Harvey, 2007). Moreover, throughout this period of rising unemployment and social ferment, urban and labour struggles agitated for socialist alternatives albeit unsuccessfully. Out of this crisis neo-liberalism emerged as an experimental, iterative model of *political economy*: at once a re-regulation of the economy (e.g. the reform of financial regulation, privatisation etc. (c.f. Peck and Tickell, 2002; Harvey, 2005, 2007; Leitner et al., 2007)) and a reorientation of governmental rationality (e.g. what the government and the citizen can and should do, c.f. Foucault, 2010a).

“Neoliberalism is a theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade.”

(Harvey, 2007, p. 22)

In practice, firstly, the social, political and economic gains (i.e. rising levels of equality, social mobility and real wages) made by *some sections* of the working class were to be reversed (Smith, 1996; Harvey, 2005, 2007). Secondly, the physical, moral cultural and social space which had been ceded by the bourgeoisie to the feckless, the ‘dependent’, the workless, the criminal and the poor (Peck, 2006) had to be reclaimed. *Notionally* (Peck, 2004) the power of the market was re-asserted and the role of the state relegated to that of market-enabler. The *idea* of the market discursively and materially colonised diverse areas of social, political, cultural and economic life elevating ‘the market’ to a principle of economic and social justice. Redistribution would come to play second fiddle to accumulation; social risk would be individualised and marketised. Whilst ‘neoliberal ideas’ are subject to local hybridisation, differential articulation, contextual modification and re-working it is Harvey’s contention that almost nowhere on earth has been exempt from neoliberalism’s “vast tidal wave of institutional reform and discursive adjustment” (Harvey, 2007, p. 23).

2.2.1 Rolling back and rolling out: phases and waves of Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism can be considered a process which involves two broad processes: a destructive and deregulatory phase of ‘roll back’ deregulation followed by a ‘roll out’ phase of re-regulation (Leitner et al., 2007). Table two provides a summary of these ‘moments’.

Table 2: Roll back and Roll out Neoliberalism

	Roll-Back Neoliberalisation: Destructive and deregulatory moment	Roll-out Neoliberalisation: Creative and re-regulatory moment
Mode of intervention	State withdrawal	Governance
Market regulation	“deregulation”	Experimental re-regulation

Political style	Ideological conviction	Pragmatic Learning
Change agents	Vanguardist Politicians	Technopols
Ideological programme	Explicitly Programmatic	Institutionally embedded
Front Line	Economic policy	Social and penal policy
Taxation	Selective givebacks	Systemic regression
Monetary policy	'Cold-bath' monetarism	Prudence
Public expenditure	Cuts	Fiscal responsibility
Labour-market regime	Mass unemployment	Full employability
Employment relations	De-unionisation	Flexibility
Social Policy	Retrenchment	Workfare
Financial regulation	Liberalisation	Standards and codes
Development ethos	Structural adjustment	Social capital

(Source: Leitner et al., 2007, p. 34)

Brenner et al. (2010, p. 212) further elaborate this schema by situating it within unfolding 'waves' of neoliberalism which;

- a) Emerged during the early 1970s in response to the crisis of late Keynesianism and the subsequent crisis induced by post- Keynesian economic and social re-regulation.
- b) By the middle of the 1970s dismantled social and spatial systems of re-distribution and;
- c) Further develops an infrastructure of transnational policy transfer, a logic of 'best practice' emphasising market based solutions in a self-referential fashion.
- d) Begins developing long range projects which 'hard-wire' neoliberal policy approaches to pensions, taxation and education in order to fix the 'rules of the game' during the early 1980s.
- e) In response to continual crisis, introduces new rounds of market-orientated reforms to social, environmental and penal policy.

Rather than completed tasks, each of these processes continues into the present as neoliberalism re-configures itself in response to emergent crises. Moreover, this unfolding represents a process of

uneven deepening as neoliberalism deals with, reforms and restructures, inherited terrains and systems of regulation. The unfolding of neoliberalism is one which is articulatory and uneven but systematic in the sense that it aims to become embedded within disparate policy realms.

It is, of course, the latter 'roll out' phases of neoliberalism into which the 'archipelago of intervention' should be situated. For example, the evolution of 'Supporting People' and the development of 'Supported Accommodation' represents the material expression of "new rounds of market-oriented regulatory reform in targeted policy fields" (Brenner et al, 2010, p. 212) given its focus on audit, 'value for money' and competitive tendering (Van Doorn and Kain, 2003) (see chapter five). Moreover, as Leitner et al. (2007) point out, social and penal policies are targeted as essential policy domains for roll-out neoliberalism. In chapter six we see how community sentences (specifically Visible Unpaid Work) have, following a rehabilitative phase, been re-calibrated along more penal and visceral lines. It is into this broad institutional and ideational matrix that the archipelago, and this thesis, can be rendered legible.

2.2.2 The neoliberal government of poverty

In contrast to rhetorical announcements of state withdrawal and deregulation, roll-out neoliberalism involves variegated, and at times intense, systems of state intervention and reregulation (Brown, 2006). Although the state looks to produce particular types of outcome through the creation of 'autonomous' entrepreneurial subjects this does not mean that the state retreats from acts of intervention.

"While neoliberal rhetoric derives some of its power from the image of the absentee state - and its idealised companion, the liberated, independent and competitive subject - the practical content of neoliberal reform strategies is often quite 'interventionist', albeit in different ways. Here we see the melding of neoliberal imperatives with a range of paternalist, authoritarian, developmentalist and social-democratic state forms, together with the concomitant ascendancy of (appropriately elastic) notions of governmentality, the overall recognition of which might be summed up as neoliberalism ≠ deregulation."

(Peck, 2004, p. 395)

It is these ‘interventions’ which are the focus of this thesis. Simply put, whilst the neoliberalising state has pulled back from notions of universal social welfare and abandoned Keynesian notions of counter cyclical demand management (Torfing, 1999) it has stepped up *particular forms of intervention* for particular individuals subject to the most extreme social distress. It is these interventions which this thesis addresses. Neoliberalism does not ignore inequality and poverty but re-interprets its causes and effects and responds accordingly (Ferguson, 2010).

For example, Sparke (2006), Heimstra (2010), Schram et al. (2010), Dikeç (2007a), Schinkel and van den Berg (2011) demonstrate the way in which particular subjects (welfare recipients, migrants, cross-border commuters) and spaces (‘problem’ urban spaces and particular households) are singled out for specific state attention – be that more intense scrutiny at the border or pseudo-official house searches. At the same time, steps are taken to minimise the impact of *overt* and *invasive* state technologies on the powerful, the wealthy and the positively categorised populations (i.e. white, bourgeoisie) (c.f. Sparke, 2006). For all populations the state intervenes and seeks to govern albeit in manifestly different ways. At one end of the spectrum the state is ‘supple’, nuanced and sophisticated: looking to increase the capacities of the population through ‘nudges’ (Pykett et al, 2011). At the other end, when dealing with problem populations, the state’s interventions become sharper, increasingly intensive, conditional and more aggressively punitive (Garland, 2001; see chapter six (visible unpaid work)). It is the governmentality of the latter group which this thesis engages with.

As noted, the region in which the case studies are situated suffered, and continues to suffer¹ from the successive rounds of de-industrialisation, economic ‘restructuring’ and strategic disinvestment.

The awkward citizens which this thesis focuses on represent a marginal, ‘hard to reach’ and ‘hard to help’ (from the point of view of the state) population who suffer the effects of this ‘restructuring’.

¹ During the research period one of the remaining large industrial employers closed its door despite pleas for state support. Three large banks collapsed around the same, all of whom were provided with tax-funds ensure their survival.

Wacquant's concept of 'advanced marginality' resonates with the predicament these citizens face. Wacquant (2001) details how successive waves of welfare state retrenchment and the collapse of wage labour in marginal neighbourhoods in Europe (France) and the United States have materially and socially corroded the lives of peripheral citizens. However, as Wacquant elaborates (see also Dikeç, 2007a), retreat is not the only strategy: The strategic social-politics of neoliberalism articulates tactics of punishment with (conditional) assistance.

"The 'left hand' of the state, though still active, is increasingly accompanied by its 'right hand'. There is an intensification at once of social and penal treatments of poverty, with an increased attention on the policing function of the state, and a close surveillance of populations seen to be problematic."

(Dikeç, 2007a, p. 278).

Whilst Dikeç (2007a) suggests that the US and the UK have deployed the right hand more extensively than the left when dealing with problem populations, this thesis shows how the experience of 'awkward citizens' is characterised by both support *and* surveillance (see, for example, Glen's experience in chapter one). This argument, that the state has articulated the penal and the regressive with the supportive and the progressive, runs throughout this thesis. To reiterate, for awkward subjects, the state has not *withdrawn* from their lives: rather, it has intensified and recalibrated its operation and orientation. Again, the way which this re-calibration is emerging is one of the central concerns of this thesis. Thus, it is possible to identify three broad, overlapping and inter-operating state responses to social suffering:

2.2.2.1 1. Retreating state

Characterised in general terms by withdrawal of state-welfare and regular wage-labour from particular marginalised spaces (often to be followed by one of the following interventions) (Wacquant, 2008). Particularly associated with 'roll back' neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell, 2002; see above). Exemplified by revanchist social policies (c.f. Coleman, 2004; Mitchell, 1997; 2003; Slater, 2004; Smith, 1996) which respond to

poverty (and difference more generally) through systems of spatial and material exclusion (Creswell, 1996; 1997; Popke, 2001; Sibley, 1988; 1994; 1998; Wilton, 1998).

2.2.2.2 2. Punitive state ('Right hand')

The advance of the penal state exemplified by an increasing incarceration rate in advanced economies (Walmsley, 2005). Characterised less as a response to *actual* criminality and more as a tactic of dealing with social problems (Wacquant, 2001; 2009; Dikeç, 2009; Peck, 2010), the increasing regularity and intensity of penal sanctions should be read as a mode of *dealing* with the excesses of neoliberal policy failure (Garland, 2001). The state does not retreat: instead it reinforces, consolidates and expands its regressive functions. As such, this phase should be read as a strategy of 'roll out' neoliberalism in which the penal apparatus operates to regulate the social and economic order (Peck and Theodore, 2001).

2.2.2.3 3. Assistive state ('Left hand')

Whilst the previous two strategies demonstrated *retreat* and *punishment*, the third points to various forms of re-regulation and intervention. Arguably more nuanced than the previous two, such modes of intervention are myriad, overlapping and draw on multiple ideational and ideological sources of animation (Rose, 1993). Situated on the assistive 'left hand' of the state, what is at stake are the techniques of governing which are positive and generative rather than punitive and regressive (as is the case in the previous two modes). These produce techniques of neoliberal rule which are less concerned with material redistribution and more through the refiguring of subjectivities, attitudes and behaviours (Larner, 2003; Rose, 1993; 1996; Dean, 2007 [1995]; McDonald and Marston, 2006; Schram et al, 2010; Walkerdine, 2003). Contrary to proclamations of state retreat, the cases presented in this thesis demonstrate the persistence presence of a 'dirigiste state' (Fuller and Geddes, 2008).

Returning to the core problematic of the thesis (how and why is the state changing its modes of intervention when dealing with 'awkward citizens?'), the above outlines three broad responses to social suffering. Firstly, these responses can be understood as unfolding processes of neoliberalisation (Brenner et al., 2010). Secondly, when it comes to intervening on and with populations of awkward citizens, the case studies in this thesis show how these moments interact with each other and provide

an underpinning for rationales of intervention. Throughout the thesis we can see how these macro-scale logics are made technical and practical. The counselling and 'psy' derived techniques discussed in chapter four demonstrate how subjects are *individualised* and encouraged to re-work their subjectivities, but also how this mode of intervention is benevolent, pastoral and care-full. However, in chapters five and six (Supported Accommodation and Visible Unpaid Work respectively), more exclusionary modes of intervention which demonstrate both *abandonment* (e.g. expulsion and denial of social support in Supported Accommodation projects) and *punitive* responses to social distress are evident (e.g. the regressive and demeaning politics of 'Community Payback'). Importantly, even where interventions appear most regressive and punitive, elements of productive power persist. Thus, particular attention is paid throughout the thesis to aspects of intervention which involve consent and productive operations of power.

Therefore, intervention can be understood as a process which conjoins disparate moments in the rolling out of neoliberal social/welfare policy. This social policy at the margins articulates practices of assistive and punitive government which are delivered at the level of the neighbourhood and the 'community'. As Peck (2010) points out:

“residual, left-arm (or social state) functions have been profoundly transformed through the workfarist logics of behavioural modification and market subordination. [...] innovations in contemporary statecraft reflect an increasingly ambidextrous relationship between the authoritarian and the assistential wings of the state, which between them exert an increasingly tight grip on the (distinctively post-industrial) regulatory dilemmas of labour market flexibilisation and advanced social marginality. [...] This historically unprecedented coupling, which is probably most appropriately characterized in terms of symbiosis rather than institutional-ideological unity, is not only registered among the higher echelons of the state, but through conjoint logics and dynamics of regulation at the 'ground' level, especially in the inner cities.

(Peck, 2010, p. 105)

It is this street-level coupling of *both* assistance *and* authoritarianism with which this thesis engages. We can situate each of the interventions as a moment in the unfolding regulation of social marginality. It is important to note that each case study contains a certain ideational, intellectual and technical dynamism and should be understood to be a street level manifestation of the state's efforts to grasp the excesses of neoliberal policy failure.

2.2.3 Analysing 'roll out' neoliberalism

'Neoliberalism' as an analytical concept is invoked in multiple contexts. It has been deployed to describe a bundled set of phenomenon, policies and practices understood as being *relatively* coherent and programmatic (c.f. Harvey, 2005) or as locally contingent, diverse and unstable (c.f. Ong, 2006; 2007; Larner, 2000; 2003). Given this conceptual promiscuity (Brenner et al., 2009) some have suggested that the concept of 'neoliberalism' lacks analytical purchase (Barnett, 2006) and/or tends to produce accounts which understand 'neoliberalism' as a remote, abstract and distant phenomena.

This tendency to treat 'neoliberalism' as a distant and abstract concept risks a number of problems. Firstly, its potential reduction to checklists of factors undermines the explanatory power of the concept (Castree, 2005). In relation to this, there is the issue of defining phenomena as 'neo-liberal' or 'anti-neoliberal' without specifying their specific contents. Secondly, there is a risk that simultaneously under-defining and over-working the concept has the potential of casting neoliberalism as an overly pervasive and hegemonic project with little appreciation of geographic specificity (Larner, 2000; 2002; 2003; Brenner et al, 2010). Thirdly, and of most importance here, is Larner's assertion that;

“because neoliberalism was most often understood as either a unified set of policies or a political ideology, there was virtually a complete silence on the techniques of neoliberalism, the apparently mundane practices through which neoliberal spaces, states, and subjects are being constituted in particular forms. Best practice, audit, contracts, performance indicators, and benchmarks are all techniques worthy of geographical attention, but these were rarely mentioned. When they were, their constitutive aspects were downplayed in favour of accounts in which they were seen as

neutral 'tools'. Although there was some discussion about neoliberal subjects, most often in the form of the rise of the entrepreneurial, self-responsible individuals, the implication was that state somehow 'forces' people to act in these ways. The complex appeal of concepts such as 'freedom', 'empowerment', and 'choice' was rarely acknowledged and even less likely to be theorised."

(Larner, 2003, p. 211)

Larner points to a number of important articulations highly relevant for the research presented in this thesis. Firstly, whilst neoliberalism can and should be regarded as an expansive, proto hegemonic *project* with particular features, policies and programmes it is also a social and political *practice*. More than abstract ideas and remote institutions, neoliberalism is *praxis*. It is an operation of *power* and government which is not simply coercive (although it often manifests itself as this) but productive and constitutive.

Schematically, we can identify two broad conceptions of neoliberalism. Firstly, 'capital N' Neoliberalism (Ong, 2007) refers to the programmatic and relatively systematic aspects of unfolding neoliberalisation. Secondly, 'lower case n' neoliberalism denotes the micro-level practices associated with the technologies of neoliberal governmentality (Ibid). Capital N' analysis to neoliberalism sensitise us to the way in which local and national projects are entwined in global process of political, economic and social re-regulation whilst pointing to broad trends, trajectories and institutional transformations. However, as a method effect, they tend to elide the messy, contingent and articulated nature of policy reform (Larner 2000; 2003) and offer little explanation of 'bottom up' (Barnett et al., 2008) process of social change. Perhaps most usefully, Dikeç (2007b) understands 'neoliberalism' as a political rationality (see also Foucault, 2010a) and 'neoliberalisation' as forms of restructuring which are promoted by this rationality. Dikeç's definition is useful here because;

"First it emphasises process rather than a static condition. Second, it encourages an approach that does not reduce neoliberalism to the application of a set of economic

policies. Third, it pays attention to practices that (re-)constitute spaces, states, subjects, individuals and institutions for the purposes of government in a particular way.”

(Dikeç, 2007b, p. 26)

We can therefore understand ‘neoliberalisation’ as the practical application of ‘neoliberal’ ideas and rationalities. Importantly, this neoliberalisation is an *active* process and practice of government and regulation which articulates ideas of rational *government* with the technical and practical acts of *government* (Lemke, 2001). Thus, objects of government are constituted (in this case ‘awkward citizens’) as legitimate targets of governmental intervention (Dikeç, 2007b).

Firstly, this situation should not be mistaken for a straightforward top down appropriation of various neoliberal policy solutions aimed at awkward citizens (Barnett et al., 2008). Rather, we have at the institutional and regulatory level acts of accommodation, articulation and invention. For example, in chapter six (Visible Unpaid Work) government demands for efficiency and harsh labour were negotiated and mediated with reference to the ‘rehabilitative ethos’ of the probation service and articulated with ideas of ‘employability’. Similarly, in chapter five (Supported Accommodation) we see how organisations grappled with decaying physical architecture and the reorientation of the regulatory structures in terms of reformulated demands, outcomes and monitoring systems.

Secondly, the practical assembly of these re-calibrated state institutions involves a less-than-systematic holding together of disparate ideas, practices, techniques and systems – some of which were not designed or intended to be put to work in the service of ‘neoliberalism’. The assembly of regimes of practice associated with the government of awkward citizens need not necessarily be drawn from a tool box marked ‘neoliberal’. As Rose (1993) points out, the institutional and social instruments designed to implement neoliberalisation (be that the formulation of workfare programmes or the creation of employable subjects) are not always generated by right wing think tanks, policy units or policy networks. Rather, these machines of government are;

“an assemblage of diverse components, persons, forms of knowledge, technical procedures and modes of judgment and sanction. Each such 'dispositif' is a machine [...] more Heath Robinson than Audi, full of parts that come from elsewhere, strange couplings, chance relations, cogs and levers that don't work - and yet which 'work' in the sense that they produce effects that have meaning and consequences for us [...].”

(Rose, 1993, p. 287)

The diverse ideational basis of each intervention analysed in this thesis is a testament to both the ‘ambidextrous’ (Peck, 2010) nature of the neoliberal state and the phenomenologically seamless symbiosis of the assistive and punitive apparatus of the state. So, in the example of Supported Accommodation we have institutions which look to increase the social and economic capacities of residents through support programmes and activities *which at the same time* are buttressed by a form of contractual governance (O’Malley, 2000; Crawford, 2003; MacKenzie, 2008; see below) which not only threatens but actualises relegation to the margins of the social and effectively denies some subjects accesses to services. In a similar way, the re-orientation of the purposes of Visible Unpaid Work demonstrates a shift towards the punitive governance (through marked clothing) of marginality whilst retaining a discretionary commitment to ‘employability’ through a working on the self. Both of these aspects can be seen to correspond to processes of ‘roll out’ neoliberalism (see above, table two) and are also simultaneously assistive (albeit along neoliberal lines) and authoritarian modes of intervention.

2.3 Section Two: Governmentality

As Harvey (2007) alludes to above, Neoliberalism is more than just a programme of regulatory reform of social, economic and environmental policy. Rather, it is articulated and animated through and with empty signifiers such as ‘liberty’, ‘freedom’ and mid-level concepts such as ‘entrepreneurialism’ and appeals to ‘(free) markets’. The previous section emphasised the way in which neoliberalism has re-shaped macro-level and abstract processes. This section details how we can think of *neoliberalisation* as the unfolding of a governmental rationality and the materialisation of a programmatic-yet-articulated and variegated *praxis* (see above and Dikeç, 2007b). This praxis sutures the space between the ideas and re-regulative programmes of neoliberalism and the actual reformation of practices which institutionally embed neoliberalism in multifarious offices, schools, universities, prisons and the interventions covered in this thesis. These governmentalities give material, physical and embodied form to abstract notions such as ‘freedom’, ‘de-regulation’, ‘entrepreneurialism’ through the creation of practices and programmes which are designed to give rise to subjects, spaces, bodies and behaviour.

Neoliberalism is more than just a policy framework or ideological programme; it is also a *rationality of government*. This rationality is a constructive process which governs what is held to be *intelligible*, *sayable* and the criteria on which truth can be judged (Brown, 2006). More specifically, this *neoliberal* governmentality:

“is not confined to an expressly economic sphere, nor does it cast the market as natural and self-regulating even in the economic sphere. Part of what makes neoliberalism “neo” is that it depicts free markets, free trade, and entrepreneurial rationality as achieved and normative, as promulgated through law and through social and economic policy—not simply as occurring by dint of nature. [...] Neoliberalism also entails a host of policies that figure and produce citizens as individual entrepreneurs and consumers whose moral autonomy is measured by their capacity for “self-care”—their ability to provide for their own needs and service their own ambitions, whether as welfare recipients, medical patients, consumers of pharmaceuticals, university students, or workers in ephemeral occupations.”

(Brown, 2006, p. 694)

Thus, the market seeps into state-spaces which were *relatively* autonomous, worked contra to, or were otherwise judged against a different regime of truth to the imperatives of the market. Moreover, neoliberalism calls for the creation of self managing, self caring subjects capable of managing the economic and social burdens which neoliberalism places upon their shoulders. For example, whilst Esping-Andersen (1990; 1999) discussed the way in which welfare-state regimes effectively de-commodified labour, workfare programmes attempt the reverse (Peck, 2001). Closer to home in terms of this thesis we can see this process occurring in the case of the Supported Accommodation projects encountered in chapter five. In previous incarnations, such projects were 'hostels' which housed individuals for long periods of time with little monitoring or control and were judged only against organisational definitions of success characterised by a 'common sense' approach to service provision (Bacon et al. 1996; Van Doorn and Kain, 2003). By 2003 these regimes had been transformed: auditing, performance reviews and service level agreements augmented a more rigorous regime of behaviour management within each project. In effect the services had been marketised (at the level of the tendering process) and the 'truth' by which organisations operated re-configured through codified systems of auditing and accounting.

2.3.1 The art and rationale of liberal government

In our efforts to understand neoliberalism and the way in which awkward citizens are governed we must approach the notion of 'governmentality'. Considered both as a form of 'statecraft' (Peck, 2004) and by Brown (2003) as a political rationality, it is central to the ensuing discussion of intervention. Governmentality represents both an 'art of governing' and a system by which conduct and subjectivities can be can be reworked and refashioned.

For Foucault, liberalism (with or without the 'neo' suffix) does not constitute a period or ideology. Rather, it should be considered an ethos of government (Barry et al, 1996) which represents a constant auto-critique urging caution, prudence and crucially an imperative not to govern 'too much': Liberalism leaves alone (Foucault, 2010a). This notion of government emerged during the seventeenth century in

contrast to 'police state' models of government which sought to govern in terms of a totalising regime which desired full knowledge and complete transparency of subjects and territory (Foucault, 2010a; Rose, 1993; Barry et al., 1996). Political economy becomes a central measure against which government is justifiable, where political economy can be defined as "any method of government that can procure the nation's prosperity" (Foucault, 2010a, p. 13). As Foucault writes, in such forms of government:

"With political economy we enter an age whose principle could be this: A government is never sufficiently aware that it always risks governing too much, or, a government never knows too well how to govern just enough."

(Foucault, 2010a, p. 17)

Whilst in the police-state, the state colonised the social, in liberal government *society* becomes a political reality;

"What was discovered [...] at the end of the eighteenth century - was the idea of *society*. That is to say, that government not only has to deal with a territory, with a domain and its subjects, but that it also has to deal with a complex and independent reality that has its own laws and mechanisms of disturbance. This new reality is society. From the moment that one is to manipulate a society, one cannot consider it completely penetrable by police. One must take into account what it is. It becomes necessary to reflect upon it, upon its specific characteristics, its constraints and variables."

(Foucault, 1989, quoted in Barry et al., 1996, p. 9)

Given that 'society' has its own laws, principles and forces which one cannot govern through total domination, and that the liberal art of government concerns the maximisation of prosperity, the population emerges as a core target of both *knowledge* and *government*.

In liberalism, subjects have certain rights upon which politics cannot contradict (in contrast to the exercise of arbitrary power over the body) and a space which cannot be governed by sovereign strength of character alone because of a lack of systematic knowledge (Rose, 1993). Rather than the 'domain' of the sovereign, the state becomes something with its own properties, trajectories and logics subdivided into market, civil society and citizenship. The rationale of government then becomes to develop the techniques and capacities with which to manage, maximise, prioritise and facilitate these realms to enhance the prosperity of the state (Rose, 1993).

The task of rule then becomes twofold: developing and producing a liberal polity which is linked to the task of making sense of this re-conceptualised social space. This operation of power draws on both disciplinary technologies and bio-political strategies of information gathering and calculating:

Those mechanisms and devices operating according to a disciplinary logic, from the school to the prison, seek to produce the subjective conditions, the forms of self-mastery, self-regulation and self-control, necessary to govern a nation now made up of free citizens. From henceforth, citizenship will take an inescapably 'social' and 'civilized' form. At the same time, bio-political strategies - statistical enquiries, censuses, programmes for enhancement or curtailment of rates of reproduction or the minimisation of illness and the promotion of health - seek to render intelligible the domains whose laws liberal government must know and respect: legitimate government will not be arbitrary government, but will be based upon intelligence concerning those whose well-being it is mandated to enhance.

(Rose, 1993, pp. 289 – 290)

Firstly, and as noted above, the art of *liberal* government is reflexive and self critical: liberal government is somewhat more of an ethos and less of an operating manual of what and how to govern. What becomes a rational governmental practice is one which does not govern too much and is successful when judged against political economy.

2.3.2 Population and biopolitics

In *Security, Territory, Population* (2009), Foucault details the emergence of practices of government orientated around the maintenance of the *population* (Legg, 2005; Philo, 2005; Elden, 2007b). Sovereignty, as a practice of power, was characterised by a discontinuous absolute ability to adjudicate over life and death which took as its focus the maintenance of *territory*. In contrast, liberal governmentality focuses on the population and through bio-political technologies maximises its capacities. The concept of the 'population' resonates with the case-study material in three ways. Firstly, *biopolitics* involves an operation of power which is bound up with knowledge production: populations are brought into being through enumeration and classification (e.g. census data) and then deliberated on in order to maximise their potential (e.g. through social sciences). Secondly, this population is diagnosed, and intervened on, in its *specificity*. Thirdly, and following on from this, what emerges is a multi-faceted governmentality which incorporates disciplinary, governmental and sovereign operations of power.

Biopolitics concerns itself with the efficiency of the population and its environment which justifies the development of rationalised economic programmes such as pensions, savings and insurance schemes. This new technology of power which emerged at the end of the eighteenth century;

“is a new body, a multiple body, a body with so many heads that, while they might not be infinite in number, cannot necessarily be counted. Biopolitics deals with the population, with the population as a political problem, as a problem that is at once scientific and political, as a biological problem and as powers' problem.”

(Foucault, 2004, p. 245)

The idea of *population* becomes an object of government. This *population* is to have its capacities maximised with reference to the 'science of wealth' of political economy (Poovey, 1995). Of course, this 'political economy' compels the sovereign to govern as little as possible (Foucault, 2008; Senellart, 2008)

but requires the development of a bio-politics which develops a statistical regime of knowledge designed to understand the dynamics of the population. Thus, as Elden points out:

“Biopolitics is the means by which the group of living beings understood as a population is measured in order to be governed, tied to the political rationality of liberalism”

(Elden, 2007a, p. 32)

Thus, the specification and conception of the population is bound up with the practice of liberal governmentality. Importantly for this thesis, biopolitics entails the creation and praxis of knowledge. The cardinal aspect of each of the case study interventions concerns the formation of knowledge and the identification of problem populations. Measurement matters and enumeration counts: each of the interventions concerns themselves with (albeit in different ways) understanding chaotic lifestyles, gathering data on elusive subjects and engaging with the ‘hard to govern’. These everyday practices of knowledge formation are complimented by a proliferation of expert reports, papers and documents which specify ‘best practice’, outline service standards and the latest medical and psychological ‘facts’ which explain both the ‘being’ of the awkward citizen and the desired mode of intervention. This compendium of evidence shows how populations of awkward citizens differ from the ‘regular’ population and, when combined with discourses of science (specifically psychological disciplines), what steps can be taken to reform them. In one sense, what the case-studies demonstrate, is the existence of a ‘micro-biopolitics’ which looks to understand and engage with the awkward citizen. We can see this most clearly in chapter five where the Supported Accommodation projects vet applicants for their suitability through primary data collection (e.g. interviews) and secondary sources (e.g. informal police contacts).

This deliberation on ‘awkward citizens’ constitutes particular individuals as a problem population to be governed (in this case a group of individuals who share a range of behaviours and attitudes deemed unacceptable). This population, which is the focus of this research, is problematic from the point of view of liberalism because these subjects are failing to exercise their abilities to the detriment of themselves and the wider population. Whilst the liberal rationale of government impels not to govern ‘too much’, ‘too much’ does not mean ‘not at all’. Thus, where failure is evident, intervention is a liberal necessity.

Thus, certain populations can be understood as problematic and in need of special forms of state intervention.

2.3.3 Population, freedom and the less-than-free subject

As noted in the previous chapter, the central problematic of this thesis concerns the way in which particular populations are governed in the present. The previous section explained how the ‘population’ emerged as the central object of liberal government. However, the ‘population’ is not understood as a homogenous mass of individuals who have equal properties and propensities. The study of political economy coupled with the knowledge gathering systems of bio-politics uncovered contours of abilities and potentialities. In Adam Smith’s attempts to formulate a science of wealth he noted that “some segments of the population required the kind of oversight that others did not need” (Poovey, 1995, p. 26). Thus, liberal government has always sought to seek out, and work on and with those subjects who are not maximising their potential.

To take some examples from the current UK government, the ‘Behavioural Insights Team’ (also known as the ‘Nudge Unit’) researches the ways in which citizen behaviour can be modified to enhance their health, wellbeing and wider capacities in mostly rather mundane ways: from increasing organ donorship to reducing alcohol consumption in ways which maintain ‘choice’ (Cabinet Office, 2011; see Pykett et al. 2011 for a summary). Other interventions, aimed at more specifically problematic groups are somewhat less concerned with ‘choice’ and more overt and direct. Take for example the idea of ‘early intervention’ which targets the children of ‘at-risk’ parents.

“the wrong type of parenting and other adverse experiences can have a profound effect on how children are emotionally ‘wired’. This will deeply influence their future responses to events and their ability to empathise with other people.”

(Allen, 2011, p. xiii)

Obviously, this approach is rather less subtle and more overtly interventionist than the approach advocated by the 'Behavioural Insights Team'. Due to the nature of their diagnosable characteristics, this population requires more oversight than others. These two examples, from the Behavioural Insights Team and the Early Intervention Review Team, neatly highlight both the currency and the diversity of approaches involved in the advanced/paternal liberal government of particular populations. These populations are governed differently: for minor matters (e.g. smoking, renewal of driving licences) and majority populations the art of liberal government demands a choice (Foucault, 2009: Cabinet Office, 2011). For the more pressing problems of smaller populations they are more immediate, direct, and forceful. However, they both share a commitment to change behaviour through assistive intervention rather than legislation or threat of punishment.

It is these latter, more focused, interventions that this thesis discusses: often based on the psyche, frequently conditional, sometimes embodied but always intense. However, throughout this thesis it should be remembered that participation and rule occurs by *consent* rather than *coercion*. Even in the case of Visible Unpaid Work, engagement in 'employability' programmes is voluntary. Therefore, this is a problem of liberty and freedom:

"Broadly speaking, in the liberal regime, in the liberal art of government, freedom of behaviour is entailed, called for, needed and serves as a regulator, but it also has to be produced and organised. [...] Freedom is something which is constantly produced. Liberalism is not acceptance of freedom; it presupposes to manufacture it constantly, to arouse it and produce it...

(Foucault, 2008 p. 65)

'Freedom' is not 'free'. It is something to be produced and regulated. As Pykett et al. (2011) state, liberal government as a governmentality is always a project which looks to manage the conduct of individuals who are exercising their freedom improperly. Moreover, Brown (1995) notes that ideas of freedom are deployed in liberal regimes to designate those who can, and those who cannot, exercise their freedom. In response:

“through a variety of agencies and regulations, the liberal state provides the webbing for the social body dismembered by liberal individualism and administers the increasing number of subjects disenfranchised and deracinated by capital’s destruction of social and geographic bonds.”

(Brown, 1995, p. 17)

Each case study engages with differing regimes and strategies of rule which are applied to those who are failing in some way or other to exercise their freedom and maximise their capacities in-line with the imperatives of wider society.

2.3.4 Governing the awkward citizen

Although the population emerges as the central tenant of liberal governmentality, this does not mean that *discipline* and/or *sovereignty* as modes of power have become archaic or irrelevant.

“we should not see things as a replacement of a society of sovereignty [borders, territory] by a society of discipline [body], and then a society of discipline by a society, say, of government [population]. In fact we have a triangle: sovereignty, discipline, and governmental management which has population as its main target and apparatus of security as its essential mechanism”

(Foucault, 2009, pp. 107-108)

Thus, combined with macro-level bio-political strategies of power, liberal governmentalities should be thought of as comprising a range of techniques of power which target both the individual and the population. For Elden (2007a, 2007b), the centre of this discipline-sovereignty-governmentality triangle represents a space of political action which “allows us to inject historical and geographical specificity into Foucault’s narrative (p. 30). For Rose, these three elements function less as ‘coordinates’ but are enfolded and bound together under the concept of governmentality and are put to work on the general

problematic of government: “the best way to exercise powers over conduct individually and en masse so as to secure the good of each and of all” (Rose, 1999, p. 23). Thus, we can understand the working out of liberal governmentality as a complex which entails the;

“exercise of discipline over bodies (anatomo-politics); ‘police supervision’ of the inhabitants of the sovereign’s territory; the bio-political regulation of the ‘species life’ of a population); and the self-formation through ethical care of the self.”

(Huxley, 2007, p. 187)

As such, the pursuit of a liberal form of government concerns *both* aggregate and individualised operations of power. Whilst disciplinary power takes the body in its particularity, biopolitical power functions to analyse society at the aggregate, and ethical projects of the self encourage individuals to reflect on their condition (Foucault, 2004). In short, the development of modern governmentality “had to have methods of power capable of optimizing forces, aptitudes, and life in general without at the same time making them more difficult to govern” (Foucault, 1998, p. 141).

2.3.5 Four strategies and techniques of intervention

The previous section outlined Foucault’s notion of governmentality and how particular ideas about the individual and the role of government have emerged. As Huxley (2007; see above) pointed out, contemporary technologies of rule encompass a gamut of technologies and practices which variously: regulate the population; discipline bodies; police the social and; encourage ethical self-formation. This section outlines four techniques deployed in the case studies which aim to reform awkward citizens. As Dikeç argues, governmentality involves the “constitution of objects of governance and the modes of thought [...] which then makes specific forms of intervention possible” (2007b, p. 22). This section shows how techniques and practices (ethical self-fashioning, contractual governance, disciplinary power and sovereignty- visibility) all operate to reshape the conduct of awkward citizens to the benefit of “each and of all” (Rose, 1999, p. 23). Each technique of government firstly constitutes its target population (e.g. as unruly/undisciplined bodies) and then suggests the most suitable modes of

intervention (e.g. the regulation of day and night). These outlines and examples will be developed and expanded upon in the empirical chapters.

In each of the interventions covered in this thesis, the individual emerges as an object of state power. However, this power is not simply a 'power over' (e.g. to detain, discipline and micro manage, or to take life) but an enabling form of power. As explained above, the exercise of liberal government looks to 'make free' *wherever possible* (Foucault, 2010a). When it comes to awkward citizens the interventions outlined in this thesis do not seek to *constantly* monitor and control the actions of their service users in minute detail. Rather, through a variety of means, they look to forge enduring dispositions and attitudes. Walkerdine suggests a;

“shift in modes of regulation which we might think about coheres around the movement from practices of policing and external regulation to technologies of self-regulation in which *subjects come to understand themselves as responsible for their own regulation and the management of themselves* is understood as central to a neo-liberal project in which class differences are taken to have melted away. The neo-liberal subject is the autonomous liberal subject made in the image of the middle class.”

(Walkerdine, 2003, p. 239, author's emphasis)

The individual is thus constructed as an object of various governmental interventions: be they aggregate operations at the level of the economy or the intimate anatomo-politics at the scale of the individual. Individuals do not come into the world in a preformed state endowed with essential abilities. Instead, they need to be produced and endowed with capacities (Veyne, 2010). The interventions in this thesis look to re-shape individuals in order that they have the correct capacities, attitudes and dispositions. In this sense, governmentality articulates modes of thought (e.g. liberalism as a guiding rationale) with constitutions of subjects (as 'mad', 'chaotic') which legitimises particular forms of intervention and engagement with specific citizens in certain spaces (Dikeç, 2007b).

Throughout this thesis subjects are actively constructed and diagnosed by practitioners as having particular conditions which require specific forms of management. Specific interventions govern with the intention not of subduing or removing awkward citizens but of producing new subjectivities and attitudes which are compatible with a liberal notion of the subject (Foucault, 2009, 2010a). This chapter now turns to discussing these techniques of subject-making in more detail by discussing four techniques of government which are prevalent in the three case studies.

2.3.5.1 'Counselling' and the psyche of the awkward citizen

The first theme of intervention is the counselling and 'psy' (Miller and Rose, 2008) techniques encountered in chapter four which are designed to engage with both the psyche and ethical disposition of awkward citizens. Governmental techniques primarily concern the shaping of disposition and the practice of ethical formation. Although these techniques involve the body they tend to be focused on the *psyche* of the subject first and foremost (Rose, 1996; 1999). Moreover, they are at once an intimate and remote practice: intimate in the sense that the engagement itself looks to delve deeply and explore the subject's sense of self and remote in that the dispositional effects play out after the encounter. As noted in the previous chapter, the subject of welfare is increasingly being re-cast as a primarily 'psychological-subject' (Edwards et al. 1999; Füredi, 2004; Gibson, 2009; Rose, 1996; Scanlon and Adlam, 2008; 2010; Stenner and Taylor, 2009).

The rise and rise of 'psy' explanations to social problems has, as chapter four demonstrates, extended to the government of awkward citizens. This represents a deepening individualisation and atomisation of subjects and subjectivities in accord with New Right/Neoliberal discourses of what it means to be a citizen. Moreover, this individualisation undercuts class based identifications which could be used as the basis for political action (Walkerdine, 1998; 2003).

“Psychology is productive: it does not simply bias or distort or incarcerate helpless individuals in oppressive institutions. It regulates, classifies and administers; it produces

those regulative devices which form us as objects of child development, schooling, welfare agencies, medicine, multi-cultural education, personnel practices and so forth.

(Henriques et al., 1998, p. 1)

Thus, rather than a purely technical application of an inert knowledge, the insertion of 'psy' techniques and epistemologies influences both how individuals are constructed (e.g. as having troubled thoughts - a topic which will be discussed in chapter four) and how they are dealt with (as needing to improve their attitudes to labour in chapter six). Rather than simply being 'given' subject positions (e.g. offender, substance user) through various disciplinary forms of documentations, *individuals are encouraged to think of themselves differently*. In short, in chapters four and six, individuals are encouraged to re-consider how they relate to themselves and others. Whilst undoubtedly systems of regulation and administration, these techniques also represent sophisticated attempts to ethically re-constitute individuals as governable subjects.

These themes are most fully examined in chapter four which draws on Foucault's (2010b) notion of parrhesia. Straightforward (disciplinary) practices of guidance are deemed inappropriate and are replaced by a series of strategies which encourage individuals to reflect on their lives *in the first instance*. What follows is a pedagogical approach towards the individual and/or one in which the individual is encouraged to reflect on their circumstances more deeply. Therefore, the subject is constructed as both an object of 'psy' knowledge and an individual who can be supported through application of this same knowledge. Effectively, the aim is to produce subjects who can enact a coherent form of self government upon themselves rather than subjects who require constant monitoring (Cruikshank, 1999).

Secondly, in the case of Visible Unpaid Work, '*employability*' emerges from maelstrom of punitive practice as a form of rehabilitation. Employability confers upon the individual (rather than the state or civil society) the obligation to render themselves as employable (Fejes, 2010). The notion of 'employability' denotes both 'hard' (qualifications, experience) and 'soft' skills (attitude, dress, personal hygiene etc.) (Ball, 2009; Peck and Theodore, 2000). As a supply side intervention, the onus is on the

individual to equip themselves with the correct attributes (McQuaid and Lindsay, 2005; Peck and Theodore, 2000). Individual offenders are encouraged to consider themselves as entrepreneurial subjects who are capable of managing their employability and minimising their risk of unemployment. Chapter six shows how the individual is encouraged to engage in a 'reflexive project of the self' (Wlakerdine, 2005, p. 47) and construct themselves as a subject who is able to demonstrate the conducts amenable to paid labour.

2.3.5.2 Contract and conditionality

A second characteristic of intervention concerns the imposition of *contractual and conditional* techniques of governance which awkward citizens are subjected to. These are primarily most evident in the case of Supported Accommodation (chapter five) where we see conditional tenancy agreements, and secondarily, in Visible Unpaid Work (chapter five) where 'community' becomes an exclusive rather than inclusive concept. Whilst the Keynesian welfare state professed to universalism, contemporary welfare arrangements are increasingly embedded in a language of *conditionality* and *contract* (Wiggin, 2011; Dwyer, 2002). Although part of mainstream welfare administration in the UK since the mid 1990s, more recently the logic of 'something for something' has crossed policy boundaries and seeped into welfare and support provision for awkward citizens (Dobson and McNeil, 2011). Thus, conditionality, rather than straightforward revanchism represents an emerging tool of neoliberal social policy. In this thesis, and in other areas of marginal welfare provision, conditionality is enacted through a system of contractual governance.

As a governmental technology we can think of the development of contractual government as having two distinct effects. Firstly it *rationalises* and secondly it concerns itself with the *future* (Crawford, 2003; Mackenzie, 2008). The idea of a contract between autonomous, competent and self-interested individuals represents a keystone of liberal capitalism. The contract binds ideas of mutual obligation and consequence to individuals and organisations who are party to a given contract. Importantly the contract presumes at least a semblance of equity between the partners.

As Crawford (2003) points out, contractual systems of government have become common in diverse fields of behaviour control: from home-school agreements to social housing tenancies via youth-offending contracts as well as more obvious measures such as Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (Flint and Nixon, 2006; Painter, 2006). As a particular governmentality, we can think of contractual practices as a technology which both *presumes* a rational actor *and* looks to *produce* one (Read, 2009). Of course this fiction of a rational homo-economicus represents a foundational myth of neoliberal governmental programmes (Read, 2009; Foucault, 2010a). In short, such techniques call into existence something which is held to be pre-existing (Lemke, 2000).

Moreover, the contract is a useful technique of social governance in that it;

“encourages ‘self-regulation’ and ultimately ‘self-policing’. The more people believe that they have choice in, and ownership of, an agreement, the more they are likely to adhere to its logic. In this sense, contracting is ‘reflexive’ as it seeks to achieve the collaboration and cooperation of those subject to the regulation, favouring self-regulation.”

(Crawford, 2003, pp. 489-490)

Thus, like the ‘psy’ techniques, the individual self becomes the centre of intervention. In addition, like ideas of employability, the subject is encouraged to self-govern in the interests of the self and others.

Moreover, the contract is a technique which looks to regulate the inherent uncertainty and instability of the future. The contract is therefore a form of government which diminishes risk and uncertainty:

“Contracts necessitate [...] ‘presentation’: the bringing of the future into the present. Governing the future, paradoxically, requires both planning and flexibility. Planning seeks to know the future on the basis of the present, but confronts the demand for flexibility in the face of everchanging circumstances.”

(Crawford, 2003, p. 499)

Thus, contractual modes of government look to grasp the future and minimise uncertain outcomes through entraining the subject in their own self government. Crucially, the contract is *always* based in the present and past and demands the excavation of knowledge about particular subjects. In the kinds of intervention discussed here, the individual is asked to sign a contract based on knowledge of their previous behaviour. In chapter five, where this technology is most fully deployed, the individual is subjected to an interview to determine their suitability for residence through the use of a ‘checklist’ questionnaire. Whilst contractual modes of government encourage the subject to self-govern, the practical application of the contract remains rooted in a system of disciplinary knowledge.

Again, behaviour and attitudes come together, and once more subjectivity is the driver of conduct. The contract is intended to produce a particular subjectivity (commitment and obligation) which will be confirmed through behaviour. Moreover, time becomes an object of governmental consideration. Although the contract is itself rooted in rational-mechanistic readings of the subject and subjectivity, when considered in relation to the notion that the future is inherently unstable-yet-manageable, the *temporal* emerges as a terrain of government. The act of ‘presentation’ points towards a reading of time which is non-linear. Instead, temporality is, like space, something to be shaped and modified (see Huxley, 2006). Through the contract, the past, present and future become enfolded, inter-active and malleable. These issues play out most prominently in chapter five which discusses the unstable time-spaces of Supported Accommodation projects and again in chapter seven which engages with cross-cutting themes of temporality and spatiality.

2.3.5.3 Dressage: The micro-practices of disciplinary power

Chapter five details the way in which residential ‘Supported Accommodation’ projects function to produce particular bodies capable of good, ordered and regular conduct. We can conceptualise these practices of disciplinary power and anatomo-politics as techniques of *dressage*. For Marxian as well as governmentality scholars, the body and soul of the subject has long been an object of political deliberation. What is clear is that the production of ‘people’ “involves an enormous variety of processes – from biological procreation to media consumption, from education and training to clothing and caring – which tend to be anchored not only in the labour market but in the household, community, and the state.” (Peck, 1996, p. 38). Thus, individuals, their bodies and souls, do not arrive in the world in a ready

made state. They must be produced with the skills attitude and discipline required of the labour market and wider society. Whilst the formation of these skills and attitudes is obviously of paramount importance, if that labour cannot reproduce itself in a manner conducive to the execution of those skills and abilities (broadly defined) then that labour is of little use to the market.

This brings us to the Supported Accommodation projects encountered in chapter five. What if an individual must go to the chemist to collect her/his methadone everyday, and this makes them drowsy (not to mention the stigma attached)? What if they have a 'chaotic lifestyle' and are prone to relapses? What if they have no fixed abode, and cannot guarantee a good nights sleep? These are questions of the mundane and the everyday which places such Thomas House and Bishop Place are engaged in producing (Lefebvre, (1991 [1947]; 2002 [1961]; 2005 [1981]; (2002 [1984])).

Driver (2004) points to the Victorian conception of 'morals' which were given shape through the workhouse system. Rather than an internal substance, 'morals' were held to be embodied and concerned with *conduct*. During the Victorian period, 'morals' became a core concern of social policy.

"The aim was to re-form the undisciplined impulses of paupers, criminals and delinquents, cultivating within them a sense of moral agency. [...] moral treatment proceeded not by mental therapy but through a regime of 'normal' habits and routines. To be 'demoralised' was, in this discourse, to be beyond the social pale, without discipline. The aim of 'moral' regulation, then, was to improve the *morale*, the self discipline of individual human agents."

(Driver, 2004, pp. 10-11)

Morals thus constituted embodied practices (routines, behaviours, conducts temporarily constituted (see chapter seven - discussion) which were legitimate objects of intervention and reform. In this approach, mind and body have a certain unity. Of course, the workhouse and the Supporting People funded accommodation project are vastly different exercises of power. However, as will be demonstrated with the help of empirical examples the belief that embodied conduct is an exercise of

ethical substance remains strong. To be physically active is to be an ethically sound subject (Binkley, 2009; Darier, 1998).

Lefebvre uses the term dressage to describe the way in which particular behaviours are produced in human beings. Meanwhile, Foucault uses the term 'dressage' in *Discipline and Punish* to discuss the creation of docile bodies and obedient subjects and subjectivities. In this analysis, the body is the object over which the techniques of dressage are executed (Elden, 2004a). According to Lefebvre dressage is important because;

“To enter into society, group or nationality is to accept values (that are taught), to learn a trade by following the right channels, but also to bend oneself (to be bent) to its ways. Which means to say: dressage.”

(Lefebvre, 2004 [1992], p. 39)

The notion that one must 'bend oneself' touches on elements of the governmentality literature which address the production of ethically self directing subjects as well as the suggestion of discipline and application of *external* force. The notion of dressage thus has elements of both consent and some degree of coercion, pointing to complex power arrangements within the act of dressage. Indeed, it implies that the subject must be a willing participant; they must give over something of themselves to the authority which administers the process. It also involves extensive repetition and work for the animal or person being 'broken in';

“In the course of *being broken-in* animals *work*. Of course, they do not produce an object, be it with a machine, a technique or with their limbs...They reproduce their bodies, which are entered into the social... The bodies of *broken-in* animals have a use-value. As in humans where odours make way for the visual. Dressage puts into place an automatism of repetitions...”

(Lefebvre, 2004 [1992], p. 40)

The notion that work in this instance is 'work on the self' again resonates with the governmentality literature, and also suggests the movement from a state where the body has little utility to a form where the body has a use value. Dressage is closely tied to the idea of repetition; in order to be 'broken-in' behaviours need to be repeated and reproduced with an appropriate degree of consistency. Moreover, this process involves the act making the body the explicit and implicit target of power. Discipline is directed at the formation and refinement of skill, but also aims to form obedience so that these skills can be put to profitable use. Discipline separates power from the body. With one hand it gives a capacity to act, an ability, but with the other it undermines the potential of that ability to be used in an un-disciplined manner.

"It turns it into a relation of strict subjection. If economic exploitation separates the force and the product of labour, let us say that disciplinary coercion establishes on the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and an increased domination."
(Foucault, 1991 [1975], p. 138)

Thus, when the body is targeted by power the aim is to produce both bodies with aptitudes, attitudes and behaviours, but those bodies must also be obedient and docile. Dressage is an act of spatial, temporal, bodily and attitudinal discipline and ordering;

"Dressage fills the space of the unforeseen, of the initiative of living beings. Thus functions the ways of breaking in humans: military knowledge, the rites of politeness, business. Space and time thus laid out make room for humans, for education, for initiative: for liberty. A little room. More of an illusion: dressage does not disappear. It determines the majority of rhythms."
(Lefebvre, 2004 [1992], p. 40)

As will be shown in the empirical material, the unforeseen (and the unseen) is one of the most important and most difficult elements to be overcome. As Elden (2004a) notes, intimately bound up with the notion of dressage is the notion of time. For Lefebvre, there is both cyclical and linear time. Cyclical time is rhythmic, there is no beginning and no end; it is what might be termed biological or 'natural' time (Elden, 2004a, p. 196). On the other hand, linear time is the time of technology, production and capitalism (Elden, 2004a, p. 196). The two coexist and intermingle, for example, sleeping

still corresponds to something approximating a natural state. The body is the site where these two versions of time collide, and this is where 'dressage' becomes significant. Dressage is the process through which individuals are trained to discipline their bodies to fit the demands of linear (technological/abstract) time rather than cyclical (biological/everyday) time (Elden, 2004a, p197).

As identified in the concept of 'moral' as embodied practice, 'dressage' links behaviour and conduct with attitude and disposition. As will be demonstrated in chapter five (Supported Accommodation Projects) the psyche and body are held together in unity. Note how this differs from the counselling based techniques encountered in chapter four which take the psyche as the primary place of intervention. In the case of Supported Accommodation, the body and its habits, behaviour and 'being' are both the target of disciplinary power and the way in which ethical positivity is demonstrated. Whilst nominally a practice of anatomo-politics, the body and the soul are held together as co-extensive entities which presuppose one other. The practices of discipline are at one with the system of government (Foucault, 2009).

2.3.5.4 Sovereignty and visibility

The final characteristic of intervention concerns the re-emergence and persistence of a governmental rationality centred on *sovereign* and *ocular* operations of power. Whilst in *Discipline and Punish* Foucault (1991) [1975] details the decline of sovereign power and its gruesome spectacles of punishment, as is charted in the discussion of Visible Unpaid Work in chapter six, the return of a minor spectacle of punishment can now also be traced. However, more than just a spectacle of punishment, chapter six also documents a space of multiple and overlapping governmentalities: sovereign, governmental and disciplinary (Huxley, 2007). Thus, we have a 'space of politics' (Elden, 2007a' 2007b: see above) and a set of practices which are nominally historically discontinuous but are held together in the present under the general problematic of government (Rose, 1999; see above).

Chapter six argues that Visible Unpaid Work functions differently from the other two interventions because of its ostensibly spectacular rationale. This renewed commitment to visibility can be considered as a response to a lack of confidence in the operation of modern penal practice. Like the archaic spectacle of the execution, VUpW uses the visible as a means of communicating the efficacy of state power. Whilst executions and public punishments demonstrated the power of the sovereign state to

take life and damage the body, the governmental-sovereign spectacle re-enforces the state's power over both unruly *populations* (governmental) and (potentially) unstable *spaces* (sovereignty). Moreover, the visceral demonstration of state power renders the juridical and punitive organs of the state material and experiential rather than abstract and intellectual in precisely the locales where the territorial and sovereign legitimacy of the state is called into question (i.e. problem neighbourhoods c.f. Dikeç, 2007a; 2007b). Thus, at the same time, and in the same space, we can see the overlapping operation of multiple governmentalities and operations of power which span the governmental, the disciplinary and the sovereign.

2.4 Section Three: Spaces of Governmentality

Government is an inherently spatial activity in which place is more than simply a backdrop of other social activity (Rose, 1999; Huxley, 2006). A core contention of this thesis is that, in the practice of governing awkward citizens, the production of spaces is essential to techniques of government. For example the Supported Accommodation projects examined in chapter five represent attempts to carve out new spaces of government which, in arrangement with other regimes of practice, produce disciplined bodies and manageable spaces. As Huxley points out:

“Governmentality, thus, involves the fabrication of ‘governable spaces’ in which questions of boundaries and territorial limits are implicated in determining domains of objects and types of subjects requiring government. It is here that the dividing, categorising, calculating and normalizing practices in spaces of discipline of individuals meet with wider projects of government, where ‘anatomo-power’ directed at bodies connects with ‘bio-power’ concerned with populations.”

(2006, p. 772)

It is this point of connection, between the population (and the need for its aggregate maximisation and prosperity) and the individual and their lived-material world (and the need for their regulation and

liberty), with which this thesis engages. The act of government enacts *productive* divisions and develops compartments which ‘cut-up’ the world in order to “bring new facets and forces, new intensities and relations into being” (Rose, 1999, p. 31).

Spatialised government occurs at a number of scales. At the macro level, during the nineteenth century, the idea of a ‘national economy’ emerges as an object of knowledge. This particular spatial domain is held to have particular characteristics, properties and laws which can be made knowable (and thus modifiable) through a range of statistical and technological operations which could demonstrate GDP, rate of growth, balance of payments etc. (Rose, 1999). These territorialisations are subject to change and re-calibration as demonstrated by the current pre-eminence of the global as the primary space of ‘economy’.

These *spaces of government* do not merely function at macro and/or abstract level. Instead, as follows from the specification and identification of problem elements within the population, minor spaces of government have emerged. From the poor house, the prison and the asylum to the ghetto, the banlieue and the homeless hostel (Poovey, 1995; Driver, 2004; Dikeç, 2007a; Wacquant, 2008), micro spaces and practices of government directed at particular populations have been a constant feature of modern government. As noted above, in order to produce a functioning population, certain subjects require special methods of government. Whilst some subjects are suitably equipped to exercise their liberty, others are not. Characterised as being a part of, yet different to, the ‘population’ the poor and the disposed were held as requiring intervention which would produce their own well being *and* the prosperity of the population. This process of differential governance of subjects in the name of *population* represents an important historical shift away from exclusion and towards *disciplinary* regimes and spaces (Foucault (1991) [1975]; Elden, 2001).

2.4.1 Producing the spaces of government

Whilst governmentality scholars have emphasised the way in which subjects and phenomena are constructed and brought into relation with each other as objects of government they have focused less

on the issue of space (Raco, 2003; Murdoch, 2004; Dikeç, 2007b). Like subjects, spaces are formed through social action:

“spaces of urban policy are constructed – rather than already given – [...] such spaces are imagined and used in the formation of problems and policies. [...] In other words, variations in the ways space is imagined and manipulated matter.”

(Dikeç, 2007b, p. 6)

The necessarily spatial aspect of governmental thought thus produces a range of territorialisations (Rose, 1999). These territorialisations allow for knowledge through segmentation and *produce* particular behaviours and relations whilst at the same time precluding others. These spaces do not simply emerge pre-formed but are instead both *produced* and *lived*. Governmental thought and action has penetrated and enclosed institutional spaces (the prison, asylum, homeless hostel, hospital, school) as well as regions, neighbourhoods and households. Historically, these interventions took many shapes with a particular focus on the delimitation of problem populations and neighbourhoods (Poovey, 1995; Valverde, 1998; Huxley, 2006). For example, during the mid nineteenth century, Thomas Chalmers engaged in a project which looked to;

“go forth among the people; and there to superinduce the principles of an efficient morality [...] to work transformation of taste and character [...] infusing into every practical movement, along with the elements of passion and interest, the elements of duty, and of wisdom, and of self estimation.”

(Chalmers, quoted in Poovey, 1995, p. 35)

Far from an isolated example, Poovey also outlines Edwin Chadwick's 1842 *Sanitary Report* which was the result of extensive research and inspections of homes and neighbourhoods. In the present, Dikeç (2007a) details the specification of particular 'priority neighbourhoods' (populated by the poor) singled

out for particular governmental attention. Meanwhile, in an eerie echo of Chadwick and Chalmers' dwelling based intervention, Schinkel and van den Berg (2011) detail how 'Intervention Teams' comb the deprived regions of Rotterdam investigating assorted 'hotspots' of negative behaviours (crime, unemployment) and statuses ('illegal' immigrants) and enter individual dwellings to conduct surveys. In the past and the present, place has been understood as a substance with the potential to create unruly and disruptive subjects (c.f. Poovey, 1995; Popke, 2001; Dikeç, 2007a; 2007b; Heimstra 2010; Schram et al., 2010; Schinkel and van den Berg (2011).

On the other hand, space has historically been held to have generative properties;

"Spaces can be delimited for various purposes to produce grids of classification, order and discipline; but equally to foster particular kinds of environmental qualities (cleanliness, beauty); or to concentrate or fragment the effects of broader social process found to be present in particular localities (social progress/regress)."

(Huxley, 2007, p. 195)

Huxley (2006) demonstrates this approach with reference to the development of 'Model Towns' and their associated problematisation of the urban and its residents. Through the creation and manufacture of architecture and landscape, the problems of idleness, drunkenness, crime etc. endemic in urban areas were to be eradicated. The production of physical and material spaces is held to support and encourage positive behaviours. Thus, in this example, the production of space and architecture was hoped to offer potential solutions for problematised behaviours. In effect, this conception holds together ideas about space that are at once *abstract* and *lived*.

2.4.2 The Lived Spaces of Governmentality: Lefebvre and Bauman

As alluded to by Huxley (2007, see above) spaces of government are designed to be lived *in and through*. Therefore, this final elucidation of 'space' and *lived* government draws on the work of Henri Lefebvre and Zygmunt Bauman who offer us a way to understand both the problematic of space itself (in its

programmatic and lived forms) and the potential for instability and uncertainty which lies at the heart of attempts to govern social space.

Lefebvre gives us a reading of space which opens up a range of productive possibilities when considered alongside a governmentality approach. For Lefebvre, space is rich, textured, dynamic, vibrant and open to modification. This introduces a sense of local context and contingency into the operation of governmentality which allows for sensitivity to local interpretations, actions and decisions. In particular, it allows us to better understand how breakdowns and failures of governmental rationality come about and how acts of resistance and subversion take on material form (Cadman, 2010; Elden, 2007a; Foucault, 2009; Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]). As Elden (2007b) notes Foucault's work requires contextualisation in order to develop its utility and Lefebvre's account of lived, perceived and materialised social spaces allows for an understanding of how government works with material bodies and places (Evans and Colls, 2009).

Lefebvre's notion of *abstract space* represents the ideational space of architects and planners. For Merrifield this abstract space;

“impregnates people, socialises everybody as spatial bodies and class subjects; its inbuilt principle allows it to function within lived space and to flourish as all there is to be perceived”

(Merrifield, 2006, pp. 112-113).

