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Social Welfare: Care Planning And The Politics Of Trust

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Social Welfare: Care planning and the Politics of Trust.

Abstract.

This thesis describes a study of power and power relations, which is developed through an exploration of the literature and professional discourse in an abductive research strategy. The focus is provided by services for people with learning disabilities within one English County and the relationships that are produced within the processes that surround care planning. The study sets out to describe and to provide evidence for the proposition that welfare professionals and the organisations in which they are embedded set out to manufacture trust. This trust has a particular quality as it is impersonal and therefore does not require knowledge of any individual involved. At the same time this trust serves as a commodity within the competitive environment of welfare and it is contested – hence the politics of trust.

The study defines trust as the reduction of complexity and the management of expectations. It uses a framework developed from the work of Michel Foucault and his followers' relating to the relationship between power and discourse and the concept of governmentality. The study describes the local relations of power within which both organisations and the people to whom they provide services become fixed. At the same time it links a developing discourse of citizenship concerning people with learning disabilities with a discourse of trust that is articulated by professionals within organisations. However, organisations tend to promote sets of relationships between the individual and the community, which produce differing forms of citizenship dependent upon the discursive structure of the organisation.

The existence of differing discursive structures between organisations is linked with Foucault's description of the 'orders of discourse' that is then used to produce an organisational typology of three broad forms into which the range of organisations involved in the study are be placed. These are described as *New Wave, Pragmatists* and *the Old Radicals* and as each provides a different set of outcomes for service users they actively challenge the basis of the trust claimed by the other with the first category, *New Wave*, proving hegemonic. This implies that an understanding of the discursive structure of an organisation is essential to the understanding of power relations within a particular field of operations such as social welfare.

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Contents.

Chapter One: Introduction.

1.1 Introduction.

This study is set in a context produced through the interplay of a complex range of social interventions developed or drawn upon to support one of the most vulnerable groups in society – people with learning disabilities with complex support needs. This context is structured by the multitude of activities which come together under the umbrella title of care planning through which the lives of the people in this social group are organised and managed. These activities in turn produce particular sets of options and associated meanings for the people involved.

The aim of the study is to explore this context at a particular and local level to highlight the relationships that are produced between the state, professional workers and the people they support, a local level which is fixed by the administrative boundaries of one English County Council. The analysis is performed through an interrogation of professional discourse by themes identified from a review of formal discourse found in the academic literature. This approach draws upon insights developed by a number of writers working within a broad Faucaudian framework. In particular writers who have developed the concept of governmentality, that is the development of techniques of managing the population at both the collective and individual level, and through which individuals are incited to become self-managing (Miller 1993, Rose 1992, 1993, 1996 Turner 1997).

This context is also characterised by the primacy of the roles it affords to professionals and managers, which produces the central proposition of this study. This proposition concerns the role of professional activity in the manufacture of trust,

which then functions as a means of maintaining and advancing their position and that of the organisations in which they are embedded in the competitive environment of social welfare. This trust has a specific nature in that it is an impersonal trust and as such is not dependent upon any particular individual. Rather it is produced through the systems and processes employed by professionals within organisations. From this perspective the development of interpersonal trust between individual professionals and the users of services is produced secondary to this impersonal trust (Luhman 1979, Giddens 1990).

In adopting this approach the study sets out to make a contribution to knowledge in three ways. The first relates to the understanding of the effects of social policy by focussing upon a particular site or focus for policy interventions rather than the stated aims of individual or collective policy and its consequences, intended or otherwise. In this sense the approach that can be linked with the discussion of developments in the discipline of social policy produced by Lewis et al. (2000) under the title of *Rethinking Social Policy*. Here among the range of concerns and approaches they identify is the inclusion of issues central to this study such as, the construction of the 'social' and the meanings internal to discourses embedded within social policy (Lewis 2000). Similarly, Watson (2000) argues that social policies produce different outcomes in different contexts and for different people and therefore we can only understand the world in partial, specific and local ways. In this sense locally specific power relations are potentially more significant than those produced through traditional categories such as class.

The second area where this study makes a contribution to knowledge also links to the points made by Watson in that it provides an example of the analysis of

these micro-politics conducted within a specific and local context of welfare. In particular it identifies the insights that can be drawn from the application of propositions developed from the work of Foucault and other writers influenced by that work. The third area concerns the identification and exploration of a politics of trust that is associated with both the activity of professionals and the discursive structure of the organisations in which that activity is embedded. The outcome of the study suggests that the concentration of social practices into organisations - social practices being the means through which Foucault argues the effects of power are produced - indicates that organisations and their discursive structure are of particular importance in the analysis of both power relations and trust.

The remainder of this introductory chapter is organised around four sections that provide an overview of the development and structure of the study. The next section identifies some of the background issues that impacted upon the relationship between the state, professionals and citizens in the period since the 1980s which gave rise to a range of challenges over the nature of professional practice. The third section establishes the idea of trust and it develops the claim that there is a 'politics of trust'. This section also briefly explores the links between the key concepts that underpin the study. The forth section then sets out the overall structure of the study supported by a rationale for the order of the chapters while the final section highlights some important concerns relating to the use of terminology within the study.

1.2 Background.

The study has its origins in the controversy over the nature and purpose of the welfare state that emerged with force in the period since the late 1970s (Lewis 2000). This uncertainty was not limited to the U.K. for as Rose (1996) notes the old certainties of the welfare state were under attack across the western world with welfare systems becoming subject to radical change. However, the responses of individual states has not been universal with many providing their own unique solutions to this crisis (Clarke and Newman 1997).

The debate over the role of the welfare state is complex but for simplicity it can be considered as polarised around two basic positions (Croft and Beresford 1995). The first position, lying within the social democratic tradition, considers the principle of welfare as a central achievement of social management, an essential facet of the citizenship of individuals and communities in a modern society. Alternatively, the second position, located with the liberal right, considers the welfare state to be a folly, a dangerous intervention that has undermined the morality of individuals and societies and which created an 'underclass' of welfare dependants. This debate continues despite the replacement of the Conservative administration by New Labour in 1997 and what is apparent is the continuing influence of the political right upon the welfare agenda (Lister 1998, Blackman and Palmer 1999, Land 1999).

1.2.1 Reorganising welfare.

These challenges have brought important changes to the organisation of the welfare state and its environment (Rose 1996). In particular there has been a fragmentation of the old structures of the welfare state and a dispersal of these

elements throughout the independent and informal sectors of care (Clarke and Newman 1997). The welfare professions or 'experts' who were previously direct employees of the state now operate within what Rose describes as a range of quasi-autonomous organisations created through mechanisms such as the purchaser-provider distinction in health and social care.

The state, while it has never been the sole provider of welfare, was seen as the primary provider of welfare in the period from the 1950s to the 1980s supported by the independent sector (Loney et al. 1991). However in the period since the state has increasingly taken the role of co-ordinator of welfare rather than that of direct provider although, it does continue to provide services directly and it has to be remembered that most of what we usually think of as welfare remains almost exclusively paid for from taxation. Similarly, Clarke and Newman note the continuing separation between payment and consumption. These continuing tensions in the relationship between the state, citizens, welfare professions, the users of services and their carers raise key questions around social control and social cohesion (Misztal 1996).

1.2.2 Challenges to professional authority.

This process of reorganising the welfare state also saw a growing challenge to the role and function of the professions that provide welfare services. These challenges had their origins in a number of different sources but they had the capacity to unite both the right and left wings of political thought with the users of services and their carers. This led to calls for a less paternalistic practice, more choice and flexibility of services and an involvement of users and carers in the

provision of services. Moreover, this challenge held that professional practice created a dependency upon professionals and the stigmatised services they provide, which in turn, led to calls to promote self help as the means of avoiding de-moralisation (Davis 1991, Brandon 1995).

However, this movement was more profound than a mere attack upon professional practice as it was a consequence of, and integral to, a process of reconstructing the relationships between the state and individual citizens. Drawing upon the Foucauldian notion of governmentality Rose (1996) argues that this process is one that produces an ethical norm through the incitement of individuals to self manage and one in which welfare professionals have a key role in the surveillance of conduct. Raymond Jack provides this description,

"The notion of profession has been subject to a sustained critique over the past two decades originally from the elite ranks of academic sociologists but more recently from a wider constituency including government, the media and a multitude of campaigning pressure groups. In particular those occupations commonly referred to as the 'caring professions' – health, social work and related occupations – have been the subject of criticism perhaps more vitriolic than that received by others in reaction to the suspicion of moral superiority associated with occupations whose often unwelcome task is to enforce standards of conduct." (Jack 1995a: 3).

Clarke and Newman (1997) describe the relationship that developed between the state and welfare professionals in this period as one where trust had broken down. No longer were administrators seen as detached from particular interests nor are professionals considered to be neutral and working in the public interest. Indeed the call to distrust professionals became a key element of the New Right Conservative government's attack upon welfare, a set of tensions that be seen to continue to this

day many of which revolve around ideas of professional autonomy and self-regulation (DoH 1998, DoH 2000, Davies 2000).

However, despite these criticisms the professions have continued to hold on to a position of influence and authority. The fact that they have survived in such a hostile climate suggests that the professions have a function that serves a set of interests beyond their own. It also raises questions about the nature and quality of the relationships that are established at the different levels of interaction that operate between the state, professionals and the general population. This brings forward the question of trust.

1.3 The question of trust.

This section aims to provide an overview of how the notion of trust became central to the study and to briefly trace the links between trust and the other key concepts through which the study is developed. On a personal level this study represents a developing intellectual journey that began with the debate that preceded the implementation of the N.H.S. and Community Care Act (1990). This became the subject of a dissertation 'What does the consumer control?' (Gilbert 1991) which in turn provided the original basis for this study. This was also my first contact with A. O. Hirschman's (1970) concept of 'Exit, Voice and Loyalty'. The significance of this lay in Rudolf Klein's (1980) application of the model to the National Health Service, which raised two questions that came to influence this study. The first is located with Klein's observation that Hirschman had left 'Loyalty' underdeveloped, a catchall category used to deal with issues left unresolved by 'Exit and Voice'. The second was his observation that the N.H.S. has the capacity to manufacture 'Loyalty',

although Klein did not take this proposition any further. This proposition that an organisation has the capacity to produce loyalty coupled with the omission of any real discussion of how this loyalty was produced raised a number of issues. These issues became linked with the question over the role and function of professions, which in turn led to my interest in the notion of trust.

In the discussion of 'exit, voice and loyalty' both Hirshman and Klein locate the responses of 'exit' and 'voice' with identifiable social processes i.e. market or political systems, while 'loyalty' is limited to being a somewhat irrational response of individuals with no corresponding set of social processes. A key proposition in this thesis is that 'loyalty' can be better understood as a potential response to the systems and processes through which professionals and the organisations within which they are embedded produce, maintain and contest trust. An interest in the social role of Trust is not new. Talcott Parsons (1969) discusses a link between social solidarity, loyalty and trust although he considers this link as attitudinal, while Misztal (1996) argues a link between questions of social cohesion, social policy, citizenship and trust. However, the search for social processes that underpin trust led to the work of Niklas Luhmann (1979) and Anthony Giddens (1990, 1991) whose sociological analyses suggest that trust has a central role in modern society. These analyses concern the reduction of complexity, the management of expectations and the formulation of risk [see chapter eight].

1.3.1 Power, discourse and trust.

The tensions produced through the restructuring of the relationships between the state, professionals and recipients of welfare linked with the proposition that trust

is the contested product of professional activity, raises questions of power and power relations. The development of this study has drawn heavily upon the work of Michel Foucault and the analysis of governmentality (Miller 1993, Rose 1992, 1993, 1996). The reason for this being that Foucault was particularly interested in the operation of welfare and the development of techniques through which the population or specific categories of individuals could be targeted and managed. This analysis is underpinned by the proposition that power operates through the very extremities of the social practices that are associated with welfare producing particular possibilities and excluding others. Central to this analysis is the concept of discourse and the role this has in producing both what is experienced as social reality and categories and identities of the individuals found there.

Miller (1993) describes how different discourses crosscut each other across the 'social surface' forming a myriad of possible positions and counter-positions, or sites, in which individuals become located and realities formed. This interlacing of discourses (e.g. morality, citizenship, rights, responsibilities, deserving/ undeserving, consumerism, participation, control, empowerment, choice etc) operate at different levels of abstraction sharing numerous points of conjecture or articulation (Hall 1986). These produce discursive structures that share common features but which also produce lines of logic that are both complimentary and contradictory.

In this study these 'sites' to which Miller refers are taken to include systems of care planning. The conceptualisation of power within the Foucauldian perspective as fluid, penetrating to the very extremities of social experiences enables an account of the dynamic nature of the environment and its complexity in the way a range of practices are drawn into its web. This in turn can produce particular alliances

between individuals and/or groups, which often consist of interests, which on the surface can appear as opposites (Hindess 1993). This study claims that trust is contested around claims to 'speak for the user' in the struggle for control over limited resources - a situation that makes it appropriate to talk of a *'politics of trust'* and hence the title of the study.

The claim for a 'politics of trust' raises the question of exactly what is held in trust and by whom. A further proposition of this study is that the people who are using welfare services do so as an exercise of their citizenship. The more complex the persons' needs the greater their citizenship is reliant upon the actions of welfare professionals' i.e. held in trust by those professionals. Drawing upon Foucault's perspective this 'politics' is pursued through the search for a discourse of trust generated by professionals which is achieved through the interviewing of professional around two interrelated questions. The first question is linked to the issue of citizenship while the second is linked to questions of power and politics.

1) What do these services set out to achieve?

2) What is the relationship between those who provide the service and those who use the service?

1.3.2 Trust and citizenship.

Citizenship is a powerful and emotive concept as well as being one that is both ambiguous and contested, which can be used to highlight practices of inclusion and exclusion (Turner 1990). In setting the claim that it is the citizenship of people with learning disability that is held in trust there is a clear link to the concerns expressed by disabled writers. Here citizenship is identified as a central feature of the debate related to the social experience of disabled people and it is a key component

of emancipatory approaches to the lives of disabled people (Barton 1996). Indeed Drake (1996) writes,

"From this starting point, disability arises from a socially created denial of citizenship, and the need for research is manifest at the social and political, rather than individual level." (Drake 1996: 161).

At the same time running parallel to this challenge from disabled writers is a change in the discourse of the state which has seen people with learning disabilities being reconstructed from 'a dependent group' to 'individual citizens' (Rapley and Ridgeway 1998, Kings Fund 1999) [see chapter seven]. Drawing upon the concept of governmentality this reconstruction as 'citizen' can be demonstrated as a product of the process of dispersal of welfare that provides the state with a role mediating competition between the quasi-autonomous organisations within which welfare professionals operate (Rose 1996).

1.3.3 Trust and managerialism.

Clarke and Newman (1997) note that the dispersal of welfare through the independent sector has been accompanied by the development of a pervasive managerial discourse. The link between trust and managerialism is provided by the strategies which professionals and organisations employ in a process of self-consciously managing their public image to legitimate their claims to intervene in the lives of people and to define the levels of support required (Rose 1996, Clarke and Newman 1997). In this competitive environment organisations and the professionals they employ seek the endorsement of those who commission or purchase services and those who use services, for this can advance their position. However, this

endorsement is not sought evenly from all interested parties. In this context trust

functions as a commodity creating a confidence in the ability of certain agencies and

undermining the confidence in others. Shemmings and Shemmings (1995) provide

the following insight into the critical nature of this competition and the role of

professional and managerial discourses.

"One way to understand the move towards 'empowerment' is by viewing it as a race

for the ownership of the language. The key to each professional group's survival is to

get to the finishing post before rivals. Each profession is training itself to win, not

because those receiving services have demanded 'empowerment', but because each

profession is determined to be first past the finishing post. The prize is worth all the

effort and its trophies are to be treasured: improved security of employment and the

right to determine one's professional future. There are other races too. Nowadays,

knowing exactly when to speak and write about 'greater choice', the establishment of

a 'total quality management environment' is of greater strategic importance than

any accompanying action. It is also less costly."

(Shemmings and Shemmings 1995: 46).

Central to the understanding of this competitive environment is the need to

explore the discursive structure of care planning. Both in the context of the processes

and practices through which individual and collective contracts for care and support

are placed with individual organisations and in the way this links with the process

and practices that focus upon what particular individuals might do on a day to day

basis. However, while this link between trust and managerialism demonstrates a

number of points of convergence it also masks a range of tensions between these two

discourses. In particular it can be seen as polarised around issues such as the quality

of care versus the costs, which work to expose managerial priorities and professional

resistance. This also lays open to scrutiny the partial and uneven accommodation of professional discourse by managerial discourses.

1.4 The structure of the study.

This study is organised into a number of chapters, which reflect both the development of the study, and with it the intellectual journey referred to earlier. The first two chapters ['Perspectives of Disability' (chapter two) and 'Relationships in Disability Research' (chapter three)] set out the background social and political debate through which disabled writers have explored their relationship with an able-bodied society and identified their key concerns of politics and citizenship. Chapter two sets this relationship within a number of theoretical models that have been developed in reaction to essentialist models that view disability as a personal tragedy. The issue of particular interest here is that of the three types of social model identified one of these types, mid-range theories, has come to dominate professional discourse in a way that is normalising and individualising (Chappell 1992). The issues identified by disabled writers in chapter two - power and citizenship, are taken as the central themes against which the 'politics of trust' is developed. Chapter three focuses upon the political nature of relationships in the research process between disabled people and able-bodied researchers. It also sets out a number of ethical propositions that relate to the study of the lives of disabled people. These were taken as important considerations for even though the study did not involve disabled people as participants it did explore the way in which professional activity impacted upon their lives.

The next chapter (four) sets out the main approaches used in the study and plays a key role in the reading of the following chapters. This methodology chapter sets out the rationale for adopting a discourse analysis as the basis for the study while also setting out the detail of the actual approach taken. This approach to discourse analysis focuses upon the particular formation the discourse takes something Foucault describes as 'orders of discourse'. This analysis is undertaken by seeking to integrate themes from the formal discourse with elements of professional discourse drawn from the fieldwork. This commitment to these two levels of discourse provides the structure for the next four chapters. These identify different contributions to the theoretical understanding of the topic under discussion while integrating this with sections from the fieldwork which highlight or extend the understanding of particular insights within the specific context of the study.

Foucault also held that discourse operated in a secondary relationship with power (Foucault 1980b, Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, Fairclough 1992), which provides the link between the early chapters where politics is identified as a central concern and chapters five and six ['Power, Truth and Discourse' and 'the Effects of Power']. These chapters explore the approach to power identified through the work of Michel Foucault and his followers, which concerns the micro-politics of a particular context. They set out the concept of governmentally which comes to provide the organising mechanism for the discussion in later chapters. The aim in chapters five and six is to explore the relations of power produced through the localised operation of a care planning system, which concern the social relationships produced within the area covered by a single county. Adopting an area covered by one county provides a situation where the lead responsibility for care planning, as set

out under the NHS and Community Care act (1990), falls to one local authority. Thus providing a degree of continuity across the different agencies involved.

The next chapter ['Citizenship: Locating people with learning disabilities'] takes up the second concern identified in chapter three – citizenship. This chapter explores a number of theoretical contributions to the analysis of citizenship while at the same time making links with the theme of governmentality which at this point is taken on through the work of writers such as Rose, Miller and Turner. Chapter eight returns to the central theme of the study - trust ['The Politics of Trust']. The focus here becomes the activity of professionals or 'expertise' as the writers on both trust and governmentality refer to this phenomenon. This chapter focuses upon a range of practices through which expertise manages expectations. The next chapter ['Managerialism and Trust'] extends this discussion of trust through linking it with the discourses of managerialism which Clarke and Newman (1997) claim have come to dominate the provision of welfare services.

Chapter ten ['New Wave, Pragmatists and Old Radicals'] explores a number of overarching issues that have emerged from the study. These are worked into a particular typology based upon the discursive structure of organisations. The descriptors; New Wave, Pragmatist or Old Radical, are used to identify differences between organisations based upon the themes explored in the preceding chapters – power, citizenship, trust and managerialism. In this analysis one category of organisation [New Wave] is proving to be hegemonic. At the same time this holistic view of the evidence is used to support the claim that the discursive structure of an organisation is important to the understanding of power relations and trust. The final chapter then sets out to provide a summary of the study and its potential contribution

to both theory and practice in understanding the relationships between the state, professionals and the people which who rely upon welfare services for support in their daily lives.

1.5 Issues of terminology.

Before moving on to the main body of the study this final section will take a moment to consider the use of terminology. In this study there is a recognition that the use of some terms can lead to devaluing labels, however it also the case that labels have the function of directing resources. The term learning disability has been adopted as the official designation for people who were previously labelled mentally handicapped (Dept of Health 1991, 1992). This contrasts with the designation 'people with learning difficulties' which is preferred choice of people officially labelled as having a learning disability (Simons 1992). At the same time the descriptors of the level of impairment (mild, moderate, severe and profound) have been rejected in preference for descriptions that identify the level of support (Clegg 1993).

However, there are problems with name changes. Harris (1995) observes that despite the many changes in terminology in the U.K. there is no documented change in social attitudes towards people with learning disability. At the same time Gleeson calls for a strong social theory to protect disability studies from being condemned to the futile exercise of moving from one unsatisfactory definition to another.

" *Theoretical superficiality has encouraged a further linguistic division in disability debates. This concerns the regular announcements that currently-favoured collective and individual terms for disabled people have become outmoded and in need of immediate replacement by 'less dehumanising' alternatives. Whilst not denying the*

political importance of the process of naming social groups, it must be stated that this endless tendency to reinvent titles for disabled people is characteristic of a vacuous humanism which seeks to emphasise a 'human commonality' over the material reality of oppression. Typical of this is the insistence by many commentators on terms which primordially stress the humanity of disabled people-e.g. 'people with disabilities'." (Gleeson 1997: 182 [original emphasis]).

The question of what forces combine to disable people is taken up in more detail in chapters two and three. The potential of the descriptor 'disability' is that it holds the possibility for a communality between people with intellectual disabilities and people with other forms of disability which is why it is preferred in this study. Although people with learning disabilities, as individuals, do not necessarily identify with a wider social group so labelled (Biklen and Mosley 1988, Harris 1995). At the same Duckett points out that a potential communality does not necessarily transcend lines of difference as the oppressed can also turn oppressor.

"Oppression can be enacted by disabled as well as non disabled people. The insidious divide between the Para Olympic and Special Olympic movements is an example of this, where people with learning difficulties are segregated from people with physical and sensory impairments." (Duckett 1998: 626).

In the context of this study I intend to use the descriptor learning disability in preference to learning difficulty as the use of the term 'disability' holds the potential for a commonality between this social group with the wider social movement of 'disabled people'.

Chapter Two: Perspectives of Disability.

2.1 Social versus essentialist approaches.

One of the key background influences for this study was the developing

challenge to professional discourse of radical theories of disability. The aim here is

to outline the major theoretical perspectives that have developed as a critique of

essentialist approaches to disability. These essentialist approaches, often carried by

professionals, have been criticised for ignoring the social experience of disabled

people through a concern with individual pathology and techniques of normalisation

(Chappell 1992, Riddell 1996). In contrast the disabled writers and advocates of

radical social models of disability whose critical perspectives are explored in this

chapter have placed issues of politics and citizenship at the centre of debates over the

social experience of disabled people and their relationship with an able-bodied world

(Drake 1996, Hughes and Paterson 1997).

This 'social model' of disability has been used to challenge ideas that

dependence is an inevitable consequence of the 'tragedy' of disability while at the

same time placing the experience of disabled people at the centre of the debate. It is

this restructuring of the debate to focus upon the ways in which disability is socially

produced which promotes issues of politics and citizenship to the fore. The

significance of these perspectives for this study is that they provide a basis for

conceptualising the relationship between disabled people and the professional

workers who provide support. These issues of politics and citizenship will provide

two of the four themes, around which the study is constructed. At the same time the

exploration of these different models of disability will enable the identification of

particular discourses within the operation of social policy (Watson 2000), in particular the essentialist and mid-range theories that dominate professional discourse (Chappell 1992).

The power of the social model of disability lies in its ability to give rise to prescriptions for social action to promote the lives of disabled people. However, there are tensions within this model where writers who draw upon the post-modernist paradigm challenge the hegemony of the 'materialist' position due to the latter's refusal to acknowledge the social experience of impairment. This, according to post-modernist writers, leads to a denial of the particular experiences of disabled people. These perspectives will be explored in greater depth later but first I will consider criticisms of as well as the potential for sociology in constructing an understanding of disability.

2.2 Radicalising Disability: Problems in mainstream Sociology.

Gleeson (1997) argues that the 'social sciences' have failed to consider physical impairment as an important issue. This has resulted in its subsidiary, disability studies, drifting in an a-theoretical stream. Sociology itself is accused of ignoring disability as a serious concern largely because disability is seen as an individual medical or psychological problem and therefore a private concern rather than a public issue (Barton 1996, Oliver 1996).

Oliver is especially critical of medical sociology's failure to challenge the orthodox view of disability. In fact he observes that some writers within the discipline are less than enthusiastic about the contribution of radical social theories of disability. He is also disappointed in the contemporary trends for a sociology of

the body for maintaining the invisibility of disabled bodies and the continued association of disability with illness (Oliver 1996). While Barton, highlighting the work of Jenkins (1991) is particularly critical of sociology for failing to acknowledge the work of disabled sociologists. At the same time both Oliver and Barton claim that sociology has ignored the ways in which disabled people operate as a powerful social movement (Barton and Oliver 1992, Barton 1996). However, for Oliver and his contemporaries sociology retains a radical and emancipatory potential. Barton echoes the theme of C Wright Mills (1970), classic work on the 'sociological imagination',

"Part of the sociological task is to make connections between, for example, structural conditions and the lived reality of people in particular social settings."
(Barton 1996: 3).

The central plank in this radical social theory of disability is the engaging of 'historical materialism' to locate the conditions of disability within capitalist social relations (Gleeson 1997). Primarily this involves the re-orientation of the discussion away from 'individualist' theories that hold disability as a personal tragedy towards theories which hold that disability is either, a sophisticated and complex form of social oppression or, a form of institutionalised discrimination similar to racism, sexism or heterosexism (Barnes 1996a).

However, there are tensions within the social model. Writers who argue that it ignores the experience of impairment (Shakespeare 1993, 1994, French 1993, Crow 1995, Hughes and Patterson 1997, Hughes 1999) challenge the materialist position of Oliver and Barnes. Hughes and Patterson make the critical claim that the materialist model suffers from the same biological essentialism that it claims to

reject, while its economic reductionism fails to give proper weight to the role of culture.

Colin Barnes (1996a), in a review of sociological perspectives of impairment and disability argues that ontologically these can be separated into three themes. The first two themes he identifies as socio-political, the third cultural. These are explored in the following sections.

2.2.1 Socio-political perspectives.

The first theme demonstrates the dominance in American sociology of 'structural functionalism' and 'deviance' theories. Here the problem of disability is conceived as an inevitable outcome of the evolution of contemporary society. These theories focus upon social construction and the importance of processes such as labelling and stigmatisation. At the same time there is an emphasis upon the effects of attitudinal and environmental factors.

This theory challenges the notion that disability is solely an issue of individual impairment or a medical condition. Writers such as Goffman (1968), Scott (1969), De Jong (1979), Stone (1984), Wolfensberger (1989), and Albrecht (1992) are identified as making a key contribution to the understanding of how a whole industry has grown up around disabled people. This industry, claiming rehabilitation as its primary purpose, works to produce a dependency upon professionals; disability is medicalised and commodified, with disabled people becoming subjected to the province of medical and bureaucratic power.

Barnes, in evaluating the contribution of these writers argues that while this theme has resulted in major challenges to the medical model of disability they have

failed to take sufficient account of structural factors. However, it would be correct to state that perspectives within this theme are the most influential in contemporary health and welfare services provided **for** disabled people. This has arisen as these theorists have been incorporated into professional and service discourse (Chappell 1992). A criticism of these 'mid-range' theories is that while they acknowledge cultural aspects they are individualistic in their focus upon changing individuals to make them socially acceptable (Gleeson 1997, Redworth and Redworth 1997). Rose (1985) notes this individualising tendency of professional discourse in his discussion of the 'Psychological Complex' and the consequential failure to challenge structural issues.

The second theme within the social model is the materialist perspective highlighted earlier. Central to this view is the emergence of capitalist social relations. In a critical stance this 'materialist' perspective distinguishes between 'impairment' and 'disability' with the former being associated with individually based biological, psychological and medical discourse. Whilst the latter relates to the way contemporary social organisation works to exclude, or take no account of, people with physical, sensory or psychological impairments.

Oliver (1996) argues that Vic Finklestein's (1980) historical-materialist account of disability was critical to the development of this radical perspective. Barnes provides the following summary of Finklestein's account,

"In Phase One, people with impairments were dispersed throughout the community; but in Phase Two, because of the emergence of large-scale industry with production lines geared to 'able bodied norms' and 'hospital based medicine' they were separated from their social origins into a clearly defined devalued group. Phase Three will witness the end of the paradox as disability will be recognised as social restriction only." (Barnes 1996a: 47).

Phase two, a period that coincides with the emergence of western industrial capitalism produces a paradox. Here disability is at once a personal tragedy, bringing dependence and passivity, a social restriction and a form of discrimination. For Oliver, this account is of central importance for it led to his own influential publication 'The Politics of Disablement' (Oliver 1996). Barnes (1996a) describes this publication as placing the role of ideology or culture into the foreground of a materialist account.

However, the materialist model's rejection of impairment as an issue for disability politics is challenged by other writers who, while they would support the general project of the disability movement, are less than convinced by the materialist position (Shakespeare 1993, 1994, French 1993, Crow 1995, Hughes and Patterson 1997, Hughes 1999). These views will be developed in the next section.

Abberley (1996) responds to the challenge that the disability movement has given limited consideration to impairment by arguing that this is a tactical position necessary for the development of social theories of disablement. This development draws heavily upon models of anti-sexism and anti-racism and aims to specify the similarities and differences between disability and other forms of oppression. For Abberley impairment must be discussed at the level of theory. It has to subjected to a social explanation as mere descriptions of the social experience of impairment are not sufficient grounds upon which to advance theory,

"I wish to argue that we must talk more about impairment at the level of theory if we are to make sense of disability, since impairment is the material substratum upon which the oppressive social structures of disablement are erected."

(Abberley 1996: 63 [emphasis in the original]).

In a similar vein Priestly (1998) holds that difference is not incompatible with commonality, this can be seen in debates over the 'double discrimination' or 'simultaneous discrimination' experienced by disabled people who are black, female, elders, working class or gay. He argues that the problems in accommodating difference do not undermine the logic of the social model and its focus upon a common experience of oppression. However, he is sceptical about the role of impairment alone in developing an understanding of the social position of disabled people.

"It is important to recognise that disability considered as a social phenomenon is about discrimination and exclusion. Such social processes operate largely independently of the experience of people with impairments." (Priestly 1998: 85).

At the same time, writers such as Barnes (1996a) and Oliver (1990, 1996) claim that a focus upon culture is a distraction away from the determining effects of economic and social relations. The social relations of capitalist society are the determining factor in the production of a view of disability as personal tragedy requiring medicalisation. Although as Priestly (1998: 90) notes, a link between the economic and cultural values can be forged through the concept of ideology,

"They would function ideologically where they could be shown to perpetuate existing relationships of power within the production of welfare, for example between 'providers' and 'users'. They would function ideologically where they could be shown to mask or preclude the possibility of alternative social relations (for example, a more equitable reorganisation of work, family, welfare or citizenship)."

2.2.2 Cultural and post-modern perspectives.

The third theme (Barnes 1996a) emerges from a diverse range of criticisms of

the social model. The objections centre upon what is claimed to be its materialist and

male bias. These criticisms focus upon: gender (Morris 1991), race (Stuart 1993)

impairment (Crow 1992, 1995, French 1993) and the failure to critique modernity

(Hughes 1999). This perspective focuses upon impairment and the experiences of

disabled people. There are also important considerations related to the status of

theory in post-modern thought. For in contrast with the materialist model there is a

rejection of the whole idea of overarching theoretical models or 'Meta Narratives'

(Lyotard 1984, Shakespeare 1993, 1994). In the post-modern view human experience

is both too complex and too diverse to be accommodated within a single account.

Therefore overarching accounts are experienced as oppressive (Riddell 1996).

However, it is important to note that it is not essential to pose modern (materialist)

and post-modern perspectives as mutually exclusive. Both can be considered as

linked in an uneven process of development with the search for a more fundamental

position being a response to increasing diversity and uncertainty (Turner 1994).

In the discussion of the social model of disability it is most useful to consider

the tensions between the post-modern and materialist positions as being at the same

time both complementary and contradictory, rather than merely in opposition. This

tension between post-modern views and the materialist model over the problem of

impairment provokes a call for a 'sociology of impairment' (Hughes and Patterson

1997, Hughes 1999) as an essential theme in the development of a social theory of

disability. They argue that the materialist position has failed to match the trend noted

earlier within mainstream sociology for a study of the body. This continues the mind

– body separation that mainstream sociology is attempting to overcome. It also fails to enable any connection between disability studies and the sociology of the body, which has made bodies both politically and historically specific.

Writers within the cultural and post-modern theme argue that this sociology of the body challenges the bio-medical monopoly over knowledge of the body, while the materialist model of disability is in danger of conceding this. They also argue that this separation leaves the body as fixed, devoid of history and meaning. The consequence being that a convergence is created between bio-medicine and the social model of disability where the body is reduced to little more than a faulty machine,

"Both treat it as a pre-social, inert, physical object, as discrete, palpable and separate from the self." (Hughes and Patterson 1997: 329).

2.3 Impairment and the potential for social action.

The project of these cultural and post-modern approaches is to unite the experience of impairment with the experience of oppression. It is argued that experiences such as pain are never the sole creation of physical bodies rather they are produced in the way the body intersects with the mind, history and culture. The body is both experienced and the subject of discursive practices (Hughes and Patterson 1997). Hughes (1999:163) provides the following description, which has particular implications for people with learning disabilities.

"Bodies are not simply seen, they are also read, and read through categories which place them in a hierarchy of bodies."

Impairment has a special significance for theories of disability. French (1994) argues that there are four important factors that influence this personal experience;

the point in life at which the impairment is acquired, the relative visibility of the impairment, the comprehensibility of the impairment to others and the presence or absence of illness. While Crow (1992, 1995) challenges (materialist) social models for failing to accommodate experiences such as pain, fatigue, depression and uncertainty. She also argues that disabled people are significantly different from other oppressed groups in the following way,

"There is nothing inherently unpleasant or difficult about other groups'
embodiment: sexuality, sex and skin colour are neutral facts. In contrast, impairment
means our experiences of our bodies can be inherently unpleasant or difficult."

(Crow 1995: 3).

Shakespeare (1994) argues that the social model of disability needs to be re-conceptualised to take account of the experience of impairment and this requires a consideration of the role of culture in the oppression of disabled people. Culture is also an important theme in post-modern accounts of citizenship (Turner 1994). This criticism does not amount to a rejection of the importance of material relations rather it emerges from a scepticism about the adequacy of mono-linear explanations that reduce everything to economic factors.

A central concern of these post-modern and cultural perspectives is the need to need to explore the objectification of the disabled body as 'other'. Drawing upon the work of Susan Sontag, Shakespeare argues that disability functions in society as a metaphor for a range of processes or characteristics that non-disabled society cannot face and that disabled people become fixed with these projected negative feelings. This 'otherness' leads to social relationships involving disabled people becoming objectified or reified, with disabled people being viewed as dangerous and requiring management. At the same time they become the focus of curiosity inviting enquiry.

Shakespeare notes that 'other' has been a feature of the experience of oppressed groups such as women and Afro-Americans. He links this Oliver's discussion of this phenomenon in which he draws upon Marx's use of the notion of fetishism. Shakespeare argues that this process of objectification promotes images that enable able-bodied people to feel good about themselves - powerful and generous. While at the same time disabled people are confined to a subordinate position in society and are subject to prejudice, a discussion that will be returned to in relation to the idea of active citizen in chapter seven. He argues that the social model needs to be re-conceptualised to accommodate the disabling effects of prejudice. Hughes (1999), in a similar vein, argues that there needs to be a focus upon the discursive process that articulates disabled people as strangers.

Post-modern writers also reject the challenge made by materialists such as Oliver (1996) that the focus upon fragmentation and psychological experience obscures the potential for empowerment and frustrates the radical potential of the social model. Lather (1991) argues that it is quite possible to retain a theme of empowerment within a post-modern framework.

However as Riddell (1996) notes, Lather's individualistic view of empowerment would find sympathies with the liberal right. Riddell identifies a second, less strident, post-modern approach with the work of Corbett (1993). The focus here is with the way in which language is used a means of oppression. Corbett argues that there is a need to deconstruct language to explore the oppressive meanings, categories and identities it produces and upon these build new and diverse understandings and through this new discourses and definitions will emerge. Hughes

(1999) takes this further by pointing out that perception - particularly visual perception - is produced through discourse.

Reacting to the criticisms from materialists, Hughes and Patterson (1997), argue that empowerment and movements based upon collective identity are as much of a problem for the materialist model as they are for post-modern perspectives. They point out that the earlier trend of 'new social movements', linked to race, gender and sexuality, galvanised around shifting the focus from bodies to society has now reversed. The 1990s have seen a reworking of radical theory to focus upon the discursive construction of the body - the tyrannies of the post-modern period are aesthetic – a body fascism linked to the aesthetic of perfect bodies. There is a need to consider the impaired body as a lived body,

"Disability is experienced in, on and through the body, just as impairment is experienced in terms of the personal and cultural narratives that help to constitute its meaning. Impairment and disability meet in the body not as the dualistic clash of inner and outer phenomena, but insofar as impairment structures perceptions about disability and disablement is part of the 'felt world'."

(Hughes and Patterson 1997: 335).

Central to this argument is the question of suffering. Impairment becomes impregnated with cultural meanings and cannot escape its embeddedness with in the social structure. At the same time oppression is experienced and is embodied as pain, as hurt. A particular example of this is provided by Marks (1994) who explores the poetry of a young disabled man whose pain and frustration at being unable to make himself understood is so evident in his writing. Arguably there are also examples of this hurt in the prose, poetry and art of people with learning disabilities contained in the anthology 'Know me as I am' (Atkinson and Williams 1990). At the same time

the developing autobiographical approaches (Atkinson and Walmsley 1999) hold

further potential for this understanding of individual social experiences. Hughes and

Patterson argue that the problem for the materialist model is if the resistance to this

'hurt' is pride, in a similar way to 'black pride' and 'gay pride', then how can it

explain this militancy?

2.4 Summary.

This chapter has drawn together a discussion of the major theoretical

perspectives of disability. It has also established the centrality of issues of politics

and citizenship to the relationship between disabled people and an able-bodied

society while at the same time identifying the limitations of the essentialist and mid-

range theories that dominate professional discourse. This provides two key platforms

for this study. The first platform is that of politics and citizenship which as identified

earlier provides key themes around which the study is constructed. The second

platform is provided by the identification of the tensions between the discourses of

disability that have colonised professional discourse and the discourses that have

been developed by disabled writers.

This former set of perspectives which have colonised professional discourse

are criticised for an individualising tendency and a focus upon normalisation that

fails to tackle the causes of oppression and marginalisation. At the same time these

perspectives, as they are limited to removing stigma, remove any danger that

professional practice will bring a conflict with the state. Therefore expectations can

be easily managed and so provide the basis for trust between the state and welfare

professionals. In contrast the perspectives developed by disabled writers hold the

potential for change by challenging the basis of the social relations between disabled people and an able-bodied society. This potential is one that could be exploited to enable welfare professionals to critically explore their relations with the people they support and as a consequence develop emancipatory modes of working. In this study this tension between the discourses used by professionals and the critical discourses developed by disabled writers provides the rationale for drawing upon the latter to interrogate the former later in the main sections of the study. The aim is to problematise professional discourse making explicit the underlying power relations. This discussion is developed further in chapter four.

Chapter Three: Relationships in Disability Research.

3.1 Critical relationships.

The development of the social model of disability has produced an emerging literature concerning the relationship between disabled and non-disabled people in the research process. This literature identifies a number of key challenges for the researcher. In particular there is the way this perspective identifies the research process as political especially where it concerns able-bodied people researching the lives of disabled people. This politics focuses upon the relationships between those involved, the assumptions that underpin the research process, the objects of the study, the ownership of the material generated and the purpose to which the outcomes of research will be put. This last issue is of particular importance for the purpose of critical inquiry is to provoke change rather than merely describing social conditions.

These challenges will be explored here in relation to both this study and the wider issues they provoke. There are two critical issues that I as the researcher have to consider in the undertaking of this project. The first is that I am a non-disabled person and therefore do not have first hand experience of the cultural and political oppression that is the stated experience of many disabled people (Oliver 1996). The second is that I hold a professional qualification related to health and welfare and I have spent my whole working life either in practice or in the preparation of others for professional practice. Therefore I am both a product of and a potential conduit for the oppressive discourses of impairment and disability.

3.2 The development of Disability Studies.

Barnes and Mercer (1997), identify the defining moment in the development of

disability studies as occurring when a group of disabled people rejected the conclusion

of a group of able-bodied researchers they had been involved with. Their feelings of

betrayal led to the setting up of the Union of Physically Disabled against Segregation

(UPIAS). This experience could be linked with Kieffer's (1984) description of a

'sense of personal violation' that precedes the journey towards empowerment [see

chapter nine]. UPIAS went on to take a central role in the development of the social

model of disability. This feeling of 'betrayal' is echoed in Michael Oliver's

description of research as alienation. He argues that research shows all four forms of

alienation noted by Marx: from the product of the research, from the process, from

other research subjects and from 'self' (Oliver 1992).

UPIAS in adopting a social model of disability took a political stance

challenging both the nature of a society that excluded disabled people and the right of

professionals to speak for disabled people. This social model of disability drew upon

parallel work by feminists, black writers and others within what was known as critical

social research, praxis or emancipatory research. Barnes and Mercer provide the

following summary of the project of this critical approach;

"At its heart is a political commitment to confront disability by changing: the social relations of research production, including the role of funding bodies; the relationship between researchers and those being researched; and the links between research and policy initiatives." (Barnes and Mercer 1997: 5).

This critical social inquiry proposed that research is political, that it is about

changing society not describing it. It has to be guided by a different paradigm based

upon three key fundamentals: reciprocity, gain and empowerment. The aim is to develop an understanding of the lived experience of disabled people (Oliver 1992). In a later paper, Oliver reasserts this paradigm shift and calls for disability research to have a commitment to emancipation not to some misleading notion of objectivity. He also clarifies the notion of emancipatory research as being related to the outcomes of research activity rather than to methodology (Oliver 1997).

3.2.1 The role of the researcher.

In discussing this emancipatory approach Barton (1996: 4), suggests four issues that the researcher needs to consider when engaging in disability research.