The creation of abstract space can therefore be considered an operation of governmental rationality through attempts to produce spaces appropriate to the formation of 'good conduct' (Huxley, 2007). Rose (1999) argues that Lefebvre's abstract space destroys lived experience and crushes subjectivity and instead suggests that spaces of governmentality are generative of experience through the forging of new relationships between phenomena and subjects. However, it is argued here that although hegemonising, there is no sense of 'crushing' within Lefebvre's reading of abstract space. Rather, the

creation and interpretation of 'abstract' space can be seen as a productive moment in the unfolding of a given governmentality. Thus, Lefebvre's abstract space is governmental in the sense that it produces a 'grid of intelligibility' (Dean, 1999) which cuts social experience into intelligible blocks and then provides the foundations for the institution of particular practical regimes of government. Abstract space, like governmentality, should therefore be understood as a practice which *makes possible*.

Secondly, governmental regimes of thought which privilege ideas of the spatial as a mechanism for behavioural reform have an almost Heideggerian approach to space which suggests that space is constitutive of the 'being' of an individual (Huxley, 2006). Thus, Lefebvre's framework ushers in a multi-faceted reading of space and time which alerts us to how space and time are enfolded in the operation of governmental practice. Both space and time are sites of intervention in and of themselves. For example, in the case of visible unpaid work (chapter six), space and time are re-ordered and re-configured through the spatial and temporal construction of the 'offending' body (re)placed into their social context and their offence re-temporised in the present (see also chapter seven).

In this thesis, the interventions aimed at awkward citizens are engaged with as they exist *in the material present* (rather than treating government as a remote operation c.f. Cobb, 2007; Evans and Colls, 2009). Therefore, the lived experience of space and time represent an important element of analysis in this thesis. Again, drawing on Lefebvre, space is understood as something which is *actively and directly lived and experienced*. This dialectical approach treats space as something which is alive and productive (Merrifield, 1993). Whilst managers, planners and practitioners look to develop particular, well ordered spaces, others seek continually to subvert, undermine and derail these plans (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]).

Thirdly, Lefebvre points to the *elusive* and *dialectical* nature of space (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]; Merrifield, 1993). Space *emerges* as something which is *alive, hard to pin down* (Merrifield, 2006) and contains liminal and subliminal aspects (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]). This movement between moments of stability and instability represents a central facet of spatial experience, especially in the case of the Supported Accommodation projects discussed in chapter five. Lefebvre's work points to a vibrant and dynamic social space through which individuals are formed and reformed. Moreover, Lefebvre's conception of

space is one which only ever achieves a fleeting stability in the face of this contingency. Thus, what emerges is an *ambivalence* and an *instability* at the heart of social space including those which are presented as 'governable' spaces. In spite of this volatility there remains a governmental impulse which looks to produce ordered, disciplined and productive spaces of order and compliance. Bauman (1991) explains this problematic as the central issue of modernity itself.

For Bauman (1991), the (spatial) practice of modernity is one which is concerned with the classification and production of order. *Chaos* represents an inadmissible and unacceptable condition which must be mastered and rendered stable. Acts of classification draw boundaries and thus render intelligible *friends, enemies and strangers*. We are responsible for 'friends' prior to, and regardless of, their reciprocation. Enemies are similarly straightforward: They represent a radical antagonism which cannot be domesticated in normal circumstances. However, between these two there lies the 'stranger'.

"The stranger is neither friend nor enemy; and because he is both. And because we don't not know, and have no way of knowing, which is the case"

(Bauman, 1991, p. 55).

This nervous and uncertain disposition represents a potential *limit to any given governmentality*. By postulating the existence of 'unknowable' events, subjects, behaviours or spaces, Bauman points to what could be thought of as the limits to the techniques and practices of government.

These elusive and ambiguous spaces, subjects and behaviours are troubling from the point of view of governmentality. Fundamentally a problem of epistemology, the elusive spaces of the 'stranger' are problematic in the sense that they *cannot* be rendered intelligible through techniques of surveillance, enumeration, segregation etc. As Lefebvre points out, the Cartesian readings of space which inform planners and technocrats presume space to be isotropic, abstract and commandable. However, in practice, space is *lived and experienced* (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]). Space has an unruly potential and propensity (Massey, 2005) which cannot always be fully apprehended by systems of government. That

said, epistemologies of rule are likely to develop new ways of knowing subjects in space. In previous eras this was the development of population statistics; now it is the use of CCTV in homeless hostels which look to grasp the dark spatialities of marginal existence (see chapters five and seven).

Lefebvre's appreciation of lived-space as elusive-yet-productive allows us to flesh out the textures of governmental regimes of practice. Bauman's notions point towards modernity's troubling unknown moments which we can understand as the epistemological limits to governmental rationality. Acts of intervention do not always proceed as planned and involve both ad-hoc decisions and practices. In the cases presented in this thesis, this manifests itself as a pressing need to deal with the uncertainties of human conduct. These uncertainties multiply in the case of awkward citizens: falling 'back in' with drug using acquaintances or opportunities for petty offences are events which can occur at anytime. Bauman alerts us to the fear of ambivalence and disorder which permeates modernist practices (including governmentality). Dealing with these issues demands a flexible and mobile approach to the practice of government and one which appreciates the embodied, affective and spatial nature of attempts to govern awkward citizens. Most clearly demonstrated in the Supported Accommodation projects (chapter five), these myriad and iterative attempts to understand and re-shape conduct necessitate physical observation of individuals suspected of consuming substances to the spatio-temporal regulation of the 'night'. The regulation of practices (e.g. substance use) and spatio-temporalities (e.g. 'the night') represent governmental attempts to come to terms with, and minimise, these ambiguities and uncertainties. It is these lived, embodied, ad-hoc, practical and experienced practices of government which this thesis examines and details.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the political theoretical and conceptual context in which the case-study interventions should be located. It has explained how the emergence of neoliberalism represents a process of widespread restructuring and re-regulation and a re-worked political rationality articulated with novel techniques of government. Although neoliberal rhetoric often suggests the shrinking of the state and successive waves of de-regulation, this chapter has argued that the neoliberal state continues to be intervene in social life, albeit in reformulated ways. The case study interventions can therefore be

understood as projects of 'roll-out' neoliberalism in which social policy is a key frontier of neoliberal policy making (Leitner et al., 2007). As such, neoliberal strategies of welfare focus less on material redistribution and social justice and more on tactics of behavioural and attitudinal modification (Larner, 2003; Rose, 1993; 1996; Dean, 2007 [1995]; McDonald and Marston, 2006; Schram et al, 2010; Walkerdine, 2003). In the case of awkward citizens, the neoliberal state remains decidedly interventionist and does so by articulating assistive and regressive forms of power (Peck, 2010). The case studies presented later in the thesis show how awkward citizens have come to be thought of in behavioural and attitudinal terms through the prevalence of individualising 'psy' knowledges and how they have been subjected to overlapping assistive and regressive responses to social suffering.

The chapter then outlined Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' and its conceptual link with ideas of biopolitics and population. It was argued that the concept of governmentality, which links rationales of government with practical operations of power, offers a useful analytical framework through which attempts to intervene on and with awkward citizens can be understood. The chapter explained how modern liberal governmentality is underpinned by an imperative not to govern 'too much'. However, this does not mean 'not at all'. Freedom is something which is to be made, remade and maintained. Consequently, awkward citizens represent a problem of liberal government because they fail to actualise their freedom in an appropriate manner. As a corollary of this need to 'make free', *biopolitical* strategies of population mapping are employed to understand and delimitate particular places, subjects and populations and their specific characteristics, propensities and potentialities. Thus, *populations* of awkward citizens emerge through a range of knowledge making processes as problematic and in need of *intervention*.

Therefore, the interventions discussed later in the thesis were framed in terms of the rationale of liberalism (to make free) linked to the biopolitical strategies of knowledge production which designate certain populations as being more or less problematic, irregular or awkward. As the later case studies show, once a population is deemed exceptionally problematic, special measures (i.e. those that would not be deemed acceptable to the 'normal' population) can be deployed. It is here that the empirical material can be positioned. Each of the interventions discussed in this thesis describe especially intense and intimate systems of government which enmesh services users *and* professionals in complex

assemblages of power and knowledge which encompass elements of consent, conditionality, discipline and self reflection.

Finally, the chapter examined the importance of spatiality in the practice of intervention. Rather than an inert and passive backdrop, spaces of intervention are conceived and carved out of social spaces. On one hand, particular spaces are designated as being problematic and are targeted for governmental strategies of intervention. On the other hand, the act of intervention looks to produce spaces amenable to good conduct (see especially the chapter on Supported Accommodation) (Huxley, 2006). The work of Lefebvre was then considered. In particular, his notion of 'abstract space' was found useful in that it demonstrated how thought is made technical in order to create intelligible and governable spaces. Moreover, Lefebvre's ideas of lived space were articulated with Bauman's notion of ambivalence to point to the importance of uncertainty and opacity in *both* the production of space and the practice of intervention. Thus, it was argued that ambivalence represents the limit of a given governmentality. Moreover, it was argued that Lefebvre and Bauman offer useful ways of thinking through these unstable *lived-material* spaces of intervention which constitute essential nodes in a wider network of neoliberal governmentality. As will be shown in the following case studies, the making and remaking of space through the re-orientation of policy formulas and ground-level attempts to 'know' problem times and spaces represents a persistent theme in chapters five (Supported Accommodation), six (Visible Unpaid Work) and seven (Discussion).

This chapter has outlined the key conceptual and theoretical ideas through which the empirical material is analysed. The next chapter compliments sections of this chapter through its discussion of ontology and epistemology before explaining the methods used throughout the thesis and then introduces the case studies.

3. Chapter Three: “You don’t have to be here. We do”: Researching Interventions.

3.1 Introduction: being ‘there’

This chapter outlines how the thesis will answer the research questions posed in chapter one. The research questions centred on the key problematic: “how is the state changing its modes of intervention when dealing with ‘awkward citizens’”? The previous two chapters explained how economic, social and cultural changes over the last thirty years have re-shaped ideas about the respective roles of the subject and the state and how neoliberal interventions have been rolled out to deal with particular populations. As figure one demonstrated, a dense network of agencies and organisations has emerged (‘the archipelago’) which specifically targets awkward individuals. The preceding chapters also explained how *neoliberalism* is produced and given shape at both the macro scale and “through conjoint logics and dynamics of regulation on the ‘ground’ (2010, p. 105). Moreover, governmental strategies were considered to be manifestly spatial-temporal projects. Therefore, the practices and techniques (e.g. those which focus on the psyche; various forms of conditionality) used to govern awkward citizens represent local and intimate operations of governmental micro-power. This chapter explains how these techniques, practices and spaces will be examined.

Given the small scale of these interventions (e.g. case work with individuals; work groups of six-eight offenders) and the *relatively* small number of individuals in the population who lead ‘chaotic lifestyles’ a case study approach which incorporated interviews and ethnography is deemed most appropriate. Case studies are deployed to engage with the core problematic and to address questions two (“How do these interventions operate on the ground in specific cases?”) and three (“To what extent are space and time important in the operation of these specific interventions?”). The use of case studies examines, in practical detail, how the state is changing its mode of intervention, and how state-led programmes use various techniques and technologies on and with their target populations.

The thesis could have approached the core problematic with a broader scope which would have involved addressing a wider and more expansive terrain of intervention using survey and/or discourse analysis methods. However, this approach would not have engaged with the actual delivery of these programmes and their spatial aspects. In particular, such an approach would be less able to address the deeply sedimented ideas and practices and the ways in which a diverse array of actors become entrained in practices of neoliberal governmentality. Finally, ethnographic accounts allow for an appreciation of the messy implementation of governmental strategies (Cobb, 2007) and also the way in which neoliberalism operates from the 'bottom up' (Barnett et al., 2008) (c.f. the critiques of previous welfare systems in the case of the 'Integrated Support Tool' in chapter four).

The methods adopted follow on from the previous chapter in that, after Foucault, the subject is constructed as an object of power rather than having a pre-existing essence (Veyne, 2010). Firstly, this compounds the utility of the case-method because it suggests that awkward citizens are constituted as a particular *sort* of subject at 'street' level. Secondly, given that knowledge is taken as something which is co-produced and emergent, we can engage with the social-spatial world through the use of interviews and ethnography. These ontological and epistemological matters are dealt with in the first section of this chapter due to their foundational importance to questions of methodology (Del Casino et al., 2000). The chapter then justifies the primary methods used throughout the thesis (interviews and ethnography) and then outlines and explains the choice of case studies.

3.1.1 Ontology

The question of ontology in this thesis revolves around this question: how, given the theoretical and conceptual commitments outlined in the previous chapter, can we engage with these material and embodied practices of intervention? Firstly, the political, material and practical technologies of intervention encountered in this thesis are not thought of as solutions to pre-existing conditions and problems that were simply awaiting discovery or unveiling (see previous chapter: Foucault, 2008; Oksala, 2010). As outlined in the previous chapter, the subject (after Foucault) and space (after Lefebvre and Dikeç, 2007b) are *constituted* as social practices of government. Thus, the delimitation of problem subjects (e.g. the 'mad', the 'criminal' and the 'substance user') and spaces (e.g. dangerous neighbourhoods) are socially accomplished. Phenomena and individuals in this thesis (e.g. substance

misuse, low self-esteem and behavioural problems) are not understood as pre-social conditions which have become unearthed through various techniques of science (although, of course, they do have material effects (Smith, 2012)). In each case study, bodies, subjectivities and psyches are 'made real' through process of power and knowledge enacted in and through lived and emergent social spaces.

Of course, as explained in the previous chapter, this does not mean that such conditions are distortions, illusions or aberrations (Foucault, 2008; Smith, 2012). Similarly, the act of intervention is not understood as a remote social practice in which policy makers and other elites 'invent' 'reality' and fill this reality with particular subjects. Rather, this thesis argues that important moments in the constitution and government of awkward citizens happens at 'street level' (Peck, 2004). Moreover;

"policies put in place certain 'sensible evidences' (policy documents, spatial designations, mappings, categorisations, naming and statistics) and their effects: that is, how they help consolidate a particular spatial order and encourage a certain way to think about it."

(Dikeç, 2007b; p. 6)

Policies (and their attendant documentation) represent the first step in the analysis of intervention. Therefore, various policy documents, press releases and speeches are discussed throughout the thesis (most prominently in the chapters on Supported Accommodation and Visible Unpaid Work). Given that these 'sensible evidences' entail acts of 'categorisation, naming and designation', we can consider them as social practices which operate at multiple scales. As will be shown through the case studies, these practices of constitution occur in the minor spaces of intervention. The art of governing awkward citizens involves not just the *delivery* of remotely formulated techniques and ideas but the creation of 'sensible evidences' by managers and practitioners in and through social space. In addition, each case represents the formation of particular spaces of government (c.f. Huxley, 2006, 2007) through which 'sensible evidences' are given form and put to work in an effort to reform the bodies and subjectivities of individuals.

3.1.2 Epistemology

Research using a governmentality approach tends to be particularly well attuned to focusing on questions of epistemology. Therefore, questions pertaining to the techniques and practices of government come to the fore and in particular the way in which phenomena are made intelligible to agencies and individuals (Dean, 1999; Parr, 2009). However, some critics have argued that this approach sometimes lacks engagement with the empirical and material aspects of the implementation of policies and programmes (Cobb, 2007; Evans and Colls, 2009; Matthews, 2009; Stenson, 2005; Parr, 2009; Lippert and Stenson, 2010). For example, Evans and Colls, examining a state sponsored anti-obesity intervention point out;

“While Foucauldian analysis is important in understanding the ways in which such strategies function, it is vital to respond to concerns that poststructuralist geographies and Foucauldian geographies lack engagement with real bodies and material practices.”

(2009, p. 1076)

Epistemologically and ontologically, this is not simply a case of ‘bolting on’ methods as an appendage or supplement to ‘traditional’ governmentality approaches which favour a relatively remote form of discourse analysis (c.f. Dean, 1999). Whilst discourse analysis has traditionally formed a key method of analysis in governmentality studies, Barnett et al. (2008) and Bevir (2010) point to an epistemological concern whereby an exclusively discursive focus can over emphasise the power of documents and elide the agency of those subject to technologies of rule. Bluntly put, the use of documentary evidence alone cannot be used to understand or explain how governmentality works in material social spaces.

Given the focus on the spatial and messy praxis of governmentality, this thesis develops Evans and Colls’ argument for forms of analysis which focus on ‘bodies and material practices’. Of course, this makes epistemological assumptions about the way in which this research can engage with the world and produce a coherent account of these practices. Thus, knowledge and its creation is understood as

something which is drawn upon, produced and deployed. Thought is something which is not simply abstract, but is made practical and useful in each of the interventions. Knowledge is therefore something which is 'done' (Del Casino et al, 2000; Graham et al., 2010).

From both the point of view of this research, and the operation of each of the case studies, knowledge is something which is *co-created*, particular and *acted upon* rather than something which is pre-given, universal and inert. For example, in chapter five, which examines Supported Accommodation projects, potential residents are interviewed by the project staff in order to build up an account of their condition: substance misuse, history of offending, medication, alcohol consumption etcetera. The basis of valid knowledge in this case is *premised* on the *assumption* that potential residents are able to objectively reflect upon their past condition, behaviours and events. Thus, the Supported Accommodation project itself becomes an epistemological task which develops a particular, situated knowledge about a particular individual which is then made practical through systems of room allocation, monitoring, appointment scheduling and so on. Therefore, acts of government are necessarily epistemological forms of intervention.

The methods chosen (interviews, participant observation and documentary analysis) treat knowledge as co-constructed, ultimately partial and embedded within wider systems of meaning (Graham et al., 2010). Therefore, in the case studies, respondents' reflections on the world are held to be truthful, honest and constructed accounts of their experiences and behaviours which are rooted in particular social contexts (Packer, 2011). This is particularly true in the case of the ethnographic elements of the research. In the troubling episode that opened this thesis the research took an unexpected turn. In driving Glen to the hospital the idea of a detached neutral observer collapses. On the car journey to the hospital Glen divulged details of his life which he may not have done otherwise. At the hospital, Glen's disappointment perhaps produced *another* marker of difference which positioned the researcher as just another (so called) 'expert'. On one hand the 'data' gathered from this expedition is manifestly 'unscientific'. Moreover, it was partial in the sense that the primary field site was abandoned. On the other hand, this allowed the research an opportunity to follow through the connections, relationships and events which constitute the 'archipelago of intervention' in terms of its actual spatial, embodied, troubling and physical operation. This interface is rich with subjective interpretation, subversions, ethics,

compassion and resistance. It is suggested here that a certain amount of purchase on these forms of lived-knowledge can be gained, and sense made, through both practices of reflection (interviews) and embedded interaction (participant observation).

Two primary methods are deployed throughout the thesis to explore these often ambivalent spaces that exist at the intersection between the ideational-theoretical and the lived-material: interviews and ethnography. These methods are used on the basis of the above ontological and epistemological assumptions. The next section explains how, given the above, we can use these methods to understand the operation of intervention.

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Interviews

As shown in tables five, and seven to ten, interviews are used throughout each case study with service users, practitioners and service managers. Interviewing can be considered the most widely used qualitative technique utilised by social scientists (Mason, 2006). The interview can also be considered a technology used routinely in a range of academic and non-academic contexts:

“Interviewing is ubiquitous in our society and we have become familiar with its various guises whether by being stopped in the street and asked about our political preferences or by watching others reveal intimate details of their lives on day-time television. There seems to be a ready acceptance, eagerness even, both to be interviewed and to watch others’ selves unfolding [...].”

(Watson, 2006, p. 368)

Some have argued that we live in an ‘interview society’ (Atkinson and Silverman, 1997) where the interview is used in diffuse fields and in myriad ways: from academia, to politics via market research and entertainment. For Abell et al.;

“The widespread appeal of the interview has been attributed to its versatility, affording application to both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, and to a variety of epistemological perspectives – from realist approaches, which treat interview accounts as forms of testimony, to constructionist approaches, which treat the interview conversation as a site of negotiation and co-construction of meaning between interviewer and respondent”.

(2006, p. 222)

Of particular relevance to this chapter is the notion that (a) the interview-as-technology is one which is utilised in a number of different ways in multiple sites: the research presented here uses material derived from interviews with research participants in all three empirical chapters. Also of relevance is that many of the practitioners who were interviewed for this project used interview techniques as part of their daily interaction with clients (see chapters four and five). Therefore, this thesis considers the use of qualitative (and ‘semi-quantitative’) interviews by practitioners. The second key aspect of interviewing is the (b) epistemological flexibility previously suggested by Abel et al. This epistemological malleability represents an opportunity for combining interviews with a range of theoretical and ontological positions.

Using interviews as a primary technique allows the thesis to address the second research question (“How do these interventions operate on the ground in specific cases?”). As noted above, and in the previous chapter, the focus of this thesis is on the ways in which the neoliberal state formulates particular interventions and techniques of government aimed at awkward citizens. In order to ‘ground’ practices of government in material times and spaces we must find a way of engaging with the individuals who populate these peculiar spaces. In this thesis interviews are not used develop generalisations but to;

“answer questions about the ways in which certain events, practices, or knowledges are constructed and enacted within particular contexts”.

(Secor, 2010, p. 199)

As described above, ontologically and epistemologically, particular problems are brought into being (rather than existing a priori) through social practices of various sorts. Therefore, of particular focus in this thesis is the way in which practitioners and service users construct and understand their actions. The interview-as-practice contains two interrelated elements. Firstly, the interview involves the co-creation of knowledge. In one sense, the interview should be understood as a “local-accomplishment” (Silverman, 2001, p. 104). Such an approach argues that material collected in an interview cannot be understood as representative of an *objective reality* beyond the encounter. Garton and Copeland (2010) explain that;

“interviews cannot be seen as objective accounts of the interviewee’s reality, but rather, should be viewed as an interactional event in which interviewer and interviewee jointly construct meaning.”
(p. 533).

A search for an objective “subject beyond respondent” (Rapley, 2001, p. 306) is considered to be futile. The interview can only be thought of a situated text and any analysis should proceed to engage with the process of inter-subjective meaning-making and knowledge construction in a local context. Such an approach which abandons conceptions of interview-as-excavation, looking for pre-formed truths and objective realities (independent of interviewer and interviewee), is undoubtedly useful and important because it sensitises us to the notion that the interview material presented in this thesis is constructed between the researcher and participants (i.e. the material did not exist before carrying out each interview).

Secondly, we can understand interviews as a useful way to understand *how* practitioners, managers and services users understand their actions, tasks, and situations. As above, the search is not for the ‘reality’ of the awkward citizen or the ‘essence’ of the practitioner or manager. Instead, what is of interest is how individual subjects, times and spaces are brought into *being* (i.e. chaotic, too chaotic – dangerous times, unruly spaces – which are the basis and justification of governmental action) as a legitimate object of governmental power (see chapter two). For example, in chapter four (intensive support), interviews are used to understand how practitioners construct their service users (e.g. dependent but

without agency) rather than suggesting that practitioners accounts represent 'real' explanations of their service users' plight. And, chapters five and seven (Supported Accommodation and Time/Space of governmentality), explain how certain times and spaces are *constructed* as dangerous and unstable. Importantly, these constructions are not understood as inert musings on a topic: the practice of intervention demands that they are turned into social actions. Interviews are therefore used to approach questions which focus on the entangled praxis of *construction* and *action* (Secor, 2010).

Interviews are also a way of getting at particular knowledges that are not accessible by other means. For example, the interview carried out with the developer of the Integrated Support Tool produced information which was simply not available by other means. In the delivery of interventions, knowledge is deeply embedded within practices which are often not codified. For instance, in chapter six (Visible Unpaid Work), service managers retain a focus on rehabilitation in spite of the imposition of punitive policies. This residual emphasis on, and commitment to, rehabilitation is understood in terms of a longstanding and deeply rooted attachment to penal-welfarism expressed as a probation service 'ethos' (c.f. Lipsky, 2010 [1980]). Such understandings and embedded knowledges both surpass and compliment observation and official documents. The use of interviews allows for an understanding of 'vernacular governmentality': a rationality which sometimes exceeds neoliberal discourse.

In total seventy-six relevant² interviews were carried out with individuals, residents, staff, managers and practitioners (see tables five and seven to ten). Interviews lasted between thirty minutes and two and a half hours and were recorded in all but two occasions (participant's preference) with an electronic recording device. Some respondents were interviewed more than once following the emergence of new research themes. It should of course be noted that the material which is presented in the final thesis represents only a small amount of what was collected during the field work phase of the research. The interviews were semi-structured in order that respondents were able to explore issues which had relevance to them whilst allowing the researcher to maintain 'control' over what material was covered

² An earlier version of the research which focused on Employment and Support Allowance/Incapacity Benefit claimants was not pursued further after four months of field work due to inadequately formulated research questions and difficulty in accessing participants. Similarly, interviews and focus groups with inmates and staff at a local prison were discarded due to difficulties concerning further access and redundancies in the organisation (c.f. Laverick, 2010).

(Bryman, 2004). Interviews were structured around first order 'key themes' with supplementary follow up questions given second or third order headings (see appendix two). This allowed for probing follow up questions to be asked without having to 'think on the spot' and is one benefit of such a research method (Jeffares, 2008). The sub-themes represent a bank of potential questions and as such not all would be asked. A new interview schedule was typed up for each interviewee based on each participant's role, the evolving nature of the research and reflection on prior interviews. Interviews were transcribed verbatim. All of the interviews with practitioners and managers were carried out in offices and consultation rooms at the respondent's work place (e.g. Probation Service Offices, Supported Accommodation Projects). The exception to this was Keith, the co-creator of the Integrated Support Tool, whose interview was carried out at his home. Interviews with services users and residents were carried out on-location at the field sites (usually in meeting rooms and training spaces of the case study services) and occasionally, at the respondents choice, in local cafes. Analysis was carried out using NVIVO software (see below for coding details).

3.2.2 Ethnography

Like interviews, ethnographies are deployed extensively throughout the three case studies. As shown in tables three, six, seven and eleven, ethnographies were carried out at Visible Unpaid Work sites, in Supported Accommodation projects and during Integrated Support Tool training days. Ethnography in this chapter is taken to be a research method where the researcher looks to immerse themselves in the field for an extended period of time. Material is collected through note-taking, discussions with participants and, where applicable, the acquisition of any other relevant materials. Wacquant concisely defines ethnography;

“as social research based on the close-up, on the-ground observation of people and institutions in real time and space, in which the investigator embeds herself near (or within) the phenomenon so as to detect how and why agents on the scene act, think and feel the way they do.”

(2003, p. 5)

Ethnography is used to answer the second and third research questions which focus on the ways in which the state looks to govern its awkward citizens and the way in which spaces of intervention are brought into being. At a practical level, ethnographies complement interviews. They fill in the gaps between what is said to be done and what actually happens and they show how processes operate in real time and space rather than in reflection. On the other hand without the guidance and reflection of the interview the events in the field can appear chaotic and difficult for the researcher to comprehend.

At a theoretical, ontological and epistemological level Jones (2010) argues that ethnography is an approach which implies a commitment to relativism, an emphasis on subjectivity, reflexivity and an ethics of “representation, voice , power, and inclusion” (2010, p. 26). Arguing from a similar position, Jones and Watt suggest that understandings emerge from the field;

“Ethnographers allow data, and thus explanations, to emerge from the field experience and obtain an insight into lives as they are actually lived; rather than how the researcher thinks they are lived.”

(2010, p. 10)

Such sensitivity to ‘actually lived’ experience is important when considering the uneven and contested practical application of governmental rationalities (c.f. Cobb, 2007; Evans and Colls, 2007; Lippert and Stenson, 2010). Moreover, ethnographic research’s focus on social praxis and the constitution of events and subjects allows the research to address Larner’s (2003) call for studies of governmentality which address the ways in which the state looks to construct ‘neoliberal’ subjects and subjectivities. Given the ontological and epistemological approach adopted in this thesis, ethnographies are not understood as a method which allows access to an unproblematic objective ‘reality’.

In the case studies, the use of ethnographies, like interviews, allows us to see how problem subjects and the spaces in and through which intervention occurs are identified, constructed and subsequently worked with. For example, ethnography in one of the Supported Accommodation projects in chapter five engages with the admissions procedure which initially classifies an individual as un/suitable for

residence and the subsequent ways in which behaviour was monitored through mundane techniques (informal monitoring, case documentation). Although prosaic and routine, these practices represent the actualisation of governmental rationalities as a form of anatomo-politics (Huxley, 2006). Ethnography allows a way to access the techniques which *produce* subjects as more or less problematic and the practices which work to produce spatial-temporal arrangements conducive to the formation of good conduct.

As an accompaniment to interviews, ethnographies offer a different perspective on intervention. During an interview, undoubtedly illuminating explanations and retrospective reflections on practices are explained. However, the use of ethnography allows an insight into how these constructions are *produced* and *acted upon* 'on the hoof'. Dikeç's (2007) 'sensible evidences' introduced above are not inert truth-objects but are ongoing projects which are acted upon and re-worked continuously and are dependent on what resources are available 'to hand'. The example of Glen at the beginning of chapter one represents a case in point. In this instance Glen's interactions with particular interventions were shaped by his constitution as a particular type of subject (i.e. ill but without diagnosis). Ethnography allows an insight into these unstable and contingent systems of classification and ordering as they operate beyond neat page-based ideas of 'service pathways' and 'joined up' working. Moreover, ethnography allows for an appreciation of the embodied and experiential elements of intervention: an aimless wander through dark lonely corridors; the suspicion of professionals; service-failures; and the ambivalent, unstable, un-programmed spaces of government which neither interviews nor document analysis can adequately grasp (c.f. Bauman, 1991).

3.2.3 Roles and ethics

There are a number of roles which the researcher can adopt when carrying out ethnographic research. Traditionally, there are considered to be four general positions (Bryman, 2004; Hoggart et al, 2002; Watt and Jones, 2010). These are as follows:

- Complete participation: Where the individual becomes totally immersed in the social space under examination. May be carried out covertly (Hoggart et al, 2002; Watt and Jones, 2010).

- Participant as observer: The researcher takes part in events and develops relationships with those in the field but needs to maintain focus on the task in hand. Generally overt. (Hoggart et al, 2002; Watt and Jones, 2010).
- Observer as participant: In this role there is still a fair degree of detachment but also some participation, possibly as a short term measure through which interviews can be set up. Generally overt (Watt and Jones, 2010).
- Complete observation: In this role the researcher has no interaction with participants. The detached observer aims at objectivity which has risks of ethnocentrism (Watt and Jones, 2010). Associated with 'mainstream'³ ethnography (Adler and Adler, 2008).

These four approaches represent the 'traditional' breakdown of forms of ethnography (Watt and Jones, 2010). The four categories represent 'ideal types' and should be considered as offering a basic framework for positioning different modes of ethnographic enquiry on a sliding scale: from complete participation to complete observer. The ethnographic research carried out in this thesis (especially chapters on Supported Accommodation (five) and Visible Unpaid Work (six)) could be situated between 'participant as observer' and observer as participant' because it was neither possible nor ethical to become fully immersed in the research. For example, in chapter five, to take up a bed space in the Supported Accommodation project could deprive another of its use and would deceive residents. In chapter six, to be fully immersed and involved would mean either: covert research through pretending to have been sentenced to Unpaid Work (deceit) or; committing a criminal act which would lead to a community punishment (illegal, unethical, potentially harmful to others).

Notes were taken during the research with the aim to record as much detail as possible. The method allowed a form of 'rolling interview' with participants. At the end of the day, the field notes would be read into an electronic recording device for ease of recollection and transcribed in full as soon as possible.

³ Attempts to be acceptable to mainstream audiences used to positivistic approaches to data (Adler and Adler, 2008).

Ethical approval was granted by the departmental ethics committee for each section of the research (see appendix three). All names of people, places and organisations have been anonymised through the use of pseudonyms. The name of the sub-region has also been anonymised. This is due to the previously mentioned small number of individuals and organisations with which the research was carried out. This was a particular issue with regard to the regional Probation Service. Therefore, the name of the sub-region has been altered to avoid any possibility of repercussion for individuals, staff and managers.

All of the ethnographic research was carried out overtly (as per ethical approval) and all participants were informed of the purposes of the research and gave verbal consent to the research being carried out. It was however not practically possible to fully inform every single person who passed through, for example, Bishop Place (see chapter five), but attempts were made to fully inform as many individuals as possible (Bryman, 2004; Lugosi, 2006). Before interviews were carried out, all participants had the research explained to them verbally and were invited to sign a consent form (see appendix four).

3.2.4 Analysing qualitative data

The process of coding qualitative data is one which is interpretative and constructive rather than a process of excavation (see appendix five). Thus, the coding of data represents an empirically and theoretically important element of the research process. This iterative approach to data and knowledge is especially important given the previously outlined ontological and epistemological commitment to the social construction of subjects and phenomena. The coding of interviews and ethnography involved three 'cycles' of coding (Saldaña, 2009). 'First cycle' coding was designed to allow themes to emerge from the text. It involved a hybrid approach: 'in vivo' (as participants described object/subjects/events); descriptive (simply describing events); and structural coding (participant generated concepts) (c.f. Saldaña, 2009). These codes form the basis of the analysis. Although some codes are discarded in favour of more abstract codes during the second and third cycle, others are taken forward, reformed and reconceived. 'Second cycle' codes are often 'mid-range' concepts derived from literature *and* from the previous cycles of coding. 'Third cycle' coding concerns the introduction of literature derived theoretical concepts which function as tree nodes. This allows the grouping of a range of related codes and subjects them to theoretically derived analysis which is the bulk of what is presented in this thesis. To summarise, third cycle codes are intended to allow the drawing of connections between themes,

concepts and theories and are the final stage in the movement from empirical material to theoretical exegesis. In addition, concepts in different cycles of coding overlap: for example – *temporality* as a third cycle code in its own right is also a second cycle code as it is deemed essential for understanding the ontology of intervention described in chapter four and seven (chapter of intensive individual support and ‘discussion’ chapter) (see appendix five). We can therefore understand this process as one which treats meaning as interpretative, iterative and emergent.

This approach allowed the emergence of core themes (from the text) and key theoretical insights (from the literature) to work together and interrogate each other. This allowed themes to surface from the text whilst fostering theoretical insight and engagement. The coding strategy was designed to be suitably ‘inductive’ to allow the material to ‘speak for itself’ whilst at the same time to remain a critical and deductive relationship to theory. The process was therefore synthetic and dialogical: between emergent themes and the theoretical framework. Moreover, theory was used as a tool to engage with, rather than predict or measure outcomes. The available resources meant that only the author could code the material and this perhaps represents a limitation inherent to a single authored PhD project (Olzsweski et al, 2006; Weston et al, 2001).

3.3 The case method

3.3.1 Introduction: cases and region

Case studies have become a generally accepted mode of enquiry in human geography in particular and social science in general (c.f. Baxter and Jack, 2008; Del Casino et al, 2000; Castree, 2005; Gerring, 2007; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). Yin (2003) suggests that the case study method is best used where ‘how and why’ questions are the main focus of enquiry, the study requires ‘natural’ settings which are rich in (important) context and where context and the object(s) of study are closely related and difficult to tease apart. Gerring (2007) adds that the idea of the ‘case study’ sometimes entails assumptions about: method (ethnographic, non-experimental, non-positivist); the use of context; (small) number of participants; number of cases (as small as one) and; the use of more than one method.

Such an approach was practical given the resources of a single authored PhD (Jeffares, 2008). Ethnographic research is time intensive and covering one sub-region represented an appropriate scale of investigation given the available resources. Importantly, the co-funding of the project by a sub-regional development agency dictated that the case studies be located within that organisations' administrative area. In addition, the number of individuals subject to such interventions is *relatively* small when considered against the whole population. As such, they tended to be locally specific and operate with a small number of clients and have relatively small 'catchment areas'. For example, most of the residents in the Supported Accommodation projects had lived in the particular towns all their lives. It was a similar case with those sentenced to carry out Visible Unpaid Work. Therefore, the case method is one which looks to operate at the same scale as interventions are carried out. The research in this thesis is 'exploratory' and 'explanatory' (Baxter and Jack, 2008) in that the aim was not to produce a formal evaluation of the success or otherwise of particular interventions.

Table 3: Case Study Summaries

Chapter	Case	Methods used
Four: An individual, not a number: 'Intensive support', 'parrhesia' and the intimate government of the troubled citizen	Intensive support work using 'psy' and counselling derived techniques to engage with individuals on a one-to-one basis.	Primary: Interviews with practitioners and ethnography of training Secondary: Interviews with service users
Five: More than a roof: Supporting People and the new spaces of contingent inclusion for the vulnerably housed	Two 'Supported Accommodation' projects which offered residential support to homeless males.	Primary: On-site ethnography and interviews with staff and residents Secondary: Interview with Local Authority housing officer, and policy document analysis

Six: Flickering back into life? Visible Unpaid Work and the everyday spaces of justice	The operation of the community sentence :‘Visible Unpaid Work’	Primary: On-site ethnography, interviews with managers, offenders and supervisors and analysis of policy and practice documents.
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The interventions described above (table three) are situated in a relatively deprived region of the UK which suffers from high levels of relative deprivation, above average crime rates, above average levels of substance misuse and higher rates of unemployment than the national average. Table four provides a statistical summary of the region (see appendix one for a full summary).

Table 4: Summary of a deprived region

Borough	Rank of Percentage of Borough’s Lower layer Super Output Areas (total 354) within most deprived 10% (1 is most deprived) (2010) data. ⁴	Drug users in treatment in the Sub-region (2000) per 1000 population. ⁵	Crimes per 1000/population (2008/2009). ⁶	Unemployment Rate 2010 (Male). ⁷	Homelessness Applications to Local Authority (indicative) (latest date possible). ⁸
Railway town	56	No data	90.1	7.6	(2008/2009) Circa 30
Seatown	10	No data	98.1	10.3	(2008/2009)

⁴ Source: Sub-region data services report (anonymised for confidentiality) Note: Based on pre-2009 areas

⁵ Source: National Statistics, 2001, p25

⁶ Source: Sub-region data services report (anonymised for confidentiality)

⁷ The majority of service users, especially in the cases of Supported Accommodation and Visible Unpaid Work, encountered during the research were male and so only the male unemployment rate is given here. The female unemployment rate is given in appendix one.

⁸ Source: Respective Local Authorities homelessness strategies and sub-regional economic planning agencies (precise source not given due to anonymity) and sub-regional data services report. Note: Inconsistencies in dates due to lack of standardised data collection between LAs and estimates due to layout of material in original format.

					42
Midtown	2	No data	143.9	11.2	(2006/2007) 200
Castleton	37	No data	83.4	9.3	No data
River city	5	No data	75.3	7.2	(2007-2008) Circa 2200
Region	-	4.2	97.4	9.2	No data
UK	-	2.4	92	5.6	No data

Thus, at the aggregate level, all the Local Authorities in the sub-region feature amongst England's more deprived localities. Secondly, although up to date statistics are not available, the sub-region appears to have higher than average levels of substance misuse problems. The rate of unemployment, especially for males, tends to be higher than the national average. This is a notable problem given that work is often figured as the preferred way out of poverty (DWP, 2007a, 2007b, 2008b) (see chapter eight [conclusion] which discusses this problematic in more detail). Crime rates vary between authorities but are above average at the sub-regional level. This should be considered as indicative and is relevant to the chapter on Visible Unpaid Work. The regional statistics on homelessness are somewhat unclear (and should be taken as indicative only) but they do suggest variability in how each authority deals with requests for assistance. Moreover, where data is available, it suggests that regional trends follow national movements towards fewer individuals being accepted as statutorily homeless (i.e. where the Local Authority has a legal *obligation* to provide accommodation) (Homeless link, 2010). Those classed as not statutorily homeless are often not included in statistics (sometimes classed as being 'single homeless') and are the subject of the intervention (Supported Accommodation) discussed in chapter five. In addition, homelessness statistics are often unreliable due to the persistence of 'hidden homelessness' (Homeless link, 2011a).

3.3.2 Cases of Neoliberal Governmentality?

The research questions are concerned with the way in which the neoliberal state engages with its more awkward citizens. In this light, what exactly are the above cases *of*? Case study research, although a popular mode of enquiry, needs to be considered carefully (Castree, 2005):

"If 'case studies' [...] of neoliberalisation are to avoid the 'trap' or 'dead-end' of idiography then much more work needs to be done. Greater clarity in defining objects of analysis is required both theoretically and empirically; questions about levels and scales of abstraction need to be addressed in a sophisticated way; and, finally, the 'translation-rules' for comparing apparently similar (or different) cases need to be established."

(Castree, 2005, p. 544)

Castree (2005) also notes that case study research needs to go beyond a 'checklist' of neoliberal characteristics (e.g. evidence of: privatisation; de/re-regulation etc.) which can be used to understand and compare cases. In this thesis, the state and neoliberalisation exist as a series of governmentalities which look to govern awkward citizens through a variety of techniques and practices. Returning to the first research question ("How and why is the state changing its modes of intervention to deal with these populations of awkward citizens"), case studies represent a useful way to engage with the core problematic of the thesis. Whilst it might be possible to address this question through a broader survey based approach, Peck (2010) notes that the practices of neoliberal statecraft operate both at the macro level and at the level of the inner-city neighbourhood. When it comes to engaging with the awkward citizen the state operates most profoundly at 'street level'. In order to 'get at' precisely *how* the state is changing its modes of intervention the case study technique represents an opportunity to understand the way in which these interventions play out. The case studies show *how* 'thought is made technical' and how thought is made practical and operational.

Castree (2005) hints at the possibilities that more theoretical rigour and associated appreciation of 'scale' may offer to overcome this impasse. In the previous two chapters it was noted how the operation of contemporary interventions directed at awkward citizens are manifestly intimate, local, and largely mundane. As figure one demonstrates, the archipelago is made up of a local network of agencies, organisations and institutions which are held together by informal and formal relationships and connections. Rather than macro-level programmes which seek to influence behaviour of the majority of the population (e.g. healthy eating campaigns etc. (c.f. Evans and Colls, 2009)) interventions directed at awkward citizens tend to be more closely focused on the micro level of the individual and their attitudes and behaviour (Pykett et al., 2011). As noted in the previous chapter, some populations require 'special' attention (Poovey, 1995). Indeed, as chapter four shows, practitioners make a virtue of the specific and non-mainstream nature of what they offer. Given these concerns, a case study method is used to examine how particular interventions operate, how they deploy wider ideas about the subject and how they seek to govern their target population.

The scales at which intervention takes place in the case studies span one-to-one interviews (chapter four) to a notional 'local community' in chapter six. The micro-scale of the interview room and the

community service work-site should therefore be seen in this context as generative spaces of governmental action. Most obviously, the use of these case studies illuminates and demonstrates the favoured *scale* at which the neoliberal state looks to engage *productively* (rather than coercively) with its troubled citizens. Perhaps more importantly, this focus on the micro practices of government in the case studies demonstrates how these minor social spaces are brought into being as spaces of intervention. These spaces should not be understood as products of larger social processes, but locally accomplished projects which seek to modify behaviour at the level of everyday life.

The use of case studies allows a deep understanding of how *space* and *time* are produced and worked within these spaces of governmentality. Thus, the use of case studies allows us to answer question three (“To what extent are space and time important in the operation of these specific interventions”). Through the use of historical examples, the production of space is immanent to the art of government. Given our commitment to an ontology and epistemology which treats space and time as constructed, open and non-essential (rather than concrete, reified and objective) the use of case studies allows for an engagement with the active production of space and time which, it is argued here, are essential to the operation of various interventions.

Thus, case studies should not be used as a barometer to detect which neoliberal ideas have ‘taken’ hold in a particular place (Castree, 2005). Instead, neoliberalism in these case studies is understood as a set of constructions, techniques, practices and technologies which together make up particular mentalities of rule which are instrumental in the active production of neoliberal social space. The cases in this thesis should be understood as examples of neoliberalism-as-practice which give shape to particular ideas about awkward citizens: who ‘they’ are; what should be done about ‘them’; and who they might become. As noted in the previous chapter, Larner (2003) suggests that studies of neoliberalism have too often neglected the techniques of neoliberalism through which individuals are both coerced and encouraged. The cases in this thesis represent examples of the way in which the state is developing its techniques of intervention. They are demonstrations of the tools the state uses to identify, work on and with awkward citizens and how individuals are encouraged to ‘self actualise’. Each of the cases demonstrates how individuals are called upon to work upon themselves (their psyches and bodies) as

ethical problems, rather than simply being cajoled or coerced into particular forms of action (Barnett et al, 2008).

On the other hand, it should be remembered that these interventions are local accomplishments which are manifestly contingent and unstable. Chapter four demonstrates how non-mainstream interventions have been critiqued in response to their perceived inefficacy and new techniques of intervention developed. In this example, the development of programmes of intervention suggests an iterative, pragmatic learning process. The art of government is one which strives for efficacy and efficiency albeit constrained and limited by the compulsion not to govern 'too much' (Foucault, 2010). In stark contrast, the case of Visible Unpaid Work shows how 'what works' has been abandoned in favour of a punitive *political* (i.e. a non 'rational') impulse. Thus, the cases show how governmental action is not a cold, rational, mechanistic programme but a complex and messy procedure which contains both complementary and contradictory demands and practices (c.f. Barnett et al., 2008).

3.3.3 Selecting the cases

The cases of Intensive Support (chapter four) and Supported Accommodation (chapter six) were arrived at somewhat unexpectedly, given that the research originally focused on a somewhat different field. Initially, the research was intended to examine how mainstream income-replacement benefits function in everyday life. However, an encounter with the manager of 'The Lane' hostel led to a series of interviews with residents on the premises. Out of these interviews a number of themes emerged. Firstly, mainstream benefits, although important, were in many ways the least of resident's concerns. Of course, working through the DWP's conditionality arrangements was slow, demanding, disruptive and inconsistent (or 'unfair' from the residents' point of view). However, what was striking was the sheer number of appointments to be kept with a plethora of agencies and organisations which constituted a work in itself (c.f. Laws, 2012). On further investigation, what appeared was a network of informally and formally bound state, quasi-state and non-state organisations. In contrast to accounts of neoliberal urban policy which focus on revanchist and punitive operations of state power (c.f. Coleman, 2004; Mitchell, 1997; 2003; Slater, 2004; Smith, 1996) 'the archipelago' of intervention had a variety of functions: from the 'classic' prison-disciplinary complex to the ethical and care-ful counselling programmes (see chapter four) via the dull frustrating bureaucracy of the DWP. This network of

intervention and governmental authority became the central focus of the PhD. By following the organisational links between different nodes in the archipelago, cases were selected on the basis of their importance to the lives of individuals (e.g. as basic as a place to live), their practical popularity (intensive support) and intensity of state power (Visible Unpaid Work). Each case represents an intervention in the lives of particular populations who are singled out for specific kinds of state attention (Poovey, 1995).

The cases were also chosen to illuminate differing targets and techniques of governmental power. As noted in the previous chapter, neoliberal governmentality should be thought of as the operation of multiple governmental powers: discipline of the body; supervision and security; bio-political management; and ethical self formation (c.f. Huxley, 2007, p. 187). We can think of the case studies as traversing across these modes of intervention. Chapter four (Intensive Support) looks at the use of 'psy' (Miller and Rose, 1998) attempts to understand and re-shape the problem citizen and chapter five (Supported Accommodation) examines how awkward citizens are identified and categorised and then worked on through mechanisms of disciplinary power. Finally, Visible Unpaid Work (chapter six) looks firstly at how operations of disciplinary and sovereign power coagulate to form a spectacular politics of punishment and secondly how awkward citizens are tasked with their ethical self re-formation as labouring subjects. Thus, the case studies examine how this networked array of intervention forms a dense weave of multiple neoliberal governmentalities (Larner, 2003). Moreover, they can also be considered to be operationalisations of broader shifts in the provision of welfare which emphasise conditionality (Wiggan, 2011) and the wider psychologisation of the social (Nolan, 1998; Walkerdine, 2003; Stenner and Taylor, 2008).

3.3.4 Intensive support

During numerous visits to 'The Lane' other practitioners were encountered. These were organisations which were involved in some sort of 'Intensive Support'. Interviews were arranged with various practitioners. Whilst the rationale (e.g. prevention of homelessness, employability) of these organisations differed, it became clear that what they shared was a commitment to behavioural and attitudinal modification through some form of 'psy' derived one-to-one intervention. Out of this, the Integrated Support Tool (IST) emerged as a particularly intriguing development on account of

practitioner enthusiasm and its supposed ‘power’. Whilst other tools could have been examined, the IST was the device most commonly used amongst practitioners in the examined organisations. This was followed up by participation in training sessions and an interview with the IST’s co-founder.

Table 5: Interviews

Pseudonym/position	Type of organisation	Service provided and techniques used
Alan, Operations Manager	Youth Housing and Support Organisation : Support for vulnerably housed young people to include referral, tenancy deposit scheme, skills training and drop in service. Funded by Local Authority, own revenue and ‘Big Lottery Fund’.	
Victoria, Supervisor and Support Worker	As above	Interviews, Motivational Interviewing, Integrated Support Tool.
Nigel, Support Worker, youth housing and support organisation	As above	MI, Solution Focused Therapy Integrated Support Tool
Linda, Support Worker	Offered Ex-Offenders support with employment, training, and post-custody help with other social issues. Also referred onto other organisations where appropriate. National third sector organisation funded by Local Authority.	Motivational Interviewing, Integrated Support Tool, group work, one-to-one support
Fiona Support Worker, ex-offender employment and support organisation	As above	Motivational Interviewing, Integrated Support Tool, group work, one-to-one support
Denise Employment and Social Support Worker	As above	Employment counselling, CVs, interview techniques, Integrated Support Tool
Kathleen, Manager	Employability support for former substance users. Funded by Department for Work and Pensions	Employment counselling, CVs, interview techniques, Integrated Support Tool
Emma, Support Worker	As above	Employment counselling, CVs, interview techniques, Integrated Support Tool

Grace, Support Worker	Employability support for chaotic lifestyles organisation. National Welfare-to-work provide funded by Local Authority Working Neighbourhoods fund.	Integrated Support Tool, Solution Focused Therapy, Motivational Interviewing
Adrian, Support Worker,	As above	Integrated Support Tool, Solution Focused Therapy, Motivational Interviewing
Cameron, Support Worker	As above	Integrated Support Tool, Solution Focused Therapy, Motivational Interviewing
Michelle, Support Worker,	Community anti-drugs action organisation. Offered support with desistance from substance use and general life skills. Funded by Local Authority and donation.	Motivational Interviewing, Integrated Support Tool, group work, employability training, group work and counselling
Jane, Support Worker	An organisation aimed at assisting individuals maintain tenancies through the provision of supported and 'move-on' accommodation . Funded by Local Authority.	Motivational Interviewing, Integrated Support Tool
Keith, Manger and Support Worker.	An ex-offender support organisation aimed specifically at setting up opportunities for self unemployment. Grant funded by EU.	Group work, self esteem building counselling
Russ, Community employment and Support Worker	Employment and Community Support Organisation funded primarily by Local Authority, DWP and Communities Fund.	Integrated Support Tool, Motivational Interviewing, counselling
Lauren, Employment Support Worker	As above	Integrated Support Tool, Motivational Interviewing, counselling
Keith	Designer of the Integrated Support Tool	n/a

Table 6: Ethnography of Integrated Support Tool Training.

Event	Participants	Summary of content/structure of the day
Training day 1 9.15 – 4.30 £255 (Including IST board)	Practitioners representing: Young offender support organisation; long term unemployed people charity; unemployed single parents; youth substance misuse organisation.	N.B: both days observed took a similar structure. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introduction of participants - Introduction of the IST and its history and core features - Demonstration of ‘bad practice’ - Explanation of ‘learning styles’ (auditory, kinaesthetic and visual) which the IST addresses - Group work: Barriers and facilitators of progress. The individual is posited as the central agent of change. - Practice using the IST as group work. - Certificates and close.
Training day 2 9.15 – 4.30 £170 (excluding IST board)	Practitioners Representing: Offender hostel/independent living organisation; DWP community level programme targeting unemployed parents; community health project; employment support organisation for disabled people.	

3.3.5 Supported Accommodation

The manager of ‘The Lane’ hostel ran her organisation alone and bemoaned the lack of ‘Supporting People’ funding. This funding, although absent, provided an operational ‘best-practice’ blue print. Whilst The Lane was locked out of this particular local funding economy, ‘Thomas House’ and a number of other local projects were not. Initial enquiries and interviews were carried out at Thomas House and other Supporting People funded projects. What appeared in these locations was a comprehensive system of support and discipline which appeared instrumental in organising the lives of individual residents who were (as above) engaged with a wide range of organisations (c.f. Allen, 2001; 2003). The two case studies were chosen on the basis that they both received ‘Supporting People’ funding but differed in terms organisational framework (Bishop Place was operated by a national third sector organisation, Thomas House a local charitable trust) and architecture (Thomas House was a renovated industrial whilst Bishop Place was purpose built). In practice, owing to different architectures and practices, the most useful data was gathered from Thomas House. In particular, the office was casually

frequented by residents leading to more opportunities for researcher-participant contact. In contrast, the regime at Bishop Place was much stricter. The main office was closed to residents and was a space 'set aside' for staff only.

Residents in Supported Accommodation projects were interviewed on site after prior arrangement with staff. Between four and six interviews a day could be carried out using this method. As an incentive to take part, £10 gift vouchers for local shops were offered in return for their time. In some instances staff discouraged the giving of vouchers, preferring soft drinks and confectionary to be offered as "the vouchers will just be exchanged for drugs" (Claire, TH Manager, 2009). Whilst the offering of incentives was not ideal and could be questioned on a number of grounds it can equally be justified on the basis that: the incentives were relatively small; they increased response rates; they offered something tangible out of the research process for participants over and above good, but unrealised, intentions (Singer, 2002).

Ethnographies were also used extensively to research the Supported Accommodation projects (for similar examples see Hall, 2006; DeVerteuil, 2004; Datta, 2005; Allen, 2001; 2003). Access to the field sites was granted after interviews with management staff, or, in the case of Thomas House, allowed after an initial short discussion with the manager. In the case of chapter five, the Supported Accommodation projects were selected on the basis of architectural difference and a willingness on the part of the management to allow access. Jones and Watt (2010) suggest that one should spend between six months and one year in a field site. However, for the purposes of this research a shorter period of eight weeks was deemed acceptable due to the onset of data 'saturation' and 'diminishing returns'. In addition, the combination of methods (interviews and document analysis) reduced the need for an excessive time in situ. Finally, practical concerns (the need to carry out other forms of research in other places) made such an extended period unfeasible.

Table 7: Core Supported Accommodation Case Study Hostels

Detail	Thomas House (TH)	Bishop Project (BP)
Number of residents	32 (13 shared rooms, 3 twin,	27 (all single rooms, shared

	shared bathrooms) all male	bathrooms) all male
Funding source	Supporting People plus Housing Benefit	Supporting People plus Housing Benefit
Cost for residents	£187.46 Housing Benefit, £26.12 top up by resident	£184.75 Housing Benefit, £35.93 top up by resident
Staff	1 manager, 1 assistant manager, 1 bursar, 1 administrator, 1 Senior support worker, 6 project staff, 1 cleaner	1 manager, 3 management team, 3 administrative staff, 3 chefs, 7 project staff, 3 cleaning staff
Started at location	1980	1987
Type of building	Former ancillary industrial building, built c. 1830. Adapted and modified for current purpose.	Modern, purpose built in 1987. It also featured staged living in the shape of semi-independent 'training flats' to facilitate move on.
Quality Assessment Framework Score	'B'	'A'
Activities offered/facilities	Pool, darts, lounge/TV room, laundry, 2 meals/day. Skills for life training. Gym and occasional bowling off site.	Pool, darts, lounge/TV room, laundry, 3 meals/day. Skills for life training, computer room, job search, guitar lessons. Walking and conservation group off site.
Move on rate into known address	65%	97%
Period of ethnography	160 Hours	135 hours
Residents Interviewed	11 interviews	8 interviews
Staff interviewed	Manager, Senior Support Worker, three case workers	Manager, Senior Support worker, two case workers

Table 8: Additional hostels and interviews with residents

Detail	The Lane	Hope Hostel
Number of residents	18	56
Brief description	No supporting people funding but practices influenced by Supporting People. Manager felt 'locked out' of getting Supporting People funding.	A large facility, open and spacious, initially designed as a residential care home for elderly people. CCTV system
Main source of referrals	Local Prison, Local Youth homelessness charity	Local Authority Housing Department
Funding source	Housing Benefit	Supporting People plus Housing Benefit
Cost for residents	£20/week	£184.75 Housing Benefit, £35.93 top up by resident

staff	1 Manager	1 Manager, 1 Senior Support worker, 7 support workers, 1 building manager, 3 auxiliary staff, 4 night staff.
Started at location	2002	1987
Type of building	An early twentieth century semi-detached residential property knocked together. Single rooms with shared bathroom facilities, small kitchen area.	A modern facility built initially as a residential care home for the elderly. At the time of the research a new purpose built facility was being constructed. The facility had single rooms with shared facilities.
Quality Assessment Framework Score	N/A (not funded)	A
Activities offered/facilities	Basic breakfast offered, portacabin with computer equipment	Three stage approach. Stage 1: Half-board accommodation with intensive support (35 residents). Stage 2: self-catering facilities with aim to develop independent living skills (16 residents). Stage 3: Self contained move on flats (5 residents). Meals, TV, Skills and education training.
Move on rate into known address	Data not kept	72%
Period of ethnography	n/a	n/a
Residents interviewed	14 and one focus group with 8 residents.	n/a
Staff interviewed	Manager	Manager

Table 9: Other interviews

Chloe	Local Authority Supporting People Office (statutory)	A local authority officer tasked with the administration and allocation of Supporting People funding.
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3.3.6 Visible Unpaid Work

In the case of Visible Unpaid Work, the area of the development agency corresponded with the operational area of the regional Probation Service. The regional Probation Service encompassed an area of around one million residents. At any one time, the service supervised around 7500 offenders of which 1400 are serving a custodial sentence. Nearly 200,000 hours of Unpaid Work are carried out annually

which, according to the regional probation service, represents around £1 million if paid at the national minimum wage. Having made initial contact with service managers, a request to observe Visible Unpaid Work was granted on completion of an Enhanced Disclosure. The research sites chosen were allocated on the basis of the Probation Service’s operational needs and a researcher request for a cross-section of activities and sites. Work sites were observed across the five towns in rural and urban locations (see table eleven).⁹ The investigations into Visible Unpaid Work were relatively straightforward to plan with time in the field curtailed when data collection reached a ‘saturation point’, time pressures mounted and a desire not to ‘overstay one’s welcome’.

The ethnography carried out with the Probation Service into Unpaid Work took a total of eight weeks (spread across three months in 2009 and 2010). It was carried out across numerous sites throughout the sub region. Such work follows in the footsteps of Vass (1984) who used a similar approach to investigate community service. In addition Ethnographic research into work practices has a rich history beyond criminal justice (c.f. Burawoy, 1979; 1985; Crang, 1994; De Genova, 2006; Delbridge, 1998; Treweek, 1997; Thompson and Ackroyd, 1995). Although Johnson (2008) argues that such an approach is overly subjective Tope et al. (2005) suggest that ethnographic research provides a greater information yield than other methods of research, as well as providing an opportunity to observe ‘clandestine’ practices (see also; Thompson and Ackroyd, 1995).

Table 10: Visible Unpaid Work Interviews

Pseudonym	Position	Job description/outline
Stewart	Regional Visible Unpaid Work Coordinator (Visible Unpaid Work)	Coordinate the delivery of Visible Unpaid Work at the regional level. Ensure compliance with targets and guidelines. Responsible for selecting any optional programmes (e.g. employability).
Lucy	Probation Service Regional Education and Employability	Responsible for the coordination of all training, education and

⁹ In addition, having heard ‘that Seatown’ offenders were especially boisterous a request was made, and permission granted, to observe at that location. No significant differences in procedure were observed with the exception that the offenders in Midtown were now perceived as being the most troublesome.

	Manager (statutory)	employability support delivered within the probation area. Including support related to offending behaviour.
Bill	Probation Service officer/VUpW Coordinator and Compliance Officer	Ensured that compliance and attendance levels were maintained throughout the region and allocated particular offenders to certain worksites (e.g. female offenders to charity shops where possible).
Andrew	Sub-regional Probation Service VUpW Manager	Coordination of Visible Unpaid Work at a sub-regional level including allocation, sourcing and assessing worksites. Liaise with Work Skills Development and Local Authority.
Megan	Work Skills Development	Employed by a national welfare-to-work provider to deliver and assess the employability aspect of Visible Unpaid Work. Targets based on number of ex-offenders finding employment
Kevin	Work Skills Development	As above.
Jess	Probation Service Education, Training and Skills Officer	Responsible for the delivery and provision of sub-regional training, education and social support for offenders on probation.
Beverly	Local Authority Environment Unit Officer	Worked alongside Probation Service managers to identify potential worksites. Worksites were those which the Local Authority had been requested by the public to carry out, but did not have the resources to complete.
Neil	Local Authority Environment Unit Officer	As above
Mark	Local Authority Environment Unit Officer	As above
Stewart	Regional Visible Unpaid Work Coordinator (Visible Unpaid Work)	See above
Ben	Sub Regional Probation Service Manager (Visible Unpaid Work)	Coordination of Visible Unpaid Work at a sub-regional level including allocation, sourcing

		and assessing worksites. Liaise with Work Skills Development and Local Authority.
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Table 11: Summary of work locations and ethnographies

Location	Details	Tasks observed	Dates
Old Cemetery, Castle town	A small graveyard in a quiet location. Task received from Parish Church. Short term, Annual project.	Cutting long grass using strimmer and lawn mower.	June 2009
Roadside, Small town	Beside a busy main road in a commuter town. Allocated by the LA. One off project, short term.	Edging of pavements using shovels. Cutting turf and placing in plastic bags for collection by LA.	June 2009
Church Graveyard, Birch village	Medium size grave yard of a Catholic church in a small, rural, former mining village. Short term, annual project.	Cutting long grass using strimmer and lawn mower.	June 2009
Century Park, Underton Town	Small park in an old industrial area. On the edge of a large post war social housing estate..Work sourced from local community group via LA. Medium term and annual project.	Cutting long grass using strimmer and lawn mower. Litter picking of entire area. Cutting back and chipping overgrown weeds and bushes using hedge cutting machinery. Bagging grass cuttings. Waste collected by LA.	April 2010
Rose Allotments, Rose town	Reclaimed allotments from what was waste land. Long term project (18 months) but one off from local Allotment Association via LA. In a deprived area.	Digging drainage ditches, turning over hardened soil, removing concrete slabs, bricks and large stones from plots, removing weeds from proposed car park, erecting fences, making paths, general assistance of allotment holders.	April 2010
Railway Park	Country park, just outside of the main industrial conurbation. Medium	Painting fences, laying slabs, grass cutting in cemetery area, painting	May 2010

	term and repeat project. Outside of deprived town, but within easy reach on foot.	fences on seafront.	
Seafront, Sea town	Formerly prosperous seaside town. Various short term projects through LA and community nominations.	Painting railings, weeding	May 2010

(note: Short term: two weeks or less. Medium term: two months or less. Long term: More than two months.)

3.4 Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodology and research methods which are used to answer the research questions laid out in chapter one. It was argued that, ontologically, rather than pre-existing phenomena waiting to be uncovered, subjects and spaces are produced through social processes. At the level of epistemology, the chapter has suggested that knowledge should be understood as a practical activity which occurs in multiple places and at multiple scales (e.g. in policy programmes and at practice level). Out of these two positions we can understand the act of government and intervention as (in part) the assembly of ‘sensible evidences’ (Dikeç, 2007b). These sensible evidences are produced at a range of scales: from the policy document and the scientist to the service manager and practitioner. Given these multiple scales and spaces of knowledge production, and coupled with Evans and Colls’ (2009) argument for more engaged studies of governmentality, the chapter argued that ethnographies and interviews represent useful ways of engaging with the core problematic of the thesis. The case studies were then justified and outlined in relation to research questions two and three. The chapter argued that the use of case studies represents a useful way of engaging with important moments in the archipelago of intervention and allows for an engagement with the practices and techniques which are used by the neoliberal state to govern awkward citizens.

4. Chapter four: An individual, not a number: ‘Intensive support’, ‘parrhesia’ and the intimate government of the troubled citizen

“We see the client as an individual, not as a National Insurance number. That’s what makes us different to the Job Centre”

(Russ, support worker, 2009)

“For the client, because they are sharing with you parts nobody has said to them. How is it living at home, what’s your accommodation like? So then they start telling you what their accommodation is like. And it could be like hell on earth to them. They may be homeless. So you are then opening up. It can be difficult for people to share, but it also helps them because they gain y’...you gain their trust. You’re developing a relationship with them where you can assist them, you can help them progress in their life.”

(Lauren, support worker, 2009)

“Again, we are told that the aim is to try and attach an emotion to the numbers which the clients choose to signify their particular condition and also allow the individual to see the “big picture”, and be able to make connections between different parts of ones life, through seeing “the whole world” of the client.”

(IST training 1, field diary extract from participant observation, 2010)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores some of the interventions that those with disrupted or difficult lives may voluntarily engage with. It looks at how and why these interventions have emerged and what they aim to achieve, and how these aims and objectives may be mediated by their front line implementation. Moreover, this chapter approaches the interventions as political technologies of social and economic government concerned with the production of particular subjectivities, truths, conducts and behaviours.

The particular mode of intervention discussed in this chapter is one-to-one case working. In the interests of clarity and organisational simplicity this is split into two different elements. The first section discusses one-to-one support working without any material technologies. Instead, the practitioner uses 'psy' (Miller and Rose, 2008) derived techniques to understand and counsel the client. It is argued that these interventions are concerned, first and foremost, with organising the conduct of others. The chapter argues that these interventions can be understood as a pedagogical endeavours in which the practitioner (and to a lesser extent the client) problematises the conduct of the client. The critique of conduct is therefore one which is external; generated by the practitioner and measured against a 'common sense' grid of analysis.

The second section examines the use of a particular (material) technology: the Integrated Support Tool (IST) which is also derived from the 'psy' disciplines but takes a different approach to the first mode of intervention. This form of intervention is more recent and represents a critique of past and prevailing forms of welfare but one which is more strident given that it displaces judgment and critique from the practitioner to the individual. Therefore, such interventions can be understood as governmental technologies which aim to encourage the individual to engage in a process of self care and self reflection which aims to produce a subject who capable of ethical self-conduct.

In addition, both forms of intervention are intimately bound up in a process of intersubjective truth production. In the first example, 'truths' about the nature of the social and appropriate forms of behaviour are provided by the practitioner whereas in the second the subject is encouraged to produce such binding truths for themselves. Both modes of intervention can be characterised as ways of grasping and governing awkward subjects and populations through an intimate engagement which looks to produce subjects amenable to government 'at a distance'. Finally, both forms of intervention can also be considered as one which exists as a practical but partial critique of previous and current forms of welfare intervention (which are held as being insufficiently intimate for marginal populations).

It should of course be noted that these interventions were not practised in a mutually exclusive manner. Not all practitioners used the IST or a similar tool, but all practitioners used one-to-one verbal technologies to work with clients. In short, they overlapped considerably. The material for this chapter emerged from seventeen semi structured interviews with practitioners, managers and the creator of the

IST (see table five). In addition, observation was carried out on two days of Integrated Support Tool (IST) training (see table six).

4.2 Part one: Therapy, Government and the messy front line of welfare provision

The field work initially began with a focus on the notion of employability as it might apply to marginalised populations. The aim was to understand *what* the ‘correct’ attitude and disposition towards work is and *how* this could be formed. However, it became apparent that the concept of employability was perhaps not quite as useful as anticipated. As a result of this the techniques through which subjects could be understood, known, and governed became of significant interest. Most striking in the research was the extent to which support workers drew influence from counselling and psycho-therapeutic technologies, even though they were not specifically counsellors. As one support worker suggested;

We say that we are not counselors, but a lot of time we actually are.

(Emma, support worker, 2009)

For example, support workers mentioned the following techniques and practices: Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP) Motivational Interviewing (MI); Client Centred Therapy (CCT); Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT); Solution Focused Therapy (SFT); and general ‘counselling’. As will be shown, the use of such technologies was perceived by support workers to be the most efficient and effective way of working with awkward populations.

Nolan and Füredi document the encroachment of a ‘therapeutic ethos’ into all spheres of social, economic and political life (including welfare), and argue that there has been, amongst other things, a widespread pathologisation of human conduct and behaviour (Nolan, 1999), an increasing tendency to justify government through this ethos and culture (Nolan, 1999), an enfeebling of the subject (Füredi, 2004) and a “kindly apocalypse” through the promotion of self esteem in education as an end in itself (Smeyers et al, 2007,p7). As Füredi (2004) points out, various types of therapy have been used in UK welfare programmes since the 1980s. Brought in under the Thatcher government, they aimed to help individuals cope with psychologically damaging impacts of unemployment. Throughout all of this, it is

argued that a focus on the use of therapy promotes a type of individualism deeply compatible with neo-liberalism (Smeyers et al; Füredi, 2004; Bondi, 2005). Moreover, Miller and Rose argue that this represents the rise of 'therapeutic authority' where;

"Authority has acquired a new therapeutic vocation, and the ethical warrant required to exercise authority over the conduct of one's fellow human beings has been reshaped. This has involved new ways of thinking and acting upon all those points where an individual's relations with others intersect with their relations with themselves."

(Miller and Rose, 2008, p. 142)

This 'therapeutic authority' has emerged out of the reconfiguration of how social problems and conditions have been understood *as* problems which need to be addressed (Miller and Rose, 2008). Following on from this;

"A certain level of agreement has been reached that such phenomena should be conceptualised and addressed in terms of an inner world of psychological processes and an interpersonal world of human relations"

(Miller and Rose, 2008, pp. 142-143)

Social problems which may have been constituted as, for example, a failure of macro-economic policy become refigured as phenomena which are best addressed at the individual psychological level. Where social phenomena are constituted as problems of the psyche, then it follows that interventions derived from the 'psy' disciplines (both academic and 'lay' or even 'pop' psychology) will be a possible option (Rose, 1999; Miller and Rose, 2008).

The research presented shortly will offer an analysis of one particular intervention technology which draws inspiration from the psy disciplines. This chapter offers an analysis of a set of techniques, practices and technologies which are deployed to reshape the conduct, behaviours and attitudes of marginalised individuals and problem populations who are some distance from the 'regular' labour market. The focus is therefore on the 'how' these technologies operate and also to offer some suggestions as to 'how' they have emerged from the milieu of possible interventions.

Of particular focus, therefore, are the ways in which one conducts oneself and others and how such practices relate to modes of governing, political objectives and 'street level' administration (McDonald and Marston, 2006). Such research has focused on rationalities and specific practices and technologies, rather than seeing such phenomena as the result of specific political theories and/or ideologies (Foucault, 2010a; Cadman, 2010). For Foucault, liberalism is neither a theory nor a 'self representation' of itself but can be understood as;

“a practice, that is to say, a “way of doing things” directed towards objectives and regulating itself by continuous reflection. Liberalism, then, is to be analysed as a principle and method of the rationalisation of the exercise of government...”

(Foucault, 2010a, p. 318)

As suggested by the diversity of studies using a governmentality framework it is an adaptable methodology. In addition;

“the analysis of micro-powers, or of procedures of governmentality, is not confined by definition to precise domain determined by a sector of the scale, but should be considered simply as a point of view, a method of decipherment which may be valid for the whole scale, whatever its size.”

(Foucault, 2010a, p. 186)

It is these 'micro-powers' that this chapter will investigate. Such technologies operate as governmental techniques which are, for the most part, cohesive with more general patterns of neoliberal governmental strategies and technologies. Within these 'micro-powers' and governmental procedures the 'conduct of conduct' emerges as a central concern (Dean, 2010; see also chapter two). It should be stated that whilst the following empirical chapters engage more with the 'actual' and 'material' instigation of policies this chapter looks more towards the ideational and constitutional approach taken by practitioners and the creators of this intervention.

4.2.1 Welfare delivery on the front line

The 'front-line' delivery of welfare programmes represents a key site of policy implementation and discretionary modification (Lipsky, (2010) [1980]; McDonald and Marston, 2006). The research presented

here concerns a front line intervention of a welfare service delivered in the last instance by non-state organisations (although usually funded by the state in one way or another). Although 'at a distance' they still represent the point of contact between client and state. The front line of welfare provision represents an interface between the state and the citizen which looks to recalibrate the attitudes and behaviours of particular populations. Therefore, previous research carried out on front-line welfare delivery is worth considering.

Research into front line welfare provision has covered a range of different concerns and issues and a number of different approaches have been used. Cole (2007) draws on ethnographic and archival material of the design of employment offices to discuss the changing discursive construction of unemployment in the UK. Finn (2003) discusses the way in which the New Deal for Young People altered young people's experiences of unemployment by applying pressure and encouragement to young people although this was problematic in areas with insufficient job opportunities (see also Sunley et al, 2006; Peck, 2001). In the US context, Korteweg (2003) draws on and re-works Althusser's notion of 'interpellation' and argues that benefit recipients enrolled on mandatory work programmes are encouraged to re-consider themselves as 'worker citizens'. Other research from the USA points to front line civil servants role as informal gate-keepers to resources (Brodkin and Majmundar, 2010). Research in the UK has also looked at; the construction and typologies of welfare recipients (Rosenthal and Peccei, 2006); the uneven (Priestly et al, 2010) and discretionary (Ellis, 2007) aspects of direct payments to disabled citizens. In a similar vein to Rosenthal and Peccei (2006), Caswell et al. (2010) explore the use and creation of typologies used as a governmental technology which operates to further intensify the construction of unemployment as an individual property in Denmark and Australia. Meanwhile, others have investigated the self construction of front line staff and their attitudes towards their work and clients (Jagannathan and Camasso, 2006; Oberfield, 2010).

Research into the delivery of welfare services has also clustered around Lipsky's (2010 [1980]) notion of 'street level bureaucrats' (Hjorne et al, 2010; Hupe and Hill, 2007; Proudfoot and McCann, 2008; Halliday et al., 2009; Keiser, 2010; Evans and Harris, 2004; Wells, 1997; Halliday et al. 2008; Wastell et al. 2007). Lipsky's work points to a paradox whereby customer facing public servants are required to negotiate between the principle of even service provision for all, and in all areas, whilst being responsive

to individual and specific cases. Moreover, for Lipsky, the process of welfare reform has at least partly been about trying to more effectively deal with this paradox (for examples of dealing with this c.f. DWP 2008a; 2008b; Gregg, 2008; Gregg and Cooke, 2010). It could be tentatively suggested that the interventions discussed here represent a derivative of this process of welfare reform. Practitioners can therefore be understood as political actors and ad-hoc policy makers who play an important role in the shaping of place and conduct. As will be shown below, practitioners have a considerable amount of discretion in their professional practice in contrast to some mainstream and statutory organisations. Indeed the practices discussed here required discretion to operate in the way intended. Moreover, the interventions in question operate in an implicitly critical manner towards standard bureaucratic techniques of government. In addition, the practitioners discussed here tended to work one-to-one with individual clients rather than with large volumes of clients.

4.2.2 Power, knowledge and the self

The 'volunteerism' associated with the practices discussed in this section imply the need for a subtle and nuanced critique and analysis of these practices. Whilst welfare programmes in the UK have introduced a range of sanctions for recalcitrant citizens (DWP, 2008a; 2008b) the interventions discussed here have no recourse to such measures. The application of power is therefore one which is productive and concerned with practices of subjectivation rather than strict domination and punishment (Hörnqvist, 2007).

“What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us a force that says no; it also traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.”

(Foucault, 2003a, p. 307)

Citizens engaging with welfare organisations tend to be positioned at the lower end of a power gradient relative to enforcement staff (MacDonald and Marston, 2005). In contrast, the interventions here represent a more productive exercise of power: both *over* and *with* the subject. As will be shown, the support worker remains in a dominant role but the exercise of power is not an end in itself. The aim for

the interventions discussed in this chapter is the production of a subject; capable of 'being free'; able demonstrate appropriate self conduct and; able to exercise power over themselves.

This chapter will argue that the use of authority in this case, is often used to develop individuals who are willing and able to conduct themselves in an ethically robust manner and also to re-organise the way in which one behaves. Within this, there are two interrelated strands to this. We can understand such practices as ethico-political interventions concerned with 'technologies of the self' which are concerned with the creation of a relation to the self which includes appropriate levels of self reflection, self knowledge and self examination (Foucault, 1985; Besley; 2005b). 'Technologies of the self' can be understood as being practices and techniques which;

“permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, a way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality”

(Foucault, 1988, p. 18)

Such technologies allow individuals to act on their own conduct, behaviours and attitudes in order to self-produce a subject capable of attaining some sort of desired state. It is therefore very much concerned with the notion of conduct: both the conduct of oneself and the way in which one conducts another (Foucault, 2009). We can therefore begin to tease out the relationship between 'governmentality' (management of the population) (see chapter two) and the more intimate 'front line' use of a variety of technologies which ensure that individuals are (re)created as subjects with an appropriate and desirable ethical substance. Therefore, micro-practices which look to form subjects with desirable characteristics should be understood as projects intimately related to the exercise of state power at the macro (governmental) level.

Moreover, such technologies of the self also concern the use and development of knowledge as a self practice as much, if not more so than, 'traditional' learnt, formal, statistical or academic knowledge. Technologies of the self also concern;

“the way on which individuals are urged to constitute themselves as subjects of moral conduct [...] concerned with the models proposed for setting up and developing relationships with the self, for self-reflection, self-knowledge, self-examination, for the decipherment of the self by oneself, for the transformations that one seeks to accomplish with oneself as object.”

(Foucault, 1985, p. 29)

‘Technologies of the self’ in this chapter are embodied within the assorted techniques used on, with and for marginalised clients. The two main overlapping and interrelated elements to this are techniques derived from the ‘psy’ disciplines: direct counselling without ‘tools’ and counselling with a specially designed diagnostic ‘tool’ itself derived from a variety of ‘psy’ approaches (Miller and Rose, 2008; Rose, 1998). This chapter will show how these interventions, which draw on similar sources of knowledge, operate to reform the conduct and attitudes of individuals and then move onto develop practices of self knowing and self understanding.

The second explanation of technologies of the self concerned the production of self knowledge and self understanding, and both elucidations describe a process in which an individual; a) attains a ‘higher state’ and b) becomes an object of their own reflection. The development of an ethic of care is closely related to understandings of technologies of the self in that they both include a pursuit of knowledge and the development of a dynamic, constantly forming and reforming subjectivity. For Foucault, the care of oneself is a relational process by which one becomes ‘Other’ in her/his relation to the world, not through the formal learning of facts, rules etc. but a relation with the world whereby knowledge itself is the process of the ‘care of the self’ (Foucault, 2005). It is more of a general condition than an end in itself. Whilst this is a highly abstract and remote concept, Foucault offers ways in which this could be achieved. This entails three elements: self critique; a form of ‘self-struggle’; and finally an element of therapy (Foucault, 2005). Self critique is concerned with the unlearning habits which may hinder the care of the self; self struggle through an ongoing conflict which requires that an individual consistently repeats positive performance and rejects those which are contra-caring and does so as a matter of course into the future and; a therapeutic ethos which requires a consistent but pragmatic engagement with the social as it happens (Foucault, 2005; see also Lea, 2009). Finally, it should be noted that this approach is to be less concerned with pedagogy and should more appropriately be considered a curative and therapeutic endeavour orientated around *disposition* and a way of being (Foucault, 2005).

Achieving such a state is a difficult and ongoing process. Of primary importance is, of course, the unlearning of negative behaviours, practices and conducts. Secondly, it will be shown how the process of a change in orientation to the rest of the social world is an unfolding and iterative process where potential problems abound. Finally, rather than imbuing the client with formal strands of knowledge the individual is instead equipped with a range of skills with which they can more successfully manage their own existence and operate profitably within (neo-liberal) society at large. As will be shown, this is an ideal which may or may not be achievable.

These conditions, practices, techniques and ethical (self) relations, are not considered to be pre-existing within the subject. Such things exist as knowledges: to be learned and embraced as embodied practice first and foremost. Moreover, the attainment of such things is challenging and demanding of the individual. This is particularly true when it comes to those relegated to the margins of the population and those who are deemed in need of the interventions which are described in this chapter. Moreover, this chapter argues that the practices encountered during field work were interventions with multiple aspects, aims and desired outcomes. In addition, research which has focused on the self has often examined benign and sometimes pleasant examples (from yoga to beauty therapy) (c.f. Lea, 2009; Straughan, 2010; Markula, 2003; 2004). In contrast, this chapter will argue that these are difficult (sometimes traumatic) interventions. The examples here are less concerned with narcissistic self concern and selfish individualism and more concerned with struggle on behalf of the client (Boothroyd, 1996; Longford, 2001).

4.3 Part two: One-to-one intervention: pedagogy and critique

This section, which focuses on the way in which one-to-one support work is carried out, draws most prominently on the first element of Foucault's (2009) understanding of conduct; the way in which one conducts others. As such, this section analyses the ways in which problematic populations and individuals are understood as subjects which can be governed. The interventions in this section should be considered as 'technologies of the self' which look to encourage individuals to develop the skills and abilities to transform themselves and their circumstances (Foucault, 1988). In addition, this section examines the way in which the conduct of subjects is to be problematised in relation to the already

existing societal norms and codes. The practices presented in this section are pedagogic in that they are concerned with the problematisation of conduct which is intended to lead to forms of self care and self reflection. It is therefore argued that one-to-one engagements differ from the second set of interventions, which will be discussed in the next section, which are concerned with a form of confessional practice and self reflection which leads to a self-caring, self-reflexive and 'steady' disposition *in the first instance*. Put simply, the interventions discussed in this section require that the *practitioner intervenes directly with the subject* whilst the interventions discussed in the following section address a process of *self intervention*. As such, although both practitioner and client are engaged in the production of truth about ethics, relations and conduct in the social, the practitioner takes the lead in this first process.

4.3.1 Not a number: critique and engagement

In order to act on and with the client the service user first must be understood as a subject/object which is open to the application of governmental technologies of various types. The support workers discursively construct and explain their clients in a number of ways: as a result of social inheritance, structural inequality and medicalised pathology: Stenson (1993) points to the importance of the way in which the subject is constructed as both excluded *and* redeemable through the use of social scientific knowledge. Thus, such practices are at once intimate and distant in terms of their governmental *rationale and operation*. In this empirical example, we can see the movement from a 'government at a distance' to one which is intimate and involved.

Social inheritance;

"Some of my clients have been on Job Seekers Allowance all of their lives, they've never worked some of them. Some of them have been brought up that way, their parents have been on benefits all of their lives, they've just been brought up that way. You know, so it's a cycle."

(Russ, Support Worker, 2009)

This was the most common explanation, and draws on the notion of an inherited dependency. In this explanation, individuals find themselves in a predicament because of a lack of work ethic which has

been socially inherited from past generations. The lack of 'work ethic' is, however, not the individuals fault.

Structural exclusion;

"I think it's probably just comes from...coming from deprived areas, deprived backgrounds, disadvantaged, exclusion from school, usually. A good number of them have been excluded from school at a very young age. So they have not had any real education. [...] They will miss out on a lot of social skills and being able to deal with situations, coping skills are very poor."

(Grace, support worker, 2009)

The above description refers to a more structural explanation of deprivation. This was also a common explanation, exclusion is deemed to be as a result of social marginalisation, where society has too often disregarded or abused the client, leading to, in this case, substance abuse.

As a pathology;

"And then on the other end of the spectrum, there might be someone who takes drugs because they have an addictive personality; they have been a prolific drug user since 11/12 years old. Started off cigarettes, cannabis, speed, acid, and progressed onto crack, heroin and they will take anything going, and they'll do anything to get that. When I'm working with those people, it is quite difficult because they are very, very entrenched in that behaviour. And it is almost getting them to unlearn what they have already learned.

(Adrian, support worker, 2009)

Clients were thus constructed as fairly passive victims of circumstance. The support workers constructed the clients as individuals who are not to be loathed or disregarded, but to be understood and pitied. We might call this a left/liberal construction of the client (c.f. Walker, 1996). It stands in contrast to the wilfully deviant 'underclass' version of exclusion (Murray, 1996). What is most important was that this is

not just idle pity. In accordance with the theory of Client Centred Therapy¹⁰, all an individual needs is the right conditions for personal growth and fulfilment (Rogers 1995 [1961]). The task is to create those conditions;

“Whereas to you and I, we would go out and work and have a work ethic. To them, they have never worked, so they actually don’t believe that they are capable of a lot that they are actually capable of... So, the [name of organisation] want to turn that round to let people see that they are worth an awful lot, to build their self esteem, progress them into work, initially through training and education... they perhaps feel that they are worthless. Because nobody has said you can do this.

(Lauren, support worker, 2009)

“Well, its poverty isn’t it, its getting them off the poverty line. It’s getting them what they would class as normal. I just want to be a normal person; I just want a job like a normal person. This is what they say. They just want to be normal, they just want a job, they just want to work. They have no skills, the have no training; they’ve got no opportunity to accesses those jobs that are available.”

(Denise, support worker, 2009)

¹⁰ Client Centred Therapy represented a ‘baseline’ technique. Developed by Carl Rogers (1995 [1969]) it has the following characteristics: 1. The individual has an essential substance: Every individual has an essential nature, and an essential self, which it is the therapists’ job to help them uncover. 2. Openness to experience: The client is to become aware of their internal feelings and attitudes, but also to be “more aware of reality as it exists outside of himself, instead of perceiving it in preconceived categories” (Rogers, 1995 [1969], p116). 3. Making rational calculations, as far as possible: Rogers terms this “trust in ones organism” (1995, [1969]). It is where an individual trusts themselves to make the correct decision, and choose the most appropriate behaviour. 4. The self becomes key: The individual is to look less and less for approval or judgement, for rules and codes and so on. Rather, the question is “Am I living in a way which is deeply satisfying to me, and which truly expresses me?” (Rogers, 1995 [1969], p119). At the end of this, an individual is to realise that “I am the one who chooses...I am the one who determines the value of experience for me” (Rogers, 1995 [1969], p120). 5. The individual is a process: A clients problems are not necessarily solved completely. The client does not emerge form therapy as a complete individual. What does emerge is a client who is aware that they are ‘in process’ constantly, never complete and fixed. The individual is to be in a constant state of becoming (Rogers, 1995 [1969]). (see also Kramer, 1995).

The client is constructed as having the potential for change, progress and completeness. The sympathetic discursive construction is important for two reasons. The first is that it justifies action. The client is a victim and redeemable. Thus, it provides the discursive justification for intervention on the macro social scale and the micro scale of the support worker. Without this justification, social intervention would not be possible. For example, if the client was constructed as truly vile *and* irredeemable in *every conceivable* instance then incarceration would be the only option for society.

On the other hand, the subject exercises little or no agency in the above descriptions. In some ways the client is posited as feeble and 'disempowered', prey only to forces operating far above his or her ken. In the discourse which guides the day to day intervention, the individual has little or no agency. Following on from this understanding, the task for the support worker is to find out the issues which a client faces. This is done through interviewing the client, firstly using the Client Centred Therapy approach, before moving onto more 'motivational' interventions;

"We do generally, when a client first comes in, use open questions, empathic reflection, and that is the basis of an action plan... They just talk about the things they like. And they get the feel for what we provide then, and add some substance and some meat for when you are actually putting an action plan together ...the chances are that, that little bit of added value will go a long way. They will buy in, they will see that they are with people they can trust, they will see that they don't have to do anything that they don't want to do, you see invariably that that client starts working, If you get them in one-to-one straight away, bang, what do you want to do, this is how you are going to do it, they are not going to come back."

(Emma, support worker, 2009)

The form of authority exercised in this instance is a type of empathetic authority. McDonald and Marston (2005) suggest surprise at finding this technique employed by case managers in their research. However, in this case it is seen as a necessary personal disposition of the individual support worker as well as a technique;

“well, quite often or most often, because you are actually listening it does help them, it does help them move on.”

(Lauren, support worker, 2009)

“maybe I’m too nice I’d give everyone a chance –everybody deserves a second chance.”

(Grace, support worker, 2009)

Empathy through personal experience;

“I mean I did things when I was younger...that...well, they were wrong, erm and its....it wasn’t nice for my friends and family around me, but you get through it and everybody stood by me. And I think I have helped a lot more people...than...I think I have repaid my debt to society, but I get a good buzz from it, from helping people, from getting people on the right track again. A lot of people want to do it; they just need somebody to hold their hand.”

(Adrian, support worker, 2009)

In contrast to statutory organisations;

“I have got the chance to build up that rapport. And that is the main reason why we make so much progress. They don’t feel like national insurance number JUA fifty-eight, or you don’t feel like the ten o’clock appointment, they will actually feel like a person. It’s that sort of personal touch of the project that helps us to make these breakthroughs.”

(Adrian, support worker, 2009)

Empathy and rapport building is thus an important technique and one which dovetails with the ‘therapeutic authority’ described by Miller and Rose (2008). As such, the social and economic impediments faced by clients are constructed as personal and psychological problems rather than a series of political and institutional failures. The explanation for the use of this authority was justified and explained in a number of ways.

Firstly the practices of the support workers and their organisations were held in stark contrast to the operation of statutory organisations, in particular the Job Centre. Indeed, the statements from support workers are implicitly critical of the governmental practices employed by such institutions and regarded as not being a suitable form of intervention for the client group. The state based interventions were characterised as being impersonal (partly out of necessity) and were guilty of treating subjects as objects (quantitative, numbers, times). This aggregate form of governmental technology was considered by practitioners to lack the personal and extended interventions required. Therefore, the superior practices of the support workers emphasised the interpersonal aspects of engagement (Miller and Rose, 2008).

Secondly, and derived from the preceding argument, the technologies deployed by the support workers represented a corrective to the impersonal and aggregate mode of government demonstrated by statutory organisations. For those considered to be some distance of the labour market, the way in which the statutory organisations sought to govern the conduct of others was ineffectual at best and deterrent to engagement at worst. Returning to Foucault's dual concept of conduct we can perhaps suggest that the arguments advanced by support workers regarded the Job Centre as being overly concerned with the surface level of conduct; the activity of conducting (*conduire*) (Foucault, 2009). Whilst these acts of conducting may be appropriate for 'ordinary' job seekers, they are not considered correct for marginalised subjects.

Thirdly, and as a result of this, more appropriate interventions require empathy, sympathy and understanding on behalf of the support worker. A new way of conducting and governing such populations is required given the inefficacy of statutory organisations. This calls forth alternative technologies, practices and modes of interventions as well as an altered ethics of engagement which focuses on interpersonal relationships and the psyche of the individual (Miller and Rose, 2008). Rather than a primary concern with the government at the aggregate-intermediate level (the sub population of the unemployed) which look to organise individuals at the level of an object (appointment time, 'tick-box' exercises, national insurance numbers etc.), such interventions operate at street level and considers individuals as modifiable subjects with an ethical and relational existence. The practices of the support workers can be considered to be concerned with Foucault's second definition of conduct first of all; the appropriate conduct of the self in all circumstances and the development of an ethical

relationship to the self and others (Foucault, 2009). Which, secondly, lead to a more effective management of marginal citizens.

4.3.2 Pedagogy and the Problem Subject

At this stage, the above empathetic approach gives way to one which is more pedagogical, motivational and confrontational. We can regard this as the stage in which the support worker problematises the conduct of the client. We can consider the following as ‘technology of the self’ in that the client voluntarily requests the assistance of another in order to transform their condition(s) of existence (Foucault, 1985; 1988). We should remember that although considered a technology of the self, it is still a pedagogic endeavour, and one which differs from that which will be described in the following section, which is one more concerned with the development of an *ethic of self care*. We can therefore continue to think of this pedagogic practice as one which is primarily a governmental technology which looks to develop appropriate forms of conduct. In contrast to support work using the Integrated Support Tool (IST) which invokes something of a parresiac approach, the interventions here rely heavily on an *external* (rather than internal) critique and an *external* (rather than internal) system of judgment (Foucault, 2001; 2010b; Lea, 2009; Luxon, 2008).

Following on the acts of ‘rapport building’ and getting to ‘know’ and gaining the trust of the client in a non-directive manner, the next imperative is to challenge particular forms of conduct. The quotations below and above suggest a degree of voluntary self-disclosure. We can consider this a form of ‘secular confession’ (*in this instance*) as a governmental technology. For Besley (2005a; 2005b; see also Peters, 2000) the secular confession represents a ‘technology of the self’ in which the subject of the intervention develops a form of self critique which develops into a re-fashioned narrative of the self. Techniques deployed in this example involve an intimate engagement with the subject and the requirement to confess and disclose their past and present behaviours, attitudes and values. The outcome of this is intended to be a subject who can reflect on their condition and who can move towards a symphonic social existence (Stenson, 1993, p. 23).

For Besley the subject of the secular confession occurs with the counsellor-as-priest assuming something of a pastoral role concerned with care for its own sake rather than the formation of authority (Foucault, 2009). Besley’s secular confession represents an attempt to entice the subject to consider

themselves as an object of their own intervention (Foucault, 1985). Reflecting on and reforming their self-conduct. In short it represents an attempt of the individual to seek a truth about themselves where the 'pastor' merely facilitates the process (Besley, 2005).

In contrast, the examples here demonstrate that such confessions were used to position the client as an object to be guided and conducted by the support worker who actively challenges the behaviours and attitudes confessed by the client. The support workers, rather than the clients, were authors of the service users' narrative. We can therefore consider the elicitation of the confession as a technique of government which assists in gaining an insight on the subjects condition – rather than a process of self reflection. We can also understand the practice was one concerned with the production of knowledge about the client. Such a technique draws on a range of 'psy' derived technologies. For example, one support worker described interactions as follows;

We use person centred counselling as a basis for our interactions with clients but we don't use pure person centred counselling, because you would never get anything done. We do probe and challenge clients, so its not pure person centred counselling, but we do use person centred counselling as a core ethos. Motivational skills, we embed that in our engagement skills anyway.
(Russ, Support Worker, 2009)

In practice, the engagement with the client was concerned with challenging patterns of behaviour and encouraging reflection on self-conduct;

"Some people don't see the drugs as a problem. "What drugs do you do?" "I smoke cannabis every night." "Do you not think that's a problem?" "No, I can afford it, or my friend grows it and I get it for free so I'm not having to buy it so it's not a problem." "OK, do you suffer from paranoia?" "Yeah." "Do you have trouble sleeping?" "Yeah, sometimes." And then you try and link them together, and say well look, this has been scientifically been linked to cannabis use. "Ah right ok." And get them some leaflets to read through. I try not to force information down peoples neck, they have to want to take it in, otherwise it's in one ear and out the other. [...] So, it is just about trying to link through.

(Adrian, support worker, 2009)

In this instance, the client must be directly confronted about their behaviour, in contrast to Motivational Interviewing¹¹ and Client Centred Therapy theory (Rogers, 1995 [1969]; Miller and Rollnick, 2002; Mason, 2009). When considered with previous quotations where support workers considered the use of empathetic reflection we can regard the use of such techniques as technologies which aid in the micro-government of individual subjects. The main aim of such techniques was to gain a confession about the individuals self conduct and behaviour which could then be acted upon by the support worker who looks to direct and engage with the behaviour of the client (Stenson, 1993). Once confessed and rendered visible, the subject of the intervention can be informed of her/his problematic conduct. We can therefore consider such interventions as a micro-political practice concerned with the intervening and governing the conduct of pre-identified problematic subjects (Foucault, 2009; 2010a).

Economic activity was also a point of contestation:

¹¹ Miller and Rollnick (2002) suggest that MI is to be treated as a way of communicating, rather than a set of techniques. MI focuses on an individuals internal desire to change, and draws upon an individuals own goals, values and beliefs, rather than an external agenda. Other interventions, such as those of the criminal justice agencies seek to change an individuals social environment so that change becomes a desirable goal e.g. prison is so unpleasant one would not wish to go there and so will avoid behaviour that would lead to prison (Miller and Rollnick, 2002). On the other hand, the MI practitioners' job is to create the conditions for the emergence of this intrinsic desire to change (Miller and Rollnick, 2002). MI can be defined as "A client centred directive method for enhancing intrinsic motivation to change by exploring and resolving ambivalence." (Miller and Rollnick, 2002, p25). Motivational Interviewing has a number of characteristics; 1. Empathy: Similar to CCT, the skill of 'reflective listening' is important. The counsellor is to listen to the client and understand the client's condition without judging. The counsellor need not agree with or approve of the behaviour or attitude in question. A client who is ambivalent to change is not deviant or pathological, but seen as 'stuck' (Miller and Rollnick, 2002). 2. Develop Discrepancy: As noted, the counsellor is not to accept the behaviour or problem. Rather they are to change it. "The question then becomes how best to present an unpleasant reality and so that the person can be changed by it" (Miller and Rollnick, 2002, p28). The aim is to create and increase the discrepancy between the present state of affairs through the identification of the client's goals and ambitions, and to examine how the present behaviour conflicts with those goals. It must be the individual's goals, otherwise the process is coercive (Miller and Rollnick, 2002). When the client gives the reasons for change, a 'positive' outcome is more likely (Miller and Rollnick, 2002).

3. Dealing with Resistance: In MI, the counsellor is never to argue or impose goals on the client. Instead, the client is posited as an active individual who is to offer the solutions to overcoming problems. The counsellor may offer up new perspectives and new ways of looking at situations, but they should not be imposed (Miller and Rollnick, 2002). 4. Self efficacy of the client: The client must believe that the process of change can work; otherwise the client will not progress. The counsellor cannot make the client change, the onus is on the client to choose and carry out change.

“They class getting their giro as pay day¹². I have said to them, ‘it’s not actually pay day, because you haven’t done any work! Pay day is when you work for your money, you’re actually getting benefits.[...] you know what I mean? They think that it is their God given right to be supported.”

(Adrian, support worker, 2009)

Having confessed to some form of improper conduct, the conduct in question is then problematised by the support worker (Dean, 2010). In the examples above, not working and the use of cannabis is deemed by the support worker to be problematic conduct as judged against the norm of paid labour and generally agreed upon norms of self conduct. Such ‘common sense’ understandings produce a profoundly mundane but hegemonic grid of analysis which provides a basis on which to make judgements concerning the conduct of others. Conduct is judged against the ‘spontaneous philosophy’ of common sense (Gramsci, 1971). As such, the (wilful) rejection of wage labour and acceptance of ‘dependence’ and ‘economic inactivity’ are easily discernable as negative conditions. Moreover, such judgments can rely on an array of terms, classifications and technologies to more accurately identify problematic behaviours and attitudes (Dean, 2010). For example, the support worker explicitly regards some of the clients as being ‘economically inactive’ drawing on discourses of ‘welfare dependence’ and the primacy of paid labour ahead of other social and economic relations. Similarly the problematisation of cannabis use is challenged in reference to discourses of substance induced self harm evidenced by lay/scientific knowledge. Against such registers and regimes of truth the conduct of clients can be called into questioned and problematised. Following the elicitation of a confession, the conduct of the subject can be considered, constructed as an objective problem and ‘given back’ to the subject for consideration and reflection.

Organising the conduct of others in this manner therefore requires a process of guided confession and reflection in which the support workers look to actively reshape the conduct of individuals. In the examples above, counselling and ‘psy’ derived techniques (CCT, NLP and MI) were used primarily as tools to gain the trust of marginalised individuals which resulted in confessions of conduct. Such confessions represented an insight into the behaviour and attitudes of individuals which could then be operated on and problematised. Moreover, such practices are associated with the production of truth. On the one hand, the client is encouraged through confession to divulge truths about her/his conduct

¹² In the interviews with service users the term ‘pay day’ for receiving welfare benefits was common.

and on the other the support worker challenges examples of inappropriate conduct through appealing to generally agreed upon systems of meaning which form analytical grids for the judgment of conduct (Dean, 2010). In this example we see how neoliberal governmental practice constitutes truth at street level through the challenging of non-acceptable versions of reality and the production of more 'truth-ful' forms of conduct (for example through understanding the value of paid employment).

The above examples point to a pedagogical rather than pastoral form of confession. Rather than a 'spontaneous' reworking the self, the client's beliefs are challenged and the individual is encouraged to reform themselves. For Besley, the 'ideal' form of confession is;

"a communicative and an expressive act, a narrative in which we (re)create ourselves by creating our own narrative, reworking the past, in public, or at least in dialogue with another. When the subject is confessing and creating its 'self', it seems to feel compelled to tell the truth about itself. Therefore, confession involves a type of 'discipline' that 'entails training in the minute arts of self-scrutiny, self-evaluation, and self-regulation, ranging from the control of the body, speech, and movement [...]. Whilst confession is autobiographical, compelling us to narratively recreate ourselves, it is also about assigning truth-seeking meaning to our lives."

(Besley, 2005, p. 86)

Whilst the empirical evidence in this case does not demonstrate this form of confession, the *idea* of confession as a *technology of government* remains important in working with, and on, awkward citizens. In this case the confession is *to and for* the support worker who surveys the confession and offers alternative ways of being. The next section of the chapter looks at the Integrated Support Tool (IST) which represents a different mode of *confession* and one which is more closely in tune (with subtle differences) with Besley's ideal confession.

4.4 Part 3: The 'Integrated Support Tool'

The preceding section discussed and analysed support based on one-to-one interactions without tools such as the 'Integrated Support Tool' (IST). In this section it is argued that the utilisation of tools such as the IST represents a different mode of engagement and governance on and with the client and one which is relatively new. For example counselling and one-to-one interventions have been used to

organise the conduct of the unemployed and excluded for some years (c.f. Füredi, 2004) whereas it is the use of assessment tools such as the IST represents a slightly more recent development (around 1999 in the case of the IST).

Although not 'new' the IST is a more recent innovation in the use of 'psy' technologies in the sphere of intensive support. It should be remembered that although different to the methods described above, there is degree of overlap and both methods were used by practitioners. It was noted in the previous section how the interventions could be understood as primarily concerned with organising and problematising the conduct of others. This section will suggested that the IST intervention operates as an ethical practice which looks to produce self knowing and self caring individuals and develop more productive relationships to the self and others. Therefore, we can situate this type of intervention as being concerned with the 'second half' of conduct: concerned primarily organising the clients self conduct and her/his conduct when under instruction (Foucault, 2009). This chapter argues that this is achieved through the elicitation of 'parrhesiastic' speech acts (Foucault, 2010b). It is therefore also concerned with the production of a particular form of truth about the subject and her/his relationship to and with the social.

4.4.1 Parresia

'Parresia' can be thought of as a form of 'fearless speech' which has a number of significant aspects (Foucault, 2001; 2010b). First of all, we can situate parresia as a practice which sits at the intersection of a range of practices.

"...with *parresia* we have a notion which is situated at the meeting point of the obligation to speak the truth, procedures and techniques of governmentality, and the constitution of the relationship to self. Truth-telling by the other, as an essential component of how he governs us, is one of the essential conditions for us to be able to form the right kind of relationship to ourselves that will give us virtue and happiness."

(Foucault, 2010b, p. 45, emphasis in original)

We can therefore see how *parresia* is related to the above discussion which addressed government and the conduct of the self and others, technologies of the self and care of the self. This chapter argues that in the interventions attempted on and with marginalised populations the practice of *parresia* is essential. It will be shown that the practice of *parresia* as ‘truth telling’ operates primarily through the secular confession of the client. It is suggested that the IST is designed to elicit such speech acts. In order to do this, we must first develop what is meant by ‘*parresia*’ in this context.

Parresia is manifestly different from other speech acts in a number of ways. Firstly, *parresia* operates as an interruption. It interrupts the order, structure and condition of the present through the interruption of a “true discourse” (Foucault, 2010b, p. 62). This interruption is a troubling one in that it acts to open up an unforeseeable field of possibility and opens a terrain of unknowable - and possibly ‘risky’ and challenging events. The results of *parrhesiastic* speech are not clearly predictable in advance (Foucault, 2010b). Secondly, *parresia* is not a performance or formality. It does not exist in the operation of normal, day to day speech and does not require pre-given positions of authority (Foucault, 2010b). *Parresia*, on the other hand, can never be performative or indifferent. It must always be a form of truth on two levels.

“A first level is that of the statement of truth itself ([...] one says the thing and that is that). The second level of *parrhesiastic* act, the *parrhesiastic* enunciation is the affirmation that in fact one genuinely thinks, judges and considers the truth one is saying to be genuinely true, and I truly think I am telling the truth when I say it.”

(Foucault, 2010b, p. 64)

This utterance, for Foucault, becomes something of a pact. Firstly the speaker declares what s/he thinks to be truth and furthermore the speaker binds him/herself to that truth and therefore opens their self up to the ramifications which may ensue (the already noted ‘openness’). Therefore, the speaker opens her/his own being up to the dangers and unforeseen circumstances which may await her/him.

Thirdly, *parrhesiastic* speech does not require a pre-given position of power. All that is important is courage on behalf of the speaker. Fourthly and finally, and related to the second aspect, is the way in which through the practice of truth telling one binds oneself to that truthful utterance without duress

from another. In essence, *parresia* is “a way of binding oneself to oneself on the statement of the truth, of freely binding oneself, and in the form of the courageous act.” (Foucault, 2010b, p. 66).

The concept of *parresia* has been used by other researchers in a number of different contexts. Some use it in a purely functional, literal and non-Foucauldian manner to describe a general truthfulness (c.f. McKay, 2010). Following Foucault’s lead, Christie and Sidhu (2006) and Ewen (2010) have used the concept of *parresia* to understand ethico-political interventions whilst Sharpe (2007) has considered the political and philosophical ramifications of Foucault’s consideration of *parresia*. For the purposes of this chapter Luxon (2008) provides the most useable account. Focusing on *parresia* as a model of “ethical self government” (p. 377) over (but not ignoring) the political aspects of *parresia* (c.f. Christie and Sidhu, 2006; Ewen, 2010; Sharpe, 2007) links the concept more closely to the interventions discussed in this chapter. For Luxon (2008), the use of *parresia* in practices of self formation and subjectivation centre around the possibility of producing a subject with a “disposition to steadiness” p. 377) in the face of serendipity and uncertainty whilst avoiding a body/soul dualism and developing ethical relationships with the self others. For Luxon, *parrhesiastic* practices do not require an ‘outside’ ordering principle (Luxon suggests tradition, religion and custom to which we can add social norms and codes (May, 2006) where practice and action are privileged over formal knowledge and understanding of formal truths.

Luxon conceives Foucault’s *parresia* as an educative practice and one which is deeply concerned with the relationship between tutor and student and the student to themselves and others. As such;

“... the interpretive education offered by the “messy middle” of those personal relationships as-yet unstructured by their endpoint and not predefined by their beginnings. Such relationships potentially offer a context in which the past can be problematised, the future left unenclosed, and the present always ready-at-hand; they also provide a structure for the reconsideration of ethical obligations and responsibility; and they accomplish both of these tasks without recourse to the private terms of taste.”

(Luxon, 2008, p. 383)

Such a process proceeds as one which has no determined end point and is not fixed on a pre-set bearing. Despite this, the past is something which should be dealt with as something to be grappled and struggled with (as per ‘care of the self’ (Foucault, 2005; Lea, 2009; see above) whilst the future is left

open and undecided. In both cases rigid structures and learning ‘checkpoints’ are conspicuous by their absence. Finally, the personal beliefs of the educator should be left to one side. For Luxon, if such practices are performed in the appropriate manner and in an effective manner then they can “educate individuals to the arts of ruling and being ruled.” (Luxon, 2008, p. 383).

In the process of such education the individual presents their life experiences to the tutor. However, binary judgment is suspended, and instead reflection and suggestion are sought over how to understand their condition. The process is therefore more concerned with self examination rather than examination by the other (in stark contrast to disciplinary forms of power). The outcome is to be open ended and repeated driven only by the individual who seeks *parrhesia* (Luxon, 2008). In some ways this is similar to the secular confession as discussed by Besley (2005a; 2005b) and Peters (2000; 2005). However, for Luxon, *parrhesiastic* practice is;

“Different from confessional technologies, *parrhesiastic* techniques teach students two capacities: they teach an individual to set his standard of value and then begin the patient labour of moving between this standard and the world-at-hand. Relations to himself and to others provide both a context of immediacy and one for the recognition and sustenance of these values through a community, but without the creation of a universal ethical code to be internalised as conscience.”

(Luxon, 2008, p. 388).

Luxon’s interpretation is more concerned with the production of a standard self value rather than the divulging of personal details which are to be judged by another. Instead, the individual is to understand her/his present condition in relation to his/her own ethical desires and the relationships s/he has with others and the rest of the social world. Such relationships provides a ‘realness’ and relevance to such interactions. Luxon’s exposition appears to draw on an almost utopian vision of such educational and relational practices of the self and others. This chapter looks to develop some of these notions as they are applied in the context of interventions for the ‘hardest to help’.

4.4.2 Framing the IST

The IST is a plastic board which is A4 in size and has 10 questions down the left hand side. These include training; employment; alcohol, drugs, influences and so on (see appendix six). At each question there is

a slider with a scale of one to ten written underneath. Clients hold the board with their fingers on the slider and the practitioner asks questions. The data can then be inputted into a software package where graphs and pie-charts can be automatically drawn up. Before being allowed to use the IST, practitioners must attend a one-day training course where, if they are successful, they can become an accredited IST practitioner.

The aim of this chapter is not to explore the makeup and theory of the IST in detail but the theories on which it draws appear to have similar ontological underpinnings and as such demonstrate a certain amount of homogeneity. For example, all the theories used which have their roots in the psy disciplines. All take a social constructivist approach to the subject who is taken as being shaped by her/his surroundings (c.f. Theory of Mediated Learning Experience), as the possibility for change (NLP; MI; Solution Focused/Brief Therapy (SF/BT)), a non-judgmental approach (SFBT; NLP; MI) and a focus on empathy, the subject and oneself (Emotional Intelligence; MI; SF/BT). Moreover, the individual is to be thought of in a holistic way, which takes individuals' subjective experience to be crucial to understanding their condition (NLP). The concept that 'the map is not the territory' (borrowed from NLP who borrow the term from Alfred Korzetsky [see also Massey, 2005]) represents a pivotal moment in the theory and execution of the IST;

"One of the most often quoted phrases is 'the map not the territory'. If we were to interpret that in IST terms, we emphasise, I hope this resonates with you, you have done the training, the uniqueness of the individual. It is about saying, a phrase that you have used.... "it has implications for how we think about what is real and what is reality as it relates to how the client views the world"... so this is why...we would like to see a shift. The first one is around the individual's model of the world and the uniqueness of that. Clearly based on a number of elements, form inherited traits, so the mix of nature and nurture, what has been learned by the child modelling his or her parents, family, teachers, all of that. And also the further filtering of all of those beliefs, values, sense of identity, skills and so on. [...] And when those individuals observe that their perception is filtered, their memories get filtered and their expression of their world gets distorted, deleted and generalised, because they have to use language and that is what language does.

(Adam, IST co-developer and company manager, field interview, 2010)

As can be seen, the core aspect of the IST is that it understands the individual as one whose subjective experience of the world is of great importance. Moreover, her/his substance is one that is held in empathetic terms as one which has the potential for positive change and inner transformation. We can therefore understand the IST as a technology which draws on a range of academic and quasi-academic knowledges and a technology which places the subject and her/his subjective experience as a fundamental element of the social and one which can be intervened on and with.

4.4.3 The emergence of the Integrated Support Tool: critique of disciplinary techniques

It was noted above how support workers framed their personally caring and involved practice as being different from the statutory institutions which were characterised as being impersonal and lacking in expertise for working with the most marginal of clients. The invention of the IST was similar in that it emerged out of a problematisation of previous modes of government for excluded populations which were understood as being deficient in their understandings of the subject and therefore failed to engage in an effective manner with the subject;

These people [employees of statutory organisations]...haven't engaged with them on that personal level. If it has been about their unemployment situation, then the model that has been traditionally used is a deficit model. *Why!?* *Why* aren't you employed, why can't you get a job, what is wrong with you!?! And so, some of the initial assessments are ticky boxes. Right, are you: an offender, a single parent, an alcoholic...

(Adam, IST co-developer and company manager, field interview, 2010)

The process of classification of subjects and the manner in which information gained was held to be problematic. Moreover, personal relations were not developed in favour of a 'deficit model' of the subject where the individual is considered to be lacking in some way or other. Such a model of categorisation and documentation corresponds to interventions and institutions operating closer to a

disciplinary and coercive form of power (Foucault, (1991) [1975]). A problem was also identified in the way in which success and failure was accounted for. The IST was designed to engage with this;

Kier [co-founder of IST] was Home Office funded because he was working with young offenders and that meant he was home office monitored. Monitoring sadly even today is a case of 'this young offender is a bit of a recidivist, he has re-offended therefore he has failed. Not only that but the team who have been working with him for the last three months they have failed as well. To which Kier is going "this is not fair on the young person who actually after three months his confidence has increased, his self esteem has increased his employability has increased" [...] How do you capture those things. So that is in fact what we have done. Quite deliberately. That was deliberate, that was a conscious effort.

(Adam, IST co-developer and company manager, field interview, 2010)

Not only was the manner of engagement with excluded individuals and awkward subjects held to be inadequate, so was the way in which performance was measured. Therefore the IST is able to function as a way in which 'soft outcomes' can be measured. This includes the use of software to produce visual representations of an individual's progress or lack thereof. The IST therefore represents a critique of the way in which individuals are understood and engaged with and how performance can be measured. Essentially, the call was that marginalised subjects should be understood and counted in a different way to 'normal' subjects. The grid of analysis should not be one which looks at 'inputs' (number of people) and 'outcomes' (jobs found, courses completed, clear drug tests) but on the basis of 'distance travelled' and soft outcomes. The IST could also be seen as an attempt to change terms and vocabulary of engagement with the states most discursively and materially distant subjects. Moreover, the IST looks to usher in a new form of enumerating the subject: an alternative epistemology of intervention which enumerates 'distance travelled' *as well as* 'success'/'failure' binaries.

4.4.4 The Integrated Support Tool: a technology of the self?

This sub-section explores how the IST operates as a technology aimed at modifying self conduct. Developing the previous sub-section, which suggested that the IST is based on a particular humanistic

and subject-centered understanding of the subject and the social, this section argues that we can understand the IST as a process of self-reflection which is achieved through self critique, struggle and a therapeutic engagement with the social (Foucault, 2005). The following expands this further by developing the role of confession within this process. In both instance the process of the IST reading is key: as noted, this involves the client reflecting on their condition and producing a score of their present, past and future conditions.

Of particular importance here is the second aspect of 'technologies of the self' which views such technologies as ways in which individuals can develop skills of self knowledge and self reflection. As noted previously, such practices are intimately related to and with practices and ethics of self care (Foucault, 2005). Core to this is the 'IST reading' whereby the client is asked a series of questions which correspond to the questions on the left hand side of the board. Each question is asked in turn in the following manner (the example is 'Employment, Training and Education'):

"How happy are you with your employment/training/education situation? (choose the one applicable to your client). Ten: you are very happy with your employment/training/education situation. Zero: you are not happy with at all"

"What is on your mind here?"

"Explore the individuals circumstances"

"Has it been lower"

"DO NOT explore..."

"How did you achieve that"

This question raises the individuals awareness of how far they have moved and begins to identify strategies that might have worked for them in the past, and might be applied again."

"Where would you like to be?"

[client moves slider]

“What does it feel like to be on a ...?”

“So what is going to be your first step going to be now?”

(IST training material, 2010) (see appendix seven)

Training day participants were informed that the way in which the question was posed was of crucial importance: language must be ‘clean’ and free of explicit or implicit judgement. The client would then score themselves on each of the areas. Each score would be noted down by the practitioner. At the end of the process the individual would then reflect on the board which they had produced.

It is about making them aware of what’s going on and the fact that you have got this board. This is where systems thinking comes in. They can see the big picture and they can start to see connections. So if I do change that. Wow, yeah; If I get a job, my partner will be a lot happier with me. I won’t spend so much time at the pub, coming back in a worse state, rowing with her. My health would improve and because I had more money in my pocket...wow! [They are] motivational drivers.

(Adam, IST co-developer and company manager, field interview, 2010)

“Once you have completed the board – once they have completed the board rather, you can see from their answers which areas of their lives may be holding them back. Their finances will be low, their training may be low, education, employment. If they can recognise from looking at that if they were higher the finances would be better, the emotional status would be better. It’s quite clear from the board, from their answers which areas of their life which are causing them not to move forward. So I record all their answers.”

(Lauren, support worker, 2009)

Again this differs from traditional interactions with the state or quasi-state organisations and institutions and points again to the prevalence of governing with an emphasis on self reflection rather than directive and disciplinary operations of power (Hörnqvist, 2007). As the above quotations suggest, having completed the IST board the individual is encouraged to reflect on their condition and become able to consider their condition in the context of their social existence. Such a practice is one which is concerned with the development of a self knowledge achieved through self reflection and the ability to 'make connections' between seemingly discreet social practices and behaviours. Support workers in one-to-one situations looked to offer an external judgment of conduct to the client. In contrast, the use of the IST is designed in such a way as to encourage the individual to engage in a process of self judgment and self critique.

We can therefore begin to see more fully the continuities and discontinuities with the previous discussion which focused on one-to-one support work without tools such as the IST. Using the IST places the individual at the centre of the process: even more so than one-to one support. The use of a subject centred ontology which places the individual's subjective experience as the limit of what can be intervened on-and-with represents a key aspect of the design of the IST. The 'personal map' which is drawn up by each client is the individual's space of (self) intervention. Personal experience and perception is fundamental to the ontology of the IST. Whilst this construction, like 'the map is not the territory', suggests that *there may be* some sort of independently sense-able objective material world this is not a site which can or perhaps should be intervened in. Rather, only the way in which the social world is *understood, perceived and related to* can be modified. The terrain of intervention for technologies such as the IST is only the subjects relationship to, and conduct of, themselves and others and therefore produces a truth about the subject and the social world s/he inhabits. The following section explores the creation of such relationships in detail.

4.4.5 Telling the truth: interruption and the unknowable future

This subsection explores the formation process by which individuals are encouraged to act upon and modify themselves and their behaviours. As noted, the target of the IST is the ethical relationships to and the conduct of self and others. We can understand this process as one which exists between Besley's (2005a; 2005b) Foucault derived account of 'secular confessional' practice, Foucault's concept of 'Parresia' (Foucault, 2001; 2010b) and Luxon's (2008) elaboration of parresia as pedagogic practice.

Similar to one-to-one interventions, the act of confessing represents a key technology. Whereas one-to-one support involves an element of confession *to* the support worker the act of confession when using the IST is one which is more concerned with a reflection and confession to the self in the first instance. The subject is asked questions by the practitioner who then notes down the 'answers'. 'Readings' of this sort are held to be 'truthful' because of the way in which the questions are asked and because the focus of the client is on the board and the self. During the training;

We [the group] are told that one of the key things about the IST is that it "Avoids the verbal statement of denial by the subconscious". The example given is in the following statement "how much is alcohol a part of your life", we shouldn't assume that it's a problem. If the board is used properly then it is to "...become a mirror image of the subconscious." [...] the client is to judge what is and what is not important. The result is that the board becomes "your unique map of the world". One of the attendees asks "can't you just lie?" and the answer is from Kier is a confident "yes, but you would only be lying to yourself."

(IST training 2, field diary extract from participant observation)

The use of the IST is designed to generate more honest and more truthful accounts of self conduct than is possible using other governmental techniques. Such 'truths' are subjective in that they need only be true as far as that individual understands them to be true. We can understand such practices of truth-telling as parrhesiastic in that they are situated at the intersection of truth telling, governmental technologies and the development and modification of relations to self and others (Foucault, 2010b). We can therefore understand the IST to be one which concerned with the governance of particular subjects through parrhesiastic practice (Foucault, 2001; 2010b; Luxon, 2008).

Rather than confessing to a priest, judge or government employee the subject is held to confess to her/himself in the *first* instance when using the IST. The speaking of such 'self truths' to and of the self can be seen as an interruption to the flow of an individuals life and an alteration of the usual mode of interaction with governmental organisations. Secondly, it represents a deliberate interruption to the individual's present condition and lifestyle. Thirdly, this process of truth telling to the self and other

represents the first stage of a critique of the self and the opening up of an unknowable and possibly an uncertain and disconcerting future (Foucault, 2005; 2010b). Firstly, we can understand this confessional truth telling as a technology of the self which allows the subject to develop a self reflexive stance. This disposition is intended to be achieved through parrhesiastic speech which is encouraged by the correct use of the IST (specifically the use of language). Parrhesia (or fearless, truthful speech) as defined by Foucault (2001;2010b) has four overlapping aspects which will now be considered in turn.

The majority of individuals who engage with the services discussed in this chapter did so on a voluntary basis. Although they may have been referred by statutory organisations such as the Job Centre, most individuals participated freely and therefore presumably had some desire to change their lifestyles. The first stage of using the IST concerns an interruption (perhaps uncomfortable) to the present order of the subject's life (Foucault, 2010b). Such an interruption also represents an act of self critique through self reflection and therefore represents an act of self reform and self care (Foucault, 2005). In short the subject who engages with the IST is entrained in an array of (self) practices concerned with the refashioning of her/his subjectivity (Luxon, 2008). Firstly, the subject must engage in a direct and physical manner with the IST board.

It's self reflection, very much so. Because the focus is on the board, there is no need to have any eye contact. In fact, your eyes can be glued, and most clients are glued to the board. Because this becomes a mirror image of what is going on in their heads. This is really about their thought process and do not underestimate the emotional content.