- *What right do I have to undertake this work?*
- *What responsibilities arise from the privileges I have as a result of my social position?*
- *How can I use my knowledge and skills to challenge forms of oppression disabled people experience?*
- *Does my writing and speaking reproduce a system of domination or challenge that system?*

The experience of applying these considerations to this study is both a sobering experience and an important discipline when considering the ethics of such an undertaking. My responses to these questions are as follows. With respect to the first question I find it difficult to claim that I have a right to undertake the study. However, I do occupy a privileged position in professional education, which should be used to promote more equal relationships. With respect of the second and third questions I would view my responsibility as being to disseminate the conclusions of the study through writing, teaching and practice. This will involve people working

with disabled people where the aim would be to ensure that people involve themselves with services in a critical way and explore their involvement with disabled people in a reflexive way. With respect to the fourth question it is hoped that this study will be used to challenge systems of domination through a critical study of [some of] the discursive processes through which relationships and identities are produced.

Barton considers sociology to have an emancipatory potential, which he argues necessitates researchers engaging with power relations in order to gain an understanding of what empowerment might look like. He also sets out a number of areas in which he feels that a contribution has been made.

- *The generation of a social theory of disability.*
- *The social construction of categories and the ways in which they are shaped by economic and political influences.*
- *Professional ideologies and practice in relation to how they support vested interests and define definitions of need.*
- *The construction of policy and, for example, the extent to which they serve other purposes than the interests of those they are alleged to support.*
- *Providing accounts of the lived experience of disabled people in particular social settings.*
- *Contributing to the development of enabling forms of methodology and research practice.*
- *Examining the disability movement in terms of a social movement for change.*

(Barton 1996: 7).

These areas identified by Barton again have a disciplinary effect in that they contain ethical considerations related to the purpose of the study and its potential to contribute to the body of knowledge. In relation to this study I would claim that it has the potential to make a contribution to the following areas.

- *The social construction of categories and the ways in which they are shaped by economic and political influences.* This clearly links to the issue of power relations and the identities this produces. In particular there is the nature of the citizenship formed through the services used by people with learning disabilities. This concerns the production of self-managing individuals and categories of risk.

- *Professional ideologies and practice in relation to how they support vested interests and define definitions of need.* I would suggest that this provides the crux of the 'Politics of Trust' as this functions to produce and maintain particular relations of power. The analysis of the micro-politics of a specific context reveals these power relations in the everyday practices that impact upon people's lives.

- *The construction of policy and, for example, the extent to which they serve other purposes than the interests of those they are alleged to support.* Again I would claim that the 'Politics of Trust' has the potential to explore how policy, especially in its more localised implementation, serves a more complex set of objectives beyond those interests stated in the policy. It also identifies the discourses implicit within social policy and its application.

- *Providing accounts of the lived experience of disabled people in particular social settings.* This study does not set out to explore the lived accounts of disabled people, rather its aim is to identify how these social settings are produced through the interplay of a complex range of discourses.

3.3 The emancipatory paradigm and people with learning disabilities.

This approach to research with its focus upon the experiences of disabled people takes on a new dimension when it concerns people with learning disability.

Linda Ward (1997b) argues that the emancipatory research paradigm has largely

ignored the issues, which arise in research relating to people with learning disability.

"The research process – relying heavily as it does on intellectual skills – is, by

definition, less easily accessible to people with learning difficulties than it is to people

with other kinds of, non-intellectual, impairments." (Ward 1997b: 37).

However, she argues that in the past ten years, with the advent of user

involvement provoked by the N.H.S. and Community Care Act, a marked change has

occurred in the overall attitude towards involving people with learning disabilities in

research about their own lives. Previously, user involvement had been limited to

asking professionals or parents/carers about the lives of people. This can be contrasted

with the present situation where a number of research techniques have been developed

that might be used with people with limited verbal skills or alternative methods of

communication (for example see; Flynn 1986, Atkinson 1988, Simons 1994, Ward

1997a 1997b, Booth and Booth 1997, Atkinson and Walmsley 1999).

However, this still leaves those people who have very high levels of support

needs where observation and inference may be the only tools (Biklen and Moseley

1988, Callan et al 1995). Atkinson and Walmsley (1999) also note the difficulties

experienced by people with learning disabilities in participating in research. Referring

to this 'struggle to communicate' as 'lost voices' they suggest that it is inevitable that

people with learning disabilities will need to work with non-learning disabled people.

However, they point out that in developing accounts these need to be qualified by the

limitations imposed by having these non-learning disabled people involved in the

selection of material. There has to be a critical focus upon who is speaking, who is

writing and for what purpose is this done.

3.4 Summary.

The material covered in this chapter identifies the critical relationship between the researched and the researcher where the latter is not a disabled person. It also explores the issue of the purpose to which the research will be put highlighting the fact that critical research should be aimed at changing social relations rather than merely describing them. The questions posed earlier by Barton have been used to identify the areas in which this study can make a contribution and where it has the potential to influence the social relations produced between disabled and able-bodied people. These include: an exploration of power relations that work to produce particular categories of individuals as self-managing citizens or risky; the way the discourse of trust works to promote and maintain particular interests; the analysis of policy in the micro-politics of a specific and local context; and a contribution to the understanding of how particular contexts within which people live their lives are produced.

The challenge to able-bodied people researching disabled people's lives posed by Duckett (1998) in the question 'what am I doing here' is a powerful one especially as it raises the issue of what right have I to speak for disabled people. However, as Ward points out, people with learning disabilities have very specific problems in relation to the intellectual process that is associated with research. Problems that necessitate the interpretation of evidence through the involvement of non-learning disabled people. At the same time this study does not claim to speak for disabled people although it does explore the social relations of their lives. This is achieved through an exploration of the ways professional practice structures the relationships

between individuals and the state, a relationship that is both political and central to the

citizenship of those reliant upon high levels of support.

Chapter Four: Methodology.

4.1 Background.

It would be difficult to state here with any honesty that this study developed in the classical textbook style where there is a clear planning stage with the project then being conducted inline with a predetermined plan that was adhered to from start to finish. This is not to say that there was not a plan, rather that an integral part of the research process has been to revise both the methodology and the methods involved as the project developed. At the same time there has been a refining of the aims and focus of the project away from what now appear to be the quite unrealistic intentions with which it was first conceived.

One of the major reasons for these revisions has been the movement away from the original project proposal that was submitted under the title of 'What does the consumer control?' (Gilbert 1991). This initial proposition followed a distinctly quantitative methodology utilising survey techniques and a national sample. The reason for this movement came with the growing realisation that one of the key skills of professionals and managers was to give the correct answers to certain types of questions. This is especially the case where these questions concern issues such as client's rights and their level of participation and choice within systems such as care planning. This recognition of the way in which professionals were actively engaged in impression management also linked to my own experience in professional education. At the same time it connected with Klein's (1980) discussion of 'Loyalty' and the question of whether organisations such as the NHS had the capacity to manufacture loyalty.

These growing doubts over the appropriateness of the original project proposal to the question of 'user control' were further reinforced at this point through an evaluation of the literature on empowerment. This concluded that most of the discussion of empowerment took place in the absence of any clear conceptualisation of power itself (Gilbert 1995). A conclusion that drew me first to the literature around power and then more directly to the work of Michel Foucault. The attraction became the applicability of his perspective of power to the relations that were produced within social welfare in general and care planning in particular. It also introduced the whole question of discourse and its role in the production of social relations.

The project had now assumed a focus upon power relations and discourse and the implications of this were clear. The idea surrounding the project 'What does the consumer control?' had become subsumed within a reformulated project, which had a very different ontological stance. This produced a revision of the methodology away from a quantitative approach to a qualitative approach with a focus upon the micro politics of care planning within an area covered by a single county.

This reformulation also involved a gradual revision of who were to be the subjects of the research. The original intention was to include both users and carers. However, as the study progressed it became more focused upon professional discourse. Along side this were more pragmatic concerns over the size of the undertaking and timescale, the decision was therefore made to focus exclusively upon the interviewing of professional workers. This was not to devalue or exclude the views of users and carers rather the study had become concerned with the way in which the identity of the user was produced within professional discourse. At the

same time a growing awareness of participatory approaches to research [see section 3.2] posed real questions for the design of a study where users had not been involved from the beginning. These revisions also brought with them a change to the project title which became 'Social Welfare: Care planning and the politics of trust'.

A consequence of this process of revision is that the methodology and methods that are finally used are those that you wished you had decided to use from the beginning. However, this employs the gift of hindsight and ignores the learning process that has brought about these revisions and changes. The remainder of this chapter will explore the way in which the project was conducted and through this I aim to make some of my own history and values explicit (May 1993, King 1996).

4.2 Developing a methodology.

The discussion so far has highlighted the process of revision and reformulation that took place during the conduct of the project. This makes it difficult to fit the overall strategy into a neat philosophical box labelled induction or deduction. Indeed, Bulmer (1984) suggests that both inductive and deductive strategies co-exist in the process of theory development, while Mason (1996) describes the relationship between data generation and theory construction as dialectical. However, both of these writers are in agreement that there needs to be coherence between the objectives of the research and the methods used to achieve these. Bulmer makes the observation that a research project needs to have a *"convincing account of the relationship between problems and theories and general methodology"* (1984a: 27). Such an account has to link the researcher's conceptualisation of social reality (ontology) and the nature of the evidence this

reality produces (epistemology) with their theoretical position. This produces a general methodology from which the specific strategy is developed.

Mason takes these questions of ontology and epistemology into a proposition that there are five difficult questions that have to be answered in relation to what a research project is about. These concern; the nature of the social reality and what can be accepted as evidence or knowledge of this reality; what topic or area is the research concerned with and what are you seeking to explain; and lastly the question of what purpose the research will serve. The following sections will explore these questions as they relate to the project while those of general methodology and research strategy will be developed in section 4.3.

4.2.1 Questions of ontology and epistemology.

The first two questions are those of ontology and epistemology. In this project the ontological stance is developed from the work of Michel Foucault whose post-structuralist position holds that social practices and the discourse they produce [social science] constitute the very thing [social reality] that it [social science] is concerned with (Fairclough 1992). At the same time these discourses are secondary to the circulation of power (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, Potter 1996). The social reality is therefore socially constructed, a matter of interpretation, with discourses becoming material (reified) through social practices. This contrasts with a position where a social phenomenon is explained by calling upon facts or laws that pre-exist social relations, for example biological laws such as natural selection, or the works associated with a religious deity. The assumption made by theorists such as Foucault is that access to this social reality can be gained through the analysis of texts. Texts

being a general description for the language product of social practices, these include

visual images such as film and photographs, and symbols. It is also important to note

that Foucault's materialism employs a different understanding of the idea of material

from that used by advocates of the social model of disability which is deployed

within a realist framework [see section 3.2.1]. Although both perspectives would

concur that discourse or ideology has material effects.

The epistemological position is taken from the relationship between power

and discourse. For here discourse becomes constituted within particular regimes of

power while at the same time it provides the evidence for the effects of power. In this

study the discourse of professionals and managers who provide services for people

with learning disabilities is used as the evidence which is interrogated by critical

themes from the literature review. From this an interpretation of the social relations

and the categories of individuals formed is derived. This discussion of discourse is

developed further in section 4.3.1 and in chapters five and six.

4.2.2 Questions relating to the topic area and what the research is seeking to explain.

The research is set within the social welfare system and its focus is upon the

process of care planning that is central to services for adults with a learning

disability. The particular context for the study was those agencies that were

providing residential services to adults with a learning disability in a single English

county from late July 1997. This environment had become increasingly competitive

due to the conditions created by the NHS and Community Care Act 1990. The

identification of the context in which discourse occurs is of critical importance to its

analysis as this links forms of social practice with the relations formed within the social structure (Fairclough 1992).

The aim of the research was to identify how welfare professionals develop a discourse of trust. This was approached at two levels; the first involved a review of relevant areas of the critical academic literature; the second was undertaken by interviewing professionals at various levels within the system and generating text. These two levels of analysis are brought into a critical relationship to demonstrate how a discourse of trust develops and the role this plays as a commodity within social welfare. The proposition is that trust is contested and that this conflict produces what can best described as a 'politics of trust'. The research project was therefore seeking to explain how trust is produced, how this politics operates and to identify the relationships that were produced within this particular field of operations.

4.2.3 Questions relating to the purpose of the research.

The intention is that by focusing upon this 'politics of trust' using a framework developed from the ideas of Michel Foucault that the power relations which lie behind the discourse of professionals can be made clear. This will enable what is familiar and authoritative (Potter 1996) about the relations professionals have with others to be made explicit and problematic. This holds the potential of producing new roles and identities where the power relations are less oppressive.

4.3 Discourse analysis as a methodology.

This section develops the relationship between the ontological and

epistemological commitments of the study and the general methodology. From the

discussion developed above the theoretical standpoint of the project is one that is

influenced by Foucault's conceptualisation of power and the relationship between

power and knowledge (discourse). This relationship implies that the study of

particular phenomenon is the very process though which that phenomenon becomes

constituted as an object/subject within a social reality (Fairclough 1992, May 1993).

Such a proposition implies that the process of interpretation has to be

undertaken at two levels. It has to go beyond the mere interpretation of the accounts

of those individuals who are involved in a particular social context. An interpretation

of meanings these individuals hold regarding social practices such as care planning

has to be brought into contact with an interpretation of the formal discourse. This is

assumed to be that which is reproduced in academic and professional journals.

Fairclough (1992) in exploring social practice and social change also identifies the

importance of focussing upon the macro and micro level use of particular discourse

[see section 4.3.2].

4.3.1 Discourse analysis.

Potter (1996a) describes discourse as the central organising principle within

social contructionist approaches. It involves the analysis of a potentially endless

range of linguistic and cultural practices that include language use, language

conventions, the production and consumption of texts such as advertisements,

newspapers, novels and films as well as scientific and political activity. Potter argues

that it is more accurate to conceive discourse analysis as a perspective on social life and as such it cannot be characterised by a single method or theory. Gill (1996) supports this assertion with the proposition that how you approach the analyses of discourse will depend upon the questions being asked. This again suggests the use of the 'sociological imagination' (Mills 1970) and it emphasises the importance of interpreting methodologies rather than assuming them to be fixed a position that leads to their imposition on the social world in dogmatic way. This dominance of method over subject of study mirrors Bulmer's (1984) concern that research activity often shows an obsession with method and risks neglecting important issues such as the significance and substance of the study. Hammersley (1996) also provides support for what he describes as methodological eclecticism.

Fairclough (1992) provides a three dimensional model for discourse analyses which concerns: text, discourse practice [the production, distribution and consumption of texts] and social practice. However, while he is supportive of the contribution of sociological approaches to discourse analysis he and Potter are critical of their tendency to neglect the more linguistic aspects of text [a challenge that is applicable to this study]. These differences in approach and focus are highlighted by the range of disciplines that have drawn upon discourse analysis, which include social linguistics, social psychology, sociology, political science and critical theory (Fairclough 1992, May 1993, Potter 1996).

One of the main differences between these perspectives is their commitment to interpretation and their level of analysis. This may be a sweeping generalisation but it appears that at one end the more linguistic approaches are concerned with producing descriptions of the text in terms of technical features of language and

grammar while at the other end more sociologically orientated accounts are

interested in power and ideology. A second key difference lies in the extent to which

interpretation can be used as evidence of more general trends. Some approaches

hold that there are no meanings outside of the understandings of the immediate

participants (Gill 1996). This can be contrasted with the approach used by Foucault

where discourse constitutes the objects of a particular social reality and there is a

rejection of the meaning-giving subject (Fairclough 1992).

Fairclough proposes that there are three main forms that discourse analysis

are concerned with: text, intertextuality and interdiscursivity with any project

showing different combinations of these. The analysis of texts concerns the

identification of a range of linguistic properties and it produces a very detailed

analysis of sections of text, which can be descriptive or concerned with issues of

power and ideology. These linguistic properties include overt properties such as

grammar, politeness, cohesion and the use of key words. At the same time

interpersonal power relations are evident in the rules of the interaction i.e. who

controls the interaction and sets the agenda, how topics are introduced, developed

and established. Furthermore, the analysis of the text can reveal covert issues such as

the way the text constructs particular social identities or reveals the social relations in

the discourse and controlling representations of reality. This raises questions over

whether meanings are stable or contested and the use of metaphor and rhetoric.

The second and third types of analysis, intertextuality and interdiscursivity,

need to be carefully distinguished from each other. Fairclough describes

intertextuality as being concerned with the relations between texts, such as the series

of text types into which or out of which a text is transformed, either historically or in

the present. He provides the example of the way in which a medical consultation is then transformed into medical records. Intertextuality raises the question of what other texts are drawn upon in the constitution of the text being analysed and how. Potter (1996), also discussing intertextuality, describes texts as a pastiche or quotations of earlier texts.

Conversely, interdiscursivity is concerned with the relations between different types of discourse and non-discursive practice e.g. historical events, which then give rise to what Foucault describes as particular 'orders of discourse'. These 'orders of discourse' relate to the particular formation that discourses take within an institution or society and they work to produce objects in a particular way that then constrains the range of possibilities for human action. Fairclough argues that to explore interdiscursivity there is a need to specify the relations of the instance of social and discursive practice, that is the exact context in which it takes place. At the same time there is a need to identify the combination of different discourses upon which these practices draw and the way these discourses are articulated with each other. The importance of being able to identify the orders of discourse upon which an institution or society draws is that this links to the potential for transforming or reproducing the orders of discourse. That is the production of new possibilities. It is this analysis of interdiscursivity that provides the main focus in this study.

As noted above Fairclough places these issues of text, intertextuality and interdiscursivity into a three-dimensional framework for discourse analysis; text, discourse practice and social practice. Text has already been discussed in some detail above. However, it should be noted that text can be analysed for intertextuality and interdiscursivity as well for as its technical features. Discourse practice concerns the

way in which particular discourses are produced, distributed and consumed with

different discourses being produced and consumed within different contexts and for

different purposes. For example, a conversation between two people in a pub can be

contrasted to the formal statement of a politician to an international gathering

although both may be commenting on the same issue. These differences give rise to

what is described as the genre. Fairclough identifies the importance of the specific

genre in which the discourse is operating to its analysis, as the constraints operating

in different genres will have different impacts. At the same time the processes of

production, distribution and consumption are quite different, as are the ways in

which these discourses are read and interpreted.

"I shall use the term 'genre' for a relatively stable set of conventions that is
associated with, and partly enacts, a socially ratified type of activity, such as
informal chat, buying goods in a shop, a job interview, a television documentary, a
poem, or a scientific article. A genre implies not only a particular text type, but also
particular processes of producing, distributing and consuming texts."

(Fairclough 1996:126).

The importance of discourse practice is that it provides the mediation

between the micro [text] and macro [social practice] levels of discourse. This is a

consideration that is central to the approach taken in this study. The production,

distribution and consumption of discourse is socially constrained by the context in a

number of ways. Constraints include the conventions of the specific context, the

social practices involved, the personal resources of the participants and the orders of

the discourse that produce that context. The process of interpretation brings into the

process other texts – intertextuality. At this point there is a need to bring the micro-

analysis of the texts produced in that context with a macro-analysis concerning the

'orders of discourse' [interdiscursivity]. Finally, we have to consider the interpretative implications of the intertextual and interdiscursive properties of the sample for contradictions and resistance.

The third area in Fairclough's framework is that of social practices. This concerns the material forms that discourses take and their relationship with power, which also brings with it the potential for resistance and change through the restructuring of the 'orders of discourse'. This may take the form of conflicts over the content and meaning of particular words or phrases as they become articulated and re-articulated with different elements in different discursive chains. Furthermore, social practice concerns the way in which particular discursive formations become hegemonic. Here alliances are produced between and across different groups and institutions integrating both the local and societal practices with a particular 'order of discourse'. This produces a particular equilibrium and a movement for change. However, at a local level these formations are relatively unstable and therefore vulnerable, which in turn provides the sites for conflict and resistance.

4.3.2 An abductive research strategy.

The discussion so far has set out the ontological and epistemological bases of the study, which are developed from a social constructionist approach focusing upon the role of discourse in the production of what is experienced as social reality. This is then linked with discourse analysis as a methodology. This next section sets this within an abductive research strategy and the following sections will then focus upon the methods which were employed to produce the forms of evidence required and the process through which this was analysed.

Blaikie (1993) describes this iterative process of moving between different

levels of analysis as an abductive research strategy. This process is neither inductive

nor deductive. He argues that abduction is consistent with approaches that include

interpretative ontological and epistemological elements and he provides the

following description of the different layers in an abductive strategy.

Everyday concepts and meanings provide the basis for social action/interaction
about which social actors can give accounts from which Social Science descriptions
can be made and understood in terms of Social theories or perspectives.

(Adapted from Blaikie 1993:177).

This description of an abductive strategy closely resembles the process

outlined by Fairclough in the discussion of discourse analysis above i.e. the bringing

together of discourse at the micro and macro levels and the process undertaken in

this project. However, there is a danger that Blaikie's description appears to over

emphasise the bottom-up qualities of the strategy where everyday discourse is

worked up into categories and meanings and then brought into contact with formal

social theory. In the case of this study this description does not emphasise

sufficiently the role of social theory or the formal discourse in exploring the

discourse of local professionals for the elements, categories and meanings that are at

work there i.e. a top-down process.

4.4 The literature review.

The literature review was undertaken in a series of stages with each stage

being derived from a critical analysis of the former stage(s) and in the later stages

this review was influenced by an interaction with the material from the interviews.

This material was taken from published literature within the critical social sciences and it included both theoretical and applied papers. The importance of identifying and selecting materials from a particular section within the literature relates to discourse practice [section 4.3.1], which recognises the particular conditions or genre within which a discourse is produced, distributed and consumed. The majority of the papers selected were philosophical or theoretical in their nature with the 'applied' being more of a question of whether it concerned disability directly. There were few papers that cited particular research studies underpinning the conclusions made although there was a range of material that referred to personal experiences of disability. Literature from professional journals that are aimed at a broader professional and general (public) audience were included very selectively as they were considered to lack a critical perspective while non-refereed papers and pamphlets were excluded.

A process of writing, which helped formulate the discourse surrounding a particular topic into key positions and their underlying philosophical positions, accompanied this process of reviewing the literature. Indeed as Ward (1998) notes the process of writing begins almost at the same time as the project commences rather than being some final stage. This writing helped to formulate the questions and over the period of the study this produced a series of stand-alone peer reviewed essays (Gilbert 1995, 1995a, 1998).

As mentioned above [4.1] the starting point for the literature review was the concept of empowerment. The evaluation of this led to a conclusion that the debate over empowerment took place without any clear conceptualisation of power or how power operated. This led, in turn to a partial review of the literature on power and a

more in depth consideration of the work of Michel Foucault and some of the writers who have developed his ideas e.g. Bryan Turner, Nikolas Rose and Toby Miller. The conceptualisation of the relationship between power and knowledge and the concern with the management of the population – governmentality - provided the basis for the way in which power was to be understood in the study. Numerous revisions of this material led, at a later stage, to governmentality becoming the central theme, which organised the other main sections of the review [citizenship, trust and managerialism].

The review of power was followed by a review of the literature concerning trust, which as I noted earlier had been provoked by the notion of 'Loyalty'. A conceptualisation of trust as an interpersonal quality was going to be both inadequate and also inconsistent with the ontological position of the study. The former because in Klein's (1980) discussion 'Loyalty' was a response provoked by the system and the latter due to the perspective of power adopted being one that rejected the 'meaning giving subject'. At the same time I was conscious of the growing challenge to the role and status of professionals in the welfare system [especially as I was one of these professionals].

A personal reflection on this question of the social role of professionals also occurred at this time, as I had to have a Will made. I purchased the do-it-yourself pack from a local branch of a national supplier with the aim of writing my will, an easy task, as my personal situation was not complicated. However, after a period of trying to work out what to do and some lack of confidence in whether I could do it properly, I decided to visit a local Solicitor. A ten minute discussion and some

answers to questions that I had not thought of and I left to return five days later to collect the completed item. What I had done was to go to see a complete stranger and asked him to complete this important task for me. I had trust in his expertise and position, not trust at an inter-personal level but trust in him as accredited representatives of a wider social system.

The academic questions relating to trust and the personal experience were brought together with a reading of Niklas Luhmann's sociological discussion of trust. This provided the starting point for the proposition that there are distinctive discourses and associated social practices, which aim to promote trust – an impersonal trust. An ontological tension was generated here between the conceptualisation of power and the review of the literature around trust, for the former was set within a post-modern and post-structuralist framework while the latter was clearly set within modernist framework with a powerful functionalist influence. However, as both May (1993) and Turner (1994) point out, the co-existence of different paradigms in itself is not a problem. The problems occur when either these tensions are forgotten or there is an attempt to subsume one paradigm within the other.

The review of power and trust was taken in parallel to an ongoing review of the literature relating to disability. Following Michael Oliver's (1990) assertion that divisions between disabled people were meaningless as they related to medical definitions and not to the social experience of disability, I decided not to make a distinction between disability and learning disability in the reading of the literature. This was despite the fact that the focus for the study was to be services for people

with learning disabilities. What became interesting in this literature was the developing debate within the social model of disability and the developing divisions between modernist and post-modernist perspectives. The materialist paradigm has difficulties coping with people with high support needs while the post-modern perspective holds a degree of promise here.

However, advocates of the modernist stance, such as Oliver, proposed that the two key concerns for disabled people were politics and citizenship. This concern fitted with a question that I had yet to resolve which was: if trust was a product of the power relations of the social welfare system in general and professional activity in particular what was it that that was held in trust? The proposition that emerged was that it was citizenship that was held in trust. This produced the literature review around citizenship and a clear connection between the discussion of disability issues and the key areas of the literature review so far – power, trust and citizenship. It also produced the question of citizenship, which was taken as a starting point for many of the interviews [see sections 1.2 and 1.5].

The review of managerialism had a more general source as it emerged from the reviews of the critical literature already mentioned. In particular this related to the fate of potentially emancipatory themes, which saw questions of choice, consumerism, participation and empowerment being framed or reframed within managerial priorities. At the same time there were lines of similarity and lines of contradiction between the discourse of professionals and that of managers especially where the professional qualification and experience was a prerequisite for the management role.

The process of the literature review was also shaped by the initial analysis of the discourse that was emerging from the fieldwork. This analysis of the interviews suggested either additions to the literature or the reshaping of the analysis as particular connections emerged. Major revisions to the shape of the literature review were undertaken in the period following the completion of the interviews. The emergence of governmentally as the central theme bringing together the discussion of power, trust, citizenship and managerialism is the most important example. At the same time managerialism had only emerged as a theme quite late as it came to organise previously separate themes around choice, consumerism, participation and empowerment. Finally, the comparison of hope with trust resulted in the former moving from being an underdeveloped category linked to powerlessness (Gilbert 1998) to become identified as theme within emancipatory politics.

4.5 Fieldwork.

The next section concerns the process of gaining access to the individuals who gave their time to be interviewed and some of the issues that were a concern in the conduct of these interviews. The fieldwork began in July 1997 and the adoption of a research methodology based upon discourse meant that there was a need to develop text for this analysis. The exploration of issues of trust and citizenship suggested that the most appropriate context from which to obtain this text would be the one in which these professionals operated.

I had decided to focus upon people with high support needs, for, if the social context of people with learning disabilities is poorly described in the literature, then it would be accurate to state that the social context of people with high support needs

is almost invisible. The decision was therefore taken to develop the text through the use of unstructured interviews held with a variety of professionals. In order to maintain consistency between interviews and to obtain the 'public' discourse of these professionals they would be approached openly and in their work place and role. A public discourse here referring to how we might expect that person to talk about the service they provide in a public rather than a private setting. This provided the genre in which the text is developed.

4.5.1 Developing the sample.

In developing the sample it was decided to undertake the project within an area covered by a single county. This would mean that in broad terms all the services operating in this area would be subject to similar relations and constraints in terms of overall operating policies such as registration and inspection, the management of social services, geography and history etc.

The process began by taking a list from the Social Services Department of the different agencies and the key managers involved in providing residential services for people with learning disability. This included the statutory sector and the independent sector 'for profit' and 'not for profit' organisations [nine organisations in total which included two NHS trusts and two Social Services areas]. To this list were added the names of a number of small owner/ managers who typically had a single house in which a small stable group of people lived [total of four].

All of these organisations/owners were contacted by letter of introduction [see appendix one] and a request to participate in the research which included both a telephone number and a stamped addressed envelope for a reply. This letter was sent

to the named operational manager from the list mentioned above. I decided not to approach the senior executive of the organisation as I felt that it was likely that there would be no response to the request and in most cases it was not this person who I was looking to interview. Rather, drawing upon my own knowledge of organisations in this field, I had anticipated that the senior operational managers would be the 'gatekeepers' especially as they were responsible for managing actual services rather than being involved with more strategic concerns. Also, it was this level of management that I was interested in interviewing in the first round which meant that I was appealing to them personally. Or, alternatively I was asking them to participate and then giving them the potential to personally control what was said and how this took place.

Responses were received from the nine major organisations either with a positive reply or a positive response following some form of follow up. In most cases this was achieved by a telephone call and a discussion over the purpose of the research, in one case the decision was left pending a managerial decision and in one case a meeting with two managers was arranged to discuss the research prior to the interviews being set up [this produced two interviews]. There were no responses from the small owner/managers. However, as these owner/managers tended to be outside of the system with little turnover in the places or contact with Social Services, I decided not to further pursue their participation.

Following the positive response to participation an appointment was made with each of the interviewees at a time and place of their convenience. The initial round of interviews produced ten interviews as the housing association had an

internal management division that meant that the area of the county was divided among two managers [interviews 1-7, 9, 11, and 12].

While this group of senior managers might not be exactly what Cochrane (1998) had in mind when he was discussing local elites, it can be argued that they constituted a form of elite in the context of learning disability services. Certainly from my standpoint in beginning the fieldwork they represented a key group, as without their explicit co-operation it would have been difficult to continue the project. However, what became apparent from the first wave of interviews was that there are elites within elites as well as tensions between elites. In the context of the development of the sample interviews eight and ten were arranged as it became apparent that the organisations represented by these two individuals represented an hegemonic position within the local social welfare mix through their promotion of what is referred to the 'supported living' model. Conversely, interview thirteen – 'the Registration Officer' – emerged from those organisations sceptical of this model. The interesting thing from my point of view was that none of these three organisations were identified as key players for the first round of interviews.

The structure of the second round of interviews is identified below, as are the connections between different interviews. Each interview emerging directly from discussions within first round [see supplementary evidence for more details of these interviews]. Although one of the second round interviews [ten] did partially provoke another of the second round interviews [fourteen]. In each case the second and third wave interviews were set up through a direct telephone contact between the potential interviewee and myself.

Structure of second round interviews.

- Interview four provoked interview seventeen.

- Interviews one, five, six, and seven provoked interviews eight and ten.

- Interview nine also provoked interview ten.

- Interviews eight, nine, ten and twelve provoked interview thirteen.

- Interviews nine and ten provoked interview fourteen.

The third round of interviews drew upon less senior managers (house managers) and four interviews were set up. This was to compare their discourse with that of the more senior managers. However only two of these took place [fifteen and sixteen] because of cancellations and I decided at that point not to collect any more evidence at this level. Interestingly one of the house managers interviewed [sixteen] represented an organisation that had recently taken over an existing service in the county which had been included in an earlier interview.

4.5.2 Conducting the interviews.

As mentioned earlier the method of generating the text for the analysis of professional discourse was to be the open or unstructured interview. The familiarity of the interview brings with it the danger that it is approached in a way that assumes that it is unproblematic. Bulmer (1994b) describes the interview as more than just a tool of sociology but part of its very subject matter. The interview is also identified as being subject to particular relations of power (May 1993, Kvale 1996, Cochrane 1998). In this study the interviews were produced by my intervention, as they were not part of any naturally occurring social practice. At the same time the ontological

and epistemological questions that are directed towards research studies in general are also relevant to the interview i.e. in naming the form of social reality it represents and the form of knowledge that is produced.

Potter (1996) and Fairclough (1992) both identify the centrality of the interview to the process of discourse analysis. In this study the interview is approached as a particular genre. A notion that is explored in more detail in section 4.3, which has, clear implications for claims of validity [section 4.7]. The reason for this being that comparing discourse from different genres brings with it the difficulty that they were subject to different conditions of production. Also, in comparing interviews taken at different points with different people the maintenance of the same genre was going to be important to any claims of consistency across the fieldwork. Fairclough highlights the significance of the differences in genre between the interview and an approach where the interaction is underpinned by principles associated with counselling.

"Interviewing and counselling represent respectively objectifying and subjectifying genres corresponding to the objectifying technique of the examination and the subjectifying technique of confession, and the modes of discourse which bureaucratically 'handle' people like objects on the one hand, and modes of discourse which explore and give voice to the self, appear to be two foci of the modern order of discourse." (Faircough 1992:54).

This commitment to maintaining the genre of the interview was linked to the aim of seeking to gain from each interviewee an example of his or her public discourse. This commitment did slip at particular moments in some interviews where the interviewee began to discuss their frustrations with the context in which they found themselves working [see supplementary material for an identification of the

specific instances where this occurred in particular interviews nine and eleven]. To maintain the genre of the interview I attempted to maintain a series of behaviours that would be consistent with this. For example, in the approach to the person I made it clear that I had a professional background in learning disability services, something Bulmer (1984b) describes as being cued to the level.

This produces a situation where both the interviewer and interviewee share a framework of comparable meanings. However, it also runs the risk that familiarity assumes a shared set of meanings where these do not necessarily exist. In most cases I met the person in their office although on two occasions we met in my office [their choice] this was always during working hours and I was dressed reasonably formally [shirt and tie]. Cochrane (1998) notes that this apparent respectability may have significance in shaping the research process. In this case my formality may have brought consistency to the genre but it may well have meant that I missed being offered some 'insider' information which may have provided new insights into the process.

The interviews began with a period of establishing rapport and dealing with any issues the interviewee had such as timing, or next appointments etc (Kvale 1996). I used this period to re-establish consent first for the interview and second to use the tape recorder, the former not being totally dependent upon the latter. Consent to use the tape was given easily in all but one case usually with some reassurance over confidentiality. In one instance [interview seventeen] the person was reluctant at first to having the interview taped. The interviewee's reason was that she did not like the sound of her voice on tape. This could be taken as an example of shyness or it may have been an example of gender power relations (Cochrane 1998). However,

with some reassurance she consented to the taping. Each interview began when the person indicated they were ready and in most cases the opening question was to ask the person to describe what their service set out to achieve and how did they come to hold the position they did.

The interviews lasted between forty-five and ninety minutes. I adopted a role where I would set an initial question and then allowed the person to talk. At particular points in the process I would repeat back a summary of what had been said in order to check my understanding of an issue or to encourage the person to provide a further explanation. I would also take the lead in redirecting the discussion or to introduce a new issue. On one or two occasions I felt that I had to work hard to keep the conversation going but was rewarded by the quality of the material that emerged at a later point.

In the context of conducting the interview Cochrane discusses the tensions that exist within the researcher as they experience tensions between their gratitude at being 'allowed' an interview and how this can influence their conduct of the interview and their use of difficult or probing questions or confrontational positions. At the same time the trust and rapport that is established as part of the interview may lead to a sense of betrayal later when the research produces critical reviews of the social practices under scrutiny.

My experience with this study is one that would have me concur with the observations concerning the sense of relief at being able to obtain the interview material. In terms of the actual interview itself my approach was not confrontational and the use of probing was related to further clarifications of the points being made rather than as a challenge to the position the person was promoting or the robustness

of the foundations upon which their argument was placed. I would argue that this position is consistent with seeking to obtain an example of the 'public' discourse. With respect to the act of betrayal in producing a critical review of the content of the interviews, my position is that the research is not critical of any particular person or organisation as it seeks to represent different formulations in the 'orders of discourse'. Making what is 'familiar and authoritative' problematic may provoke some difficult responses in people although none of the material would be personally or professionally damaging. However, there could be a challenge from disabled people that this failure to undermine the positions of professionals means that the analysis is not critical enough or that it serves to merely reinforce the existing power relations between disabled and non-disabled people.

Each interview concluded with a short debriefing which took the form of a general discussion with the tape switched off and in a number of instances the interviewee took this opportunity to ask questions about the research or to comment on particular parts of the interview. May (1993) places a particular emphasis upon the process of disengaging from the interview. Similarly Gill (1996) notes the interdependence that can develop especially where there is a relationship over time. Following the interview I would take the opportunity to tape my impressions of how it went and any issues or ideas that had arisen. This usually occurred in the car park immediately after the interview. The tapes from the interviews were later transcribed in full.

4.6 Analysing the evidence.

The analysis of the evidence was undertaken in a number of stages. It involved the transcription of the individual taped interviews, which was then followed by a working up of each of the transcripts into an analysed form. The next stage involved a cross comparison of the interview material through an integration of this with material from the literature review. The final stage a more holistic approach that aimed to draw out issues from across the range of material. The approach used for the analysis was developed from Mason's (1996) framework for the analysis of qualitative evidence while at the same time it drew upon Fairclough's (1992) and Potter's (1996) discussions of discourse analysis.

However prior to the process of analysis the interviews were each read a number of times and memos written against the text which related to potential themes or issues. An overview of the nature of these preliminary themes was placed in a grid indicating the spread across the total range of the interviews. This range of issues was then brought into contact with the literature review, which produced a reorganisation of the literature into four main categories: power, citizenship, trust and mangerialism. This demonstrates one in a number of iterative cycles in the relationship between theoretical and empirical evidence and the working of these into a coherent account (Hamersley 1996).

4.6.1 Developing the framework.

Mason proposes that qualitative evidence can be read literally, interpretatively or reflexively. A literal account would concern itself with issues of form, content, structure, words and language used, the sequence of interactions, the

form and structure of the dialogue and its literal contents. While an interpretative account is focussed upon constructing a view of what the evidence might mean and what can be inferred from it. For example norms and rules, the discourses by which these are influenced, evidence about how the discourses are constructed, or causal mechanisms for social action. Alternatively, it may involve interpretations of how the interviewees view their social world or their own interpretations. Finally, a reflexive account involves the requirement to locate oneself as part of the process through which the evidence is generated i.e. the context of production, distribution and consumption and the process of interpretation both at the time and later.

4.6.2 The process of analysis.

In this study each of the interview was treated in the following way. The first stage involved the production of a literal account which focussed upon who the person was their description of what they do, the range of issues that emerged and their order plus any general issues relation to the conduct of the interview. The second stage in the analysis involved two forms of interpretation. The first related to an analysis of the text that omitted the very detailed aspects of text analysis, which I felt, were not important for my purposes such as turn taking, interruptions, issues of grammar and syntax etc. However, drawing upon Potter and Fairclough, I was interested in the use of metaphor, offensive and defensive rhetoric, ionising, the orientation of the text – action and epistemological, key words and the general order the interviewee made of the connections between different elements within their representations. The second form of interpretation was to explore the text for discourse elements that could be organised with the themes from the literature of

power, citizenship, trust and managerialism. The analysis involved making initial notes against the text that were later worked into the themes from the literature. At the same time a notebook was kept of issues that related across two or more interviews.

Mason's discussion of analysing qualitative evidence does not discuss the use of the literature in this way although she does hold the possibility that the themes for analysis can be derived from outside of the interview material and she provided the example of themes derived from research questions. However, I would argue that this use of the literature is one means of achieving Fairclough's (1992) assertion that there is a need to bring together the micro and macro levels of discourse and essential to the analysis of interdiscursivity or in Foucault's terms the 'order of discourse'.

The third stage in the analysis of the individual interviews involved a short reflexive account. This was mainly derived from a short review immediately following the interview [see section 4.5.2 above], which focused upon the process of the interview and the extent to which I felt that I had maintained the genre. Thoughts about further interviews or emerging questions were also noted. Other key issues concerning the reflexive aspect of the study have been discussed earlier such as the commitment to maintain a particular genre. While the central question of 'why I am reading the material in this way?' (Gill 1996) is explained to a large extent through the use of the four themes identified earlier as a means of interrogating the interview material [see supplementary material].

4.6.3 Integrating micro and macro level discourse.

The next stage in the process of analysis involved building upon the idea of interdiscursivity. This is achieved by integrating the literature that constituted a particular theme with the interview material that provided evidence of that discursive theme being worked out in the social environment. This integration of the material from these two different levels is the focus of chapters five to eight. The central issue that emerges here is how can this be achieved without privileging either the micro or the macro level of discourse. This also raises the question of coherence for taking one or the other level as being more coherent is a quality introduced by the interpreter rather than being a quality of the text itself (Fairclough 1992). A issue that produces a further issue for reflexivity and one that can addressed, partially at least, by a consideration of what type of material, at both the micro level and the macro level, has been included and excluded. In relation to the interview material this can be undertaken by checking that there are no clear themes or contradictory elements within the excluded materials. At the same time care should be taken when excluding elements from the macro discourse that this material is irrelevant rather than being presently unsupported by micro level discourse.

4.6.4 Making holistic readings.

The final stage of the analysis develops what Mason describes as a more holistic reading of the material from the study which sets out to identify issues or themes that would not be apparent from the more involved reading of individual texts or the process of cross referencing. For example complex or specific social processes may be too complex or too particular or too big. Alternatively they may not appear

cross sectionally as big issues may only emerge from interpretations of the full story. This is where the entries in the notebook helped to draw out overarching issues.

4.7 Issues of reliability, validity and generalisability.

Interpretative research faces particular challenges with respect to issues of reliability, validity and generalisability. In the context of reliability Mason (1996) argues that many qualitative researchers would reject the conventional definitions of reliability as the accuracy of measurement or in terms of replication. They prefer instead for to argue that the evidence and its interpretation was done in a careful and thorough way which does not either misrepresent or invent this evidence. Mason points out that in qualitative work this revision can lead to a blurring of the distinction between reliability and validity.

The question is what kind of checks and balances can the researcher introduce to convince the reader of the reliability, validity and generalisability of the findings. Kvale (1996) suggests that the reliability and quality of interviews can be improved and he is critical of sociological approaches to transcription that usually pay little attention to this aspect of reliability in comparison to more socio-linguistic approaches. In this study the transcriptions were checked against the taped interviews for accuracy and two people listened to difficult parts of the tape. Any sections of the tape that remained difficult to understand were left out with the omission represented in the transcription.

In terms of quality Kvale suggests a number of strategies that can be adopted in the interview. Some of those which were adopted in this study include: short interviewer questions with longer interviewee answers, enabling spontaneity; the

interviewer following up to clarifying meanings and interpretations during the interview; and the interview producing a story in itself. The main criterion suggested by Kvale that was only partly adopted was that the interview should be largely interpreted during the interview itself. This was the case with respect to the flow and direction of the discussion where particular themes would be initiated as a consequence of earlier material or concluded as they were not adding producing new evidence. However, interpretation during the interview for themes was not attempted although particular words or phrases did sensitise me to particular parts of the discussion.

4.7.1 Demonstrating validity.

Kvale proposes seven areas where the validation of qualitative studies can take place. These involve: thematizing and designing, which relate to Bulmer's and Mason's discussion of the relationship between ontological and epistemological commitments, methodology and research strategy that was discussed in sections 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4; interviewing, transcribing and analysing which was discussed in sections 4.5 and 4.6; and validating and reporting which will provide the focus here.