(Adam, IST co-developer and company manager, field interview, 2010)

Using the IST board is intended to allow the subject to consider her/himself as an object through a process of reflection by physically engaging with the materiality of the IST (Foucault, 1985). For client and support worker, thinking about the subject is done with both the eyes and the hands (Latour, 1986). Moreover, the outcome of the IST reading is expressed numerically and is held to represent an intimate truth about the subject. This production of truth is essential to the reform of subjects and their subjectivities.

“It is about truth, because we can't help people, we can't move them on ... and sometimes it is about them; they have to then realise, because they have admitted it, that they have to start doing something about it. And sometimes admitting it...you know what I'm saying? ... The fact is that you are taking them down some places they don't want to go, because you are delving quite deep about it.”

(Emma, support worker, 2009)

In order to progress the subject must 'admit' that they have some sort of problematic condition. In order to make 'progress' the subject must disclose their condition in a truthful manner to themselves in the first instance. Such truthful utterances represent targets in themselves. In addition, we can see this as a germ in the production of a more robust critique of one's self conduct.

The IST functions as an implicit critique of bureaucratic-disciplinary interceptions which operate on a 'deficiency' theory of the subject and look to classify and codify subject types.

Kier also notes that one of the problems when dealing with such clients is that many of them have been surveyed and asked so many questions that “they give the answer that they think you want to hear”. This is something to be overcome.

(IST training 2, field diary extract from participant observation)

IST looks to ask different questions of the subject and short-circuit the concern that subjects are not being truthful in their account of themselves and condition (see the next chapter for examples of such 'deceptions'). That the subject 'tells the truth' and fully understands and reflects on their condition is held to be the vital first stage in developing a more ethically sound relationship towards themselves and others. The production of a subjective truth about the self is the prerequisite aim of the IST based intervention.

The process is to be one which is about learning and reflection and one which operates as an interruption to the subject's present life trajectory;

“So yes, they are learning about themselves, they are reflecting on their own state, overall circumstances, and hopefully they are being given the means of empowering themselves through the process which is a very simple one. They just have to think; ‘where am I now, where would I like to be and what can I do about that?’ And this thing about awakening people to choice, so yeah OK, I do have choice. So what are my choices, what would I like, I maybe have two or three options.”

(Adam, IST co-developer and company manager, field interview, 2010)

The process of learning and reflection is intended to lead to a condition where the subject is able to develop a disposition open to change and future possibility (Luxon, 2008). Through this learning process the subject is encouraged to consider the future as something which is open(ing) and undecided. Again, this can be understood as the beginning of the development of an internal judgement and critique of the self and the desire to move towards what might be considered a more desirable ethical condition. In contrast to one-to-one support work, such judgments are intended to be derived from the subject. Through truthful enunciations the subject is expected to set the terms of her/his own desired state against which conduct, behaviour and practice can be judged. The desired state is set somewhere on the horizon and positive self conduct leads towards the attainment of that desired condition/object/relationship.

4.4.6 Truth, Struggle and the need for courage

As noted above, the IST is designed to avoid dishonesty on behalf of the client which is characterised as telling the practitioner what they ‘want to hear’. This technology of government therefore looks to transcend statements of denial and resistance to questioning and encourage self reflection and self understanding. Interventions which allow space for clients to deceive authority through insincere speech can therefore be considered in some aspects to be a series of performative and bureaucratised speech acts. The IST responds to this through the desire to elicit parrhesiastic enunciations by clients

which are characterised by a subjective truthfulness derived from practices of self reflection. Such statements should therefore be considered to be non-performative, unusual and perhaps difficult or uncomfortable (Foucault, 2010b).

For some clients doing the IST was one which was personally troubling especially when being asked to explain how it felt to be at their lowest ebb;

And then they start realising the factors from where it has all stemmed from. And then you can start asking questions, like “how did you feel when you were back there”? And sometimes we have had people breakdown in tears, because we have actually, not on purpose, but just by asking them, one random question, has taken them back. Sometimes we have had to stop doing the IST and say we’ll come back to this at a later time because it is not to stress you out or make you worse than you are feeling now. It’s to kind of like get you to come round and move you forward. Sometimes you have to go back to where you were having those bad times that makes you a stronger person, that can then make you maybe even stronger, a stronger person.

(Emma, support worker, 2009)

This engagement with difficult aspects of an individual’s past is of course only fleeting; during training practitioners are explicitly instructed *not* to dwell on traumatic experiences which an individual may have endured in the past (field observations, 2010). Nevertheless, the design of the intervention required that the subject reflect on their more unpleasant experiences which perhaps serve to function as some sort of a baseline measure of progress. Again we also see how the individual is to construct, with the help of the support worker in some cases, their own grid of analysis rather than having it imposed by an Other (Dean, 2010). From the development of this grid the individual is then in a position to alter their behaviour and develop new forms of conduct based ideally against the subjects own judgment.

“I have to affirm that I am not here to judge you, you’ve had a relapse but do you still want to quit? Yeah, well tomorrow is the first day for the rest of your life, and some of them are like, I didn’t think you’d be like that, like a parent scolding a child or something, like oh, I’m really disappointed, what did you throw it all away for? And sometimes its that friendship that spurs them on, not ‘cause...well it is ‘cause they don’t want to let you down, but they don’t put the guilt trip on you. They put the guilt trip on them selves. You know what I mean?

(Adrian, support worker, 2009)

The aim of the support worker who uses the IST is to orchestrate a situation whereby rather than have to dispense a judgment on an individuals conduct, the subject does this themselves. Through engagement with the IST the subject is encouraged to re-produce themselves as a subject of appropriate conduct (Foucault, 1985). The subject is called upon to develop not just ways of behaving but the appropriate attitudes towards self conduct which will allow the individual to self monitor and self understand their own conduct which is to be in line with the subjects own internal grid of analysis. In short, individuals are encouraged to develop the skills of self critique which can be understood as a disposition towards self care (Foucault, 2005).

Parrhesiastic speech acts do not require the speaker to be in a pre-ordained position of power or authority over the Other (Foucault, 2010b). As noted above, the interaction between support worker and subject is considered to be one based on empathy (although perhaps sometimes an ‘empathetic authority’). The ideal form of interaction between client and support worker when using the IST is therefore one of facilitation and pastoral care;

Well it’s theirs. It’s intimate to them. And we are just facilitating if you like. We are the third party. It is them and the board. [...] And they maybe open up and tell you a situation that has happened whereby they have ended up in a lot of trouble because they made the wrong decision because they were influenced by someone else. And they couldn’t say no. So, from that aspect, we are then able to help them. They give us the

information. We can empower them by saying you need strategies. You need to be able to say I don't want to do that. Somebody has maybe never said, you can say that I don't want to.

(Lauren, support worker, 2009)

There are elements of a pastoral form of power in the above quotation in that “its only *raison d'être* is doing good” (Foucault, 2009, p. 126). In principle at least, the IST should be led by the subject with the practitioner as facilitator. As noted in the first empirical section such distinctions are perhaps difficult to sustain in practical execution of support work. However, as outlined previously, what is at stake here is the theoretical/abstract construction of governmental technologies rather than a detailed analysis of ‘real time’ practices.

Moreover, because the subject is situated as an object of *self* transformation who is to increasingly become answerable to her/his own register of judgment then (in theory) the ability of an Other to pass judgment on the subject becomes diminished. In contrast to other welfare governmental practices the subject is encouraged to speak, often at length, about their social condition. This is particularly the case where an official has discretion over financial penalties for non-conforming individuals. The potential for truth-speech and self reflection when using the IST can therefore be considered to be enhanced in contrast to standard bureaucratic modes of intervention. That is not to say that the terrain is one without unequal power relations; especially when considering marginalised populations.

As Foucault notes, parrhesiastic speech opens up a terrain of possibility for the speaker which includes the potential for unforeseeable risks (Foucault, 2001; 2010b).

He had got so used to being street homeless and managing on that day to day basis that moving into a tenancy is an upheaval, and that there has been times that he has said that it would be easier for me to go back on the street

(Nigel, support worker, 2009)

Because a lot of fear is involved in there. In them, in their behaviour, the fear of failure, the fear of not being accepted, fear of people finding out what they have been involved in, in the past. So there is a lot of fear there that prevents them from accessing services.

(Michelle, support worker, 2009)

For the subject, the movement toward reforming their conduct and behaviour can have worrying and unexpected problems; from dealing with bills and maintaining a tenancy to dealing with peers in social situations, the meeting of old acquaintances and the problem of relapse (Farrall, 2002). Engaging with the IST can therefore be seen as a somewhat courageous and brave act on the part of the subject. Although the achievements may seem 'minor' when judged against prevailing social norms and codes, the challenges faced by marginalised individuals are often considerable. As the above quotations suggests, risks to the subject include a fear of failure and a fear of others finding out about their past. These fears concern the subject's person and stem from the practice of *parresia*. Through this practice the subject effectively becomes bound to their truth and is required to 'face up' to the consequences of engaging in a practice of self reform and self reflection however difficult that may be. Indeed, the scale of this challenge will be further demonstrated in the following empirical chapters. Moreover, for all their benevolence and even pastoral approach the client is ultimately constructed as alone in their struggle to reform themselves as subjects.

This sub-section has discussed the use of one particular 'psy' derived technology. It has argued that the IST encouraged *parrhesiastic* practice which is concerned with the telling of awkward, challenging and personal truths in order to develop a more refined and intimate relationship to the self and others. The next section of this chapter reflects on all the practices discussed in this chapter with specific reference to Luxon's (2008) conception of the *parresia* derived 'disposition to steadiness'.

4.4.7 Considering the IST

How might we understand such practices which look to develop parrhesiastic practices of self care? On the one hand they appear to share some elements of a pastoral form of governance and exercise of power which is benevolent and concerned with the sustenance and salvation of all its subjects (Foucault, 2009). In order to achieve this it operates with each individual in their particularity and is concerned with the production of truths (taken as being genuinely considered beliefs) derived from technologies of the self concerned with practices of self reflection and examination. The approach can be summed up as follows;

“[It] is not just a reflection of where they have been, picking up skills and strategies from the past that is actually teaching them about self talk. And that becomes therapeutic. I would say. Not just that it creates a goal which is part of an action plan. But in doing that they have taken themselves beyond the confines of where they are in the moment, they have expanded their minds to include all sorts of much more positive on a simple direction, “where would you like to be”?

(Adam, IST co-developer and company manager, field interview, 2010)

To summarise, the IST represents a disposition of intervention which places the subject as the centre of all social process and looks to develop the subject through practices of self reflection and self knowledge in order that the individual becomes as far as possible the arbiter of their own success or failure (Foucault, 1985; 2001; 2010b; Luxon, 2008). We can therefore situate the IST as a technology of the self which looks to develop a subject who is able to reflect on, self-judge and care for themselves. Less pedagogic and more about the production of a disposition, the IST process is one which is concerned with self critique, self therapy and the development of a self-therapeutic disposition (Foucault, 2005). We can consider the IST to be a technology which looks to utilise parrhesiastic practice in order to allow individuals to constitute themselves as ethically able subjects capable of conducting themselves in an appropriate manner.

Luxon’s (2008) account of parrhesiastic practice suggests an encounter between tutor and educator which allows for a mutual flourishing and the development of a practice of self monitoring based an

internal but non-universal ethical code (Luxon, 2008). The outcome of such encounters is a 'disposition to steadiness' which positions the individual as an expansive and open subjectivity who is open to chance and risk (Luxon, 2008). In the example presented here there are clear parallels. In particular the subject is encouraged to speak in a parrhesiastic manner in order to develop techniques of self knowledge and develop a more reflexive attitude to the social world. Therefore, we can understand the IST and its implementation as a technology which is humanistic and in many ways pastoral.

However, we should not forget that it remains fundamentally a technology of government targeted at the most marginal populations. Moreover, as Luxon points out;

The dynamics of certain personal relationships contain within them the resources to educate individuals to the arts of ruling and being ruled."

(2008, p. 383)

The example here is one where individuals are to be encouraged to gain some sort of control over their subjective experience yet at the same time not seek to alter material conditions of the social: as such individuals are tacitly encouraged to remain as ruled subjects. Given that the IST is situated within a matrix of power and government of which it is a part, it would perhaps be more accurate to consider the IST as a pragmatic practice of neoliberal governmentality. In many ways it does not conform to the archetypal assault on the welfare state of 'roll back' neoliberalism nor does it sit easily with notions of 'roll out' neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Nor does it appear to act in symphony with quasi-apocalyptic versions of neoliberal degradation either (Wacquant, 2001; 2008b).

4.5 The welfare state and the embodied critique

Returning to the practitioner quotations above, the interventions in this chapter, to some extent represent an embodied critique and evolution of governmental regimes of practices associated with the Keynesian welfare state. Mayer (2010) argues that Wacquant's (2008) 'sub proletariat' (unemployed youth, drug addicts, the homeless) are not generally the targets for workfare intervention programmes (although in the UK this is changing c.f. DWP (2008a; 2008b)). However, the support work described in this chapter is state funded and administered by quasi-state organisations. Although they are not nominally 'workfare' interventions, they remain part of a neoliberal state governance apparatus which

complement and expand some functions of the workfare state. Whilst perhaps marginal populations are not the target of 'workfare' programmes traditionally defined, they are a target of related institutions and technologies. We can therefore understand the interventions described in this chapter as an annexe of the welfare state in that they represent a distinctive but supplementary and complimentary component of an evolving and reformulated (and sometimes dismantled) welfare state. It should also be remembered that the interventions presented here are not designed to replace or subvert the long standing practices of unemployment relief in the UK (Peck, 2001).

Critiques of neoliberalism which examine macro-scale practices of revanchist politics, social marginalisation, relegation, exclusion of 'problem' populations and the refiguring and 'disciplining' of institutions to achieve these aims offer useful practical and theoretical insights (Harvey, 2005; Peck 2003; 2010; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Peck and Theodore, 2008 Smith, 1996; Wacqaunt; 2001; 2008; 2009). However, the examples discussed in this chapter intervene on and with the individual in their particularity. This is *not* to say that such arguments are in-valid, but to suggest that they are at least supplemented by other governmental techniques, practices and technologies and sometimes incorporated (Hörnqvist,2007) and exist in cooperation with other, more disciplinary and oppressive state sanctions (see chapters five and six).

In response to the failures of 'mainstream' institutions to deal with such populations the practices analysed in this chapter use a range of 'psy' derived technologies to develop knowledge of awkward subjects in order to better understand, diagnose and remedy their issues, problems and conditions (Rose, 1998; Miller and Rose, 2008). Such understandings are held to be more detailed and sophisticated and only accessible through practices and technologies derived (at least in part) from 'psy' disciplines. Moreover, throughout the process, the subject of the intervention is invited to reform their conduct to become more reflective, better able to manager their behaviour and more adept at self-care (Foucault, 2009). Moreover, the 'para-workfare' interventions discussed here should not be seen as particularly novel practices (Grover, 2009) and should be seen as developments of a form of 'reflexive' and unfolding actually existing neoliberal capitalism which looks to develop state strategies to deal with uncertainly and risk (May et al, 2005). The ongoing development of such reflexive, intimate and overtly 'caring' interventions should be thought of as part of an iterative unfolding neoliberal governance which seeks firstly to grasp and develop purchase on its own social excess (in this case the social costs of

uneven development, structural unemployment and 'advanced marginality' (Wacquant, 2008)) and secondly to develop frameworks of intervention. As Peck notes;

“For all the ideological purity of free-market rhetoric, for all the machinic logic of neoclassical economics, this means that the practice of neoliberal statecraft is inescapably, and profoundly, marked by compromise, calculation, and contradiction. There is no blueprint. There is not even a map.”

(2010, p. 106)

Peck (2010) goes onto to argue that 'boundary institutions' (to include penal apparatus, work/welfare institutions and care services) have been sites of constant policy experimentation and failure yet have still managed to reorganised the landscape of flexible and marginal labour and the terms of social exclusion and inclusion. Peck suggests that these 'boundary institutions'

“seek perpetually, and purposefully, to rotate their 'clients' through employability tests. For all their distinctive social functions and institutional dynamics, temp agencies do this; workfare programs do this; and even prisons do this. They not only reflect (contingent labor) markets, they actively remake them.”

(Peck, 2010, p. 107)

Within this, Wacquant (2009) argues that the left hand (assistive) and right hand (authoritarian) of the state are operating in an increasingly sympathetic manner. Moreover what is left of the socially supportive state apparatus have become inflected with a workfare derived concern for behaviour modification (Peck, 2010; Wacquant, 2009). The organisations running the interventions discussed in this chapter included state-funded charities and larger welfare-to-work organisations (see table five). Whilst they were all concerned with behaviour modification of some sort and operated, as already argued, as an adjunct to mainstream welfare/workfare provision, it would be wrong to suggest that such organisations have been completely colonised by neoliberal economic and social rationality.

Instead, we can perhaps think of the interventions here as firstly grasping mechanisms of the states' 'left hand' which seek to achieve purchase on populations who have fallen through the gaps of the workfare state. As noted above, the techniques of mainstream and statutory bodies are regarded as being ill

suited to the governance of such populations. The 'right hand' already has a firm (but not effective (Peck, 2010) grip on marginal populations (Peck and Theodore, 2008). This is certainly not to de-couple the practices discussed in this chapter from the production and re-production of neoliberalism. Rather, we can situate these interventions as evolutionary responses to uneven development, persistent inequality, the collapsed welfare state and the emergence of marginal populations (Wacquant, 2008b, 2009)

Therefore such interventions are concerned with something of a caring ethos, especially in cases where case workers freely admit that formal paid employment is but a distant hope. The research presented here therefore represents something of a pragmatic, rather than an ideal response to the condition of social marginality but one which centres on the individual and their capacities rather than looking for structural explanations and solutions. As caring and pragmatic as they are, such practices remain firmly within the prism of neoliberal governmental state strategies.

4.6 Summary: reflection and critique

This chapter has explored two different but closely related governmental interventions. It has argued that they both represent a partial critique of previous and current welfare delivery technologies. They have similar backgrounds and are underpinned by analogous theories and they both aim at altering the conduct of marginalised subjects. Where they differ is in their relationship to truth and judgment. Straightforward one-to-one interventions can be considered as pedagogic interventions where the practitioner problematises and offers to educate the subject. In this case 'truth' is held by the practitioner and dispensed for the client to absorb and internalise. In contrast, the IST is concerned with the production of the subjects 'truth' as they understand their particular position within the social. The subject is encouraged to find her/his own register of value and truth which s/he is to apply to her/himself. The subject is to reflect on, and offer solutions to, their predicament.

We can understand this difference between the two approaches through the lens of a governmentality derived analysis. In order to understand the two different productions of, and engagements with truth, it is important to overcome the dualisms implicit within some critiques of neoliberalism (neo-liberalism as false consciousness for example). Instead we need to 'bridge';

“these dualisms, trying to analyse them on a “plane of immanence” [...]. By coupling forms of knowledge, strategies of power and technologies of self it allows for a more comprehensive account of the current political and social transformations, since it makes visible the depth and breath of processes of domination and exploitation.”

(Lemke, 2000)

The practice of government and the study of governmentality erodes any division between material reality and ideological mis-representation (Read, 2009). For Read (2009) “governmentality situates actions and conceptions on the same plane of immanence” (p. 34). In the example presented here, we can understand the engagement between the support worker and the client as one which is concerned with producing a subject who has the correct relationship to the world, self and others. We should therefore think of the above interventions as being concerned with the production of inter-subjective truths where such truths are considered as being intertwined with the production of knowledge and practice.

In both of the above examples the ‘action’ of neoliberal governmentality exists to produce truth, and more importantly, to situate the marginal subject on the same ‘plane of truth’ in which neoliberalism operates and exists. Both of the examples encountered here are concerned with the production of regimes of truth which relate to both the subject and the social. The first form of intervention (one-to-one) looks to retroactively offer truth to the subject after their ‘confession’ of improper conduct. The practitioner offers a reading of the social which is held up as ‘real’ and ‘truthful’ which the subject is intended to internalise and fit. Therefore, the subject is invited to reflect on their inappropriate conduct as being in some way incompatible with the generally agreed upon ‘truth’ of the social. The second intervention (the IST) is more subtle and sophisticated in that it invites the subject themselves to produce truths about themselves and their own condition. Rather than having truth ‘given’ as an already accomplished object, the individual is actively enjoined in a process of truth formation. Out of this the subject is able to make plans for altering their own condition. In such an understanding events cannot be changed or mastered, only one's perception of them. The subject is to situate her/himself as open to the social in a productive manner which presupposes the demonstration of appropriate conduct.

Both examples cover minor ‘street level’ micro-practices of power and politics and both are concerned with the production of truth. Neither of them fully represent the oppressive and brutish forms of

neoliberalism described by Wacquant and others. Nor do they set their target of fully formed 'neoliberal subjectivities'. Rather, they represent attempts to encourage marginalised subjects to consider their position within the social and re-situate themselves in a more 'truthful', orderly and productive manner. Whilst this intervention has focused on the 'psyche' or the 'soul' of the individual the next chapter moves us towards the body *and* the soul of the subject.

5. Chapter five: More than a roof: Supporting People and the new spaces of contingent inclusion for the vulnerably housed.



“ [...]the government believes that, if their needs can be provided through one or other of the accommodation, treatment or support routes that we are funding, rough sleepers

themselves have a responsibility to come in. Once we are satisfied that realistic alternatives are readily available, we – and the public at large – are entitled to expect those on the streets to seek to persuade people to take advantage of them...We will be asking services to review whether their arrangements for taking help to the streets sustain rough sleeping rather than encouraging people to come inside.”

(Rough Sleepers Unit, 1999, p.14)

“All some of them want is a roof over their heads, but we’re Supported Accommodation. It’s taken a while but they [at the housing department] finally seem to have realised that. You should see what we used to get sent”

(Kate, assistant manager, Thomas House, 2009)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at two ‘Supported Accommodation’ projects situated in a deprived region. Whilst architecturally different, they share an agenda of intervention which is shaped by their receipt of ‘Supporting People’ (SP) funding. This funding requires the implementation of regimes of practice aimed at moving awkward subjects out of ‘chaotic lifestyles’ and into ‘independent’ and socially reproducible living. It charts the move from an uneven form of provision exemplified by the well known ‘homeless hostel’ (Bacon et al. 1996; Datta, 2005; DeVerteuil, 2004; DeVerteuil et al., 2009; Johnsen et al., 2008) towards a more rigorous, ‘holistic’ and governmental-disciplinary system of residential welfare provision (Allen, 2001; 2003; Van Doorn and Kain, 2003). The chapter begins by describing each of the case study residences before addressing the historical context in which Supported Accommodation projects have emerged. Then, through the use of ethnographic research, it will be demonstrated that at stake in this intervention is the body *and* the soul of the subject (in contrast to the approach taken in the previous chapter) whose embodied actions are the subject of disciplinary and governmental action (Evans and Colls, 2009). Theoretically, the chapter draws on Foucault’s notion of discipline and the Lefebvre’s conception of space. The chapter concludes by arguing that, in this example, we witness the co-existence of disciplinary and governmental techniques which function with and through programmatic systems of exclusion.

5.1.1 'Thomas House'

The Thomas House project (TH) was originally set up by a group of local faith groups in order to provide accommodation specifically for those classed as 'single homeless' (for a discussion of 'single homeless' see Humphreys, 1999). The charity began as a soup kitchen in 1978 and soon after gained the use of the building which it still uses today for which they pay a nominal rent. Formerly an administrative unit of an industrial enterprise, the building itself is of some historical significance and even attracts the occasional sightseer. Built at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the building still has a brass plaque which announces its minor role in one particular world revolution. Internally the manager described it as "being like a rabbit warren" (Claire, TH manager) (see figures three and four). As a result of its age and intended use, the building had narrow, poorly lit corridors, tight staircases and sometimes dingy rooms. Nevertheless, the building had been adapted to meet modern fire safety standards, and had recently been renovated because "before, you should have seen it, it was a mess and it stank of piss. Disgusting" (Jillian, TH staff). In addition, a small extension had been added in the 1980's which provided more bed spaces (this can be seen in picture two, where the stairs are). The building had a capacity of thirty-two; thirteen shared and six single rooms. Residents had use of a pool room, laundry and lounge area with a TV (see figure five), although most had TVs in their own room.

Prior to the introduction of SP, the project was run entirely on housing benefit. Now it receives SP funding and housing benefit plus a 'top up'. At the time of the research Residents paid a £26.12 a week 'top-up' rent, and received £187.46 per week in housing benefit. The top up paid for the provision of a cooked breakfast and evening meal. The building was staffed by a manager, one assistant, a bursar a support manager and six support staff. During the period of observation, TH allowed for better access to both staff and residents, and so the majority of the evidence reproduced below is from this project.



Figure 3 TH Ground floor hallway (to dining room)



Figure 4 TH 1st floor hallway (to bedrooms)



Figure 5 TH Lounge



Figure 6 TH Dining room

5.1.2 5.1.2 'The Bishop Project'

In contrast to Thomas House (TH), the Bishop Project (BP) operated out of a much more modern and purpose built late 1980s building. It is situated in a town in the same region, albeit one which is (statistically at least) more affluent. The premises were owned by the local authority and the contract to run the service was delivered by a large national third sector organisation. Benefiting from its recent construct, all twenty-seven rooms were single occupancy and were larger than those at TH. In addition, BP had more generous sanitation arrangements. Whilst more modern, it felt more institutional given the extensive use of lino and standard furniture in each room (figure eight). The facilities were superior to those provided in TH with a well equipped computer room (figure seven), access to musical instruments and a pool room (figure nine). A range of activities were provided and advertised on a notice board. Like TH, residents of BP paid a top up on top of their housing benefit of £35.93 which provided three meals a day. In addition, TH received SP funding. In total, twenty people were employed including seven support workers.



Figure 7 BP Computer room



Figure 8 BP corridor



Figure 9 BP Pool Room

Table 12 Summary of institutions

Detail	Thomas House (TH)	Bishop Project (BP)
Number of residents	32 (13 shared rooms, 3 twin, shared bathrooms) all male	27 (all single rooms, shared bathrooms) all male
Funding source	Supporting People plus Housing benefit	Supporting People plus Housing benefit
Cost for residents	£187.46 Housing benefit, £26.12 top up by resident	£184.75 Housing Benefit, £35.93 top up by resident
staff	1 manager, 1 assistant manager, 1 bursar, 1 administrator, 7 project staff, 1 cleaner	1 manager, 3 management team, 3 administrative staff, 3 chefs, 7 project staff, 3 cleaning staff
Started at location	1980	1987
Type of building	Former ancillary industrial building, built c. 1830. Adapted and modified for current purpose.	Modern, purpose built 1987.
Quality Assessment Framework Score	'B'	'A'
Activities offered/facilities	Pool, darts, lounge/TV room,	Pool, darts, lounge/TV room,

	laundry, 2 meals/day. Skills for life training. Gym and occasional bowling (off site)	laundry, 3 meals/day. Skills for life training, computer room, job search, guitar lessons. Walking and conservation group offsite.
Move on rate into known address	65%	97%

5.2 Part 1: ‘Supported Accommodation’ in context: four centuries of residential welfare

Residential strategies to deal with marginalised segments of the population have a long and enduring history in the UK beginning with the emergence of the ‘workhouse’ system in the 17th century. Whilst there were a number of laws aimed at the impoverished and vulnerably housed (the first being the 1349 Ordinance of Labourers) which predated the 1601 Act for the Relief of the Poor (the ‘Old Poor Law’), the 1601 act was the first which created a national system of poverty alleviation (Higginbotham, 2009). The first workhouses began to emerge in the 17th century and although parishes had no statutory obligation to create workhouses at that time, they were responsible for those who could not work through illness or young or old age (Fowler, 2007). By the early 1800s the system had fallen into disrepute and was replaced by the ‘New Poor Law’ of 1834: the ‘Poor Law Amendment Act’ (Driver, 2004; Fowler, 2007; Higginbotham, 2009). The new act introduced the workhouse as an essential aspect of poverty relief, a system which was designed from the centre and standardised. The 1834 law;

“recommended that out-relief be abolished and all paupers should live in workhouses where conditions were to be worse and more humiliating than to be found outside. This was to become known as ‘the workhouse test’. The idea was that the poor would not wish to endure such conditions and would either find gainful employment or turn to charities for support.”

(Fowler, 2007, p. 17)

The workhouse had two key functions. The first was symbolic; it was constructed as a deterrent and warning to what were feared to be idle and deviant elements of the population (Fowler, 2007; Humphreys, 1999). The second was that paupers represented a risk which needed to be contained; less

they contaminate other elements of the working class (Fowler, 2007). The cause and symptom of this disease was work-shyness in men and low morals in women, especially evidenced by promiscuity and illegitimate children (Fowler, 2007).

The workhouses were abolished in 1930, to be replaced by 'public assistance institutions' which were for those for whom no other local authority provision was available; the sick, elderly and the vagrant (Fowler, 2007). The physical infrastructure of the buildings remained, and in some cases the ideological and practical structure of the workhouse remained despite the reforms (Fowler, 2007). However, there were no more uniforms, inmates became residents and they could leave the hostel as they pleased. Physical conditions in the main sections of the reformed workhouses and the casual wards gradually improved towards the 1950s.

In the second half of the last century, the term 'vagrant' gave way to the term 'homeless' as a way to describe "those without a settled way of life" (Humphreys, 1999, p. 139). The emergence of the welfare state meant that the Ministry of Health instigated "a system of hostels for the training and rehabilitation" (Humphreys, 1999, p. 139; for a more recent appraisal see Bacon et. al., 1996) of these citizens. It was hoped, through a seemingly permanently buoyant economy, strong labour market and provision of welfare benefits, that homelessness would soon be completely eradicated (Humphreys, 1999). Moreover, the application of appropriate state intervention in the form of health and social care would only speed the inevitable irradiation of destitution (Humphreys, 1999).

However, in the face of this optimism, a new social problem began to emerge;

"Most [residents] were found to be neither hardened vagrants nor were they capable of looking after themselves. In an effort to resettle able-bodied itinerants case-work methodology was used to determine each casual's background, personal problems, skills and qualifications. People who were found mentally or physically disadvantaged were then supported by appropriate local authority services... the majority of the reception centre users were able-bodied men of working age and said to be in the prime of life."

(Humphreys, 1999, p141)

The diagnosis was that these individuals had endured unhappy and traumatic lives which had led to their current indiscipline and resistance (Humphreys, 1999). Whist official reports documented success stories where it was identified that a positive attitude and a willingness to change were key ingredients for successful resettlement, many others, lacking stable accommodation were suffering from combinations of debt, unemployment, lack of skills and mental and/or physical disability (Humphreys, 1999). By the 1960s it had become apparent that homelessness had not been abolished, and worse, showed no signs of imminent eradication. This situation continued throughout the 1970s until the present, although the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977 created the category 'single homeless'. This included anyone under retirement age without children under sixteen (Humphreys, 1999). More recently it is noted that the profile of homeless people is changing somewhat; increasing numbers of homeless people have multiple and overlapping problems, drug use and mental health difficulties (Bevan & van Doorn, 2002; Randall & Brown, 2002; Flemen, 1999). In addition, May et al note the increasing number of heroin addicts accessing services in recent years, especially those classed as 'single homeless', and the lack of suitable treatment options (May et al, 2006). This is the group which is covered in this section of the research. Despite no statutory need to deal with such individuals, provision is made available.

Provision for the single homeless, prior to or in the absence of Supporting People funding, could take the shape of homeless 'hostels'. Indeed, prior to the introduction of SP, staff and residents referred to it as being a 'hostel' rather than a 'Supported Accommodation' project. Bacon et al (1996) define a 'hostel' as a residence which:

- Is not intended for permanent accommodation
- Should not be owned in the interest of profit making
- Is likely to include some shared facilities giving an element of communality
- Has a *degree* of support

(adapted from Bacon et al. 1996, p. 8)

Later, this chapter will demonstrate the movement from 'hostel' (a *relatively* passive space of variable quality) to 'Supported Accommodation' (an active space which is quality controlled). All four (see tables seven and eight) of the hostels/Supported Accommodation projects encountered in this research had

these features which are likely to be common. Note that there is an assumption of *some level* of care and support required under the terms of housing benefit regulations, even in the absence of ‘Supporting People’ funding (see below):

“It is probable that the provision of care, support and supervision is included in this definition because of the rules governing which counselling and support service are eligible for Housing Benefit. Under the housing benefit regulations, such services are eligible only if they are necessary for the provision of adequate accommodation and/or are provided by the landlord in person or by staff who mainly (i.e. for more than 50% of their time) provide eligible service.”

(Bacon et al., 1996, p.105-106)

The funding regime prior to ‘Supporting People’ did not specify precisely what support should be available and how it should be administered. Presumably this was at the discretion of Local Authorities (LAs) in conjunction with service providers delivering locally specific and thus nationally variable levels of support. In addition, 82% of hostels in England had no time limit on occupancy (Bacon et al., 1996). Coupled with a lack of ‘move-on’ accommodation, the result was that services ‘silted-up’ causing internal tension and the impossibility of service access for those in urgent need (Bacon et al., 1996). Finally, a 1997 Divisional Court Judgement ruled that Housing Benefit was only to be used for personal support in limited circumstances (DTLR, 2001a) meaning that new ways of funding residential projects and perhaps new ways of working would be needed. This ‘new way’ took the shape of Supporting People (SP) in 2003 (see below). However, prior to the introduction of SP, new *ways of working* were already being developed.

During the middle and later 1990s, a system of ‘Foyer’ projects emerged (c.f. Allen, 2001; 2003; Worley and Smith, 2001). Already operating in France, these operations looked to combine education, training and support services as part of a residential project (Allen, 2001). According to Allen, (2001; 2003) practice was not always delivered as intended. What was fully implemented was a system of conditional tenancy agreements, CCTV systems and a wider disciplinary apparatus of supervision and monitoring. Whilst housing and social/employment support were previously somewhat kept apart, the Foyers, like ‘Supporting People’, look to bring these two policy objectives together. Moreover, the Foyer experience points to the way in which these ‘holistic’ approaches to poverty have developed and perhaps represent

a form of best practice which has since been systematised into the conditions of Supporting People funding. There is also a general dynamic of change. Bacon et al.'s report points to a lack of systematic programming and non-standardised service provision. However, the 'Foyer' mode of provision appears, given the evidence provided by Allen (2001; 2003) to be the most fully developed precursor to projects such as Thomas House and Bishop Place.

5.3 Supporting people

The situation identified above was to be modified through the introduction of 'Supporting People' in 2003. This new policy, first detailed in 1998 (DETR) problematised the old regime as follows:

"Too often, [...] the provision [of Supported Accommodation] has been:

- Driven by the availability of capital and revenue funds, *not by the analysis of local needs*
- *Linked to outdated models of 'hostel' type provision which no longer meets clients' needs*
- Unrelated to other local priorities and strategies in probation, social services, health and housing

(DETR, 2000, p.2)

Supporting People was created out of a perceived need to deal with the complex and uncoordinated manner in which support was provided to vulnerable people. A "a peculiarly complex and ambitious" (Carr, 2005, p. 388) project, SP attempted to tie together a myriad of funding sources in some way related to housing provision and social care for vulnerable adults (DETR, 1998; DTLR, 2001a). This complex programme, incubated between 1998 and 2003 was prefaced with an intensive period of consultation (c.f. DETR, 2000a,b,c,d; DETR, 2001a,b,c,d). The SP budget was ring-fenced until 2010 and is administered by the relevant Local Authority whose housing officers are the first point of accountability (see below) (Buckingham, 2009; Ashton and Hempenstall, 2009). Currently, Supporting People supports 38,600 (Communities and Local Government, n.d.) single homeless people (i.e. those who are not statutorily homeless) every year and is the primary funding stream for 74% of projects in England similar to TH and BP (Homeless Link, 2011b).

One of the key issues was that Housing Benefit was being used to provide support services above and beyond the provision of accommodation (IDRFSA, 1998). There was also overlap of provision, a lack of accountability and insufficient consideration of value for money, insufficient transparency and a general lack of coordination and strategy (DTLR, 2001a; Carr, 2005; IDRDSA, 1998). In addition, Carr points to three key problematics which led to the emergence of Supporting People:

“The first was that spending on supported housing, because it was demand led was out of government control; the second that the management and quality of provision were perceived to be significantly deficient; the third that it was failing to provide necessary protection to the public, that, in other words, its residents and/or potential residents were at risk of being ‘out of control’ and posing a risk to public safety.”

(Carr, 2005, p. 389)

The introduction of SP was to ensure that service for vulnerable people was coherent and strategic. This involved a number of strands;

- The introduction of ‘needs mapping’: local authorities were (and still are) required to examine existing provision and need for support services
- A closer monitoring of quality: “SP will introduce a clear requirement on authorities to set service standards, collect information on the quality of services being provided , and conduct regular reviews. This will help ensure that services are meeting needs, and deliver Best Value in the sector” (DTLR, 2001a, p. 14). A key element of this is the Quality Assessment Framework [see appendix eight] which will be discussed below.)
- Administration by local authorities.

(DTLR, 2001a)

The ‘Supporting People’ (SP) programme went online in April 2003. The introduction of this programme was highly significant at a conceptual and, as will be shown, the practical and day to day level. According to Van Doorn and Kain, the impacts were as follows;

Table 13 Transformations of Supporting People

Change	Impact
Provider to Purchaser	Whilst previously the homeless sector identified need and provided projects, under SP local authorities identify need and commission services as appropriate. Thus, local markets of service provision are created, providers bid for services and outcomes are monitored.
National Policy to Local Strategy	Linked to the creation of local markets, service provision is determined locally rather than nationally with the intention that provision will be sensitive to local needs.
'Common Sense' to 'Evidence'	Many practices and interventions in the homeless sector were based on common sense and experience. This is to be altered to a more 'thought based' approach in which organisations plan interventions in line with evidence and research. Interventions should be thought out, planned, executed and accounted for.
Little monitoring of outcomes to intense monitoring and review.	Prior to SP, there was little or no accounting and monitoring carried out. However, with the introduction of SP quality is monitored partly through the Quality Assessment Framework (QAF, see below). Funding is conditional on appropriate monitoring.
Uneven user involvement to comprehensive user involvement	Rather than the assumption that staff know best, users should be involved at all levels of service provision.
From crisis to prevention	The sector is geared towards dealing with individuals and families in crisis, however a more proactive approach is required.

Source: Adapted from Van Doorn and Kain, 2003, p. 5-6

The introduction of SP represents more than a rearrangement of funding. Rather, the aim is to re-organise the entire operation of the homeless sector from the bottom up. Indeed, the entire ethos of day to day, front line provision was to be altered. This included the explicit need to change how staff might 'think' the problem of their client group and rationalise with 'evidence' rather than 'common sense'. Within the above, there is a tacit suggestion that the old ways of conceptualising and dealing with the homeless subject were inadequate. What needed to be created was a new way of not just dealing with the homeless subject, but also thinking about both the plight and solution to the subjects' predicament. Thus, rather than the implementation of a new practice dictate, a new practitioner

subjectivity was to be created through SP which would self-solve the problems of the homeless through thoughtful reflection and practice.

Whilst Van Doorn and Kain suggest that the introduction of SP represents a decentring and localisation of power over homeless service in a direction away from the central state, May et al (2006) identify a divergent approach to policy making and implementation. They argue that the implementation of SP represents part of a larger strategy of neoliberal welfare reform which includes the “transforming of the technologies of welfare provision” (2006, p714). It is these ‘technologies’ which are at stake here. Whilst on the one hand New Labour sought to more tightly control the objectives and outputs of third sector organisations, on the other hand, routine funding, commissioning and oversight has fallen under the remit of the local authorities (May et al, 2006). They conclude that this ultimately represents the imposition of state power over a sector which, as Van Doorn notes (above), had relative autonomy in setting its own objectives. Therefore, SP can be interpreted as another tool to intensify the use of the voluntary sector as an element of the ‘shadow state’ (May et al, 2006). Moreover, Carr (2005) points to the decline of the locally determined (in an ideological and practical sense) systems of homeless governance to be replaced by a more state determined programme which looks to regulate the *everyday life* of particular subjects deemed risk/at risk (Carr, 2005).

Beyond the pragmatics of ‘what works’ and the application of rigorous financial governance to an un-coordinated sector of welfare provision Supporting People “makes other claims to more social agendas such as care, protection, and empowerment” (Carr, 2005, p. 388) (for the multiple agendas of homeless service provision see also: Cloke et al., 2010; DeVerteuil, 2004; DeVerteuil et al. 2009; Johnsen et al., 2005; Laurenson and Collins, 2007). Therefore, on one hand the SP programme is about a more robust and strategic delivery of services. On the other, it concerns an ethical project of governance aimed at producing the appropriate forms of conduct in the individual. Taken together, the introduction of Supporting People combines the introduction of a new governance regime for homeless spaces with robust systems of monitoring and control (DTLR, 2001a). In practice, this necessitates the development of specific governmental and disciplinary technologies in the spaces which receive Supporting People funding (Foucault, 1976; 2009). These include the ‘Quality Assessment Framework’, contract style ‘Licence Agreements’, ‘interviews’ and technological and embodied systems of monitoring and surveillance. As such, the practices associated with the receipt of Supporting People funding exist between the ‘disciplinary’ (targeting the ‘body’) and governmental’ (targeting ‘conduct’) points on

Foucault's synchronic governmental triangle (Cobb, 2007; Foucault, 2009). Secondly, this is achieved through the production of particular and appropriate *spaces* (conceived in the abstract and lived as concrete (Lefebvre, 1991) and in and through the development of behaviour and conduct in the mundane *time-space* of the 'everyday' (Lefebvre, (1991 [1947]; 2002 [1961]; 2005 [1981]; (2002 [1984])).

5.4 Part two: Policy into Practice - Doing supporting people

Much of the SP literature (c.f. DTLR, 2001a; DETR 2001b; 2001a; 2001b; 2001c) is concerned with the implementation of SP at local authority level, with little reference being made to what provision might look like at 'street level'. However, the 'Foyer' programme perhaps offered an operational example of how 'Supported Accommodation' might be materially provided and what 'best practice' might look like (see above; Allen, 2001; 2003). Moreover, Carr (2005) points to the emergent belief that the use of security measures such as CCTV represented a useful management technique and hallmark of a well run project. Finally, some years before the introduction of Supporting People the Rough Sleepers Unit (RSU) pointed towards elements of conditionality (see for example the quotation at the beginning in of this chapter) (RSU, 1999). In short, the actual delivery and practice of Supported Accommodation should be seen in the context of, and emerging from, this discursive milieu. In general however, this was to be dealt with at local authority level following the mapping exercise (see above). However, for the group in question, the broad aim of SP can be described as follows:

"Young homeless people, often with mental health and substance misuse problems, can find it very hard to hold down a tenancy or stay in one place long enough to get training, counselling, and other social assistance in establishing their lives. *Supporting People* provides the means of enabling them to settle in a new home and learn basic life skills that other people take for granted like how to pay rent, shop for food, organise going to regular training and so on. This stable housing enables them to take the necessary steps forward towards independence"

(DTLR, 2001a, p11)

Here we begin to see the implications of the SP regime. The suggestion is that one of the solutions to the plight of the vulnerably housed is remaining in one location long enough to access support services

and gain the basic skills required. The skills which the individuals are perceived as lacking are those which could be regarded as skills of social reproduction (c.f. Peck, 1996; see above). These are the abilities which an individual requires to reproduce themselves in a manner which is appropriate to the workplace. We can also see the emergence of the spatial logic of SP, one which privileges some degree of stability and fixity over movement and instability. Thus, the idea of Supported Accommodation begins to emerge as a possible option for production of subjects.

As noted, at the point that SP was introduced, there was little in the way of explicit guidance over what state funded provision for single homeless people might look like. However, here it will be shown that documentation, especially the Quality Assessment Framework (QAF) serves to mediate between the realm of abstract policy-programming and the material everyday and lived experience of staff and residents working and living in the two Supported Accommodation projects.

“Prior to 2003 [and the introduction of SP], all it was, was a roof over their head, safety and food. But, people....it would just be stagnant. What we need to do is get people back. They are dependant on the state, and it is a drain on resources. We need to get them out there and giving something back to the community. At the end of the day they will have a better quality of life, and they feel fulfilled and they have a sense of achievement. But there are still some people who come here and they don’t want that.”

(Claire, manager, TH, 2009)

As one resident explained;

Rob: “I’ve been in here [TH] three times before. It’s much better than it used to be now though”

RJ: “In what way?”

Rob: “Well, to be honest, the staff actually care now, before they didn’t give a shit”

(Rob, resident TH, 2009)

Once SP was introduced;

“When we signed on SP, we had to meet a lot of criteria, it was more stringent policies and procedures, the way that we worked, the people [residents] that we brought in. Now what we have to do is when we bring people in, we have to ensure that the people [residents] who come into this hostel have got potential to get back into the community and live independently. And eventually find employment through training and education”

(Claire, manger, TH, 2009)

These ‘more stringent’ requirements are enforced through monitoring. This includes the ‘Performance Indicators’ and the Quality Assessment Framework (QAF) (see appendix eight). The QAF is a thirty-eight page long document, which forms the key element of the monitoring regime put in place under SP (see above). Providers work towards increasing their score. Available scores are A (the best) through B, to C (basic level). The projects investigated here scored ‘B’ for TH and ‘A’ for BP.

“The Quality Assessment Framework isn’t a set of hard and fast rules, it’s more something to work towards and assess. There used to be a level D, but that has gone now. Now we expect everyone to be at a C. The rest are targets, what providers should be working towards”

(LA Supporting People officer, 2009)

“What happens is we get a contract and it goes for say three years, and that is where the QAF comes in, you self asses every year. And your contract is automatically renewed unless there is something drastic and you do get a lot of warning, but we also have to send in what we call our Performance Indicators, and that will say how many people have come through those doors and how many people have left and where they have gone too. I think it something like 65% move on rate, which is quite high really.”

(Claire, manager, TH, 2009)

Whilst the QAF did not determine service provision in a direct sense, it provided an oversight function for the local authority which could be used to monitor performance. That said, the need to provide evidence specifically related to the QAF in particular and the broader SP project was important;

“Some of our residents have been round all the hostels in the area, and they will stay at a hostel for three months, they can’t abide by the rules, they can’t meet their needs of the contract. It sounds very cold when you say contract, but we need progress. If this was KP crisps, people would say right, we want you to pack so many bags of crisps in an hour. We actually have to get people out, we have to evidence that, that’s what the QAF is for. Everything we do we have to evidence, so if somebody comes in here, if we get a referral in here and within 2 weeks they haven’t decided what they need, who they want to make contact with and get support from, they haven’t made an effort to get up during the day basically. Leisure activities is a great way to start...We have to say, sorry but we are ending your contract, our contract with you. Because it is a contract when they come in here. We will give you this, but you have to do this, you have to engage.”

(Claire, manager, TH)

“We have to evidence absolutely everything. So that if the SP people come in, they can take a look at anything and see what we have been doing, what support is being provided. It means that there is a load of paperwork all the time. That’s one of the changes under SP”

(Bruce, project worker, BP)

This section has noted how the introduction of SP has changed the way places such as TH and BP have operated. This has been characterised by a movement away from passive provision of basic accommodation and towards a more active engagement in the lives of marginalised individuals. The first is a space which must be controlled and ordered in order to produce the outcomes required by the QAF and ‘performance indicators’. It is not just about control and order however, as outcomes can only be achieved if the right sort of bodies are produced. Thus, it is also about the production of subjects. Central to this is the production of knowledge about spaces, bodies and behaviours. Moreover, distinctions are drawn between the productive hostel environment and the non productive ‘roof over the head’ provision of local B&Bs. Whilst the TH used to be ‘just a roof of their head’ paid for by housing

benefit, under SP it has been transformed into a space of state intervention on behalf of the societies most marginal subjects. The techniques used and the space thus produced will be investigated in the following section.

5.4.1 Examination, knowledge and the contract

Examination of new residents to both BP and TH begins at the stage when prospective residents present themselves as homeless to the local authority. Whilst both projects used to be 'direct access' (those who wished admission arrived at the front door and requested access) they are now both 'sent' residents by the housing department and other agencies. This posed some problems, particularly for TH which, at the time of the research, was undergoing a 'rebranding exercise'. The aim of this was to communicate the message that TH was no longer a 'doss house'¹³ (Higginbotham, 2009). Instead it was 'Supported Accommodation' which placed an emphasis on client engagement (in line with SP requirements, see above).

"I'm sitting in the office and the housing department phones up. They are trying to get a new resident in but he is known to the hostel. Kate [the assistant manager] tells them to fax over the risk assessment that they have carried out and she'll consider it. After she hangs up the phone she tells me that they have no intention of allowing this man to stay at TH. She tells me that he is a known and persistent shoplifter, who has lived here before and failed to engage with the staff. His chaotic lifestyle and drug use and the fear that his behaviour may rub off on other residents is another concern. Kate brands him 'a no-hoper' and is rejected, although Kate tells housing support that TH is full to capacity."

(TH Field notes, 2009).

Later on during the period of observation, there is a similar incident:

¹³ In the era of the workhouse, lodging houses or 'doss houses' provided low quality but cheap accommodation for those who could afford it. The cost was usually between fourpence and sixpence and offered a bed or a share of a bed, sometimes a kitchen and common room and some smaller institutions even provided a basic breakfast (Higginbotham, 2009). In the post workhouse era, this would be low quality accommodation which was paid for by housing benefit, and would feature little or no support for residents.

“An application comes through from the housing options team. The client is rejected on the basis that he is chaotic, has psychosis and a history of Anti Social Behaviour Orders. He is maybe being kicked out of Monument Terrace [a notorious local B&B, and a common destination for those who leave TH]. After informal consultation with the local police it also emerges that he is also regarded as being a ‘one man crime wave’.”
(TH Field notes, 2009)

Immediately individuals come into contact with the local authority housing department or other referring organisation the process of differentiation and classification begins. The first assessment is whether or not an individual is suitable for a bed space in TH or BP and access to services. This is the first cut at a differentiation which immediately partitions individuals into different spaces. Effectively, it assigns some individuals to a space of disciplinary power (the SP funded Supported Accommodation project) or relegates them to one of the B&Bs which populate the homeless ‘scene’ in the area (Hall, 2006). Although it is crude (based on prior knowledge of the staff) it is effectively the first selection of those who are suitable for application for disciplinary techniques.

The manager of TH noted that

“We need people who want to come off drugs, who want to address their mental health problems, they want to not be drink dependant. They want to...they may have fell through the net at school, we have a lot of people who can’t read or write. So when I say potential, that means people have looked at their lives, I’m better than that, this is too painful, this can’t go on. I want to be like he is, she is whatever. So, if they come here and say I need support. I want support with my drug issues, my alcohol, mental health. So, we bring them in here and we are almost like a sign post organisation, in that we risk asses them, we risk asses them for any dangers for us or themselves, but we also asses them for need.

(Claire, manager TH)

Thus, SP influenced both what was provided for the project, and who was offered support. However, the ‘referral form’ (see appendix nine) is comparatively basic, and does not contain the level of detail which TH required (see below).

“We get a referral from housing, probation, anywhere. They fill in one of our risk assessment forms. If it is housing and they have just sat in front of the guy for the first time, they have only noted what information they can get. Because of human rights, we are limited on what information we can get. We do get some from the probation office, and probation officers do give us the information. And then what will happen is we will look at what is on the referral form, Kate will bring the guy into the interview, and hopefully they will have their other workers with them, probation, prison, and we can get some clarity on their background information. But very often they have walked into the homeless section then so no we don't. We are only as good as the information we get. We take them in on merit, we try and dog out of them if there has been any extreme or sexual violence. And we wouldn't take them. But we have taken guys who have not given us information that has *come* out afterwards. So again, we are only as good as the information we get, and we are limited by the information we can get out of other agencies, unless we are actually working with them at that particular time. And that is what we have to work with. It's almost impossible.”

(Jillian, Senior Support worker, TH)

As Jillian, a senior support worker notes, the problem is that of visibility, especially for those clients who are not known to the housing staff at the local authority or have only come into contact with an agency for the first time. The lack of information is not simply a lack of knowledge about a particular individual. It is a lack of visibility over individuals past actions, and his potential future actions. For those without a documented past, one has to be unearthed through interview at TH and BP. The exercise represents a patchy and incomplete effort to form knowledge about the homeless subject in order that it can be established in which category they can be placed; the subject thus becomes an object to be sorted; they become 'objectified'. The objectified subject can then be categorised as having 'potential' or being unsuitable for TH (in this case). The risk and needs assessment represents “the ceremony of this objectification” ” (Foucault, 1991 [1975], p. 187). Both hostels influenced by SP funding thus emerge as spaces different from the rest of the unregulated homeless scene. This opens up divisions in space. The space of the SP hostel is one of production in contrast to the non productive space of 'roof over the head' accommodation. As a result of this, it is a demarcated space in the first instance. “Any

determinate and hence demarcated space necessarily embraces some things and excludes others; what it rejects may be relegated to nostalgia or it may be simply forbidden” (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], p. 99). As we will see, there are further attempts at demarcation, but this is the first. The space of TH and PB are to be populated only with bodies deemed capable of training and discipline. Only those which are reform-able are permitted. Those felt to be too chaotic are relegated to the spatial margins, away from the productive gaze of the state and into the shadowed precincts. Consequently, through this first act of demarcation, the productive space of the SP funded project begins to take shape. As Lefebvre notes “a little room” (Lefebvre, 2004 [1992], p. 40) is laid out for this. Once populated with appropriate bodies, the attempts to produce subjects can begin.

Once a referral has been made and assuming the application has not been dismissed out of hand, the prospective resident comes to TH where a more detailed risk assessment is carried out. In this process, the individual is asked a series of questions which are noted down on the ‘risk assessment’ sheet (see appendix ten). This is then placed into the residents file (an A4 ring binder). This document covers an individuals housing history, if they have been in care, their physical and mental health, their diet, if they have difficulty with alcohol, drugs or gambling, time keeping skills, if they are registered with health practitioners, standards of personal hygiene, education, employment, finance, presence of a criminal record and any history of exploitation or violence.

During the research, a number of these were observed. A typical example is shown below;

Kate is doing the interview and it takes place in the interview room. The prospective resident, a thirty year old male, does not seem confident and looks at the table through most of the interview. Kate is very softly spoken, very sympathetic, and quite jokey even, although the client is giving nothing back. The form is a ‘tick box’ exercise (see previous chapter) and each question is read out and the response indicated on the sheet. Kate rattles through the questions, all answers are taken at face value and there no probing at all, including when it comes to the questions of criminal background even although the prospective resident is quite vague about his criminal record. The questions, the important questions seem to be whether or not he is going to get support or not. What support are you going to need? There is some emphasis on qualifications, and it is all very dependant on what the client gives out,He answers them all

'correctly'. An almost motivational interviewing approach is used at times. Having stated that one of the things that he wants to do is get back in touch with his daughter, Kate says "that will help you get back in touch with your daughter if you do this, if you get qualifications." She asks him what sort of things does he want to do. He makes clear that he wants to be a mechanic. She jokes back "I could never do that". She asks the question at the end "What do you want from us" He replies "I want to get out of this, get working and stay out of trouble". He has a couple of offences, and his most recent and most serious is possession of a knife, when he says that he was just carrying a knife bought from a shop. It is made clear to the client that "we are supported living so we expect you to engage with us" but "what would you like?". Afterwards I ask Kate about the process of answering questions, and I comment that a lot of it is quite personal and detailed, and she says that residents are in a culture of answering questions to the extent that it seems quite normal.

(TH Field notes, 2009)

Once the client has been vetted for risk, they will then be subject to a support plan, which is carried out by support a worker. The risk assessment is always important as a means of constructing knowledge about a resident, but it is particularly important for those who are otherwise un-known to support services. Either way the individual enters into a "field of documentation" (Foucault, 1991 [1975], p. 189). The production of a small archive on each client in both TH and (even more so) BP helps to "capture and fix" (Foucault, 1991 [1975], p189) the individual. Only once individuals have been 'captured' in documentation and found to have some sort of willingness to comply with the regime are they eligible for a place at TH or BP.

5.4.2 Contractual governance

Once offered a room in TH, the individual is invited to sign a declaration, which states that the resident consents to the staff of TH showing their photograph to statutory and non statutory agencies (see appendix eleven). It also states that;

“I understand that my continued tenancy with the TH is subject to my involvement with any education and training that is provided either by the hostel or an outside education department”

(TH ‘Declaration’, 2009; see appendix eleven)

Meanwhile, at BP

“I understand the BP is short-term accommodation and that the Licence Agreement specifies the programme of support is part of the accommodation I am accepting.”

“I accept this Support Plan as an opportunity to improve my quality of life and enable my successful move on to independent accommodation.”

“I understand that if I do not fulfil this agreement I am not fulfilling my Licence Agreement and Notice to leave can be issued.”

(BP ‘Support Agreement’, 2009; appendix eleven)

Thus, as the individual enters a field of documentation, they enter into something representing New Labours ‘something for something’ conditional social contract (Fairclough, 2000). Through SP, the moral/contractual discourse of the New Labour project is given a practical and material expression. As Lefebvre notes, the abstract space conceived by state technocrats draws on knowledges and ideologies to produce “a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture which call for ‘representations’ that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms” (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], p42). It is posited here that SP involves the creation of such an embedded project. The conditionality hinted by the RSU (1999) (see above) is given material presence through the contractual mode of governance applied to the least advantaged members of society.

Fairclough (2000) argues that the rhetoric of New Labour has centred on a contractual, rather than communitarian, conception of the relationship between the state and the citizen. The result is that the receipt of state funds is conditional on appropriate behaviour and conduct (McNaughton and Sanders, 2007). Fairclough provides the example of public sector pay increase only on the acceptance of ‘reform’,

or the implantation of workfare type policies in the UK (Peck, 2001). Fairclough (2000) also suggests that this relates to the notion of toughness, which permeates New Labour discourse on social problems, notably crime (Tough on crime...) and out of work benefits. The logic in this case is similar. There had to be a 'toughness'; those who trespassed against *their* contract. Out of this agreement between state and citizen, hostel and resident, a particular set of spaces and practices are created within and without the hostel. These will be discussed in more detail towards the end of this chapter.

Of course, the 'social contract' represents technology of power widely deployed by New Labour in both the management of various forms of irregular conduct and the 'activation' of welfare recipients (Allen, 2003; Clarke, 2005; Cobb, 2007; Crawford, 2003; Dwyer, 2002; Lister, 2001; Mackenzie, 2008; Flint and Nixon, 2006). In this example, the contract has two clear functions: Firstly, as Mackenzie notes, such 'contracts' are not contracts in the liberal-market sense of the term (an agreement between 'free' (to a greater or lesser extent) individuals) (Crawford, 2003). In this example, as with other 'contracts' aimed at tackling improper conduct such as Anti-Social Behaviour Orders and social housing behaviour agreements (Flint and Nixon, 2006; Mackenzie, 2008), the prospective resident has no *real* choice but to sign the 'contract' given that the alternative is likely to be the street. However, more than a simple masquerade of liberty, it produces the subject as a rational actor (Mackenzie, 2005). The individual is posited as the *sole* author of their self reform:

"This 'second-chance' [social-contractual mode of] governance involves the express construction of rational individuals who bring punishment on themselves through breach of contract, as opposed to relying on the less obvious implications of the foundational social contract. In this way, second-chance governance, if applied to subjects for whom rapid behavioural self-reform is problematic, becomes second-chance punitivism."

(Mackenzie, 2008, p. 223)

Breaking the 'contract' has the potential to lead to arbitrary eviction. Contradiction of the contract opens up a field of discretion on behalf of the management. In the case of BP and TH, the sanction is likely to be temporary or permanent relegation to a field of unregulated homeless space. Prior to the breach of the contract the subject is always ambiguous – always uncertain – neither fully included or excluded (Bauman, 1991). The contract offers the possibility of the foreclosure of this ambiguity. This

ambiguity and the spatial nature of the contract and expulsion will be covered again towards the end of this chapter.

Secondly, the contract has a future orientation which functions as a corrective to the past-anchored interview. Whereas the 'deficit model' interview (focusing on what the individual has *not* achieved [Cameron, 2006, see also chapter four (IST)]) looks towards a largely remote and isolated past and aims to extrapolate into the present/future, the contract is resolutely future orientated (Crawford, 2003). As such the contract is premised as a system of risk-management and security which looks to predict future behaviour as well as providing a register of judgement against which conduct can be judged effectively. Therefore, through the deployment of the 'contract' the subject is responsabilised and conceived as an active agent in their own reform as part of a regime whose operation is temporal and outcome spatial. The now responsabilised subject of government is now subject to the embodied regimes of 'moral' (in Driver's sense) discipline and conduct.