In many ways the validity of the study rests upon two strategies linked to the use of two different levels of analysis – the interviews and the literature. The first strategy relates to the extent to which the two genres from which the evidence was generated were constructed and maintained in a way that is consistent with these genres. The importance of maintaining the genre to the consistency and comparability of the text has been discussed earlier as have been the measures undertaken to achieve this. The appropriateness of the interview as a method of

generating text for discourse analysis is clearly identified in the literature (Fairclough 1992, Potter 1996, Mason 1996).

The second strategy relates to question over the validity of the interpretations made of the interview material and the use that is made of this. Kvale suggests the use of a comparison of the interpretation of two independent researchers, a means that was outside of the resources of this study. Bulmer (1984a) and Cochrane (1998) both argue the need to involve strategies of triangulation, the use of different methods or data sources, to support the validity of findings. Similarly, Mason supports the use of triangulation but in a cautious way. Her argument is that different research methods operate with different ontological and epistemological commitments and therefore they may not share the same social reality. Or, alternatively, social reality may consist of many different levels with particular methods being appropriate for one level but not another. An example of this problem was recently demonstrated by Savage (2000) who took one segment of text and subjected it to two different forms of analysis with the result that it told two different stories.

Hammersley (1996) argues that bringing ethnographic evidence into contact with the published literature is a means of demonstrating ecological validity and as noted earlier Fairclough argues that the micro level discourse and the macro level discourse have to be brought into contact in the analysis. In this study the use of two different levels of analysis provides a means through which the validity of the interpretations can be evaluated.

4.7.2 Generalisation from qualitative studies.

The generalisation from qualitative studies takes place in a cautious way. Mason proposes two forms that generalisation may take, empirical generalisation and theoretical generalisation. She also suggests that the former is not a commitment that most qualitative researchers would make due to the ontological and epistemological commitments of qualitative research and the size and scale of the majority of the projects of this type. In this study it would be difficult to make generalisations beyond the relationships described here and, as this is a study of the local micro politics of welfare, any attempt to do this would be wholly inappropriate.

However, the commitment to theoretical generalisation holds more promise. The study being reported here explores the power relations of a specific context and the discursive structure of that context. The use of a framework for understanding power relations brought from outside of the study demonstrates its applicability to this setting and its potential for the analysis of power relations in other settings. At the same time the use of a macro analysis of discourse through the literature suggests that the themes derived from this would have relevance in other similar settings. This would be consistent with Hammersley's proposition above [4.7.1] that the linking of the analysis of local social relations with the published literature would support claims of ecological validity.

4.8 Ethical considerations.

In undertaking any academic study, especially one that involves people, there is a need to work within ethical guidelines. Some of the ethical concerns emerging from research that concerns disabled people especially where the researcher is non-

disabled have been discussed earlier [section 3.2.1]. This final section will discuss

the conduct of this study in the context of relevant sections from the guidelines

produced by the British Sociological Association (1993). This study was not a covert

study therefore the guidelines appertaining to this form of investigation did not

apply. Also, the study was not externally funded so the issues relating to

collaboration with funding bodies similarly did not apply.

However, the research did involve a group of people who participated in the

interview process. There is a need to consider the welfare of these individuals and

that this should not be adversely affected by their contribution to the study. In order

to maintain this commitment individuals were asked whether they would consent to

being interviewed and the purpose of the research was fully explained to them at this

point. The individuals who formed the sample are not people who would generally

be considered as vulnerable, although the interviews revealed that at least two of the

interviewees did feel vulnerable due to the local political relations of welfare. At the

same time all of those involved could be anticipated to be experiencing work

pressures. Therefore they could easily experience the interview as intrusive and

possibly threatening.

Therefore in approaching particular individuals to participate in the research

time was given in which they could consider whether they wished to consent. At the

same time consent was re-established at the point of the interview. In no

circumstances was any pressure applied by me to participate and all the interviewees

were directly approached by me, so that no pressure had been exerted by a senior

manager to ensure their participation.

In the conduct of the interview each interviewee was asked if they would consent to the use of a tape recorder and assurances over anonymity and confidentiality given. In only one instance was the person unsure about the use of the tape. In relation to the confidentiality assurances given there is a danger that despite changes to names, the removal of organisation names, road and area names, that it could be relatively easy to identify a number of the participants. This arises, as once the county is identified there are only one or two people who could hold that position. To deny that the study focussed upon one locality would result in a serious undermining of the analysis of the micro politics of welfare.

With respect to the effects of the interview process on the interviewee, these were conducted in a way that did not engage confrontational or counselling type techniques. These were single contact interviews so therefore the boundaries of the research relationship (Gill 1996) were reasonably easy to maintain. However, following each interview a period of disengagement was allowed so that we could talk ourselves out. I was cautious not to leave quickly, leaving the interviewee feeling used. Finally, there is no intention to share any of the primary interview material with other researchers.

4.9 Summary.

The development of the methodology for the study has been set out in the sections above and in many ways this encapsulates the intellectual and personal journey this study represents. This has taken place on a number of levels and has involved a range of questions including: questions of philosophy involving the nature of interpretative approaches; questions of ethics concerning the role of the researcher

and the relationship with and duties towards the participants of research and the materials generated; questions of methodology which have involved a process of revision between the aims of the study and the methods employed to gather evidence; and questions of how to treat the evidence once it has been generated which in this case involved an iterative process involving two levels of discourse.

The approach that emerged will be demonstrated in the following chapters. The first five chapters will demonstrate an analytical approach that draws upon discourse from two levels. This uses text generated from the interviews with the participants and material from the literature concerning the key themes of the study – power, citizenship, trust, and managerialism. These two levels are used to produce a single commentary where the formal discourse is used to interrogate the discourse of professionals which in turn is then used to add richness to this formal discourse by highlighting specific local examples or contradictions. At the same time this commentary is located around the Foucauldian concept of governmentality. The sixth chapter will take material from the first five chapters and organise this into overarching themes with the aim of demonstrating patterns that remain obscured when exploring the detail of the evidence.

Chapter Five: Power, Truth and Discourse.

5.1 Introduction.

This is the first of two chapters that set out to explore the theme of politics, which was identified in chapter two as a central issue in the social relations of disability. This first chapter explores the question of what is the basis of the power relations that underpin the processes of care planning; a context where it would appear inappropriate to focus upon monolithic structures such as class and capital. Instead the study draws upon Michel Foucault's perspective of power and the development and deployment of technologies through which the population is managed. Bryan Turner (1997) argues that Foucault's contribution to the analysis of power is important in three ways as it provides (a) the analysis of the relationship between power and knowledge; (b) the emergence of the modern self through disciplinary technologies and (c); the analysis of governmentality.

The site for the analysis of power in this study is the practice of care planning; that is the web of administrative, professional and informal activities through which the lives of people with high support needs are organised and constructed. Central to this perspective is the concept of governmentality and the proposition that the effects of power need to be analysed in their local and specific context in order to identify the options created for individuals and the nature of the relationships, meanings and identities produced explored. The second chapter develops what might be referred to as a case study of these micro-politics as they operate in the specific context in which this study is developed.

The structure of this chapter intersperses the discussion of power with sections drawn from the fieldwork. The aim is to use the material from practice to explore particular insights drawn from the theoretical discussion. The title of each fieldwork section is used to highlight the central focus of the material.

5.1.1 Defining needs.

The proposition is that the practice of care planning is central to the circulation of power, which then operates to produce historically specific relationships between disabled people and able-bodied people. In this study these relationships are explored from the perspectives of professionals and managers working in a range of different services. Turner argues that the institutions into which expertise is invested are coercive but not in a violent or authoritarian sense rather their influence lies in a moral authority that rests in their capacity to define the problems experienced by individuals and to propose solutions based upon these definitions. This moral authority also produces the role of expertise in the surveillance of the population and in the management of individual conduct.

Fieldwork one: defining needs.

The following extracts provide examples of Turner's claim that expertise set in different institutions works to define the problems of individuals, in this case people with learning disabilities. However, it should be noted that these experts might have different perceptions of what these needs are. In the first extract the manager of the social care wing of an NHS trust suggests that the key problem is one of being labelled.

1:131a. "When something has a label of disability hung around their neck then the automatic assumption is that these are dependant people they are taking from the

community and they don't have anything to give back. Or if they do then it's one I am frightened of that I don't want part of."

In this second extract a senior manger in social services considers needs in terms of the type of housing that is provided for people with learning disability. Here he describes the way expertise has decided that a move from hostels to smaller houses is desirable.

*4:29. "Yes they do with some trepidation. Our perception, their perception is difficult. We are doing it because we feel that it is right for them but they probably have no other choice, that's their home, and because they have no other choice. And they will probably tell you that they are happy there, and they probably are......
People like myself - thinking the fulfilment could be more if they are out in the smaller places, more choice, do more things, better staff support, that sort of thing."*

However, in this third extract a home manager identifies the problem as the need for work placements rather than the more traditional day centre. In this as with the other extracts professional authority is distant and objectifying while the role of people with learning disabilities remains passive in these changes. Although, it should be remembered that the effects of user voices may be influencing these experts and the decisions they make [see chapters eight and nine].

*15:10a. ..... "Most of the people here do some form of work experience, social firm or college. They only really attend a Day Centre now; there's three of them as like a fill in. They would prefer to be in jobs to be paid. And they want to be in the job.] ....
[And he much rather do that, he doesn't want to be at a Day Centre at all. I think he feels he's out grown it. Been there done it, so."*

In this final extract the local city council and the social services department have decided that there is a need to develop a service that will promote the ethnic identities of people with disabilities. Again the decision to set up the service was taken by expertise. A social services day officer explains,

> 17:12a. "No, no it means voice and it was chosen... what initially happened was the city because the City Council now but we were Xshire County Council and.... it was identified that we needed a more specific service for Asian service users and there was a gap there. ...."

5.2 The nature of power and the problem of the subject.

This section involves a general discussion of the relationship between power and ideas. The sections which follow that are structured around the framework set out by Turner above, i.e. the analysis of the relationship between power and knowledge, the emergence of the modern self through disciplinary technologies and the analysis of governmentality.

A central challenge in the development of theories of power has been the problem of how to explain the activities of individuals or groups without on the one hand, seeing this activity as totally determined by social structures and processes, or alternatively as the product of the unfettered decisions of totally autonomous individuals. Power must not be viewed as a process of total determination for while there are structural limits to the extent to which people can act, there is at the same time a certain relative autonomy, which produces the possibility of choice and the potential for people to act in different ways (Lukes 1974, 1986).

Miller (1993), drawing upon Foucault, describes this as the production of an 'ethical incompleteness' where there is an on going tension within the subject between autonomy and a set of unreachable ideals. This indeterminacy provides the potential for the production of the self-managing individual through technologies of

government. While at the same time it provides the basis for accounts of resistance, which enable challenges to and changes in existing power relations (Nettleton 1997).

To move beyond over deterministic discussions of power there is a need to consider the notion of the subject and means through which particular identities are produced. This problem of the subject has challenged a number of theorists on the relationship between power, ideas and human action. Antonio Gramsci (1971) used the concept of 'hegemony' to explain how people are recruited to certain views of the world and strategies of action. He introduced the role of 'organic intellectuals' who act to provide possible alternatives to the dominant courses of action. Althusser (1971) provides the device of 'interpellation' to explain how the ideological apparatus secures the unconscious structures of people's minds in order to assure their receptability to certain representations of the world. Friere (1970), in a developing world context, takes the Marxist idea of praxis into an explanation of oppression and resistance. He uses the concept of 'conscientisation' to describe a process through which people can gain insight into their real interests. Steven Lukes sets the question of the subject in the following terms asking how do individuals become,

"subjects in a double sense: subject to others by 'control and dependence' and tied to their 'own identity by consciousness and self knowledge'."   (Lukes 1986: 11).

However, it is to the work of Michel Foucault that this study turns to for an explanation of how power operates. There are three broad reasons for this; (a) Foucault developed much of his analysis of power and governmentality through an observation of the development and operation of health and welfare (Foucault 1980c), (b) he explored the way in which power produced the experiences of people

in their localities rather than in terms of monolithic structures of class and capital (Foucault 1980b), (c) his identification of four forms of subject that featured in discussions about sexuality (Foucault 1984a) have a particular significance for the social construction of learning disability.

Foucault is dismissive of explanations of power that rely upon concepts such as ideology, dominant class, or the state. Foucault's describes his 'scepticism' to ideology through two 'objections' (Beechey and Donald 1985). The first objection is to ideology as a form of repression that stands in opposition to something that counts as truth, an imaginary distortion of reality. This can be contrasted with Althusser's essentially realist view of ideology as a distortion and science as truth. Foucault (1979), adopting a social constructionist stance, suggests that all societies at particular times and through a variety of social practices produce their own formulations of what is accepted as truth.

5.2.1 Power as productive.

In a rejection of what he describes as the repressive hypothesis Foucault (1980b) argues that power rather than being coercive is productive. Truth, operating through 'meticulous rituals of power' gives rise to particular 'conditions of possibility', which then create options and identities. It is this relationship that will be used here to explore the practices of care planning. Foucault also proposes a central role for what he describes as 'those dubious sciences', the human or social sciences and practices such as psychiatry, psychology and education. He argues that these work to produce historically specific categories of individuals through the production of specific forms of knowledge. This can be seen both in the on going

construction of a social category of learning disability and also in the historical

changes in the 'naming' of this social group and its associated meanings that is, from

the dangerous and immoral 'feeble minded', through the dependency of 'mentally

handicapped' to the construction of 'learning disability' and the suggestion of

citizenship.

Fieldwork two: producing possibilities.

This section focuses upon two examples of the way Foucault's

conceptualisation of power enables the identification of the way power circulates

through institutions and practices. Both of the examples identify the effects of power

in the construction of particular possibilities and the exclusion of other possibilities.

The first example concerns the production of a competitive environment for

social care contracts. The first extract is from the manager of a purchasing

consortium (JPC) and it demonstrates how power flows through the processes of

contracting and care planning. This has been consciously used to produce a

particular set of 'possibilities' that are structured through the creation of a market.

This market then operates in such a way that promotes and excludes. A process

that is underpinned by a particular conception of what the identities of people with

learning disabilities should be.

10:7. *"So we set off... to get the key players in health, social services and education*
signed up to a value base. So we had two years before the consortium started
trying to get people understanding what we're about.] ...... [We started with a
mission statement which is to give the people with learning disability a lifestyle that
is desirable by anybody's standards. That's where we're coming from and its about
people having choice and opportunity which they've not had. Its been about
previously slotting people into what ever is available rather than starting with the
person, what they need and saying, OK how can we create that given our
resources. And what we found was a very underdeveloped market, there's no
choice, very few providers. You left school at nineteen, you either stayed at home.
You went to a residential home and you went to a day centre.] .... [So it's about

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turning things round and saying we've got to start with the person and what they need. So the style of service has changed with commission new services. So hence we've got part of the 'changing days' programme involved in the financial sides for that. All the new services that we commission are integrated services, so we go out to competitive tender for a service that maybe for three people with severe disabilities and we say to them. Right, we want you to oversee their lives. We're not having them in a day centre and then being bussed off. Its about saying this is what this person needs. This is their assessment. We will develop the care plan review and it may be that they have two sessions a week at an art session and then maybe for aroma therapy, then maybe work experience whatever it is. But it's not about giving them a hotel for the weekends and evenings then off to the day centre, its changing things."

The following two extracts are taken from social care providers that have been subject to particular power relations flowing through the care planning process structured by the consortium (JPC). These providers express discomfort at the effects of this power.

9:120. "And relationships have changed at one time it was directly with (name NHS Trust), now it's through the JPC they in many ways dictate the service they want."
And.
11:120. "No ...yeah I will voice an opinion about the consortium (JPC) and say that I don't think it's particularly positive, the amount of influence they can wield ...I think they have a view and ...I don't think they will particularly listen to other views. The idea that I've always felt that there should be a whole range of differing sorts of accommodation to suit, what is a very different group of people. My impression is that they have a particular view and want to fit everybody into that."

This second example of power producing particular possibilities while excluding others concerns the position of Social Services Departments as statutory organisations being subject to power from the state as it seeks to redirect this power to restructure relationships with independent sector organisations. In particular to move this sector away from residential care into domiciliary support and day care. In

a sense this moves the private sector into the private sphere but the market does not mediate choice rather this is managed by the purchasing aspect of the statutory sector. This example concerns the use of the Special Transitional Grant (STG) in an example of how they have been able to develop more flexible responses to people's needs.

4:59. "And, there was concern coming from social services' departments that people going into private residential care probably didn't need to be there. The need was they might have chosen it although sometimes that was open to question, they didn't need to be there and the money, there was a lot of money involved. Millions of pounds which could be used more flexibly and day care is part of that because day care sometimes can help people stay at home. So we can use it for day care, and we can use it for domiciliary care, you know the home care service. Again you have people who can live independently at home will get home care support and the Special Transitional Grant can be used to pay for that. So again, you have the private agencies will set up the home care service rather than residential."

5.2.2 Subjects and subjectification.

To return to Foucault's analysis his second objection to ideology relates to the notion of the 'subject'. Here he shares Althusser's anti-humanism in rejecting the proposition that the origins of ideas and beliefs can be traced back to human consciousness. He maintains that ideas and beliefs are produced in historically specific forms through social practices. However Foucault, in contrast to Althusser, rejects psychic structures such as the unconscious as the basis of an explanation of how the subject is formed (Beechey and Donald 1985). He argues that power materially penetrates the body through specific techniques of subjectification that have emerged in modern societies. Foucault's proposition is that discourses are inseparable combinations of knowledge and power which, with their respective

technologies, operate to 'subjugate' individuals. This struggle against 'subjectification' is of central importance in modern society and it can take three forms; from domination [discrimination and prejudice], from exploitation [economic] and from that which ties the individual to themself and submits them to others [subjectification] (Foucault 1982). In this latter form the very identity of individuals is one where they take the prevailing social relations as natural and beyond question.

However, Foucault is not without his critics. Giddens (1983) has argued that while the study of governmentality has made a significant contribution to the understanding of administrative power he finds Foucault's account over deterministic in the way in which he underestimates human agency in his rejection of the meaning-giving subject. Giddens argues that human subjects are essentially unaware of the forces that surround them and he asserts that human beings have the potential to determine their roles in both compliant and resistive activity. At the same time Fox (1997) is critical of Foucault for what he describes as an ontological eclecticism which can be both ambiguous and contradictory. In particular there is a tendency towards a functionalism and at times the use of 'the author' which elsewhere is denied. In a similar vein Armstrong (1997) argues that there are many different Foucaults and readings of Foucault. At the same time there is no distinct methodological approach, rather a set of insights that have to be applied in particular circumstances. Finally, Bunton and Petersen (1997) note the criticisms made of Foucault's treatment of gender from a feminist perspective while at the same time they identify work on gender relations that has taken up his perspective to provide insights that traditional feminist theories could not.

Beechey and Donald respond to criticisms that Foucault's conceptualisation of power is too fluid by suggesting that in his later discussions he was moving towards a position where it was possible that power could become located about particular social configurations such as the state and classes. A point which has a particular significance to the discussion in chapter ten where it is suggested that power can be condensed into the discursive structure of organisations.

"To insist that these features are the outcomes and not the origins of a number of different practices and discourses does not mean that they cannot become sites and centres for the exercise of power."   (Beechey and Donald 1985: xvi).

Clarke and Newman (1997) offer a caution to the ways in which Foucault's analysis has been used. They argue that too often there is an assumption that these effects of power are successful where in fact they may only have a partial influence. They make a distinction between being subjected by discourse and subjected to discourse. In the former individuals are secured by their very identity to particular sets of practices while in the latter individuals lack the psychological commitment but act out the practices through compliance and a sense of there being no alternative. A position they describe as having accommodated the discourse.

Fieldwork three: subjected to discourse.

This distinction between 'subjected to' and 'subjected by' discourse made by Clarke and Newman is highlighted in the following extracts. These concern the use of legally binding tenancies for people with learning disabilities through the development of what is referred to as a 'supported living' model. This model has particular significance in this study as it provides the focal point for conflict. It operates by separating the providers of housing from the providers of support or care packages and the giving of a tenancy agreement to the person with learning

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disabilities. At the same time this enables the individual to claim housing benefits usually at the higher rates. These extracts suggest that the first person is subjected by the discourse while the second person is subjected to the discourse.

1:69. "For me, fundamentally, it is about giving more responsibility and control to individuals, and we can have a debate, a lengthy debate really, about how much they understand, is it legal, should they be signing and all those sorts of things. As for me they become fairly immaterial in that what it actually does is to say to us, as professionals, the house belongs to the people that live there, and it reaffirms and confirms to all my staff that they are entering somebody's house and therefore they are guests."

9:130. "........ Well again you see we've also got stuffed haven't we, with the housing benefit really? Because at one time everybody was saying "Well, let's not register, let's go down the housing benefit route". I suspect that, unfortunately the housing benefit route was a bit about saving money. I mean there's some very good reasons why we go down because people go on tenancies and people were much more able to work when they're on housing benefit like that. I suspect in a way, in some ways, I think that's been a ploy to save money".......

5.3 Power - knowledge – truth and discipline.

Central to Foucault's analysis of governmentality is the relationship between power-knowledge-truth and discipline Foucault (1980b). He proposes that since the seventeenth century a particularly modern form of power has been developing. This 'bio-politics', a 'politics of the population', operates through two modalities, 'totalizing' and 'individualizing', to produce what Miller (1993) describes as a two way process between the subject as a private individual and the subject as a public citizen. The tensions within this relationship produce an ethical incompleteness upon which the techniques of self-management operate. These two themes of 'bio-politics'

produce an interplay of knowledge and power located upon the body and this provides the basis for the development of specific disciplines such as medicine and psychology. This combination is of central importance as it produces what is accepted as 'truth' in particular societies at particular times (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982). Human beings have a dual orientation towards these knowledges as they are both forming of and being formed through such knowledge (Miller 1993). Foucault (1984a) argues that this truth is subject to constant political and economic demands and surveillance, it is commodified and it is the focus of conflict and struggle. Moreover, Petersen (1997) points out that there is no essential relationship between truth and science as political and commercial interests have compromised science's potential.

This relationship between power-knowledge-truth gives rise to multiple forms of subjugation. However, as noted earlier, Foucault argues that the notion of power as repression is inadequate. Power is also productive as it induces pleasure, forms knowledges and produces discourse. At the same time these knowledges should not be considered as stable but subject to the possibility of transformation. This 'discontinuity' can be identified in the way certain knowledges have broken with previously held principles to form completely new ways of 'speaking and seeing' and in so doing producing new 'conditions of possibility'. At the same time, truth and power should not be conceived of as the stable possessions of particular subjects, rather they need to be conceived of as a 'strategy'.

"Bio-Power is the increasing ordering in all realms under the guise of improving the welfare of the population. To the Genealogist this order reveals itself to be a strategy, with no one directing it and everyone increasingly enmeshed in it, whose only end is the increase of power and order itself". (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982: xxii).

5.3.1 Strategy, programme and technology.

Strategy is combined with two further concepts 'programme' and

'technology'. 'Programmes' are knowleges which when focussed upon a particular

field produce the norm, while 'technologies' are the mechanisms for bringing that

norm into being. These normative social practices, 'programme/ technology',

produce the social reality within which the modern individual is formed as both

subject and object. However, there is a particular 'non-correspondence' within the

programme between discourse and actuality. This provides programmes with the

means through which they can accommodate failure and the potential that they may

be reclaimed within the parameters of another programme. Gordon (1980) claims

that the prison is the prime example of the persistence of a programme despite its

failure to remove crime from society. Strategy, therefore need not be coherent rather

it is a dynamic formed when a programme, or programmes, are given movement in

the social domain through being recruited to a form of instrumental rationality.

Community care is a particular example of a strategy as it has continued despite

changes to its constituent programmes and technologies.

Fieldwork four: community care as strategy.

This section explores Foucault's notion of strategy by highlighting changes in

the programmes and technologies that have been linked with the strategy of

community care. These can be located along the sentiment expressed by the Kings

Fund publication (1999) 'Learning Disabilities: From Care to Citizenship'. The

extracts point not only to the changes in the use of programmes/technologies over

time but also to a process where expertise is involved in making movements from

one set of programmes/technologies to another in the exercise of power i.e.

promoting particular options and excluding others.

In the first extract a house manager explains the aims of the service provided through the house when it first opened. The programme and technologies in this earlier stage of community care are related to dependency and sickness.

16:80a. *"It could be argued that it should never have been a nursing home. Nobody needed medical care as such but because was like set up fifteen years ago. Set up under the League of Friends of the (hospital name). So it got that tie to it. Fifteen years ago people were coming out of hospital. Do you know what I mean, so it was still seen as an illness type, maybe not so much but I think. And the league of friends board was made up of ex nurses, parents people like that. Who saw it as a caring role as opposed to a supportive role. So I think that why its just the time and the place and everything."*

In contrast this next extract from the manager of the social care wing of an NHS trust explains the significance of the 'supported living' model. This links a new programme [the idea of people with learning disabilities as citizens] with technologies that already existed [tenancies and welfare benefits] but which were used outside of this field of operations within the welfare state.

1:59. *"But actually what we are really talking about is moving away from non-institutional, sorry, institutional dependency environments where the power is shifted away from the professionals to the users. So let's take a couple of those examples. Separating housing from care means that I, as a care provider, am crap and offering a very poor service. The fact that individuals have a separate housing organisation, a housing association, often means that they can live in their house but the care provider can change. If they lived in hospital and they chose to get rid of us as care provider's people's accommodation goes. Or they are stuck with the accommodation, we provide both, so it's an important feature and one that we would endorse. Individuals are tenants, they have their own tenancy agreements, they pay rent and we are there to support them in that part of their life."*

The programme of establishing people as citizens is also highlighted in this extract from a service manager in a different part of the county.

3:39. "Change, the things about rights and about giving people rights, you enable them to establish themselves in other ways in terms of local citizens for example. But it is still protective in terms of it would give them the support they've had up to now and if it makes sense to change that, then change it."

Paralleling these programme changes and the use of alternative technologies is a change in the way in which the state views individuals. Here the establishment (programme) and operation (technology) of eligibility criteria means that the mere fact of having a learning disability is no longer sufficient grounds for the provision of a service.

5:74. "Could be I'm not sure. But following a needs led assessment. Someone's needs are scored from 1-5 and one basic need doesn't need much to five, which they've got a fairly desperate urgent need. At the moment we are only sort of particular, the respite care only working with people at the top end of the scale four and five."

At the same time as using alternative technologies with the programme of becoming a citizen there is the conscious attempt to avoid some of the technologies that belong to the previous (dependency creating) programme. In the next two extracts the director of a housing management agency and the manager of the JPC explain how the supported living model can avoid some of what they see as the less desirable aspects of other configurations of programme/technology.

8:16a. "In the main I would say that's the best way of dealing with it. For a start you're avoiding the registration issue - it's not the same if your housing and supporting buying you got the registration issue to contend with. With the County Council registrations officers saying - this really is a residential home because you are providing the housing and the support."
And.
10:43. "Yeah, and because its supported living, there's no planning permission, we're not setting up a home - people are moving into their own houses."

> This manager (JPC) also suggests that one outcome of this new formation of programmes and technology within community care is to provide a different level of security for the 'new' citizens.
>
> 10:11. *"The style of service that we look for is supported living. So we want to give people the security of their own homes. We separate out the bricks and mortar from the care. So we're saying this person should have their own tenancy and we will separately contract for the care and support and that's the style we're working to wherever we can."*

5.3.2 Discrediting older meanings and producing new meanings.

To return to Foucault's analysis he uses the idea of resistance to describe how the effects of power may only be partially successful or they may become subjected to change. This occurs through what he describes as 'popular knowledges' [the historical contents of conflict and struggle that have become submerged under a veneer of functionalist coherence and order] and the 'insurrections of subjugated knowledges' [knowledges which have been disqualified as either inadequate, lacking scientificity or lacking sophistication] to explain the process through which the prevailing regime of truth is challenged and the possibility that a new 'politics of truth' can be established in its place. To achieve this 'truth' needs to be separated from its present forms of social, economic and cultural hegemony.

> **Fieldwork five: resistance.**
>
> The following extracts identify some resistance to the supported living model. The examples show how the holders of discredited knowledges, in this case those 'subjected to' the hegemony of the supported living model, can use the technologies of the alternative regime (where they exist) as points of conflict and as a means of

resistance. In this first extract the consortium (JPC) manager acknowledges that there has been resistance.

10:93. "I think there's some resistance yeah, you know, - it's been good enough, why do you want it different? Yeah but only gradually realising it is difficult. You know some housing associations were very much against supporting living, wanted residential homes."

In this case a series of payments that people were eligible for prior to changes in 1991, which are referred to as preserved rights, can still be claimed so long as the person does not change their service. This is seen as having important consequences for both individuals and providers. It also demonstrates how technologies from former regimes can be used as points of resistance.

6:90a. "One that's moved and one that wants to move. And we'd have to look at whether they're on preserved rights and what we can do around that. That's a very sacred thing to have these days, though it may not be very trendy, it's their security for the future so we'd have to look at that."
And.
11:76. "Well, we actually have some doubts about the age of our client group because it is certainly a maturing client and giving up preserved rights to go down the road which (the JPC manager) feels that we should."

In section 4.3.1 the discussion of inter-discursivity, drawing on insights provided by Foucault, recognises that particular institutions or societies have particular 'orders of discourse' that is, sets of statements and their related practices which, determine both actions and thoughts, and in doing so constrict the range of possible choices that can be made. The particular ways in which the discourses intersect with each other, their points of conjecture (Miller 1993), provides for the 'order of discourse' in a particular institution and this produces specific meanings. However, Miller suggests that these points of conjecture are not fixed and are subject

to ongoing revisions, also the specific ways in which these discourses intersect can give rise to subtle differences in the sets of meanings produced despite the fact that the discourses involved are similar. The importance of these points of intersection is that it is also possible to fracture these links enabling new sets of meanings to be produced. In the following example the more traditional 'order of discourse' developed in professional and service discourse through mid-range theories (Chappell 1992) is revised to produce the notion of the citizen-tenant. This revision also produces points of resistance between those organisations that want to promote this citizen-tenant and those organisations, which remain, committed to the earlier 'order of discourse'.

Fieldwork six: the citizen - tenant.

Evidence of these new meanings associated with new points of conjecture can be seen in relation to the idea of people with learning disabilities as citizen - tenant. This is particularly evident when professionals talk about the responsibilities (meanings) that come with this new status. This first extract has a home manager talking about the effects of the changes in the service philosophy upon both the people using the service and the staff group who were associated with the 'old regime'

16:88. "Yes that's been difficult for them. They also had a massive change of staff at that time as well. Which helps – cleared out a lot of people who had been here for a long time and people who are very sort of dictators those sort of people went. It's difficult still for the residents and us, it's the whole concept of cause and effect. If you know what I mean of taking responsibility for actions and living with consequences."

In this next extract 'the meaning' takes a more profound shift for the subject of the discourse is no longer a person in care but an individual who is unemployed

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and in need of housing benefit. Again this shift comes with new expectations over responsibilities.

8:16b. "Now that's important in terms of where the finance comes from... that if the tenant going to fight for housing benefits saying to you 'Well I'm unemployed and just on income support'. For us it's a matter of philosophy in that we're treating them the same as we would anyone else and they're tenants of that property. Alright they've got learning difficulties but, yeah they've got the same responsibilities and those responsibilities have to be explained to them and supported to understand them."

Miller's position has some similarities with the concept of articulation (Gramsci 1971). This has been developed by Stuart Hall to describe how particular discursive elements can become detached from their original chains and used in new formations to produce novel combinations (Hall 1986, Grossberg 1996). This may include the unification into a single discursive chain of elements that are philosophically opposed, for example in the way in which critics from both the right and the left argue for choice in welfare services. Bunton (1997) uses the idea of popular knowledges to distinguish between expert and lay accounts in what he describes as 'magazine medicine'. He appears to unify Foucault's distinction between popular and subjugated knowledges to describe knowledges that are experimental, fragmented and which defy unification into a coherent whole. This account is similar to Gramsci's (1971) discussion of 'common sense knowledge'.

5.4 The formation of self-managing individuals.

Foucault argues that the modern individual is formed through process of both objectification and subjectification, which operate through the interplay of power-

knowledge-truth and discipline discussed above (Foucault 1979, Dreyfus and

Rabinow 1982, Miller 1993, Turner 1997). This produces a particular 'ethics of the

self' through which individuals are incited to become self managing. A reflexive

process is constructed which focuses upon the tensions between the desires of the

private individual and the responsibilities and obligations of the public person. Miller

(1993: xiii) describes this as an ethical incompleteness produced through the

technologies of governance.

"The process of formulating this ethical incompleteness works through the operation
of technologies of governance, which are a means of managing the public by having
it manage itself. This is achieved through the material inscription of discourse into
politics and programmes of the cultural-capitalist state ".

Fieldwork seven: self-managing individuals.

    The following extracts demonstrate the processes of governance described

by Miller moving people to a position of self-management. This involves a number of

levels for the people talking are at different levels of responsibility within different

organisations. However the subjects of their discourse are people with learning

disabilities. The extracts emphasise the role of expertise as a technique of

governmentality in the way it is actively engaged in promoting this self-management.

The paradox is that this expertise is also being encouraged by the techniques of

governmentality to become active in its own self-management (this discussion is

developed in the context of trust in chapter eight).

1:129a. "Because part of what we are doing, it's a question really, is supporting
people to be responsible citizens to be able to participate in the community and in
activities in the community and therefore act reasonably. Whether that's in
response to somebody or is inviting something, and therefore, we, I think, have a
role to play about assisting and helping individuals understand that by taking one
course of action it has this consequence."

This notion of consequence has a clear moral theme as well as a behavioural aspect for individuals are not only to behave responsibly but to understand why this should be the case. At the same time there is the construction of a private space taking place. This production of a private sphere is significant for it didn't exist previously and therefore by implication nor did the basis for any kind of citizenship. However, it will be shown in chapter seven that discourses of citizenship impact upon people with learning disabilities in ambiguous and contradictory ways.

8:10. "But as far as we're concerned, we call them tenants. The reason for that it makes the workers recognise the status of the individual and it also helps the individual tenant to understand their responsibilities and helps with their daily living so that you know, you can't just make a total mess of your house because you're responsible for the house. It's your house, our workers knock on the door when we go in. Its that person's house, it's not a work place and we very much respect it is their home."

These technologies of governance draw upon a range of disciplinary process in the production of a specific subject, a subject who is docile, productive and willing to participate in their own management. In order to achieve this aim, power operates in a way that separates, analyses and differentiates groups of people from other groups, individuals from other individuals and finally creating components within individual subjectivity. Miller (1993:xvi) provides the following summary,

"Foucault discerns three methods of manufacturing such subjects. First, the human sciences produce subjects by pronouncing the conditions and operation of speech, of material productiveness and of physical morphology. Second, various practices divide the subject within itself and divide it from others in terms of healthiness and appropriateness of conduct. Finally, the subject identifies as a subject. It works on itself in order to perform these classificatory operations and then to recognise itself within one or several of them".

Foucault (1979) identifies three key processes in the objectification of individuals these are hierarchical observation, normalising judgements and the examination. Hierarchical observation concerns a process of surveillance (gaze), which is constantly but unobtrusively maintained. Individuals are therefore both the observer and the observed with the effect of producing an ongoing subjection and the maintenance of appropriate forms of behaviour.

Hierarchical observation can be seen in the dispersal of welfare professionals throughout society under umbrella terms such as 'Community Care' and 'Primary Health'. The growing sophistication of technology, the organisation of professionals on a neighbourhood basis and the promotion of certain forms of 'events' in the media (child abuse, hypothermia, ordinary living) demonstrate that the community is an organised and observed space (Rose 1996). In contemporary welfare the assessment of risk has replaced dangerousness as the central function of experts (Rose 1996, Turner 1997). Within this 'care planning' can be identified as a practice through which surveillance is organised throughout the community. For example, the new 'National Service Framework for Mental Health' (DoH 1999a) propose an extension to the mechanisms of supervision and the management of risk thus moving towards Widgery's (1991) description of the community as an 'asylum without walls'.

Normalising judgements involve the comparison of specific individuals to particular 'norms' associated with social functioning and behaviour. Individuals are then distributed around the norm on the basis of their individual characteristics. The power of the norm is that it reaches into the most minor aspects of everyday behaviour with even small transgressions becoming the focus of disciplinary attention. This quantification against the norm identifies, isolates and differentiates

individuals from one another and sets them within a hierarchy. This quantification

translates into a conformity that must be achieved. At the same time normalising

judgement traces the limits of a norm in comparison with all other norms and sets the

terms of exclusion or abnormality. For example non-disabled from disabled, disabled

from learning disabled, psychosis from neurosis, learning disabled from challenging

needs and normal from abnormal. Deviations from the norm are regarded as failures

of persons to self manage and therefore they come to be managed on the basis of risk

(Rose 1996, Turner 1997) and subjected to particular forms of surveillance e.g. care

programme approach, electronic tagging etc.

The third element in this process is the examination, which is the mechanism

that brings the other two elements together. It links specific knowledges with

particular practices in the exercise of power. It also demands that experts engage in a

network of writing and documentary accumulation. The examination describes

individuals as deserving or undeserving, notes their individual features, specifies

appropriate interventions and records their progress. This documentation fixes the

objectification of the individual in writing that can then be codified and analysed,

with the differences calculated and comparisons made. The knowledges produced are

objectifying forms of the social sciences, which then come to function as truth.

Fieldwork eight: normalising judgements.

This process of division and classification of people can be most clearly seen

in relation to peoples' eligibility for financial support and the levels of support that

they can claim. In the first instance the 'eligibility criteria' [fieldwork four 5:74]

distinguish whether an individual has the necessary characteristics to be provided

with a service i.e. level of disability, types of support needs, lack of other alternative

(private) options.

For those people who are seen as having a specific form of need the process separates them from people who are merely 'eligible'. For example people with learning disabilities that have mental health needs are separated from people with learning disabilities.

10:85. "There's a problem for community based services with different dual diagnosis - mental health and learning disability. That's a hole in the market. We haven't got the rivals in the market with those skills to develop that service here."

Once people have been identified as deserving or eligible the exact levels have to be decided. These can be influenced by factors that have little to do with their needs such as the year they were first provided with that service or whether the service is within the statutory or independent sectors.

2:103. "Yeah, People who were in residential care prior to that (the NHS and Community Care Act 1990) are on protected benefits for the moment that's £250.00 a month from the state. People who join our service after that get benefits to the value of £108 and then the, like a (city name) and joint purchaser consortium top that up to £250 and this is where the purchases have the power of where their people go etc. etc."
And.
3:17. .... " so we are trying to give them tenancies and from that actually allow them to access greater levels of benefits which are denied to them purely because they live in a NHS facility. To give you an example, last year the government decided that anybody who lived in an NHS facility would have their mobility disability allowance reduced from £33 per week to £12 per week.

Foucault argues that these processes of objectification discussed above have been unified with processes of subjectification to produce the modern 'self managing' individual leaving little room for resistance. Again these processes of subjectification employ specific technologies and subjectifying discourses. Foucault (1984a) develops his analysis in the context of human sexuality. He argues that bio-

power circulates through the body and into the individuals subjective experience through the deployment of sexuality. Subjectification requires a specific 'technology of the self' which he likens to the confessional. Individuals are encouraged to gain self-knowledge, to speak the truth about their inner desires in a reflective process. This is recorded and it provides the basis for interpretative social sciences (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982, Turner 1997).

Sexuality became identified with individual identity and a range of experts became deployed to hear and record individual confessions. In the 'History of Sexuality' (Vol 1) Foucault (1984a) identifies four forms of subject that featured in discussions about sexuality, all of which have a particular significance for the historical processes that have resulted in the contemporary social construction of learning disability.

1. The hysterical woman. Here a family history of mental illness was seen as significant in the production of children who were feeble minded.

2. The masturbating child. Childhood sexuality was seen as dangerous and a lack of inhibition was a sign of being morally defective.

3. The Malthusian couple. A lack of morality and feeblemindedness led to a situation where such couples would endlessly reproduce children as defective as themselves and they would fail to provide adequate care so producing a burden for others.

4. The perverse adult. The feebleminded and morally defective were a source of immoral behaviour, crime, prostitution and venereal disease.

The notion of the 'Hysterical Woman' was also particularly powerful for it enabled the female body to become saturated with sexuality and subjected to the analytical discourses of medicine. This demonstrates the way in which technologies of governance link the management of individuals with the management of populations.

"Through these medical discourses, both the personal identity of the woman and the future health of the population are linked in a common bond of knowledge, power, and the materiality of the body." (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982: 171).

At the same time this deployment of sexuality forged a direct link between sexual practices and identity,

"What is interesting about male homosexuality today-this has apparently been the case of female homosexuals for some time-is that their sexual relations are immediately translated into social relations and the social relations are understood as sexual relations." (Foucault 1984a: 251).

Both of these processes have significance for the social construction of learning disability for the medicalisation of the female body produced discourses and practices linked to the production of a healthy population and in particular to the value of the lives of disabled people. At the same time the linking of sexual and social relations in people with learning disability has led to a disabled sexuality that is cross cut with legal and moral contradictions (Gunn 1991, Gilbert 1998a).

Miller (1993; xii) extends his analysis of the subject by the addition of three further 'types' to his ethically incomplete subject all of which have been produced by public policy. The ethically incomplete subject is one that requires training in humanness, second comes a national public that is looking for a dramatological

mirror in which to recognise itself while the third is a politically incomplete subject requiring training in citizenship. Finally there is a rational consuming subject in need of alignment with this public citizen.

5.5 Foucault and Governmentality.

In developing his analysis of governmentality Foucault (1984a) distinguishes between two systems of power – sovereign power and bio-politics. The first, sovereign power relates to the functioning of the state and the juridical systems of law. However, he argues that the analysis of power must go beyond the state because despite its overarching presence it is unable to influence the totality of relations. At the same time the state itself is reliant upon already existing power relations (Foucault 1984b). Clarke and Newman (1997) suggest that the processes of change needs to seen as the result of a complex interplay of interests and power rather than the inevitable consequence of directives by the state. The second form of power, 'bio-politics', is concerned with the management of the population. It concerns a very precise form of power, essentially moral in character, operating through social practices and social science. This power is reproduced and circulated through the discourse and practices of an array of experts, its task is to obtain productive service from individuals and to do this it has to access the body. It needs to govern the way people act and to influence their attitudes and everyday behaviours.

Governmentality includes a concern with the promotion and surveillance of health in the population. More specifically it was concerned with the condition of the poor and it produced the rise of statistics as a science of the state and the development of methods of surveillance of the population. The identification of the

norm(s) came to have a central importance as a measure against which individuals or sections of the population could be compared and quantified and around which they could be hierarchically organised. Foucault (1980c: 169) provides the following description,

"An analysis of idleness-and its conditions and effects- tends to replace the somewhat global charitable sacralization of 'the poor'. This analysis has as its practical objective at best to make poverty useful by fixing it to the apparatus of production, at worst to lighten as much as possible the burden it imposes on the rest of society"

As noted earlier, this bio-politics, a 'politics of the population', whose two modalities, 'totalizing' and 'individualizing', produce what Miller (1993) describes as a two way process between the subject as a private individual person and the subject as a public citizen within which an ethical incompleteness is produced. These two modalities of bio-power - the politics of the body and the politics of the population - give rise to the calculation, which is seen as implicit in modern forms of 'good and legitimate' Government. That is the Government of the people must be, 'of all and of each'.

Fieldwork nine: government of all and of each.

Foucault's proposition concerning the importance of this call to the government 'of all and of each' can be seen in the movements to establish this status as tenant-citizen for people with learning disabilities. One effect of this is that this group is brought into line with others in the population who are also in need of housing, employment and welfare benefits. For while the previous status of people with learning disabilities might be considered as dependent, the material benefits of

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the care packages that involve few obligations can be seen as desirable. It also establishes a common understanding of deserving a moral norm with no contradictory alternatives. In the extracts below a number of professionals justified the movement to this tenant-citizen status in terms of 'being like everyone else' [see also fieldwork six].

3:19. "One problem we have had is that the housing associations which are local to here have not been very keen to give tenancies to people with a learning disability and partly it's been a motivating factor in talking to the (name) Foundation who have developed this model elsewhere in the country, very successfully, to allow people, one the security of tenure, that's their home and they cannot just be moved from that at the pleasure of someone within the trust, yeah and - two- they can have the same status as anyone else in accessibility to any benefits or any rights that anyone has."
And.
5:12. "Yeah, I think that there's been a tremendous amount of change, just look, in the past ten years in which services have been about... but there has been a huge change based on the five accomplishments, principles for ordinary living, organisations about people with learning disabilities having an entitlement to an active part in the community and people status with anyone else living out and about."

A particular target of bio-politics, the family, has seen the creation of new rules for codifying relationships and for the establishment of obligations between different members. The family comes to provide the link between the general objectives of health for the social body and the concerns of individuals for good health. The eligibility criteria [fieldwork four 5:74] place an emphasis upon the family to seek alternative forms of support where there is a failure to achieve a high enough rating for a service. At the same time the need to control urban space results in its medicalization through 'public health'. Medicine therefore functions as a general technique of health passing judgement on a whole range of issues.

Fieldwork ten: the surveillance of spaces.

In learning disability services this medicalization of the urban space is achieved through the deployment of community teams. Although it is true to say that the same organisation is not limited to urban spaces but covers rural spaces as well. Here a range of community professionals i.e. community nurses, psychologists, occupational therapists etc working with a psychiatrist, maintain a level of surveillance over the area ensuring the conduct of those targeted. As can be seen from the following extract this organisation is considered to be essential to the strategy of community care.

10:15. "But we very much rely on the back- up support of the community health team which are well financed in this area. Because to make care in the community work we've got to have the back-up of a well resource community team and community nurse, psychologist, OT, Speech Therapist because that needs to back up the social care provision and the intensive assessment service as well."

5.5.1 Dispersal and fragmentation.

Governmentality concerns the mechanisms through which life is first problematised and then, once problematised is acted upon in order to ensure good and avert ill. This operates through the moral regulation of the choices of autonomous individuals (Miller 1993, Rose 1993, 1996, Osborne 1997). For Foucault, governmentality is a means through which liberal modes of government have afforded expertise a key role and function in the management of both individual and collective conduct. Rose (1993: 283) provides the following description,

"The forms of power that subject us, the systems of rule that administer us, the types of authority that master us, do not find their principle of coherence in a State, nor do they answer to a logic of oppression or domination. Analysis of governmentality can

enable us to explore these relations between mentalities of rule, forms of truth telling, and procedures of expertise."

The link between expertise and the political apparatus is formed in a number of different ways the most obvious of which is through the operation of social policy. The central importance of social policy lies in the way in which it has becomes an integral part of the lived experience that forms our social reality (Hewitt 1983). Miller (1993) describes governance as operating through modes of knowledge and administration that are brought together via social policy. Hewitt proposes that the key concerns of social policy 'needs and rights' are produced through its very operation as are the categories that become the targets for intervention.

The relationship between bio-politics, medicine and the family has continued to be strengthened through this deployment of expertise into the community. This has established Primary Health Care teams, social workers, General Practitioners and a range of contact points such as outpatient facilities, surgery consultations and pharmacists. The dynamics of this link between the family, morality, the local community, health and welfare, economics and the state continues to be central to contemporary debates over welfare.

The trend in recent times has seen changes in the practices of governmentality with the state increasingly distancing itself from the direct provision of welfare with expertise becoming detached from the political apparatus and set within market relations. At the same time expertise and the organisations through which it operates are encouraged to become reflexive acting to anticipate change and resolve problems (Rose 1993, 1996, Dean 1994, Petersen 1997), in fact to become self-managing. Through a process Clarke and Newman (1997) describe as 'dispersal'

a series of quasi-autonomous organisations in the independent sector, NHS trusts and mechanisms such as case management have produced a situation of relative autonomy between the apparatus of the state and the provision of welfare services. Moreover, corporations, charities and the family are increasingly being used in the achievement of government objectives. In this way extending the technologies of surveillance. While at the same time, the management and efficiency norms of private corporations are introduced as methods of regulation in welfare organisations. A point that will be returned to in the discussions of trust and managerialism [chapters eight and nine].

Rose (1993, 1996) argues that governmentality in advanced liberal rule sees the use of experts and expertise in particular ways. Government, rather than being the territory of direct interventions, becomes instead the structuring of the potential choices of autonomous individuals (Miller 1993). Therefore, rule is not achieved through society but through the regulated choices of individuals with expertise in a semi-autonomous relationship with the state.

"And it seeks to detach the substantive authority of expertise from the apparatus of political rule, relocating experts within a market governed by the rationalities of competition, accountability and consumer demand." (Rose 1993: 285).

The formation of these semi autonomous relations between the state and welfare professionals can be seen in processes identified in fieldwork two above [extracts 10:7 and 4:59]. Osborne (1997) points out that the authority vested with expertise is not constructed in an abstract way rather it is the result of very particular problematisations and processes of negotiation. For Dean (1994) Governmentality enables us to identify the ways in which discourses constitute categories of identity

regulating morals and directing life choices. He argues that the process of ethical

self-formation gives rise to the government of the self by the self and he observes

that,

"Processes of political subjectification are not necessarily located within the state
but are constructed from practices operating from multiple and heterogeneous
locales (citizen associations, charities, trade unions, families, schools, workplaces,
etc). These practices are not immediately political and have diverse historical
origins and uses – military, pedagogical, religious, ascetic, bureaucratic, medical,
economic, and so forth. While they are intensified and refined by their application
within closed institutions (schools, factories, hospitals, asylums, etc.) they 'swarm'
within the social body."   (Dean 1994: 156).

5.6 Summary.

This chapter has explored the three areas identified by Turner as central to

Foucault's contribution to the understanding of power. At the same time it has set out

the basis for the conceptualisation of power relations that will underpin the micro-

politics of care planning. This includes the role of expertise in the definition of needs

and the exercise of power in the production of particular possibilities and the

exclusion of other possibilities. Central to this process has been the construction of

the citizen-tenant as a new identity – individualised and self-managing. This citizen-

tenant also finds a new equality with fellow citizens through being seen as

unemployed and homeless. Parallel to this citizen-tenant is the identification of

individuals who will not conform to the ethical norm of self-management. These

individuals are separated away and managed on the basis of risk.

The analysis of governmentality has a particular importance as it enables us

to place the deployment and the role of expertise at the heart of the investigation of

power relations that circulate the lives of people with learning disabilities. Chapter

six will extend this discussion of Foucault's work by taking his five methodological

precautions into an analysis of the micro politics of the local care planning system.

Chapter Six. The Effects of Power.

6.1 Foucault's methodological precautions.

The chapter continues the discussion of Michel Foucault's conceptualisation

of power that was started in the previous chapter. It will draw upon Foucault's

(1980a) 'five methodological precautions' to produce an analysis of the local context

demonstrating how care planning has provided a conduit for power that links a

diverse range of agencies and activities. Turner (1997) describes Foucault's

conceptualisation of power as localised, dispersed and diffused throughout social

practices and the relationships these establish. Power operates through out the social

system in a covert way, vested in the everyday practices of administrators and

professionals. At the same time there is a need to be mindful of Clarke and

Newman's (1997) caution noted earlier that the effects of power may be only partial

[see section 5.2 and fieldwork three].

This chapter focuses specifically upon the dimensions Foucault identified as

being essential to the analysis of the 'effects of power'. The aim is to explore these

'methodological precautions' by using them to interrogate the evidence from the

fieldwork in a style similar to that adopted in the previous chapter. In essence these

five interdependent methodological precautions, essential to the analysis of the

'effects' of power, direct the analysis to the social relationships which are produced

in their more local context. They set out to identify who or what become the targets

of power. Moreover, the interrelationship between these 'precautions' demonstrates

how a range of social institutions are linked together by the flow of power and how

particular individuals, groups or social organisations become the targets of power. At

the same time it demonstrates how at an individual level particular activities are drawn into the field of operation while at another level programmes and technologies that lay outside of this field are drawn into its activity. The final precaution then focuses upon the way in which these practices both produce and are produced through particular knowledges which are disseminated in ways that they come to function as truth.

Taking Beechey and Donald's (1985) proposition that this 'flow' does not have to been seen as totally fluid instead, power can be seen as collecting around particular sites across the social surface forming concentrations of power at points in the social environment. The important point being that while power might collect at a particular point or within a particular institution this does not mean that it is a permanent or essential feature of that institution as these are themselves the products of historically specific relations of power. This can be seen in fieldwork two [extracts 9:120 and 11:120] where organisations that were previously influential have been usurped by other organisations.

6.2 The First Methodological Precaution.

Foucault states that the analysis of power should not concern itself with the regulated and legitimate forms of power in their central locations. Rather, power needs to be considered at the extremities, in the social institutions and practices of everyday life and in everyday interactions at their most local level. This precaution identifies the need to undertake the analysis of power away from a discussion of legal structures, or in terms of a centralised state.

In the context of this study this local level will be taken to mean the way in which the organisations and institutions have become positioned within a particular field of operations related to the provision of housing and support to people with learning disability. It involves the interpretations that are placed upon particular aspects of policy and questions of needs and rights that arise. Central to this organisation are the mechanisms of contracting and care planning which function as a conduit through which power is dispersed.

In the context of this 'precaution' it is possible to explore the way in which a particular set of social relationships have been constructed across the county and to see these as the outcome of specific local relations. This is not to deny the role of the state in setting particular legal, financial and policy frameworks but to see the relations that have been produced as specific to the locality while at the same time they show key differences across this locality. These are the outcome of shifting relationships between the central state and the many agencies – health, social services, housing authorities, housing associations and independent providers – that are actively involved in either commissioning or providing services.

In fieldwork two [extracts 10:7 and 4:59] it was shown how the contracting process was used to structure the environment. In 10:7 this involved the operation of a joint purchasing consortium (JPC), a specific body that had been set up through health and social services to develop community services for people with learning disabilities within the south of the county. In constructing this body the two statutory agencies have delegated responsibility to a third party which operates in a semi-autonomous way. It can also be seen that in its operation the JPC has constructed an identity for itself that is linked to the promotion of the 'supported living model' of

service provision. This model, as noted earlier, involves a separation of the provision of support from the provision of housing to enable the individual to claim housing and other benefits. It also functions discursively to produce the citizen-tenant. Fieldwork two also shows how some organisations have become alienated or excluded from this process.

In contrast, extract 4:59 demonstrates that a different set of relations exist outside of the scope of the JPC. In the northern part of the county the contracting process is retained within either the social services department or the health authority. In this case it is the provider side of both statutory organisations through which power flows as they look to use the contracting process to construct particular sets of relations within care planning.

Fieldwork eleven: exercising power.

The extracts below are taken from a social services manager and a health services manager both of whom are 'providers' of services in the north of the county. However, both these examples will show that they are willing to use the contracting mechanisms to enable their own processes of providing services. In the first example the social services manager identifies how the independent sector is used to provide a 'safety valve' where social services is unable or unwilling to provide the service.

4:63. "Yes I think so, because the other thing to say, I mean, prior to that there was the independent sector was not very active in day care, not very active in day services. Most of which was provided in-house. And there were restrictions upon our budget; the transfer of funds has enabled us to be more flexible and not necessarily use the money for residential care, we know the levels of payments for residential care ... but we can use it in other ways we can be quite creative. We've got more money for grants, for voluntary projects to do pieces of work for us."

In the next extract a health service manager, acting reflexively, has noted the supported living model in operation in the other half of the county. In this example the manager, who is also on the provider side, uses the contracting process to discipline the housing associations that already provide services but are unwilling to move to the supported living model. This is achieved by bringing in a new organisation as an example to the others to change.

3:23. I've held off renewing the leases to actually try to persuade the local housing association we work with, who are very good landlord, yeah, first class landlords - look after the properties well, no problems with them at all, but they have a great reluctance to enter into tenancy agreements for people with learning disabilities. So, they haven't at the moment, and this is something we are planning to tackle. What we are looking to do is to with the seven houses we own to work with a local housing association from elsewhere, who are happy with this model and develop with them a relationship whereby they will own our properties and give the residents tenancies, and will say to the local housing association look this works. Here's a house 200 yards away from you where the actual model works and is successful."

While the movement to the supported living model has alienated some housing associations and care providers [see fieldwork two, extracts 9:120 and 11:120] it has also effected relations with other arms of the local state. In the south of the county one of the three housing authorities in the City has refused to accept the interpretation of the housing benefit regulations that has enabled other housing authorities to pay the higher levels of benefits. At the same time the Registration and Inspection Unit, adopting a somewhat detached (or disinterested stance – see chapter eight for the relationship between disinterestedness and trust), is expressing doubts over the legitimacy of the model.

Fieldwork twelve: local relations of power.

The first extract identifies the problem faced in one housing authority area where the interpretation of the rules has been tighter than in other areas, which include the two other housing authorities within the city. These local interpretations highlight the way in which the relationships between different aspects of the state work together to produce the citizen-tenant and person with a learning disability as subject. However, these relations can be very specific to place and time. It also demonstrates that there are different sites of power within any locality that can provide a resistance to the activities of another site. In such circumstances the effects of power can produce quite unique configurations in terms of the social relationships and identities.

1:86. "......So that example of tenancy with care does go hand in hand, not in every place, I have to say, it depends which part of the county you are in. In East Xshire its...we sort of need it, South Xshire we don't need it at all because they are very flexible. City, you need much more than that actually to try to get housing benefit." And.

5:30. " .... because (name) City have been applying housing benefit legislation law to the absolute dot, you know, and it threw into jeopardy quite a number of our schemes where people were being supported in the home with some of them put quite a lot of hours per weeks, you know, whichever staffing agency or our own staff and our own tenancies and the argument with housing benefit agency was that, you know, that if there's that amount of staff going in surely it constitutes a sort of care home environment so therefore these people shouldn't be claiming housing benefit ....."

The next extract is taken from the office of Registration and Inspection. It suggests that the promotion of the independent living model is being questioned both on the basis of whether it is a legitimate interpretation of the housing regulations and on the basis that it is attracting attention from the central state. This has occurred because the supported living model targets budgets, which were not

set up for that purpose. This suggests that within these micro-politics that the state retains a role as arbitrator with powers of veto.

13:109. "Yes, Yes and that extends on to central government departments and the irritation that housing, that housing funds are being plundered by social welfare and health agencies........."

The final area where power can be seen in the production of local relations is in the relationship between residential and day services where again there are differences between the north and the south of the county. In the south of the county the JPC is contracting for what it refers to as integrated services. Influenced by the Kings Fund (1996) 'Changing Days' project, the assessed needs of an individual for support are set within a single contract rather than the traditional division between residential and day care needs [see fieldwork two, extract 10:7]. This operates discursively to produce a decline in the role of the traditional Day Centre with the contract usually being managed by the provider of residential support. This has led to a set of social relations where day service providers are becoming increasingly marginalised within the provision of social care.

Fieldwork thirteen: reconstructing local relations.

The first two extracts are taken from managers who are primarily concerned with the provision of residential support who are now having to provide options for employment and leisure as part of an individuals' contracted care plan. The unification of the two aspects, residential support and day care, doesn't meet resistance.

12:19. "I think it gives the house far more control in how it designs its services as opposed to a project where people traditionally go off to a centre or centres.] ....
[So there's quite often lots of conflict between that service and the home. So where as I get the feeling with the one in (village) there is no sort of conflict because they

have, they do tend to have far more say in the whole package rather than just the housing part."

And.

15:10b. ..... "Most of the people here do some form of work experience, social firm or college. They only really attend a Day Centre now; there's three of them as like a fill in. They would prefer to be in jobs to be paid. And they want to be in the job. The two guys in here, one of the guys has two jobs. Works for (city) housing helps do some care taking, their assistant caretaker. Also works in a butchers which he gets money for it. Also works in a social firm composting room which is in (village) in which is a good mix.... And he'd much rather do that, he doesn't want to be at a Day Centre at all. I think he feels he's out grown it. Been there done it, so."

However, the 'Changing Days' project is not universally seen as a positive development. In this extract a representative of social firms, who would claim to provide an alternative to traditional day services, is unimpressed by the model.

14:112. "I don't know I think it's very crude. The Kings Fund dogged down initiative which I don't think was a very neat contribution at all. I think we all try to do that but they came along and that verified it in many senses by creating this strange little .... debate about, it wasn't.... I mean they don't.... the changing days model doesn't like social firms at all."

Moving back to the north of the county the 'Changing Days' project isn't mentioned. Instead, the traditional day service base is seen as the site for the development of new service responses. This next extract concerns the development of a new service aimed exclusively at Asian users.

17:12b. "No, no it means voice and it was chosen... what initially happened was the city because the City Council now but we were Xshire County Council and.... it was identified that we needed a more specific service for Asian service users and there was a gap there. So what happened was the City Council were approached to joint work a project with us and identified a worker who he's himself Asian and had linked with the community but didn't have really very much, maybe no experience of working with people with disabilities. I was then identified as Day Centre Officer to

work within it and another member of staff from another unit was identified... plus an Asian volunteer a female... and we started the projects September 96."

6.3 The Second Methodological Precaution.

The second precaution set out by Foucault suggests that the analysis of power should consider the targets of power and the effects it produces. It should be concerned with the process of ongoing subjectification. The aim of analysis is not identifying who or what has power over others for these individuals, groups or classes, are in themselves the products of power. Rather the aim is to identify the targets of power, the groups or individuals to which its effects are applied and then to identify the effects of its application. The targets of power might be anywhere in the hierarchy as those who supervise are in turn supervised.

In considering the targets of power the analysis will first focus upon the identities that are being constructed for people with learning disabilities. In general terms this concerns the production of a self-managing individual who is capable of acting 'reasonably'. Fieldwork six [extracts 16:88 and 8:16] and fieldwork seven [extracts 1:129a and 16:82a] identify the way in which people with learning disability are targeted to become responsible and to take the consequences of their actions, while services adopt a position of supporting people to come to terms with these new responsibilities.

Fieldwork fourteen: new responsibilities new identities.

In the next series of extracts the effects of this positioning of people with learning disabilities is explored further. The first group of extracts explores the dimensions of the support that is given as people come to terms with their new

responsibilities. While the second group are more concerned with the consequences as people assert this new identity. The final extract focuses upon the use of an ethnic language, which creates something of a dilemma between the ideal situation as seen by the professional worker and what is possible.

The first extract here identifies the way in which this process of establishing responsibility as part of the new identity is graduated with small steps being taken by some people.

16:94. *"It's like Saturdays my washing day and if we took that away it wouldn't really help matters at all. Do you know what I mean. So we've built on what they had. But some people are moving faster than other people. So people are responding really well to be given more responsibility and to be expected to answer the phone and answer the door and things like that."*

Whereas in these two extracts a stand is taken where it is felt that the person hasn't taken account of the consequences of her actions despite support. The extract concerns having the money to go on holiday and the decision not to treat the individual concerned as a victim is applauded although it is seen as difficult for the staff members concerned.

12:112. *"But I think they made a stand this year and said, 'Well, right you haven't saved the money, you haven't got'. She's been repeatedly discussed with things have been discussed with her through the months. And I think they actually they felt quite... difficult about making that decision but they did. So she didn't go away. The rest of them went away on a week's holiday she stayed at the other place."*
And.
12:114. *"For them that was quite a thing for them to do because they don't treat them as poor people who have to been seen sympathetically. They actually stuck with their decision."*

This next extract demonstrates that to establish this new identity that service is willing to underwrite the situation in order to reassure the public and to ensure the

success of the example. This involves the movement of resources, including financial resources, to ensure the success of the project.

5:3. *"We have one remaining house that was administered by social service as a group home but we've actually got rid of the properties in favour of people having their own tenancies. So we work quite closely with housing associations and set up a sort of supportive tenancies really. Eventually we're rewritten the rules of some of the tenancy agreements and social services are undersigning them now, which is very good because it means people can claim full benefits and actually have their own tenancy which is very important, their own independent status away from social service so that's City."*

The next group of extracts concerns the way in which this new identity can assert itself with consequences for others involved. In the first example a daughter wants to leave home.

5:12b. *"I can think of a conversation that I had with a Mum and Dad with the young woman with learning disability, not so long ago. She's living at home and they recognise that she no longer wants to live at home and they're finding it difficult to cope. She's fed up with living there, wants her own place, perhaps living with a couple of mates or you know elsewhere."*

In the following extracts two different men are identified as not wishing to associate with other people with learning disability. This fits with the observations noted earlier [section 1.3] by Bilken and Mosley (1988) and Harris (1995) that people with learning disabilities do not necessarily identify with this label. A position that can be identified as consistent with the mid-range theories promoted by professionals (Chappell 1992) where association between disabled people is considered to magnify stigma.

16:9. *"I think sometimes he likes to distance himself from people who are quite obviously disabled. He doesn't like being part of the group. He's Mike he's this person, he doesn't want to be seen as some part, you know, some pack of strange*

people and he will quite often distance himself with other people who are obviously very disabled."

And.

15:57. "Yeah, he, Yes I think if you asked him as well. If he was honest he likes to be somewhere where there is not eighty people perhaps with learning disabilities. The college course that he goes on is for people who have some, need some help with office skills and literacy its not a special run course and he likes that."

The final extract focuses upon the tensions that arise when a group is targeted in a particular way but there is a gap between what is intended and what is possible. This concerns the use of ethnic languages in a group set up for Asian service users.

17:53. "........ But the main language that all languages that should be spoken are peoples first language. So basically and to only fill us in as staff as and when needed because people often don't get the opportunity to speak their first language. The rest of the time they're in their Day Services because we haven't got any Asian members of staff. We do have an Asian volunteer, which is great but then again she'll quite often speak English to people."

The next groups of targets for power are carers and in the main this concerned the traditional statutory sector providers of the Social Services Department and a NHS Trust. This targeting may be more pronounced here due to responsibility set within the Carers Act (1995). The effects of power are to produce alternative methods of securing either carer compliance or support. This process also demonstrates a tactic that was observed in the interviews with statutory sector providers, which involved a dual approach of change and conciliation.

Fieldwork fifteen: change and conciliation.

The next two extracts demonstrate how carers become the targets of power through service providers. This arises from the need to manage the voice of carers

in order to either resolve conflicts with the service or where the service wishes to achieve changes within the field such as movements away from large services such as day centres [see also fieldwork thirty-five].

In the first extract the manager of a service identifies how they have used a third party to resolve opposition from carers. While at the same time he expresses a recognition of this concern.

3:60. "Where there are specific circumstances where we occasionally get a bit of conflict between what we would see as the right decision for an individual and what their next of kin, mum and dad, although they love the person, what they want isn't always in the best interest of the individual and we have actually brought in advocates in those circumstances, occasionally encouraging a solicitor to be appointed to represent someone.] ......[some of those decisions can be very crucial. And it is very difficult for parents bringing up a learning disabilities child there can be a lot of negative reactions from within the community, and they develop a protective role around their son or daughter. That sometimes inhibits their development and their ability to live a fulfilled life."

In this next extract the employees of the organisation and the carers are targeted so that the local staff can use their more personal relations with carers as a means of managing anxieties arising from changes.

4:49. "Yes it's that, we don't usually do groups with carers unless there is a consultation meeting.] ...... [So managers have got a job to make sure that members of staff do this on one to one, then they have also methods of staff support. But it's done. I mean, when we moved recently, we put a new service right into the centre of (local city). Literally about 300 metres from the (shopping) Centre. About 30 people moved from (ATC) to there and the assistant manager responsible for the group with one of the managers, kind of literally, just took everybody, thirty two people they did it over a period of weeks. People I think appreciated that, they talked about their own anxieties, you know. Consultation meetings are fine, there is a role for them but sometimes you can get the very social people speaking out and that's OK, we will listen to that but its what is not being said, what you are not listening to."

The workers who are employed by organisations are also the targets of power with the recognition that they are the carriers of discourse. The effects of power can be seen in attempts to either subject them to an alternative discourse or to dispense with their services completely.

Fieldwork sixteen: targeting workers.

In this next section it is apparent that the staff of the organisation are seen as the carriers of potentially contradictory or resistant discourses. These two extracts concern the need for staff to carry through the philosophy of the organisation. It also suggests that staff with previous experience may be the carriers of resistant discourses that may lead them to experience conflicts [see fieldwork six, extract 16:88].

1:69. "......it is part of our responsibility the care provider to make sure that people have their own space which is often their bedrooms and that is not infringed in any way either by other tenants or more importantly by staff.... we have a habit of wandering into places without knocking."
And.
8:5. "We have found that a few staff we have appointed from residential or group homes situations then find themselves working on a one to one basis making lots of joint decisions with that tenant - that's what we call them, we don't call them clients or residents we call them tenants .... find it quite difficult sometimes to actually cope with that work because they haven't got the staff around them, they're very much working on their own. So... sometimes it is quite difficult for the workers to actually cope with that."

Organisations can be seen as the targets of power. This may have the effect of producing changes either to the structure of the organisation or to the way in which it operates.

Fieldwork seventeen: targeting organisations.

This group of five extracts identifies changes that three organisations have had to make as a consequence of their operation within the social care field. The first series of three extracts relate to an organisation, which has had to restructure internally while at the same time its environment is now controlled by another organisation. Previously this organisation was able to take its own referrals. This shows a degree of anticipation as well as the experience of the organisation growing and the social care environment becoming more complex.

6:24. "Yes, and I have a partner here, who... we've kind of got a ... it's an interesting... we've had some changes internally because the organisation a growing quite large and... originally we had quite an old fashioned structure where I was the Manager, then I had an assistant manager and then we had heads of homes. But the assistant manager is we've now got a duopoly really he was promoted and he's responsible, his title is operations. He directly line manages some projects but he's primarily responsible for... all the premises. He's responsible for the financial side of the organisation and that side of things. My specialism is I'm care management and personnel and that's kind of how we split the job."
And.
6:50. "Yeah, an individual coming along which is happening now. All referrals must go through the Consortia [JPC] and they work quite well with us in deciding who might be the person that's referred."

This third extract suggests that the organisation is keen to promote a particular image of itself back to the purchasers (JPC).

6:98. "We're up for, we're letting social services know that we're up to.... you know. Changing.... in our indirect care.] ..... [So there's a lot of influences that have brought us to come to the point where, you know, we've got opportunities do we seize the opportunities or do we get stagnant. I think we're going to seize every opportunity we can."

This situation contrasts with the following extract, which concerns an organisation, that, the purchasing consortium (JPC) considered to be lacking the necessary structure to guarantee its successful management of services. In this case the organisation was placed in a position where it had to agree to a take over.

11:96. "No, you'd have to say it hasn't been forced it's been influence and very much put a pressure on and this sort of thing. It was encouraged very much to form a partnership, to get in the road of partnership and they suggested (name NHS social care) they brought (name NHS social care) and the (organisation name) together. Then when (name NHS social care) reported back and said that we can't form a partnership we can only take you over. In other words it's like leading the (organisation name) down this road which is a cul-de-sac you know?"

In this final example an organisation is having to consider changes to its rules in order to compete for future contracts within the area of the county that is subject to the JPC. This change in rules will allow the organisation to compete to supply the 'support' parts of supported living contracts, whereas its present rules will only allow it to provide housing or both housing and support.

9:29. "And also we are often asked to provide support to people living in their own accommodation, which we can't actually do at the moment as a housing association. I think our rules actually go against that but ..it's...I think if we were going to do it we'd have to make a conscious decision. .... With the JPC tendering for those sorts of services, we could actually win something like that probably. What we'd probably do then is provide it from one of our other schemes and we wouldn't get into this problem of changing the organisation, but I'm sure there are ways of doing that."

The final section in this consideration of the targets of power concerns communities. Here the effects of power are to create a profile within the community. This can be achieved by finding ways of doing things for the community and looking to create a form of dependency between the organisation and the community in

which it is based. This has the secondary effect of fixing the relationship between the person with learning disabilities and their community as one mediated by the organisation that provides support and dependent upon that organisation for the maintenance of the relationship with the community.

Fieldwork eighteen: targeting communities.

Both extracts here concern the relationship between the local community and the organisation. In the first extract this is linked to having an influence on the local council while the second extract is concerned with finding a 'way in' through undertaking some form of community activity. This demonstrates how Rose's (1996) management through the community involves the deployment of resources through mechanisms of care planning.

6:130. *"We're doing the gardens in the village, we're pretty, a nice profile I'd say. I think a lot of it we've got to attribute to (name), my colleague, he lives in the village. He's on the Parish Council and it has helped in having a high profile in the village. It's been good."*

And.

11:9. *One of the things we did do is that a couple of the gentlemen that live there and one of the members of staff, when there was some snow they cleared the road leading into it which was seen as not just helping ourselves but actually the drive round them through to the houses which actually broke down a lot of barriers in one quick move. As soon as the people actually see that the people with a learning disability can actually help, can actually put something back in, all the other bits and pieces, all the other little prejudices that go with that take a back seat immediately. There are other things that we've got in mind. We would like to get involved in villages like that there's normally some sort of ... fund raising, whether it be for the local church. Unfortunately when we got there they'd just finished raising money for a local pavilion and the green, a cricket pitch etc.. etc.... We would have liked to have been able to have done something for that so you're actually seen as putting something back in. When I say be involved in that I don't just mean going to local place which is obviously something that happens in that sort of fund raising. But*

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actually to take an initiative and say we will do a five mile walk or something like this and that the money that we raise will go into the local coffers!

6.4 The Third Methodological Precaution.

Foucault points out that power is not a possession of a class or group, which is then deployed in the interests of that group or class. Power does not rest in a particular place from where it is employed. Rather power should be viewed as flowing throughout the social world in the form of a chain which links together a variety of institutions (family, schools, health and welfare agencies), with particular social practices (care planning, psychological assessment), and specific groups or individuals (disabled people, people with learning disabilities). Individuals are therefore the products of power and the vehicles of power taking it into minute aspects of their existence.

This precaution focuses upon the positioning of individuals and it requires a bottom up analysis. The evidence used to support the discussion of the first two methodological precautions sets out the field of operations that are drawn together through the flows of power associated with care planning. This precaution helps to identify activities and practices that, at an individual level, are drawn into the relations of care planning. This is achieved in an informal and unorganised way. It relates to the activity of particular individuals in particular places at particular times and it cannot be identified as a general trend. Nevertheless this individual activity becomes enmeshed in the relations of care planning becoming monitored, described, recorded and evaluated.

Fieldwork nineteen: unique responses.

In this fieldwork section examples will be given of unique circumstances where a particular activity has become enmeshed by the care planning process. In the third methodological precaution power is seen to permeate through a range of practices at the individual level drawing them into the strategy of community care in unique ways. These unique instances may occur by accident or design but they are not part of a wider programme that is being brought into a different field of operations.

The first extract shows how a work opportunity has been developed through a local shop. This has not been constructed as part of any larger scale programme rather it is highly specific to the individuals concerned and that social context.

15:35. "Yes, that's right, then on a Friday he works in a butchers and is paid for that for a couple of hours there. He absolutely loves it.] .... [But the person who runs the butchers had seen him in the café and kind of head hunted him really, which is good and he loves it and they're teaching him all different skills".

These next extracts demonstrate how a unique solution to a person's need for exercise has been produced in relation with the local gym. In this way the health club has been drawn into the process of care planning. Again this is a highly individual example.

16:37. "That's because of physio she had, she's basically got from a behavioural problem a long time ago started to throw her leg out for no physical reason. Therefore, walks with a very big limp, well bent knew and has got to the point now where obviously the muscles in her leg and everything are quite damaged. So it's part of her programme she just goes to the (gym) for a morning with a member of staff."
And.
16:41. "Yes, horrible machines, they go faster and you fall off. I hate them. But she does enjoy it, she enjoys going. She doesn't particularly enjoy exercise, so that's why it is nicer to go to the gym to do it. She's got an exercise bike and stuff at

> *home. It's just that it's nice, she likes to go out and have a drink at the gym and sort of look at all the people. It's a community thing as well. It was like, you know something to assess basically."*

6.5 The Fourth Methodological Precaution.

Foucault's fourth methodological precaution proposes that the analysis of power requires a bottom up or ascending analysis of power rather than a top down analysis. The aim is to identify how particular social practices, which have their own internal logic have become recruited into wider strategies of power. In this way it links the more individual focus of the third precaution with the fourth. The analysis of power would seek to identify how social practices such as the family have been integrated into wider strategies such as community care for example in the form of informal care. The same can be said of the way in which the education system (further/community education) has been drawn into the support of people with learning disabilities within the strategy of community care.

Fieldwork twenty: recruiting families.

The following extracts identify how individuals and families are being recruited to the strategy of community care. In the first example social services is actively seeking to recruit families to support individuals and to provide an alternative to respite services which work to preserve informal care.

5:4. "Another area that I'm involved in is 'The link Scheme' which is a style of respite care this is administered from (name) House in (rural city). We have a link co-ordinator and her brief is to recruit ordinary families, or ordinary members of the public to the rent and support people with learning disabilities and I suppose ultimately perhaps leading to overnight stays in those individuals houses and that's

an area that we wanted to develop because we're finding at the moment that the pressure is really on as far as our respite service ...."

This second example where non-disabled people are being drawn into the strategy of community care is being promoted by the purchasing organisation.

10:33. "...... we're looking at shared living between somebody with a disability sharing with somebody who's not disabled. We use community service volunteers its about finding out what people need and finding different ways of meeting that need."

Again it is possible to highlight this methodological precaution by linking it with the production of the 'supported living' model. The technologies associated with housing benefits have been recruited to a model of support, which is quite new to this area of community care. This model is used to produce changes in the way in which the organisations providing social care are organised and in the way support is provided. Fieldwork twelve [extract13:109] provides evidence that this was a local initiative and one not designated by a regional or national centre. The use of tenancies as a technology to promote self-management is another example of how a social practice has been drawn into the strategy of community care.

A further example of this concerns the banks, which are now drawn into the strategy of community care. This can be seen in two ways. The first relates to the way in which banking facilities have been engaged to promote the self managing individual through the use of direct debits [see fieldwork twenty-four, extract 1:104 and fieldwork thirty-five]. At the same time the banks are involved in the financing of aspects of the dispersal of welfare organisations.

Fieldwork twenty-one: the role of the bank.

In this extracts below the owner/director of a private company providing residential support outlines the role of the banks in community care in first setting acceptable profit levels and then in monitoring the ongoing situation.

7:27. "No from a, well you can always, we do make lots of but you can you don't have to specify that from a company point of you but to raise capital you have to be able to demonstrate that you can go to the banks etc.. and make a living out of the place. I mean currently we own loan cost. And I mean we have been refused, like on this one, one of the banks refused to give us the capital because they didn't feel the profit margin was high enough."

And,

7:29. "Yeah, they monitor on a monthly basis. We have to provide the management figures every month. "

6.6 The Fifth Methodological Precaution.

This fifth precaution relates to the analysis of the methods through which knowledge is developed in relation to the field of study. It is important to identify the types of knowledge which are accepted as providing norms and on what basis they acquire their status of truth (medicine, psychology, and sociology). There is a need to identify the ontological and epistemological basis of particular knowledges. At the same time how are these discourses funded and disseminated and what is the status of those who carry these discourses. Finally what is the means through which they seek to discredit other opposing knowledges.

In the context of the study it is possible to see the influence of what chapter two describes as the first type of socio-political perspective, the deviance theory of people such as Wolfensberger (1989). This is evident in interview five [5:12] that

refers to the general influence of the 'five accomplishments', which is derived from

Wolfensberger's perspective. While in interviews eight, ten and eleven the role of a

consultant from a national organisation VIA (Values into Action) is referred to. This

organisation is committed to the advancement of the ideas of Wolfensberger. In

interviews eight and ten this consultant has been used to establish a philosophical

base for the operation of the service. In interview eleven the consultant was used to

assess the needs of the people living within a service [see supplementary material].

At the same time the 'supported living' model is promoted through the

contracting system, as it is the only model that is acceptable within the tenders. Other

alternative models of services such as care villages or farms are not considered to be

acceptable and therefore they are not included within the range of possible

alternatives [see interview eleven paragraph 120]. The progress of this model will be

reported in the annual reports, audits and quality feedback mechanisms of the

organisations involved and as identified in fieldwork fourteen, extract 5:3

organisations are prepared to move resources to ensure the success of the model.

6.7 Summary.

This chapter has drawn upon Foucault's five methodological precautions to

produce what might be referred to as a case study of the local relations of power

circulating through the mechanisms of care planning related to services for people

with learning disabilities. These 'precautions' have been used to select a series of

extracts, which in turn provide evidence of the salience of that precaution. This

analysis has produced an overview of the range of organisations and agencies that

have been drawn into this specific field of operations. The extracts have also been

used to identify the range of targets for power – individuals with learning disabilities, workers, organisations and communities.

At the same time it has been shown that the programmes and technologies associated with care planning have provided a conduit for power. This has drawn into the strategy of community care other social institutions and practices that exist beyond this field of operation such as the banks, housing benefits, individual shopkeepers and the gym. Finally, the fifth precaution has demonstrated how discourses of normalisation and the use of the contracting process has produced and disseminated a discourse promoting the benefits of the 'supported living model'. This discourse has become hegemonic promoting one particular version of the truth to the exclusion of other versions which has real consequences for organisations who are resistant to this position and the individuals they support.

Chapter Seven. Citizenship: Locating people with learning disabilities

7.1 Introduction.

The later part of the twentieth century saw strident challenges to relationship between the state and the individual, which have brought with them both implicit and explicit consequences for the citizenship of individuals. These have involved challenges from within, as the welfare or social rights central to the formulation of a modern citizenship (Held 1991) became the focus of criticism from successive Conservative administrations. While from without, the traditional community of belonging, the 'nation state' state (Lewis 1998) has been challenged by the wider potential presented by the development of the European community (van Steenbergen 1994, Rose 1996). At the same time Turner (1994) has identified changes in the discourse surrounding citizenship which, has seen discourses relating to the nation state being confronted by discourses that promote human rights and the citizenship of women.

The discussion here sets out to consider the second key theme identified in chapter two by the proponents of the social model of disability - citizenship. The aim is to use the more theoretical parts of the discussion to explore the fieldwork to identify the power relations that construct particular possibilities for the citizenship of people with learning disabilities and relationships this produces. There are three stages to this discussion. The first is to identify citizenship, as an ambiguous concept with changing and contested meanings while the second stage is to establish citizenship as a tactic of government (governmentality). This continues the Foucauldian theme developed in the previous two chapters. The third stage explores

four themes linked to the citizenship of disabled people in general and people with learning disabilities in particular: work; participation; community and consumption.

The aim throughout this discussion is to locate people with learning disabilities within the debate over both the meaning and experience of citizenship. In particular the discussion will begin to explore how the nature of the citizenship of people with learning disabilities is produced through their subjectification within the organisations that support them in their lives.

7.2 The concept of citizenship.

The first challenge is to set out an understanding of the concept of citizenship. Denise Riley (1992) uses Wittgenstein's notion of a cluster concept to identify the complexity of citizenship, which she argues has no single, fixed or even agreed meaning. Rather, it is a problematic concept, the meeting place of a diverse set of positions and claims (van Steenbergen 1994). In the context of the earlier discussion of power, citizenship can be seen as a point of articulation for a number of competing discourses or a site of intertextuality (Miller 1993). For example, citizenship is central to a diverse range of philosophical positions; Social-Democratic, Conservative and Reformist (Riley 1992) or; Liberal, Communitarian, Republican and Neo-Republican (van Gunsteren 1994).

Turner (1990, 1994) places these different positions into a model developed along two axes, *active – passive* and *public – private*. The active/public position is linked with radical and bottom-up movements while the passive/private position is linked with conservative or top-down movements. The paradox here is that both liberal and communitarian models of citizenship conclude that an increasing

consolidation of government undermines citizenship. This occurs when managerial

governance is substituted for popular controls (Lowery et al. 1992), an issue that will

be explored further in chapter nine.

The particular form citizenship takes is found to be historically and culturally

specific varying systematically both between societies (Turner 1990) and within the

same society (Lewis 1998). The cultural context of western society means that

notions of citizenship are underpinned by discourses of capitalism, nationalism and

patriarchy (Humphries 1996, Riley 1992, Turner 1994, van Steenbergen 1994) and

these discourses by particular relations of power. This leads to a situation where

there is an instrumental equality between citizens while at the same time inequalities

and exclusions persist based around social variables such as class, race, culture, age,

gender and disability (Taylor 1996b). However, the attraction of citizenship lies in its

potential to unite those whom the market inevitably divides (Alcock 1989). In the

context of disability in general and learning disability in particular eugenic

discourses and ideas of fitness, dangerousness and charity (Shakespeare 1998,

Gilbert 1998a) underpin these social variables.

Lewis (1998) suggests that debates over citizenship involve three elements.

First, they are a way of conceptualising the relationship between the state and the

individual. Second, they raise questions of inclusion and exclusion and finally they

relate to a particular social status and the entitlements this brings.

Fieldwork twenty-two: social status.

This fieldwork section begins to explore the three areas identified by Lewis. The

social position of people with learning disabilities can best be described as

ambiguous. The relationship between the state and people in this social group is

seen as moving from a condition of dependency to one of citizenship (Kings Fund

1999). In the previous chapter the tensions between two models of support – the traditional model and the supported living model - were discussed and the production of new identities explored [see fieldwork four, extract 16:80a, 1:59. fieldwork eight, extract 8:16 and fieldwork seven, extracts 1:129 and 8:10].

In the extracts below a number of positions are given relating to issues of inclusion and exclusion and social status. These are all mediated by organisations that are either directly or indirectly sponsored by the state. A number of key elements can be identified these include; being a member of the community, having one's rights respected, a freedom from discrimination, independence and having an income that enables opportunity.

In these first three extracts the focus is upon being a member of the community sharing the same rights as other citizens and being free from discrimination.

1:131b. "And people with learning disabilities should have that same right whether that holds .. you know... a local function or whether its a go to the local shops or whether it's just being recognised as a member of a community without people giving a whole load of abuse or criticism or being a neighbour and having neighbours saying hello to you rather than say can we have an eight foot fence up, because we don't want to speak with you or see you. That for me is about being a full and active member."
And.
3:5a. "All our houses are staffed, a key function of the staff group is to provide the basic aspect of care and to help them to access and to live a life the same as everybody else, and that includes getting into the community, meeting with other people, living a fulfilled life, and not just being a house that's in the community but a house actually which functions within that community and it's part of that community. That proves to be difficult in terms of people with a learning disability because some people have a stigma, there's a stigma, and it's very difficult to bring that down. The key thing is establishing good community contact, assisting the residents themselves to meet other people and establish good relationships, where possible to maintain contacts with their family, and to get to see a bit of the wider world really...."