5.4.3 Making the 'moral' subject – planning, supporting, observing

After the risk assessment is completed, a 'support plan' is drawn up;

What I do is the support plan, which is the white one (see appendix twelve) and it gives a brief background history. It talks about their relationships, their health issues, and then what they actually need to move on. Sometimes the goals can be quite high, sometimes we could get someone in whose main goal in life is to reduce their methadone. Become drug free. What they say goes into that support plan and their needs are drawn out and put onto an orange form, and that is the 'shopping list'. These are his needs, how is he going to achieve it, by when and who is going to do it. And that is really how we try to work to it. Try to work to it. It's not always achievable. What we find is we work with a lot of drug users, a lot of alcoholics, a lot of people with mental health problems. Some have all those issues. With all the will in the world you can sit with them, try and find out what they actually want, and they will verbally say how committed they are, and they will attend the appointments, and then the next week we will look at it and they have even thought about having the actual meeting and the appointments, although we do try to chase them with appointments. Very often they get up in the morning, go out and we don't see them until very late at night. We have got no say over that. So sometimes that can be quite frustrating.

(Jillian, Senior Support Worker, TH)

As can be seen, the needs assessment covers some areas in common with the risk assessment, but also suggests areas where the resident can, and is to, develop. In these two processes, the risk assessment and the action plan, the individual becomes less ambivalent (Bauman, 1991) and more knowable. Through these combined documentary practices the individual is described: his history; his offending; his drug use; if he lived in care; his present; health; drug use; relationships. And his future: independent living. Within this, the individual becomes describable and an object of analysis. The analysis is carried out by the support worker who is capable of identifying the required interventions and methods in order to meet the needs as described by the client. All of this is written down for the record. Through this, it also becomes possible to analyse the progress (or lack of progress) that a resident is making in an objective manner. Thus through this process of examination, an attempt is made to make parts of the resident visible, his present actions determinable, condition understandable and his future predictable.

Finally, each individual becomes a 'case' (Foucault, 1991 [1975], p191). Each individual has a file which contains all of their details, support plans and a 'daily log' containing significant events which have happened to them (for example, being under the influence of substances – licit or illicit). The files are updated with new incidents and monthly support plan meetings. It is not a remote or aggregate form of management. The production of such cases means that an individual "at one and the same time constitutes an object for and a branch of knowledge and a hold for a branch of power...the examination is at the centre of the procedures that constitute the individual as effect and object of power, as effect and object of knowledge" (Foucault, 1991 [1975], p191-192). Through the process of examination, the resident must render themselves open to the process of discipline, and to become an object of observation and production. The individual resident is expected to be the willing target of power. If they refuse, then they are liable to be excluded.

The focus is very much on the individual resident who is "described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his very individuality; and it is also the individual who has to be trained or corrected, classified, normalised, excluded, etc." (Foucault, 1991 [1975], p191). The individual is described in his support plan, what conditions he suffers from and support needed. And, through his behaviour, his enactment of 'morals' he is judged as to whether or not he is suitable for TH and BP. His age, time spent without

employment, time in prison, number of offences, volume of methadone, can be measured. His behaviour can be compared to other residents, and against the 'normal' population. He can then be trained to deal with his difficulties through access to college courses and basic skills training. He can be normalised through a return to independent living, the normal form of living for adult males. If he fails, he can be removed from the hostel. Supporting People, as given material and spatial form in TH and BP thus represents a mode of intervention at once caring and benevolent yet conditional and exclusionary (Carr, 2005).

5.4.4 Arresting time and space: eating and observation

The process of support living has three elements. The first is thinking. It requires the resident to think in longer time spans and make the correct choices more often than not. The second is habit which implies the repetition of behaviour. It also implicitly contains time, as the behaviour is to be repeated at the correct intervals e.g. getting out of bed every morning at an appropriate time. The decision of what is to be repeated is to be based on long term considerations, and the decision is, at some point in the future, to be made by the resident. The regulation of time becomes central to the development of appropriate conduct;

“What we have in here, we have people who think very short term, so what we have to do is give them very small tasks to do in the beginning while we train....because we are almost brainwashing them to do the right thing. You have got to get rid of all their bad habits, all their previous habits, because everything is habitual
(Claire, manager TH, 2009)

As Lefebvre points out “Dressage puts into place an automatism of repetitions...Dressage fills the space of the unforeseen, of the initiative of living beings.” (Lefebvre, 2004 [1992], p40). Moreover the process of dressage is closely related to the management of time (Elden, 2004a). Dressage introduces repetition and replaces the unforeseen future with an expected repetition. Therefore the process of dressage is about both activity and time. As will be shown, the relationship between time, activity and observation overlap and interrelate with each other.

At both Supported Accommodation projects, the provision of breakfast is the first act which is set to structure the day. At TH breakfast begins at 7am and finishes at 8am. Until 8.30am, there is an option

for cereal and toast. At BP it is slightly later 7.30am until 8.30 am. At TH especially, breakfast is part of the project of creating appropriate behaviour and also subtle processes of observation. The timing of breakfast is obviously important;

“Well, it’s partly to do with the shifts; it works well at that time. It’s also for the lads who need to be up for college, and it gets the rest of them out of bed as well

(Emma, Support Worker, TH)

At TH the scheduling of breakfast was thus mostly to do with practical considerations and social norms. Attendance at breakfast was voluntary, and the majority of residents would attend for a cooked breakfast. Most of the time, it was the same people, appearing at similar times. However, on one occasion;

Only three residents came down to breakfast this morning, and as a result there is loads of breakfast left over. I ask Steve why this is he tells me that yesterday was ‘pay-day’ [benefit receipt day] for many of the residents and given that there are known to be drugs going around the hostel it is suspected that many of them were using. He told me that although he wasn’t supposed to, he had been round all the rooms and knocked on everyone’s doors, but had no takers. He says “I’m not supposed to, but they really need to have their breakfast...” He says this with a pained expression on his face.

(Field notes, TH, 2009)

As noted above, breakfast at TH had a set of rules attached to it. The first was the ‘no cooked breakfast after 8am rule which was rigorously enforced, much to the annoyance of late arriving residents. Sugar was also rationed and placed strategically, away from the counter, as residents had a tendency to use too much. Moreover;

“We can tell if any residents are using, because all they will want to eat is cereal with loads of sugar on. Especially at tea time, if all they want to eat is cereal. We can keep an eye on things.

(Jillian, Support worker, TH)

Over consumption of sugar was taken as an indication that an individual had taken heroin, as opiate use is associated with cravings for sugar. Sugar was therefore only administered by staff. Mealtimes provided other opportunities for observation;

“It’s important that they eat for obvious reasons, but it helps us as well. Diana can get a chance to look them in the eye when they get served, and see if they are under the influence and she can overhear little snip-its of conversation too and find out what’s going on in here and outside.”

(Steve, Support Worker, TH)

Cutlery was also subject to control;

I’ve been in the kitchen a few times now, but I suddenly realise that the knives and forks are metal, but the spoons are made of plastic. I ask why, Emma tells me: “so they can’t be used for ‘cooking up’”

(Field notes, TH, 2009)

Mealtimes had benefits beyond the obvious provision of sustenance. As one of the few times when most of the residents were in one place, it could be used for surveillance and observation through overheard conversations and also through monitoring the amount of sugar consumed. In addition, even the provision of cutlery was calculated to limit the possibility of potential transgression. The combined issue of mealtimes can be approached in a number of ways. First of all it is possible to monitor who is actually coming down for breakfast and attending the evening meal. It therefore establishes “presences and absences” (Foucault, 1991 [1975], p143) which could be informally monitored by the staff. For those present, it was possible to supervise the conduct of each individual. This was especially the case with sugar and cereal and particularly so at the time of the evening meal. As such, the practice of asking for cereal in the evening with extra sugar was taken as a sign of possible prior heroin consumption. Such incidences were recorded in the ‘day book’ for staff to view. Thus, the conduct of individuals was supervised and assessed. Moreover, this particular conduct could be judged against the normative of the appropriate amount of sugar to consume and the appropriate time to consume it. This judgment is not one of absolute right and wrong, but rather one judged against a scale of more or less normal. Blurry eyes and slurred speech represented non-normal performance and were representative of potential

transgression (Foucault, 1991 [1975]). Once this judgement is made this behaviour could be calculated as being the effects of a prior (illicit) act. First and foremost, mealtimes were about the provision of nourishment. However, they also offered the opportunity for discipline and the monitoring of behaviours. The dining room thus functioned as an informal “analytical space” (Foucault, 1991 [1975] p142).

As noted, the space of the dining room became a space where analysis of residents could occur. This can be seen as an attempt to grasp both behaviour and space. Monitoring of sugar consumption sought to gain purchase and understanding of events which had occurred in a previous space and time. Whilst the specific space and time remains unknown, traces of previous behaviour manifest itself in slurred speech, bleary eyes and sugar cravings. Therefore, the time and space may be unknown and unseen, but the behaviour could be known. The spaces in which these prior acts occurred could not accurately be surveyed as they were either off the premises, or behind bedroom doors. The spaces were therefore, hidden, unseen and for the most part unseeable (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]). These prohibited spaces and accompanied behaviours were both encouraged through the implementation of SP (through the ‘contract’ and the requirement to engage these acts had to be concealed, they could not be displayed openly) and the target of intervention. These clandestine spaces could never really be known or controlled with certainty, but traces of the behaviour could be. In this instance evidence is presented through the body, but it could also be identified materially (through syringes, tinfoil and other ‘drug paraphelia’). These opaque spaces were however the target for SP as they were the spaces which contributed to non-compliance. These were the spaces which were perceived to be breeding grounds of chaotic and unruly behaviour which were counter to the aims of SP. They thus needed to be grasped by any means possible. Moreover, these spaces represent the limit of SP’s spatial strategy.

5.4.5 A meaning-full use of time?

As noted in the section which discussed the emergence of SP, ‘meaningful use of time’ is held to be of some considerable importance (RSU, 1999; 2000). Although not an integral part of the QAF, engagement in activity was held to be important. Various leisure activities were laid on for residents. Some of these were provided by the staff, and some were provided by outside agencies. At TH these included the gym twice a week, football, pool and darts competitions and occasional trips to ten pin bowling. At BP activities included guitar lessons, country walks and conservation activities. This was in addition to ‘basic living’ courses provided at both locations and weekly ‘job search’ at BP.

Lack of activity was generally held to be a problem by staff;

“It’s ridiculous on a Sunday in here. All they do is sit in their rooms watching TV all day. Eastenders and stuff like that. They’ll get up at three and come down for dinner and that’s it. Then what ends up happening is they are awake all night”

(Steve, Support Worker, TH)

Leisure activities were held to have a number of benefits. For staff

“When they are out on the walk, its gets them interacting with the staff in a different way. It’s less formal, more laidback. They like it, they talk differently and it quite often takes them back to when they were young”

(Jane, manager, BP, 2009)

“Routine....A lot of people, it is like, I have no money, I can’t make any plans. So that depression hits you...well what can I do, I can’t do anything because I have got no money. So, I have got nothing to look forward to. So my life is meaningless. I’ll give in now and I’ll take drugs. But If I have something to do on Wednesday, I know I’m going to the gym on Wednesday, on Thursday, I go for my medication...on Friday, I have something to aim for. It might not seem a lot to some people, but for that person, it is a big, it is such a big thing to look forward to.”

(Anne, manager, The Lane hostel, 2009)

And for residents, taking part in these activities was (bluntly put);

“Much better than sitting staring at four walls all day, isn’t it?”

(Jones, BP resident, 2009)

Thus, leisure activities were considered to be an important aspect of living in Supported Accommodation. Participation in leisure activities was held to have the potential to structure an individual’s time in an appropriate manner. This was both to give meaning to time (e.g. something to

look forward too) and to ensure compliance with the socially agreed upon usage of time (see 'Steve' above). Activities were also held to produce a routine which was conducive to what Lefebvre terms 'linear time' (the time of production and technology);

"You are tiring yourself out through the day, and night time, people can come alive on a night. So if they stay in bed all day, they are going to be alive all night. So to get that work ethic, we work all day, we finish on a night, we get up next morning, do that. If you have a person that is using their brain, and using their body throughout the day, even small tasks, then they are going to use part of their body, and on a night time they are going to wind down. They are not going to be going out on a night, drink, get arrested. That is going to be the time when things happen"

(Anne, Manager, The Lane hostel, 2009)

Leisure activities were held to be generative of a routine compatible with work. In the process of dressage, individuals are inducted into the social through accepting particular values. Acceptable behaviours (as judged against a continuum of normality (Foucault, 1991 [1975])) need to be reproduced with an appropriate degree of consistency and cohesion. Thus, through repeatedly engaging in such activities, it was intended that individuals would learn skills compatible with the labour market. We could, however, read this as a form of work in and of itself. As Lefebvre notes during dressage "they do not produce an object, be it with a machine, a technique with their limbs...They reproduce their bodies" (Lefebvre, 2004 [1992], p40). Therefore, this requirement to engage can be regarded as a tool through which to produce the required subjects.

Furthermore, Lefebvre suggests that; "dressage fills the space of the unforeseen" (Lefebvre, 2004 [1992], p40). The 'unforeseen' has both temporal and behavioural aspects which are, of course, interlinked. The behavioural aspect of the unforeseen could happen at anytime, and could include drug use, alcohol consumption and crime. The temporal aspects of the unforeseen concerned the risk to the disruption of time e.g. poor timekeeping. These two elements combine to form the 'chaotic' lifestyle. Through the instigation of routine, and time management the risks associated with chaotic lifestyles were to be overcome. Through such engagement in useful activities, unforeseen disordered time and behaviour was to be replaced by ordered time and conduct. This behaviour is of course to be compatible with the linear time of capital and technology.

The actual running of these programmes was more problematic however. Whilst during the research period some activities were well attended, for example an evening trip to ten pin bowling (TH) and a walking trip (BP) others were less easy to 'sell' to residents. Motivating people to participate and engage with the leisure activities was at times a difficult task for the staff.

Dan has knocked on all the residents' doors and has had no positive responses. Jillian forcefully declares "They are going to the gym, they are coming: Kenny is coming...Steven is coming" she goes down the list each in turn, reading through the list. She declares: "they are all just lazy!" Jillian seems genuinely quite annoyed. I'm told that it used to be the case that 5 or 6 used to go to the gym, and Dan thinks it is because there are drugs circulating on the premises. As Jillian goes down the list of residents, reading out each name in turn, Dan points out that each of them have some sort of an appointment or excuse that means that they cannot make the gym. Later that day a notice is put on the notice board entitled "Gym: residents expected to attend" followed by a list of names"

(TH field notes)

Despite the linking of activity with the contract, on a practical day to day level, the staff had little authority to ensure participation in the activities. Offering prizes of rolling tobacco was one option for ensuring some sort of uptake of activities. Whilst Lefebvre notes the importance of reward in the process of dressage (2004), this too was held to be problematic. Whilst the offering of prizes did induce participation;

"I don't think we should be doing that, they should be taking part for the fun of taking part"

(Steve, Support Worker, TH, 2009)

As a result, Steve in particular attempts to run activities without prizes

Steve is trying to organise a game of darts. He has decided that there is to be no prize however. He tries to get residents to play as they are passing the office. Nobody seems

interested when they hear that there is no tobacco prize to win. I volunteer to play as only Adam (an older resident) seems interested. We start to play, a few other lads join in. Soon there are four of us playing. Or rather throwing darts at the board; the game has no structure and nobody is keeping score. After about twenty minutes, the game ends as the residents drift off.

(TH field notes)

Whilst some attempts to engage residents in activities were successful, others were less so. Although there was theoretically a need to engage with leisure activities, in practice there was little that the staff could do to enforce participation. Unlike the methods noted by Foucault (1991 [1978]) the staff has no recourse to sanction for non participation.

5.4.6 The discipline of time

Whilst staff and management could do little to force residents to participate in leisure activities short of threatening eviction, staff had more opportunity to limit access to other resources to ensure an ordering of time. Shortly prior to the research period, a 'new regime' had been instigated. This regime was stricter than the one that had preceded it. Most significantly for our purposes, this included the limiting of access to certain facilities. The lounge and the pool room were locked at eleven pm on weekdays and midnight at the weekend. This was

“to stop them wandering around the place at night and waking up other residents.”

Similarly, the laundry was only available for use between nine am and five pm because

“it stops us having to do it all through the night, there are residents above it and the machines are noisy, and it will help them get into some kind of routine and get them out of bed”

The combined effect of this has been;

“More order in the house, more discipline and less people wandering around at night. It's important because that's what society is like, there are rules”

(Steve, support worker, TH, 2009 (all above))

Similar rules operated at BP. Whilst the lounge and the pool room were open all night, residents were not to be in other residents rooms after eleven pm. In addition, the use of the computer room was limited to one hour in the morning, afternoon and evening during the week and until eight pm at the weekend. This was because;

“If we let them in all day, they would just sit there on the internet. There are other things they should be doing”

(Susan, Support worker, BP, 2009)

As can be seen from the above, the management of time was an important consideration for staff and management at BH. Whilst, as noted, one of the key elements of the SP funded hostel is the production of space, it is suggested here that the production of time is an integral part of creating the socially reproducible subject required by SP (see chapter seven (discussion for the overlapping theme of time). For Lefebvre linear and cyclical time collide at the level of the body. These two versions of time are negotiated through the process of dressage through which an individual will become able to (amongst other things) cope with the rigours of linear time (getting up, getting to work, being in a fit state to work and so on) (Elden, 2004a, p197).

Whilst some residents are deemed ‘too chaotic’ for TH, some of the residents skirted perilously close to behaving in a chaotic manner. Whilst Lefebvre identifies these two time modes, what if, for some individuals, linear time is disavowed and replaced by a non linear, discontinuous construction of time?

“All becoming irregular of rhythms produces antagonistic effects. It *throws out of order* and disrupts; it is symptomatic of a disruption that is generally profound, lesional and no longer functional. It can also produce a lacunae, a hole in time, to be filled by an invention, a creation. That only happens, individually or socially, by passing through a *crisis*. Disruptions and crises always have origins in and effects on rhythms...”

(Lefebvre, 2004 [1992], p. 44)

In this quotation, Lefebvre points to the antagonism which emerges out of irregular rhythms, rhythms which do not correspond to linear time. This disruption is corrosive to the general ordering of time. Lefebvre goes on to state that revolutionary subjectivities are caused and are created by such irregular rhythms. Although this is not the subject being dealt with here, the notion that irregular rhythms are pathological and productive of spaces in time is;

“When you’re using, the only thing that matters is your next hit. Especially when you’re rattling [suffering from withdrawal]. As soon as you wake up, you’re thinking about it, panicking in case you can’t get any”

(Jane, focus group participant, January, 2009)

The quotation above gives a suggestion of the disruption of linear time through having a ‘chaotic lifestyle’. In the above quotation, heroin becomes the organising principle of time, rather than the technological linear time of the market. Furthermore, in a qualitative study of former opiate addicts, Reith (1999) argues that recovering users characterised the duration of their addiction as lost, stationary or dead time. However, “recovery from addiction was expressed as a regaining of a sense of temporality; a re-animation of the future and an ‘awakening’ from the previous state” (Reith, 1999, p. 99).

Whilst the time of the chronic heroin user may have some logic (‘junk time’), other substances may have different temporal effects for those at risk of adopting a chaotic lifestyle. Chaotic lifestyles, regardless of the reason are lifestyles which are generally incompatible with linear time. Linear time corresponds to the mechanical and predictable time of clocks, and is and was intimately related to process of accumulation and production (Glennie and Thrift, 2009). Cyclical/biological can also be disrupted through, for example, chemically induced sleep disruption. As a consequence of this, it becomes an imperative to produce time for residents as well as space. The produced subject must be able to recognise time, its importance, and to integrate their behaviour accordingly. The production of time is thus integral to the creation of productive spaces. Individuals are to be able to integrate their bodies and souls into the mechanically rhythmic linear time of capital and accumulation. Issues of temporality and spatiality which cut across all chapters are addressed in chapter seven.

5.5 Part three: A place to “make life”: producing the space of Supporting People

In the above sections, the rationale behind SP was discussed, and the various methods employed to produce ordered subjects was detailed. This section attempts to pull the above threads together and discuss SP as a spatial strategy. This section elaborates on the material presented above.

5.5.1 The uneven spaces of Supporting People

Firstly, we can read SP as a social project which is firmly embedded in its spatial context. Although the SP policy does not explicitly dictate how space is to be ordered and what techniques should be used, through its agenda of forming socially reproducible subjects it implies the production of particular spaces. It does this in a number of ways. At the core of the SP agenda as it applies to TH and BP is a shift towards evidence (thought, deliberation) and monitoring of outcomes (performance) (Van Doorn and Kain, 2003; Carr, 2005). The aim is the reform of subjects and the production of new behaviours. Knowledge, and the creation of knowledge, is at the heart of the SP regime. Knowledge needs to be both produced and acted upon at all times under SP.

This represents a qualitative shift from the previous mode of state based provision for the single homeless. Prior to the implementation of SP, TH only provided the bare minimum of support. This consisted of a bedroom, warmth and some food. There was no need to engage with any services or to participate. The state paid for it through housing benefit and the residents were left alone. The advent of SP introduced auditing and monitoring with an emphasis on human outputs: the number of able subjects produced who are capable of reproducing themselves. The planners of SP share a commitment to accountability and the audit as a form of governmentality (Shore and Wright, 1999). This is evidenced by the requirement that all interventions needed to be documented, as did all support planning. This process went beyond counting subjects, and instead immersed clients in a world of qualitative documentation. Following on from this, in order to achieve a suitable output of residents, the relationship between the individual and the state, and the individual and the hostel, needs to be re-negotiated. Support is not unconditional. Residents must be seen to a certain level of performance and competence. Thus, the core elements of the ideological underpinnings of the New Labour project are to be exported to those who exist on the margins of society and those who are located at the furthest extremities of productive (i.e. non penal) state power. The spatial strategy of SP seeks to extend

(productive) state power into the physical spaces inhabited by the excluded populations. Whilst TH used to be 'just a roof' (an unproductive space) now it is a space of social production. Only most suitable subjects are allowed entrance; the others are relegated to other spaces. Those who are too chaotic are not admitted into what is to be an ordered, audited and productive space. Disruptive elements are to be removed and any disruptive spaces uncovered.

Spaces of representation are those spaces which are directly lived, the mundane and everyday spaces. In the above, it is the mundane and routine space of the queue for dinner at TH and BP. It is the daily routine of residents knocking on the door of the office to see if their mail has arrived and the daily trek to the chemist for those who have to collect their methadone. It is the space of informal interactions between staff and residents. Indeed, from a researchers point of view, most of the time both hostels were quiet and ordinary, the occasional movement on the CCTV, residents coming and going.

Under SP, the everyday of the staff and residents has "become an object of social organisation" (Lefebvre, 1984, p. 59; see also Carr, 2005). Although passively experienced, the everyday in the hostel is ridden with a range of practices. However, this banality obscures the complex and clandestine operation of knowledge and ideology. Armed with a range of tools and techniques, from CCTV (see figure ten) to overheard gossip, from the documentary evidence for each subject to the prohibition of metal spoons, the everyday in the hostel is planned. At BP even informal interactions were structured as a diktat from the manager in the day book stated:

"Project staff: I know you are busy with paper work but please try to speak to each of your residents everyday they are in, even if just over a cup of coffee. Thanks."

(BP field notes, 2009)



Figure 10 CCTV system at BP

The homogenous and abstract social spaces envisioned by SP obviously need to be literally created, materialised and put into practice. Abstract space requires the creation of a “material grounding” (Elden, 2004a, p. 191). Lefebvre demonstrates the operation of a successful traverse between the abstract (perceived, representation) to the concrete (represented, lived);

Cloisters are a case in point. What has happened here is that, happily a gestural space has succeeded in mooring a mental space – a space of contemplation and theological abstraction – to the earth, thus allowing it to express itself symbolically and to become part of a practice, the practice of a well defined group within a well defined society. Here, then, is a space in which a life balanced between the contemplation of the self in

its finiteness and that of a transcendent infinity may experience a happiness composed of quietude and a fully accepted lack of fulfilment”

(Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], p. 217).

In this example, the mental meets the physical to produce an architectural space which sutures ‘reality’ with the ‘Real’: a ‘truly’ homogenous space. In this example, the abstract (theological and divine) becomes co-extensive with the perceived and lived to create a social space where the planned gestures (prayer, contemplation, asceticism) are *inevitably* realised. Moreover, such a space becomes *synonymous* with such *acts* and *behaviours*. It hardly needs stating that the places, spaces and subjects.

The out-of-date architecture of Thomas House (TH) represents a less-than-optimal terrain of intervention for staff and managers. In contrast, the institutional feel of BP – lino, large washrooms, more extensive leisure spaces, more natural light – point to its intended use: conceived as a space *specifically designed for reform of body and soul*. Yet it too could not twin architecture with gesture. Whilst the form of the cloisters represents and produces the appropriate gestures (partly) by virtue of architecture alone, TH, with dark corridors, narrow stairwells and cramped bedrooms produces spaces for illicit (‘obscene’) activities and irregular activity (e.g. consumption of substances, eliciting money from other residents etc.). Such behaviour, under the terms of the ‘contract’ - instituted by abstract logic of ‘Supporting People’ funding - is grounds for eviction from TH. To control such conduct, CCTV was installed to improve security: on the assumption that *all* spaces are knowable and controllable and that the warren-like structure of TH could effectively be flattened into an even and controllable terrain. In contrast, the purpose built BP accommodation demonstrated a more precise, rational and surgical architecture: long, wide corridors and well lit open spaces far more amenable to the gaze of staff and CCTV systems. In theory, the technologically mediated unfolding of the space of TH would render subjects more knowable, governable, controllable and re-formable. Through enhanced management tools, the professionals at TH and BP hoped to move closer to the goal of a ‘cloister like’ space: where architecture inevitably produces gesture. The example of the cloisters and the attempts to flatten space at TH demonstrate two things; the utopian impulse of abstract space and governmental rationalities and the problem of translation of abstract into concrete space (Lefebvre, 1991).

On the other hand, Lefebvre's 'spaces of representation' also concern the elusive and underground elements of everyday life. In the context of this research, this would include the goings on beyond the physical boundaries of the hostel. Residents coming back clearly under the influence of substances, syringes in drains and on the ground under windows, and the occasional needle found on the laundry floor represented traces of this clandestine world.

"We know there is dealing going on over in that flat. They come back having used, there are cars coming and going. We've searched there loads of times but we've found nothing. We think they get it and sell it all straight away. We know it's going on though"

(Jane, manager, BP)

"There's stuff [drugs] going round. They're samples, being given out for free. We don't know who it is but we've got our suspicions and we're going to try and find out who exactly it is"

(Dan, Support Worker TH)

"There's stuff that goes on in here that goes on behind closed doors that the staff don't know about...well they do know about it, they're not stupid...but you know what I mean"

(Adam, resident, TH)

For every 'scene' there is an 'obscene' (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], p. 33). Whilst SP attempts to produce a space of production and discipline, other forces (manifest in individuals) attempt to subvert the imposed order. Whilst the conceived and abstract space of SP seeks to create an ordered scene, some residents created and took part in obscene and prohibited behaviours and practices. In addition, whilst SP attempts to enforce rationality to overcome contradictions, some of the forces it seeks to quell (chaotic, un-productive subjects) stubbornly refuse to cease and desist. Thus "state imposed normality makes permanent transgression inevitable...This is a new negativity, a tragic negativity which manifests itself as

incessant violence...These seething forces are still capable of rattling the lid of the cauldron of the state and its space, for differences can never be totally quieted.” (Lefebvre, 1991 [1977], p. 23).

As SP and the staff attempt to create and forge one particular space, some residents responded with another, engaging in prohibited acts in unseen spaces. This *negative* of the ‘obscene’ exists only in relation to the *positive* of abstract representational space. It is thus an antithesis which is *called into existence* by attempts to form abstract and homogenous spaces. The space of the obscene induces spaces of *ambiguity* (Bauman, 1991). Although staff ‘know’ what is going on, but they do not know for sure. So, the situation is neither ignorance nor understanding but a partial knowledge and a knowing what is not known. The obscene is transported into the accommodation project covertly and/or behaviourally through prior digestion or in the shape of substances and drug paraphernalia. The obscene space is one of clandestine behaviour. It is behaviour which is deemed inappropriate due to the particular configuration of space partially brought into being by Supporting People funding. In the previous existence of TH such behaviour may have been admissible but now it is deemed a conduct ‘out of place’ (Creswell, 1996).

The obscene is the wellspring of ambiguity, uncertainty and instability at TH and BP. Its problematic nature is, however, precisely that it is *not* excluded. Through embodied behaviour the obscene continually, and in unknowable (beyond speculation) ways, subverts and contradicts the existence of abstract space. To this end it exists as a contradictory and antagonistic supplement which prevents the abstract space becoming what it *really is*: in this case an ordered and disciplined space (Zizek, 1990). Recall Lefebvre’s cloisters above – a situation where abstract space becomes synonymous with practice. Lefebvre’s obscene is that which blocks this ambition and stops the full realisation of abstract space. Whilst undesirable, this dangerous and excessive supplement (illicit conduct) destabilises abstract space but represents an embedded and necessary situation. The practices and spaces of the ‘obscene’ are not spaces of exclusion. Rather they are spaces which are *uncomfortably* included.

5.5.2 Governing the awkward citizen: inclusion, ambiguity and exclusion

This brings us onto spatial practices. For Lefebvre, spatial practices operate in a dialectical interaction between the abstract and the concrete, the perceived and conceived, lived and planned. In the above discussion we can begin to see how this might operate. In this case spatial practices hold the actually lived and theoretically informed elements of SP together. They are the practices outlined above of

examination, dressage, activity, surveillance and knowledge production. These are the practices which negotiate between the policy demand of SP (auditing, data management and outputs) and their actual implementation. As noted above, as the abstract 'conceived' space of SP (the contract, the QAF) attempts to regularise the space of the Supported Accommodation project, some residents responded through the manipulation of the risk assessments and generalised misbehaviour. Therefore, there is a tension ridden dialectic between the spatial strategy of SP and the antithetical spatial strategy of those who continued to use illicit substances and so on. The spatial strategy of SP is one of control and production, whilst the spatial strategy of some residents was the development of clandestine ways to get in and use drugs on the premises (as evidence by ejected needles and needles in the laundry – perceived as a threat to the health and safety of staff and residents: see figure eleven). In a similar way, the space produced by SP was a space of production of subjects and of knowledge. The antithesis of this was the unruly residents who represented not just the temporary escape from the gaze of the staff, but also a negation of the aims of SP as a policy and its spatial strategy.

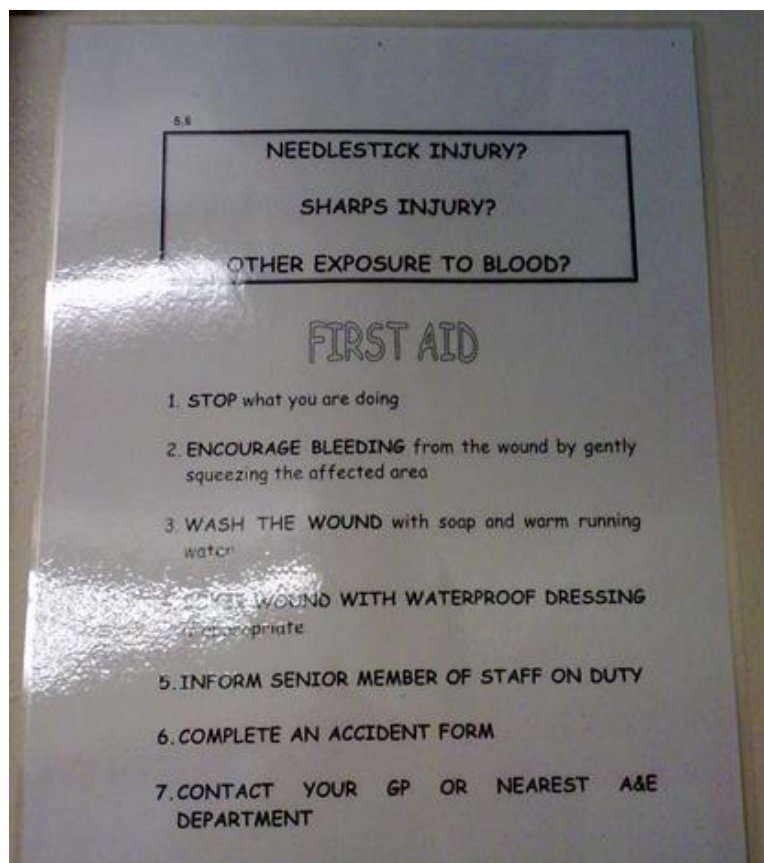


Figure 11 'Needlestick' poster at BP

So far we have covered two elements of 'spatial practice - the development of the 'scene' (abstract space) and the 'obscene' (negativity and disruption) and saw how this dialectic induced ambiguity, uncertainty and contingency. This ambiguity is problematic for fundamentally practical and pragmatic reasons, specifically the achievement of the QAF aims and objectives. Bauman identifies a logic of modernity which sees ambiguity as epistemologically and ontologically troubling and thus aims towards categorisation and containment (Bauman, 1991, see also chapter seven for a fuller discussion). This aversion to chaos and instability and a desire for homogeneity is tied to ideas of abstract space and knowledge (c.f. Popke, 2001).

This search for ordered and disciplined space, in the case of TH and BP is achieved not through synthesis or 'overcoming' (integration of the 'scene' with the 'obscene') but through attempts at *exclusion*. This contradiction was neatly identified by a member of staff at TH who reflected that;

"They're [residents] let in here because of how they are, what they've done...the category that they are. And then they get chucked out if they behave like that. I feel sorry for them really"

(Emma, Support Worker, TH)

This ambiguity is most clearly indicated in the institution of a 'contract' which places the individual at once as responsible agent and potential transgressor (Crawford, 2003; Mackenzie, 2008). Judgement is always already suspended until such time as the individual transgresses and is expelled or is successfully re-formed and 'moves-on'. The contract produces both the subject (as either antagonistic or compliant) and the space to which they are allocated (as either productive 'project' or non-productive B&B). We can understand TH and BP as assemblages of technologies and regimes of practice which look to both include/subdue and exclude and identify.

TH and BP thus tended towards a situation of inclusion with and through exclusion. On one hand, the caring, welfare ethos of TH and BP aimed to include the awkward citizen into regular circuits of everyday life – be they temporal, spatial practical and so on (Carr, 2005; Cloke et al., 2010; DeVerteuil et al., 2009; Johnsen et al., 2005). On the other, the institution of the contract implies and induces a space of anteriority – it defines the 'me' from the 'not me' (Kristeva, 1982). To use Kristeva's (1982) notion of the

porous and unstable body as a metaphor, spaces such as TH and BP exist on the fringes of social space (figuratively and literally (c.f. Brinegar, 2003). Spaces which are unruly and where the 'normal' social codes are the least reinforced. Like Kristeva's notional 'body', the Supported Accommodation projects encountered here were porous and unstable – as noted above, subjects smuggled in, and out, illicit behaviours and events in a number of ways. The preponderance of unknown and possibly unknowable behaviours encountered at TH and BP point to a radical ambiguity and instability at odds with the categorising impulse of modernity (Bauman, 1991; Popke, 2001). That said, spaces such as TH and BP are brought into being by Supporting People funding with the express intent of providing order and regularity to the operation of accommodation projects.

So, efforts to include and involve are conditional on the demonstration of appropriate forms of conduct – a conduct which is at once ethical and embodied ('moral' in Victorian terms (Driver, 2004). Therefore, the inclusionary elements of TH and BP look to produce 'pure' spaces of positive conduct and behaviour through *both* the remedy of inappropriate conduct *and* the removal of disruptive subjects. As noted, if TH and BP were bodies, then the contract would be the 'skin'. Notionally impermeable, it is frequently transgressed, punctured and ruptured through the persistence of illicit acts (Kristeva, 1982). Violation of the terms of the contract positions the (responsibilised) subject as an abstract 'Other' to be expelled and removed. In this reading, we can position institutions such as TH and BP at the boundaries of the social field. The efforts of staff and policy makers to create ordered and analytical spaces serve to firstly judge behaviour as more or less appropriate (Creswell, 1996) and then to act on that behaviour: either to *reform, include and discipline* (Lefebvre, 1976 [1973]) or to *expel, relegate and marginalise* (Popke, 2001; Sibley, 1988; 1994; 1998; Wilton, 1998).

So, the dialectic of the 'scene' and the 'obscene' is overcome through temporary or permanent expulsion mediated by a contractual form of governance. This practice of temporary or permanent relegation shapes the way in which vulnerably housed individuals are able to negotiate the 'homeless city' (Cloke et al., 2008). The production of an abject space of relegation, ushered into being in order to resolve the conflicting aims of Supporting People, is one which is "below the radar" (Emma, Support worker, TH) of support services. B&B accommodation is characterised by low quality and lack of social support (TH, field observations, 2009). As such, access of support by marginalised populations is potentially curtailed altering an individual's access to specific homeless spaces (Cloke et al., 2008; 2010). Secondly, this process of exclusion represents a mode of governance which places individuals as

targets of particular operations of power and governance. Residents at TH and BP are subject to systems of disciplinary and productive power whilst relegated citizens are not constituted as targets of intervention (although they may be subject to police and criminal justice operations). The regimes of TH and BP thus function to produce difference between the deserving and the undeserving awkward citizen. There are two important conceptual and theoretical points of note here.

Those who are relegated from the productive and progressive spaces of TH and BP on a temporary or permanent basis are no longer subject to intimate disciplinary governance. This exclusion should be understood as the persistence of exclusionary systems of government. Rather than a redundant exercise of power (Elden, 2001; Foucault, 2003b) see chapter two (theory)) exclusion persists in the present. As Elden (2001) points out, grids of disciplinary practice were *overlaid* upon a society of exclusion (specifically of lepers Foucault, 2003b, although the 'leper' stands in for other forms of social deviance). As noted in the previous chapter "the space of exclusion is now rigidly regimented and controlled" (Elden, 2001, p. 146): exclusion has perhaps been obscured but not replaced. Foucault's three societies (discipline, governmentality, sovereignty) model has 'security' as its *mechanism* and no suggestion of 'exclusion' as it has been superseded by discipline. What the above discussion suggests is that practices of exclusion and relegation as both mode of governance and social logic continue to prosper. Nor should this persistence be understood as a residual practice or relic from a bygone age. The research presented in this chapter points to the multifaceted practices of social exclusion. On one hand it appears to exist where the mechanism of security has failed or become untenable for the effective governance of awkward citizens. As such, exclusion operates as a regime of governance and power which supplements discipline *and* as a logic which offers a remedy to the contradictions of disciplinary or governmental systems of government and where 'security' has failed.

As noted in the earlier theoretical chapter (chapter 2), Lefebvre points to the exclusionary and inclusionary tendencies of the state and warns against research which focuses exclusively on the peripheries of the social (Lefebvre, 1976 [1973]). The oscillation between centrifugal and centripetal practices of the state is in evidence here. The SP funded hostel *always* looks to *include* and *integrate* but relies on exclusion as a mechanism to achieve this. So, following on from Foucault and Lefebvre, we can understand the SP funded regime as one which is concerned with at once an *intimate* system of government and a form of government which, in its operation, produces social distance and social space (Lefebvre, 1976 [1973]). Rather than 'government at a distance' (Cobb, 2007; Mackenzie, 2008) TH and

BP represent the continuation of 'government up close'. Yet, as noted this intimate government bound up with exclusionary practices which tend towards marginalisation. The creation of Supporting People brings the state *closer* to the awkward citizen. However, this closeness is conditional and mediated through the 'contract' and is buttressed by the prospect of spatial and social expulsion.

5.5.3 Echoes of the workhouse?

To make clear: comparing the Supporting People funded accommodation project with the social degradation and despair of the workhouse is difficult (if not impossible) to sustain. That said, we can consider the 'workhouse' to be genealogically linked to the spaces discussed in this chapter. In one sense this is simply because of the persistence of residential approaches to poverty management. However, there are perhaps 'echoes' of the workhouse in terms of mandatory activity (now buttressed by the 'contract' and the idea the 'moral' (Driver, 2004) as the intersection of ethical disposition and embodied performance. The mind and body are considered as the same substance which is to be acted upon, and each is indicative of the others existence and relative 'quality'.

Moreover, rather than the gradual dissipation of discipline as a regime of practice and mode of governance, this chapter has demonstrated the linking between regimes of remote and individualised governance (the 'contract') and intimate modes of disciplinary practice aimed at shaping the body and soul. Moreover, whilst discipline was 'placed over' systems of exclusion as a mechanism of governance this chapter has demonstrated the co-existence of exclusionary practice with 'modern' operations of discipline and 'governmentality'. We can also consider spaces such as TH and BP as not places of 'containment' but of adjudication between those who are willing to 'comply' and those who, for whatever reason, 'refuse (Scanlon and Adlam, 2008). They can therefore be considered to be spatial projects concerned with allocation and overcoming troubling states of ambivalence (Bauman, 1991). These issues will be returned to in chapter seven which addresses cross cutting issues raised in the empirical chapters. Finally, if the spaces of Thomas House and Bishop Place were often uncertain and unstable, then the following chapter looks at a very different space. Visible Unpaid Work, delivered by the Probation Service represents a space in which an unambiguous decision to punish has already been made.

6. Chapter six: Flickering back into life? Visible Unpaid Work and the everyday spaces of justice



“By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the gloomy festival of punishment was dying out, though here and there it flickered into life. [...]Punishment, then, will tend to become the most hidden part of the penal process.”

(Foucault, 1991 [1975], p. 8/9)

“[...] nothing ever changed in this city: the most grotesque of street theatre always had – and always would – take place within the very shadow of governance”

(Self, 2007, p. 396)



Figure 12: High visibility vest as worn by offenders.¹⁴

“There was a job we were to do trimming the bushes down at bingo. I work at [the] bingo and I didn’t want to be seen. Not everyone knows I’m doing this. I mean, me family and friends and me lass and manager know, but not everyone who works there and the customers. I said I wasn’t going, even if you breach me, I’m not going. So I didn’t go.”

(Tony, field notes, 2010)

“They [the Gods] had thought with some reason that there is no more dreadful a punishment than futile and hopeless labour”

(Camus, 2004 [1942], p. 589)

¹⁴ Jack Straw and Louise Casey are holding the item. Source: <http://www.google.co.uk/imgres?imgurl=http://images.mirror.co.uk/upl/m4/dec2008/2/4/F1EEF2FC-B6D0-8C51-F181E1E1FE96BAC0.jpg&i> (copyright granted for non-commercial use: see appendix thirteen)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores a non-custodial work based punishment carried out in the UK. Drawing on document analysis, interviews with probation managers, staff and unpaid workers and participant observation it looks to situate Visible Unpaid Work (VUpW) in its political context (NPS, 2008; NOMS, 2010; Casey, 2008). This chapter argues that VUPW should be understood as a spatially exercised and politically driven practice which, through the exercise of visible labour produces: new spatial textures; locally accessible understandings of the criminal justice system and; politically significant social constructions. Finally, this chapter reflects on the similarities between penal labour and 'ordinary' (abstract) labour and the role of employability as a form of rehabilitation. Firstly, we can consider VUpW as a political act which looks to actively produce a controlled and abstract social space (Lefebvre, (1991) [1974]; Holloway, 2010a; 2010b; Hardt and Negri, 1994; Tronti, 2007 [1965]). Secondly, we can understand the idea of employability as a form of working on the self reminiscent of the material presented in chapter four (one-to-one case work).

We can understand the space and practice of Visible Unpaid Work to be one concerned primarily with *sovereignty* and the securing of state legitimacy. As such, we can locate it appropriately in terms of Foucault's governmental triangle (2010a). The operation of Visible Unpaid Work also neatly demonstrates the synchronicity of this model. Whilst primarily an exercise of sovereignty it is also one of *discipline* (it has panoptic elements and ideas of 'reform') and *governmentality* (concerned with a work on the self through employability). Of course, as will be shown, it was not always thus. The sovereignty aspect is tied to the recent 'visibility agenda' and the recreation of Visible Unpaid Work as a spectacle. Thus, far from being an archaic practice, the physical demonstration of sovereign power remains in the present. Therefore, in a very literal sense, the spaces of visible unpaid work are *spaces of politics*.

6.1.1 Field Work Details

This section of the thesis draws upon qualitative research carried out in the Spring and Summer of 2009 and 2010 (see tables ten and eleven). The research involved five interviews with probation staff (one compliance officer, two managers of Unpaid Work. UpW, their superior (interviewed twice) and the manager of Education Training and Employment for the Probation area), eight weeks of overt participant

observation working alongside individuals sentenced to undertake UpW. This allowed for discussions with offenders and supervisory staff charged with overseeing the UpW. In addition, four Local Authority LA area managers who worked with the Probation Service to identify work were interviewed. Three relevant staff who worked for ‘Work Skills Development’ (WSD) (recruiter, assessor and delivery manager (twice) were also interviewed. As per the previous chapter, the period of participant observation allowed for an unstructured ‘rolling interview’ with supervisory staff and offenders. The research was carried out in a number of different sites. These were as follows (in chronological order):

Table 14: VUpW Work Locations

Location	Details	Tasks observed
Old Cemetery, Castle town	A small graveyard in a quiet location. Task received from Parish Church. Short term, annual project.	Cutting long grass using strimmer and lawn mower.
Roadside, Small town	Beside a busy main road in a commuter town. Allocated by the LA. One off project, short term.	Edging of pavements using shovels. Cutting turf and placing in plastic bags for collection by LA.
Church Graveyard, Birch village	Medium size grave yard of a Catholic church in a small, rural, former mining village. Short term, annual project.	Cutting long grass using strimmer and lawn mower.
Century Park, Underton Town	Small park in an old industrial area. On the edge of a large post war public housing estate. Work sourced from local community group via LA. Medium term and annual project.	Cutting long grass using strimmer and lawn mower. Litter picking of entire area. Cutting back and chipping overgrown weeds and bushes using hedge cutting machinery. Bagging grass cuttings. Waste collected by LA.
Rose Allotments, Rose town	Reclaimed allotments from what was waste land. Long term project (18 months) but one off from local Allotment Association via LA. In a deprived area.	Digging drainage ditches, turning over hardened soil, removing concrete slabs, bricks and large stones from plots, removing weeds from proposed car park, erecting fences, making paths, general assistance of allotment holders.

Railway Park	Country park, just outside of the main industrial conurbation. Medium term and repeat project. Outside of deprived town, but within easy reach on foot.	Painting fences, laying slabs, grass cutting in cemetery area, painting fences on seafront.
Seafront, Sea town	Formerly prosperous seaside town. Various short term projects through LA and community nominations.	Painting railings, weeding

(note: Short term: two weeks or less. Medium term: two months or less. Long term: More than two months.)

The projects were all made visible through the mandatory wearing of high visibility clothing and the use of 'A-frames' (see illustration above) and marked vans. During the research, the author was required to wear the same high visibility vest as the rest of the workers. The vests were a bright orange in colour and had the 'community payback' logo displayed across the back and a smaller logo on the front (see figure twelve). Supervisors wore high visibility jackets with the 'Community Payback' logo across the back with additional 'Supervisor' printed on. The most visible of the projects was the Rose Allotments, as it featured a fence with CP logos attached and was at the side of a busy road (see figure thirteen).



Figure 13: View of worksite from pavement

6.2 Part one: The rise, fall and rise of community labour punishment

Unpaid work has been carried out by offenders in England and Wales since 1973 under the title 'Community Service' (CS) as part of a 'Community Service Order' (CSO) and since 1977 in Scotland as pilot projects (McIvor, 1992, 2010; Morris, 1993). Penalties and sentences that require work have a long history in penal and semi-penal institutions (e.g. the workhouse) and custodial and non custodial sentences (Dobash, 1983; Myer and Massey, 1991; Foucault, 1991 [1975]; Hörnqvist, 2007; Smith, 2008; McIvor, 1992; Humphreys, 1999). Moreover, there are similar unpaid work programmes operate in Belgium (Beyens, 2010), Spain (Blay, 2010), the Netherlands, (Boone, 2010). Such requirements have been varied in aim and method; from the informal and socially punitive aspects of monotonous work of the workhouse (Humphreys, 1999) to the implicit racism of the Southern U.S. 'chain gang' and contemporary attempts at its revival (Smith, 2008).

The first 'modern' form of community based work-as-punishment in the Western world began in Alameda County in California in 1966 (McIvor, 1992). The programme required vehicle offenders to

undertake unpaid work which would benefit the community (McIvor, 1992). However, community based work-punishments have historical antecedents. As Foucault explains;

“The use of prisoners in public works, cleaning streets, or repairing the highways, was practised in Austria, Switzerland and certain of the United States, such as Pennsylvania. These convicts, distinguished by their ‘infamous dress’ and shaven heads, ‘were brought before the public’. The sport of the idle and the vicious, they often become incensed, and naturally took violent revenge on the aggressors [...] This practice was abolished practically everywhere at the end of the eighteenth century or the beginning of the nineteenth century. [...] The chain-gang which had dragged convicts across the whole of France, as far as Brest and Toulon, was replaced in 1837 by inconspicuous black-painted cell-carts. Punishment had gradually ceased to be a spectacle”

(Foucault, 1991 [1975], p. 8-9)

There are two points of note here. The first and most obvious is the use of work as punishment and the similarity of the work carried out to the modern ‘Community Punishment’ regime. The work carried out in nineteenth century Europe consisted of what might be termed today ‘environmental management’. Also, the above convicts were required to dress in a distinctive manner and became a target of the public gaze. However, by the nineteenth century only the physical aspects of the punishment remained. The more spectacular and overtly symbolic acts of the sentence had been reined in to simple black wagons. Foucault suggests that this is the last gasp of a punishment played out as a spectacle;

“By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the gloomy festival of punishment was dying out, though here and there it flickered into life. [...]Punishment, then, will tend to become the most hidden part of the penal process.”

(Foucault, 1991 [1975], pp8/9)

For Foucault the diminishing importance of visible and public work-punishment was symptomatic of a more general decline on the use of spectacle in the punishment of offenders. As Crawford points out, the;

“expressive nature of the modern penal sanction has been eroded in modern times by both the administrative processes of ‘rationalization’ and what Norbert Elias called ‘the civilising process’ in the development and characteristics of modern sensibilities.”
(2003, p. 482)

In contrast, recent developments in UpW have re-introduced more noticeable forms of public punishment – a process which is mirrored in other aspects of penal practice (Crawford, 2003). In large part, this chapter is devoted to addressing this issue. It charts the evolution of UpW over the last thirty seven years with particular attention paid to the period from 2005-2010 and the transition towards visible unpaid work (VUpW). This section is significant for the rest of the chapter and is more than context. Such changes, it will be argued, are essential to understanding the current operation of VUpW in the UK.

6.2.1 Flickering Back Into Life? Unpaid Work in England and Wales 1973-2005

Community service in England and Wales was a response to the 1970 Advisory on the Penal System report ‘*Non-Custodial and Semi-Custodial Penalties*’ – also known as the ‘Wootton Report’. It recommended the introduction of a community based sentence that would require some aspect of unpaid work for the benefit of the wider community (Morris, 1993; Advisory Council on the Penal System, 1970). Rather than depriving the offender of their physical liberty for the duration of the sentence, the “intention behind the proposals was that the sentence would be punitive in that the offender would be deprived of leisure time.” (Morris, 1993, pp13; see also McIvor, 2010). However, more than just a punishment, the penalty was designed with the aspiration that “constructive activity in the community might also result in a changed outlook on the part of the offender.” (Morris, 1993, pp13).

One of the appeals of Unpaid Work as a punishment is its flexibility and ability to “appeal to different penal philosophies and could fulfil, though not necessarily simultaneously, a number of sentencing aims.” (McIvor, 1992, pp 5). In a similar vein an evaluation of CS in Scotland shortly after its introduction noted five aspects;

1. Punishment; in that it required that offenders turned up on time and it operated as a restriction on leisure time.

2. Rehabilitation; in that offenders helped others and this would “help to restore his [sic] sense of personal dignity and to improve his standing in the community”.
 3. Reparation; in an indirect way the offender will help the community in general
 4. Maintenance of status; allows an offender to maintain their job and stay in contact with family and for the unemployed offender it may help “develop the work habit”.
 5. Value; cheaper than prison and reduces the risk of over crowding.
- (Duguid, 1982, p. 1)

From its inception, the unpaid work aspect of the CSO has had a number of overlapping aims and objectives including punishment, rehabilitation and reparation. We can thus view the use of unpaid work in the community as a penalty which has considerable ideological flexibility. UpW in its discursive construction and execution operates as a receptacle for a constellation of unstable and only partially compatible concepts and demands. This could also partly explain the relative durability of the penalty as well as possibly explain some of the more frequent changes in the programmes name, aims and objectives (at the level of policy making at least¹⁵) (Johnson, 2009; 2010)

In 2000, Community Service was re-named ‘Community Punishment’ and in 2003 it was renamed ‘Enhanced Community Punishment’ (ECP). ECP emphasised aspects of rehabilitation and saw the introduction of ‘Pro Social Modelling¹⁶’ and formalisation of skills accreditation (McIvor, 2007). It also included the requirement that, as far as possible, the work carried out by offenders should be stimulating and contribute toward the acquisition of employment related skills (Johnson, 2010). Although inspection suggested that such measures were implemented in an uneven manner, ECP represented the most recent high water mark in the official rehabilitative ideal of unpaid work. It should of course be remembered that it still had punitive aspects as even the most ‘welfare’ based sanctions do (Hutchinson, 2006; Johnson, 2009).

6.2.2 Unpaid Work 2005 – 2008: Making the Work Visible

ECP, as a regime of increased support for offenders, was not long lasting and was brought to an unceremonious end during 2005 (HMIP, 2006). It was replaced in November 2005 by ‘Community

¹⁵ As will be shown in section 6, local managers and supervisors tended to have different and possibly more enduring notions of their role as Probation Service workers.

¹⁶ A way of talking and act to and with offenders and others and the requirement that offensive language, racism, sexism and other in appropriate behaviour be challenged.

Payback'/Unpaid Work) (Mclvor, 2007; National Probation Service (NPS), 2005; HMIP, 2006)). For the avoidance of confusion it should be noted that

“Unpaid Work is the legal term used in legislation to describe this sentencing disposal. Community Payback is the term now employed by NOMS [National Offender Management Service] to promote Unpaid Work to the public and will be used in this specification in respect of the overall scheme to provide Unpaid Work.”
(National Offender Management Service (NOMS), 2010)

Thus, 'Unpaid Work' (UpW) is currently the actual execution of unpaid work which the empirical material in this chapter covers and 'Community Payback' is a promotional tool. CP was introduced as a result of the 2003 Criminal Justice Act which made unpaid work a condition of a community order (Mclvor, 2007: NPS, 2005). Community Payback began in November 2005 with the aim of increasing the visibility of the unpaid work in the community (NPS, 2005).

“In 2005, Community Payback was launched as a national strategy to make Unpaid Work more visible in local communities and to enable the public to become more directly involved in the identification of work projects. The Unpaid Work requirement is now referred to and marketed both nationally and locally as 'Community Payback'.”
(NOMS, 2010, p. 6)

This emphasised the role of the 'community' in identifying projects that could be carried out by offenders. Whilst this could be regarded as a relatively insignificant alteration of the service, Mclvor suggests that it represents a turn to a more punitive approach to UpW:

“It is clear that policy thinking on the purpose and ethos of community service in England and Wales has shifted dramatically in a very short period of time such that the 'balance' has moved from the offender to the community as the primary intended beneficiary of unpaid work. This has become even more apparent in recent months and has reflected an increasingly punitive slant.”
(2007, p. 265)

What is perhaps most interesting is the shift away from a 'what works' agenda based on the collection of evidence to one altogether more emotive and communicative (McIvor, 2007; Bottoms, 2008; Maruna and King, 2008). As Bottoms notes, this change of emphasis and the winding down of ECP and its relatively sophisticated rehabilitative agenda occurred;

“‘rather suddenly’, and ‘with very little detailed supporting evidence, or carefully articulated rationale’. Hence, it is frankly unclear, from existing official documents, on exactly what basis the government has decided to pursue the VUpW [Visible Unpaid Work] policy (as contrasted with its more general previous policy of promoting ‘community service’ or ‘community punishment’, some elements of which have always been ‘visible’ to those living or working nearby).”

(Bottoms, 2008, p. 152)

Despite this lack of rationale, following trials in six probation areas in June 2005, *visible* unpaid work was implemented across England and Wales from November 2005 under the banner ‘Community Payback’ (NPS, 2005b). At this stage there was;

“no intention that the emphasis on visibility should require offenders to wear a uniform, the intention of which is to humiliate or stigmatise. The emphasis will be on badging the work, not the offender.”

(NPS, 2005b, p. 1)

Moreover;

“The primary focus of ECP is on the opportunities offered by unpaid work for the rehabilitation of the offender. The primary focus of Visible Unpaid Work is on the

value of unpaid work to society, both economically and in terms of promoting strong communities. *There is no contradiction between these purposes.*”

(NPS, 2005b, p. 5, authors emphasis)

Thus, VUpW became part of ECP (which, as noted, was being wound down) whose primary aim was rehabilitation. At the same time making the *work* visible allowed the social value of the work being done to be seen. Crucially, it was the work that was to be marked with and highlighted *rather than the offender*. During this time, the public, and the public perception of the sentence appears to become an increasingly relevant concern within the probation service, which in some ways pre-empts the introduction of the Casey (2008) (see below) recommendations. For example, the 2006 delivery guidance states that;

“Although the primary purpose of Unpaid Work is punishment and the core task for all Unpaid Work providers is to deliver the sentence of the courts promptly and safely, Unpaid Work has the *capacity to be used creatively to reduce re-offending and payback to the communities*. [...] Unpaid Work is a cost-effective sentence that can be used to build public confidence in community penalties. Its high visibility and tangible achievements make it an idea vehicle for promoting reparation in the community...”

(NOMS, 2006, p. 1, authors emphasis)

Whilst unpaid work is necessarily a punishment (Johnson, 2008; 2010), in 2006, the notion that it could be used as a rehabilitative tool was still evident. Moreover, the sentence, if made adequately visible, could have an expressive element which could inform the public about the efficacy of community sentences. Therefore, the target of this particular intervention was not just the soul of the offender, but the public at large. In general however, the UpW order was increasingly being tasked with the visible performance of criminal justice.

6.2.3 2008-Present: Louise Casey and making the 'Offender' visible

The visibility agenda outlined above precluded the use of offender 'uniforms'. This was to change following the recommendations outlined in Louise Casey's¹⁷ *'Engaging Communities in Fighting Crime'* (2008) report (known generally as *the Casey Review or Casey Report*). Based on a 'have your say'¹⁸ type methodology it argued that the public had lost faith in the criminal justice system in general and the punishment of offenders in the community in particular. The report suggested that the public felt that the criminal justice system was skewed in favour of offenders rather than the "law abiding majority" (Casey, 2008, p. 4; see also Brown, 2008a; 2010). Adopting a simplistic binary view, the report went on to argue that 'Community Payback' should be universally adopted as a slogan under which UpW was to be carried out (as some areas had not adopted it (Moore et al, 2010)), and that the work should be visible with greater feedback to the community. Furthermore;

"[...]the work should be more visible and demanding, not something any member of the public would choose to do themselves, and the local community should receive information about who is doing it."

(Casey, 2008, p. 55)

Whilst the tone, based on a 'Common Sense' reasoning is very much punitive and bordering on the vengeful, the tabloid friendly writing style ("police chiefs" (p. 5) and so on), and lack of robust methodology (an apparent abandonment of 'what works' and 'evidence based policy' (Bottoms, 2008)) may be seen by some as problematic, the proposals in the Casey report were enthusiastically embraced by Ministers immediately after publication (Blears, 2008; Brown, 2008; Straw, 2008; NOMS, 2010; Moore et al, 2010). The changes which followed from the Casey Review are succinctly summed up as follows in the UpW manual for 2010;

"The Unpaid Work requirement is now referred to and marketed both nationally and locally as 'Community Payback'. There is an ongoing Ministerial emphasis on visibility (e.g.

¹⁷Louise Casey was formerly the head of the Rough Sleepers Unit (see previous chapter) and is now 'victims' champion'.

¹⁸ Which produced comments such as " The perpetrators should wear clothing that identifies them. Gardening and decorating are not punishments, they are pastimes. They should be shamed." Respondent, Have Your Say questionnaire" (pp53) and; " "It is a complete waste of time. I have known two people who were supposed to do community penalties, neither of them turned up, neither of them got fined, and all they did was to boast to their mates that it was a waste of time." Attendee, Have Your Say event." (pp54)

through offenders wearing distinctive orange vests marked with the Community Payback logo) and new initiatives to encourage public confidence via community participation in project selection. In 2008, a report by Louise Casey entitled 'Engaging Communities in Fighting Crime' made a number of proposals in relation to Unpaid Work including:

- consistent use of the term 'Community Payback' in describing work undertaken by offenders
- making the work more visible and demanding
- that it should be undertaken with greater intensity.
-

The Casey Review has been very significant in terms of Unpaid Work/Community Payback policy development in the last 12 months. It particularly champions visibility and initiatives to encourage public confidence in Community Payback. *The Review emphasises the primacy of punishment and reparation/payback to the community with much less emphasis on the rehabilitation of offenders.*"

(NOMS, 2010, pp 6, authors emphasis)

Accordingly, the aims of UpW are as follows;

- "Punishment - Sentence of the Court completed
- Reparation to the Community (Community Payback)
- Increased public confidence in the Criminal Justice System
- Reduced Re-offending"

(NOMS, 2010, p. 3)

The Casey Review represents an attempt to move UpW in a harsher and more punitive direction. It is worth bearing in mind that although the penalty is contested and refashioned, its existence does not seriously seem to be under threat. Indeed, Casey appears to use it as a tool to shore up the legitimacy of the criminal justice system. The critique was on the practical operation of the punishment, *rather* than the core premise of the punishment itself (working without payment). We can therefore read such alterations to the objectives of UpW as 'surface level' (Woever, 2005) modifications rather than a deeper reorganisation of the sentence.