Also.

3: 49. "And it's not to decry or to be critical of the people who made those decisions, it was the way people were seen in those days. Rights weren't as respected, values weren't as exposed as they should have been and attitudes were different, I think now we do things differently, people are less likely to do that now and I think our staff would challenge us.] ..... [But, I think to consolidate it we went for the tenancy. This was the initial motivation on my part but I think that there is also the other issue of empowering them as citizens, the right to vote, and all sorts of other things, yeah."

The second set of extracts suggests that a key issue in the promotion of status concerns the link between choices, income and opportunity.

2:131. "Obviously I believe that we should be fully integrated with local communities.] ..... [And I think we should be, yes, use a local pub but by and by be sure to use other pubs and that people should be able to go in and have access. We should be supporting our local economy and going, doing small shops. We might do a big shop at Tesco's and then top it up through the week. So that people go through this natural process, of seeing money coming into the house whether it's by going to the bank and then they buy the goods and look after the process of storing them, cooking them, the choice of food. It's all about choice and it's that process. But we should actually be a part of a village or a town just live everybody else in there and it should be, I like to use the word normal it should be used."
And.
5: 18. "Yes I do, I think in as much that it gives that individual some kind of status. It actually allows them to make the most of the financial, I mean it's a complete mine field out there I might be a bit out of date on this but as far as I'm concerned it allows someone to use the welfare benefit system to maximum and so maximising their income therefore they've got the income, one would hope got the opportunity or more opportunity."

Finally, with status there is the issue of independence.

1:133. ... "whilst the biggest way that they can make those choices is about having money. Financial independence goes along with independence and choice, security and if you are not financially independent then you are dependent.. whether that's

upon the state or and organisation most people with learning disabilities are
financially dependent ..er.. unemployed and.. um.. rely upon specialist service.."
And.
10: 29a. "So on this first service the four people who were on that. Three of them
are now living completely independent. If that service hadn't set up... three of those
people would still be in residential homes. But by style of the service, it meant they
have now moved on into a new home."

One of the central tensions within the debate over citizenship is the

distinction between the rights of the individual and the duties of the citizen.

Silverman (1996) using the notion of 'the civil' links the rights of the 'private'

individual to liberal notions of freedom, the market and a rejection of egalitarianism.

In contrast the duties of the citizen 'the civic' are located with communitarian

notions of intervention, solidarity and egalitarianism. In relation to people with

learning disabilities this produces a further ambiguity for the civic and the civil are

not clearly delineated. For example, people with learning disability are likely to find

a separation of work from its financial rewards. This arises with employment being

acquired through social firms and a person's income being derived from welfare

benefits. While at the same time the work undertaken may be offered to the

community by the supporting organisation in terms of volunteering. This issue will

be explored in more detain in section 7.4.

7.2.1 Citizenship and modernity.

The origins of modern British citizenship are explored in T.H.Marshall's

classic 1950 essay 'Citizen and social class' (1996) which identified the extension of

citizenship rights beyond political and civil rights to a set of social rights. These

social rights, encapsulated within the framework of the welfare state, were a mediating mechanism between the formal equality of citizens and the inequalities of class. This produced a situation in which hardship and the security against hardship became social (Rose 1996).

However, Marshall did not propose material equality as the outcome of citizenship as some degree of inequality was considered to have a functional benefit in motivating individuals. Rather, the significant factor was that citizenship rested within an equality of social status something, which today the state has re-articulated through the idea of an equality of opportunity (Lister 1998). Vincent identifies this 'status' with the inherent contradiction in British citizenship that arises from its development within a framework of capitalist social relations. He argues that the citizenship of the poor is compromised as they are excluded from participation in and an enjoyment of a common civilisation.

"Equal rights to suffrage and social rights to welfare exist in an uneasy relationship with the material inadequacies and class structure of capitalist society".

(Vincent 1992: 710).

At the same time, there persisted within this model of social citizenship a moral discourse of rights and duties that contributed to the construction of a second class position in citizenship for those reliant upon the welfare state for their continuing existence. This subordinated position to citizenship of welfare subject included particular groups of disabled people (Lewis 1998). Fraser and Gordon (1994: 91) summarise the social, material and psychological implications of the political tension between welfare rights and citizenship in the following way,

"People who enjoy 'social citizenship' get 'social rights' not 'handouts'. This means not only that they enjoy guarantees of help in forms that maintain their status as full

members of society entitled to 'equal respect'. It also means that they share a common set of institutions and services designed for all citizens, the use of which constitutes the practice of social citizenship: for example, public schools, public parks, universal social insurance, public health services. "

From fieldwork twenty-two it can be seen that professional discourse contains a range of good intentions with respect to promoting the person within the community. However, this brings forward the question of welfare and its relationship to the conditions of exclusion for as van Steenbergen (1994) points out it is quite possible for individuals to survive physically but not socially in society. Moreover, for people with learning disabilities, functional integration is quite possible without being socially integrated (Harris 1995). Or, as will be shown later (section 7.4) integration occurs as a secondary condition of being supported by a particular organisation i.e. as subjects of that organisation. Secondary positions within citizenship also arise for women. Vogel (1994) points to the way in which women have been included in citizenship not as individual citizens but as the subjects of citizens [men]. Likewise, Yuval-Davis (1994) notes the way legal and cultural processes target women separately. While Lewis (1998) points to the differential experience of people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

These differential experiences can be compounded, especially for disabled people, by a politically conservative notion of an 'active citizenship', which was set out in the report of the All Party Commission on Citizenship (1990). This becomes particularly threatening as it reinforces the identity of welfare subject. In this notion of the 'active citizen' citizenship is described as an obligation to contribute through taxation, charitable giving and active volunteering. In this discourse of 'active

citizenship' needs become confused. Individual freedom, rather than being linked with a standard of social participation, becomes associated with the choice of whether to give to charity in either goods or time. This has particular consequences for the targets of charity as it produces a different social role and status.

"As it is presently conceived it is likely that active citizenship will require passive non-citizens to receive the bounty of such volunteering." Walmsley 1993: 259).

Fieldwork twenty-three: a hierarchy of passive non-citizens.

Taking Walmsley's point there is potential for the creation of a hierarchy in respect of these 'passive non-citizens' for as the first extract will show people with learning disabilities can become involved on a voluntary basis providing an unpaid service for another dependent group, in this case older people. While the second extract suggests that people with housing needs will be used to support people with learning disabilities through the use of low rents, a development that can be identified with the earlier discussion of Foucault's fourth methodological precaution.

6:114b. "An interesting bit is that they do people's gardens for nothing but you have to be elderly. Because we're involved in the elderly lunch club on Friday in the village we know roughly the people that require. Yeah, we got links there, we help out there and that's another thing we're doing and that's how the garden projects come about. And they do they've got twelve elderly people on their rota and they're out there doing gardens. Nobody gets paid yet because we..... purely wanted to keep it for us volunteering and giving something back to the community."
And.

1:84. "We haven't yet, tried, taking an example where we have a non-disabled person living in. renting out a room... although we have toyed with the idea and we have looked at it in one of our houses... um... and that was about trying to be creative with offering cheap accommodation to a non-disabled person or other member of the community in return for - you know they offer, they are there during the night, for example..."

Barton (1993) is also critical of this 'active citizenship'. He argues that it contains a conception of the individual as essentially private. The consequence of this being that the felt responsibility of one citizen for another cannot be delegated or transferred to another body such as the state. This legitimates the abrogation of responsibility by the state. In this model the socially disadvantaged provide a kind of conscience fodder for the self-esteem of respectable citizens. Spiker (1990) argues that this also represents a return to the objectives of the Poor Law where persons were considered unable to be both beneficiaries of government and to exercise control over it.

7.3 Citizenship and Governmentality.

The section links citizenship with the theme of governmentality and the question of politics that was set up in chapter five. The critical issue is that citizenship is a means of structuring the relationship between the State and the individuals it governs. However, this relationship is not purely instrumental. These discourses of citizenship are active in the production of particular identities that are emotionally and cognitively committed to particular categories of belonging. While at the same time this produces particular conduits for political intervention (Lewis 1998). This process of securing the management of the population through the construction of particular identities is the focus of Foucualt's concept of governmentality. The aim here is bring to the fore how the technologies of citizenship have become a tactic of governmentality in relation to people with learning disabilities.

Misztal (1996), and Lewis (1998), argue that citizenship is a response of the state to the problem of social cohesion. The longer-term enhancement of social solidarity requires the means through which social tensions and social conflicts might be overcome. This involves more than the institutionalisation of political and legal rights,

"The social implications of this were expressed in the development of forms of citizenship that included a social component beyond the purely abstract legal equality of citizenship". (Misztal 1996: 209).

However, Misztal observes that this social cohesion is not universally felt. She argues that there continues to be a lack of solidarity, mutuality and trust in public spaces such as hospitals, schools and at work. This suggests that the penetration of the discourses of citizenship is less than complete. Misztal proposes that this condition requires policy interventions to promote the institutional arrangements that sustain and re-build trust as social capital and in so doing guide autonomous individuals into the practice of citizenship. The key factor is that incitement rather than coercion is seen as the means through which this compliance is achieved.

Rose (1993, 1996) argues that governmentality has resulted in a historically specific set of relations between the ways in which people are governed and the ways in which they are enticed to self-government. The institutionalisation of a range of practices, many of which are referred to under the umbrella title of the welfare state, operate to regulate behaviour, while at the same time individuals are located within a network of personal obligations to themselves, to their family and friends, and to the community. Central to this process are questions of morality and responsibility that are reciprocal with the conferring of citizenship rights. In this sense we can move

very quickly from health as a right of citizenship to health as a duty of citizenship with the associated dangers of victim blaming (Osborne 1997). From a communitarian perspective Sachs (1997: 170) identifies the reciprocal relationship that links individual identity and a felt responsibility with this membership of a wider community.

"Without these local arenas of duty to others, we would never acquire the sense of responsibility necessary for citizenship."

Fieldwork twenty-four: constructing obligation.

This next series of extracts identify a number of issues that relate to the development of a complex network of obligations. The former position of people with learning disabilities as dependent and in need of institutional care is now subject to a range of movements some of which relate to individual responsibilities while others are located with community responsibilities. What is of interest is that the individual organisations are active in this construction of mutual expectations. This provides evidence that the state, through the semi autonomous organisations involved in welfare, is active in producing the conditions for the extension of the ethic of self-management to new sections of the population.

The first two extracts highlight in different ways the idea of individual responsibility and the need to act reasonably. This has clear links with the production of self-managing individuals [fieldwork seven]. The first extract is a general statement of position. However, the second extract suggests that the fact of having a learning disability will not be offered as a justification of inappropriate social behaviour. The production of obligations brings with it particular consequences.

1:129. ...."because part of what we are doing, it's a question really, is supporting people to be responsible citizens to be able to participate in the community and in activities in the community and therefore act reasonably."

And.

12:104. "And the people there not quite knowing what to do with her to the point where she was very... Started to become a bit of a liability to those guys who lived there. And the project was saying we don't know what to do with this. But the taxi firm was saying 'she won't go away we might have to ask the police to remove her'. And I think my line was very well, well, this lady is knowing exactly what she's doing going there. So the support that the project needs to give her was - if you continue with this course of action the consequences may well be not to sort of say that this lady doesn't know what she's doing, she's some poor individual who can't make decisions."

In this next extract the service concerned is promoting this individual responsibility through the use of individual bank accounts [see fieldwork twenty-one]. This contrasts with the second extract where the organisation was in the habit of pooling benefits for collective use. A practice associated with a dependant status that removes the obligation to use money wisely.

1:104. "Just to make it more complex each individual has their own bank accounts and then there is a central house bank account and we have set up direct debits with the individuals to pay in a certain amount."

And.

9:142. "Yeah, you see, well I'm not clear about that. When I mention mobility we've got issues because we, what, the way we... when we set up a registered scheme. The way we set up our register schemes is that we were asked by the social services that we should maximise the benefit and at that time, that benefit was a mobility allowance. So, you would come along, all the money you got would actually come to us uptil the ....cashing over. I mean we're now being told that that, perhaps isn't legal because the mobility allowances is the persons amount and it should be used for x y and z.

The next two extracts identify the way in which the organisations supporting people with learning disabilities are setting out to construct a set of relations within the community where they become obligated to provide some degree of community

service. There is an ambiguity set up here for it isn't clear who has the obligation –
the service or the individuals with learning disabilities.

*6:128. "If all the clients did something in the village, we still don't think we would
flood the village yet. I think it could be absorbed nicely as long as they weren't all at
the same place. For instance we help out, there is a Day Centre for the elderly, we
actually provide our vehicle, we give them our vehicle for free every Friday to do the
run. They pick up elderly people, that's another little thing. And we, there's a couple
of ladies that go down and help with the tea and that during lunch."*
And.
*11:11a. "But if they wanted to raise money for somebody else ..... some village
project I would be very keen. And things have sort of gone in that way .... so that to
a large extent is where we've got in (village name). Broken down a lot of barriers,
had a lot of problems in terms of] ......"*

This extract continues with the service manager identifying that they wish to
be seen as good neighbours. It also continues the ambiguity for again it is not clear
whether he is referring to the organisation or to the people the organisation
supports.

*11:11b "....[we'd only been there two days and they complained about the noise.]
......[Although there's a six-foot fence you can actually see people from their waist
upwards. Now that's not a problem but there is also noise question. We have
seven people in the whole of the property and then if you add maybe three staff.
The noise that ten people make on a summer's day isn't particularly excessive but if
you're next to a property that's got ten people in it and they're regularly out in the
garden, as you would want to be on a summer's day. Ten people everyday starts to
get wearing and so that also is a problem. We've looked at various issues about
bushes and trees and things like that to try and absorb the noise. Because we
obviously want to be good neighbours and be part of the local community."*

However, not everybody is convinced about the ability of people with
learning disabilities to take an increasing level of responsibility for their own affairs.
Here objections are raised with respect to the ability to sign and consent which if

accepted would mean that many people with learning disabilities can not become full citizens.

2:87. *"Right, most of the homes are owned by housing associations and the clients have a tenancy agreement with that housing association. Again that's paying lip service at times because some people can't sign their own names but they need to have this tenancy agreement, which in a court of law wouldn't stand up."*

As noted earlier Miller (1993) draws the two contradictory themes of citizenship - private desire and public duty or alternatively the civil and the civic - into his proposition of an ethical incompleteness which provides the mechanism through which individual's are secured to their own self-management. Miller, following Foucault, argues that the aim of government is to structure the possible field of action of others. This tension between private desire and public duty produces a capacity within individuals that enables them to draw upon moral codes in the recognition of their own moral obligations and through this to manage their own conduct.

"Self-governance as a set of technologies come to displace the management of populations by material intervention. Just as the subject attains self-recognition via one set of discourses as a lone individual, even at this moment of loneliness, subjects are also expected to recognise themselves as part of a public. They know themselves as citizens." (Miller 1993:xxi).

Miller also argues that this contradiction produces what he describes as the two critical forms of post-modern subjectivity – the citizen and the consumer. The political importance of these two forms is that their fusion has the potential to produce a well-ordered rather than a dis-ordered liberal democracy. The self and society become one in the form of the citizen. However, there is not a single unified

identity produced in this fusion for the tension between the civil and the civic continues, resulting in the need for the state to promote two forms of subjectivity: the selfless active citizen and the selfish active consumer. In the discussion of people with learning disabilities these two forms can be seen in the promotion of individual choices [fieldwork twenty-two, twenty-eight and forty-six] and collective obligation [fieldwork seven and twenty-three].

Miller parallels Marshall's analysis of the development of citizenship by arguing that the classical position gave citizens representation via the state and that this was later added to by a guarantee of basic social conditions through the welfare state. His addition is that the post-modern condition has led to the need to re-assert the sovereignty of the public in order to discipline the organisations of the welfare state, which has produced a particularly post-modern citizenship. This occurs through the identity of the citizen-consumer. Here the user of public services through a variety of means such as charters, standards and guarantees gains a limited power to address the provision of services. These processes can be seen in the services that support people with learning disabilities where standards, complaint procedures and forms of user involvement have been promoted. However, the implications of this post-modern condition for people who are overly reliant upon welfare services for their daily support, needs to be understood in their very specific context. This arises due to the complexity of their position, which is very different from that of the individual whose main problem is having their bins emptied on time.

This position links directly to questions over the government of the marginalised and to the recognition of the extent to which people are included or excluded from citizenship. It allows us to identify different strategies of government

for the marginalised in contrast to the affiliated. Rose (1996) argues that the included

need constantly to demonstrate their affiliation through active choice and the

maintenance of an accredited lifestyle. While the marginalised, those whose ability to

be actively involved in choices is incapacitated or individuals and groups who do not

share the same value base, are managed in terms of risk and risk reduction. This

might be seen in the form of the risk management strategies developed in relation to

people with mental health problems which are incorporated within the care

programme approach [CPA] (DoH 1999a) or in the continuation of institutional

forms of care for certain sections of the population of people with learning

disabilities.

Fieldwork twenty-five: assigning different destinies.

This issue of assigning different trajectories to different groups is highlighted

in this fieldwork section. In the first extract the manager of the purchasing

consortium (JPC) identifies how they set out to produce different options for different

groups [see fieldwork eight]. In this case a 'high risk' group are identified with the

intention of promoting a particular service option. While in the second extract, the

interview with a manager of supported living schemes, highlights the way in which

the 'high risk groups' become separated in professional discourse.

10:85. "There's a problem for community based services with different dual
diagnosis - mental health and learning disability. That's a hole in the market. We
haven't got the rivals in the market with those skills to develop that service here".
And.
8:82. "So its not just a matter of bunging them off to the Day Centre and forgetting
about them. So yes our contracts yes are included in that I suppose in that way.
The difficulty becomes more with people with very challenging behaviour who
probably still have to have some sort of... go to some sort of Day Centre for some of
their issues that are raised with them. And there are some costs involved in that

---

and our tender should include or pay for some of that... But as I say for most people that we work with don't actually need."

In this second extract the manager of a service for people with learning disability with mental health problems discusses his service. He identifies some of the deficits in the overall service these are mainly related to work and leisure opportunities. This also identifies how people with high levels of risk become separated and segregated from other people with learning disabilities.

7:90. "Yeah, so a lot of our people, in all of our units only have part time placements. Some of them don't have any day care placements at all. In those instances, we provide the day care based from home. Which isn't something we've ever wanted to do but it's been day care by default really. Because there haven't been services appropriate in the locality or been able to manage the sort of people we're working with."

Petersen (1997) describes this as a new, subtler form of social control, which works through the assigning of different destinies to individuals on the basis of their potential to respond to the requirements of a market philosophy. Peter Taylor Gooby (1993) also identifies this potential in the post-modern condition for different groups to experience citizenship in different ways. He argues that changes in the organisation of work are mirrored in welfare where a core and periphery model has developed with central co-ordination and the contracting out of other activities. This leads him to conclude that welfare citizenship may develop simultaneously in different directions for different groups. For marginalised groups the insecurity of opportunities may be such that the alternative to the dependency culture is a captivity culture that brings with it a sense of isolation and humiliation.

Fieldwork twenty-six: captivity culture.

The comments made in fieldwork twenty-five, which are made within the context of a 'high risk' group, can be contrasted with those in fieldwork four that focussed upon the supported living model. There are marked differences between the discourse used. In the context of different trajectories it would appear that the trajectory for an increasing number of people with learning disability is the same or similar to any other person who is unemployed and in need of housing. While, for others it will be these more marginalised services.

However, in the context of Taylor-Gooby's comments about exchanging a dependency for a captivity culture, this may be a consequence of moving from the dependency creating residential care model to the supported living model. For while the latter brings equality in terms of citizenship with other people this is arguably only at the same level as anyone else who is unemployed and homeless. The material benefits of dependency may be greater than those offered by the 'supported living model' [see also fieldwork thirty-three]. This position is highlighted in the first extract below. The extract that follows suggests that residence has only a limited potential for citizenship as many people in this group remain marginalised through the labour market. Here, social firms are the nearest position to open employment that many people will achieve.

8:16. "Now that's important in terms of where the finance comes from... that if the tenant going to fight for housing benefits saying to you 'Well I'm unemployed and just on income support'. For us it's a matter of philosophy in that we're treating them the same as we would anyone else and they're tenants of that property. Alright they've got learning difficulties but, yeah they've got the same responsibilities and those responsibilities have to be explained to them and supported to understand them."

And.

14:14. "We only influence, we only enable them to start and we try to stay in touch. But if you look at the range [of social firms], I mean in the main the people

employed, unquote are people with a range of disadvantages including learning disability. There aren't too many mixtures and don't know of any in fact where the people aren't by definition handicapped......"

7.4 Citizenship: Issues of Participation and Consumption.

Taylor Gooby (1993) suggests that the analysis of social citizenship involves two themes, (i) who participates in the exercise of power and (ii) who gets what in the competition over resources. Michael Harrison (1991) argues that the analysis of patterns of consumption is essential if citizenship is to move away from a purely idealistic debate to one that focuses upon material differences, while Sachs (1997) focuses upon the relationship between the individual and their community. This provides four key areas related to the experience of citizenship that can be applied to people with learning disabilities: (i) the relationship between individuals and the world of work; (ii) the extent to which people are engaged in managing their own lives (self management); (iii) the extent to which people are able to contribute to the development of their community and (iv) the patterns of consumption in which they are engaged.

7.4.1 Citizenship and Work.

One of the central problems facing people with learning disabilities is that their status as adults and as citizens is frustrated by their exclusion from employment (Jenkins 1989). Croft and Beresford (1996) argue that in the confused language of rights and responsibilities that surrounds citizenship, employment comes to be seen as an obligation from which many disabled people are excluded. For the excluded

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there remains the subordinate role of welfare subject (Lewis 1998). Van Steenbergen (1994) points out that citizenship is primarily about social participation and to this end possibly the most important integrating factor is work, a relationship that continues to be promoted in contemporary social policy (Lister 1998, DSS 1999).

Work or the participation in waged labour is therefore pivotal in the way in which the discourses of rights and responsibilities operate to construct the categories of deserving and undeserving. Dahrendorf (1994) describes those not having a regular and guaranteed access to labour markets as an 'underclass' or 'victims', who are particularly powerless in defending themselves. He suggests that these 'victims' require help in order to escape their situation. However, this has to be part of a social contract not as the objects of charity (Fraser and Gordon 1994), for the association with charity continues to compromise the citizenship of disabled people (Oliver 1990, Drake 1996).

Fieldwork twenty-seven: citizenship and work.

The next series of extracts will explore issues of fundamental importance to the citizenship of people with learning disability through the somewhat ambiguous relationship that is constructed between the labour market, work, wages and benefits. At the same time there is a contradictory theme that fixes people at once as both voluntary worker and the object of charity. This works to produce a particular set of relationships that separate the activity associated with work from the rewards [wages] that are normally associated with it. However, at the same time the potential of work as both an integrating factor and a source of identity and self-esteem is recognised.

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The first three extracts identify two broad problems. The first relates to the relationship between benefits and work, which means that any financial reward

above a low minimum, poses a threat to the person's overall income. This is a critical issue as the costs of support will usually far outweigh an individual's earning potential. The second problem relates to the niche market in which the social firms have to operate, a factor here being the charitable status of many of the work organisations. In the last two extracts the relationship between not going to a day centre, having an independent source of income and adulthood is set out.

4:15. "Because our day services have changed, we no longer get into pure work activity. There are work components to some of our day services....um.... A couple of the day services have horticultural sections, one has a big woodwork section - they go out and do work for people, and get income for that. We've done away with the kind of bonus payments, there are only a few people now getting bonus payments and they are the people actually doing work experience. That's a kind of wage for people who are doing work of a low level and its set so not to effect benefits.] ..... [Work is becoming back into vogue but not as it was, a very rigid production line. It's more on an individual basis."
And.

14:24. "You only get the whole concept, it's so tricky, you can only begin even to scratch the edge of the concept by going for a niche market. Yeah, and as such because your often not paying rates because you're often a charity, many traders as with Oxfam and Co quite rightly don't like it......."

Also, there are critical issues related to a sense of adulthood.

15:55. "The Day Centres I think that he sees that he's moved away. He's grown up and moved away from them. He's.... they're boring not stimulating for him, there's lots of people sitting around. He really doesn't like going there."
And.

4:23. "So that has an effect upon their legal rights but also sometimes upon their income because if they are tenants they can also get housing benefit and manage their own finances in their own right. Those in residential care, the county council deals with their finance and takes so much of their income and they get an allowance each week."

The second set of extracts concern the way in which the relationship between benefits and the market position of the social firms' results in a situation where effort and reward are separated. In the circumstances where there is a payment this is only a minor amount. However, it is evident from these extracts and the following set that the social status afforded by 'going to work' is important [see also fieldwork twenty-three, extract 6:114b].

6:114a. "And we offer, usually two people, depends how busy it is, usually two people work experience there. And it's doing very well. Very basic ice creams and hot drinks and things so that's an exciting opportunity. And we got a nucleus of around twelve people that work there and absolutely love it. And they're now even breaking even, a bit more than breaking even and are now getting paid for working there which our aim. Which was eventually to be able to make enough profit to pay the clients that help work there. ...."
And.

15:176b. "Yep which is why they like the social firms and the work experience. If you say look I've found this in the library and its every Wednesday but I'm afraid there's going to be no money but you know if you go to (day centre) they'll give you seventy five pence a week. I'm telling you they would choose the library because you're actually doing a job you're being appreciated for doing a job not just given little tasks like helping to make somebody a cup of tea. Actually you know I had somebody who worked in a Wildlife Shop in town and would do stocktaking and all sorts of things and would get there and have a little list of jobs to do and would go and do them. And it wasn't they found something special for this person to do. These jobs had to be done to run the shop. There was no money because obviously it's a voluntary kind of organisation as well. That person loved it. Moneys' the real bonus like with all of us."
Also.

5:33b. "He does that on a Monday... on a Thursday he does the (name) Tea Room which is the social firm which he doesn't get paid for but he's helping to run a café and also learning different skills like they're doing, like a college course of that course of a vocational course within the work you have to do so many things like health and safety, that sort of stuff. So there's learning in that."

> The issue of inclusion and status is clearly a concern in the next extracts, which are taken from a purchaser of services.
>
> 10:65. *"So there comes a point when - why have we got these large buildings when people are going on to college courses, work link, which is supporting employment services.... and people are out there is full view work being supported out there. They want real jobs, you get the benefit problems then but its about inclusion."* And.
>
> 10:71. *"And also you know morale you want to feel you're doing a proper job and you're out there you don't want to pretend job. You want a real job you want to be valued and gives you status........"*

7.4.2 Citizenship and Participation.

Participation and the struggles of groups for inclusion have been central to the analysis and evaluation of citizenship (Held 1991, Taylor Gooby 1993). David Taylor (1996a) suggests that participation gives rise to three questions. These concern the nature of inclusion, the appropriate strategies that enable participation to occur and the means through which the entitlement to participate is promoted.

Taylor observes a tension within the debate over citizenship and participation between a universalistic position which concerns a rights-based defence of the welfare state and a particularistic position that is associated with needs-based arguments concerning self-advocacy and new social movements, although these two positions need not be mutuality exclusive. He also identifies a further tension between essentially passive notions of participation such as consumerism and active participation such as collective self-advocacy.

Fieldwork twenty-eight: consumerism and citizenship.

This fieldwork focuses upon Taylor's distinction between passive forms of participation and active forms. The first set of extracts highlights the prominence of consumerism within professional discourse while the second set focuses upon the discussion of collective self-advocacy.

In fieldwork twenty-two [extracts 1:131, 1:133 and 2:131] a number of links were made between notions of inclusion and participation. In these extracts this link was made through consumerist activities, in particular the use of local facilities such as shops and pubs. The idea of choice is also clearly set in financial terms [1:133]. The next two extracts reinforce this position as they all suggest that the main avenue for participation is via the passive route of consumerism.

2:139. "Where we tend to have group homes which you know it's all about food that's purchased we don't actually do much about integration."
And.
7:165. "Yeah, going to Tesco's to get the shopping or whatever. Reality is that community doesn't really exist anymore does it. I don't know about you but if I speak to my neighbours three times a year maybe that's about all I do speak to them."

The following extracts focus upon collective self-advocacy. However, their focus within professional discourse is in terms of an activity – something that provides an alternative to the other activities that the person is involved in – rather than the basis of a political act. It should be noted, however, that in the second extract the reference to assertiveness does suggest the development of the individual.

15:67. "Yeah, very clear pattern there and that works very well and then for the other day the fifth day he attends a speaking up group in (city). Just like an advocacy group for people with learning disabilities. He attends that on a Thursday and is part of the management committee there. They have all sorts of different projects and video shoots, they have on and meet up and... that's a nice mixture to the week

> *because there's a lot of structure but then on this other day it taken from there different choice."*
> And.
> *16:64. "No this is at "(advocacy group)" and they were excellent and Chris still goes to their conferences and things like that. It sort of coincided with him starting College and things like that and he's basically become a lot more assertive, a lot more independent. And that's what we are aiming for in the house, that is to move to de-register and move towards supportive living in the future."*

With regards to more political forms of participation Colin Barnes (1996b) identifies what he describes as the 'significantly poorer standard of living' of disabled people and he links this to institutional discrimination. This provides the basis and the motivation for a campaign for anti-discrimination legislation which aims to ensure the meaningful integration of disabled people into mainstream social and economic life. Similarly Michael Oliver (1990, 1996, 1997) maps out the development of a political movement directed towards the increased participation and citizenship of disabled people, while Morris (1997) highlights advances towards citizenship achieved through political activity which resulted with the passing of legislation related to discrimination and direct payments.

Croft and Beresford (1996) argue that many examples of user-involvement involve tokenism and non-participation, although in the context of learning disability Crawley (1988) has highlighted the potential for user-involvement to be an embryonic political movement. However, Dowson (1990) suggests that service providers have used 'self advocacy' as a means of controlling people with learning disabilities.

Fieldwork twenty-nine: participation and citizenship.

This next section considers issues related to participation. In fieldwork twenty-eight above [extracts 15:67 and 16:64] some involvement in advocacy groups was identified and this involvement appears to be fully supported by the organisations involved. However, there is no sense that this activity is seen as a potentially political activity rather it appears to be more part of a care package. At the same time it is divorced from the running of the organisation that supports the individuals concerned. Therefore, from the organisation point of view they experience this advocacy in a non-threatening way. Again, a development that can be linked to Foucault's fourth methodological precaution.

The next series of extracts links advocacy to three diverse but related issues, related in the sense that they can be seen as enabling the organisation in some way. The first extract links advocacy with service quality feedback process, while the second extract has advocacy as a means of resolving service conflicts. The final extract links advocacy with resolving issues that the service is unable or unwilling to become involved with.

8:66a. *"Well you see... (name) who I mentioned earlier acts as our consultant. I employ him as a consultant to the company and for that, because he keeps us up to date with national issues and stuff like that. But also he does do an automatic visit to each tenant at least. I think it's a couple of times a year so that he will as an independent person. Alright he's employed by us that I encourage him to be as independent as critical as possible and he'll go and have a chat with them and he'll pick up. Actually sometimes really some fantastic valuable stuff that we've changed that policy sometimes because of what the feedback that's come from there. And will deal with a complaint that way if you want to call it a complaint it may be just an issue about the service delivery but he's the. We have tried to encourage advice pure and simple people just working on their behalf. There's not many people are actually doing that work in and around here... there are only a handful....."*
And.

3:58. "I would like to see an advocacy service that is independent, but is also realistic about what can be achieved for someone. There are some advocates that I've come across who are very idealistic and lose their pragmatic elements in knowing that there are limited resources in any sphere or field within the statutory sector, but there is only so much you can achieve."
Also.

5:76. "Well, generally speaking they won't get the services. Well obviously if you had a care co-ordinator, if you phoned in and said 'look I have a learning disability'. Or, if someone else phoned in on your behalf and said this guys got a learning disability, he seems socially isolated and he needs to get out and about a bit more and we think he's verging on depression, clinical depression because he's not sick, he's not getting out the house and his Mum who looks after him is pulling her hair out - blah, blah, blah. Your care co-ordinator would come and do an assessment and maybe put you in contact with some opportunities to do things etc. Maybe even refer you to another organisation like... um... I don't know Citizen Advocacy, but you know might look at another agency but basically something which didn't cost too much money or preferable be free....."

This final section focuses upon an area where people with learning disability have been involved in the running of the service. This relates to the selection of support workers.

2:38. "I have got a certain home where they could run it on their own quite comfortably and they do staff interviews, they do the whole lot. When you go down the spectrum and you have people with very severe learning disabilities, they will never be able to hold that meeting it is an impossible] ......[If someone can't communicate it becomes your just doing it for the say 'I do this' it has no meaning."
And.

8:5a. "The tenant got to accept them if he doesn't... we go through quite a lengthy interview process about three or four stages. If the tenant doesn't like them or haven't got similar interests perhaps then we won't appoint that worker."

Croft and Beresford (1996) argue that to promote participation two components are considered to be critical: (i) access (physical and participatory) to the

political structures at both the local and national levels; and (ii) support (self-esteem, skill development and practical support for individuals and groups) to address the imbalances in power and to enable effective participation to occur. The support of disabled people needs to take account of the level of energy involved in participation as many disabled people use their total personal and financial resources in a daily struggle for survival. Dahrendorf (1994) makes the following observation,

"Basic human and civil rights have little meaning for people who for reasons outside of their control are unable to make use of them. They therefore lead to a series of needs of empowerment which may also acquire the quality of rights. "

(Dahrendorf 1994: 14).

In the context of the services involved in this study the people with learning disabilities who were involved in advocacy types of activity were able to gain the time and the resources to participate. However, this was limited by this activity being seen as part of the care plan and the potential impact upon the organisation was low in terms of the tensions produced. This can be contrasted with the benefits to the overall image of the organisation by being able to demonstrate that they had people involved in this type of activity.

7.4.3 Citizenship and Community.

In relation to the idea of community it is important to consider two possible alternative forms of community. The first relates to the community of identity that can transcend the physical environment. Croft and Beresford (1996) discuss the development of participation and citizenship of disabled people by creating a distinction between new social movements and new social welfare movements. This

draws links between the concerns of Black, Gay, and Feminist movements with groups of users of traditional welfare services, although the latter distinction does contain a tendency to identify people on the basis of services. However, it would appear that both forms of user movement have to resist the tendency to get sucked into the administrative structures of the welfare bureaucracies (Beresford et al. 1997).

Fieldwork thirty: a collective identity?

Fieldwork twenty-nine identified the tensions between the political potential of collective self-advocacy and the way this type of activity has become engaged with the resolution of organisational or service problems. At the same time there are problems with the idea that people labelled as learning disabled either identify with each other or whether the wider group of disabled people considers these people to be part of the same movement of identity. This links with the observations of Harris (1995) and Biklen and Mosley (1988), and those of Duckett (1998), which are discussed in section 1.3.

The first two extracts suggest that not every person with a learning disability wish to identify with the collective. However, this may reflect the influence of the mid range theories [discussed in 2.2.1] in professional discourse. In particular the perspective advocated by Wolfensberger actively seeks to discourage the association of people with learning disabilities with each other (Chappell 1992).

16:9. "I think sometimes he likes to distance himself from people who are quite obviously disabled. He doesn't like being part of the group. He's Mike he's this person, he doesn't want to be seen as some part, you know, some pack of strange people and he will quite often distance himself with other people who are obviously very disabled."
And.
15:57. "Yeah, he, Yes I think if you asked him as well. If he was honest he likes to be somewhere where there is not eighty people perhaps with learning disabilities.

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The college course that he does on is for people who have some, need some help with office skills and literacy its not a special run course and he likes that."

This last extract raises the question of whether people with learning disabilities are part of the same movement of identity as disabled people.

17:87. "Only one person they left the area. We had one person who at times chooses not to come and insists that they're not well. But I'm not always convinced at how valid that is and she actually has a physical disability as opposed to learning disability and maybe that some people with physical disabilities don't always want to be around people with a learning disability and she opts out at here quite a lot and may be up to the shops so that may be one of those things. There's somebody else from the other unit who sometimes, who also opted out of sort of other activities on the unit as well."

The second meaning of community to consider here is in relation to the physical and social environment where a person lives. Earlier in this chapter Sachs (1997) identifies the reciprocal relationship that links individual identity, a felt responsibility for others and a local area.

Fieldwork thirty-one: 'a felt responsibility'.

This section will focus upon this idea of a felt responsibility for a local area. A number of extracts have already highlighted this aim by organisations to become involved in their local communities through voluntary activity [fieldwork twenty-three extract 6:114 and twenty-four extracts 6:128, 11:114, 11:116] or through the deliberate use of the local economy [fieldwork twenty-two extract 2:131]. In this section three areas will be identified. The first is closely related to the series of extracts noted above and it concerns this idea of 'putting something back'. While the second set identifies the way two organisations have been 'sponsored' in their attempts to become involved in their community by appointing a high profile local

person to the organisation. The final extracts identify that some individuals with learning disability have made their own relationships with the local community.

These first extracts concern the way in which the organisation promotes a 'felt responsibility' for the locality which then mediates a relationship between that locality and the people with a learning disability [see also fieldwork nineteen, extracts 11:9 and 6:130]. This discourse provides an ambiguous citizenship position for people with learning disabilities as it brigs together elements relating to citizenship, charity, belonging and dependence.

6:112. "Right, people generally have very varied day care activities. Mostly what we have absorbed ourselves over the years and help people internally and also have to have contact in and around the village, ranging from work experience right through." And.

15:134. "Probably enjoy meeting somebody as well regularly each week, so that was done. And there's a day centre here on a Friday for the elderly and they'll often use our transport and things and sometimes some of the people here go for a ride out or help. So there is, you know, quite a lot of things like that going on and the Swallows, the fact that the residents here are helping to run something that's making money in the Country Park and sort of, you know putting something back." Finally.

15:140. "Yeah I mean there is a lot of... particularly the four houses that I run... quite a few people here attend church, they've tapped into that and there's a bowls and they tap into that. So there is quite a few friendships. We also help run like the yearly fete so plus (name) House has been here probably a lot longer than most of the people in the village."

The next two extracts identify the perceived importance of some form of 'sponsorship' to becoming a part of the local community.

11:5. "Yes, which is very much the old fashioned village in that it you like its surrounded by fields on all four sides and it has been difficult I think to really get involved in the village itself. One advantage we have done is that we now have a new director on board who actually lives within the village and so tapping into her knowledge and understanding of the village it could, we hope, be quite valuable."

And.

6:130. "We're doing the gardens in the village, we're pretty, a nice profile I'd say. I think a lot of it we've got to attribute to (name), my colleague, he lives in the village. He's on the Parish Council and it has helped in having a high profile in the village. It's been good."

This final extract identifies a situation where the relationship have been formed outside of the organisation [see also fieldwork twenty-five, extract 7:136].

15:154. "I think so, Yeah I mean that that person enjoys doing that... I'm the same thing I don't think it any. I think its just part of the little group that helps, I mean a lady comes and sorts the flowers out and another person sorts the organ out ready and this person helps with hymn numbers. Its not a special job for somebody its... you know something that's part of getting it ready which is nice."

However, this local connection may mean that the conflicts that are produced at a more abstract or impersonal level are felt in the personal relationships of the local community. This may have the consequence of producing new patterns of social fragmentation with advances for some and losses for others (Harrison 1991). For example, Walmsley (1993) notes the paradox in informal care where the liberation of women carers may result in the institutionalisation of the dependent relative. In contrast Phillipson (1994) points out that many dependent elders, fearing that dependency may adversely affect relationships, indicated that they preferred state rather than family care. Likewise, Ungerson (1997) notes that the outcomes of the Direct Payments Act may be liberating for some disabled people but it may have the consequence of further marginalising many care workers due to its impact on the labour market.

Fieldwork thirty-two: changing relationships.

The following extract indicates how the changing relationships between the state and people with learning disabilities can impact at a local level. Here these changes are felt in the relations between the individuals with a learning disability and the workers who support them in their daily lives [see fieldwork six and fieldwork sixteen and in particular extract 16:88]. It also suggests that services may frustrate the advancement of the people they support for fears of alienating other more powerful groups.

3:39b. " ..... Change the thing about rights and about giving people rights, you enable them to establish themselves in other ways in terms of local citizens for example. But it is still protective in terms of it would give them the support they've had up to now and if it makes sense to change that, then change it. I maintain that if you are making a radical change to their status then ensure that you have a period of continuity, don't totally change it. If there's a problem if we make this change, then some of our staff will become worried about their jobs and may think their job isn't safe any more. We could lose our jobs lots move off elsewhere. You could create a degree of instability. So I want to maintain the good quality of care we've got during this process."

7.4.4 Citizenship and Consumption.

Michael Harrison (1991) makes a distinction between normative and material aspects of citizenship pointing to the importance of patterns of consumption and the need to evaluate citizenship on empirical rather than idealistic terms. He also provides a comparative basis for the evaluation of groups such as people with learning disabilities. This involves an analysis of the material basis through which the relationships between citizens are constructed as unequal and upon which notions of the deserving and undeserving are constructed. Harrison also points out that the

significance of property rights should not be overlooked in relation to claims of

citizenship,

"In modern western societies property rights and political participation can be
bound up closely together, and private property need not necessarily be
counterpoised either to welfare or to full participation in politics".

(Harrison 1991: 213).

Harrison maintains that the concepts of incorporation and citizenship are

closely linked as each relates to stratification, state activities and the relative status

achieved by various groups. The terms 'differential incorporation' and 'differential

citizenship' are used to explore the experiences of social and private consumption by

social groups distinguished by class, gender, race, and ethnicity. Central to this

analysis is the relationship between group membership and the world of work as the

status conferred by work communicates into so many other settings.

Harrison (1991) develops his critique of citizenship by relating it to the social

division of welfare. This provides a link between organised consumption outside of

direct wages, the division of labour and the division of welfare. He claims this

develops a comprehensive model of state activity based upon an analysis of the state

and its associated institutions in the management of dependency, welfare and

consumption. This thesis holds that welfare arrangements are made through a diverse

range of structures and methods located within distinctive fiscal, public and

occupational systems. These divisions relate to consumption based social cleavages

or particular social patterns in consumption. The analysis highlights the role of the

state in the organisation of large parts of the consumption process through an array of

public and private institutions.

Fieldwork thirty-three: social cleavages.

Harrison's idea of social cleavages may be particularly significant when discussing people with learning disabilities especially those with high support needs. This is because in financial terms the level of consumption is high. At the same time the idea of social cleavages holds the potential to consider the very specific circumstances of people in this social group. In this sense it could bring together a number of the issues raised in this section in the evaluation of the extent to which people with learning disabilities are included or excluded from citizenship.