The most obvious impact of the Casey review (2008) was the introduction of high visibility clothing for offenders. A 2008 Probation memo introduced 'distinctive clothing' for offenders in contradiction of the above quoted (NPS, 2005b) document which ruled out any marking on the body of offenders. As the revised document states;

"Increasing public awareness and the visibility of the work done by offenders undertaking Unpaid Work has been a critical aim of Community Payback since it was launched nationally in 2005. [...] As highlighted in the report "Engaging Communities in Fighting Crime" [Casey, 2008], even greater impact can be achieved by the use of distinctive clothing for offenders so that the public will find it easier to identify where community payback work is taking place. *It is crucial that justice is not only done but seen to be done.* It is fundamental to public confidence that the community is able to see Community Payback work taking place in their areas and the use of high visibility jackets is an important part of this."

(NPS, 2008, p. 2, emphasis in original)

Rather than simply justice done, it must be seen to be done. The remote, abstract and hidden operation of power on the soul of the offender (Foucault, 1991 [1975]) is deemed as being problematic in that it is invisible. The emotive tone expressed in the Casey review articulated the supposed belief of the public that invisible justice is not justice at all. In this instance seeing *is believing*, and VUpW is ideal for making justice seen.

6.2.4 From Unpaid Work to Visible Unpaid Work

There are two key differences between earlier incarnations of UpW. The first is the more active role of the 'community'. The target becomes 'the community' as well as the offenders themselves. In order that 'the community' can see what is occurring, the offender who is working as punishment needs to be recast as an easily accessible public spectacle. This is qualitatively different from previous version of

UpW. It should of course be noted that the UpW order has always been visible to some extent (Johnson, 2009; Bottoms, 2008; Varah, 1987). As Johnson (2009) points out;

“The relative visibility of community service has meant that a ‘modernist curtain’ has never been fully drawn across it; whether it has ever been drawn at all is debatable.”

(Johnson, 2009, p. 22)

However, what has changed is the deliberate effort to invest UpW work meaning which is to be broadcast through the use of distinctive clothing. Therefore, what is distinct about more recent developments is the emphasis on the distinctly *visible* nature of the punishment. This is exercised most commonly through the wearing of high visibility, labelled, orange bibs but also extends to ‘Youtube’¹⁹ videos and online voting for projects (Johnson, 2010).

Furthermore, the *offender and their work comes to be marked*. Bottoms (2008) suggests that there is little difference between marking the work carried out and the wearing of distinctive clothing. However, this chapter will argue that the marking of the offender is a deliberate and important symbolic act. Moreover, it will argued that this represents the (re)emergence of a self consciously spectacular mode of punishment and one which is closely tied in to the idea of work and community.

Four themes and questions emerge out of the above discussion: Politics, spectacle, space and labour. Firstly we have the political logics which have forced the above changes. Secondly we have the spectacular aspects of punishment which have become a key element in the practice of VUpW. The third aspect considered is the importance of space in the operation of VUpW. The final element is labour, which is self evidently a vital part of VUpW. Laying these out is difficult as each of the elements has a close relationship with the other two. To some extent, “everything relates to everything else” (Harvey, 2006 [1982], pp xxix). For example, the spaces in which VUpW is carried out is central to accessibility of the spectacle and therefore its political success. The first item addressed is the political logic which has transformed UpW into VUpW. Secondly, the importance of punishment as spectacle is addressed and how this operates with political and spatial logics. Thirdly, the space of VUpW is addressed as it relates to the political and semiotic strategies discussed previously. Finally, the centrality of labour will be

¹⁹ For example, see <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A9M-j2byeDw> from one Probation Service. See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BiWClODIZRw&feature=related> for an offenders point of view.

explained as it relates to the other three factors. Throughout, it should be remembered that although the political is perhaps the most central element it is not autonomous and works in concert with the other two elements.

6.3 Part two: 'Unpaid work has never been modern': The return of the archaic?

The above section has detailed the (re-)emergence of *deliberate* and *programmatic* 'visibility' in community sentencing and punishment. This section is our first step in the analysis of this situation. At stake here is the significance of a transition towards deliberately spectacular forms of punishment. It points to the enduring semiotic properties of criminal justice by engaging with Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*. In short, the question is this: Why is visible punishment so appealing?

6.3.1 The Society of Surveillance and/or the Society of the Spectacle

In the opening pages of *Discipline and Punish* Foucault describes in gory detail the extended torture and execution of a man accused of regicide (1991 [1975]). This gruesome scene was carried out in the public square, not due to a lack of alternative facilities, but as a deliberate act to display the power of the sovereign and deter future acts of transgression. Such displays of violence were spectacular and theatrical, with the body the target of pain, dismemberment and death in highly public places. However, over a period of around a century the body became less and less a target of penal authority, and the desire for such visible festivals of misery subsided. Despite this, as Foucault notes, and as described above, some elements of public punishment returned intermittently well into the nineteenth century. For example, the pillory remained in England until 1837 and the display of prisoners in public places was not abolished until 1848 (Foucault, 1991 [1975]). In general however, the body ceased to be the target of disciplinary power. In addition, the deliberately spectacular aspects of penal power were marginalised as "Punishment, then, will tend to become the most hidden part of the penal process" (Foucault, 1991 [1975] pp9).

Here, rather than punishment gaining its deterrent effect from its dramatic display, punishment becomes a hidden and abstract practice. Punishment is seen to be seen as an inevitable effect of legal transgression. Thus, the process of punishment begins to operate in a profoundly different manner;

“it is the conviction itself that marks the offender with unequivocally negative sign: the publicity has shifted to the trial, and to the sentence; the execution itself is like and additional shame that justice is ashamed to impose on the condemned man; so it keeps its distance from the act, tending always to entrust it to others, under the seal of secrecy. It is ugly to be punishable, but there is no glory in punishing.”

(Foucault, 1991 [1975] p. 9-10)

For Foucault, the horror of the theatrical punishment takes on a negative connotation as the degrading nature of the punishment is seen as something which infects the condemned and the society which condemns. The entirety of the social becomes marked with the stain of depraved punishment as a result of the spatial and legal proximity between the offender and the executioner. In contrast, modern punishment operates through separation; the punishment is the passing of a sentence, rather than the act of punishment which becomes a hidden and technocratic effort to reform the soul of the delinquent. It is also important to note the change in the spatiality of punishment. In the exercise of bodily pain in the municipal square, the public are invited to gaze upon on the shattered body of the condemned in the exercise of sovereign power. Thus, the civic square becomes temporarily visually colonised by the exercise of absolute sovereign authority through a demonstration of power over the mortal body. The operation of power in such modes of governance requires such spectacular demonstrations of physical violence and needs public spaces in which to make them visible to the populace. The act of punishment becomes one of local public display. In contrast, the modern prison, for Foucault is one which is hidden and technocratic. A space of technocratic domination whereby power is exercised through classifications, documentations and observations which serve to discipline and order bodies in time and space. The epitome of such a space is the ‘Panopticon’; a prison where inmates would be unaware that they were being watched, and so would internalise the technocratic power of discipline. However, for Foucault, the prison was not the beginning and end of such techniques. Rather the entirety of the social would be subject to such a logic of power, leading him to suggest that our society is “one of surveillance” (Foucault, 1991 [1975], pp217). Space in this conception is one which is ordered and disciplined at the everyday level through a series of seemingly benign interventions (record keeping, assessment of

subjects, documentation, statistics and so on (see also chapter five [Supported Accommodation])) which would sort and order bodies. Here then we can see in stark contrast the differing operations of power and their spatiality. Public, graphic, spectacular, localised, specific (although generalisable), intermittent and popular (in the case of hanging, beheading, the stocks, pillory and so on) against; hidden, technocratic, bureaucratic, generalised, non specific, permanent and controlled by experts in the case of prison, probation and other remedial attempts at reform. These are two distinct spatialities of the exercise and representation of punishment.

The decline of the spectacle of punishment was accompanied by the reducing importance of the body in punishment (Foucault, 1991 [1975]). This did not mean that the body is no longer relevant to the act of punishment, but rather that it became unacceptable to touch and force the body. However, the body;

“now serves as an instrument or intermediary: if one intervenes upon it to imprison it, or to make it work, it is in order to deprive the individual of a liberty that is regarded both as a right and as a property. [...] From being an art of unbearable sensation punishment has become an economy of suspended rights”

(Foucault, 1991 [1975], p. 10)

Foucault’s compelling analysis of punishment is useful for our purposes in a number of ways. Firstly, it describes the downfall of violent spectacular punishment and is replaced by hidden and disciplinary forms of correction. Secondly, Foucault points to the importance of space in the exercise of punishment. In the case of UpW element of CSOs the implication is clear: The order is not violent, and contains elements of the productive application of power to act on the soul of the subject and reform them. There is however one considerable difference: The visibility agenda. Prior to the introduction of CP and the widespread adoption of labelled high visibility clothing, A-frames²⁰ and branded transport, CS was an understated activity (if never completely invisible (Johnson, 2008)) where offenders would arrive in unmarked vans and work with no identification on their clothing. This more accurately fits Foucault’s description of the substitution of spectacle for disciplinary surveillance. However, the more recent re-specification of unpaid work to involve an increased element of spectacle would perhaps run counter to this, especially as Foucault asserts forcefully that;

²⁰ A-frames are so called because they look like ‘A’s. An example of one can be seen in the opening page of this chapter. In the case here they are basically road signs with the insignia ‘Community Payback’ and the name of the applicable Probation Service. They are one way in which the UpW order is advertised to the public.

“Our society is one not of spectacle, but of surveillance [...] We are neither in the amphitheatre, nor on the stage, but in the panoptic machine, invested by its effects of power, which we bring to ourselves since we are part of its mechanism.”

(Foucault, 1991 [1975], p. 217)

For Foucault, modern society is one which is structured by surveillance and discipline which individuals' subjectivity is shaped through its disciplinary processes of ordering, classification and documentation. What it certainly is not, according to Foucault, is one of 'spectacle'. The spectacle in contrast is more closely associated with the pre-modern period of absolute sovereign power.

How then can the increasingly spectacular aspects of VUpW be addressed? We could perhaps regard it as a short term flaring up of otherwise irrelevant and archaic social practice which has only marginal social legitimacy and will ultimately be short run. Or, similarly we could regard it as a populist excess (exemplified emotive outbursts in the Casey report (2008)) which will die down in due course. Or perhaps we could just explain away the bibs and marked vans by suggesting that they are mere side shows of the main effort in curing souls and producing docile bodies. It will be argued in the following section that, contra Foucault, spectacle and modern, disciplinary forms of punishment and social regulation have always worked in partnership and also that this represents a deepening logic of punishment in the 21st Century.

The notion that “Our society is one not of spectacle, but of surveillance” is both empirically and (partially, therefore) theoretically problematic (Welch, 2010; Boyle and Haggerty, 2009; Brown, 2009; Smith 2008). Contemporary examples of crime management and punishment which require the performance of elaborate spectacles which have symbolic resonance include the Olympic games (Boyle and Haggarty, 2009), prison tourism (Brown, 2009), the electric chair and the 1990s US revival of the chain gang (replete with racialised over and undertones)(Smith, 2008). It should be noted that this is not to deny the importance of the disciplinary elements of society as outlined by Foucault, more to argue against the unhelpful spectacle/disciplinary dichotomy.

In terms of a direct engagement with Foucault, Smith (2008) notes how the panopticon, as per Foucault, was designed in such a way that it allowed authority to observe inmates without their knowing thereby

creating the conditions for a self-perpetuating operation of disciplinary power. However, Smith also argues that it was also designed as a symbolic and manifestly visual deterrent.

“...the panopticon was intended to stop crime. To do so Bentham realised it had to *communicate* a message to a wider public, influencing the calculus of the costs and benefits of wrong doing. It needed to be tough, or to put another way, “disciplinary”, so that crime would look like a bad idea. [...] Less eligibility and punishment had not only to be done, but also had to be seen to be done.²¹”

(Smith, 2008, p. 100, emphasis in original)

Although clearly very different from the gruesome drama of the gallows the importance of the spectacular in punishing delinquent remains present in modern forms of punishment (Smith, 2008). Why is this the case? What is it about the process of punishment which makes it desirable for it to become a part of political meaning-making? Punishment should not be seen as a quest for justice or fairness. Rather it should be seen as a political exercise which;

“cannot be understood without reference to public meaning. Or to be more precise, *meanings* that overlap and intersect in partly intended and partly accidental ways. These proliferate, sometimes in the mode of coherent formal statements but more often as a complex layering of insistent symbolisms and narrations.”

(Smith, 2008, p. 1)

Foucault identifies a trend towards increasing use of experts in the service of the state in the reformation of individual subjects (Foucault, 1991, [1975]). However, as Smith notes, during the 1980s and 1990s public and political support for an expert-guided criminal justice system was begging to wane. An upsurge in ‘penal populism’ operated alongside an increasing desire for restorative penal policies and a desire from some sections for penalties which would emphasise shame (Smith, 2008). The outcome was;

²¹ Echoing Casey’s mantra

“There has been a net growth on broader societal reflexivity over criminal justice process. The expansion has been fuelled by the structural emergence of the public sphere and mass popular culture, and at the micro level by intensified and reworked sensibilities, sensitivities, and subjectivities. Policy is now severely constrained, with reforms orientated around meaning control as much as the regulation of deviance itself.”

(Smith, 2008, p. 14-15)

Thus, rather than a technocratic endeavour, the punishment of unruly elements in society is increasingly designed with the perceived sensibilities of the electorate in mind. The result is that criminal justice interventions become overtly concerned with what message they send out. The Casey report (see above) represents a neat example which makes the explicit assumption that the supposed ‘law abiding majority’ *must*, rather than could, or should be listened to and that interventions should, at some level, address ‘their’ concerns. This brings us to the *politics of punishment* which will be explored in the following section.

6.4 Politics of Visible Unpaid Work: the crisis of the state and control of crime

Since the rise of neoliberalism, the role of state has been refigured extensively in the UK and other advanced economies (Harvey, 2005; Wacquant, 2001; 2009; Jessop, 2002). These transformations have been widespread and have had political, social and economic ramifications. They include the decline of the welfare state which provided high male employment, low male unemployment, increasing equality (relatively speaking) and a belief in the possibilities offered by social and physical sciences (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Humphreys, 1999; Peck, 2001; Smith, 2008). Other structural dislocations included the emergence of structural unemployment (especially in the old industrial regions (Helms and Cumbers, 2006), deterioration of the fabric of social housing (Anderson, 2004; Daly, 1996), widespread and problematic substance use (Kemp and Neale, 2005; MacDonald and Pudney, 2000 Neale, 1997; 2001), rampant social inequality, and a collapse in social mobility (National Equality Panel, 2010; Harvey, 2005; Wacquant, 2001; 2008; 2009).

As part of this process, Garland argues that by the 1990s the states' ability to control crime within its own sovereign borders was seriously under threat (2001; see Elden, 2005). Thus, the state was perceived to be increasingly less able to deal with internal transgression, shifting the emphasis to the individual who was responsible not to engage in crime, and to defend themselves and their property against the misdeeds of others. In short, a question of sovereignty (Foucault, 2009);

“For all its importance in guiding state formation and strategies of rule, this notion of state sovereignty has proved unsustainable. In crime control, as in other spheres, the limitations of the states' capacity to govern social life in all its details have become ever more apparent, particularly in the late modern era. [...] the myth itself [of the states ability to control crime] has become problematic – a source of ambivalence rather than reassurance.”

(Garland, 2001, p. 110)

“Combined with the predicament of high crime rates as a normal fact of late-modern societies, this produced a loss of faith in the assumptions underlying penal welfarism: the idea of state-based and expert-delivered, correctional solutions to crime and criminality. [...]In this context, there was considerable questioning of the state's capacity to control crime through traditional penal sanctions and the exposure of the 'myth' of the sovereign state's monopoly over crime control.

(Crawford, 2003, p. 483)

The discourse of state competency in the execution of modern punishment in general and penal welfareism in particular (Garland, 2001; Owen, 2007; Cesaroni and Doob, 2003) has become dislocated by events which it struggles to domesticate within existing discursive structures (to include institutions). This dislocation is one which has the instability of the notion of state *sovereignty* competence at its centre. As a result, the state looks to develop new discursive strategies and also looks to modify existing social structures (Garland, 2001; Torfing, 1999). Garland argues that the responses to this dislocation

have been uneven. Neoliberal governments have oscillated between different positions. On the one hand the state retreats back to the old myth in which the state asserts its authority through mass incarceration policies (denial), or;

“it abandons reasoned, instrumental action and retreats into an expressive mode that we might, continuing the psychoanalytic metaphor, describe as acting out – a mode that is concerned not so much with controlling crime as with expressing the anger and outrage that crime provokes.”

(Garland, 2001, p. 110, authors emphasis)

Neoliberal governments have responded to this dislocation by implementing increasingly aggressive penal regimes resulting in massive increases in prison populations across the advanced capitalist economies (Wacquant 2001). Moreover this ambivalence leads to a situation where new discursive constructions can emerge which offer ways in which to deal with this dislocation (Howarth and Stavrakakis, 2000; Torfing, 1999).

This section argues that the crisis of the states’ ability to control crime as identified by Garland represents something of a dislocation in that the state no longer *appears* to be able to deal with offending behaviour. There are two interrelated strands to this discourse; that the criminal justice system is too lenient on offenders, and the notion that the criminal justice system is on the side of offenders rather than victims (for an unsophisticated example of these ideas see Casey, 2008).

Dislocations are process where “the contingency of discursive structures is made visible” (Howarth and Stavrakakis, 2000, p. 13). Dislocations to the structure of the social represent more or less challenging events which cannot be domesticated within the existing hegemonic structure and as such represent traumatic events. A prime example of dislocation would be the crisis of the welfare state during the 1970s (Torfing, 1999). That said, not all dislocations need to be so traumatic, and changes can be made which do not involve a complete and radical overhaul of the social structure in question;

“When pressure builds up in system and discourse does not easily handle a problem anymore (‘dislocation’), it is possible first to make ‘surface changes’ which keep all the deeper levels intact. This can become increasingly uncomfortable and unstable, however, and at some point a deeper change might happen.”

(Woever, 2005, p. 37)

Here, the traumatic event is that, as per Garland (2001), the state which is supposed to be a competent sovereign over its territory is unable to control legal transgression in particular areas within its own borders. Thus, it is a problem of *sovereignty* and the ability of the state to control space (Cobb, 2007; Foucault, 2009). Of course, this rule over territory is not seriously under threat, but what is in question is that the state is no longer dealing with (often petty) criminals in an appropriately ‘*masculine*’ and demonstrative manner. Thus, the notion of a visible and virulent sovereignty is thrust back into the present. Thus, we can understand the political dislocation to be one which is intimately entangled with questions of sovereignty. Moreover, this is a manifestly spatial dislocation. As will be shown before, a new space must be produced (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]) and carved out of the social: one which is able to *demonstrate* and reassert the states virility over *its* (unruly) *citizens* and *its* (unruly) *spaces*.

Moreover, the previous model of penal welfarism and a belief in the ability of often hidden experts to deal with problematic subjects in discreet locations has been profoundly shaken (Smith, 2008, see above). Despite this, we are still dealing with ‘surface changes’ rather than a deep and divisive dislocation of social structures and practices. For example, the ‘deeper levels’ could conceivably involve a more radical reconfiguration of the criminal justice system and/or a profound challenge the system of sovereignty (Elden, 2005). Such deeply sedimented structures would prove difficult to render political (open to contestation) since they are diffuse throughout the social (for example, the legal system underpins the smooth operation of capital accumulation and so on). Hence, whilst there is some degree of dislocation, here the operation of VUpW is the ‘surface’ upon which changes are made in an attempt to deal with perceived declining efficacy of the criminal justice system. The reconfiguration of UpW can

be read as a 'first order' change to social structures which looks to deal with the crisis at an easily accessible level.

Such dislocations represent conditions of possibility whereby new identities, practices and representations can emerge which look to fill the gap that has opened up as events can no longer be understood in the previous discursive construction. In situations where we have some sort of dislocation, *myths* emerge (Howarth and Stavrakakis, 2000). These;

“Mythical spaces and social imaginaries provide a homogenous space of representation because all the forces of negativity have become displaced to an outside that is both constitutive and subversive of the unity of the inside.

(Torfing, 1999, p. 129-130)

During periods of structural dislocation (in this case sovereignty) “myths construct *new spaces of representation* that attempt to suture the dislocated space in question” (Howarth and Stavrakakis, 2000, authors emphasis). Such myths operate as surfaces on which a variety of social demands can be made. However, we should not understand this ‘space’ in Laclau’s (1990) regressive terms (Massey, 2005). Rather, we can taken the notion of a ‘space of inscription’ in a somewhat literal sense (and take it seriously) and augment it Lefebvre’s rich, textured and temporally infused understanding in order to understand how VUpW is called forth as a spatial, semiotic and vernacular project of sovereignty and governance (Foucault, 2009).

6.4.1 The mythical space of the ‘Law-Abiding Majority’

Anger and outrage is writ large throughout the Casey review (2008). The thrust of the argument, backed up with angry metonymic statements from members of the public, is that there is a broad public unease with criminal justice policy and the way in which offenders and the public are dealt with. Chief among those is that the public lack confidence in the criminal justice system partly as a result of an over-emphasis on the rights of offenders rather than victims of crime and the suggestion that the public are

not satisfied with the way in which offenders are dealt with (Casey, 2008). This discontent is summed up the argument that;

“there is a significant gap between what the public want on crime and justice and what they feel they have received.”

(Casey, 2008, p. 5)

Moreover, a clear line is drawn between criminal and non-criminal public;

“Crime is tackled most effectively when the *law-abiding majority* stand together against the minority who commit it.”

(Casey, 2008, p. 4, authors emphasis)

“We commissioned this frank report [the Casey report, 2008] because we know how important it is to understand how the public feel about crime and justice. Through this report, people have told us what they want to be done, and we are going to act. The report is clear that overall crime has fallen and that the reforms of the last ten years have had a major impact, for example through record numbers of police officers and a new approach to anti-social behaviour. But it is also clear that we need to go further, that too many people don't believe the system is on their side.”

(Brown, 2008b)

In order to deal with this deficit in public confidence, UpW was to be made visible through the wearing oh high visibility clothing in order to shore up public satisfaction in the processing of offenders (NOMS, 2010; Maruna and King, 2008; Casey, 2008). The principle is that if the public could see individuals being punished then they would more likely to believe that criminal behaviour was being dealt with robustly

thus improving confidence in the operation of the legal system more generally (Casey, 2008). VUpW is intended to function as metonymic of the entire criminal justice system.

There are a number of important implications here. First of all, we must go beyond explanations which see the introduction of visible UpW as a simple process of shaming and stigmatising (Maruna and King, 2008; see also; Brooker, 2008; Rhodes, 2008). Whilst this certainly is an element of the process, it is necessary to more closely interrogate the political nature and function of VUpW. We must see the high visibility vest and the practice of VUpW as a communicative act. As Smith notes;

“All punishments, I suggest, have a signifying or expressive dimension, albeit with varying degrees of centrality and reflexivity. They are intended to say something about the nature of society, the qualities of the criminal, the features of the good society, the evils of crime, or the properties of the criminal justice system.”

(2008, p. 37)

Punishments can be seen as discursive acts which look to communicate a range of meanings and messages. These messages can contain lessons about the consequences of crime and they can also send out a message about what society *should* be like (Smith, 2008).

Now that we have established that one of the key functions of the VUpW is demonstrative and didactic the question is to whom or what it is aimed at. It is argued here that the target is what Reyes terms New Labour’s political subject²². Reyes argues that New Labour’s political subject par excellence was the ‘hard working family’ (Reyes, 2005). For New Labour, the hard working family sits at the intersection where a number of associated discursive chains meet and are able to coalesce. These represent a ‘nodal point’ in

²² At the time of writing (September 2010) the Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition have been in Government since May 2010 and have not significantly altered UpW, and documents developed during the New Labour’s time in office are in operational use, and are thus considered useful, as the policies were designed, it is argued here, with such a subject in mind.

that there is a proliferation of meanings. As such 'hard working families' are also those who are ordinary, working or want to work, good people, are or want to be middle class, responsible parents and so on (Reyes, 2005). Moreover, such constructions are prevalent across a number of political and policy fields – Reyes provides examples such as the 2001 budget, newspaper articles, Green Papers and so on. Of course, New Labour's construction of 'the people' was necessarily based on a set of inclusive articulations. However, this implicitly requires a number of exclusions to this construction of the positive subject. Those who are marginal in that they are perceived not to 'work hard', not to 'play by the rules' and therefore to not *earn* the right to be a new labour subject (Reyes, 2005; Freedon, 1999). Moreover, for Reyes, the empty signifier of 'community' and the nodal point of the 'hard working family' are further constructed as bulwarks against criminal behaviour (Reyes, 2005).

In the context of the research presented here, similar examples can be found which also express the concern over the perceived lack of support for the criminal justice system. For example in a speech at the Labour party conference which makes reference to the introduction of VUPW;

“Jacqui Smith and Jack Straw are introducing a landmark reform in our justice system - to put victims first. [...] And justice seen is justice done - so you will be seeing more neighbourhood policing on the street, hearing more about the verdicts of the court, able to see the people who offended doing community payback which will be what it says; hard work for the public benefit at the places and times the public can see it. *That's only fair to the law abiding majority.*”

(Brown, 2008a, authors emphasis)

In addition to being ordinary, hard working and so on, here we have an example of an explicit call to the 'law abiding majority'. The term 'law abiding majority' is one which permeates official discussions of criminal justice issues (for the previous government: Home Office, 2006, 2007; Blair, 2004; Blears, 2008; Brown, 2008a; 2008b; 2010; Straw, 2008; 2009) and the present administration (Ministry of Justice, 2010) (for critical readings see Mackenzie, 2008; Thomson, 2007; Wallace, 2010).

Moreover, in 2007 “Rebalancing the criminal justice system in favour of the *law-abiding majority and the victim*” (Home Office, 2007, p. 38, authors emphasis) was listed as ‘Strategic Objective IV for the home office. We can understand this concept as one which is similar in function to ‘hard-working family’ (Reyes, 2005). This speech act looks to articulate any number of different individuals whose common attribute is that they (self perceive) to abide by the law, ‘play by the rules’. Furthermore, Brown explicitly states that the introduction of VUpW is designed to satisfy the ‘law-abiding majority’. Of course, Casey makes a similar articulation in a blunt and pithy style declaring that;

“Crime is tackled most effectively when the law-abiding majority stand together against the minority who commit it”

(Casey, 2008, p. 4)

More recently, Brown stated in the run up to the 2010 election that;

“only New Labour [...] is sticking up for the law-abiding majority.”

(Brown, 2010)

The assertion that there is a distinct law abiding majority is empirically problematic given that, although data is not routinely collected, 32.6% of males and 8.7% of females born in 1953 had a criminal record in England and Wales (as of 2001) (Eagle, 2008; Prime et al, 2001). In addition, Karstedt and Farrall (2007) argue that middle class petty crime is endemic and ideologically embedded within the ‘respectable’ elements of society. As with ‘hard-working families’ the notion of ‘law abiding majority’ is more concerned with the creation of a “symbolic majority” rather than the details of empirical observation (Reyes, 2005, pp244).

Therefore, 'law-abiding' majority is a rhetorical device, similar to Reyes' 'hard-working family', which operates as a nodal point in that it acts to articulate free-floating differences. It encompasses a range of concerns and complements similar constructions in the New Labour repertoire such as hard-working family and 'community' (Reyes, 2005). In practice, 'law-abiding majority' represents the common condition and demand of a range of otherwise discreet differences. As such, it embodies both a set of common relations and equivalences whilst also something of a utopian ideal. This is especially the case here, where the 'law abiding majority' enunciates a demand (c.f. Casey, 2008) that transgressors against this ideal (negative difference) must be dealt with (Jeffares, 2008).

6.4.2 The materialised space of the 'law-defying minority'

In the above, we have seen the deployment of the term 'law-abiding majority' as one part of a strategy of creating a symbolic majority and the discursive constitution of an 'inside' to the social. The inside are the 'law-abiding majority', the hard working family, those who play by the rules and so on. As Reyes notes, these represent points of articulatory practice in the process of building hegemonic articulations of otherwise discreet elements (2005). Such representations require an outside which is purely negative to the inside and operates as a constitutive yet antagonistic force to the positivity of the inside. It is argued here that the introduction of distinctive clothing in the shape of high-visibility vests represents a key plank of this strategy. First of all however, we return to the problem in hand.

For Hazel Blears, rather than the modern reform of the prisoners' soul, the criminal justice system should be orientated around the witness and the victim;

"It is right that the system works for the victim and the witness, and not for the criminal. The public is looking to the Government for a fair system and a common sense approach, and this [the Casey] report points the way."

(Blears, 2008)

The argument here is that the criminal justice system, the penal infrastructure and its discourse has become an ineffective moment in the structure of the social, and as such requires discursive re-articulation so that it is on the side of 'the law abiding majority' and the 'people' (Laclau, 2005; Reyes, 2005). In a sense, the 'system' which Blears refers to works for offenders rather than New Labour's symbolic subjects (Reyes, 2005) with the result that people "don't believe the system is on their side."

The 'system' is used in the above as short hand for a range of criminal justice institutions from the police to probation which are condensed into a single signifier. The question now is: how can 'the system' respond to these demands? VUpW at the centre of this process:

"Community Payback vests are not to shame or humiliate, but to demonstrate to offenders and the local community that crimes have consequences. That has long been a principle of our justice system, but now we need to make it clearer. So when an offender is given Community Payback, the public can now literally see them working and making amends for their behaviour. They can see reparation being carried out for and within their communities. And they can be confident that the criminal justice system is on their side."

(Straw, 2009)

As Torfing notes, the creation of this radical other on the one hand stabilises the social but on the other hand introduces a potentially dangerous supplement in the shape of the very same radical negativity. As such, mere displacement of the antagonistic 'Other' (in this case 'offender') is necessary but not sufficient. Rather, the existence of this negativity is held responsible for the failure of the social (in this case, the failure of the 'law abiding majority' to become a 'law abiding totality' – the elimination of crime and creation of the risk free society) to become its 'true' self, the 'Real' (how things should be) and thus achieve closure (Laclau, 1990; Torfing, 1999; 2005; Jeffares, 2008). Thus, the existence of the outside is antagonistic to the inside, and as such it represents the positive manifestation of our own 'self blockage' which introduces the desire to destroy this antagonistic other therefore driving political action (Zizek, 1990).

We can begin to see how and why VUpW has been introduced as a response to the discourse of state incompetence in the face of crime. Moreover, the introduction of VUpW produces a stabilising other through the wearing of distinctive clothing. However, this other must then be dealt with. Later, we will see how labour and spectacle combine to produce this quelling of antagonistic forces. Before that, this chapter turns its attention to the spectacular and spatial aspects which are a part of the above described political process.

6.5 Part three: The semiotic space of penal labour

The prison, as discussed above, represents a central location both in geometric terms and as a social relation. It exists *both* as a bounded physical structure which exists in a particular space *and* a site of multiple meanings and identities, a locus of social investment and disinvestment in individuals and as a central point of visual, material and discursive deterrence (Wacquant, 2009; 2008; Peck and Theodore, 2005; Smith, 2008; Brown, 2009). In addition, the prison and the prison experience is a source of seemingly endless artistic, academic, media and popular culture fascination. As Brown (2009) notes, in the case of popular cinema, the prison and the practice of incarceration is an extensively mediated social phenomenon. Thus, the discursive aspect of the prison is negotiated and constructed far beyond its own walls. In contrast CSOs do not offer the same grip on the imagination of the general public and they are not as forceful in their mythology and discursive representations. In contrast they are quite mundane, everyday, ordinary and local and 'invisible'. Thus, the punishment did not have the discursive and semiotic impact which the Casey report demanded (Casey, 2008). The punishment was seen to lack the appropriate meaning: "a soft option" (pp45) rather than "demanding" (pp54). In short, the UpW element of a CSO needed to become thicker with meaning: more demanding, more punitive, more demonstrative of 'payback', more adept at 'telling a story' about the nature of the social and the consequences for those who act in an offensive manner.

As a spatial project, rather than the civic square, the punitive spectacle is transmitted to and from the marginal community itself. The physical location of VUpW is important. The work could not be carried

out in any location; it should be in places which the work could be seen taking place. All the sites observed during the field work conformed to the requirement that;

“The ring-fenced allocation of Community Payback hours is expected to be focused on *visible demanding outdoor work, conducted at times and in places where the public is most likely to see it.*”

(NOMS, 2010, p. 8, authors emphasis)

As the above exert states, the visibility aspect is essential to the ‘payback’ aspect of the work. To achieve this end, the work, where possible should be outside, in the open, This was in contrast to the previous ways of doing things which were sometimes not visible;

“A lot of it would be in obscure village halls or community centres miles away from anybody. We were invisible, we didn’t wear high-vis vests, we didn’t promote our work effectively. [...] we have actively sought projects in areas where people can actually see us doing something.”

(Andrew, Probation Service manager, interviews, 2010)

Although the work *was* being done, it was not *seen being done*. Thus, UpW was not operating as a discursive project to its greatest possible extent. From the above quotations there are two important considerations. Firstly, VUpW operates as spectacle. It is something to be seen by the public, and being seen is now one of its functions. Secondly, the literal location of the work is important: it should be close to the public so it can be seen.

Much of the work was undertaken in relatively deprived neighbourhoods. Tasks included clearing scrub land, creating allotments and litter picking. Unpaid workers were used by the council to respond to residents complaints which the LA did not have the resources to address;

“See that one there [pointing at photograph, similar to figure fourteen], someone comes forward and said that there is a lot of fly tipping going on, anti social behaviour, [homeless] person actually living there in that area. The businesses were complaining, car windows getting smashed with cars parked in the area. So the owner of that land was another service area department so we put it over to them [Probation Service] and said, look talking about clearing all these tyres, all this rubbish, clearing it, cutting it all back.”

(Catherine, LA manager, field interview, 2010)

Such a representation of space draws upon knowledge regarding the proper use of particular spaces and a relationship between anti social behaviour and the environmental conditions which make it likely. For the LA area managers, space was something to be managed, controlled and known about. Unsightly spaces and behaviours were to be controlled through the deployment of resources, including unpaid workers, to fashion new, more appropriate and acceptable spatial textures. Indeed, this dual character of VUpW is of considerable important as pre-visible UpW operated to produce particular spatial textures but lacked the symbolic-imaginary element.



Figure 14: Unacceptable space

Source: Catherine, LA area manger, 2010



Figure 15: Improved space

Source: Catherine, LA area manger, 2010

Moreover, conduct in such spaces was designed by policy makers and experts to only occur in a certain way, along with nationally set standards for the precise type of visible clothing (down to the precise size of lettering) and requirements that Pro Social Modelling (PSM) is used by supervisors, and the controls

on the nature of areas worked on (NOMS, 2010; 2006; NPS 2008). The spaces which unpaid workers laboured were thus spaces which were planned and controlled as far as possible. These work spaces were, as far as possible to be dominated and controlled by the use of such abstract knowledge in order to create the appropriate space for the execution of VUpW and its didactic-spectacular emphasis. The correct execution of VUpW represents the construction of a spatially embedded project which produces enduring representations about the nature of offenders and the practice of VUpW.

Moreover, the operation of VUpW (and to a lesser extent UpW) was concerned with local, small scale and everyday understandings and productions of social space. Local and quasi technical knowledges about the presence of less-than-ideal social spaces were mobilised and given to VUpW teams to resolve the immediate yet mundane concerns of local residents. Such spaces are in physical and experiential proximity to those who complain about debris, fly tipping, the presence of errant behaviour and generally unsightly places. Whilst the spectacle of punishment in the form of public execution and torture occurred in the public square for amassed audience who came specifically to witness the desecration of the human body (Foucault, 1991 [1975]), VUpW is to be situated where the 'community' is best able to see its execution. As noted, the work is often carried out in deprived neighbourhoods and on the surface appears mundane and ordinary. A group of (for the most part) young men in their late teens and early twenties digging ditches and picking up litter represents a somewhat mundane sight.

This everydayness is precisely what is important about the operation of UpW. In contrast to public executions, floggings and the stocks, VUpW is not *supposed* to draw crowds and/or elicit abusive reactions from passers by as some 'chain gang' style punishments did in the past (Foucault, 1991 [1975]) or in the present (Smith, 2008) (such an event only happened once during the fieldwork). Rather it is unremarkable, but never the less, present and very visible. In essence, the spectacle of modern VUpW is not one which is designed to be actively consumed (i.e. people make a deliberate choice to travel and/or pay to view whatever spectacle they wish) in the same way as prison tourism, or public executions (Brown, 2009). Such gruesome spectacles are out with the (ideal) normal operation of the social in that they; are violent or suspend normality (liberty); are external and occur to 'others' (prisoners, the condemned); exceptional and extra-ordinary measures to which some are subjected to. VUpW works in the opposite manner: It is morally worthwhile in that involves work and self evidently 'normal' as a

result; it is immanent to the social, it is a part of the everyday social life; the spectacle (Debord (1995) [1967]) is easily accessible and passively consumed by those walking past.

Indeed, where possible;

“We try to make sure that offenders don’t go outside their local authority area. As much as anything else it is because the crimes they have committed are usually committed in their own locale anyway. So it’s to make sure that they are working in their own community.”

(Andrew, Probation Service manager, field interviews, 2010)

Although the punishment is mundane, everyday and immanent (in contrast to the prison, the trial and the execution) this does not diminish or trivialise its effect. Indeed, its discursive power is designed to operate *because* it is to be passively experienced. It does not jar, it is perhaps unusual, but not shocking in anyway, it is not incongruous with the social fabric, it is ordered rather than disordered. Indeed, active and visible punishment of offenders and their easily understandable and accessible contribution to society is the way things *should* be. Such worksites and their environs could be thought of as spaces of representation in that they are passively experienced and are dominated by casual and everyday interactions (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]; Merrifield, 2006). Although passively experienced it also imbues the locality in which the work is carried in with a certain *symbolic density* (although not as dense as the prison or the execution, of course) which physically demonstrates the operation of sovereign power over *body* and *space* (Foucault, 2009).

The old regime of UpW was one which was ‘invisible’ to the general public. Knowing what was going on was on a ‘need to know’ basis. Only staff, offenders and beneficiaries would easily know what work was being done where and by whom. In short, it was a private punishment and administered and viewed by experts and others privy to such information. In effect, it was mysterious and reified abstract knowledge. It happened in an ‘other’ place (Foucault, 1986). Making UpW visible makes it legible and

understandable to a whole strata of the population who were previously excluded from such knowledge. Making UpW visible has translated it from the technical into the vernacular, the abstract into the concrete. In general, VUpW is to be consumed in particular places in a passive manner and is to be thought as being within and concordant with the social.

So, on the one hand we have the creation of a passively consumed spectacle. On the other, we have the creation of the visible offender who is in the process of punishment. Whilst the process of punishment and its spectacle can be thought of as being something which is experienced passively, the position of the offender is very different. The spectacle is immanent to the social, but the offender, through the negative sign of the high visibility vest is temporarily marked as 'Other': something from without the social. The body of the offender is temporarily marked with distinctive high visibility clothing (see figure twelve). This singles out the offender as a problematic difference from the rest of the populace. First of all, when considered with the above discussion of space, we note the physical proximity of the offender with other (non-offender) subjects, but the distinctive clothing enacts a discursive separation between the offender and (passive) spectators of the punishment. This is not a contradiction. We can understand this as a concrete manifestation of the social relations inherent within 'spectacular society';

"This society eliminates geographical distance only to reap distance internally in the form of spectacular separation."

(Debord, 1995 [1967], p. 120)

This 'double movement' (to borrow Polanyi's term (2001, [1944])) should not be read as an inconsistency in the logic of advanced capitalism. Rather, this forced separation is essential to the operation of a society where the logic of capital has seeped into every aspect of social existence (Hardt and Negri, 1994; Lefebvre 2005 [1981]; (2002 [1984])). This spatial proximity mixed with discursive distancing is essential to the political and social functioning of VUpW – the violent separation is its functional logic.

The physical distance between the offender and their crime is eliminated as the offender works in their locality; the distance between the intended recipient (the 'law abiding majority') and the criminal element is short circuited (compared to 'hidden/expert' punishments) as now people can see and even (passively) experience justice being done. As we have noted, making UpW visible translates it into being something that can be understood by the public at large which means that individual members of the public are in effect both physically and discursively closer to the machinery of the criminal justice system. Distance is therefore diminished considerably. In contrast to literal proximity, the offender is discursively separated from the rest of the populace. They are marked as being something other, something distinct, and something different. Through wearing the high visibility jacket, the offender is marked out as being dissimilar from those observing the spectacle.

6.6 The return of the political

In order to explain this further, we return to the argument above which suggested that the 'law abiding majority' majority needs an antagonistic Other. To recap; the state's ability to control crime and maintain sovereign control over all areas evenly has become problematic (Garland, 2001; Elden, 2005). This has led to a minor dislocation (Woever, 2005). As part of this an identifiable enemy, an antagonistic 'Other' must be created which can be easily accessed, easily understood, and represents little else other than a negativity which cannot be domesticated within the existing social order (Torfing, 1999; 2005; Reyes, 2005). In order to form the 'law abiding-majority' (Brown, 2010) there must be a law-defying minority. For full functionality, a way to discursively identify such a minority must be found. High visibility clothing of individuals sentenced to work in deprived areas provides the ideal spectacle through which this can be achieved; easily understandable (non-expert) and accessible (through passive proximity) (see above).

By wearing identical clothing the unpaid workers appear as a series of interchangeable bodies. As one respondent described it;

"I'm paying back to the community by wearing this [pointing to distinctive clothing]. The public don't really care. All they see is that van and; there's that van again – all rogues."

(Catherine, offender, 'Seatown'²³, 2010)²⁴

As Catherine eloquently points out, the wearing of distinctive clothing (which is to all intents and purposes identical [see figure twelve]) represents the process of producing sameness (but *not* essence (Torfing, 1999)) between unpaid workers and their social condition. The wearer is de-subjectivised. They are no longer individual subjects who are visibly indistinguishable from the rest of the population with their own social identities which are largely invisible to passers by. Rather, they are *discursively* positioned as a “rogue” or a “criminal” for all to see. Instead of being an individual with a particular range of social concerns - say being vulnerably housed and poorly educated which have lead to offending, the individual's identity is collapsed into the being 'offender'. As such, each difference is rendered only in its negative sense. The individual, through wearing distinctive clothing, is created as an excluded element. In short, they are cast as the 'Other' to the 'law abiding majority' (Brown, 2010; Casey, 2008).

It is important to remember that this only occurs for the period that the offender wears the bib, as it is the clothing which confers the symbolic sameness, rather than the body of the subject having this enduring quality. The decision to enforce distinctive clothing is therefore an ethico-political one which operates to discursively construct antagonistic elements. As argued above, this creates a spectacular display of labour-punishment. Moreover, the offender does not become a discursively static symbolic object once they have been constructed as this particular discursive 'Other'. Instead, their status as an antagonistic element is to be eliminated through the visible abstraction of their labour in order that the social can achieve its true (utopian) condition: a society devoid of criminal activity in particular and a society where abstract capitalist labour is the condition of *all*. This desire to remove antagonism drives political action and drives the VUpW regime (Zizek, 1990; Torfing, 1999).

6.7 Part four: A labour of Sisyphus? The importance of work

²³ Pseudonym for a site where participant observation was carried out.

²⁴ Catherine was the only female offender doing unpaid work encountered during the field work period.

This chapter began with a discussion of the history of unpaid work and its evolution as described by policy makers and academics. It then discussed the transition to a regime of VUpW and the politics of UpW. Following on from this, the chapter discussed the spectacle and spaces of VUpW as they related to the previously discussed political analysis. Throughout the chapter the aim has been to travel from the abstract to the concrete. This final section therefore considers the *spatial practice* (Lefebvre, (1991) [1974]) of VUpW including the actual carrying out of the labour which is central to the performance of UpW since its inception in 1973.

As Lefebvre notes, spatial practice produces a workable set of social relations which allow for the continued production and reproduction of social relations. This entails the production of some sort of general 'minimal competence' and the maintenance of some sort of social order in an everyday sense. Such practices contribute to a more or less enduring system of meaning which mediates between the conceived and the lived (Merrifield, 2006). Perhaps we could read this as the production of the 'social' ('normal', ordered, understood) in discourse analytical terms (Jeffares, 2008). Such practices operate to hold together and spatialise otherwise fragile and contingent discursive articulations. This section emphasises the importance of labour in VUpW. Put pithily, the sentence would not '*work*' if offenders simply 'stood around' all day wearing high visibility clothing. The visible execution of tasks is the final key element of VUpW.

Returning to the discussion of the history of UpW, it was shown how work (obviously) was a key part of the sentence. The sentence was believed to offer the potential to allow the gaining of a work ethic for unemployed offenders and offered the chance for the offender to 'pay back' the community for their crimes (Duguid, 1982). More recently, the accreditation of skills learnt during UpW was (and still is) seen as a way to reduce reoffending (McIvor, 2007). As mentioned briefly above labour has, for long periods of history, had some association with punishment

Labour has historically been used as a punishment on a sliding scale from harsh punishment to welfare focused attempts at rehabilitation (Dobash, 1983; Myer and Massey, 1991; Foucault, 1991 [1975]; Hörnqvist, 2007). Of course, it should be borne in mind that even the attempts most focused on

rehabilitation will always involve some aspect of punishment (e.g. the removal of liberty, time, ability to earn and so on) and almost all 'total' labour-punishments will be time limited. Labour based punishments which aim at demeaning and degrading the individual usually take the form of work which appears worthless. Devices such as the 'treadmill' (or treadwheel) and the 'crank' were used to provide labour which was dull, monotonous and unproductive in an economic and reformatory sense. The 'crank' involved inmates turning a crank attached to nothing more than weights or pulleys and the treadmill which could be set to produce flour, or alternatively, produce nothing (Chapman and Ostwald, 2003). Such interventions were deemed appropriate under the rubric of 'less eligibility' whereby the plight of the imprisoned should be worse than those outside the penitentiary. The outcome was that during recession "penal labour became futile and debasing because labour could not be remunerated or even be meaningful if it was to serve as a deterrent under the 'less eligibility' doctrine" (Weiss, 1987, pp336; see also Adamson, 1984; Weiss, 2001; Rusche and Kirckheimer, 2003 [1939]). Such punishments were "hard, incessant, irksome, eternal...where the labourer could not see the results of his toil... [and] affecting the imagination only with horror and disgust..." (Smith, 1865 p. 397-209, quoted in Dobash, 1982, pp9). Such punishments operate through the use of repetitive menial tasks which separate the individual from even the sight of their labour in some cases (Chapman and Ostwald, 2003). In these examples the degrading and deterrent (Adamson, 1984) effect of the punishment was the horror of the task.

6.7.1 Negotiating the Demand for Unpleasant Labour

We have seen above how Visibility has been introduced in UpW. This has occurred in tandem with demands for more demanding, less rewarding and more punitive forms of work. In recent years the UpW order has moved away from the rehabilitative agenda of ECP and become more centred on punishment (NOMS, 2010). The Casey review demands that;

"...the work should be more visible and demanding, not something any member of the public would choose to do themselves..."

(Casey, 2008, pp55)

The Casey report which informs current practice (Casey, 2008; NOMS, 2010) makes this point explicitly. The work should not be enjoyable, it should be unpleasant, and not something done for pleasure (Casey, 2008; Maruna and King, 2008). As we have noted, punishment is the main aim of the current UpW regime. And the delivery manual clearly states that punishment is the main of VUpW;

“Placements must provide work which is demanding for the offenders allocated to the placement and it must be seen to provide a credible punishment by members of the public. Punishment is the primary purpose of Community Payback and any rehabilitative impact that the sentence may have must be a secondary, albeit important, consideration when assessing the suitability of potential Community Payback work projects.”

(NOMS, 2010, p. 13)

Two themes emerge here: firstly, punishment is the core aim of the UpW order. This represents a operationalising of the Casey report recommendations. Rehabilitation is of less importance than punishment. Thus, officially at least, we can read the current version of UpW as first and foremost an attempt to punish offenders through labour. Secondly, and one of the most significant aspects of the whole penalty, is that this punishment is *at an official level* orientated towards the community rather than the offender²⁵. The offender is to carry out the work, but rather than the reform of her/his soul through labour (Foucault, 1991 [1975]), or the creation of willing workers (Dobash, 1983; Myer and Massey, 1991; Hörnqvist, 2007) the target is other citizens. Such citizens, it is argued by Casey, demand intensified and more visible punishment of offenders (see above for a more detailed discussion of the political motivations for this). Whilst there is strong evidence that the public are less punitive than policy makers perceive, in this instance it is believed that the public desire harsh penalties (Maruna and King, 2008; Roberts and Hough, 2005; Bottoms, 2008).

²⁵ No claims are made here about any grand or epochal shifts in penal policy and philosophy. As Hutchinson (2006) notes, even during the height of the ‘welfare’ era of penal policy, sanctions against offenders contained punitive elements.

Despite this punitive impulse, Probation Service Managers framed their role rather differently, and instead they sought to limit the excesses of official discourse;

“I think there has always been a distance between governmental rhetoric and actual delivery. [...] In lots of other aspects there is a difference, because whilst we are delivering UpW in a highly visible way, we don’t have to do it in a demeaning way which was almost half hinted to by Louise Casey. I mean, you can deliver in a highly visible way so that the public can see what is going on but still be delivering in a way which is beneficial to both community and the offenders.

(Stewart, Probation Service Manager, field interviews, 2010).

Front line modification of political policies is, of course, not uncommon (Lipsky, (2010) [1980]). Most significantly for our purposes here was the desire to source projects which allowed for some element of rehabilitation through training and skills, as well as the practical necessity to maintain offenders interest (as also noted in the UpW operating manual (NOMS, 2010));

“In general, the public just want to see litter picking and dog mess clearing up. That isn’t really the projects I like to source myself. [...] Litter picking is ok so long as we can put something else into it. And some will litter-pick all day long, and some will get bored very, very quickly, and if they get bored they will cause mischief and we don’t want that either. So we’ll go somewhere where is some tree work, some path edging, something for everybody so they can alternate it round. We try to make sure the jobs aren’t juts litter picking, aren’t just fence painting. There is something else in there as well.”

(Andrew, Probation Service Manager, field interviews, 2010).

What we try to do is keep away from litter picking, but obviously that is what the public want. There are two things that come out of that; our lads don't get litter picking everyday, but the jobs that they are doing if they think it's worthwhile, they put more effort into it and take ownership of it sort of thing. So it has two effects, if you are not doing the menial jobs you get something out of it.

(Ben, Probation Service Manager, field interviews, 2010).

Supervisors and offenders had the same feelings regarding the value of particular tasks;

"I ask [the supervisor] about this [litter-picking] and he tells me that "We don't like it and the lads don't like it. We did this thing with laying slabs and steps and stuff and the lads loved it, they worked really hard on it. It looked great when they had finished." "

(Observation, field notes, 2010)

RJ: "Do any of these jobs give you any sort of satisfaction, like a job well done?"

'Cameron' "We did in that job. We could look back at it and see what we had done in the day. And this other one where we cleared paths in the snow in the park for mums and old people, that was good, like it helped them."

(Cameron, field notes, 2010)

From the above we can see that despite attempts to ensure that the actual work was more onerous and less rewarding, probation service managers in this locality at least looked to make the work worthwhile whilst still adhering to national standards. The reason for the ground level modification of the hardening

approach of the UpW order was attributed to the practical desire to keep offenders motivated and also to the inherited institutional ethics of the Probation Service;

“I think that is the approach.... It’s the way that the probation service does things. It does things because it has a set of values, and whilst we have to deliver a policy or a strategy from a book, it doesn’t have to change its values to deliver that. It can ameliorate some of the negatives of Louise Casey’s policies and deliver it in a way which suits both ends really. And that is quite possible, and we have proven it in a daily basis. So I think it’s why you will see that we are not into punishment, we are here to get people through their orders and getting them to do a good job. And getting people [offenders] the opportunity to develop some skills.

(Andrew, Manager, Probation Service, field interviews, 2010)

In the above quotations we can see how despite the official rhetoric of intensified punishment, local managers who coordinated the projects attempted to maintain what they saw as the rehabilitative agenda of the probation service. This rehabilitative ethos was most clearly expressed through a programme of skills accreditation and using VUpW as an opportunity for individuals to gain basic vocational qualifications in horticulture.

6.7.2 Employability as Rehabilitation

As we can see above, projects were sourced which could potentially lead to the gaining of other skills, in the hope that this would reduce re-offending (c.f. DfES, 2005; Rhodes 2008; Local Government Association 2005; Hunter and Boyce, 2009; although, for a slightly more sceptical view see Farrall, 2002). The rehabilitative impulse exhibited by front line staff and managers was manifest in the discourse of employability. In practice, this operated through an outside employment and support organisation (Work Skills Development²⁶ (WSD)) providing NVQ level one qualifications based on work carried out. The qualification was in basic horticulture skills such as the identification of weeds, the safe use of machinery and ground work skills such as digging drainage ditches. The programme was voluntary and individuals

²⁶ WSD is a pseudonym

signed up of their own volition. The certificates received contained no mention of UpW or the Probation Service. The programme did however require the provision of work beyond activities such as litter picking. The allotment project was particularly useful for this as it involved a range of skills. In general this provision was well received by the more willing offenders and staff;

“It’s something to put on you CV isn’t it? Shows you can learn. I’m doing motor mechanics at college soon as well, so I want to get these underneath me, it can only help me, you know? It’s about showing an employer that you’re not just going to turn up for a wage, but you can actually learn as well.”

(Damien, field observations, 2010)

WSD have stepped into that role. We find that quite useful. It keeps the offenders motivated, if they think they are earning something at the end of it. They need to have a reward at the end of it, it’s not just about working your hours off, so we can get offenders in there and think well actually I am going to come out of this with something as well. [...] Even the offenders that don’t sign up for it can see that we are trying to improve their circumstances if you like.

(Andrew, Manager, Probation Service, field interviews, 2010)

“You need to try and give them an option, something other than crime and that’s where the employability comes in. Trying to give them the skills and qualifications to help them improve their lives.”

(Nick, Supervisor, Railway Park, field observations, 2010)

The emphasis on employability was introduced in ECP and has remained in this probation area despite counter currents which emphasise punitive aspects of UpW. The drive to accredit offenders in this area is somewhat incongruent with official discourse. Employability is mentioned only once in the operating

manual (NOMS, 2010) and then only in a non-specific manner, and accreditation of skills is only an option for Directors of Offender Management. The option has been taken up in this area. The Casey report does not mention skills, training, accreditation or employability in relation to offenders (Casey, 2008). Therefore, perhaps what we might call the 'material' expression of rehabilitation was manifest in skills accreditation and the discourse of employability. Other expressions of rehabilitation were focused on inter-personal exchanges between supervisors and offenders characterised by supervisors as "getting into their heads" (Field observations, 2010).

Employability is a term which has become increasingly common in recent welfare debates over the last thirty years (c.f. Ball, 2009; Peck and Theodore, 2000). Heavily compatible with neoliberalism, the concept of employability in its most common usage represents an emphasis on the supply side of the labour market and the subordination of labour to capital (McQuaid and Lindsay, 2005; Peck and Theodore, 2000). As we have already noted, labour has for a long time been associated with a variety of punishment regimes. Moreover, the type of work carried out are closely related to prevailing economic conditions (c.f. Dobash, 1983; Myer and Massey, 1991; Foucault, 1991 [1975]; Hörnqvist, 2007; Chapman and Ostwald, 2003). For example, the advent of the modern prison in the UK coincided with work punishments suited to the newly emerging regime of industrial factory production (Dobash, 1983). More recently, Hörnqvist (2007) argues that rather than producing blue collar workers, penal strategies now look to produce flexible employees fit for the post-fordist economies. Although the material here is not directly comparable as Dobash and Hörnqvist take the prison as their case material, they do point to the relationship between political economy and the penal apparatus. In contrast, research into the UpW order has tended not to address this specifically.

Whilst not as intense as the Swedish prison example, we can perhaps see similarities to this case. For example, through participation offenders are encouraged to actively work on their own employability: to gain accreditation and skills, and, as the above quotation attests to, show an employer that they themselves are *willing to learn*, rather than simply work. A good 'work ethic' is necessary but not sufficient, and individual must be willing to work on themselves. The offender is thus called upon to engage in a process of ethical 'self formation' whereby the offender is to constitute themselves as an employable subject willing and able to self manage and present themselves as work ready (Foucault,

2005, see also chapter [intensive support]). Through the offer of skills accreditation, the offender is given the *opportunity* to work on her/his self in a productive manner - to consider themselves as an object of work (The Invisible Committee, 2007). For those who participate, there is the potential that they can help to rehabilitate *themselves* through rendering themselves more attractive to capital than those who do not participate. Rehabilitation in this sense then is referent to the demands of the flexible labour market (Peck, 2001). As noted above, we can see the links between the penal apparatus and the prevailing regime of production (see also Jamieson, forthcoming).

Of course, given that the offer of skills accreditation is voluntary, it becomes the *individuals'* responsibility to engage with the rehabilitative aspects of VUpW. Moreover, the individual is called upon to self re-fashion their relationship with the formal labour market. This 'working on the self' constitutes a movement of the self (which we also saw in chapter four with regard to the Integrated Support Tool) concerned with the creation of a new disposition (Foucault, 2005). Through the gaining of accreditation the subject can demonstrate how they are able to work on themselves, perhaps a form of 'mobility'.

“Mobility is the slight detachment from the self, this minimal disconnection on what constitutes us, this condition of strangeness whereby the self can be taken up as an object of work, and it now becomes possible to sell oneself rather than one’s labour power...”

(The Invisible Committee, 2007, p. 50)

The abandonment of penal welfarism and rehabilitation and a lurch towards punitivism and revenge mean that, in this example, where rehabilitation is available it exists as an 'add on'. And, in accordance with wider discourses around active citizenship, it is the individuals' duty to reform themselves in line with a post-industrial future and flexible labour markets.

“Rather than the politically and socially static subject-object in the punitive model of labour-punishment which invites a reified conception of the offender as other, the

employability model [of rehabilitation] offers a discourse of mobility and transformation. In this process, the offender embarks on a movement from troublesome individual to employable subject: in short the fashioning of a new relationship with the social which is to be achieved through labour.”

(Jamieson, forthcoming, no page number)

Rather than the production of willing but passive labourers designed for manual work we have the creation of dispositions to labour and relationships to work (Laws, forthcoming). Finally, although an exercise in *sovereignty* first and foremost (Foucault, 2009) we can see, through the idea of employability as rehabilitation, the residue of the modern (disciplinary and reformatory) ‘ethos’ of the probation service remoulded into the governmental ‘present’ in the guise of ‘employability’. Of course, in Foucault’s synchronic triangle (see chapter two), such nodes are co-extensive as they are here. Disciplinary practices have been re-configured as governmental (at the level of the individual) and the securing of sovereignty has taken on a spectacular and expressive form (at both level of the state and the ‘local’).

6.7.3 Sisyphus, Separations, Spectacle and Abstract Labour

However, not all of the tasks carried out during the field work period were amenable to skill acquisition and becoming employable. Despite the best attempts of supervisors and managers to circumvent the ‘negative’ aspects of the Casey review, at times the only labour available was that which was menial, repetitive, and that which one would not do out of choice. Indeed litter picking perhaps represents the something of a modern Sisyphean labour in that it always returns, no matter how many times the task is completed²⁷. As one offender put it;

²⁷ The tag ‘Sisyphean’ tends to get attached to a number of conditions, some faithful to the particulars of the myth (c.f. Webster, 2006; Fisher, 1975; Chapman and Ostwald, 2003; Gordon, 2008; Birchall, 1990) who use the term literally and/or investigate the ethical, philosophical and political implications of the myth and some who use the term more loosely to denote exploitative, monotonous and/or ‘impossible’ tasks (c.f. Heath, 1990; McAllister, 1998; Spitze and Loscocco, 2000;

“[Jamie] It’s so pointless. We pick up this litter, and next week it will be back. It comes in from across that field there and nobody gives a shit. People will never stop dropping litter, so what’s the point in us doing this? It’ll just all come back. People will always do it, so what’s the point, nobody notices”. This was put up in stark contrast to other activities such as what is going on over the way with the bramble cutting using hedge trimmers. “I mean that over there, people see that and it’s useful. They’ll just see us doing this and people won’t see the point. At least that over there makes some sort of a difference. What we’re doing is pointless. They see them doing something but look at us.” [RJ] “So you would rather do something that was making a something, a path, something like that, something you could see?” [Jamie] “yeah, yeah something that has some good about it.”