For example, Harrison notes above that the issue of work is of central importance. However, we can see from the discussion in section 6.4.1 that there is a particularly ambiguous relationship between work and reward and that what is work for the participant may be voluntary activity from the view of the organisation and the local community. At the same time there is the issue of overall income, for while this may not be received in wages the level of consumption may be comparatively high in contrast with any other adult who is similarly unemployed and homeless.

The next extracts all focus upon the level of consumption by people with learning disabilities living in different types of accommodation whether this is a residential home or a supported living model of care. The first extract raises the overall costs of residential care whereas the following two extracts note the different pockets of money from which the package is financed.

15:28. "Hundreds and hundreds because of what it would cost to live here. Obviously remember they're paying for the house, the lodgings you know the staff there's quite a few hundred for residential care. You can, I mean you can earn over fifteen pounds but then you start sort of paying back pound for pound really which we had had people prepared to do that. They know they are only going to get fifteen pounds but they want to do this job four days a week......"
And.

1:90. "There is three, three pockets of money, three stings of money. There's the housing benefit, which is paid directly to the housing association, and part of that may come back to us if we do some of the eligible bits like window cleaning, gardening, maintenance... That's the first thing. The second string of money is DSS benefits which go directly to the tenant and part of that goes to daily living, goes to a house accounts."
Also.

2:107. "Even if they were under the care of the health authority the social services will top it up directly. If their need are.. yes right.. if you were part of a hospital closure plan the government had put money aside to assist that therefore what I think they used to call a dowry a client might come with a dowry, but that's still health money. If you were coming for from the community say you lived with Mum and Dad and you were moving into one of our services. The.. what would happen you'd topped up from the £108-£250 but if there were greater needs then we would actually apply for that so we may be that we needed £350 a week to accommodate somebody's needs..."

The next extracts indicate that the care packages are not limited to the purely physical elements of the environment and food but also include amounts for leisure and recreation. This would be in a marked contrast to people who were unemployed and reliant upon benefits. A second issue here is that in the case of residential care the accommodation and certain other issues related to the environment are subject to the requirements of the County Council's Registration and Inspection department. This provides a basic guarantee that would not be available to a homeless person in temporary housing or a person in substandard accommodation.

12:21. " Well.... I mean they're all sort of.... covered by a very extensive care plans.... So each resident has a set of quite dedicated key workers and the group is under constant review. Not only from within the project also.... the various specialists who come in. For example there's aroma therapist who comes in and there are people who do music, there are people who do a variety of activities......"
And.

> 4:45. *"And part of that is, it fits daily living in the community and it enables access to kind of social and leisure pursuits which is important. So things like sport that's important......."*
>
> Also, with respect to housing.
>
> 13:5. *"The role is to offer protection to members of the public within defined areas of vulnerability of which relates to the requirements of the registered homes act. So its purpose is citizen protection."*

7.5 Evaluating Citizenship: Issues of Inclusion and Exclusion.

This final section aims to summarise the complex and ambiguous social position experienced by people with learning disabilities. Redworth and Redworth (1997) suggest three paradigms against which the citizenship of people with learning disabilities might be evaluated; *'Assimilation', 'Integration'* and *'Pluralism'*. However, this model is somewhat limited, as it tends to focus upon the extent to which the identity of disabled people is sacrificed in order to achieve a satisfactory level of social integration. In contrast Lewis (1998) proposes that citizenship relates to three elements; the relationship between the individual and the state, issues of inclusion and exclusion and finally, the social status of the individual and the entitlements this brings. The important issue is the role of the state in reconstructing the relationships it has with particular individuals and social groups.

With respect to the relationship between the individual and the state the concept of governmentality has been used to highlight the ways in which the technologies for the management of this section of the population have been changing. Here citizenship has been used as a means of promoting the movement of [some] people with learning disabilities from a position of care to a position of self-

management (Kings Fund 1999). As a consequence this brings with it a requirement for them to become engaged in active choice making and the requirement to act in a responsible way (Rose 1996). For those people unable to achieve this then alternative trajectories are established based upon risk [fieldwork twenty-five]. In the case of people with learning disability this is likely to mean the use of segregated services. At the same time a parallel movement using technologies such as 'eligibility criteria' suggests that having a learning disability is in itself not a sufficient criteria for support. The implications here are that for a number of people with learning disability a contradictory position will be achieved. Dependency and a degree of material comfort are exchanged for the status of citizenship and equality in poverty.

With respect to issues of inclusion and exclusion section 7.4 set out four key areas: work, participation, community and consumption. Here the position of people with a learning disability becomes particularly complex and ambiguous. For in the context of work it was apparent that the activity of work took place either within organisations such as social firms whose position in the labour market was marginalised, or through the organisations that provided everyday support. In this latter case work was often offered by the organisation to the community as voluntary activity. In either case the benefits system worked to divide work activity from its financial reward. At the same time much of the work activity is discussed in terms of it having a training component.

In the context of participation there is some evidence of self-advocacy. However, there appears to be a distinct difference between the advocacy or user-involvement within organisations where the aims appear to be largely linked to organisational pressures and that which takes place within external 'advocacy'

groups. In this latter sense the organisations that provide the everyday support fail to recognise or experience the political significance of this activity. Instead it is taken as part of the care plan.

Community provides a number of examples of integration where people with learning disabilities are involved in some form of 'civic' duty on behalf of the local community. This often involves helping people who might be considered more dependent for certain forms of activity such as gardening. This produces a point of contradiction for it is unclear who it is that is engaged in civic duty – the organisation or the individuals that organisation supports. Again there is an undertone of training i.e. in ones' civic duty. This also suggests that a tactic within governmentality has organisations actively producing obligations. However, there is a clear distinction here between the traditional charity based organisations and the organisations that promote the supported living model, for it is the former rather than the latter which are engaged in this form of activity.

The issue of consumption also produces an ambiguous position. In the context of both the residential model and the supported living model the level of the resource derived from various sources within the social welfare system is high. Higher than that which could be expected by a person who was simply unemployed. At the same time the residential model brings with it a level of resource that is devoted to recreation and leisure type activity. While in terms of the accommodation and the support environment the residential component is subject to the standards laid down by the County Registration and Inspection Officer.

The final element that Lewis refers to in the evaluation of citizenship is that of status and entitlements. The organisations that are at the forefront of the

'supported living' model have an individualistic approach where 'equality' and therefore citizenship is achieved through the tenancy agreements. This model, which is more in line with the 'civil' theme in citizenship, moves the person from being totally dependent upon the organisation for support in all aspects of their lives. It also creates a legally regulated private space, which the individual controls. At the same time this position is potentially isolating as the organisation does not involve itself in community activities through which the person can participate in some degree of community life. This position can be linked with Taylor Gooby's (1993) captivity culture in that people with learning disabilities, while they have acquired an instrumental equality with other citizens through being able share the same benefit platform, still experience the inability to escape this basic level. This occurs because their opportunities to earn more that the benefit level are limited because work opportunities continue to locate them in niche sectors where there continues to be a separation of work and reward. At the same time the higher needs in terms of support and accommodation of some individuals with learning disabilities means that higher earnings would bring with them greater losses to benefits.

In contrast, the residential model brings a different social status, which can be linked with Taylor Gooby's dependency culture. Here a tension lies between the 'civic' theme of citizenship and Lewis's identification of the welfare subject. At the same time the entitlements to private space are not legally established nor is the right of the individual to control that space. However, the overall levels of entitlement are subject to a higher level of protection than entitlements in the supported living model. In conclusion, what becomes evident from the parallel discussion of the literature and the analysis of professional discourse is that the citizenship of people

with learning disabilities is produced through the organisations that support them in their daily lives. However, the nature of this citizenship can be very different depending upon the discursive structure of the organisation concerned. Central to this difference is the notion of the self-managing individual and its implications.

7.6 Summary.

This chapter completes the exploration of the first two themes around which the study was constructed. These themes of politics and citizenship were established in chapter two as the key concerns of the disabled writers and proponents of radical perspectives of disability. Chapters five and six have set out the basis for a study of the micro-politics of care planning and they have mapped the complex web of power, which has drawn a range of organisations into the specific and local social relations through which the lives of people with learning disabilities are organised and managed. This chapter has taken this a stage further to identify the material consequences of these social relations evaluated against a range of perspectives of citizenship. This discussion of citizenship has also been located around the central theme of governmentality developed from the work of Foucault, which identifies the key role of expertise in the management of the population. The following chapters (eight and nine) extend this discussion further by focusing more closely upon the role of expertise.

Chapter Eight: The politics of Trust.

8.1 Introduction.

The discussion which follows proposes that trust is a central component in the relationship between the state, professionals [expertise] and the persons who are subject to the practice of these professionals. This trust is of a particular quality, as it is not vested in individuals but in the systems in which particular experts are located – an impersonal trust. The discussion sets out from the problem of 'loyalty' [see section 1.3] where the capacity of organisations to manufacture loyalty was identified (Klein 1980) but left underdeveloped as a somewhat irrational response of individuals to situations where either 'exit' or 'voice' would be considered more appropriate. The proposition taken up here is that loyalty can be understood in the context of trust and that the social processes that produce this impersonal trust can be demonstrated.

The objective here is to extend the analysis of the micro-politics of care planning through Foucault's concept of governmentality to demonstrate the way in which professionals within expert systems manufacture trust which then functions as a commodity within the operation of social welfare. At the same time and linking with the previous chapter, it is proposed that one aspect of this trust relates to the position that these professionals hold over the citizenship of particular individuals, especially people with high support needs who are reliant upon welfare. However, prior to starting this exploration of trust it is important to explain the nature of the context in which this is produced as this is cross cut with contradictory tensions. On the one hand there are movements towards social cohesion, the reduction of

complexity, the management of expectations and deferment of risk, while on the other hand the dispersal of welfare into a range of semi-autonomous organisations produces particular tensions between the state and expertise, between expertise and the lay public and between the different organisational structures within which expertise functions. This ensures that trust is contested. The arena for this conflict is the welfare system, the medium is trust: hence the politics of trust.

8.1.1 Constructing professional authority.

The importance of trust in the operation of expertise within welfare is that it brings with it a form of moral superiority that helps to produce the activity of professionals as familiar and authoritative. At the same time it presents professional *activity as objective, rational and disinterested in personal gain.*

Fieldwork thirty-four: claiming the moral high ground.

In previous fieldwork sections [two and seventeen] the tensions and conflicts between different organisations operating in the welfare system were identified. The use of contracting and commissioning has resulted in organisations imposing changes or having changes imposed upon them. While those organisations that provide services are placed in direct competition with each other.

This conflict exists not only in the contracting process but also within the everyday discourse of professionals. It is particularly evident in the rhetorical devices to imply some form of moral superiority to a type of organisation. These *rhetorical devices represent attempts to gain the moral high ground and support* claims that this type of organisation is trustworthy and by implication other organisations are not.

The main context where this takes place is between the 'not for profit' and the 'for profit' organisations. In this example it appears that the 'not for profit' organisations have the moral high ground as the 'for profit' organisations are very defensive about the idea of profit. The first three extracts provide examples of the position taken within the statutory and 'not for profit' sector towards the private sector.

1:145 *"Interesting isn't it... Well if that happens then I hope it only happens within the voluntary sector because one of the dangers with the free market economy is that you get sharks and you get the private sector coming in because there is a quick buck to be made."*
And.
2:53. *"Oh much cheaper because you can actually knock down the costing, the bigger they are, it's like the private sector flourishes. You get these wonderful nursing homes, elderly people with psychiatric problems and you get a hundred bedded nursing home, well the cost of that is phenomenally cheap per head."*
Also.
4:92. *"The voluntary organisations seem much more user friendly, less bureaucratic, and generally have one point of access.] ......[I think that the small voluntary independent sector has advantages on us. Possibly the private side. In mean they are in it for business. One of their aims is to make money and I hope they're in it to offer an appropriate service... um ... and by and large I think they are......"*

These can be contrasted with the following claims made by the 'for profit' organisations that tend to defend profit by minimising its importance and objectifying it as belonging to the business rather than to the owners of that business. There are no claims made that profit is morally defensible within welfare, which indicates the strength of welfarist discourses that would see profit as exploitation. However, this does not mean that ideas of charity are not equally powerful here, that is profit versus charity, in contrast to any underlying notions of citizenship [see section 6.2.1 and fieldwork twenty-three]. In the first two extracts the owners put forward the idea

that all profits go back into the provision of services and that profit does not mean personal gain.

7:108. "But I think a lot of the people that I deal with now are purely thinking about how much it costs. And they forget about the caring of it. And probably see us as money grasping capitalists. I would think."
And any profits are put back into the organisation.
7:181. "Not necessarily, just re-channelled back really. And then no it's never sold, not yet back to shareholders."

While in this third example the owner is suggesting that they have a particular integrity, which is not found within other organisations.

8:5b. "........but you have to check this with [name; consortium manager] but I think we're probably the only organisation, the only provider that can honestly put its hand on its heart and say that we lose work through being successful. Because what happens is that obviously by becoming independent which is what we want them to be - then we lose the support work and that's happened on two to three occasions recently."
And.
8:24. "Yeah, yeah sure its not for profit, we don't actually make much profit... profit that we do make is pure and simple management and administration costs. If you want to call it profit... so in that respect... I mean... the costs are there for all to see. I don't hide how the cost is made up and what the income is we get........."

Another area where there is evidence of a rhetorical device, which is linked to a higher principle, is in the opposition between care and support. This is set in the tensions between the supported living model and that of residential care, with the former being promoted as the more principled approach. Interestingly this position is articulated by a 'for profit' organisation.

8:56. "We call it support by the way for want of a better word. I don't like that word either but I can never come up with a better one so they're support workers. Its quite important in a philosophical word because using the word care literally means caring for that person like you would in a residential home looking after all there

> needs. *Well we're not doing that, what we're supporting them for them to learn and acquire skills to enable them to do more. So that's the difference but I've never come up with a better word than support. Sorry about that."*

Previous chapters have focussed upon power and citizenship through a use of Foucault's concept of governmentality. The exploration of trust extends this further by considering how expertise functions within this strategy of managing populations in a semi-autonomous and highly self-conscious way. Expertise is afforded a central role in the management of the population through identifying risk, managing social conduct, promoting specific forms of truth and promoting particular identities.

Central to this discussion is the proposition that the state and expertise actively promote trust as this legitimates their right to intervene into peoples lives. Trust is therefore an intended product of professional activity it helps to construct professional activity as both familiar and authoritative. This is of particular importance for as Osborne (1997) points out, it is insufficient to talk about the interests of professionals, rather the need is to talk about the constitution of professional authority. In the context of welfare this authority is produced through a paradox in which the professions claim a relative autonomy from the state, while at the same time this relative autonomy enables the state to effectively manage and control this expertise (Rose 1996, Turner 1997). These local relations were the focus of the discussion in chapters five and six.

Before moving on to the main discussion it will be useful to take a moment to consider the specific nature of the trust that is being discussed. In this study trust is considered to be an impersonal characteristic of social systems rather than a product of interpersonal relations. Trust is produced through the management of expectations

within systems that either assure against abuse (Luhmann 1979, Shapiro 1987), or which develop strategies of risk management (Giddens 1990).

Giddens (1991) describes this impersonal form of trust as a very specific and particular form of dependency whose essential characteristic is that it does not require personal experience by the individual of any other individual involved. However, both Luhmann (1979) and Giddens (1990, 1991) argue that the potential for impersonal trust is established in the early relationships between the infant and the primary care giver. Here periods of separation enable the infant to gain confidence in the continuity of themselves and their environment. This historical emphasis within the development of personality produces a rather pessimistic outlook for individuals who have not had this early experience. For it is unclear how a person deprived in this way could recover the potential to trust. Giddens is also criticised for failing to acknowledge the self as complexly structured and differentiated (Petersen 1997).

The remainder of this chapter takes the following form. The first two sections will focus upon a sociological analysis of trust. This will identify trust as a social process and highlight some of the technologies and practices that are employed in the promotion of trust. The aim is to link this discussion of trust and expert systems with the discussion of governmentality and expertise. This provides the focus of the third section of the chapter. For although the literature on governmentality does not explicitly refer to trust as a product of expertise there are clear parallels between the discussion of trust in section two and role of expertise in section three. Reflexivity will be identified as a technique through which expertise self-consciously engages in

a process of constantly repositioning itself in relation to both the state and the population.

The final section considers the relationship between the discourse of professionals and the discourse of users. This is set within an opposition between trust and hope. Trust (the management of expectations) will be demonstrated in professional discourse while hope (the utopian belief in the possibility of a better condition) will be argued to lie outside of the discourse of trust. This is set out as a relationship between 'trust – mistrust – abuse and hope'.

8.2 A Sociological Analysis of Trust.

In this section the work of Barbara Misztal (1996), Niklas Luhmann (1979) and Anthony Giddens (1990, 1991) will be drawn upon to provide a sociological analysis of the nature and function of trust in modern society. Misztal's overview of trust and social cohesion will provide a background against which a more focussed discussion of trust and expertise will be developed.

Barbara Misztal (1996) draws upon the work of both Luhmann and Giddens in a wide-ranging discussion of trust in modern societies. The issues of particular interest to the discussion in this chapter relate to the development of trust as a distinct tactic of policy, which aims to produce social cohesion. In this sense there is a direct link with the idea of governmentality although Miszal does not discuss Foucault. In her functionalist approach Misztal argues that trust constitutes solidarity, which is essential to the promotion of citizenship. Central to this is the need to establish the basis upon which information can be exchanged. This produces the potential for negotiation and it enables the establishment of the institutional arrangements that

sustain and build trust as social capital. At the same time trust underpins the

legitimacy of the state's activity with Misztal arguing that,

"While obedience can be sufficiently procured by incentives and sanctions, social
co-operation, however, is unachievable without trust in government. The
contemporary state requires legitimation not so much to function as to be able to
make maximum use of all its resources in today's context of increasing complexity
and uncertainty."   (Misztal 1996: 245).

Miszal's shares a perception of the social context as one characterised by

increasing complexity with Niklas Luhmann (1979). Luhmann's neo-functionalist

approach was developed as a critique of Talcott Parsons' structural functionalism

(Poggi 1979). Luhmann's treatment of trust provides the starting point for the

analysis of the ways in which systems produce and maintain trust as a means of

managing expectations. It also raises the issue of the relationship between trust and

expertise. He proposes that a characteristic of modern societies is a tendency towards

increasing complexity, which in turn produces increasing levels of anxiety. This

complexity is generated by each social question having multiple alternatives for

action. Trust becomes a means through which a course of action can be selected and

anxiety reduced.

Luhmann argued that human systems are significant in that they operate

through the communication of meaning and through this process meaning comes to

define the subject. The question is not 'what makes meaning possible?' rather, and in

a similar vein to Foucault, the question is 'what does meaning make possible?' the

difference being that Foucault locates meaning with the exercise of power. For

Luhmann modernity represents the triumph over complexity through the formation

of an increasing number of differentiated and more complex systems.

8.2.1 Trust: The Management of Expectations.

The complexity of modern societies means that rather than seeking to describe situations and prescribe action, the tendency is to set goals for action and then let agencies search for solutions (Luhmann 1979). In welfare this can be seen in the tendency towards the decentralising of administration and operational policy with the increasing centralising of the control over resources (Le Grand and Bartlett 1993, Walker 1993, Phillipson 1994). It also provides the basis for a semi-autonomous relationship between the state and the various agencies of welfare [see fieldwork eleven].

Luhmann defines trust as a social relationship subject to its own special system of rules that works to produce a sense of confidence in expectations. Trust is produced through the management of these expectations. The consequence of not trusting involves a confrontation with the complexity of the world and the experience of anxiety caused by uncertainty. However, the existence of multiple expectations embedded in different and contradictory interests means that this process is going to be fraught with tensions and conflicts.

Fieldwork thirty-five: managing expectations.

This fieldwork section is longer than those previously encountered. As discussed above the management of expectations is central to the way in which expertise functions and it involves responding to multiple agendas within the social welfare environment. In practice this gives rise to a range of activities that are aimed at managing the expectations of different interests.

It appears that these expectations are often laid out in broad terms. To be trusted organisations are expected to be able to manage the costs of their service, to establish conditions of comfort, safety and security, and to have in place systems

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through which needs are identified and met. However, it is also evident that these interests can be organised into a hierarchy on the basis of the potential consequences of failing to meet these expectations effectively.

At the same time this hierarchy is in part established by the organisations' position in the social welfare field. For example it the statutory organisations place a greater emphasis on managing the expectations of carers while other organisations, particularly those whose origins are in parent groups are more accurately described as driven by the expectations of parents and carers.

The first two extracts show different dimensions on cost. The first extract relates to a question about the potential for changing elements of the care plan. The response to this suggests that this is acceptable as long as the purchaser's expectations over costs being contained within the contract price are met. The second extract involves an expectation that the service will ensure that monies derived from individual benefits will be collected. However, there is also an expectation that this will be done in a way that promotes the independence of the individuals concerned.

1:129. "No it's not, but I think in this current economic climate purchasers would say 'yes that's fine providing that it doesn't cost anymore'."
And.
12:96. "........ Time is given to help people go to the Post Office type of thing. They're usually accompanied so the actual paying. I think people quite like to see residents involved in the actual transaction. They're paying their rent, albeit with supervision but they are actually physically doing it, like the rest of us pay our way too. Rather than them being just passive receivers and saying "don't you worry about it, it's nothing to do with you". So I think it's something that most projects would prefer didn't happen...."

Issues concerning the safety and security of users can be seen in the following four extracts. The first extract links the previous issues of cost with security from abuse while the second extract focuses more on material comforts.

2:28. *"Yes, to me the starting point is to provide the highest quality care that one can do within the financial constraints you've got. To then work into an anti-abuse culture so that people's rights are maintained and then from there you start looking at things like the care planning processes, the budgetary side of it."*
And.

3:5b. *"I think the highest element is to give good quality care in terms of making sure that the individual residents have a good basic standard of living. The same as anybody else living in the community, three square meals per day, good comfortable surroundings, a nice environment, it's heated, it's all the rest of it, yeah."*

The third and fourth extracts extend the management of expectations to the idea of being safe in the community.

5:12. *"She was very dubious about how good it would be if her daughter moved to the local housing estate where she might be able to get a flat or something, how will her daughter would be supported and how safe, I think it's safety that's probably one of the key words there."*
And.

6:46a. *"Now (small town)'s got a community centre, it's got a fantastic shopping - with Tesco's opened peoples lives. It's got a banking building society across the way. Its very self contained which for people here its given them a complete new lease of life because of being able to do things in a very safe way."*

The expectations about having systems through which need are identified and managed is highlighted in the next series of extracts. The first two extracts focus upon the expectation that organisations have formal care planning systems, while the third extract suggests that a feature of the organisations which are attempting to undercut the prices charged by the established organisations in social care is that

they have inadequate systems. The implication is that they cannot be trusted to provide an adequate service.

1:119. "Well, just to follow that through, we have a duty to set things up to make it happen in the first place, but it is also about, once we have done that saying okay well now you are going to tell us things, or through this process you are going to say things."

And.

9:70. "Yeah, obviously there's an overall objective for the society that the co-operative has got. But, in each scheme there's an operational policy. So the staff actually work to that operational policy for that scheme. Then further down there's individual IPP's for each person. And each person has a care plan or individual progress plan."

While at the same time.

2:117. "I'm not saying we've necessarily got all the answers that big is beautiful or whatever, but it does worry me that some of the organisations I see have no anti-abuse culture, who have no back-up systems. We have a huge training department where we provide training for staff as on going. We have reserve back ups and I see these very new agencies coming in with no back ground with none of the safety nets that we provide yet they're coming in well under the prices that we can't match it."

In this next section the extracts highlight the proposition made above that these expectations or the interests represented can be organised both hierarchically and vertically. The first extract is taken from the manager of the Joint Purchasing Consortium (JPC), identifies the way in which the JPC has created a hierarchy with itself at the centre. The JPC has produced a system in which the monitoring of its own activity is directly linked to the monitoring of the activity of these other organisations. However, it has designed this system rather than having it imposed. This is of particular importance when we consider organisational reflexivity later in this chapter [fieldwork thirty-eight].

10:49. "Through the care management system. So that people have a care co-ordinator. We reckon that it costs about a thousand pounds per person to have a care co-ordinator for a year. Now I'm always saying we haven't got enough care co-ordinating time and I'm told, oh well, we can't afford it. I'm saying but we spent forty, fifty thousand pounds a year quite happily on a person, a thousand pounds to monitor that's his right, is not a lot so that's against it because, that's how I've sold the idea of the joint purchasing consortium to the health authority who said to me in the early days, assessment and care management is nothing to do with us its social services, so I said but you are spending a lot of money on people who have been resettled from hospital. You've no idea about the services coming into the area. You know they'll be no resettlement left, I can tell you for some of them they're not."

The next extracts focus upon a vertical management of expectations where organisations are actively engaged in managing their relationships with other organisations. The first two extracts show in different ways how the expectations within partnerships are managed. In the first extract the aim is to develop a shared understanding over the supported living model while in the second extract the organisation is prepared to underpin the risks involved in supporting an individual in the community.

3:27. ...."and I think that we can give them the necessary reassurances to adopt the approach we want them to, but hopefully, by developing a model with an association that's married into this, is quite convinced that this is a successful model. We'll convince them to work with us on it."
And.
5:48. "No, no, it strikes me that it's a start because you know, the person or the tenancy is that individual not us and we're just like guarantors really saying that if they don't pay their rent or that the place gets into a hell of a mess we'll get it sorted."

In the next extract there are elements of vertical and hierarchical management. It concerns the promotion of tenancy agreements with housing associations that have up to now been sceptical about the idea. Here the

organisation enters a partnership but this is underpinned by the use of a contract. The focus for concern is both the people who are dependent upon the service and the process of promoting the tenancies. It appears from this that it is important that the organisation is not seen to develop a service model, which then fails. The consequence may be a loss of trust.

3:31. .....'we probably would have contracts with the various organisations to make sure that certain people adhere to certain requirements. We wouldn't want our clients, residents, being left vulnerable by, if for some reason somebody suddenly pulled out of an arrangement, they could jeopardise the process."

A further variation in this horizontal and vertical management of expectations concerns a situation where two organisations are working together to manage two different systems of expectations. Here the social services department is working with the local council in the development of a service for Asian users. From the perspective of social services this is an initiative that is service led and it is clear that they have the experience of working with disabled people. However, it is also clear that the local council is seeking to manage the expectations of sections of its ethnic communities. In this example the expertise at managing the client group appears to place the social services in the lead role in managing the development of the service.

17:73. "Yeah, yeah about six, seven but they're likely to go on longer if need be. This is what I was saying, that originally we had one session per topic which was completely ridiculous because it didn't work that way. Because when you get a new group of people together you never know anyway how that groups going to work and also its quite an insight for the workers and the City Council who haven't had much experience with people with disabilities to acknowledge that things do take longer than you first think they always do."

The final sections of this fieldwork section concern the way organisations promote trust through the management of the expectations of carers and users. The first part of the section involves a series of extracts that focus upon the relationships with carers. In the first three extracts the anxieties of carers, which could evolve as anxieties about the organisation, are managed through consultation, supplying service supports for a limited period and finally working with carers to manage the anxieties of local communities.

4:47. "We do it on, the main basis is one to one. We start. We do use other mechanisms. We've used consultation, we still use consultation. We have used questionnaire we sent information out - this is our service. This is our vision, we've done all that sending information out. I think by far the most successful is the one to one. With day centre staff, keyworker, talking with the service user, talking to the carer on that sort of basis really."
And.
9:56. "Yes, oh yeah as you can imagine with two whole time equivalents. We are supplying sleeping-ins at the moment because social services and the relatives actually feel that there should be sleeping in staff, certainly, initially. They're self contained, they need to be able to cook and do most things for themselves."
Also.
1:131. "So I think we, again if we have a role to play with the individuals, their families, with the community to educate the community] ..... [and now have the opportunity to show this and contribute to this to the community, and those abilities might be making things, just being part of the community so that people are less anxious. ....."

This process of managing carer anxieties is particularly relevant to certain organisations, particularly the statutory sector organisations. There appears to be a dual process involved here where there are movements that are changing the way services are organised which are operating in parallel with movements of conciliation [see also fieldwork one, extract 4:29, and fieldwork fifteen]. In the first extract the manager sets the scene with the image of an angry relative.

3:43. "Some of them are very vociferous, they have fought very hard to get their sons and daughters established in a community house and their peace of mind as they go up to old age."

The next extracts highlight this dual process of change and conciliation.

4:49. "Yes it's that, we don't usually do groups with carers unless there is a consultation meeting.] ...... [So managers have got a job to make sure that members of staff do this on one to one, then they have also methods of staff support. But it's done...."

And.

4:53. "We have somebody from Mencap and that person is setting up secondary meetings with carers because just having one or two carers can be a bit tokenistic if you are not careful you have got to make sure."

Also.

5:6a. "Yeah, it works two ways because with... certainly we have a very active and very vocal careers group that established up in (rural city). A couple of years ago and they all, you know, respite is really in demand and um.... they're very concerned about the future of respite services and whether it will continue...."

The conciliatory approach above might be contrasted with the following extract taken from the main advocate of the supported living model in which the idea of parents as advocates is seen as a problem.

8:66b "There's not many people are actually doing that work in and around here... there are only a handful. You see often the parents are the advocates but that's biased. And that's a sort of different perspective to us to an advocate who is not a family member. I think its more valuable when you're not sort of emotionally involved."

In making the proposition that interests are organised into a hierarchy it is clear from the following extracts that having systems and good relations with parents and carers is not sufficient to maintain trust. These extracts are taken from the manager of a service whose origins are in a parent led organisation and in which

this parent's organisation remains a central influence. This service no longer exists as an independent provider as it was forced to merge.

11:42. " ...... *its through pressure to a large extent from the joint purchasing consortium which basically said .... looking at (consultants) report and looking at various reports from registration officers etc. They could find no fault with the quality of care that is given and the quality of support etc. etc.. But the area that they had problems with was the board at board level and that it was a fairly ageing board at that time and although it has got a bit younger now it is still ..... that still remains a slight problem. Being a voluntary board it is not as proactive as it should be and I think this is a problem with other charity style organisations will have."*
And.

11:104. ...." *But if you like being spawned from the local League of Friends. You know, parents and friends and that kind of thing. We obviously have a stronger influence I think with parents than perhaps others do. So we do consult and we do, I mean I regularly visit parents that want me to visit to let them know about various changes and what's happening. ..."*

The second part of this section focusing upon the hierarchy of interests relates to the people who use the services. From the extracts it can be seen that at this level the management of expectations has more to do with providing a range of activities or opportunities which can be sustained in order not to cause disappointment. The expectations of users are managed on an individual basis and linked into the systems identified earlier [see extracts 1:119, 9:70 and 2:117]. Users are not individually or collectively involved in shaping the organisation of the services through which they are supported. Therefore it can be argued that managing the expectations of the users has more to do with managing the expectations of the purchasers who monitor the individual care packages [see extract 10:49 above].

15:172. *"Because they see it as work and if you ask one of the chaps here, because I've had this conversation when things have fallen though before and people have been trying to help got a job. He'll say 'I want to work or where you've got a I just*

> don't want to do an hour'. So even if I do an hour and I've got to go back to wherever for a whole week. So it's still important to remember work experience. The real importance of that."
>
> And.
>
> 16:48. "...... He just goes there for a morning on Tuesdays. On Tuesday afternoons he goes to (day centre) again because he likes bowling and they do bowling on a Tuesday afternoon. Thursdays he goes to (local) Village College. Wednesday and Fridays (day centre) as well where he does things like creative arts through (day centre)."
>
> Also.
>
> 16:62. "Yeah, and it's really difficult because she hasn't got any concept of doing anything else really. And, suggestion of such are just like what's that, what do you do, you go to (day centre) and that's it. Do you know what I mean? The others a lot of them, the others were more needs based than that. Christopher has gained a lot by going to College four days a week and he also. He had some work with "(advocacy group)" sort of a year prior to that he was doing photography and drama courses and now poetry."

To return to the work of Luhmann, his analysis of trust identifies the particular importance of mistrust as this relates to precautionary measures and it is a means of managing diversity and difference. However, mistrust assumes trust in other directions, while human unpredictability provides an ever-present source of insecurity. Luhmann argues that communication is also critical to the formation of trust as the collective experience of human beings is processed into organised meaning that helps to make social life understandable. This constructs truth with the consequence of exclusion for those who do not concur. This is similar to the position taken by Foucault with respect to the relationship between discourse and the formation of the modern individual and that taken by Rose (1996) [section 7.3] in relation to citizenship and governmentality.

Luhmann also proposes that the deployment of trust establishes particular roles where the task is to manage circumstances in which the correct action cannot be identified in advance. These roles are special as they involve training and accreditation. They are provided with the symbols of trustworthiness, which we recognise as expertise. This can be seen in the fieldwork as all those interviewed (except one) had professional qualifications in an area of social welfare, each had been promoted into the roles they have from a more basic grade, while at the same time the fieldwork develops specific examples of the relationship between trust and expertise through discussions of the management of finances, creating non-abusive environments, managing carers and community anxieties or setting contracts with other welfare organisations [see fieldwork thirty-five above]. This produces a particular relationship between trust and knowledge where knowledge is socially produced in a context where the object world is subjected to a selective interpretation of its complexity. In limiting the possibilities for action the system produces what is experienced as true. An important point when we come to consider the relationship between trust and hope.

Expertise also brings with it a functional authority, which is a matter of specific competence, learned and practised within the division of labour. Its authority is located with the expert knowledge and technology that is stored in highly differentiated social systems. The control over system trust requires a series of internal controls as well as the capacity for reflexivity. It has the potential to go beyond the information available to a position where trust is placed reflexively in the mechanism for the provision of trust. Trust is therefore not placed in the person

directly rather in the grounds upon which trust functions i.e. within the systems in which expertise is embedded.

Giddens (1990) draws upon Luhmann's work in his discussion of trust and in a similar way this is linked to the complexity of modern society. Giddens argues that as social relations have become disembedded from their local contexts and reconstructed across both time and space the previous basis of trust in personal knowledge and tradition has disappeared. In its place two forms of technique have emerged. These are symbolic tokens and expert systems. Symbolic tokens such as money involve trust becoming placed and maintained within an abstract representation. While expert systems, which are of particular interest in this chapter, involve the development of technical or professional expertise with trust being placed in competence [again fieldwork thirty-five contains a number of examples]. Here trust is defined as a confidence in the reliability of a person or system with respect to a given set of outcomes. This is very similar to Luhmann's management of expectations, although Giddens prefers to talk of risk. The management of risk and the role of expertise are also central components in both Rose's (1996) and Turner's (1997) discussions of governmentalty. At the same time both Giddens and Rose argue that knowledge and reflexivity have a central role in the operation of expertise which Giddens locates with trust. He claims that reflexivity involves the monitoring of behaviour and its contexts. Here social practices are constantly being examined and reformed in the light of information about those practices which leads to the production of specific forms of knowledge, a discussion similar to that in section 5.4.

Giddens proposes that the surveillance of a population(s) takes place not through direct means but through indirect mechanisms. Primarily this is achieved through the control of information with trust being vested in expert systems.
"[t]he nature of modern institutions is deeply bound up with the mechanisms of trust in abstract systems, especially trust in expert systems".   (Giddens 1991: 83).

These expert systems are seen as having two components, the first being a faceless process of activity. While the second component involves the opportunity for lay persons to enter into something akin to an interpersonal relationship with a particular expert. This re-embeds social relations into a local context. In this way reliability is established through the involvement with specific individuals and a critical event in the experience of trust is established, for example the role of the case manager. Mechanic (1998) provides an example of reflexivity in his discussion of the lengths that one profession (medicine) is going through in teaching interpersonal skills in a programme designed to establish public trust. However, we have to remain aware that the real repository of trust continues to lie in the 'faceless' abstract system. The trustworthiness of the expert system is established through processes such as codes of professional ethics. At the same time a cultural respect for knowledge and expertise established from childhood has produced a powerful tendency to trust expertise through its representation as familiar and authoritative.

Moreover, it needs to be remembered that trust is only demanded where people have a limited knowledge about the social practices and mechanisms in which they are to engage. This ignorance provides the grounds for scepticism and caution or in Luhmann's analysis distrust. In this relationship between expert systems and lay persons Giddens describes a process of deskilling and reskilling. He points out that

personal decisions are not subject to technical expertise for two reasons. The first is that changes in everyday life also affect the disembedding mechanisms in a dialectical way. While the second is that technical expertise is constantly being re-appropriated by lay persons as they interact with expert systems, a tendency also noted by Bunton (1997)

At the same time experts in one system become lay persons when they engage with systems outside of their expertise. This can be seen as the social housing system has been drawn further into community care strategies through the supported living model. Here the 'care' experts within provider organisations are seen as having a partial knowledge of housing systems in comparison with the 'housing' experts [see interview eight and fieldwork thirty-seven, extract 8:78].

8.2.2 Strategies of Mistrust: A Means for Ensuring Trust.

This section will explore how systems of activity that rely upon trust become subject to particular mechanisms of social control. Misztal (1996) argues that trust can only operate as a system for solving problems of co-operation when people engage in activity irrespective of sanction or reward. She notes the lowering of opportunity when trust and solidarity are enforced. However, Dasgupta (1988) argues that there is no incentive to maintain trust if there is no fear of sanctions when violated. What is possibly the optimum position is achieved when persons become psychologically committed to a set of practices while at the same time a series of sanctions can be applied when either they or organisations transgress. An example being the different destinies assigned to people in fieldwork twenty-five or the fate of the organisation discussed in fieldwork seventeen, extract 11:96.

Susan P Shapiro (1987) offers what Giddens (1991: 232) describes as one of the, *"few generalised discussions of trust in systems."* Shapiro's analysis is developed in the context of financial institutions although the principles can equally be applied to professions working within welfare services. She argues that social relations are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for trust and trustworthiness. In fact social relations may even provide occasions and means for malfeasance and conflict on a larger scale than in their absence. This abuse of trust demonstrates a dialogue between deviance and social control. However, some measure of risk management is gained through what can be described as the social organisation of mistrust. Here, so called guardians of trust are established who regulate and monitor the overall performance of individual experts or groups of experts within organisations.

"Many rely upon the trustees or guardians of trust, a supporting self-control framework of procedural norms, organisational forms, and social control specialists, which institutionalise distrust." (Shapiro 1987: 635).

Fieldwork thirty-six: systems of mistrust.

The following series of extracts will demonstrate two aspects of the deployment of mistrust. The first focuses upon the production of systems of monitoring, quality and audit while the second focuses upon the use of third parties. The establishment of systems has been referred to previously [see fieldwork thirty-five, extracts 2:117 and 10:49] these related to anti-abuse systems and systems of care management and financial monitoring. In relation to the latter this links the purchasing arms of the state with the provider arms. At the same time it is important to bear in mind that systems link to other systems such as contracting. The primary example is the system of statutory inspection, which links into the legal system.

13:87. "We can go into somewhere and say "in our opinion this place is sub-standard" and go to the Magistrates Court today in City or North City and apply for a closure order under Section Eleven of the Registered Homes Act. And go to the Magistrates Court and give evidence..... so we haven't got the executive authority we access the judicial system."

The first series of extracts concern systems. The first extract demonstrates how systems provide structures that link individual users and support workers into a continuous monitoring of activity. While in the second extract the organisation is seeking to establish systems of mistrust beyond the statutory minimum. In doing this it demonstrates how trust in the guardians of trust, in this case the Registration and Inspection Unit, has to be continually maintained.

1:155. .....".and it's the bureaucratic bit which dictates that individuals have care plans, that there's regular reviews, that we provide monitoring report, have contract meetings and everything else. But having said that it is also a way of enabling staff to work towards goals that have been set."
And.
2:123. ......"You've got to have quality supervision you've got to have independent people monitoring it. The organisation itself, registration might make a very good job of monitoring but a lot of that depends upon the quality of the registration officer.] .... [We're trying to develop a visitors service where we will train somebody to come and visit that home at any point they want to inspect it - a lay person."

This third extract shows a further variation on how the purchasing or funding agencies are drawn into the monitoring of the service in systems of distrust. It also needs to be remembered that these organisations are subject to similar systems of distrust in, for example, auditing and monitoring.

9:11. "Those schemes are, they don't have, well I suppose the scheme that we were actually providing for that type of people are supported by us, by the actual society. The quality checks are in place by the society, but there is also a quality check from outside by our own funders for those schemes. Because there is also some input,

external funds and each.... We meet on a quarterly basis with their external funders to actually look at how each one of those schemes is actually going and working."

This final extract in this section demonstrates part of the system employed by the Registration and Inspection Unit who also identify its weakness.

13:9. "Yes, indeed. We have got pre-post envelopes which we leave in all, or which we distribute to all of the residents, relatives voluntary groups. We encourage feedback from such representatives. We get a steady flow. The area where we get least is from people who have got less language. And so we get very few complaints from providers caring for profoundly disabled children. The complaints system is not foolproof, in truth its a bit creaky, its very language dependent. Scope have done some very helpful work in that area. Looking at alternative ways in which people can make their views known."

The second series of extracts demonstrate how organisations use third parties in systems of distrust. However, it is also evident that these third parties can have quite different levels of expertise in social care and they can be chosen for a range of reasons. For example in the first extract people are being chosen to provide a summary of their experiences in visiting a home. The training in the role is provided by the organisation.

2:127. "And they got to have training to do that, otherwise you get what I call the old type (organisation name) home visitor who's more concerned about were people wearing ankle socks and ties you know traditionally, I mean, (organisation name) has it's problems in that kind of life, you know, because it's very much a parent led organisation but we need quality people who can just be attached to one home and visit two, three times a year to be a friend to the clients and be able to come away and write on this report nothing detailed nothing fancy just how they found it."

In this example the organisation is using the statutory inspections as its example of third party involvement and it doesn't feel the need to go outside of this.

9:9. "Yeah, the registered schemes are all registered on the 1984 registered homes act and are subject to visits, I suppose from social services inspection. And I think they visit, what now, twice a year. One of which is an unannounced visit and they check on a whole range of issues within the scheme."

However, in the following extract third party involvement is used in the management of individuals' affairs where they are considered to be unable to fully consent.

12:118. "Yes, but I suppose the project started off probably more in charge of that person's finances, based on the fact that the person wouldn't initially, you know to do it all the time with choice of money. They might well, there may well be a third party involved, a relative who might be taking care of all that person's financial arrangements. And I think that at that point the project would probably work with that third party...."

This next example demonstrates the use of a third party with particular expertise in types of services being delivered who is employed in a consultancy capacity. Here trust is being promoted through the organisation using a consultant from a national campaigning organisation (VIA) which is recognised as taking a very critical stance towards services and their failures. This 'distrust' of services by the consultant is then used by the organisation to demonstrate how it responds to criticisms and as a means of promoting trust. The interesting issue here is that this organisation operates the supported living model and is outside of the remit of the Registration and Inspection Unit.

8:66. "Well you see... (name) who I mentioned earlier acts as our consultant. I employ him as a consultant to the company and for that, because he keeps us up to date with national issues and stuff like that. But also he does do an automatic visit to each tenant at least. I think it's a couple of times a year so that he will as an independent person. Alright he's employed by us that I encourage him to be as independent as critical as possible and he'll go and have a chat with them and he'll pick up. Actually sometimes really some fantastic valuable stuff that we've changed

that policy sometimes because of what the feedback that's come from there. And will deal with a complaint that way if you want to call it a complaint it may be just an issue about the service delivery but he's the."