(field observations, 2010)

Despite the best efforts of the Probation Service managers such work still needed to be carried out. It represents the most punitive expression of labour carried out under in the UpW order in that litter picking and similar tasks are those that a member of the public would not generally ‘choose’ to do (in that although many may volunteer to pick litter up off the ground, people only do so *because* there is litter, not because the task in any way fulfilling in itself). Moreover what marks this task out as having particularly Sisyphean qualities is that litter picking appeared to be a never ending task which could never be completed. Litter picking had no lasting legacy as more rubbish would soon be deposited and/or blow onto the area being cleansed. In short, litter-picking is a task which needs to be completed over and over again.

As noted above, work has been used as a punishment throughout history in various ways. The most extreme example being the mythical Sisyphus where the labour is the both pointless and never ending which, *if* work is considered a quintessentially human requirement, is ontologically traumatic ((Camus, 2004 [1942], p. 589; Overell, 2008). On the other hand, work which involves the integration of intelligence with matter is considered as *inherently* worthwhile *regardless* of why the labour is carried out or the relations of productions (see above, c.f. Applebaum, 1992). If adopted such a stance would

probably treat VUpW as a worthwhile activity in that some of the work involved an interaction of intelligence and matter (e.g. erecting fences). Such a reading would see VUpW as a social practice unlikely to merit serious investigation. Suffice to say this is not the approach taken here.

In this case the relations of production are all important. Firstly, the labour carried out is done so under some form of duress (threat of a return to court) and for no material reward. Secondly, as we have noted the spectator ('the community') is, to a considerable degree, the target of VUpW. Thus, the surplus value of the labour is doubly displaced to 'the community' and then becomes part of the broader spectacle of VUpW. Moreover, this chapter has also argued, the spectacle of VUpW is one which is ordinary and everyday. We should therefore regard the practice of VUpW as something which is immanent to, and constitutive of the social, rather than something which is exceptional, a historical aberration or otherwise irreconcilable with the 'normal' operation of capitalist social relations.

As Holloway points out;

“The worker produces the master, not by just any form of activity, but by performing alienated or estranged labour.”

(2010a, p. 88)

The master in this case is not just capitalism and labour, but the stability of the symbolical practice of state sovereignty. Through their labour the unpaid workers produce new spatial textures, and through the distinctive clothing they demonstrate the power of the state in controlling crime and the supreme social value of abstract labour (Holloway, 2010a; 2010b). The performance of abstract labour is fundamental to all of the above. The creation of abstract labour is repeated constantly and continuously.

“The repeated and multiple externalisation of our power (and thereby the metamorphosis of power-to into power over) creates a complex web of social

cohesion (capitalist social relations). This web of social cohesion is produced and reproduced [...] and it comes to constitute a complex network of power-over, a web of obligation, compulsion, domination.”

(Holloway, 2010a, p. 131)

Whilst social cohesion *does* operate through compulsion and domination it also operates more subtly as through a system of false choices, choices which one can make, but which can never *actually* be made (Zizek, 2008 [1997]). Although it is possible not to sell ones labour power this is (in general) a socially unacceptable decision. Moreover, if a sufficient percentage of the working age population refused to labour then the system of capitalist social relations would disintegrate (Tronti (2007) [1965]). This choice “although formally allowed, would, if in fact made, ruin the system” (Zizek, 2008 [1997], pp39). VUpW operates as a mirror of the false choice available in the ‘normal’ workplace. When undertaking UpW the offender is compelled to labour. When labouring for a boss the choice is an empty gesture. Therefore, through engaging in this labour the offender becomes enmeshed in the more general relations of the social (Hardt and Negri, 1994).

Moreover, the representation through distinctive clothing of individuals casts them as a radical negativity vis a vis the social. We have already seen how and why this works, but the act of labour finishes the project. Individuals must be seen to labour, and labour for someone else: the didactic aspect of the punishment would not be effective if participants did nothing at all or worked for a reward (money or pleasure/‘doing’; Holloway (2010a)). The abstraction of labour confirms to the spectator that the state has regained its virility: it *can* control crime, justice *is* happening, *all* territory is secure and the state *can* eliminate that which acts as its own blockage (that which stops its achieving its ‘true’ state - criminal minority) (Zizek, 1990).

The official discourse of the National Probation Service places a clear emphasis on the need for harsher and more degrading tasks. Tasks that one would not choose to do. In effect the call for more demanding work is one which desires that the labour becomes relatively more ‘Sisyphean’ and ontologically troubling (Overell, 2008) for participants and, perhaps, more satisfying for supposed spectators. The

more degrading the work, the less satisfaction gained for the individual, the more intense the abstraction: the further the individual is separated from their labour. The more degrading the work is, the greater the political utility of the spectacle and the more effective its ability to address the dislocation of the social (see above).

6.8 Visible Unpaid Work: Space, antagonism and sovereignty

In the context of our governmental-theoretical framework we can understand the operation of VUpW as a complex and multi-dimensional social system which involves discipline, sovereignty-spectacle, security and governance. If Bentham's panopticon represents the fullest and most developed expression of a disciplinary technology (Elden, 2001) then perhaps VUpW represents the collision of a range of disciplinary and spectacular mechanisms of governance. Firstly, it answers social dislocation through the discursive creation of a semiotically visceral 'Other' who is at once created and reformed. Secondly, and like the previous chapter on Supported Accommodation, the state is *up close*. As explained above, the marking of bodies and 'work' allows for criminal justice to become a spectacle which is experienced in local and mundane spaces. Discipline and justice are no longer obscured by experts and hidden from public view. Instead, they are to be in the public space and understandable to the 'ordinary' citizen. This represents a twofold epistemological shift. Firstly, 'the medium' becomes the body of the offender who is both the target of power and the target of the public gaze. This spatial and relational proximity secondly demonstrates the message: the power of the state over 'its' territory (sovereignty) (Cobb, 2007) and its ability to simultaneously buttress the moral value of work and enact discipline and control over awkward citizens.

In this intervention the awkward citizen is the one who has been convicted of a criminal offence. Returning to our previously outlined spatial/governmental triangle (see chapter two: theory) we can consider VUpW to function as a spatial project concerned with discipline, sovereignty *and* spectacle, exclusion *and* inclusion. It is also a manifestly *spatial* project in that space, *and* time is produced and reproduced as a response to political dislocation (see also the following 'discussion' chapter (seven)). Rather than space being a force of conservatism against the vitality of time (Laclau, 1990; see also chapter two (theory)), the spatial becomes the means through which political struggle over the meaning

of an offenders time is conducted. As noted above, VUpW is necessarily a labour-time penalty and a site where supervisors and policy makers articulated differing versions of the appropriate use of an offender's time. However, in the example above, space is the very substance of the political in that VUpW is understood as the production of both an ideological space (of pure abstract labour and 'justice') and a lived social space of observable labour, punishment and a direct experience of state sovereignty. The space of VUpW is at once ideological (dealing with dislocation) and 'pre-ideological' (experienced as passive, naturalised and inevitable social practice).

As a mode of engagement with the awkward citizen, VUpW differs from the previous two interventions because it can be identified as a practice of *sovereignty* (as dislocation) as well as discipline and government. Moreover, the system of discipline has neither replaced *spectacle* nor been superseded by government. As Elden (2007a, see also Cobb, 2007) notes, the governmental triangle is synchronic. In a way, VUpW works as a form of 'panopticism' (Elden, 2001) in which surveillance becomes a generalised social mechanism;

"Some of you haven't worked as hard as you could today have you? It's no good for the public and it's no good for me if the boss sees. You know, there are phone numbers on the van and people can phone. [...]What will the public think if they see you, with your back to the fence leaning on it? That's what these jackets are for, so that the public know what it is."

(Mark, supervisor, Rose town Allotments, 2010)

Thus, we could make an argument that VUpW represents just a transmutation of 'regular' disciplinary practice. The difference being that the public, rather than a guard, watches over the delinquent (marked) body. However, whilst this analysis is useful, it does not go far enough. There is something decidedly visceral and phenomenological in the self consciously *spectacular* operation of VUpW. As described above, we can consider VUpW to consist of a multiplicity of spatialised and political practices which are representative of a regime of social governance which is: concerned with *Sovereignty* as it then reinforces the spatial and judicial virility of the state over citizens and space: *disciplinary* in the

sense that it puts the body to abstract labour to teach the subject about the social; and *governmental* in that 'rehabilitation' has become the task of the individual rather than the state (Foucault, 2009). Moreover, both the operation of sovereignty and discipline is profoundly spectacular and relational in that the abstract labour is visibly performed for the community and the abstraction of value is held to discipline the body of the subject. Finally, we can understand all of these operations as ones which are intensely and necessarily spatial in character.

In the face of dislocation, VUpW is not purely a technical and governmental exercise of power, but one which is infused with overt and covert political intent. Security, in this instance, is less a mechanism or principle and becomes reduced to a technique of power (e.g. risk assessments and allocations). Instead, rhetorically contested (Cockburn, forthcoming; Jamieson, forthcoming) practices of exclusion and inclusion come to the fore as logical mechanisms as do those of the spectacular exercise of state power and sovereignty. Whilst perhaps simply a 'flickering back into life' which can be dismissed, the research presented in this chapter suggests that the 'modern' (hidden, expert, 'rational', 'inclusionary' and productive) operations of power and government have become somewhat unstable and frayed at the edges. In short, and on the basis of the evidence presented above, our society *is* one of spectacle *and* surveillance.

7. Chapter seven: Producing the subject: The spaces, times and politics of governmentality

7.1 Introduction: the spatiality, temporality and politics of intervention

This chapter looks to engage with the substantive theoretical and empirical themes which traverse the thesis as a whole. The previous three empirical chapters each engaged with a particular social intervention aimed at awkward citizens. As is clear, although aimed at similar populations, each case study considered their target subject very differently, and looked to produce particular forms of conduct and behaviour. It is the specificities of these differences which this chapter engages with. Although the thesis has moved away from the 'post-Foucauldian approach to governmentality studies, Dean's (1999) analytical framework is useful in understanding the approach taken in this chapter (see chapter two). Dean points to questions of *ontologies* and *ascetics* of government: the substance to be governed and the way in which we do this. This chapter addresses these issues through two interrelated questions. Firstly, how, and through what regime of decipherment does each intervention conceive and govern the subject? Secondly, through what general mechanism is this achieved?

In answer to the first question, it is argued that the subject, as an *object* of government, emerges from the milieu of space and time: the "space of political action" (Elden, 2007a, p.30) in Foucault's (2009) governmental triad. This chapter engages with this space – a space which is political in that it concerns *action* to produce the subject-*object* of governmental practice. It is the process of this action which this chapter works with. It argues that we can understand this space of action as 'chronotopical' (Bakhtin, 1991). Within the notion of the 'chronotope' (folded space-time) we understand space in Lefebvrian terms and time in a political (Castree, 2009; Osborne, 1996; Postone, 1993) *and* phenomenological sense (Blattner, 1999; Elden, 2001; Heidegger, 1997; Mulhall, 1996; Osborne, 1995) – an approach which can be understood as compatible within Lefebvre's spatial and temporal projects (Elden, 2004b; Lefebvre 1991 [1947]; 2002 [1961]; 2002 [1984]; 2005 [1981]; 2004; Osborne, 1996). In short, the positioning of the subject in space and time is a key element in the practical operation of a given governmentality.

In answer to the second question it is argued that subjects are produced, and conduct managed, through the implementation of *variegated systems of inclusion and exclusion*. Neither inclusion nor exclusion on

their own represent 'essential' or necessary mechanisms. Instead they combine to produce systems of contingent and dialectic mechanisms which patrol the margins of the social. Social boundaries, which are produced and refined, function to avoid the slip into social ambivalence – and also produce and diagnose the prohibited condition (Bauman, 1991; Kristeva, 1982). As a governmental practice, social and spatial exclusion should not be understood as being like 'discipline' and 'spectacular punishment': a technique relegated to the past (Foucault, 2003b). As such, conducting the conduct of others concerns a system of social placing and spacing.

7.2 Part one: The spatial and temporal ontology of intervention

Time represents a recurrent theme in all three empirical chapters. In terms of the research process, it emerged as an unexpectedly important phenomenon. Time, in the context of this chapter, should not be considered as something which is linear, static, neutral and inevitable. Rather, it is intertwined with space (Massey, 2005) and represents a key way in which the subject is constituted as an object of intervention.

Time, is of course central to modern forms of society, capitalism, and systems of discipline (Castree, 2009; Lefebvre 1991 [1947]; 2002 [1961]; 2002 [1984]; 2005 [1981]; Postone, 1993; Thompson, 1980). The analysis presented in this chapter looks to go beyond representations of time which are primarily functional. The notion of time actualised in each of the interventions does not always correspond with linear conceptions of mechanical 'clock-time'. For sure, they may be rooted in the '9-5' 'Monday-to-Friday' rhythms of 'normal' working life but, it will be argued, they are more nuanced than this. For example, in chapter five it was shown how staff looked to discourage nocturnal activities and encourage a 'normal' daily routine. Obviously this is related to capitalistic conceptions of time. However, at front line and street level, there is on one hand a temporal normality at work (9-5, Monday-Friday) and also a phenomenologically informed understanding which relates to how one exists, can be judged and is produced as a subject of space and time. In short, ones 'being' can be understood as judged in the most visceral way through how one operates, experiences and use time and space. Whilst mechanical clock time provides a structure for social relations examined in the empirical chapters, there are other forms and constructions of time which have an impact on the formation of subjects and interventions (Castree, 2009).

There are two spatial and temporal threads which run through the three empirical chapters. Firstly, as Darier (1998) notes, the good subject of our era is the 'busy', active and non-lazy subject. In addition, Binkley (2009) notes that the risk managing ethical and reflexive subject of neoliberalism is one who is future orientated and is aware of one's own time and conscious of how this impacts upon their present. In general, each case study considers their 'good subject' to an active, motivated and forward thinking subject.

The second thread concerns the way in which the interventions themselves are developed as spatial-temporal practices. This is especially the case for the Integrated Support Tool (chapter four) which materialises an a-spatial but temporally defined ontology of the subject. However, as will be shown, the centrality of the spatial and temporal in the construction of the intervention is evident in all three examples. This second thread concerns the way in which time and space are materialised and given forms which are designed to encourage particular forms of conduct and discourage others.

Throughout all three interventions the subject's use of time and space form a terrain of intervention. In chapter four, supported workers had a concern with their client's management of time;

"Think about ways of changing their behaviour, so that they create their own little plan so that...which gives them a confidence in the day. If you have a little plan, you can....your day is more structured, so it's about having a structure in their day. Keep a diary, I would encourage them to keep a diary, give themselves little jobs to do in a day, little goals, plan something so that they don't feel so chaotic or vulnerable. So that they have actually got something, and at the end of the day they can say I have achieved that today."

(Lauren, support worker, 2009)

In chapter five, we witness a preoccupation with the time of the Supported Accommodation project:

“You are tiring yourself out through the day, and night time, people can come alive on a night. So if they stay in bed all day, they are going to be alive all night. So to get that work ethic, we work all day, we finish on a night, we get up next morning, do that. If you have a person that is using their brain, and using their body throughout the day, even small tasks, then they are going to use part of their body, and on a night time they are going to wind down. If they don’t have time, they are not going to be going out on a night: drink, get arrested.”

(Anne, manager, The Lane Hostel , 2009)

And finally, the separation of time from the offender has always been an important aspect of UpW in its various incarnations (Duguid, 1982).

RJ: “Do you see this as much of a punishment.”

B: “Not really, the biggest part of the punishment is having to get up on time to get here. It’s not actually that bad, it’s something to do especially when you’re on the dole. [...] Like I said, it’s alright, bit of work to do...”.

These fragments point to the supposedly generative potential of time in these interventions. The appropriate use of time holds the key to *becoming* an appropriate subject. A subject capable of self management and productive activity: a ‘busy’ (Darier, 1991) subject; a self caring and ethical subject; a disciplined subject. In the above examples, time is a vital, positive and enabling substance (Massey, 2005). If it can be mastered and managed appropriately by the awkward subject then the chances of success (variously defined) are much improved. Time does not only define the subject. It also defines the proper use of space.

The interaction between space and time take on a different form in each intervention. However, there is a general trend in that time *tends* to occupy a preeminent position over space as the preferred mode of governing the awkward citizen. Space represents an unruly potentiality which needs taming and set to good use (Massey, 2005). In short – space needs to be *transformed, rendered* visible, productive and becomes an object of knowledge itself, whereas time tends to be considered a socially productive factor which gives form and meaning to practice and behaviour. As Massey points out, time can be considered ‘vital’ and mobile whilst space is static and a-political. It is argued here, after Massey (2005) that in order to most fully grasp the three interventions we must understand them as spatio-temporal (as well as political) projects. In the constitution, production and government of subject-objects, space should be understood as having a cardinal role.

Take for example ‘the night’ above. Of course, ‘night time’, in this context, is not a purely temporal event. Rather, ‘night time’ should be considered a ‘chronotope’ (Bakhtin, 1991). This concerns a ‘space-time’ which gives events their meaning and produces social relations (Fraser, 2006; Fraser and Valentine, 2008). The existence of a particular chronotope gives rise to a particular set of social relations and a parting way of being within these relationships. In this conception space and time produce *each other* and *particular* forms of social relations. In this specific example, time and space configure each other in ways which are not *necessarily* problematic, but which have a propensity to produce irregular forms of social relations and conduct. Schillmeier (2008) points out the *way* in which this occurs. For Schillmeier, the subject comes into being through spatial/temporal/material assemblages which produce a particular way of existing in the world. In Schillmeier’s example the subject is *produced as* dis/abled through these assemblages of events which create times and spaces of dis/ablement. This is useful for the purposes of this chapter as it is argued that the subject is constituted as (for example) ‘non/chaotic’ through the decipherment of social events and behaviours. Staff and managers aimed to develop temporal-spatial assemblages intended to induce positive conduct and limit the propensity for unacceptable formations of space, time and behaviour. Because there is a model (linear, abstract, capitalist) of space and time against which subjects can be assessed and judged, the first thread tends towards problematisation and diagnosis of the subject’s condition and the substance which is to be governed (Dean, 1999). This example neatly illustrates both the intersection of space and time and the way in which the management of time is taken as giving social life its meaningful structure and content both in terms of productive possibility and creating the risk of inappropriate conduct. In the example of the space-time of

'night', the spaces which irregular conduct may occur cannot be easily managed, but behaviour-in-time can be. In this example, whilst space and time produce each other, time still represents a super-ordinate category in that it suggests that some behaviour is more likely if it is not adhered to.

The linear, abstract time of modernity and capitalism functions as a reference point against which action can be judged. This abstract, linear time represents a socially imbedded, logical, and irresistible social form which constitutes a horizon of judgement against which all conduct can be assessed. Whilst presence in an 'inappropriate' space or around inappropriate behaviour can potentially be excused - 'I was just passing through!'; 'I didn't take part!' - against the purity of linear mechanical temporality, any conduct can be judged as more or less worthy. Recall the 'new regime' in chapter five which specified that the laundry was only available between nine a.m. and five p.m. The activity of 'washing clothes' is, of course, generally one which is positive and a sign of the correct conduct. However, it is not *always* positive. If it occurs 'out-of-time' it becomes both a disruptive and un-productive activity.

Time is not, of course, the only register of judgement against which behaviour can be categorised. Certain behaviour, for example pre-meditated violence, is always unacceptable in all three of the interventions. However, at street level, time retains a certain vitality which can both reform conduct and provide a terrain of judgement where there is no alternative. Either way, time comes to be a substance of possibility: its neutrality and abstractness represent its potency. If one seizes time appropriately - uses a diary, keeps appointments, gets out of bed at the correct time, turns up at the worksite on time - then one demonstrates ethical self management and the correct disposition towards one's being

7.2.1 The Integrated Support Tool: saving the subject just in time

As noted in chapter four, the Integrated Support Tool (IST) materialises a range of 'psy' technologies and theories of the subject. It is one which is manifestly *temporal* and *a-spatial* in focus and content. The subject is considered first and foremost 'a friend' - an "unconditional positive regard" towards the subject (Adam, field interview, 2010). In this understanding, the subject has an essential substance independent of their material conduct. Secondly, time is considered to be affective and largely non linear

– it is not a form of ‘clock time’. Rather, the IST suggests a temporality which is “a non-successive manifold of future, present and past” (Blattner, 1999).

Of course, the questions are structured in a present-past-future order which suggests a form of linearity: the future occurs after the past has already happened. However, the IST materially places all three moments on one linear-numerical plane. In this ‘manifold’ time, each element is taken together and forms the individual’s subjective ‘map of the world’. The past, present and the future constitute each other, rather than a strictly linear progression from past to future. The temporally determined ontology of the IST suggests a phenomenological form of ‘there-being’.

“Events in [the] past cannot be thought of as having been left behind [...], or at most carried forward as memories or scars. *Dasein*²⁸ [there-being] does not merely have a past but lives its past, it exists in the terms that its past makes available for it.”

(Mulhall, 1996, p. 16)

The focus of the IST intervention is in part to modify the past as well as the present. The past is to be re-considered and made available for re-interpretation and a degree of re-living. The present and future form is understood as a product of the past condition. The re-use of former strategies and reliving of small gains is designed to offer the potential to re-interpret the past condition and thus the present and future. We can therefore consider the IST as demonstrative of a relatively sophisticated understanding of everyday, lived and experiential time. Put another way, it appears to understand the present and future as being a prisoner of a past which has provided a ‘faulty’ map of the world which can be overcome through contemplation and reflection. As noted previously, the IST is concerned with a somewhat a-spatial conception of the social. The subject and their subjectivity are considered to the only accessible terrain of modification.

²⁸ Elden (2001, p. 15) notes that *Dasein* as a noun is ‘existence’, as a verb ‘to be there’. Hyphenated it means ‘there-being’ or ‘being-there’.

The mapping metaphor in chapter four is an important point. Recall that the IST produces “your unique map of the world” (IST training 2, field diary extract from participant observation) but that “the map is not the territory”. The world, the map and territory are of course deployed metaphorically. Literally speaking, maps are representations of the world and that which allow purchase and a grasp on space and events (Massey, 2005). In the case of the IST, the spatial metaphor is completely hollowed out: it has no spatial content: neither ‘positive’ (as a sphere of interrelation) nor negative (a ‘drag’ factor, static, a-political) (Massey, 2005). In practice, the IST develops a metaphorical map which places the subject at the centre of an a-spatial but essentially temporal universe. The only space produced is one of vertical distance created through downward gaze on the now-abstracted self. The self is distanced from the self in a process of minimal separation (The Invisible Committee, 2007). Social-spatial relations exist only in as much as they are an object of personal interpretation – and the IST targets temporal interpretation. Whilst the IST represents a radical break from previous modes of (welfare and disciplinary) intervention, its unrelentingly positive conception of the subject and (more or less) wholesale rejection of objective truth mean that social space is simplified to flat terrain upon which only interpretation matters. The temporal and temporal interpretation is the space of social struggle, modification and reflection. Social space has no content – the *individual* subject is the font of all positivity. The subject is considered a ‘friend’ (in Bauman’s (1991) senses (see below)) whose existence is subjective, temporal and a-spatial. Two important conceptual themes emerge here. Firstly, the chronotope should not be considered to be formed out of the present. Rather, it is a product of the past, present and future: it exists as a manifold and can be understood as non-linear and productive of the present. Secondly, the a-spatial materialised phenomenology of the IST actively produces the subject as a positive substance. The replacement of space and action by time and perception disavows the possibility of an ‘event’. Without action and event there can be no post-hoc *judgement* of the subject. Recall in chapter four the stark transition engendered by the use of the IST: from *external* judgment to *internal* judgement. All that is left is an ethical self on self reflection and a series of subjective representations of the world. There is no ‘real’ (space, event) in the IST against which action can be externally adjudicated. The combined absence of, and inability to, produce post-hoc judgement by another and the humanist theoretical underpinnings allows the IST to possess an ontology of the subject which is (more-or-less) completely positive. In short, the individual constitutes a ‘friend’ (Bauman, 1991) to be nurtured and supported. Through the temporalisation of perception over space the substance of the subject-object comes to be essentially positive.

At this point we turn to the work of Zygmunt Bauman. For Bauman, the central act of modernity is one of classification and the production of order (1991). 'Chaos' (i.e. *not* order) represents a pre-modern condition, and, where it exists in the present, a problematic element to be expunged and purged from the disciplined landscape. Central to this project of modernity is the classification of 'friends' 'enemies' and 'strangers'. These metaphorical constructions provide 'thought tools' in the other examples.

"Friends are called into being by the pragmatics of co-operation. [...] Friends are those for whose well-being I am responsible *before* they reciprocate and *regardless of* their reciprocation; [...] Responsibility must be a gift if it is to ever become an exchange."
(Bauman, 1991, p. 54)

The friend is thus a subject who is regarded with unconditional support. The subject is considered to be a positive element and one for whom one works with and for without any notion of a return. The relationship has an ethic of care for the self and others. It is manifestly inclusionary. The empirical example of the IST in chapter four represents the fullest expression of this sentiment in this thesis. Temporarily, it contains an element of 'before-ness' – the subject is considered to be worthy of support on an unconditional basis. The ontological and epistemological abandonment of space allows the production of a subject who exists as a pure positivity. Through the IST, the already a-spatial 'psy' concepts become materialised and produce and reproduce this ontology as a project of governmentality. Behaviour and event is reduced to perception and conduct becomes a future orientated ethical endeavour. Through this system the subject is produced as a subject to be governed in a positive and a-spatial manner.

7.2.2 Visible Unpaid Work: Quarantine the past

As outlined in chapter six, the introduction of high visibility clothing to UPW (in addition to signs and marked vans) represented a spatial and political act of meaning making. Our focus on the chronotope in this chapter leads us to the materiality and embodied practice of the high visibility clothing itself. Ostensibly *just* an item of clothing, chapter six demonstrated the way in which distinctive clothing constitutes a discursive difference between the 'offender' and 'non-offender'.

The 'Visible Unpaid Work' (VUpW) outlined in chapter six represents the case of the Other ('law defying minority') who is *perceived* (c.f. Casey, 2008) to be in a state of permanent (yet abstract) struggle against a symbolic 'law abiding majority'. In the case of criminal justice in general, and the 'modern' (technical) exercise of justice, the offender is defined by the stain of the sentence and criminal record. What changes with the introduction of visibility into UpW is that the antagonistic 'Other' is brought more sharply into focus and becomes easier to identify.

The stain of the sentence, rather than the staining of the body, was for Foucault the primary mark of a modern punishment. In a typically 'modern' punishment, the past is quarantined and left behind as the subject embarks on a reworking of the soul: time is linear and the past melts away, subsumed by the present. Moreover, the space of punishment was one which was 'set aside' from the rest of society. Whilst 'set aside', it was *of course* known about (Brown, 2009; Smith, 2008) but, like the 'honeymoon hotel', it occurred 'nowhere' as far as everyday life was concerned (Foucault, 1986). 'Punishment' proceeds as an operation on the soul rather than a grinding punishment of the body. As implied in the Casey review the stigma of the sentence is no longer enough. Punishment should be visible and tough.

"They [community sentences] can be tougher than prison, because they require offenders to work and to address their problems seriously. But they are still too often seen as a soft option, and they can be hard to understand. Giving sentencers and the public more confidence in community sentences as a tough punishment is vital for our strategy"

(NOMS, 2006b, p.19)

"The public are less supportive of what the system refers to as 'non-custodial sentences' – fines or penalties served in the community – seeing these as a 'soft option'."

(Casey, 2008, p. 45)

And, more relevant for this chapter, *the division between offender and non-offender has become blurred:*

“They [the public] want punishment first, payback second and rehabilitation third but the emphasis of publicity material around community penalties tends to focus most on the rehabilitation of offenders and the payback benefits. This leads to payback schemes that are difficult to distinguish from community projects that law-abiding citizens volunteer for.”

(Casey, 2008, p. 54)

And so, to overcome this confusion and blurring of boundaries distinctive clothing was introduced. As noted in chapter six, this clothing has distinctive and deliberate didactic properties. The high visibility clothing situates the offender as an antagonistic ‘Other’ (see chapter 6). But, what is it specifically about the distinctive clothing which produces this effect? The mandatory wearing of distinctive clothing should, like the IST, be understood as a chronotope.

Firstly, like the IST, the wearing of distinctive clothing re-covers the past. In wearing the vest, a past event becomes *reified in the present*. Rather than the past being ‘left behind’ at the sentence, the past is produced and reproduced on a daily basis for all to see. Whilst the past event (the offence) is nominally in the past is brought to bear on the future. It is retrieved and becomes ‘present-at-hand’;

“‘Public time’ turns out to be the kind of time ‘in which’ the ready-to-hand and the present-at-hand within the world are encountered”

(Heidegger, 1997, p. 465)

The event of the offence becomes usable for political projects. Without wearing distinctive clothing there is no distinctive mark of difference. The past, for the passing public at least, is ‘forgotten’. Like the

example of the IST, “it is therefore clear that the past is ‘present’” (Elden, 2001, p. 14). Moreover, this should be understood as a re-spatialisation of the previous (criminal) act. The deliberate execution of unpaid work in locality of the original transgression brings the space of the act from the past and re-materialises it in the present. Rather than the sentence being served in an unseen ‘nowhere’ (Foucault, 1986) the offence is re-placed into its local context where it can be present-at-hand. The past offence *and* the punishment becomes a *directly tangible* known ‘where’ rather than *indirectly abstractly* known ‘nowhere’. This present-at-hand-ness is brought about through wearing distinctive clothing. As Elden goes on to note;

“the spatiality of the ready-to-hand suggest that our encounters with equipment are not *primarily* determined by geometry and measurable distance, but by the more prosaic notions of closeness or nearness, distancing and directionality”

(Elden, 2001, p. 17)

Whilst for Debord, ‘the spectacle’ represented a semiotic-political dual movement between proximity and distance, so it is the same in this political phenomenology (Harris, 2009) of distance and intimacy. Exclusion and division is the mechanism, distance is the affective and lived (everyday) relationship and ‘the political’ (including the constitution of the subject as other) is the event and product. Of course, the public are not geometrically and physically any closer to the subject-object of the offender. However, it is *intended* that they are closer, not to the offender, *but to the various state-justice apparatus*. The subject of the offender is held at a distance and reduced to an object of discursive exchange.

Although designed to bring the polity closer to the machinery of justice, the subject-object of the offender becomes further distanced and *more sharply defined*. The high visibility vest invokes a new chronotope in the spaces of unpaid work. It is designed both to produce a differentiating spectacle of punishment and as a mirror of utopian social relations in which social space is purified of all offending (Laclau and Mouffe, [1985], 2001; Dean, 2010). Therefore, the chronotope of the distinctive clothing can be seen as productive and the Visible Unpaid Work space as one of political action which constitutes the subject as a political object.

In terms of the substance to be governed the constitution is that of an 'Other'. We can see this movement in the above quotation and previous quotations in chapter six. The main aim of VUpW is punishment, rather than rehabilitation. It is the shutting down of possibilities rather than cultivation of the soul. However, VUpW operates in a different manner to the other two interventions because *the target of intervention is increasingly the public rather than the 'offender'*. The chronotope of high visibility clothing can therefore be thought of as producing the 'Other' for the public as much as practitioners and service managers.

7.2.3 Deciding on the undecidable: ambivalence and 'chaos'

Space in chapter five represents a troubling ambivalence. It is also in chapter five where we witness the most intense struggle between the use of time and space. On the one hand we have time as a yardstick against which conduct could be measured. On the other hand, space offered the possibility of transgression and evasion. As previously noted, abstract time, if engaged within the appropriate manner, offered the possibility of reform and progress. In chapter five, space represented an ambivalent factor: it offered spaces of and for discipline and governance and, on the other hand it offered the potential to generate 'chaotic' behaviour. This 'chaotic behaviour' is our third governmental chronotope.

The concept of 'chaotic lifestyle', present in chapters four (to a lesser extent) and five (most fully), represents our third and final chronotope. The precise definition of what a 'chaotic lifestyle' might entail appears to be ill defined (Reeve, 2002; Schneider et al, 2007). However, characteristics are generally considered to include: intense and repetitive but short lived service use; temporary or permanent 'bans' from services; multiple and complex needs; general difficulty with accommodation (Reeve, 2002). Despite attempts at theorisation and quantification (Schneider et al., 2007) it is perhaps more of a 'practitioner-concept'. Tellingly, Reeve notes that between researchers and practitioners "we all know who we are talking about" (p. 13). In practice the term was used to identify clients for the 'Integrated Support Tool' and similar interventions and as a general way to categorise, understand and adjudicate on worthiness of entry to the Supported Accommodation projects.

We can explain the concept as one which is chronotopic in nature. Firstly, a social life is never truly 'chaotic': it is never random or completely unexpected. However, what the term 'chaotic lifestyle' does is it ascribes an *indeterminate* and *ambivalent* condition upon the subject. The subject is conceived as having a way of being which is temporally and spatially *disrupted* and *disruptive*. It concerns the nexus of irregular time (e.g. short but intensive service use) and uneven space (tendency towards physical movement between places, bans etc. (DTLR, 2001a; Reeve, 2002)). It is a chronotope of ambivalence: of *unpredictability* and *undecidability*. The chaotic subject-object is neither 'friend' nor 'enemy' but a temporality of potentially ceaseless and/or unpredictable movement and a spatiality of volatile mobility. Together they suggest an ambivalent subject. As one support worker noted;

"it's hard to stop seeing them (residents) as children sometimes, you have to realise that they are adults and could be in the community."

(Kaye, support worker, BP. Field interviews, 2009)

And another;

"You know, it's just like working with children sometimes."

(Fiona, support worker, field interviews, 2009)

This infantilism of adults represents a benevolent enfeeblement of the adult subject which works towards absolving both agency and blame. In all accounts, the individual resides in an ambivalent position – perhaps 'chaotic', perhaps not; an adult with infantile behavioural characteristics. The temporal unity of body and mind has become displaced. This approach to producing the subject as deserving of support is markedly different to that present in the IST which simply ignores behavioural events. Instead, the subject is constructed as 'not capable' through a notion of chronological ambivalence. This conception of the problematic subject shapes the form which the interventions (specifically chapter five) take.

As Bauman (1991) argues, modernity, as a historical project looks to remove traces of pre-modern 'chaos' through categorisation. Popke (2001), notes that efforts to produce spaces of modernity which are free from contingency and chaos tends to produce analytical and abstract spaces (Lefebvre, 1991) on the one hand and spaces of abjection on the other (Kristeva, 1982). The denotation of the 'chaotic' subject - a subject who is defined as temporally and spatially unstable demands interventions which look to develop smooth, flat, abstract spaces and ordered temporal arrangements. In short, a space-time set against the vicissitudes and uncertainties of contingency and chaos (Bauman, 1991; Popke, 2001).

In chapters four and six, we can consider the subject to be *assigned* a relatively stable and internally coherent theoretically based identity. In chapter four we saw the positive, humanist subject who at the most basic level is taken as a 'good' subject who has been diverted away from their essence by circumstance. In chapter six we saw the subject defined by a judgement and sentenced to labour – a subject governed in an abstract manner and taken as a product of her/his past behaviour. However, the quotation below points to a state of absent and *impossible* judgment:

“Against this cosy antagonism, this conflict-torn collusion of friends and enemies, the *stranger* rebels. The threat he carries is more horrifying than that which one can fear from the enemy. [...] the stranger saps social life itself. And all this because the stranger is neither friend nor enemy; and because he is both. And because we do not know, and have no way of knowing, which is the case.”

(Bauman, 1991, p. 55)

In chapters four and six the subject is determinable and knowable, albeit using radically different regimes and technologies of knowledge. The space of the suspended judgment and the unknowable is discussed in chapter five.

Chapter five represents the most troubling and illuminating example of a dialectic system of intervention and exclusion. If modernity concerns identification, ordering and regimentation, the spaces such as

Thomas House (TH) and Bishop Place (BP) (the Supported Accommodation projects in chapter five) represent the ragged edges of this situation. Indeed, the very term 'chaotic lifestyle' (Reeve, 2002; Schneider, 2007) (perhaps serendipitously) provides a pointer to this awkward condition. A lifestyle which is chaotic, disordered, and irregular is one which is not modern, nor compatible with modernity (Popke, 2001). Of course, there is nothing remarkable about the desire on behalf of the state to more tightly regulate the delivery of services. What is of significance is in the way that such policies are implemented.

What was demonstrated in chapter five were attempts to render space flat and knowable: to reduce the distance that allowed some behaviours to be hidden. Such barriers to sight were both physical (walls, dark space, spaces beyond the premises) and behavioural (illicit behaviour materialised in poor conduct, discarded drug paraphernalia or stolen goods). Room searches, CCTV, contacts within the police force, detailed files and daily logs represent attempts to achieve proximity to, and knowledge of, the subject. In contrast to chapters four and six, the subject was not well defined (either as a 'positive' and humanistic or as sentenced 'offender'). Rather, the task *was* defining the subject in order to manage inappropriate behaviour, encourage good conduct and ensure progress was made. It was the lack of well developed knowledge of the subject coupled with the need for action which represented the core problematic.

"Oppositions [such as 'friend-enemy'] enable knowledge and action; undecidables paralyse them. Undecidables brutally expose artifice, the fragility, the sham of the most vital separations. They bring the outside into the inside, and poison the comfort of order with suspicion of chaos."

(Bauman, 1991, p. 56).

Of course, eventually a decision would be made, but much time at TH and BP was spent arriving at such a decision. The case study accommodation projects thus represented spaces of suspended judgment. Where the IST and VUpW begin with an institutionally and theoretically stable a priori conception of the subject, at TH and BP such judgments were not possible. Given this lack of determination, action could not be carried out a consistent basis. The core functions of the IST were carried out regardless of subject

(although there are different overlays, the function is the same). VUpW is carried out day after day in a similar manner regardless of the specific conditions of each offender. At TH and BP the first act is the 'pinning down' of 'slippery subjects'. Awkward subjects could come to occupy positions of suspicion without judgment. Transgression is not in itself problematic: we can consider chapter six to be a system which deals with transgression against the law. The truly problematic is the permanent state of undecidability which exists at TH and BP. Staff and management could not achieve a concrete classification as, despite best efforts, there was no way of gaining complete knowledge over a subject to make a judgment which could hold. The concept of the 'chaotic-lifestyle' - a perpetually disrupted and decidedly 'un-modern' life characterised by irregular rhythms of space and time - represents the subject-object of troubling ambivalence. Temporal and spatial metaphors operate in tandem to conceive of a non-modern subject who, because of their irregular state, must become a subject-object of *discipline* (located on Foucault's triad).

7.3 Part Two: Mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion

As noted in chapter two, for Lefebvre (2002), capitalist societies are organised around productive rather than prohibitive actions. Moreover, for Foucault (2009) the essential mechanism of the social is *security* rather than prohibition *per se*. That said, from the above discussion we can clearly see the emergence of systems of prohibition, inclusion and exclusion which have existence in the present. As noted, for Laclau, Mouffe, and Kristeva such boundaries produce the included and excluded identities. In each of the interventions there are clear attempts at integration and inclusion. Thus we cannot consider the interventions to be fully of the punitive and revanchist or punitive variety (Coleman, 2004; Mitchell, 1997; 2003; Slater, 2004; Smith, 1996). Nor can we consider them to be fully and unconditionally inclusive given that even the IST excludes space (Cloe et al, 2010). Seeing each intervention as 'more or less' inclusive is neither conceptually appropriate nor empirically illuminating. Instead, the idea of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' is considered to be *both a mechanism* (operating alongside 'security) which provides a dynamism to the social *and a governmental technique* which is put in place to deal with, constitute and reconstitute the 'Other' which itself is the continuation of the process explained above.

The development of prohibitions, boundaries and binaries represents a core element of chapters five (Supported Accommodation) and six (unpaid work). In these chapters we can understand the development of boundaries, prohibitions and binaries as a system of exclusion which;

“is enacted in social space by real bodies that are policed by the multiple mechanisms through which ideologies are re-affirmed, such as those of the media or law.”

(Hoeteger, n.d. p. 3)

These systems of exclusion should therefore be understood as political and social acts of governance which are concerned with the situation of bodies and subjectivities (c.f. Sibley, 1998). In short, they should be considered to be important components of governance. Processes of exclusion invoke relegation, denial and prohibition. Lefebvre’s (critical but open) scepticism has been previously noted; as has his assertion that capitalist society is far more concerned with production than prohibition (Elden, 2004a). On the other hand, Foucault discusses the practices of spatial exclusion on the basis of disease as an archaic practice (2003b). Moreover, the discipline-sovereignty-government triad has “apparatus of security as its essential mechanism” (Foucault, 2009, p. 107-108). Security, which manages risk and ensures circulation, provides the glue to hold the social triad together – rather than prohibition. It is argued here, that whilst mechanisms of economic exchange and security are obviously significant dynamic elements of the social, they do not exhaust all possibilities of explanation. To this end, it will be argued that systems of prohibition, separation and demarcation play important political roles in the structuring of the interventions covered in this thesis.

For Laclau and Mouffe, the existence, and creation of social antagonisms represents a constitutive moment of social action: a deliberate move to create outside which represents the self-blockage of the social and the promise of the sutured social which lies just over the horizon. Of, course, and as noted, Laclau and Mouffe rely extensively on psycho-analytic metaphor²⁹ for this conception of the social. Therefore, this section draws in particular on the work of Kristeva (1982) as well as the body of

²⁹ Lacanian in character with Zizek as interlocutor.

geographical literature on inclusion and exclusion developed by the likes of Creswell (1996; 1997), Sibley (1988; 1994; 1998) and Wilton (1998) (see also chapter two [theory] and five [Supported Accommodation]).

At this point it is worth reiterating that inclusion rather than exclusion remains the core objective of the IST and SP funded accommodation projects. VUpW, given that it is a punishment, is relatively more concerned with exclusionary practices. That said, managers and staff demonstrated an observable commitment to notions of rehabilitation. Therefore, it would be wrong to consider the interventions discussed here as moments of *aggressive* neoliberalism. Rather than being vengeful programmes which look to purify social space, they should be understood as policies which look to include in accordance with models of neoliberal conduct. These regimes of inclusion are however contingent upon; (i) the ontology and epistemology of the IST and how its model of the subject in chapter four; (ii) the introduction of (relatively soft) targets for service providers and the development of contractual obligations on behalf of the client in chapter five, and; (iii) the delivery of demanding work in public view and the provision of 'rehabilitation' at discretion of regional Director of Offender Managers.

In socio-spatial terms, exclusionary practices concern the development of social boundaries and partitions which serve both to divide;

“[...] the production and reproduction of difference is seen to occur through the imposition of boundaries. These boundaries or partitions are social in nature [...] They are also inherently spatial [...]”

(Wilton, 1998, p. 174)

And to produce;

“that which must be expunged or repressed by the corporeal subject in order to maintain an identity and a place within the social and symbolic order. By specifying and rejecting the unclean, the improper, the impure, the proper boundaries of the subject can be managed and regulated [...]. Seen in terms of the social body, the abject functions as a spatial boundary, by rendering ‘outside’ those social activities deemed to be a threat to the social and moral symbolic order.”

(Popke, 2001, pp. 755- 746)

The idea of the development of social boundaries which separate the pure from the impure, the ‘in place’ from the ‘out of place’ in terms of subjects and substances represents a compelling narrative of society. However, as noted by Lefebvre, it would be wrong to regard the social being formed by a system of prohibitions. Moreover, work which draws explicitly on Kristeva, although valuable, can tend towards producing a spatial binary: a purified core and excluded and abject periphery. The clean ‘inside’ is purified *through* expulsion which suggests that: a) purity is achieved through expulsion and; b) we have a space of permanent exclusion. In such a conception, exclusion represents a permanent feature which is expected and justified (through discourse of racism, sexism etc.) which produces inclusion. In this understanding exclusion is enduring, permanent and necessary.

However, in this thesis, practices of inclusion are more intimately involved in a form of social ‘becoming’. Exclusion remains a central and constitutive element as it delineates who belongs and who does not, but it also represents a permanently shifting division. Furthermore, it ignores the central importance that it is not static placing which produces abjection and exclusion but the notion of ‘passing through’ boundaries (Kristeva, 1982).

So, how can we approach the notion of social and spatial boundaries as they exist in chapters five and six? Sibley, reviewing such literature notes;

“All these exercises involve a strengthening of boundaries between those who belong and those who do not belong. This increases social and spatial distance between them and does nothing to breakdown negative stereotypes. There is an obvious contradiction between expressed intentions of governments at local and national levels to integrate the deprived and disadvantaged in society and local exclusionary practices.”

(Sibley, 1998, p. 120)

It is into this ‘contradictory’ space which this thesis can be positioned. Rather than a straight ‘contradiction’, we can understand this situation as a productive assemblage of contradictory practices. In this thesis, we can understand the creation, recreation and sharpening of boundaries as a process which looks to *produce* new social formations and subjects through the creation of local and mundane spaces. Within this, the boundary is produced as a dynamic entity which is held to be socially, politically and spatially productive. The boundary is itself produced: it is porous; contested; and produces antagonisms. It is also ambivalent: it produces spaces of transgression and allows (negative) judgement (see above); but it also has a positive function which allows the possibility for *contingent inclusion*.

The central act which the boundary institutes in this case is one of judgment. It overcomes ambivalence and allows a decision to be made. How does it do this? The answer is through the *creation* of *temporally* and *spatially* abject subjects. For Kristeva, the abject is;

“ejected beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable and the thinkable.[...] What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite [...] Any crime, because it calls attention to the fragility of the law, is abject [...] a friend who stabs you... .”

(Kristeva, 1982, pp. 1-4)

Note the recurrent metaphor of the 'friend' in both Buaman and Kristeva and the active production of the 'not-me' for Butler (1990). The signing of the contract at TH and BP represents a conditional and contingent 'friendship' between state and the citizen. This is not the same *unconditional* inclusion present in chapter four as it is contingent on the consistent and repeated appropriate conduct. As such the introduction of a contractual arrangement represented a grid of judgement and technique of ordering against which the chaotic and ambivalent subject could be judged as more or less acceptable. Moreover, the contract produces a knife edge. The subject is offered the possibility of falling on one side or the other. This is the division between me and 'not-me' which can be witnessed in chapters five and six.

At TH and BP (chapter five), the positive subject-object is conceived as one who is becoming less chaotic and more ordered in their use of space and time. In contrast, the ambivalent subject-object is brought into being through the traverse (or suspected traverse) of the boundary that has been brought into being by the introduction of a contractual mode of governance (Mackenzie, 2008) (see chapter five). This traverse destabilises the abstract ordered space of TH and BP and defies the classificatory impulse of modernity.

Discarded needles and drug paraphernalia represent material traces which make space meaningful (Vitellone, 2010). Such objects are 'out of place' within the abstract space of the SP funded hostel. They signify abject bodily practice in an unknown place and time (Harris, 2009). The discarded material represents a modern abstract space-time which has become invaded by traces the chaotic. The most troubling aspect for the projects at TH and BP was that such transgression was not consistent and coherent: it oscillated unpredictably. As the material above and in chapter six demonstrates a condition easily identifiable as transgressive (e.g. legally defined 'crime') is not problematic. Ambivalence and abjection stem from the *unknowable, unpredictable and uncertain crossing* of the boundary. This produces instability to the regime of government present within SP which is given concrete form at TH and BP. Such material stands in for obscene spaces of chaos and inappropriate conduct which are hard to grasp. Traces of such materials suggest and imply the existence of chaotic chronotopes and point to the persistent existence of ambivalent subject-objects. Moreover, it represents a failure of programmatic regimes of governance which look to categorise behaviour in space and time.

The boundary in TH and BP was thus one of perpetual failure. Not failure in the literal sense – some individuals did move on into independent living. But rather a structural and cyclical failure which produces ambivalence out of attempts to irradiate ambivalence. In short, the governmental tactics employed which are based around a logic of exclusion and inclusion most effectively succeed in producing identification of behaviours rather than their eradication. The introduction of SP ushers in new space of marginality and new zones of relegation at the same time as it produces spaces of inclusion and involvement. As Bauman (1991) notes, modern regimes of classification tend to only to produce new forms of fragmentation.

In chapter six the boundaries are far more clearly defined than in chapter five. The problematic is however that the previously existing definition between those who obey and those who transgress has become unstable and less well defined. For Casey and government ministers (see above and chapter six) the boundary between the offender and non-offender has become partially ambiguous: punishment no longer resembles justice (see also Garland, 2001). The core act in VUpW is the establishment of the 'Other' as both outcome and process. Casey's objection was that this binary has been eroded. The offender had become all too 'like me' in the discourses of penal welfare and rehabilitation.

Whilst in chapter four space is simply not present, and in chapter five space represents a slippery and perhaps dangerous substance (in contrast to time), space in chapter six is central. Whereas the ontology of the IST disavows the event, VUpW *is an event*. Divisions between offender and public are sharpened and redefined through the use of distinctive clothing. This act of division *produces* of a spatialised partition between the excluded other (offender) and included public. The space of VUpW is one of a particular rhetorical and semiotic event. We can understand the production of the boundary as one which is chronotopic in that it produces the space of VUpW. It is a relatively new space given the recent adoption of VUpW and one which is called upon to overcome temporal dislocation (Laclau, 1990). This division, whilst producing an antagonistic Other also represents the creation of a simplified social space. If carried out according to official documentation (NOMS, 2010), VUpW develops a space of clear division between the subject-object of intervention and the rest of the polity. It represents a triumph of modernist classification (Bauman, 1991) and offers the potential for a division with *no* fragmentary

excess (in contrast to chapter five). Moreover, it represents a rhetorical blow in social contestation over the substance of the offending citizen (Cockburn, forthcoming). The official operation of VUpW posits the subject-object of intervention as a negative element whose primary function is the demonstration of state power in 'hard to govern' spaces. As demonstrated in chapter six, supervisors considered their role as being markedly different and viewed the subject as problematic but reformable (Dean, 1999).

The introduction of visibility produces relational distance (exclusion of the offender), spatial proximity and a space of local justice and sovereignty (inclusion of the public in the process of justice). The instigation of a discursive boundary produces a space which is more than ideological representation. In chapter six, space is more than representation (Laclau, 1990). It is a form of becoming which on the one hand concerns the production of a particular type of subject *for the consumption of spectators*. On the other, it concerns (contested) attempts to refashion the subject before the worksite – from a substance of potential positivity to one of immobility and deviance to be punished. Space represents a core moment in these struggles. In the case of VUpW, space has a phenomenological vibrancy demonstrated by the supposed affective potential of VUpW and a political effervescence.

7.4 Everything in its right place

This chapter has attempted to flesh out the 'space of political action' in the centre of Foucault's sovereignty, government and discipline governmentality triad (2009). It is within this space that the previously analysed social interventions operate and produce their target subjects. This political space is one of struggle and judgement: over the content of the offender (redeemable or spectacle?); the struggle over the ambivalent subject; and the creation of the a-spatial positive subject. As demonstrated above, distinctions are drawn through the chronotope of the 'chaotic lifestyle', 'distinctive clothing' and the IST. The development of boundaries can be more (chapter five) or less porous (chapter six) but the act of 'passing through' remains central. In addition, the example of the IST, when compared to the other empirical material, points to the politically central and socially constitutional and phenomenologically vital condition of space *and* time to the production of governmental regimes. These 'chronotopes' and concepts represent techniques of government which *orientate the subject towards the appropriate node(s) of governmental rationality*. These interventions constitute the subject as a subject-object of

governmental rationality. As shown above, each intervention grasps the *subject* in a particular way and constitutes its target as an *object* of knowledge. As the ‘friend’ in chapter four to be governed in a benign manner directed at ethical and humanist ‘flourishing’ which understands its subject-object as a psychologically and representational determined. As an antagonistic Other in chapter six to be both disciplined and enlisted in a project of spatialised sovereignty that is to be readily accessible to the public. And as a troubling ambivalence in chapter five who tends to avoid objectification completely through acts of spatial and temporal evasion. As demonstrated, each form of intervention draws on specific technologies and rationalities as to what sort of subject can be produced and what sort of field of intervention is appropriate.

As a mechanism, systems of security (calculation of risk) and inclusion are undoubtedly significant (Foucault, 2009). However, at the margins of the social field, this thesis has demonstrated the way in which both exclusion *and* inclusion operate in tandem to produce the subjects present in this thesis. *In the specific cases presented here*, we should not consider the rise of neoliberalism to be a straight forwardly punitive endeavour which has sought to regressively socially cleanse the urban environment through revanchist social policies (see MacLeod, 2002 for a nuanced account of such processes). Rather, what the cases here suggest is a rich and diverse ecology of intervention which have within them a range of practitioner and political agendas. Cloke et al. (2010) point to a post-secular ethics of care which has emerged in the face of aggressive welfare state restructuring. Whilst perhaps not faith based, practitioners and managers had a sense of being “within-against-and beyond” (Holloway et al., 2011) (notably in chapter six). However this ecology contains moments of violent exclusion and separation which appear to be increasingly central and intrinsic to their operation (see chapters five and six). These systems of exclusion which persist within projects aimed at inclusion suggest the persistence of both practices of conditional inclusion and a tolerance of persistent human misery.

This is best addressed in reference to chapter five. The empirical material demonstrated a steady stream of residence applications to a hostel which was running at almost full capacity all of the time. Individuals tended to move between cycles of residence (at TH and BP) – failure – relegation – residence. On one hand this represents serial failure of neoliberal policies and institutions to deal with this historically rooted social problem (Peck, 2010). Yet, on the other hand there appears to be a cynical acceptance of

such social problems which could otherwise be construed as an event of social dislocation. Perhaps most troublingly, some elements of the interventions in chapters five and six have a tendency which produces justification for abject social existence and perhaps a public 'enjoyment' of justice (e.g. relegation and denial of assistance to some subjects in chapter five and VUpW in chapter six).

Badiou, commenting on the events of May 1968 in France, observes that;

“a new emancipatory politics was possible [...] it would not consist in organising everyone in the places where they were, but in organizing lightning displacements, both material and metal. [...] we had to do away with places. [...] bring down walls and barriers; a polyvalent society, with variable trajectories, both at work and in our lives. [...] Ten years later [...] we went back to 'everyone in their place'.”

(2010; pp. 60-61)

Peck (2010) argues that neoliberal experiment has “no blueprint. There is not even a map” (2010, p. 106). But, having considered the case studies in this thesis, it appears to have a firm conviction as to the appropriate spatialisation of marginality. Whilst the politics of May 1968 concerned the eradication of social 'place' the interventions in this thesis produce places and subject-objects to fill those places. In chapter six, 'Supporting People' funding produces a place of order for the contingently included whilst chapter six demonstrates a space of rhetorical internal exile. The everyday represents a key site for such allocations which collaborates in the production of the correct subject for the correct place. Those who are relegated have been judged governmentally, and perhaps rationally, as appropriate to the margins of the social.

Practices of governmental action which combine aspects of social exclusion and inclusion should not be thought of as logically incompatible or archaic (Foucault, 2003b; Elden, 2001). Like discipline in the governmental triad, practices of spatial exclusion and marginalisation should be considered as an active *process*. Rather than considering inclusion and exclusion as relatively static subject positions (denoted

spatially, statistically etc.), the cases presented here suggest that marginalisation is a contingent and open process of becoming, which is articulated through spatial and temporal mediations (Massey, 2005). As Badiou (above) points out, the production of a sedimented 'business as usual approach' to politics concerns the 'correct' allocation of subjects to space. Whilst this chapter has challenged ideas of revanchism and urban cleansing this should not be taken as suggesting that neoliberalism is benign or that we should abdicate from the political as Dean et al. suggest (2010). Rather, it points to an uneven and locally distinctive uneven unfolding of neoliberal social and economic policy (MacLeod, 2002) and a cynical form of governance which accepts and produces failure as part of an essential logic whilst masquerading as inclusion. It is perhaps this *programmatic* and *political* cynicism (*strictly not a cynicism on behalf of service managers and practitioners*) which represents the unsettling core of neoliberal social policy (see also Scanlon and Adlam, 2008; 2010).

8. Chapter eight: Work and Welfare at the margins?

8.1 Introduction

This final chapter begins with a summary of the preceding chapters before suggesting future research possibilities. Secondly, the chapter addresses practice implications and reflections based on the preceding seven chapters. Within this, two of the key empirical themes which re-occur throughout the thesis are considered: the ‘psychologisation’ of welfare and the increasingly conditional and contractual nature of welfare provision at the margins. It is argued that the interventions in chapter four (intensive support) such as the Intensive Support Tool (IST) exist as part of a wide ‘psychologisation’ of welfare. It is suggested that, in and of themselves, ‘psy’ based interventions are not always or necessarily problematic but should not exist at the expense of attempts to reduce poverty and inequality. Following on from this, the increased blurring of penal and welfare technologies demonstrated throughout this thesis is addressed. By way of example, the introduction of ‘Mandatory Work Activity’ (DWP, 2011a, 2011b) for recalcitrant job seekers is compared and contrasted with the ‘Visible Unpaid Work’ discussed in chapter six. In this specific example, the blurring of disciplinary boundaries demonstrates the emergence of a welfare surveillance complex and the increasingly unstable status of work as the lynchpin of the welfare state.

8.2 Summary

The core problematic of the thesis was: how and why is the neoliberal state changing its modes of intervention to deal with populations of awkward citizens? By taking three different, yet interlinked, social interventions aimed at awkward population this thesis has demonstrated the existence of a locally embedded ‘archipelago of intervention’ – an expansive and intense network of locally situated agencies, organisations, practices and techniques - through which the state looks to govern populations of awkward citizens. When considering these three interventions (‘Psy’ derived in chapter four, residential in chapter five and penal in chapter six) together, what emerges is a range of interventions which draw on diverse ideational basis and operate in multifarious ways but which (even in chapter six) share a commitment to working with individuals through consent rather than coercion. In addition, we have

interventions which are highly intimate and closely targeted (as most obviously demonstrated in chapters four [intensive support] and five [Supported Accommodation]). Importantly, these interventions are situated at the cutting edge of 'roll out' neoliberalism and demonstrate a conjoining of assistive, punitive and exclusionary response to social distress.

In response to question two (how do these interventions operate on the ground in specific cases?), the thesis used three case studies to demonstrate how each of the interventions identify, engage and reform their clients, residents and service users. By looking at how these interventions functioned in detail through the lens of Foucauldian governmentality, the thesis demonstrated how these techniques of government operated to reform the subjectivities of their target population through the application of 'psy' techniques, embodied discipline and re-worked ideas about the rehabilitation of offenders. It was also noted how discourses of conditionality have found their way into social policies aimed at the most disadvantaged individuals. Through these case studies, the thesis has demonstrated how the practical task of governing awkward citizens has fallen to a diverse range of agencies, organisations and institutions. Whilst there are directions of travel (e.g. increasing conditionality and individualisation) the way in which these ends are achieved is multifaceted, and draws on a range of techniques, ideas and technologies. Together, these elements point towards a complex, unfolding and intricate assemblage of welfare provision for those at the margins. Rather than straightforwardly regressive or punitive responses to social suffering, the state adopts an ambidextrous approach to the regulation and management of inequality which encompasses strategies of inclusion, exclusion, care and coercion (Peck, 2010; Johnsen and Fitzpatrick, 2010).

In response to question three (To what extent are space and time important in the operation of these specific interventions?), chapter seven (space, time, governmentality) argued that space *and* time were central to the foundational moment of each intervention and the construction of the subject as an object of governance. Whilst this may seem obvious, as Massey (2005) points out, social analysis has tended to privilege time *over* space. The PhD has also contributed to theoretical debates around the idea of 'governmentality' arguing for the adoption of a more geographically sensitive and materially open approach to systems of governance (c.f. Foucault, 2009; chapter two). Using this theoretical approach, space emerges as a central problematic in attempts to govern awkward citizens – as most

clearly demonstrated in chapters five (Supported Accommodation) and six (Visible Unpaid Work (VUpW) (Dikeç, 2007b). Each intervention attempts to carve out, and encourage, the development of spatio-temporalities which are amenable to the reform of the body and the soul. Moreover, it was argued that a-spatial interventions (such as the IST in chapter four) do so in ways which are at once problematic and emancipatory (see chapters four [intensive support] and seven [space, time, governmentality]). By focusing on the fashioning and re-working of social spaces of intervention, the thesis has argued that we should consider government to be an inherently and necessarily spatial activity. This focus on the production of temporalities and spatialities points to the need to engage with the materiality and actuality of government as an embodied and lived social practice.

This thesis has used two primary research strategies. Semi structured interviews were carried out with service users, managers, staff, practitioners and participants. Participant observation was deployed predominantly to investigate Supported Accommodation projects and Visible Unpaid Work. Through these methods the thesis has sought to develop a materially grounded approach to governmentality based on both what is *intended* to happen and what 'actually' occurs at 'street level' (Cobb, 2007; Evans and Colls, 2009; Matthews, 2009; Stenson, 2005; 2008; Parr, 2009).

8.3 Avenues of future enquiry

Conceptually and theoretically the single largest lacunae is the absence of female subjects and gender as an object of analysis. This was largely due to the nature of the research which focused on all male Supported Accommodation projects in chapter five and the pre-selection of males for Visible Unpaid Work (VUpW) in chapter six (see below). It should be stressed that this in no way implies that female experiences of homelessness are in any way easier or less traumatic than those of males (c.f. Klodawsky, 2007; 2009; May et al. 2007). In chapter four, although many of the practitioners were women, gender was not a topic which was specifically addressed. In terms of chapter six (VUpW), more males than females tend to be convicted of criminal behaviour which suggests that, per head of population, males are more likely to do Visible Unpaid Work than females (Eagle, 2008).

However, whilst there was an absence of female participants, an investigation into the gendering of intervention spaces could prove fruitful. For example, the VUPW was constructed as something of a space for 'men';

“We offer, generally female offenders, their offences mean that we can generally put them straight on a placement [e.g. a charity shop], so that is quite different from male offenders.

(Andrew, Probation Service Manager, field interviews, 2010)

Whilst women *could* do VUpW if they wished, it was preferred that they went on placement. Of course, the obvious driver for this practice is cost: a placement is cheaper to deliver than VUPW. Yet, there is a sense in which a female presence represents an irregularity to the normal operation of VUpW – and one which needed to be planned around and organised. The VUpW site is created as one which is by default 'male'. A closer investigation into the constitution of such a space could perhaps focus on the operational, practical, discursive and corporeal ways in which such spaces are gendered through behaviours and language – for example through acts of bravado and minor disobedience (and perhaps making a social researcher the object of ridicule...). In addition, the specific experience of female offenders and the labour to which they are more routinely sentenced, and the attendant discourses of criminalised women, could form opportunities for future research (for an example of prior research see The Howard League for Penal Reform (1999)).

Similarly, women were excluded from the Supported Accommodation projects encountered in chapter five. An incident occurred at BP in which a resident was censured for smuggling his partner in through an open window;

RJ: “Why are no women allowed on the premises at all?”

Elaine; (general manager): “[...] Because... it’s a male hostel.”

This blunt response indicates that the Supported Accommodation project as a space is absolutely a *male* space. By way of speculation, perhaps the presence of women is perceived as a threat to order and discipline and/or males could be a risk to females. As such, the Supported Accommodation projects and VUpW could be considered spaces of performed masculinity: sites in which gender and 'being-male' is shaped and reshaped (Butler, 1993; McDowell, 2003a, 2003b). In addition, nearby to Thomas House there was an accommodation project which offered similar support for single females, lone parents and couples. Resources militated against researching this site, however, future research could engage with such institutions in order to analyse specific systems of entry, management and attempts at reform.

A second line of future enquiry could be the implementation of the 'Mandatory Work Activity' element of the Work Programme which has been carried forward from the (now replaced) 'Flexible New Deal' (DWP 2010a; Finn, 2011). Some of the issues are discussed below, but what could be of research interest is the concept of work within contemporary structures of disciplinary labour. The enduring, yet perhaps unravelling, social relations bound up in work-activity are worthy of more attention (c.f. Laws, forthcoming), especially in a disciplinary context. Moreover, the importance of 'productive activity' which was mandatory in the Supported Accommodation Regimes (see also, Allen, 2003) suggests that a belief in the socially generative potential of physical activity remains prominent. Finally, as this thesis and chapter demonstrates, we are witnessing the blurring of governmental disciplines and the borrowing of technologies and rationalities: specifically between the apparatus of punishment and social welfare. The emergence of an entangled disciplinary-security-welfare complex (DWP 2010b; 2010c; Wiggan, 2011) represents a phenomenon worthy of further analysis and engagement. For example, how and why particular technologies and regimes of practice are borrowed and not others, and how this relates to wider changes to the delivery of social welfare in times of neoliberalism.

8.4 Implications for practice

In terms of the practical delivery of welfare to awkward, excluded and marginalised citizens, on the basis of the previous chapters, this thesis suggests that a more sensitive, benevolent, understanding and

inclusive approach is preferably to one which is punitive and/or oriented around 'tough love' and fears of less eligibility (DeVerteuil, 2004; Scanlon and Adlam, 2008). The Integrated Support Tool (IST) examined in chapter four represents a useful step towards this aim with the caveat that it must always *be accompanied by a commitment to the abolition of material suffering and social violence*. Criticism of 'psy' forms of welfare aside, the IST represents an ebulliently positive approach to the awkward subject and one which avoids externally blaming the client for their predicament. Moreover, it moves away from the deficit approach to engaging with marginalised citizens. However, as Joyce et al. (2010) note, forms of intervention which look to empower and enable must be backed with actual opportunities for continued forward progression away from chaotic lifestyles.

In terms of Supported Accommodation projects, whilst the approach taken to holistic support is undoubtedly positive, processes which exclude and relegate society's *most* troubled individuals are problematic. The sinking of some individuals below the radar of support services is unlikely to be socially helpful or cost effective in the short or long term. Secondly, the problem of the need to move out of Supported Accommodation soon (four weeks) after taking full time paid employment due to exorbitant rent remains (Singh, 2005, see chapter five). Whilst this is perhaps a practical necessity due to scarce provision and a fear of 'institutionalising' residents, it makes the transition to employment and independent living more precarious. As such, alongside an increase in provision and more spaces for specifically awkward individuals, the period of time between gaining employment and being liable for full rent should be increased. This would allow individuals to settle into paid employment without the immediate stress of finding suitable accommodation.

Finally, the introduction of visibility into what was previously simply 'Unpaid Work' and the turn towards a more punitive sanction does little to improve re-offending outcomes. Moreover, the exclusionary impulse and the desire to stigmatise individuals to meet perceived populist (in the crude sense of the term) demands does little to reform offenders and injects a reactionary and regressive politics into the delivery of community sentences. Moreover, as shown, this approach runs counter to the 'ethos' of the staff and managers of the probation services. Therefore, the visibility agenda should be abandoned and a return made to the systematic and comprehensive rehabilitative approach which characterised Enhanced Community Punishment which existed between 2003 and 2005 (HMIP, 2006; Hutchinson,

2006; Johnson, 2009). The focus on 'employability' in the case study probation area is commendable and should be extended to include a greater diversity of learning opportunities and the availability of more advanced courses where possible (i.e. beyond NVQ level 1). Of course, the idea of 'employability' itself is somewhat problematic (c.f. Dean et al, 2003; McQuaid and Lindsay, 2005; Peck and Theodore, 2000) given that it focuses only on the supply side labour market as well as the fact that paid work is again posited as the ideal form of social inclusion (see below). However, given the enduring popularity of Unpaid Work as a sentencing option it makes sense for this experience to be an opportunity to learn new skills and gain accreditation – without the stigma of high visibility clothing.

8.5 Welfare at the margins

8.5.1 'Psychosocial' welfare?

As previously noted, the introduction of 'psy' derived techniques to engage with marginalised populations is in no way novel (Nolan, 1998; Stenner and Taylor, 2008). Moreover, Stenner and Taylor (2008) argue that the delivery of social welfare has, directly or indirectly, always been concerned with the individual's private self. In addition, the coming into being of the 'society of therapy' (Nolan, 1998; Füredi, 2004; Lasch, 1979; Reiff, 1966) had a 'secret' gestation period in the first half of the twentieth century (Wright, 2009). For Reiff (1966) the coming of the therapeutic represents the end of traditional systems of social order whilst for the likes of Nolan (1998), Füredi (2004) and Lasch (1979) the therapeutic onslaught undermines the space of political action (antagonism) through the reduction of all social events to problems of perception.

These changes in social disposition are held to permeate all areas of social life: from arts funding (Mirza, 2005) to how we understand humanitarian catastrophes (Pupava, 2001). Of course, the provision of welfare is not immune to such developments (Edwards et al. 1999; Füredi, 2004; Gibson, 2009; Rose, 1996; Scanlon and Adlam, 2008; 2010; Stenner and Taylor, 2009). The recent introduction of Employment Support Allowance (ESA) relies heavily on Cognitive Behavioural Therapies to encourage a return to the labour market. Around the same time as the introduction of ESA, the Improving Access to Psychological Therapies (IAPT) (again, heavily reliant on CBT) initiative was launched in 2007 (Scanlon and Adlam, 2010).

“The clear implication of this policy [IAPT] is that under-employment and worklessness – or worth-lessness [...] – is related to the failure of individuals’ cognitive functions or their failure to act, as compared with the free market-embracing ‘lifestyle choices’ of the so-called ‘decent, hard working family’ so beloved of our contemporary political ruling classes.”

(Scanlon and Adlam, 2010, pp. 104-105)

There can be little doubt that the widespread adoption of ‘psy’ technologies to deal with a gamut of social problems is theoretically, politically and empirically problematic (see Scanlon and Adlam (2010) amongst others for a critique of CBT and Joyce et al. (2010) for the application of ‘empowerment’ programmes in areas of low labour demand) especially when aimed at the most isolated members of society (Marmot, 2010). Yet, at the same time, there is a sense that the Integrated Support Tool (IST) encountered in chapter four does not easily fall into such categorisations. In some way it is problematic: its lack of spatial and political contextualisation leaves it vulnerable to the above criticisms and its debt to ‘Neuro-Linguistic Programming’ (NLP) could be regarded as an issue (BBC Radio 4, 2010; Heap, 2008)³⁰. That said it retains something of an insurgent status in relation to the hegemony of CBT and ‘regular’ deficit model (Frost and Hogget, 2008) welfare technologies. And, as argued in chapter four, it has a peculiarly pastoral mode of operation and an unflinchingly positive, humanistic and romantic conception of the subject. The subject retains the enlightenment notion of autonomy but wedded to an idea of human flourishing and possibility. As such, technologies such as the IST fit awkwardly between discourses of ‘therapy as emancipation’ and ‘the therapeutic as social disintegration/political domination’.

In this particular case, neither approach is especially helpful. To stress again, the rise of the therapeutic where it replaces the political is problematic. However, the example presented in this thesis (the IST) suggests that the relationship is contingent rather than necessary. Therefore, rather than reading the

³⁰ The ‘lack of evidence’ issue is currently being addressed by the creators of the IST and the wider NLP ‘community’. (c.f. Tosey and Mathison 2003; 2007; 2010).

use of 'psy' technologies in the delivery of social welfare as ceaselessly pernicious, perhaps a more nuanced approach considers the subtleties in the actual deployment of such technologies (Bondi, 2005; Frost and Hoggett, 2008; Luxon, 2008; McLeod and Wright, 2009; Wright, 2008). In the case of the IST, problems arise less from the technique itself and more from the wider context in which it's deployed. To some extent, technologies such as the IST stand as a corrective to the stultifying capitalist bureaucracies of 'old welfare' regimes (Piven and Cloward, 1972; Offe, 1984) in that they open up spaces for the productive articulation of fear, hope, pain and possibility on behalf of the client (Barnes, 2008; Wright, 2008). This attention to myriad forms of social suffering has the potential to inform a radical politics which rejects social suffering out of hand. 'Psy' derived welfare practices *have the potential* to offer a diagnosis and exploration of social misery. Moreover,

For the practitioner, this demands what Raymond Williams [...] called 'felt thoughtfulness' – a capacity both to feel the pain of the other, even in their angry, violent or self destructive enactments, and to think critically about the injustices that produce it.

(Frost and Hoggett, 2008, p. 455)

We can understand this as the development of an articulatory universalising politics which sees oneself in the position of the marginalised individual. Rather than the inbuilt cynical systems of exclusion and immiseration which this thesis has documented (see also Scanlon and Adlam, 2008; 2010).

To some extent, it is the ends, rather than the means which are problematic (of course, not to ignore the inbuilt ethics/politics of technologies such as the IST). It is the aims of a programme of social welfare which is obsessed with the primacy of wage labour and the justice of the market which are the most problematic, rather than the tools which are used. Whilst the welfare state has been re/de-formed, it retains its primary role in supporting the subordination of labour to capital (Piven and Cloward, 1972; Offe, 1984). The emancipatory and subversive potential of 'psy' technologies gets subsumed by the logic of market-defined social welfare.

In a time and space of structural, endemic and long run under/un-employment perhaps technologies such as the IST offer the potential for the realisation of a productive and fulfilling life without the guarantee of full time formal paid employment. However at present, 'psy' techniques appear to be deployed in a twofold cynical manner: Firstly, they operate in the assumption that paid formal employment *for all* is possible, desirable and socially necessary and; Secondly, they operate as the universal solution to social problems which are perceived as being issues of perception. The cynical outcome is the blaming of the individual for a failure to engage (Scanlon and Adlam, 2008). There are two possible escapes from this impasse. Firstly, if we are to uphold the deity of paid formal employment then psychological techniques *must* be partnered with social and economic policies which provide material investment in terms of job opportunities *and* investment in social housing, health and environmental improvements. The primary form of social and economic intervention should be material. Psy techniques should be used to diagnose social suffering and as a supplementary governmental tool once the first programme has been realised. The second approach concerns the radical abandonment of the normative assumption that full time paid employment is possible or desirable. The introduction of a universal 'citizens income' would allow the emancipatory potential of 'psy' technologies to be more fully explored once un-tethered from their functionalist attachment to wage-labour (Luxon, 2008; Wright, 2008). This issue will be further explored towards the end of this chapter.

8.5.2 'Contracts' and the blurred boundaries of welfare technologies

One of the notable features uncovered by the thesis is the extent to which boundaries between welfare 'disciplines' have been reshaped (as demonstrated in the previous section). In general there appears to be an increasing convergence and blurring between what were previously considered to be relatively discrete areas of policy making. For example, consumption of illicit substances, once framed as a bio-political health problem specifically related to the spread of HIV, has been reconceived as primarily a crime problem (Foucault, 2004; Reuter and Stevens, 2008; Stevens, 2007). Whilst the criminal justice system is thus the preferred mechanism for dealing with such individuals, increasingly social welfare agencies are being brought into the disciplinary matrix:

“We will support this by exploring the use of existing and new powers to enable data to be obtained from the criminal justice agencies. This information will include, for example, details of people who have left prison, and those who are subject to a Drug Rehabilitation Requirement imposed by the courts as part of a community sentence.”

(DWP, 2008a , p. 117)

And;

“We do not think it is right for the taxpayer to help sustain drug habits when individuals could be getting treatment to overcome barriers to employment. So, we will explore the case for introducing a new regime for drug misusers which provides more tailored and personalised support than is currently provided by the existing Incapacity Benefit or Jobseeker Allowance regimes. In return for benefit payments, claimants will have a responsibility to move successfully through treatment and into employment.”

(Home Office, 2008, p. 32)

More recently the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government proposed the linking of income replacement payments to social housing tenancies (BBC News, 2011). Whilst the plans have been (to date) shelved, it nevertheless points to an unfolding complex of surveillance and disciplinary techniques aimed at the most marginalised individuals. This process is material (the institution of new modes of governance and discipline) and ideological.

Moreover, the idea of a ‘contract’ approach to welfare has crossed policy boundaries (Lister, 2011a). Perhaps most prevalent in the area of income replacement programmes, this thesis has demonstrated how this rationale has permeated into accommodation provision for the vulnerably housed (see the above and the Supported Accommodation projects in chapter five, and Allen, 2003). However, the

‘contract relation’ has become a primary principle in the delivery of social welfare (a trend which continues under the coalition government c.f. Lister, 2011a)

The research presented in this thesis also points to the way in which notions of ‘rights and responsibilities’ have seeped (problematically) into accommodation projects for homeless individuals (see also Allen, 2003). Whilst the concept of ‘rights *and* responsibilities’ was axiomatic to the New Labour project (Dweyer, 2002) it found its fullest expression in the realm of reforms to the income security system (Clarke, 2005; Fairclough, 2000; Lister, 2001; Powell, 2000). The target of such reforms has been both a re-negotiation of the relationship between the citizen and the state and between the citizen and the labour market (Trickey, 2001). To summarise, citizenship and the subject of social welfare have been, and continue to be, recast along contractual lines of self responsibility and conditionality (DWP, 2010a; 2010b; Wiggan, 2011; Dwyer, 2002; Clarke, 2005; Gibson, 2009). As demonstrated in this thesis (see also Allen, 2003), this particular conception of the ‘deserving welfare client’ is especially troubling when applied to marginalised populations. Firstly, rather than ‘government at a distance’, the New Labour welfare project can retrospectively be better characterised as an incremental colonisation of previously un-policed³¹ and ‘un-policed’ social realms (such as homeless accommodation projects: see chapter five (c.f. Allen, 2003)). In principle, engagement in such difficult spaces is laudable and progressive. But less so when infused with the *political* demand that subjects should be reformed to become *particular* types of ‘modern’ subject - and that such efforts are granted on a conditional basis. Secondly, there is a sense in which the social interventions examined in this thesis (ether deliberately in the case of Visible Unpaid Work or as an excess in the Supported Accommodation projects) tend to produce an ‘Other’. This is, of course not unprecedented, as Lister (2001) notes the way in which a discourse of ‘rights and responsibilities’ produces a benefit claiming ‘Other’. In short, New Labour’s welfare project sought to re-figure the welfare subject along the lines of those designated deserving and undeserving (Clarke, 2005) of social resources across the whole spectrum of social welfare provision which itself is being refigured to be increasingly overlapping and disciplinary.

Meanwhile, the current welfare reform agenda further strengthens conditionality and targets more intensely the awkward and non-conforming citizen (DWP, 2010b; 2010c). People who face labour

³¹ In Foucault’s (2010a) sense of the term .

market disadvantages will be 'offered' access to the 'Work Programme' after three months (rather than twelve months for those over twenty-five) on a voluntary or mandatory basis decided case by case (although it is not clear what the criteria are) (DWP, 2010a). Of course "participants in the Work Programme, including those who choose to access the programme, must undertake the activities specified by their adviser whilst on the programme" (DWP, 2010a, p. 4). Thus, current proposals again close the net by targeting the awkward citizen for specific and intimate operations of power. Moreover, for those in social distress, a conditional and intimate benefit regime is suggested a short term remedy, and paid work as the long term solution.

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10. Appendix

1. Baseline statistics

Table 15 Deprivation (2010, of 354 [England] Lower layer Super Output Areas [LSOA])

Borough	Rank of Average score by Lower layer Super Output Areas (1 is most deprived)	Rank of Percentage of Borough's LSOAs within most deprived 10% (1 is most deprived)
Railway town	79	56
Seatown	25	10
Midtown	8	2
Castleton	52	37
River city	107	5

Source: Sub-region data services report (anonymised for confidentiality) Note: Based on pre-2009 areas

Table 16 Drug users in treatment in the Sub-region (2000)

Area	All ages	Under 25	Below 25	Under 25	Over 25	Per 1000 population
Sub-region	2320	1289	1031	56	44	4.2
England	118522	37453	81069	32	68	2.4

Source: National Statistics, 2001, p25

Table 17 Crime rate (2008/2009)

Borough	Crimes per 1000/population (2008/2009)	England and Wales per 1000/population
Railway town	90.1	92
Seatown	98.1	

Midtown	143.9	
Castleton	83.4	
River city	75.3	
Sub-region	97.4	

Source: Sub-region data services report (anonymised for confidentiality)

Table 18 Unemployment rate (2010)

Area	Unemployment Rate (Male)	Unemployment Rate (Female)
Railway town	7.6	2.6
Seatown	10.3	3.5
Midtown	11.2	3.8
Castleton	9.3	3.1
River city	7.2	2.6
Sub-region	9.2	3.1
UK	5.6	2.4

Source: Sub-region data services report (anonymised for confidentiality)

Table 19 Homelessness (indicative) (latest date possible)

Borough	Applications	Accepted
Railway town (2008/2009)	Circa 30	Circa 10
Seatown (2008/2009)	42	28
Midtown (2006/2007)	200	137
Castleton (2009/2010)	No data	21
River city (2007-2008)	Circa 2200	Circa 350

Source: Respective Local Authorities homelessness strategies and sub-regional economic planning agencies (precise source not given due to anonymity) and sub-regional data services report. Note: Inconsistencies in dates due to lack of standardised data collection between LAs and estimates due to layout of material in original format.

2. Sample Interview schedule

Interview with 'Andrew', Probation Service Manager (2010)

1. Overview of PhD research
 - a. Current progress
2. Andrew's role in the delivery of VUpW
3. Recent changes to delivery of VUpW
 - a. 2003 changes (Enhanced Community Punishment)
 - b. The impact of the Casey report and shifts towards visibility/punishment (?)
 - c. Employability?
 - d. Pro Social Modelling?
 - e. Relationships between rehabilitation/punishment/reparation
4. Monetisation and outsourcing?
 - a. Impact of 'monetisation' on the service?
 - b. Moves from individual/agency placements from 23-33%. Why is this?
 - c. Increase in group size from 5.5 to 7
 - i. Why is this being done
 - ii. How?
 - iii. Impact?
5. The impact of proactive engagement with the 'community' and the public confidence agenda?
 - a. How is this done: e.g. finding things to do/with which organisations?
 - b. Local Authority Work: how is this sourced?
 - c. How is 'replacing paid work' avoided?
 - d. What/are there feedback mechanisms in place? (e.g. media?)
 - e. Statistics: balance between type of beneficiary?
6. What about female offenders?
7. Anyone else I should speak to?
 - a. Ask specifically for LA contacts
 - b. Beneficiaries?
 - c. Statistics?
 - d. Others involved in VUpW?
8. Conclude interview
 - a. Details of dissemination etc.

3. Ethics form

Research Ethics and Data Protection Monitoring Form

Research involving humans and environmental impacts by all academic and related staff and students in the department is subject to University requirements for ethics and data protection review. The Department's Research Ethics and Data Protection Peer Review Group will assess research against the guidelines given by the British Sociological Society Association and the Natural Environment Research Council.

It is a requirement that prior to the commencement of all research that this form be completed and submitted to the Department's Research Ethics and Data Protection Peer Review Group. The Peer Review Group will be responsible for issuing certification that the research meets acceptable ethical standards and will, if necessary, require changes to the research methodology or reporting strategy.

A copy of the research proposal detailing methods and reporting strategies is attached

Name of principal investigator or main applicant: Robin Jamieson

Title of research project: Tackling worklessness in a deprived region

Main subject area: Human

Questionnaire

		Y E S	NO	
1.	Does your research involve living human subjects?	y e s		
2.	Does your research involve only the analysis of large, secondary and anonymised datasheets?		no	
3a.	Will you give your informants a written summary of your research and its uses?	y e s		If NO, please provide further details and go to 3b
3b.	Will you give your informants a verbal summary of your research and its uses?	y e s		If NO, please provide further details
4.	Does your research involve contemporary covert surveillance (for example, participant		no	If YES, please provide further details

	observation)?			
5a.	Will your information <i>automatically</i> be anonymised in your research?	y e s		If NO, please provide further details and go to 5b
5b.	IF NO Will you explicitly give <i>all</i> your informants the right to remain anonymous?			If NO, why not?
6.	Will monitoring devices be used openly and only with the permission of informants?	y e s		If NO, why not?
7.	Will your informants be provided with a summary of your research findings?	y e s		If NO, why not?
8.	Will your research be available to informants and the general public without authorities restrictions placed by sponsoring authorities?	y e s		If NO, please provide further details
9.	Have you considered the implications of your research intervention on your informants?	y e s		Please provide full details
10.	Are there any other ethical issues arising from your research?		no	If YES, please provide further details

Further details (please include any potential risks to the environment from your research and the steps taken to address the consequent ethical issues):

9. The research could potentially have implications for participants. These could include sanction for disclosure of negative information about an institution or discussion of illicit or illegal activity. Potential negative implications for employees or representatives of organisations.

In order to mitigate against this risk, all organisations names will be changed, the location of the organisations will be anonymised (the names of towns for example will be changed). Every effort will be made remove information which could lead to identification of individuals, institutions or organisations.

The research will be conducted in the following locations: Homeless hostels, open prison and training organisations, probation service unpaid work programmes.

Homeless hostel: working with adults capable of giving consent. Full consent from all participants. All data will be anonymised as a matter of course and kept in a locked and secure office. Take advice and guidance from hostel staff over procedures, and with permission from staff. On hostel premises.

Open Prison: Working with inmates who are classed as low risk and are on day release in the community, and as such should pose no extra risks to my safety. Full consent from all participants, and all are capable of giving consent. All data anonymised as a matter of course, and kept in a locked and secure office. Take guidance from prison staff over correct procedures. Please see other attached documents, including an in depth research outline.

Training organisations: Working with adults capable of giving consent, full consent from all participants. All data anonymised as a matter of course, and kept in a locked and secure office.

Unpaid work with probation service: Working with adults capable of giving consent, full consent from all participants. All data anonymised as a matter of course, and kept in a locked and secure office. Working under supervision of staff. Permission given by Durham probation service. Individuals classed as low risk. Located at various sites.

CRB check for working with adults given.

Continuation sheet YES/NO (delete as applicable)

Declaration

I have read the Departmental Guidance on Research Ethics and Data Protection and believe that, where appropriate, the research proposal complies fully with the requirements of the documents listed (Appendices B-F) and The Durham University Principles for Data Protection (http://www.dur.ac.uk/data.protection/dp_principles/). I will not deviate from the methodology or reporting strategy without further permission from the Department's Research Ethics and Data Protection Peer Review Group.

Signed..... Date.....

Signed (Supervisor)..... Date.....

Submissions without a copy of the research proposal (see below) will not be considered.

Summary of Research Proposal

*To be completed by Department of Geography Postgraduates in consultation with their supervisors
and to accompany the 'Research Ethics and Data Protection Monitoring Form'*

This 1 page summary research proposal should be submitted along with your completed 'Research Ethics and Data Protection Monitoring Form'. The summary should not exceed 1 page in length and should demonstrate that you have thought carefully about the ethical issues to do with your research. Please read the notes provided for each section and then delete them before completing the form yourself.

Name of Student:

Please provide a brief summary of your proposed research under the following headings:

Context and Research Questions

Notes: In this section you should include a short statement (one paragraph) detailing the broad aim of the project and the significance of your proposed research within current literature. You should also include up to 4 key research questions that you intend to address in the course of your research

The notion of employability is of significant importance both at local and national policy levels (Skills North East, 2007; Shared Intelligence, 2008; DWP, 2008). Employability is posited as a route out of poverty for all ultimately through engagement with the formal labour market. This includes those who suffer from severe labour market disadvantage. This project aims to investigate the concept of employability as it relates to disadvantaged groups, specifically ex-offenders, vulnerably housed individuals and those who are recovering from substance misuse. Research questions

What is the extent of multiple labour market disadvantage in the **** *? *

How are notions such as 'employability' 'ex-offender', (recovering) 'substance abuser' and 'homeless' understood in policy and academic terms and how do they relate to local and national labour market policies?

To what extent to these resonate with the ethnographic research

What methods are used to tackle labour market disadvantage in the **** *? *, and how do they involve those who suffer from multiple disadvantage?

To what extent, how and why are employability programmes used to tackle this issue?

What understandings and assumptions about individuals and the labour market do these programmes draw upon and how are they used?

What techniques and strategies are deployed in employability programmes for those suffering from multiple barriers to participation in the labour market and how are they understood by clients, practitioners and policy makers?

How and to what extent do efforts to increase employability compliment or conflict with efforts in desistance from problem drug use, crime and attempts to find stable accommodation?

(2) Proposed Methods

Notes: In this section you should provide details of the type of methodologies that you are proposing to use rather than exact numbers, duration etc. Details of your proposed field sites should also be provided so that ethical consideration can be given to any site specific issues i.e. working in vulnerable physical environments, accessibility, confidentiality, covert/overt researcher roles etc.

Interviews with practitioners, service users and prisoners. Full consent given. Overt research

Participant observations: Overt, full consent from all taking part

(3) Communication of Research Findings

Notes: In this section you should provide information about how you intend to disseminate your research findings i.e. written, oral and other formats. You should pay particular attention to the ways in which your data will be made available to different audiences and issues surrounding confidentiality and anonymity.

Written format, electronic or printed. Findings passed on to organizations assisting with research.

Ethics Clearance

Dear Robin

I have read through your completed "Research Ethics and Data Protection Monitoring Form" that you submitted in relation to your research. I can confirm that the ethical and data protection issues arising from your research as detailed on the form have been addressed satisfactorily. Please note, however, that if you subsequently change your research methodology or reporting strategy from that outlined on the form this will require further permission from the Department's Research Ethics and Data Protection Peer Review Group. Veronica Crooks in the Research Office will store a copy in your file.

All the best

Dr Colin McFarlane

Deputy Chair, Departmental Ethics and Data Protection Peer Review Group

4. Consent form

Tackling Worklessness in a Deprived Region

- ◆ I agree to take part in this research which is to investigate the idea of employability as it relates to those who are vulnerably housed, have recent substance misuse issues or are ex-offenders.
- ◆ I understand that this is an independent research project funded by Durham University and the ***** and carried out by Robin Jamieson. It is in no way commissioned, endorsed, supported or funded in anyway by any other organisation.
- ◆ The researcher has explained to my satisfaction the purpose of the study and the possible risks involved.
- ◆ I have had the principles and the procedure explained to me and I have also read the information sheet. I understand the principles and procedures fully.
- ◆ I am aware that I will be required to answer questions about my life experience, past employment, day to day life and specifically about training courses and employment related services which I am engaged with.
- ◆ I am aware that I may stop the interview at anytime and without giving reason, and I may decline to answer any question.
- ◆ I understand that any confidential information will be seen only by the researchers and will not be revealed to anyone else, and will be encrypted and kept in a locked office at all times.
- ◆ I understand that the results of this project will be published in the form of reports, conference papers, journal articles and other academic outputs, although all data provided by myself and other participants will be anonymised.
- ◆ I understand that I am free to withdraw from the investigation at any time by contacting Robin Jamieson. If I wish all information will be deleted and will not appear in the research.

Name (please print):

.....

Signed:.....

Date:.....

I agree to have these interviews recorded.

Signed:.....

Date:.....

5. Coding Matrices

Coding Matrix 1: Chapter four (interviews and observation)

Code Cycle	Tree node: Time	Technologies of the Self	Governmentality	Parresia	Epistemic issues	Ontological issues
1 st	Past, present, future, time, disrupted, coherent, remembering, going 'back and forward', 'would like to be', 'was', 'will be', 'could be'	'psy' technologies, 'positive', 'confidence' interview, client role, 'reflection', practitioner role, confession, 'reflection', form of confession, learning, 'self' (with postfix), 'empowerment', dialogue, 'alternative'	Tutor talk, welfare critique, conduct of self, conduct of others, behaviour, thoughts, attitudes, actions, beliefs, types of practices, 'common sense' ideas, positivity, negativity, questions, 'questioning why', 'action plan'	Student talk, role of participant, role of practitioner act of confession, form of confession, honesty, dishonesty, 'old' welfare, 'new' welfare, learning, positivity, questioning	Using IST, experience of IST, noting down, way of recording, subjective, knowledge, "scaling"	Thinking, Remembering, Individual, language, MI, NLP, P and D, SF, theoretical basis, perception, conscious, unconscious, 'mind'
2 nd	Linear time, cyclical time, imagination of time, folding/collapsing of time, time as substance, malleability of time, time as intervention	Self-reflection Self-knowledge confession self-care, relation to self/others, ethics, role of confession, narrative	Problematization (by tutor), regimes of : truth, conduct, practice, techniques, technologies, judgements +ve, judgements -ve, evasion, transgression, judgement (internal/external)	Fear, risk, truth, self judgement +ve, self judgement -ve, honesty, dishonesty, role of confession,	Scaling, Numeric, Attachment, positioning, use of language	Mind (idea of), Self, social world, internal world, external world, internal-external relationships, temporality, existence, temporality, positivity
3 rd	Temporality (derived from	Technology of Self (derived from Foucault	Governmentality (derived from Foucault	Parrhesia ('Anti') (derived from	Epistemology (concerning the	Ontology (concerns the theoretical basis

	Lefebvre (2004) (cyclical/linear time), and Heideggerian 'manifold time' (Blattner, 1999; Elden, 2001))	(1985; 1988) concerning an acting on the self through various forms of self understanding and re conceiving.)	(2009; 2010a) which concerns the conduct of self and others. Uses a range of techniques, technologies and regimes of knowledge (c.f. Dean, 2010; Miller and Rose, 2008).	Foucault (2010b) an concerns the act of truth telling as a personal and political act which produces a relation to self and others.	way in which the intervention gains, acquires, considers and works on and with knowledge)	upon which knowledge claims can be made in the intervention and the theoretical world view of the intervention.
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Coding Matrix 2: Chapter five (participant observation)

Code Cycle	Discipline	Space	Scene and the Obscene	Body and Soul	Temporality
1 st	Referral process, acceptance, denial, interview, action plan, folder, monitoring, dining room, conversations, sugar, cutlery, contract/tenancy agreement, expulsion, judgement, monitoring, observation, visibility, control, knowledge	SP Policy, corridors, bedrooms, laundry, dinning room, sitting room, CCTV, documents, maps, notices, signs, inside, outside, open, visible, hidden, clean, dirty,	'under the influence', alcohol, drugs, drug paraphernalia, substances, behaviour, outside the hostel, detection, suspect, unknown, unsure, 'brining in', other places, relegation, exclusion	Activities, participation, contract/tenancy agreement, notice board, pressure to engage with, behavior, timeliness, independence, activity	Service opening times, time regulations, night time, day time, time appropriate behaviour, attitudes to time, management and control of time, ordered time, disrupted time, chaotic,
2 nd	space production Partitions Observation Normalisation Examination Enclosure Conditionality Knowledge Contracts	SP, Plans, Architecture, Everyday, Subversions, Lived, Conceived	Unknown/unseen/irregular/illicit spaces/behaviour, ambiguity, exclusion, relegation, expulsion, Ambivalence	Body, mind, 'moral', conduct	Subjectivity, conduct, discipline, judgement, Ambivalence
3 rd	Disciplinary Power (Derived from Foucault's <i>Discipline and Punish</i> (1991 [1975] and in the governmental context from Foucault (2009))	Space (Derived from Lefebvre, 1991 [1974] as a substance which is constitutive of the social and that which is produced.)	Scene/Obscene (From Lefebvre, 1991 [1974])	Dressage (Based on the work of Foucault (1991 [1975] and Lefebvre (2004) and concerns the creation of appropriate bodies.	Temporality (From Lefebvre, 2004), Heidegger, (1997), Blattner (1999) and Osborne (1995).

Coding Matrix 3: Chapter five (interviews)

Note: as Matrix 2 but with the following additions

1 st	QAF, Performance indicators, contract, CCTV, Security, change, support planning, engagement, Supporting People, surveillance, auditing,				
2 nd	Contract, agreement, conditionality, technologies, Supporting People, judgement				
3 rd	Governmentality (see above for derivative)				

Coding Matrix 4: Chapter six (participant observation)

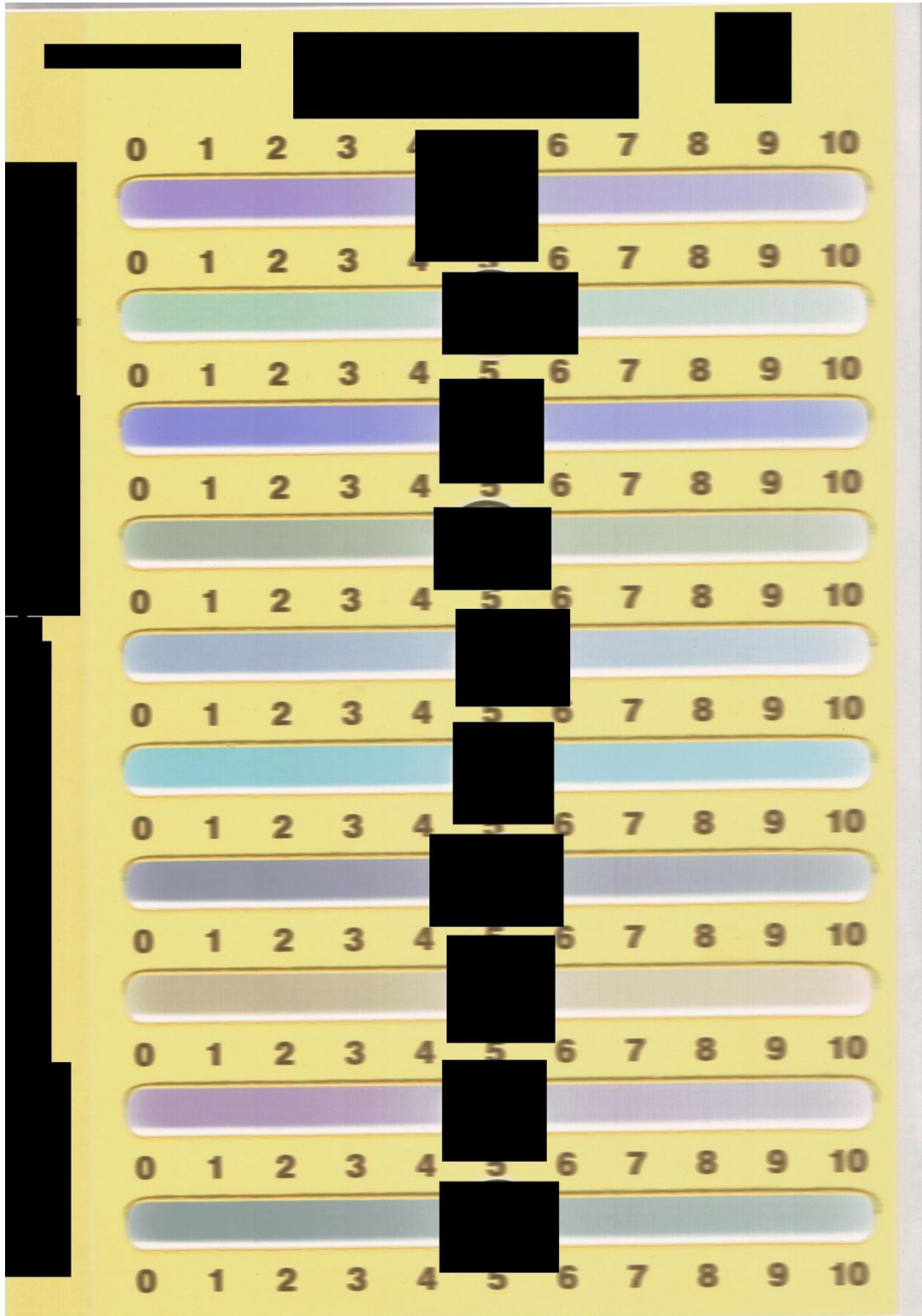
Code Cycle	Space	Visibility	Ideas about Offenders	Ideas of Work	Practical Operation	Temporality
1 st	Descriptions of space, use of space, space and transgression, space to evade supervisor, encouragement to work based on space.	perceptions of distinctive clothing, abuse related to clothing, enforcement of clothing, arguments over clothing, public gaze, worry about being seen, 'stigma'	role of supervisor, actions of supervisor, role of offender, descriptions of participants, 'criminal', reformable, un-reformable, positive, negative, interaction with supervisor, description of participants, interactions with supervisors	Type of work, intensity of work, attitudes to work, use of machinery, worthwhile work, pointless work, enjoyment of work, dislike of work, as punishment, as rehabilitation, division of labour, 'work ethic', unsupervised work, supervised work, satisfaction, autonomous organisation, organised by supervisor, 'not/punishment',	Attendance, non attendance, breach, sanctions, punishments, threats, implementation of policy, targets (various),	Work rhythms, breaks, management of time, as privilege, being 'let away early' struggle over time, passing time, regulation of time, pace of work (fast/slow), official/unofficial breaks, 'time'

				not/worthwhile work, beneficiaries of work, 'paying back'		
2 nd	Space of punishment, Space of offence, Everydayness, visible space	Panoptic effects, as work incentive,	Rehabilitation, punishment, reflection, social conditions	Rehabilitation as employability, training, work ethic (as explanation), hierarchy of types of work as more/less punishment/rehabilitation, work as 'payback'	Pro-Social Modelling, Explanation of Supervisor role, impact of policy	Past, Present, reflections on past actions, temporal explanations of situation, object of struggle
3 rd	Space (derived from Lefebvre (1991) [1974], concerns the way in which the public execution of VUpW impacts upon the way in which it is approached and carried out. The concept of the everyday is also Lefevrain and is linked into the code 'Visibility')	Visibility (derived from Debord, (1995) [1967] to suggest the currency of the visible over other modes of communication. Links back to 'space' and 'everyday' to point to the spectacular and vernacular vocabulary of this punishment.)	'Offender' (concerns the way in which the subject is firstly defined as a 'offender' and how they are constituted as object of reform, rehabilitation or punishment by various groups.)	(Rhetorical/Political Struggle over) Work (addresses the way in which 'work' figures as a substance of social worth (e.g. employability) and as a degrading and miserable act ideal for punishment.)	Operation of VUPW (Concerned with the translation of policy in practice and struggle over what probation is 'for')	Temporality (derived from Lefebvre (2004) (cyclical/linear time), the nature and status of time in this field site and Heideggerian 'manifold time' (Blattner, 1999; Elden, 2001))

Coding Matrix 5: Chapter six (interviews)

Code Cycle						
1 st	Casey, recent changes, regulations, enforcement	Sources of work, council, voluntary organisation, relationship with council, public demand for work, type of work sought, worthwhile work, not worthwhile work, quality of work	Pro Social Modeling, number on vans, Compliance, classifying offenders		Casey review (negative, positive), raison d'être,	Perceptions of offenders (positive/negative), ability to reform, way to rehabilitate, management of behaviour, management of attitude
2 nd	Delivery of visibility, choice of worksite, changes to practice	Filtering of work, Employability	Modification of policy, delivery of policy, management practice, targets, monetisation	Space of community (locality), Homogeneity, Metonymy	Ethos, Philosophy, Modification of policy, rehabilitation, employability	Way to produce offender, type of subject to produce
3 rd	Visibility	Work	Operation	Community	Probation Service	Governmentality of Offender

6. The IST



7. IST training material

stions

“Please hold the board with one hand, putting the fingers of your other hand on the top slider. (Ensure by this time that the individual is holding the [REDACTED] themselves. The interviewer should not touch the board at all from this point on.) Notice that the slider moves all the way from 0 to 10. Would you please move each slider to the half way mark – the 5. Now, when I ask you a question about each heading, just move the slider to where you feel it shows your answer – where it represents what you are thinking. So, your answer may be 0,1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9 or 10, wherever you feel it best answers the question. Please keep your fingers on the sliders as much as possible.”

- 1. Employment/Training/Education**
How happy are you with your employment/training/education situation? (choose the one applicable to your client). Ten: you are very happy with your employment/training/education situation. Zero: you are not happy with it at all.
- 2. Accommodation**
How happy are you with your accommodation? Ten: you are very happy with your accommodation. Zero: you are not happy with it at all.
- 3. Money**
How happy are you with your money situation? Ten: you are very happy with your money situation. Zero: you are not happy with it at all.
- 4. Relationships**
How happy are you with your relationships? This can include any relationships. Ten: you are very happy with your relationships. Zero: you are not happy at all.
- 5. Influences**
How much are you influenced by others to do things that you really don't want to do? Ten: you are very influenced by others. Zero: you are not influenced at all.
- 6. Stress**
How stressed are you at this time in your life? Ten: you are very stressed. Zero: you are not stressed at all.
- 7. Alcohol**
How much is alcohol a part of your life? Ten: alcohol is a very large part of your life. Zero: it is no part of your life at all.
- 8. Drugs**
How much are drugs a part of your life? (This can be anything that you think are drugs: medication, coffee, cigarettes etc.) Ten: drugs are a very large part of your life. Zero: they are no part of your life at all.
- 9. Health**
How happy are you with the state of your health? Ten: you are very happy with your health. Zero: you are not happy with it at all.
- 10. Happiness**
How happy are you at this time in your life? Ten: you are very happy. Zero: you are not happy at all.

[REDACTED]

Exploring the board: Guidelines for structuring the [REDACTED] interview.

Establish a Baseline Profile i.e. a scaling for all headings in response to the ten initial Profile Questions, *before* exploring the board in detail with individuals. Using these initial questions produces subjective responses, representing how the individual feels about each issue. Exactly how they represent each issue will depend on internal representations based on their personal experience – their own unique model of the world.

Encourage the individual to stay in contact with the sliders as much as possible throughout the exploration of the board.

PRESENT

'What is on your mind here?'

- Explore the individual's current circumstances.
- Make sure you use the present tense here – ensuring the individual remains associated.
- Acknowledge the individual's beliefs and values - what is important to him/her.
- Use your own professionalism to determine which issues to gather more information about, based on the purpose of the interview.
- Enable the individual to see the 'big picture', take a different perspective on his/her life and recognise how some issues may be interrelated as you move through the different headings.

PAST

'Has it been higher / lower?' (depending on whether a '10' is positive or negative)

This question is designed to identify a time when things were worse/not as good for the individual.

- DO NOT explore where the individual has come from, his/her past circumstances. Unless you are a qualified counsellor, this question on its own can lead to opening up the proverbial 'can of worms'!
- DO ask them to move the slider to this 'past' position ONLY LONG ENOUGH FOR THEM TO GET A SENSE OF WHAT WAS HAPPENING. Then ask them to move it back to where it is today.
- Now ask the question:

'How did you achieve that?'

This question raises the individual's awareness of how far they have moved and begins to identify strategies that have worked for them in the past, and might be applied again.

- By comparing past and present scalings, acknowledge and reinforce the individual's achievement in moving forward to where he/she is now.
 - Maintain this solutions-focused approach throughout the [REDACTED] interview. And remember that 'process' is at least as important as 'content'.
- [REDACTED]

8. The QAF

Quality Assessment Framework (QAF) (2009) Core Service Objectives, Communities and Local Government
April 2009, pp. 3-7

PLEASE NOTE: Evidence examples for Level B and A services are included below to give an indication of what we would expect of services delivered to such standards. *The indicative evidence for levels A and B are not intended to act as a checklist or to prescribe the services that organisations would be providing if they were judged by reviewing officers to have an excellent or a good service.* **When assessing compliance with level A and B standards therefore, it is acceptable to cite alternatives to the evidence examples where these genuinely demonstrate that the standards are being met by other means.**

While meeting individual standards cannot guarantee the achievement of specific outcomes with clients, in general they will support the service to better meet outcomes in the domains indicated.

C1.1 Assessment and Support Planning			
All clients receive an assessment of their support needs and any associated risks. All clients have an up-to-date support and risk management plan. Assessment and support planning procedures place clients' views at the centre, are managed by skilled staff and involve other professional and/or carers as appropriate.			
Standard	Performance Level	Essential requirements (C) or Indicative evidence (A / B)	Evidence
This standard supports the service to meet outcomes in the following outcome domains: <i>Achieve economic well-being, Enjoy & achieve, Be healthy, Stay safe</i> and <i>Make a positive contribution</i> .			
C1.1.1	The needs of applicants / clients and any inherent risks are assessed on a consistent and comprehensive basis prior to a service being offered, or very shortly afterwards as appropriate to the needs of the client group.	<i>Basic minimum requirements for an adequate service (Performance Level C)</i>	
		Level C	The needs and risk assessment policy and procedure is written down and reviewed in response to changing legislative or contractual requirements and at least every three years. The procedures state how clients will be involved. Staff understand and follow the procedures. There is a needs and risk assessment tool appropriate to the client group. The needs and risk assessment procedures are covered in staff

			<p>induction and training programmes. Risk assessment procedures address: Risk to self Risk to others (including staff and the wider community) Risks from others (including staff and the wider community). Needs and risk assessments take into account the views of other services as appropriate. Copies of all assessments are securely stored and accessible to relevant staff and clients.</p>	
<p><i>Evidence examples for Level B and A services are included below to give an indication of what we would expect of services delivered to such standards</i></p>				
		Level B	<p>The service works constructively with risk and does not use risk assessment to exclude applicants inappropriately. Staff take into account individual clients' insight into the assessment of needs and risks. Specialist expertise is sought, where required, when conducting needs / risk assessments.</p>	
		Level A	<p>The needs and risk assessment policy and procedures encourage appropriate risk taking and discourage risk avoidance as the key feature of support delivery. Needs and risk assessments balance promotion of independence with effective risk management. The service can demonstrate that changes have been made to improve service delivery as a result of policy and procedure review. Policy and procedure review can show the impact of client and stakeholder involvement.</p>	

Standard	Performance Level	Essential requirements (C) or Indicative evidence (A / B)	Evidence	
This standard supports the service to meet outcomes in the following outcome domains: <i>Achieve economic well-being, Enjoy & achieve, Be healthy, Stay safe</i> and <i>Make a positive contribution</i> .				
C1.1.2	All clients have individual outcomes-focussed support and risk management plans that address the needs and risks identified by the assessment process.	<i>Basic minimum requirements for an adequate service (Performance Level C)</i>		
		Level C	<p>Support and risk management plans identify control measures to eliminate, minimise or respond to identified risks. Clear links can be seen between assessments of clients' needs and associated risks, and their support / risk management plans.</p> <p>Support plans incorporate individual outcomes which have been negotiated with clients and, if appropriate, carers, relatives or other advocates.</p> <p>In short-term accommodation based services, move on and resettlement needs are addressed from the start of service delivery.</p> <p>Support plans incorporate SMART objectives that are clearly understood by clients, as milestones towards achieving outcomes.</p> <p>Copies of all support / risk management plans are securely stored and accessible to relevant staff and clients.</p> <p>The service is aware of, and seeks to take into account, other care and support services provided.</p>	
		<i>Evidence examples for Level B and A services are included below to give an indication of what we would expect of services delivered to such standards</i>		
Level B	Support planning takes account of the wider needs of the client (beyond those being met directly in the service) which impact upon their need for support.			

			The service proactively seeks to engage other agencies in supporting clients. Specialist expertise is sought, where required, when drawing up support / risk management plans.	
		Level A	Support and risk management plans complement any statutory care plan or support plans provided by other agencies. Support and risk management plans indicate that clients are encouraged to take reasonable risks in developing their independence. Mechanisms are in place between the service and external agencies to facilitate and enable joint working. Client outcomes are used to inform service development and strategic planning.	

Standard	Performance Level	Essential requirements (C) or Indicative evidence (A / B)	Evidence
This standard supports the service to meet outcomes in the following outcome domains: Stay safe and Make a positive contribution .			
C1.1.3		<i>Basic minimum requirements for an adequate service (Performance Level C)</i>	
		Level C	The frequency of individual reviews reflects the needs and risks identified by the assessment process. Clients' files show that all clients' needs have been reviewed with appropriate frequency and at least annually. Clients' files show that risk assessments have been reviewed with appropriate frequency, following an incident or significant change in circumstances, and at least annually. Individual support and risk management plans are revised in response to reviews to reflect changing outcomes and objectives. Support and risk management plans record

			<p>intended review dates.</p> <p>Needs / risk assessments and support / risk management plans are quality monitored internally.</p> <p>Procedures state that reviews can be initiated at any time by a client and clients confirm this is the case.</p>	
<p><i>Evidence examples for Level B and A services are included below to give an indication of what we would expect of services delivered to such standards</i></p>				
		Level B	<p>This right is explained within the service description, clients' handbook, etc.</p> <p>Staff are proactive in identifying and reviewing changing need and risk.</p>	
		Level A	<p>Reviews are co-ordinated to complement the reviews of any statutory care plan or support plans provided by other agencies.</p> <p>The service takes a case conference approach that includes engaging other services in reviews.</p> <p>Reviews of needs and risks (client outcomes) are used to inform service development and strategic planning.</p>	

9. Referral forms (Thomas House and Bishop Place)

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Referral Form	
Name of agency and worker referring applicant	
Address and telephone number	
Email	
Length of time known to agency	
Who is taking responsibility for support after moving on from [REDACTED]	

Name of applicant																					
Date of referral																					
Date of birth																					
Address																					
Post code																					
Mobile/Telephone number																					
Email																					
N.I number	<table border="1"> <tr> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>																				
Birth certificate	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>																				
Martial status and any children																					
Prison Number (if applicable)																					

Initial Contact / Referral Form

Name of Applicant: D of B: N/I No:

Current Address:

Date of Contact:

Ethnic origin of client as defined by client

White

- 01 British
- 02 Irish
- 03 Other

Asian or Asian British

- 08 Indian
- 09 Pakistani
- 10 Bangladeshi
- 11 Other

Chinese or other Ethnic group

- 15 Chinese
- 16 Other

Mixed

- 04 White and Black Caribbean
- 05 White and Black African
- 06 White and Asian
- 07 Other

Black or Black British

- 12 Caribbean
- 13 African
- 14 Other

- 17 Gypsy/Romany/Irish traveller
- 18 Other

Referral Agency: Contact Name: Tel. No:

Reason for Referral (brief case history):

Has the application stayed here before? YES / NO Approx. Month/Year:

Financial Status: Has current ongoing tenancy? YES / NO

Risk Assessment: (Please ✓)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> History of Violence / Abuse to self or others | <input type="checkbox"/> Statutory Worker Involvement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Drug / Alcohol / Substance Misuse | <input type="checkbox"/> Professional Worker Involvement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mental Health Issues | <input type="checkbox"/> Professional Worker Involvement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Previous Criminal Convictions | <input type="checkbox"/> Professional Worker Involvement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Health / Mobility Problems | <input type="checkbox"/> Health Worker Assistance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Currently Pregnant | State Stage of Pregnancy: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Specific Support Needs | (State requirements in Additional Information below) |

Additional Information from Referral Agency:

.....

10. Risk Assessment (Thomas House and Bishop Place)

[abbreviated: please contact author for full records]

Risk Assessment

Name					Date.....									
DOB:					Age:					Ethnicity:				
Identification														
Details of ID														
Housing History														
Describe your housing history to coming to Bridge House Hostel														
Address		Date From		Date to		Tenure		Reason for Leaving						
Were you born in this area?														
Care History														
Have you ever been in care? Yes / No														
If yes please give details (list children's/foster homes etc)														
How long were you in care?														
What age were you upon leaving care?														
Physical Health														
How would you describe your physical health?														
		Yes		No				Comments						
Are you disabled?														
Are you receiving medication?														

Current Lifestyle			
How would you describe your lifestyle?			
	Yes	No	Comments
Diet			
Drug			
Alcohol			
Gambling			
Mental Health			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low mood • Depression • Anxiety • Self Harm • Suicide 			
Do you have any contact with support agencies (if yes please if give details)			
<p>Do you have difficulty keeping appointments / timekeeping If yes give details.</p>			

Self Care			
Are you registered with:			
	Yes	No	Comments
Doctor			
Dentist			
Optician			
Hearing Specialist			
Chiropodist			
Other health specialist (please state)			
Do you need prompting to:			
Shower			
Shave			
Teeth			
Change Clothes			
Relationships			
Do you have contact with:			
Family			
Friends			
Your Children			

Education			
	Yes	No	Comments
Do you have any qualifications?			
Would you like to gain qualifications?			
Would you like to attend training courses?			
Employment			
Have you ever been in employment Yes / No			
Date Employed	Name of Company	Job Title	Time Employed
Finance			
How would you describe your financial situation at the moment?			
	Yes	No	Comments
Do you need help to budget?			
Claim Benefits?			
Open a Bank Account?			
Pay Debts?			
Criminal Record If yes give details (use separate sheet if necessary)			
Offence	Date	Sentence	

- The scoring process:

Seriousness of Risk	Points	Likelihood of Risk	Points
Not serious	1	Unlikely	1
Slightly serious	2	May happen	2
Moderately serious	3	Likely to happen one day	3
Serious	4	Very likely to happen one day	4
Highly serious	5	Very likely to happen soon	5

Multiply the two rates to produce the rating figure for each question on the form.

As a guide to risk rating:
 16 -25 = **high** risk
 9 -15 = **medium** risk
 1 - 8 = **low** risk

1. Risk Factors

If the answer is "yes" to any of the following, please give further details in terms of circumstances:

- When behaviour occurs
- Any known triggers
- How any risks are currently managed
- Whether the management of risk is effective
- Whether there are any other resources that could be utilised in order to reduce risk

i) Has the client ever posed a risk to loan workers or children?

Yes
No

Score

If yes, please give more details

ii) Is the client verbally aggressive or does he demonstrate verbal behaviour which could be perceived as aggressive by others?

(include racial/sexual comments, swearing/shouting which may be found aggressive/offensive)

Yes

No

Score

If yes, please give more details

iii) Is the client physically aggressive or does he demonstrate verbal behaviour which could be perceived as aggressive by others?

(include assaults, pushing, shoving, invasion of space, gestures etc.)

Yes

No

Score

If yes, please give more details

iv) Is the client physically aggressive towards their environment?
(including any damage to furniture, kicking walls/doors etc)

Yes

No

Score

If yes, please give more details

v) Does the client have a history of self-harm?
(include details of self-neglect, attempted suicide, any eating disorders)

Yes

No

Score

If yes, please give more details

vi) Does the client's alcohol/drug/solvent misuse present any risks and/or has the client been admitted to hospital for that misuse?

(include any detox admissions and residential stays in dry houses)

Yes

No

Score

If yes, please give more details

vii) Does the client have any mental health issues?

(include any psychiatric issues and or dementia)

Yes

No

Score

If yes, please give more details

viii) Does the client present a fire risk?

(include not only Health & Safety issues (e.g. leaving cooker on, smoking in bed etc), but also arson)

Yes

No

Score

If yes, please give more details

ix) Does the client have any criminal record for sex offences?

(include in this any arrests even if they have not led to conviction)

Yes

No

Score

If yes, please give more details

11. Contract/declaration TH and BP



Declaration

Iof the above mentioned address,
room.....Bedspace

DOB.....National insurance number.....

Permit the management and staff of the [redacted] to:

1. Share information, make enquiries on my behalf and allow my photograph to be shown to the following agencies:
 - Any drug advisory service
 - Any housing department
 - The benefits agency
 - Police and/or probation service
 - Any training or employment service
 - Health care officials
2. I have been made fully aware that any information regarding my welfare will remain confidential between the [redacted] and the agency involved.
3. I understand that my continued tenancy with the [redacted] is subject to my involvement with any education and training that is provided either by the hostel or an outside education department.
4. I have read and understand the agreement and agree to abide by the hostel rules.

Residents Signature.....Date.....
Managers Signature.....Date.....

The management and staff of the [redacted] are aware of the Data Protection Act, and will ensure that any information received will be dealt with in the strictest confidence. This form has been produced and signed by the resident to assist with their welfare, the resident has been made aware that contact will be made and that permission has been granted.



Support Agreement

I understand [redacted] is short-term accommodation and that the Licence Agreement specifies the programme of support is part of the accommodation I am accepting.

I agree to undertake each aspect of the Support Plan, and to keep mutually agreed regular appointments with a Key Worker.

I accept this Support Plan as an opportunity to improve my quality of life and enable my successful move on to independent accommodation.

I understand that if I do not fulfil this agreement I am not fulfilling my Licence Agreement and Notice to leave can be issued.

I understand that at any time I can make an appointment to discuss this Support Plan with my Key Worker or a member of the Management Team.

Signed: Date:

Resident Name:

Signed:

Keyworker Name:



12. Thomas House Support Plan

You and your support worker can write below specific things you identify as support needs and your ambitions/goals. Resident to sign each box. – If topic is not part of the Support Plan please give explanation

Achieve Economic Well-Being (being able to budget. Pay rent. Save etc.)

Date	Ambitions/Goals	Support Needed	By When	When Done

Date	Ambitions/Goals	Support Needed	By When	When Done

Date	Ambitions/Goals	Support Needed	By When	When Done

You and your support worker can write below specific things you identify as support needs and your ambitions/goals. Resident to sign each box. – If topic is not part of the Support Plan please give explanation

Enjoy and Achieve (Education and Training)

Date	Ambitions/Goals	Support Needed	By When	When Done

Date	Ambitions/Goals	Support Needed	By When	When Done

Date	Ambitions/Goals	Support Needed	By When	When Done

You and your support worker can write below specific things you identify as support needs and your ambitions/goals. Resident to sign each box. – If topic is not part of the Support Plan please give explanation

Health Issues (Doctor/Dentist/Drug/Alcohol/Mental Health)

Date	Ambitions/Goals	Support Needed	By When	When Done

Date	Ambitions/Goals	Support Needed	By When	When Done

Date	Ambitions/Goals	Support Needed	By When	When Done

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Clare

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