This final extract demonstrates how the purchaser (JPC) has used a third party to provoke a process of change within an organisation even though there were no complaints about the level of care [see fieldwork thirty-five, extract 11:42].

11:86. "Because to a certain extent the Joint Purchasing Consortium and ... (name NHS social care) are really going by the (consultant) report. Now (consultant) is one person with his ... his own opinions. He spent 45 days with us and in that time he did a needs-led assessment for 15 people plus a report on the company. Well, you work that out, that's less than, even if you take away the report on the company. That's three days per person, that's writing it up as well and all the other bits that go into it. So therefore the amount of time he spent with each person is fairly limited. So to then make a judgement, a sound judgement on somebody's ability to cope with such a fairly radical change. I would suggest doesn't have the understanding and knowledge of that person and individual."

8.2.3 The Guardians of Trust.

The guardians of trust may be established in a number of ways. They may be set within a peer structure which may have the power of legal sanctions against individual 'experts' such as the British Medical Association or the United Kingdom Central Council for Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting. Alternatively, external scrutiny of organisations may be undertaken by a range of agencies vested in governmental or quasi-governmental organisations such as the Social Services Inspectorate or OFSTED. At the same time organisations are required by law to engage in a range of auditing mechanisms through which they demonstrate their accountability to the state, their clients or their shareholders. Finally, there are a

number of audit type activities that organisations can engage with on a voluntary

basis which bring symbols of effective governance for example 'Charter Marks' and

'Investors in People'.

These measures have costs in time, in expertise and in the emotional

consequences of their processes upon those involved. They also require the guardians

of trust to engage in similar procedures in order to maintain their own trustworthiness

(Dasgupta 1988). However, in many cases these social control initiatives are seen as

having real benefits as they work to induce trust. For example Mechanic (1998) sees

trust as an investment while Dasgupta (1988) describes trust as a commodity, both of

which find credibility with the mixed economy of welfare. Here organisations

display the symbols of effective governance or they display extracts from the

findings of these bodies in their reports, in their advertising and on their letterheads.

Giddens (1991) identifies a series of fiduciary norms that are monitored by

the guardians of trust. These have been developed in relation to the structural

opportunities for abuse that arise from, the custody and discretion over property, the

opportunity and possession of expertise and the access to information. These include

ethical codes, standards of practice, regulatory statutes, and judicial decisions. At the

same time these norms prescribe the following characteristics and competencies of

experts: disinterestedness, disclosure and role expectations.

At the same time organisations become subject to structural constraints that

require compliance with these norms. These structural constraints produce rules

relating to: confidentiality, organisational routines, collective decision-making and

the use of third parties. The educational systems that support these expert systems are

seen as essential to the establishment, maintenance and reproduction of professional and organisational norms.

"These educational institutions offer training in the delivery of trust, socialisation, extended scrutiny of candidate performances and assessment of their trustworthiness, and credentialising. Moreover by limiting eligibility for training programmes (often according to many of the criteria already used by other gatekeepers), they introduce yet another layer of entry restrictions."

(Shapiro 1987: 640/641).

These guardianship activities do not occur in isolation from each other. Rather they form a complex web of activity that focuses upon different points in the delivery of trust. However, while self-regulation may protect against the most reprehensible acts of weak or marginalised agents, it may not tackle institutionalised forms of abuse. Therefore, the promotion of trust does not necessarily mean positive outcomes. The difficulties presently being experienced by the Medical profession in relation to failures to self regulate such as the deaths of heart babies at Bristol Children's Hospital, the Harold Shipman murder case, and the Rodney Ledward and Richard Neale misconduct cases are examples that are claimed to have reduced public confidence and trust (Palmer 2000). These events are likely to stimulate changes in the relationship with the state through modifications in the self-regulatory frameworks and similar changes to professional regulation can be seen in the context of social work (DoH 1998) and nursing (DoH 1999). Shapiro (1987: 646) notes that,

"But, under such arrangements, questionable activities that are standard professional practices or more serious abuses that are committed by more mainstream practitioners may be ignored."

In this way self-regulation can be seen as an institutionalised form of self-interest. Discretionary activities such as validation and inspection can be compromised. The question then becomes who guards the guardians? The answer is that trust does,

"In complex societies in which agency relationships are indispensable, and the ability to specify and enforce substantive norms governing the outcomes of agency action nearly impossible, a spiralling evolution of procedural norms, structural constraints, and insurance like arrangements, each building upon the former, seems inevitable. One of the ironies of trust is that we frequently protect it by bestowing even more trust." (Shapiro 1987: 649).

8.3 Trust and Governmentality.

The discussion of trust has so far been mainly concerned the views of Luhmann, Misztal, Giddens and Shapiro. However, while all four have been concerned with the role of the state, social cohesion and the role of knowledge and expertise, none of these writers makes an explicit use of Foucault's concept of governmentality. However, Osborne (1997) notes the processes of problematisation central to governmentality also function to reduce *complexity* regulating what is and what is not possible. Indeed while Giddens acknowledges Foucault's influence upon contemporary social theory he considers his contribution to be flawed due to Foucault's avoidance of a meaningful analysis of human agency (Nettleton 1997). Petersen (1997) on the other hand suggests that Giddens' analysis is limited due to its adherence to an essentially modernist paradigm.

At this point it would be useful to note Bryan Turner's (1994) point that modernity and post-modernity are not mutually exclusive movements. Therefore, disagreements about the nature of society *'modernity' -- 'high modernity' – 'post*

modernity' need not necessarily result in the positions of these different writers being considered as incompatible. However, Turner (1997) acknowledges the philosophical tensions between modernity and its concern with risk and the de-regulation of macro-global society and the post-modern concern with the micro-local mechanisms of political surveillance.

This tension can be seen in Petersen's (1997) discussion of Giddens noted above, for while he acknowledges his contribution on trust and risk, he is critical of his perspective for its adherence to what he describes as conventional modernist views of the self, science and society. Central to this is the position of a rational social actor making use of expert systems underpinned by a meta-narrative of progress and an evolving self-consciousness. Petersen observes that Giddens has ignored the potential of risk as a strategy for managing the population [see fieldwork twenty-five].

The discussion in the remainder of this section draws heavily upon the work of Nikolas Rose. Rose (1992) argues that expertise is central to the exercise of power in at least three interrelated ways, (i) by locating professional authority with claims to scientific it distances systems of moral self-regulation from political power, (ii) expertise can be mobilised within political argument to play particular roles within the operation of social policy, (iii) expertise can tie individual subjectivity to particular truths.

The analysis of governmentality demonstrates how the state through a specific organisation of expertise can manage the population, in particular sections of the population whose conduct places either themselves or others at risk, although this risk may be moral, relating to standards of behaviour, rather than physical. This

includes individuals and groups who are heavily reliant upon the activity of welfare where discourses of deserving and undeserving pervade the debates over provision. The role of statistics is of particular relevance here for expertise and the management of risk is bound up with the calculation of risk factors (Rose 1996, Petersen 1997). The generation of correlations between various factors becomes a means through which an element of predictability can be established. In this context it is interesting to note that the government's recent Green Paper is entitled 'Statistics: A matter of trust (The Stationery Office 1999).

The nature of citizens is also significant as those who were previously the recipients of rights, passive and dependent, have now come to be reconstructed as active in their own management. The rights of citizenship to receive benefits have been replaced by the duties of citizenship to avoid having to receive benefits (Osborne 1997). The relationship between the society and the individual is no longer an obligation mediated by the state. Rather, it is located with a range of personal relationships and investments such as friends, lovers, family, work, community and not least one-self (Rose 1996). In relation to people with learning disability this appeal to self-management has been clearly linked with discourses of citizenship [see chapter seven].

The idea of community has become central to contemporary programmes and techniques for the management of the conduct of groups such as disabled people and the mentally ill. This creates what Rose (1996) describes as 'government through community' where individuals have to demonstrate the capacity to make reasonable choices and conduct themselves according to a moral code of individual responsibility and community obligation. Parallel to this process of enticing people

to self-govern is the deployment of a range of experts throughout the community.

These experts provide a vital link between political objectives and the management

of individual conduct.

Fieldwork thirty-seven: deploying expertise.

This role of expertise in linking political objectives with individual conduct can

be seen in a number of ways. The key processes of care planning and care

management have been identified previously and the surveillance of spaces was

noted in fieldwork ten. In this next series of extracts the aim is to highlight a number

of ways in which expertise supports political aims in parallel with care planning

systems. In particular this includes managing the benefits trap, assessments for

housing needs and the provision of expert advice.

The first extracts focus upon the importance of managing the benefits trap.

As noted previously there can be a fine line with respect to the rules surrounding

earnings and a range of benefits. The mismanagement of this will at the very least

cause anxiety and potentially it could cause hardship. Expertise is expected and

therefore trusted not to exceed these rules while at the same time it is expected to

be able to exploit the system to the maximum.

4:32. "Yeah, because for many people housing benefits is a big chunk of income
and if you're scraping by on benefits anyway you know if you're going to pay the
market rent on property and then suddenly you don't get any assistance towards
that, well you can't do it. You'd have to get out of that property and it's very like
walking a bit on a tightrope."
And.
15:22. "........The problem is for us that you'll often fall into a trap. They're only
allowed to work so many hours because they receive benefits and they're only
allowed to earn so much money because they receive benefits. The difficulty is if
somebody is saying I want to work all week and we're saying you can only work this
many hours and they're saying but I want to work all week. Why have I only got to

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work three days and then go and sit in a Day Centre for two days. I don't want to do it. It can be frustrating."

Also.

13:8. "..... Equally we played around with individuals getting SPS money, working with careers guidance and that's worked for one or two people in various places. The L project is paying money on top of benefits. We've never cracked and nor has anyone to my view.... the benefits trap. But its amazing we've even made any impact on it because unless government do it structurally you'll never get a substitution for benefits beyond welfare into work."

Similar issues can be identified in relation to housing needs assessment. Although in this case the advent of the supported living model has placed those used to managing the more traditional housing arrangements at a temporary disadvantage in comparison with the housing management experts [see extract 4:32 above].

8:78. "Yeah and that's probably because of my background you see I mean being housing provider in local authorities having an interest in special needs. There might be some others around now mind we're not so totally unique in the country but there's certainly there's nobody like us around here. In fact we're the only provider that's providing support in quite the same way as we're doing on a very very individual basis."

One of the central areas where expertise can be observed linking political objectives with the management of individuals is in the relationship between the housing associations and the Registration and Inspection Units. Here a reciprocal relationship of trust emerges with the housing associations nurturing their relationships with a number of Registration units who they feel all interpret the rules differently. While at the same time registration sees itself as having a key role in supplying information that will enable the registered homes managers to keep up to

date with regulation changes. The first extract is taken from a manager in a housing association.

12:76. "I mean coming back to the registration they can be quite, there reading of what should be, can be quite... I can think of the (town name) one where, mental health project without residents wanting two sleeping. Two people sleeping in per night, plus two waking nights staff for a mental health group that in City would only require one person sleeping in, that's it. So they would, they've sort that out before now. In registration in... Yshire there again they can be quite thorough to say the least. Well I think the relationship with the registration department and the contracts people is a very good and solid one so...."

The next extract is from an officer in the registration department who is quite clear that his department have a clear role in managing information.

13:105. "Yes, there is fairly constant, on a day to day basis. For instance we have been peppered over the past few weeks about the housing benefit changes. The Judicial Review of housing benefit arrangements where housing benefit officers have. There have been social housing landlords asking.......... the extent of housing benefit which has been restricted by the housing benefit officers to brick and mortar. There is this review where the housing benefit officers have taken a far more restrictive interpretation. We have been peppered by queries about this and we have written to all 350 of them and said, you will be interested in this - here is the extract from the Judicial Review and the advice from the National Housing Federation. So that kind of contact is going on all the time. And that is about us trying to bring, just trying to keep people up to the ball."

8.3.1 Disciplining Expertise.

However, Rose (1992, 1996) argues that previous problems with expertise when it was directly managed by the state have led to the development of a range of techniques whereby expertise can be subject to disciplinary power. This has produced a range of quasi-autonomous organisations in which expertise now

functions, while at the same time a number of agencies have been set up to run what were previously directly organised parts of the state. This fragmentation now means that professionals have lost the automatic right to be included as the conditions that govern purchaser/provider and commissioning relationships in welfare mean that organisations, and the expertise embedded there, have to demonstrate trustworthiness to be included. These processes have seen expertise increasingly separated from the political apparatus and located within the market relations of welfare (Petersen 1997) [see chapter five and in particular fieldwork four, ten and seventeen], while at the same time promoting loyalty to these semi-autonomous organisations rather than the state.

The previous relations between the state and professionals have broken down as the political apparatus found it difficult to deploy expertise in the three ways noted by Rose above, a set of circumstances that can be described as the breakdown of trust. Rose argues that expertise had used its position as a means of resistance making itself difficult to govern. The response of the state to the problem of expertise was to reconstruct the relationship within a revised apparatus, which enabled the state to increase the distance between it and the professions while at the same time employing mechanisms such as contracts to secure both compliance and flexibility. Such mechanisms can be compared with the strategies of mistrust discussed in section 8.2.2. There are also links here with reflexivity for these quasi-autonomous organisations are expected to be aware of how they are perceived and to engage in impression management. Likewise they are expected to anticipate changes within their environment and to initiate appropriate responses.

Fieldwork thirty-eight: expertise and reflexivity.

The promotion of trust requires organisations and the expertise located there to be reflexive and to anticipate changes before they occur, that is they are expected to have answers to problems that haven't yet surfaced within the social welfare system. In part this means that expertise is involved not only in managing expectations but also in the promotion of particular expectations. The following extracts will provide particular examples of reflexivity. However, first we need to recall an earlier example [fieldwork thirty-five, extract 10:49], which demonstrated reflexivity in the way the JPC designed and promoted the system through which it wished to be monitored. The following extract is similar in that it shows how expertise anticipates demands and then constructs its own response to these demands.

3:76. "Health authority audit, for our community houses. I have just had two of our community managers recently developed an audit tool, which we have approved through our learning disability management team to audit our community houses and that involves looking at the O'Brien five, what do you call it? accomplishments. So some of the other requirements based upon health and safety, through to good care in terms of where are nursing staff involved etc, etc."

The second area to highlight with respect to reflexivity is the need to anticipate and respond to the changing expectations of carers and the users of services. In the first extract the notion of empowerment is used to suggest that the supported living model will provide a new sense of security for people.

3:47. "And I think that by giving a person tenancy agreement you are empowering them to actually, we cannot just do that, although the residents of the community houses have a tenancy. It means that we cannot just ....we can move that person to bring this person in and people have a right. So, we have to adhere to that yeah, it makes us a better provider of care if our tenants have that right, yeah."

In the next extract there is a response to the changing expectations of carers.

5:8. "So you find that the parents of people with learning disabilities who are perhaps in their fifties either the person with the learning disabilities in their fifties so their parents are sixty -seventy plus tended to put up and shut up.] ... [But I think parents of the next generation, parents of younger people with learning disabilities speak out quite rightly and demand services and are more aware of what they should be entitled to and will fight for that and that's what we're finding at the moment...."

At the same time the purchasers, in this case the JPC, are anticipating the desire of people to live in suitable homes within their local communities near to their families, while also ensuring that people are not isolated from that or other communities.

10:13. "Of course you have to. I mean it may be that they don't particularly want to live in a particular area. It may be that they've got family near so we try to locate them near to their family. But it's about the amenities to. Is it important that they're near to shops, to transport system, which is problematic in this area anyway, and you don't want them to be terribly isolated. Or if they're the sort of people who need space, they aren't going to be crowded in by neighbours if they're sort of people who's used to having plenty of space....."

While in this extract the recognition that people may wish to move on at some point is identified.

15:61. "Yeah, eventually yeah. I mean I don't know if he'd want to move away from here. He wants to move out from his home but I think he still would like to be part of us because he enjoys the people around and things. I think if he could have his own flat like one of the other guys, yeah, absolutely that's one of his dreams."

The extracts above locate professional expertise as gatekeepers to services for people with learning disabilities, in the following extracts the focus turns to need

for organisations to be able to identify gaps in services and to respond to these, rather than waiting for the commissioners to identify the problem. In the first two extracts a manager in social services identifies different types of deficit in the services provided. In the first extract there wasn't a build up of demand it was more to do with people not taking up what was available.

4:35. "Now there were a lot of people not having a service. The reason why they weren't having a service - they didn't like that we had. Because what we had was very limited service. Peoples need it was a very institutionalised rigid service. And a lot of people particularly young people now leaving school where the schools have changed philosophy."

However, in this second extract the manager identifies how the organisation has gone out to a particular section of their users to ask whether the service meets their needs. Again there is not a demand rather anticipation by the organisation that they need to review their services.

4:73. "Well that's ok because we move on and again what we are aiming for in (local city) is to develop services for people from the Asian community. Because, although we had some people in services from the Asian community but we questioned those who did about the service we offer them. So we've done some work in conjunction with the City Council, public workers, and are starting up a small service for primarily looking at cultural reasons, as well as meeting other needs but the cultural needs we're very much at the forefront as well ... um ... its that sort of thing as well."

In this third extract the need for social firms to anticipate and find niche markets is identified.

14:133. "I can't see any other way of doing it here you've got to look for niches you got to look for toe holds you've got to look for influences, you got to get people like you to develop the argument. You got to look for key figures. You've got to... get to the point where there's some sort of equalisation of power".

> The final issue in relation to reflexivity is to recall the fate of organisations that fail to meet this requirement [see fieldwork seventeen, extract 11:96 and fieldwork thirty-five 11:42]. The following extract, which again concerns the same organisation, emphasises the point.
>
> 11:68. *".......and basically they're saying that if I go to them with a problem they will give me advice or they will tell me what to do. So they're reactive they don't actually lead in terms of taking it forward into, you know, in different directions saying that we believe ... people should be tenants rather than residents. Please explore the possibilities of ... and you'll come back with a plan of bringing tenancy agreements as opposed to licensing agreements."*

At the same time as becoming reflexive the mode of operation used by expertise has been subject to change. The direct surveillance of individuals within a discrete environment such as the asylum or hospital has been replaced by a more superficial, but more effective surveillance of individuals within the community [see fieldwork eleven], through the promotion of the self-managing individual. The discourse of professional activity has become empowerment which concerns whole ranges of psychological techniques to reform conduct in compliance with particular norms. However, now these techniques have to have clear goals and be measurable. This can be seen in the call for professional activity to be clearly targeted activity and based upon discernible evidence. Rose argues that,

"[t]his emphasis upon goals, targets and measurements is part of a new way not only of managing professional-client relations, but of managing professionals themselves."   (Rose 1996: 349).

Parallel to these changes in the mode of operation of expertise the purpose of professional activity is not curative but the management of risk. The professional and

increasingly legal obligation is to put into place the mechanisms for the monitoring

and management of risk (Rose 1996, Petersen 1997). Processes of risk management

can be seen in areas such as individual care planning, child protection and supervised

discharge under the Mental Health Act.

The final area in this discussion of trust and governmentality concerns the

organisation of distrust and in particular Shapiro's (1987) identification of the

guardians of trust. There are also issues here that relate to the discussion of trust and

managerialism in the next chapter. Rose (1996) notes the way, in which a range of

different audit mechanisms has come to be applied to professional activity,

"Audits of various sorts come to replace the trust that social government invested in
professional wisdom and the decisions and actions of specialists. In a whole variety
of practices – educational, medical, economic, organisational – audits hold out the
promise – however specious – of new distantiated forms of control between political
centres of decision and the autonomised loci – schools, hospitals, firms – who now
have the responsibility for the government of health, wealth and happiness."

(Rose 1996: 351).

8.4 Trust, mistrust, hope and abuse.

This final section aims to explore the relationship between trust and hope,

that is the association between the discourses of trust which are primarily directed

towards the management of expectations and the discourses of hope which are

primarily concerned with the possibility of some other, better, form of social

organisation. The relationship between hope and trust is established with Giddens'

(1990) linking of trust, risk and utopian realism. Utopia is also a key feature of the

materialist model of disability (Abberley 1996).

Trust has been explored in some depth, it has a future orientation and it involves both expectation and anticipation. At the same time the discussion has identified how both mistrust and abuse are central to the understanding of trust which provides a framework of trust-abuse-mistrust. The proposition in this section that a fourth element needs to be added to the framework – hope. This will provide a basis by which the differences between the discourse of professionals and that of users can be understood. In this framework abuse is the opposite or antithesis of trust and it is associated with feelings of violation, fear, helplessness and despair. This can be seen most vividly in the context of child abuse where the 'abuse' is a misuse or failure to apply the social trust placed upon parents to care (Saraga 1993). Shapiro (1987) also describes the violation of trust as abuse and she identifies the possibility that this can be institutionalisd through professional practices. Marsh describes professional practice as being governed by the fiduciary relationship.

"Under the concept of fiduciary relationship, a person in whom another person has placed a special trust or confidence (as a result of his or her special training or expertise) is required to act in good faith and in the interests of the person reposing the trust or confidence." (Marsh 1990: 603).

The third element of this framework is mistrust, which has been identified earlier as the functional equivalent of trust. Mistrust is associated with doubt and scepticism and needs to be understood as a special case of trust (Luhmann 1979, Shapiro 1987). This takes us to the final position hope. Hope like trust is future orientated. It is linked to desire and a vision of what might be or what can be possible. Sachs (1997) argues that hope is historically specific with the post-war years bringing with them a new ethic of consumption linked to desire. Hope is the

opposite to despair and it is essential to the development of a moral order located within communitarian values,

"Hope – not optimism – is what empowers us to take risks, to offer commitment, to give love, to bring new life into the world, to comfort the afflicted, to lift the fallen, to begin great undertakings, to live by our own ideals."   (Sachs 1997: 267).

Hope also features in Marxist thought where it is linked to the pursuit of utopia. Ernst Bloch in *'The Principle of Hope'* (1986) describes utopia as the expression of hope, not merely an emotional experience but also cognitive and directing. This idea of utopia is found in the contributions of a number of writers in the disability movement (Finklestein 1980, Oliver 1996, Abberley 1996). Similarly, Levitas (1990: 199/200) describes as 'critical utopias' – new social forces such as the women's movement - which have a potential for social transformation,

"If utopia arises from desire, the transformation of reality and the realisation of utopia depend upon hope, upon not only wishful thinking but will-ful action. The presence of hope affects the nature of utopian expression; but while utopia may keep alive the sense that the here and now is unsatisfactory, and can contribute to the belief that it might be otherwise, it is not the source of hope. If utopia is not to remain 'draped in black', that hope must be recovered – the hope that we may collectively build a world of peace, justice, cooperation and equality in which human creativity can find its full expression. The dream becomes a vision only when hope is invested in an agency capable of transformation. The political problem remains the search for that agency and the possibility of hope; and only if we find it will we see our dreams come true."

From the discussion above it is easy to identify the difference between trust, where the management of expectations aims to ensure that there are no surprises in the ways in which people conduct their lives, and hope, which seeks to recruit

peoples' imagination and activity in the search of a better tomorrow. In this sense it might be argued that to produce trust the discourse of expertise will always limit the expectations of the people who are reliant upon welfare services as the intention is to limit these expectations to what can be perceived as possible. At the same time this tension might provide the basis for change as tensions between trust and hope set up sites of resistance with the potential that discourses of trust become modified and rearticulated as they seek to accommodate challenge and conflict.

Fieldwork thirty-nine: hope.

The following extract highlights the tension between trust and hope. The discussion relates to the role of advocates and the proposition that advocates need to be realistic. This suggests that advocacy could be used as a managerial tool to enable a separation of the management of expectations (trust) from desire (hope).

3:58. "I would like to see an advocacy service that is independent, but is also realistic about what can be achieved for someone. There are some advocates that I've come across who are very idealistic and lose their pragmatic elements in knowing that there are limited resources in any sphere or field within the statutory sector, but there is only so much you can achieve."

A similar separation of trust and desire can be seen in fieldwork thirty-seven, extract 15:22 where the need to avoid the benefits trap frustrates the desire for work. Although in this case advocacy is not involved. However, this next extract suggests that people with learning disabilities do have desires. The question is who can they trust to make these a reality?

15:63. "No I don't think so no. I think because the person lives in a smaller house it's more a unit – two people in a house. Its not a big big room and he can decide, he's such an independent person that will go out and do his own thing so he's not having to sort of be around all these people. Yeah, but I think he would love to have a flat."

8.5 Summary: Towards a politics of trust.

The chapter began by raising the issue of 'loyalty', which had been left somewhat underdeveloped by both Hirschman and Klein. The analysis of the micro-politics of care planning has identified trust as a product of the activity of organisations and expertise, which functions as a commodity in a competitive social welfare environment. These semi-autonomous organisations promote trust in their relations with the state and in their relations with other organisations.

However, the environment in which this takes place is competitive and governed by the rules of competition. Therefore organisations and the professionals embedded within them, have to challenge for their position within this environment and one strategy is to seek to claim the moral high ground through the use of offensive and defensive rhetoric. This can be seen in the attempts to undermine organisations on the basis of profit and in the opposition constructed between care and support.

Expertise in its role in managing the population develops trust through the management of expectations. In the context of this study this has demonstrated a range of hierarchical and vertical relationships through which expectations are constructed and managed. At the same time it is also evident that these relationships are afforded different weights in respect to the importance given to them for example the key importance of the purchaser. In one example [fieldwork thirty-five extract 10:49] an organisation was identified as instrumental in the creation of a hierarchy in which it positioned itself at the centre. The production of trust also involves the deployment of distrust and here the use of third parties to monitor activity becomes an important strategy. While expertise is deployed across the terrain of welfare to

ensure the effective working of the system this can bring in play forms of expertise that traditionally has lain outside of this part of the welfare system such as housing agencies [see chapter six, the fourth methodological precaution].

One particular characteristic of trust is that these modern organisations and the expertise located with them have to demonstrate the capacity for reflexivity. Expertise is expected to anticipate change and to develop innovatory responses to problems in many cases before the problem has been formally identified. Furthermore, trust, in managing expectations, works to limit the number of options from which people must or can choose. Trust in expertise therefore brings with it a form of familiarity, a security in the authority of expertise and a confidence in the nature of the options given, which produces loyalty. The alternative is to face the uncertainty of multiple options or choices.

However, there is a critical question at the centre of this discussion of trust. If the discourse of professionals focuses upon trust through the management of expectations while the discourse of disabled people lies with hope, to what extent does trust either frustrate or promote hope? In trust there is a clear possibility that by managing expectations the number of options becomes limited to those, which are familiar and safe. Hope on the other hand brings with it the potential for change but it also involves risks. The relationship between expertise and trust is one that is determined to a large extent by the expectations of the state and the role of expertise is one that is primarily orientated to the management of conduct. Therefore the purpose of professionals in engaging with the discourse of hope is most likely to be that of colonising and disarming its radical potential rather than to promote its project.

The focus of this chapter has been the operation of expertise in managing expectations within the context of care planning. Central to this process is the production and maintenance of trust. However, while expertise makes claims to represent the interests of the user the main focus for the management of trust are the relationships with the purchasers of services. For it is these bodies that make judgements over the performance and trustworthiness of an organisation. In the context of the politics of trust the users of services can be seen as the passive subjects of professional activity while expertise itself is actively engaged in the management of the multiple expectations of purchasers and the state. At the same time expertise and the organisations in which it is embedded are engaged in competitive relations with similar organisations which are seeking to maximise their control over limited resources.

Chapter Nine. Managerialism and Trust.

9.1 Introduction.

This chapter aims to extend the discussion of trust by linking it with a wider

cultural movement referred to as managerialism which Clarke and Newman (1997)

claim is shaping the British State. The intention here is not to provide a critique of

managerialism but to explore common ground between trust and managerialism

within a theme set by Foucault's concept of governmentality. In particular the aim is

to consider the paradox that the practice of professionals has come to be controlled

by managerial priorities while at the same time professionals have taken these

managerial priorities into their discourse and practice. Likewise there is a need to

consider the way in which the 'radical' voices of users have become re-articulated

within managerialist discourse through the incorporation of ideas of consumerism,

participation and empowerment.

The structure of this chapter is as follows, with each section drawing upon

material from the literature and the fieldwork. The first section will explore the link

between trust and managerialism and set this within the context of governmentality.

The second section, which begins with the relationships structured through the 1990

NHS and Community Care Act, considers notions of quality, choice and the impact

of managerialism upon the social construction of learning disability. The final

section focuses upon the tensions between enablement and empowerment.

9.2 Managerialism and Trust.

The link between trust and managerialism is formed in the relationship

between the state and the way in which expertise is dispersed through out the social

fabric in semi-autonomous organisations whose role it is to manage the population.

In the previous chapter both Rose (1996) and Turner (1997) set out the increasing

tendency to discipline expertise or professionals through the use of mechanisms such

as the purchaser – provider split, contracting and compliance. This expertise which

was once directly managed by the state now enjoys a relative autonomy but with the

expectation that it will be reflexive, flexible and be able to anticipate problems and

promote innovative solutions, while at the same time professional activity is subject

to a range of quality and audit mechanisms or systems of distrust [see section 8.2.2].

Managerialism can be described as a distinct set of discourses and practices

that now shape the operation of the welfare state and our experiences of it (Clarke

and Newman 1997). These discourses, of managerial effectiveness, flexibility and

consumer responsiveness have come to characterise the debate over the provision of

welfare services. Clarke and Newman produce a detailed analysis of the rise of

managerialism and its association with a dispersal of welfare activity away from the

state and into the market and the family under the umbrella of community care. This

parallels Rose's (1996) notion of 'government through the community' discussed in

section 8.3. Accompanying this dispersal there is an ever-increasing extension of

state power through the development of delegatory and regulatory mechanisms. This

produced similar expectations to those discussed in the context of trust; in particular

that organisations become reflexive, flexible and innovatory. Clarke and Newman

argue that these conditions come to increasingly resemble the Foucauldian model of

organisational and social governance or governmentality [see chapter five, fieldwork eleven, twelve and thirteen for evidence related to this process of dispersal].

Fieldwork forty: reflexivity and innovation.

The importance of reflexivity was discussed in the context of trust in fieldwork thirty-eight in chapter eight. In this section the aim is to extend this by exploring ways in which expertise, once embedded in an organisational context, becomes reflexive in a self-conscious process of evaluating the organisational position. At the same time organisations set out to respond in ways that can be considered as innovative. The claim that this is a self-conscious process is most evident in the following extract, which was first used in fieldwork seventeen but is worth repeating here.

6:98. "We're up for, we're letting social services know that we're up to.... you know. Changing.... in our indirect care.] ..... [So there's a lot of influences that have brought us to come to the point where, you know, we've got opportunities do we seize the opportunities or do we get stagnant. I think we're going to seize every opportunity we can."

The first theme within this section explores reflexivity and the way in which it becomes related to the performance of organisations. Here the managers of these particular services illustrate the way in which this process of reflexivity is clearly linked to organisational goals. It also enables these managers to identify limitations and to anticipate changes in the types of services that will have to be delivered in the future. The first of these extracts looks forward to future changes while the second extract looks at engaging the local community albeit in a limited way. The third extract identifies both the reliance upon family support in community care while at the same time introducing an element of risk in the recognition that the parent(s) may not always be there.

6:70. "Exactly right, yeah we just feel that we're in we've come ten years on from a massive move into demolishing the old institution building... moving into the new houses which we see today. And ten years on people's you know everything's fine in one sense but there are influences externally that make us rethink business strategies as well as the lifestyles of the residents. And we're at a point where we're thinking again. What will the next ten years bring?"
And.

17:47. "The group is actually known now more than it was initially so the multi-cultural thing to know we're there obviously... even people like social workers know we're there. They can go out and tell people that we're there to access if need be. We have obviously we invite carers when we have a coffee afternoon or celebrate different festivals...and that's really the extent of it at the minute. It's very difficult to know what to put back into the community or for people to be able to do that. We only meet two hours a week, its not as if we're talking about people being together two or three days a week where the opportunity to have a chat. I mean that may be something that the group comes up with."
Also.

10:25. "Yeah, then again I know that we've got about seventy people living with elderly frail parents who are going to need a service. I don't have the money to do it but I know that I need to be planning for those people. So although we're in setting people... to well actually you don't meet our criteria now, you're only, not meeting them because you're being cared for by your parents. So we have to be realistic and say right, if those parents weren't there, they certainly would meet our criteria. So we're sussing in that sort of way."

The second theme within this section relates to innovation and in particular the way in which innovation has become linked to a discourse around partnerships. This focus upon partnerships is clearly evident in social policy directives concerning health and welfare (DoH 1997, DoH 1998). This promotion of partnerships in new or innovative ways of working can be identified on a number of different levels. In the first extract the manager identifies a partnership with the community through the recruitment of 'ordinary families' to community care. The second extract has a similar theme although in this case the use of Community Service Volunteers is

noted. This reflects the points made above (Clarke and Newman 1997, Rose 1996) which relate to the role of the family and the community in managing the population [see chapter six, third and fourth methodological precautions]. At the same time fieldwork twenty-three [extracts 5:28 and 10:33] point to the idea that there are hierarchies of passive non-citizens.

5:4. "Another area that I'm involved in is 'The link Scheme' which is a style of respite care this is administered from (name) House in (rural city). We have a link co-ordinator and her brief is to recruit ordinary families, or ordinary members of the public to the rent and support people with learning disabilities and I suppose ultimately perhaps leading to overnight stays in those individuals houses and that's an area that we wanted to develop because we're finding at the moment that the pressure is really on as far as our respite service ...."
And.
10:33. "Then wherever possible we try to manoeuvre so that if we've got somebody say with quite high needs we might pair them up with somebody with lesser needs. So on the back of the person with high needs, then we can buy a service for somebody who's got lesser needs] ..... [we're looking at shared living between somebody with a disability sharing with somebody who's not disabled. We use community service volunteers its about finding out what people need and finding different ways of meeting that need."
Also.
5:28 "Yeah, they were originally employed through the CSV scheme to be, you know, on the premises on the evening and to give the guys any practical assistance that was needed.] ..... [He's got a job locally and needed somewhere to live so he's living there now paying rent and so he's a housemate to the other guys. So in that effect yes they are equal tenants in their own shared house."

The next extracts identify two further levels in this development of partnerships to produce new configurations of services. In the first extract the local independent sector is drawn upon to produce flexible responses to problem of choice in day services provision.

4:55. "Yes they are. They are more independent. Some are voluntary and some are private sector. In (local city) we have got two, one small service which was set up by an actual individual and it was non profit making and it was more of an arts based service and it only offered a service to twelve people.] ... [We have now in (local city), in the last six months, a private organisation got a tender and they are offering a day service in the south part of (local city) to about thirty people. And they haven't got a base; they are using community centres and again its about people being able to access a service. One of the reasons for that is that they are offering choice......"

While in this extract the manager identifies how they have drawn an organisation from another region of the UK into a partnership over the provision of housing and support.

3:52. ......"who had been involved in major resettlements in the North West, had come up against a lot of barriers to the process, from a legal and all the other different things that surround a successful resettlement. They developed the skills and knowledge to get around the legislation and to access to the appropriate benefits and so on. And what we want to do is rather than us develop those skills ourselves, because we haven't as big a history as an institution here, nothing like some of the bigger institutions elsewhere, was to establish links with them and they have that knowledge to assist us to do that and help us.

However, as this final extract suggests there may be severe tensions between the aims of government and the discursive structure of the independent sector with respect to the 'benefits' of partnerships. This arises in a contradiction between autonomy and partnership especially as autonomy was one of the reasons why people moved into the independent sector in the first place. Partnerships may therefore be seen as technologies within governmentality designed to bring these autonomous organisations under tighter control.

14:52. "Yeah, you've got to go for people who will do it. Many of the people who have taken over I've had to persuade them or they would like people to... I don't know... otherwise it would never have taken off. But the price that many people ask

has been autonomy ... an inability or lack of desire to compare notes and to work in partnership. So all the things are happening once they become autonomous. We can never be any other way, which we didn't want to happen, which is why we tried to create the thing in the first place but rather likely to put credible arguments in putting forward about...."

The discursive structure of managerialism has set itself out as the antithesis of earlier regimes that are charged with paternalism, arrogance and self-interest, a charge that is presently being levelled with some force against the medical profession [see section 8.2.3]. Earlier it was noted (Rose 1996) that professionals had used their position of expertise as a means of resistance, which had brought them, into conflict with both the state and the users of services. This failure to meet the expectations held by the state could be described as a breakdown of trust.

In response managerialism has articulated a range of discourses, techniques and practices that are claimed to produce the basis for the effective governance of public services. That is it has set out to manage expectations by setting managerial governance in opposition to professional expertise. Its success lies in the way that it became hegemonic setting claims for excellence in the delivery of services to consumers, which makes it difficult to express claims that run contrary to its logic. At the same time either accommodating or disarming resistant discourses in a process of 'colonisation' which, produces an apparent unity of interests with a commitment for change with dissent being taken as support for the discredited self interest that typified the old regime.

"In this colonising process, the discourse of change has (selectively) appropriated the dynamic and critical languages of past radicalism: speaking in the name of users (as customers), committed to the 'empowerment' of interests."

(Clarke and Newman 1997: 54).

Fieldwork forty-one: accommodating critical discourses.

In this section a selection of extracts is used to demonstrate examples of the way the managerial discourse of service managers accommodates or colonises radical or critical discourses. The use of reflexivity is again evident in this process. In the first extract the manager demonstrates reflexivity in a process of evaluating the extent to which the organisation is meeting it philosophical claims. The self-critical style opens up a potential site of articulation with more radical discourses while also demonstrating the potential to disarm external criticisms as the service can claim to be recognising its limitations. This can be seen as the colonisation of discourses of hope by those of trust [see section 8.4].

1:121b. ".......and certainly the staff that support the individuals have a very clear understanding that it is about trying to find activities, and I use that in the broader sense, activities for individuals that they enjoy going to rather than because there is nowhere else to go .. er... we are beginning to do that, as I say we are a long way off, we are beginning to do it and for me it's about attitude, ..."

In this second extract the manager is using the purchaser/provider relationship to position himself as an advocate of the contracting mechanisms. In the name of good and responsive services he supports the idea that poor services should not survive. Even though as a provider it is quite possible that it is services within his organisation that are the target.

4:69. "That's right, I think over time, whether you might like to do some work on that. Services in general, er it's come out of the Community Care Act, I don't know.... you not just ours but I think even in the independent sector, I think has become more

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responsive to change. Some of that may be about survival. Because obviously whoever manages it, if you've got a service that is not that good, social workers are not going to buy it."

In this third extract the manager demonstrates a dual approach to disarming criticisms. One arm of this approach is to be reflexive in the way that she accepts the fact that the service may not be the one that in ideal circumstances they would like to provide. However, she then seeks to engage people in a process of accepting that, given these circumstances, this is the best that can be achieved i.e. she attempts to disarm the criticism by managing expectations.

10:23. "We need to know what the service shortfalls are equally we have community team staff, community health team staff who advocate for their clients. And will be saying to us why aren't you providing this, this and this. So we have to say well we can't because we haven't got the resources. We haven't got the money this is the next best we can do. But we need to be realistic about it and say well, right we're going to assess the person. In an ideal world yes, but we're not there, therefore this is good enough but we're conscious that it's good enough. We know that it's not what we'd really like to do but its good enough."

Finally, there is the adoption by services of a radical rhetoric such as that articulated by campaigning groups who would claim that, 'people with learning disabilities are unemployed and homeless'.

1:106. ......"people in long stay hospitals tend to need a roof over their head rather than any care and so therefore they can live in the community with the appropriate support."

Clarke and Newman also argue that this process of accommodation must not be viewed as a simple replacement of the ethos of the professions for a new order of managerialism. Along with the processes of colonisation are processes of accommodation through which professionals learn to work with the market and the

demands of contracting while at the same time making use of the new environment to access resources. This demonstrates a paradox where the activity of professionals becomes increasingly controlled by managerial priorities while at the same time professional expertise and innovation are fused into the idea of professional autonomy. The consequence is that it becomes difficult to make a clear delineation between the discourse of managers and professionals especially in circumstances where the role demands aspects of both. Moreover, this accommodation has maintained the familiarity and authority of professional expertise in the interface between the [welfare] system and the users of that system although this expertise is now increasingly constrained.

Managerialism while managing expectations also enables expertise to defer responsibility via means such as eligibility criteria and targeting. This process sees the intersection of different regimes – of professionalism and managerialism – with professionals seeking decentralisation in order to achieve managerial autonomy although this is likely to be expressed in service goals rather than organisational efficiency. At the same time these authors note evidence for the continuing reliance upon professional knowledge, relationships and trust.

"Older discourses and the subject positions and identities associated with them have not gone away – they linger on not just out of nostalgia, but because specific practices continue to require them."   (Clarke and Newman 1997: 102/3).

Fieldwork forty-two: care planning - the politics of responsibility.

This fieldwork section will focus upon two interrelated themes, which involve the managerial control of care planning and the tendency for professionals to defer responsibility to purchasers. The separation of the design of the care plan from the

process of implementation has produced a set of relationships where there is managerial control of individual care through the purchaser/provider split. However, it is also apparent that there is little resistance from the professionals who manage provider services to this situation if anything they appear to be actively constructing a relationship where the responsibility for major decisions is laid with the purchaser. This suggests that these providers are engaged in a process of managing the level of expectation placed upon them.

In this first theme a series of extracts are used to explore the managerial control of the care plan. In the first extract the manager of a provider service discusses the changes they have experienced where once the assessment and care plan were the responsibility of the house manager but now this has moved over to become a purchaser function. At the same time the purchaser remains active in the monitoring of the care process. The responsibility of the professionals on the provider side of the arrangement has become the implementation of the care plan a more limited role than previously.

2:61. "Depends who you work with. Traditionally the Home Manager has always been the first with the ultimate responsibility, so say we have responsibility to care but with the purchasers now more and more wanting to see quality for money, value for money. We get in Lower Xshire care co-ordinators who are the representatives of the purchases who take a very active role in the development of the care plan. So the actual role of the Home Manager in many ways has been to implement other peoples, or joint decisions. They should get the service, use their families, friends the social worker you get a lot of people devise it, but ultimately the managers role now is more and more the implementation."

In this second extract the manager is quite clear that he expects there to be a properly constructed and costed care plan **before** they will become involved in the care process. There is no suggestion that he wishes or expects to be involved in the

assessment process. The responsibility for assessment is placed clearly with the purchaser.

8:60. "Yes, Yes exactly. We must have a care plan of some sort from whoever employs us whether it County Council or a private individual. We still need some sort of care plan and the care co-ordinator from the learning disability team usually deals with that and will set up some guidelines. We have to have that anyway to be able to tender for the work. Because unless we know the extent of the work involved how can we actually cost to care. But yes that's used as the sort of aims and objectives are taken from that. Even if its just basic budgeting skills or housework skills then these are listed out and worked towards. We have sort of regular meetings with the tenant themselves between the workers and tenants and work out whether things are effective or not and adjust it and manipulate it to suit the individuals."

The third extract from the manager of a purchasing organisation (JPC) emphasises the importance they place upon assessment. In taking managerial control of the assessment the aim is to ensure that it is not limited by what is known to be available. The implication here being that they do not want assessments that are restrained by professionals' own assumptions that they will provide services in particular ways and during restricted times.

10:21. "Well we're saying to make care in the community work, it's no point in having a nine-five service, five days a week. You know, if you need that sort of back up you need it. You need to be able to access it when you can and it needs to be in the right quantity. So things like we're saying its no point in those community teams rationing the service by not making assessments. So if a speech therapist does an assessment we want to find out what the real assessment says not that its an assessment which is founded by what they know is available."

The final extract in this first theme has a manager of a provider service suggesting that this separation of functions with the purchaser having managerial control over the care plan have clear benefits for the person using the service. It

would appear from this extract that the manager is willing to defer responsibility for user choice from professional practice to the purchasing role. This also extends the arms length relationships that exist between the state and the user of welfare services.

1:143. *"The most obvious ones are]... [care managers where just as they currently buy services on behalf of their clients, there is no reason why they couldn't assist the users in making informal choices about service. And then making sure that quality systems are set up, and monitoring, ensuring that reviews take place etc. But the control about how a service is provided and when it is provided is firmly with the user and that is what they pay for......."*

The second theme explores the way in which professionals appear to manage the purchaser function to the benefit of their particular services. The first four extracts highlight the importance of the care plan and the associated processes of quality assurance and monitoring it brings with it. These systems of mistrust work to define the expectations that are being placed upon a service while at the same time they engage the purchaser in making available the resources, i.e. the care co-ordinators, through which this monitoring is achieved. It is also evident that these services prefer the stronger but simpler management process the JPC brings with it in contrast with individual social worker care management.

2:73. *"Yes, you get this bizarre thing where you have some traditional homes and you can have three social workers attached to one home. Where with the consortium (JPC) we tend to get a home and one care co-ordinator which is for communication purposes is wonderful. Though say where you've got real problems in a house and your trying to make decisions, which is what I've got at the moment. I've got one social worker who represents three clients and I've got one social worker who represents one client and that is a real pain."*
And.
7:64. *"Yeah, it does actually. I mean this unit has one co-ordinator attached to it. Whereas in our other unit you can have six different social workers or twelve*

different social workers or however many different social workers. From that point of view it does make it busier yes."

Also.

9:112. "No I think that ...with our registered schemes I think in general were left to get on with it. To be fair with the JPC schemes it's much more involved with their care co-ordinators. I mean, I suppose on the individual basis the care co-ordinators are involved quite a lot... but on the overall basis I think it's accepted what we do and on a yearly basis we'll review the budgets and review...."

At the same time.

1:155. .....and it's the bureaucratic bit which dictates that individuals have care plans, that there's regular reviews, that we provide monitoring report, have contract meetings and everything else. But having said that it is also a way of enabling staff to work towards goals that have been set."

This final extract demonstrates how the care planning system with the purchaser provider distinction enables providers to defer responsibility for service deficits. In the first place these deficits are not within an identified care plan and are therefore not part of a provider contract. At the same time the responsibility to respond to the deficit belongs with the purchaser.

4:53. "Yes, well what we've done on the change we have got going now. We have people from both the purchaser and the provider departments. I would be the lead officer on the compliance side. The purchasing managers would be involved as they have access to the purse strings,...] ..... [And part of that is to do with the unmet needs which we weren't meeting. Managers were getting information back from the social workers about people not accessing our service.... but we were getting information about pressure upon carers and upon day services.... ..."

Managerialism cannot achieve its aims of service efficiency without the co-operation of specific expertise. In many cases professionals have come to take on management identities at the same time as retaining their occupation identity. This produces a field of tensions, in which particular and locally specific alliances are

formed. In the context of the fieldwork the most clearly identifiable alliance is formed between the purchasing organisation (JPC) and the providers who are supportive of the agenda to promote the supported living model of care [this issue will be taken up in more detail in the next chapter]. This can result in these discourses being articulated in both complimentary and contradictory positions.

Fieldwork forty-three: cost versus care.

The most obvious point of tension between the discourses of professionals and managers is articulated around the purchaser provider split. This tension, which takes places within a set of complementary discourses around the aims of community care and the rights of people with learning disabilities to have an independent life as citizens, revolves around the rhetoric of costs versus care. For, while the purchasing organisations claim that they are aiming to promote the highest quality service, the provider organisations accuse the purchasers of cutting costs to a point where this quality care is not possible. In their defence the purchasers argue that they have no choice but to cut costs as their budget is stretched. The providers then accuse the purchaser of awarding contracts to services of a lesser quality. This provides the most obvious point of contradiction between the competing value bases of managerialism and professional practise. It also suggests a clear tension in the discourse of trust.

This first series of extracts identifies some of the tensions over costs. The first three extracts identify the pressures that are upon the budgets of the provider agencies.

12:84. "I suppose yes they could. I think we would then have to look at the establishment of the home and see if there were any adjustments that could be made. But most of the staffing levels are very tight, the budgets are very tight. So the amount of leeway would be minimal I would of thought."
And.

7:177. "Yeah it did, definitely. I think its getting more difficult as times goes by. And that's not just because we've expanded because we have but it's also because of the constraints that are now placed on us. I thought that I would get away from that when I left the health service but slowly its sort of coming back in. You know, like last year we didn't get a pay rise, a rise in fees. The year before we got one and a half per cent. This year we got one and a half per cent."

Also.

9:82. "Now we're stuck at the moment because obviously we're working with JPC as well. So we're stuck at the point where we are saying "we want x amount" and they're saying "well if you've only got y" So ... we're saying we need extra staffing if this is going to happen. And they're saying, "well we haven't got that sort of dosh". So we're stuck at the minute."

The three extracts that follow are somewhat pessimistic about the relationship between care and cost. The first extract suggests that decisions are made on cost grounds while the following extracts are scathing about the values upon which community care is being based.

6:106. "Its a hassle but we do get it and sadly what's happened over the last couple of years is in our bungalow when people have become more frail and so forth they've had to move on to nursing care. And that decisions been made on financial because its free, you know they can go to nursing care. It doesn't cost the consortium anything."

And.

6:110. "All this, you know, about individual care assessment and care management is tosh when it come down to who will pay the bill."

Also.

2:121. "And it's also an abusive culture because you've got people without proper back-up with out proper training and you see that it's wrong, that is wrong, that is not what it's all about. So it's like money coming before values very, very clearly."

These financial pressures are not only being experienced by the provider organisations. In the following extracts the purchaser claims to be the advocate for the client in the process of seeking funds. The distortion of values perceived in the

extracts (from providers) above is not apparent in these statements (from a purchaser).

10:27. "So I have to advocate and battle for money for my client group."
And.

10:29. "I don't automatically get it, I have to battle battle for it. And I mean I've overspent every year. But I have to justify and say well look I have considered this carefully, there's nothing I can do. Here is somebody who has to have a service."

It would appear from this next extract that some providers are more sympathetic to the purchasers in this case suggesting that they (as providers) seek alternative funding sources. Interestingly this comment is made by one of the organisations that could be said to have an alliance with the purchaser and other organisations that are advocates of the supported living model. Also, this organisation's history is outside of the welfare sector. This extract indicates the usurping of professional discourse by managerial discourse for while the former is stagnant in the face of limited resources the latter proposes an innovative solution. At the same time this places the organisation with the purchasers rather than in conflict with them – a potential insider position, a process in which the organisation can be seen to be reconstructing expectations with itself at the fore.

8:26. "But that's still County Council. But the next stage for expansion if you want to call it, that we'll be targeting private individuals. And certainly County Council will be keen for us to do that for it takes the weight of them then. If they're paying for it private they're then not going to apply to the consortium for a funding. So that's going to be helped all around. If we can get one or two individuals doing it that way."

However, the following comment from a traditional independent sector provider is particularly sceptical about the contribution of some of the care packages that have been put together at a lower cost.

> *2:119. ...."but when I see, you know, people like I know one man whose care package is basically, he'll have one staff on one day and one another and the staff sleeps there and the next one comes on the next day. This persons life style really is about going down the pub, he's actually adopting the staff life style."*

The intersection of different regimes can also be seen in more subtle ways in the movement of particular professionals from their traditional bases in the statutory sector into the independent sector through the process of dispersal. Here the discourse of professionals has introduced notions of standards, qualification and accountability to the more locally specific loyalties of the small independent [private or voluntary] sector provider. While the larger independent sector providers come to increasingly resemble either health or social services in terms of their internal structures and personnel.

Fieldwork forty-four: internal specialisation.

In the interviews with the various services it was apparent that the people managing these services held professional qualifications. These were usually either social work or nursing qualifications although one person had a housing qualification (interview eight) and one person did not have a formal qualification but had been in the house manager role for a number of years (interview fifteen). The process of introducing professional and managerial values into small independent sector providers can be most clearly seen by contrasting the different trajectories of two organisations whose origins are similar. These organisations were essentially local parent based organisations that were set up some time ago as a response to the limited level of statutory services. The first organisation has been engaged in an ongoing reflexive process, which has resulted in internal managerial specialisation while the second organisation failed to do this and was forced to merge. At the same time the care planning process [see fieldwork forty-two] has brought into the social

care market a range of systems such as standards and quality monitoring which produce particular forms of organisational and professional/managerial behaviour.

The first section relates to the interview with the manager of a local parent based service that was forced to merge. In the extracts it can be seen that there was both a lack of internal specialisation in the professional and managerial structure. The purchaser saw this as evidence of a lack of expertise within the board of the organisation [see fieldwork seventeen, extract 11:96, fieldwork thirty-five, extracts 11:42 and 11:104 and fieldwork thirty-eight, extract 11:68].

11:42b *"I am a manager and all the rest are hands on care and even I from time to time if we're a bit short of staff or whatever will do a sleep-in here and there or a shift here and there."*

And.

11:44. *"No, I'm personnel officer."*

Also.

11:46. *"I'm health and safety officer."*

While the concerns of the purchaser (JPC) were seen to be.

11:68b. *"One of their arguments would be that what would, if I was to leave, what would happen? There is nobody below me, or if I was to have an accident and be away for an extended period of time. There is nobody below me that can come up, and if you like, take it over".*

And.

11:70. *"Well it's saying what it said to the board is that it is not proactive enough there are problems with regard in its structure and also that it doesn't have a strong enough business element in it. In today's market led atmosphere that we're in we don't have enough commercial expertise on the board."*

In contrast the second organisation responded to the changing social care environment with internal specialisation. It did not face the same fate from the purchaser (the same JPC) and it now finds itself to have an expanding role in the local market. The first extract was used earlier [fieldwork seventeen] but it is reproduced here as it identifies the changing organisational structure. The following

extract then recognises that this structure is subject to continual revision while the third extract suggests that the organisation has a healthy position in the local care market.

6:24. "Yes, and I have a partner here, who... we've kind of got a ... it's an interesting... we've had some changes internally because the organisation a growing quite large and... originally we had quite an old fashioned structure where I was the Manager, then I had an assistant manager and then we had heads of homes. But the assistant manager is we've now got a dualoply really he was promoted and he's responsible, his title is operations. He directly line manages some project but he's primarily responsible for... all the premises. He's responsible for the financial side of the organisation and that site of things. My specialism is I'm care management and personnel and that's kind of how we split the job."
And.
6:36. "Ideally my personal job where I've got care and personnel responsibility as well as strategic and the other bits of planning and staff - those could easily be divided. Even is only by three quarter time posts and (name)'s thinking the same with operations and financial staff and all the other side of the fabric of the place, plus all the other line management that goes on. It's quite a task, I mean the managers at each house have a fair amount of responsibility as well but um..."
Also.
6:90. "So that's another venture... That's quite immediate. There are things that I can't tell you now because they're too highly confidential. But we're certainly talking to Social Services about possibilities of developing something with them - as us as providers."

9.3 The N.H.S. and Community Care Act 1990.

"... various labels for describing aspects of consumerism in Care in the Community can be used. Involvement, participation, self-determination, choice opportunities, power and control are all components of user in-volvement."

(Personal Social Services Research Unit 1987: 4).

The following sections will focus more directly upon the way managerialism has colonised discourses of consumerism, participation and empowerment. These discourses dominate the relations formed at the interface of services between on the one-hand managers and professionals and on the other users and their families. However, these discourses lie within very different traditions and they potentially lead to very different forms of behaviour. There is also the question of trust. For, as seen in chapter eight, the incentive to manage expectations brings with it a tendency to limit the range of possibilities to those, which can be easily achieved. The irony is that reducing expectation may produce trust!

"The process of 'needs assessment' rapidly became an exercise in reducing consumer expectations, as the government's own circulars candidly conceded:"

(Langan 1998:169).

The impact of the N.H.S. and Community Care Act (1990) is complex in that it brought forward new ways of professional working with the advancement of the Conservative Right's market orientated welfare agenda. Beresford et al. (1997) argue that it set up a paradox where the stated intention to cut costs and reduce the role of the state, is linked with a potentially contradictory commitment to make services more flexible and responsive to individual need. The problem is if the majority of disabled people are reliant upon state welfare and this is cut, how are they then going to gain access to the market where this greater diversity of services promised is to operate? These relationships are maintained and extended in the policy agenda of the New Labour government where the 'Third Way' maintains the dominant role of the capitalist market in producing opportunities (Crinson 1998, Lister 1998). At the same time the White Papers related to health (DoH 1997) and social services (DoH 1998)

continue the trends of dispersal previously discussed within governmentality and the focus upon self managing individuals (Blackman and Palmer 1999).

The market approach established with the 1990 act, with its powerful consumerist discourse of 'choice', 'user involvement' and 'needs led services', gave rise to a new form of actor and economic behaviour – the welfare customer as consumer (Beresford and Wallcraft 1997). Rose (1996) identifies this participation in choice and the market as central to the processes of inclusion and exclusion in citizenship [see section 7.3]. Again this is a trend that can be identified in the government paper 'Opportunity for All' (DSS 1999). This welfare customer also aims capture the user within the frameworks of organisational politics as managerialist regimes set out to 'speak for' the customer (Clarke and Newman 1997). One of the central limitations of this consumerist model is that while individuals might be armed with choice they continue to have little power over what is provided in the first place (Beresford et al. 1997, Clarke and Newman 1997) [see fieldwork one for examples of professionals/managers defining needs and services]. At the same time user involvement also has its costs to service users and a tendency to become embroiled in bureaucratic concerns (Bewley and Glendinning 1994, Beresford et al. 1997).

The positioning of choice within consumerist discourse was explored in the context of citizenship [fieldwork twenty-eight]. Here participation was clearly articulated, as making consumerist choices while advocacy was limited to an option within the care plan. At the same time fieldwork twenty-two [extract 1:133] shows choice to be understood in financial terms. Likewise, managerialist discourse is identified in the way participation has come to be interpreted in the context of quality

feed back and resolving service problems [fieldwork twenty-nine, extracts 3:58, 5:76, 8:66].

However, the growth of user involvement is claimed to have had its successes. Barnes and Shardlow (1996) argue that the disability movement has seen user involvement as a mechanism for advancing citizenship. Ward (1997a, 1997b) proposes that user involvement has led to an increase in people with learning disabilities being involved in research related to their lives. While Beresford et al. (1997) and Morris (1997) claim the most notable impacts of the user movement lie in the passing onto statute (almost intact) of the Disability Discrimination Act (1995) and the Community Care [Direct Payments] Act (1996). This latter piece of legislation is seen as offering 'real' power to users as they become 'real' consumers able to employ their own support staff, although not everybody considers the way in which the act is implemented to be entirely positive. For, as Ungerson (1997) points out, the consequences of this may do little more than further fragment and casualise a section of the labour market that is characterised by low paid workers, usually women, often working illegally with little protection and few benefits. A hierarchy of interests that are also apparent in this study [see fieldwork sixteen and thirty-two].

Beresford et al. (1997) argue that located within this debate are two potentially contradictory philosophical positions. One is a corporatist professional/managerial discourse with an established powerbase, the other consists of the ideas, perceptions and experiences of service users, a distinction that is similar to the distinction made earlier between trust and hope [see section 8.4]. Clarke and Newman (1997) note that arguments about being customer centred produced a point of alliance for managerialist and professional discourses as both claimed to have the

interests of the user at heart. The debate is also primed with a number of powerful rhetorical devices. Two of these 'Quality' (Rapley and Ridgeway 1998) and 'Choice' (Barnes and Prior 1995), hold pivotal positions, linking into discourses of empowerment, citizenship, rights, costs and value for money.

9.3.1 The idea of quality.

The debate over quality in welfare services is complex with a range of different conceptions overlapping each other and with different interest groups viewing quality as the territory upon which they can stake their particular claims. A situation Clarke and Newman (1997) refer to the 'politics of quality'. They argue that professionals have seen quality as a site where the assault upon professional values and practices can be resisted. While at the same time quality is central to managerialism's project of constraining professional autonomy [see fieldwork forty-two and forty-three].

Beresford et al. (1997) argue that there have been two dominant approaches to quality employed in welfare services. These approaches, informed by either a business/ industrial perspective or a professional perspective, have serious weaknesses when employed in personal social services as they fail to secure the commitment of service users to an understanding of what constitutes quality. At the same time the relationship between purchasers and providers of services and the users of those services continues to represent a power imbalance. This power imbalance can be observed on three levels; communication [conflicts over language and outcomes]; discourse [managerial efficiency versus everyday concerns] and values [individual impairment versus a social model of disability]. They also point

out that people who have lacked control over their lives need time and determination in order to build up confidence in knowing what they want and trust in the fact that they are being heard.

Fieldwork forty-four: quality.

The evidence from the fieldwork suggests that the discussion of quality has tended to be skewed greatly to reflect the concerns of managers. The main focus for quality is the care planning process, which has brought with it a range of quality monitoring mechanisms [see fieldwork forty-two]. At the same time fieldwork forty-three identified conflict over quality that revolved around the tension between costs and care. In this fieldwork section the aim is to add to that analysis in four ways. The first re-emphasises the monitoring of activity through quality mechanisms in this instance being 'part of things' is considered to be important.

1:121a. In the past we would probably have set up...... um ...... day services or we have arrangements whereby people could go to day services and you know, if they were unhappy there...... well it's ok because the day service can sort it out......that type of approach. Whereas now we tend to support people through a range of day activities, whether that's accessing local resources, going to businesses, going to specialist organisations, going to the shops... but supporting them and being very much part of 'is it working?'] ......"
And.
2:67. "Yes, they have a responsibility on behalf of the purchasers to, I suppose manage and observe they have a monitoring role. They don't just produce care plans they're actually a part of care conferences set up."

The second concerns the role of staff and back up systems to the professional/managerial definitions of quality.

8:5c." Basically... the organisation is very much based on its quality of staff that we provide and support. We insist on having people who are mature in their attitude now.] ......"
And.

10:15. *"But we very much rely on the back- up support of the community health team which are well financed in this area. Because to make care in the community work we've got to have the back-up of a well resource community team and community nurse, psychologist, OT, Speech Therapist because that needs to back up the social care provision and the intensive of assessment service as well."*

The third suggests that some of the concerns of users with respect to their everyday lives such as good quality food and a pleasant warm environment are also part of the agenda [see fieldwork thirty-five, extract 3:5b].

6:46b. *"And when you actually start looking at the quality of life, you know. We provide very nice premises, nice fabric, lovely houses, nice food to eat and all of that side. I think we're by far, compared to over providers. We seem to be rich in that sense and provide good quality.] ......"*

However, it is also evident in the forth theme that service quality concerns may override user quality concerns where there is a tension. The first extract concerned the choice between the availability of a service and a person's need to be near their relatives. While the second extract, from a purchaser (JPC), questions how feasible it is to develop individual services where costs are a primary concern. Here the idea of flexibility suggests that the users as much as the services have to be flexible.

3:13. *"However, sometimes it can be rather more difficult as someone who has got a residential need, a care need which we can actually meet, and if the facility is four or five miles away from where they actually come from, and there is nothing local available at that time, then I think that the overall need for the person to have a good quality of care can override that."*

And.

10:89. *"So we don't want to commission large structures that then look dreadful quite often obviously in a few years time, small, small projects. You've got to look at viability to you know you can't have it so that its so small its not viable. Its about flexibility."*

9.3.2 The dilemma of choice.

Chapters five and six developed a discussion of the importance of the self-managing individual to the development of modern forms of government or governmentality. As noted above Rose (1996) locates the importance of choice with citizenship and an affiliation to a particular moral order. While in a similar way Miller (1993) views the selfish act of consumer choice to be essential to the ethical tension that is central to becoming a self-managing individual. Barnes and Prior (1995: 53-54) have identified the way in which choice has become a powerful rhetorical device within the discourse of welfare.

"Like 'community' or 'democracy', 'choice' has become a term which carries a moral authority making it difficult to question whether, in fact, choosing which service to use is necessarily a high priority for citizens and is automatically a benefit to them. Choice is evoked as a mantra replacing analysis of the circumstances and ways in which people use services and whether choosing has real meaning in such circumstances"

These authors also challenge the notion that choice is always a valued activity as they claim that choice can be anxiety provoking. They draw attention to the contemporary social conditions of the post-modern period, which is characterised by endless social change and uncertainty. In this context the additional uncertainty or risk provoked by having *'no choice but to choose'*, contributes to the growing complexity of daily life. This experience may be unwelcome and disempowering and the anxiety it produces may promote a dependency upon professionals as individuals seek to reduce this complexity.

At the same time there is a tension between personal choices and public goods or services. This arises because public services are a response to collective

rather than individual needs. Public services have also to take account of minorities or unpopular groups such as mentally disordered offenders. Barnes and Prior (1995) identify a number of key questions in the evaluation of choice. They claim that it is the way in which these combine in particular circumstances that will influence whether choice is experienced as empowering. Choice can be positive or empowering where there is no coercion, where services are predictable, frequent, are of significance to the person and the user has meaningful participation. In the context of trust these criteria represent situations where complexity and risk are reduced and expectations managed (Luhmann 1979, Giddens 1990). Alternatively, choice can be experienced as disempowering where there the user experiences a lack of information, has little influence over the service and no confidence in the delivery of that service(s). At the same time a lack of experience or skill in making choices (informed consent), making choices in crisis situations or when choice creates a dilemma that people feel unable to resolve compound this experience. Barnes and Prior argue that these situations provoke anxiety through increased complexity, risk and uncertainty.

Fieldwork forty-six: choice.

Issues related to choice have been raised at a number of points in this discussion, fieldwork twenty-eight identified how user choice was often set within consumerist discourse. There is also the central issue of who makes choices available. For while the purchasing manager [fieldwork forty-two, extract 10:21] makes it clear that availability should not constrain choice it is also apparent that providers have to manage the range of choices they offer.

8:72. "Yeah, We could have loads of extra work now...If we we're minded to actually move into that area. But I don't want to do that, that would dilute what we're doing...

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and we can do it just by ordinary sort of organic growth really and just do it naturally."

At the same time this next extract suggests that choice becomes compromised where demand outstrips availability.

4:73 "So that's why we have different bases and different types of services and what we try to do is to match people appropriately and it's still difficult. It's still difficult because basically there is a demand we don't have lots of vacancies around."

Likewise it may be the managers of services rather than the users who now have a greater range of choices.

4:71. "And they have got the money you see. The social worker, the purchaser, they have got the money. They are not going to buy it .... they might find that easier to do in the independent sector .... um ..... but they do it in our sector as well. You know ... I think that we are becoming more spontaneous... We are becoming more economic, we are getting more information were are service is not very good and not very appropriate."

The idea of choice becoming a problem for some users of services is highlighted in the next extract.

15:79. "No no he had attended the Day Centre for many years. The problem was that there was lots of different things going on and lots of you know maybe gym in one room, drawing in another and that was too much. There was too much choice for the person and the person found it very difficult and opted out. So mooched around, wandered around."

Finally there is the complexity of making choices. In fieldwork five [extract 6:90] the issue of 'preserved rights' was raised. This produces a complex dilemma where a person may wish to move on to a different placement but to chose to do so may threaten their financial situation. At the same time fieldwork forty-five [extract 3:13] suggests that some people may have to chose between receiving a service

and living near their relatives. In this final extract the manager explores the difficulty users have in making choices especially when they are unaware of what is possible.

17:32. "Its on going yeah, and it very. We've tried it a number of times and it is a long process because people are very good at saying about things they're happy with. But it's more difficult to say about things they're not happy with. Also people aren't aware of other possible options, sometimes they know what's going on and what there is and to just describe a different situation, it's quite difficult for some people to conceptualise really."

Barnes and Prior summarise their position by contrasting choice with trust. They acknowledge the desirability of choice at the individual level in aspects of personal care such as when and where the service is available, the gender and/or race of the carer may be highly desirable. They also consider as desirable choices over services and involvement in the process of service delivery. However, they argue that rather than choice, public administrators should focus upon building public confidence and trust thus reducing the potential for anxiety.

"This implies that, at the point of consumption, values such as confidence, security and trust may be more appreciated by users than the opportunity for choice. Policy-makers and service managers would be better engaged in ways to build public trust, rather than to seek ways the artificial and potentially disempowering goal of choice." (Barnes and Prior 1995: 58).

9.3.3 Managerialism and services for people with learning disabilities.

Rapley and Ridgway (1998) explore the impact of corporatist/ managerialist discourse in services for people with intellectual (learning) disabilities. They argue that this has seen the 'user' orientation of discourses of normalisation becoming colonised by discourses of consumerism. Although as Chappell (1992) argues these discourses of normalisation were already colonised by professional discourse. This

has produced a rhetorical commitment to 'quality of life', a theoretically and morally

charged device that operates as a 'regime of power' structuring both the social world

and the place of people with intellectual disabilities within it. Similar issues have

been explored in Chapter five [fieldwork six and seven] which focus upon new

positions 'the citizen-tenant' and new identities.

Rapley and Ridgeway describe a process of colonisation that has resulted in

subtle but important shifts in both terminology and imagery in social policy. Here, a

previously homogeneous and dependent group 'people with a mental handicap' come

to be reinvented as 'individual consumers' of community services within a 'mixed

economy' of care. They highlight this shift by reference to a statement by the then

Health Minister and his emphasis upon people with learning disability as citizens.

"Furthermore, Dorrell legitimates, by virtue of the stress on the theme of
consumerism, a view of service users as customers, as 'citizens', and also validates
the explicit deployment of the themes of the corporatist discourse in the rhetoric of
the psy-complex."   (Rapley and Ridgway 1998: 461).

This managerial approach to the consumer as citizen is also evidenced in the

policy statement *'Social Care for Adults with Learning Disabilities'* (LAC (92) 15)

and the trend of the 1990s in a Kings Fund (1999) paper *'Learning Disabilities: from*

care to citizenship'. Rapley and Ridgway also note that 'care' has undergone a

transformation within this managerialist discourse loosing its social intimacy and

becoming objectified as a product that is to be managed. At the same time the

colonisation of normalisation by managerialist discourse constructs the person with

an intellectual disability as having subjective desires. However, people with learning

disabilities are positioned within a social context in which they are portrayed as

impaired shoppers who are able to purchase to meet their needs from a range of

welfare providers. In this construction the individual has a responsibility not only to

consume but also to contribute to the common weal. This brings together in

managerialist discourse what Miller (1993) describes as the two contradictory themes

of citizenship - private desire and public duty which produces the ethical

incompleteness that is central to the self managing individual [see chapter seven].

9.4 Empowerment: Issues, tensions and conflicts.

The remainder of this chapter will explore the idea of empowerment with a view to

raising the question of whether professional practise can be empowering?

Empowerment is an idea that has become colonised within managerialist discourse

with the result that the often contradictory positions of users, professionals and

managers all articulate claims of promoting empowerment. Clarke and Newman

(1997: 52) provide the following analysis.

*"Terms which once appeared to belong to radical vocabularies and progressive
ideologies have been re-articulated into competing ideologies. The trajectory of the
term 'empowerment' is indicative of this process. Once it appeared to be an essential
element of the new social movements – expressing conceptions of inequality and
forms of oppression which necessitated collective action. Subsequently, it has
entered the political and organisational discourse of transformation – articulating
the projects of empowering the consumer-citizen, front line workers, and managers
themselves. Similarly, the demands for greater diversity in social welfare provision
(and employment) emerging from positions outside of the universalistic norms of
post-war welfare have come to be spoken for by consumerist and managerial
languages which claim to 'value', 'respect' and 'enable' diversity – albeit in limited
and individualised forms."*

The claims for empowerment can therefore be seen as originating from a complex array of sites although it should be noted that many of these discussions take place without any clear conceptualisation of power (Gilbert 1995).

9.4.1 Empowerment: The badge of professional credibility?

Raymond Jack (1995a) and Beth Humphries (1996) identify the importance given to claims of empowerment and its assumed status as a good thing. These take place in a context where there are demands for a greater business like efficiency combined with increasingly scepticism about the claims of the profession's to represent the clients' interest (Jack 1995b). One of the central problems in the empowerment debate is the way in which it has become located with discussions over professional practice. In this 'care' becomes the activity of professionals, which ignores the fact that 'others' undertake the majority of care i.e. individuals, families, self-help groups (Jack 1995a). This also provides a distinction between the limits of personal and impersonal trust.

This 'context' is also one in which the overarching ideological or discursive structure of the social environment is essentially one in which the prevailing attitudes are structured by what Williams (1993) describes as a racially and patriachically structured capitalism. Therefore the spaces in which individuals or groups can explore their own empowerment are spaces which have been produced through this discursive structure (Humphries 1996).

At the same time, Rose (1996: 348) makes a clear link between the growth of claims for empowerment and the development of techniques of government. He

points toward new forms of practice, which are targeted against individuals who lack

the cognitive, affective, social or practical skills for effective self-management.

"Empowerment, with all its emphasis upon strengthening the capacity of the

individual to play the role of actor in his or her own life, has come to encompass a

range of interventions to transmit, under tutelage, certain professionally ratified

mental, ethical and practical techniques for active self management."

9.4.2 Empowerment: The problem of definition.

Empowerment as an idea is one that has a particular popularity at this time

(Humphries 1996, Parsloe 1997). It is also an idea that has a range of meanings and

one that defies a single definition. Jack (1995a) suggests that this is because different

individuals and groups experience oppression in different ways and therefore one

single definition would in itself be oppressive. Adams (1990) observes that

empowerment involves individuals and groups taking control of their lives and

working towards their own goals at the same time empowerment effects people in

different sectors of their lives such as home, work and relationships, while Brown

and Ringma (1989) point out that empowerment cannot take place outside of

interpersonal and community relationships. Moreover, Carabine (1996) argues that

people have multiple identities and therefore empowerment may not mean the same

thing for people in different contexts. At the same time empowerment has to be seen

as dynamic with both positive and negative features (Hess 1984).

Finally, Rappaport (1981, 1984) defines empowerment using both subjective

and objective criteria. Here a sense of control has to be matched by actual control.

Therefore empowerment may be easier to define in a negative sense especially as

both the outcomes and processes of empowerment are specific to individuals and

relative to their social circumstances. He argues that to understand empowerment we need to identify the conditions under which people report a sense of control. Jack (1995b) argues that the common usage of empowerment has seen it associated with two situations. The first is where individuals or groups take control of their own affairs while the second refers to a process where professionals (or others) use their power to allow others to act. This leads to a fundamental confusion for where the former might be understood as empowerment the latter is more accurately described as enablement.

"Professional practice designed to promote involvement and participation can be enabling for service users and there is some empirical evidence that such practice is likely to be more effective in meeting the mutually identified goals of users. However, involvement and participation are misleadingly described as empowerment in which process professionals have a more limited role." (Jack 1995b: 15).

Parsloe (1997) suggests that in social services empowerment is often used to describe something that the worker does to the user. She points out that any situation in which a worker *'gives'* power to a user may actually be disempowering as any *'gift'* creates an **inequality** until that gift is repaid. Mullender and Ward (1991) propose that for professional practice to be empowering requires a value base that recognises the personal as political.

9.4.3 The potential of self-help.

The attraction of empowerment is that it carries a moral imperative towards independence and away from dependency, which connects with governmentality and the incitement to self-manage (Miller 1993, Rose 1996, Turner 1997). Empowerment is articulated in the contemporary discourses of both the political left and the political

right (Adams 1990, Jack 1995b, Humphries 1996). At the same time claims of

empowerment can be found in the discourses of apparently contradictory movements

such as those arguing for greater consumerism in welfare services or alternatively for

increased user participation and user control. Adams locates this with the long

tradition of self-help in British welfare, which is strongly linked to philanthropy and

nineteenth century attitudes towards the deserving and undeserving poor.

David Brandon (1995) identifies the self-help movement as a traditional and

major strand of peer support in the U.K. with thousands of examples up and down

the country. He suggests two reasons why people become engaged in groups. The

first involves an attempt to conform to the norms of society to resolve deviant

behaviour. The second involves challenging those norms in order to change the rule

that leads to his/her marginalisation. Brandon argues that the strength of these groups

lies in the fact that the participants all share a core experience of disadvantage and

oppression. Likewise Matzat (1993) suggests that the participative processes of self-

help have particular benefits such as; reduced depression, increased self-esteem,

increased contacts, increased coping skills, a more highly developed insight and a

more selective use of services. This idea is similar to that of 'social capital', which is

promoted within communitarian models in areas such as 'public health' and which

has found its way into government policy (DSS 1999). Gillies (1997:16) provides

this description.

"Social capital is produced within communities through activities as diverse as
taking part in group meetings, exchanging childcare with neighbours, being involved
in neighbourhood watch schemes and voting – activities which we know build trust in
neighbourhoods and in society at large."

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9.4.4 The concept of empowerment.

The argument so far has demonstrates that the idea of empowerment raises a number of difficulties in definition and application. Keiffer (1984) argues that empowerment is limited by conceptual ambiguity and he develops his conceptualisation through the notion of synergy. He proposes that collective activity has the potential to produce an added benefit, a position similar to that of social capital. At the same time he is sceptical of the idea that professional practice can be empowering as those in power have a tendency to create dependency through the creation of reliance upon their expertise and knowledge. Other writers (Gillespie-Sells and Campbell 1991, Brandon 1995) also note the tendency of professionals to socialise people into dependent roles a situation that may be compounded through the complexity over choice [see section 9.3.2 above].

In taking a socio-political focus for solutions to empowerment there is a rejection as inadequate the perspectives of those such as Rogers (1979) who focus upon psychological solutions to oppression while ignoring structural processes. The need is to develop an understanding of the naturally occurring helping systems that emerge in families, communities and other social networks (Rappaport 1984, Beigel 1984). This understanding may then lead to more meaningful alternatives for those who do not fit in than the limited options developed by professionals. There is also the paradoxical nature of problems in community life as there is often more than one solution with alternatives lying with contradictory positions (Rappaport 1984).

9.4.5 From powerlessness to empowerment.

Kieffer describes empowerment as a *"Multidimensional participatory competence"*, (1984: 9). Empowerment is an interactive and highly subjective relationship between the individual and their environment. Powerlessness, on the other hand, is seen as trapping the person in a cycle of victimisation and self blame characterised by an expectancy that their own behaviour will not, and cannot, effect or determine access to the resources or opportunities they desire. Moreover, they cannot protect themselves from the ongoing experience of marginalisation and discrimination. The result of powerlessness can be seen in the feelings of alienation, distrust, exclusion from social and community resources, and economic vulnerability.

However, empowerment is not achieved by merely recognising feelings of powerlessness and oppression. Rather, it is conceived as a long-term process involving the acquisition of political skills and insights. This developmental model has particular implications for empowerment working as it set out the level of commitment required. Kieffer (1984) describes a four-stage process through which people move to gain participatory competence. This process begins with a sense of personal violation, which causes the person to begin to challenge their oppression. This then continues with the development of relationships and the acquisition of political knowledge and skills. The final stage relates to a search for viable and personally meaningful ways of applying the skills and awareness gained through the developmental process.

This movement from powerlessness to empowerment requires practical strategies, which can be used to promote this transition and provide some basis for

working by professionals. The idea of social technologies relates to a range of replicable activities that work to increase the knowledge and skills of the participants. These skills which promote political activity can be found in processes that raise political awareness and develop leadership skills. They also need to reflect the values of the participants (Fawcett et al. 1984).

Another set of important strategies is linked to the sense of personal violation. These relate to self-definition and the process of rejecting externally defined and controlling images. Price (1996) points out that 'identity' is dependent on what is external to it, a binary logic that sets identities such as 'disabled' against 'ablebodied', with the latter being the privileged term. Challenging this oppression involves the oppressed in the development of definitions and a history, which privileges their voice. It can involve stories, art, literature, music or poetry, or other forms of creative expression that challenge externally imposed self-valuations. Patricia Hill Collins (1990), discussing Black Women's empowerment describes the importance of such activities. Examples relating to the experiences of people with learning difficulties can be found in the anthology 'Know me as I am' (Atkinson and Williams 1990).

Fieldwork forty-seven: enablement or empowerment.

The distinction made by Raymond Jack above between enablement and empowerment is particularly useful when exploring the discourse of professionals and managers. This is because it enables a distinction to be made in relation to a complex and diverse range of activities. The idea of enablement also fits well with the proposition of opportunity contained in social policy documents (DSS 1999) as it relates to the development of platforms where individuals, families and communities

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are seen as equal in respect to their access to opportunities. This would contrast with a distinct agenda to promote empowerment.

In the fieldwork sections there have been a number of references to working in an enabling way and these issues all have important consequences for the individuals concerned. For example the supported living model [fieldwork four, extracts 1:59 and 10:11, fieldwork seven and extracts 1:129 and 8:10] is promoted on the basis that it enables people with learning disability to be the same as other citizens. It also provides a platform where they cannot be moved around on the whims of professionals or managers [fieldwork nine, extract 3:19]. Or, alternatively it may enable people to move on when they have outgrown their present surroundings [fieldwork thirty-eight, extract 15:61]. At the same time professional practice can be enabling as it promotes independence from parents who might be anxious and over protective [fieldwork one, extract 4:29].

In this series of extracts there are three further examples of enablement working. In the first extract the manager is reflexive about creating environments that are less oppressive than those that these individuals formally lived in.

1:61. ....." we are a long way off users taking control, being citizens in your words, or having that ability to dictate how their lives and wishes will be met. Nevertheless the philosophy is right, I think, and we are working towards creating environments for individuals that can be regarded as supported living or shift power."

This second extract looks at the importance of enabling people to socialise in particular those (men) from rural areas.

5:6. "Because for many people, particularly in rural areas they're going to be stuck out in (area) villages often with a elderly carer, very little opportunity, perhaps to meet their mate or go for a drink or to do some kind of leisure activity or sport.] .. [it opens up all sort of opportunities and over the years they like coming to (name) House because we let them go to the pub in the evening and they see their mates and they might go to the pictures or, you know anything else that's happening...."

In this third extract there is the issue of being enabled to participate in the range of decisions a person makes in their daily lives.

12:104b "....... But I've been in several places where people are really trying to help residents, as you say negotiate being involved in life decisions, life skills and life transactions. From just common courtesy within the house to going and pay the rent, to being involved in cooking, being involved in going out and choosing what you want to buy. Choosing what you want to wear, rather than 'that's OK, we'll make that decision'."

However, in these next two extracts there is an example of a service that could begin to meet a number of the criteria set out for empowerment working. In particular the development of a particular identity and participation skills.

17:45a. "...........Also that we're going to start doing now is a newsletter that AWAZ the service users themselves are going to do with support from the staff but they will take the lead role in it. And two service users in particular are more independent who will be able to take on more responsibility with it and then that newsletter then goes out to different units and hopefully to the community as well that they'll be able to let the community know about things that are happening and things that are going on."
And.
17:67. "I think it's both. I think people felt very much that they went to this group and they had ownership over it. They would come back and still do talk about things that they did at AWAZ and that they worked with this different person who's there to work with them. I think it give, I'm sure it gave a lot of people a real feeling of self worth and pride that they were involved in this group. Because other people who are non-Asian aren't involved in it."

This final extract suggests that there is further potential for development with the advent of the 'Direct payments' legislation.

1:139. "Well no, partly because direct payments act only came in April and started off for people with physical disabilities, it does include people with learning

disabilities but that's going to happen through out this year. But it is about local
authorities as purchasers relinquishing some of their control".
And.
10:103. "Well, somebody can opt to say I want the money directly to myself. If
you've got a physical disability you may be able to manage it completely yourself.
You employ your carers, you do everything yourself, money comes to you. If you've
got a learning disability it probably can't come to you directly. If you set up a trust it
can come to the trust and then the administrators, the trusties will administer it. You
employ the people, in a way, which was flexible in a way, which you want to do. Not
in a way which was under the constraints of a local authority."

9.4.6 Ethical considerations for empowerment strategies.

The choice of empowerment as the goal of professional practice has

important consequences for practitioners, those they seek to empower and the

community. The empowerment process involves costs and benefits. It requires a

careful consideration of a number of interconnected, complimentary and

contradictory outcomes at a number of different levels i.e. psychological,

interpersonal and political. For example community empowerment may require

individuals to relinquish some degree of personal control. Alternatively, increasing

the capacity for individuals and groups to take control over their lives may lead to the

capacity for the entire community to take one action weakened. Fawcett et al, (1984)

identify the need to evaluate empowerment strategies on ethical terms. They argue

that the choice of goals and strategy is one of philosophy and ethics and drawing

upon the work of Warwick and Kelman (1976), they suggest four dimensions as

essential to the evaluation process;

• The choice of empowerment goals.

• The selection of targets for empowerment.

- The choice of means to achieve empowerment.

- The analysis of the consequences of empowerment for the targets, the change agents and society in general.

This fourth dimension is the critical dimension as ultimately the ethics of a particular empowerment strategy rest upon the balance of its consequences for the targets, change agent(s) and society. An ethical strategy must have the targets rather than the change agents as the main beneficiaries of empowerment with a lessening of the dependence upon professionals. However, within the context of managerialism and trust it can be argued that major beneficiaries are the managers and professionals who claim to be working in empowering ways. Moreover, they warn that the consequences for society are that empowerment may weaken integrative values and norms.

9.5 Summary.

In taking governmentality as the core theme this chapter has extended the discussion which has been constructed in the previous chapters. The contemporary focus upon forming partnerships, which is set out in social policy, can be identified as the emergence of a new technology of governance. This places particular conditions upon the operation of the semi autonomous organisations operating in welfare, especially those in the independent sector. The potential of this technology around forming partnerships is that it can limit the autonomy of these organisations through making them work collectively. Moreover, this is achieved without the direct involvement of the state.

At the same time the relationship between managerialism and trust has been explored primarily through the way managerial discourse has colonised professional practice. The key point of convergence between these two discourses is the need to manage the expectations of a range of stakeholders. These include the local and central state, collaborating organisations and the users of services and their carers. The process around which these discourses converge is that of care planning which has brought with it a range of managerial technologies such as specification, contracting and compliance as well as technologies such as audit and quality monitoring. This in turn has led to the increasing specialisation of managerial roles within organisations with particular consequences for organisations that fail to instil confidence or trust in their managerial capacity.

This process of care planning is also the site for the tensions between professional practice and managerialism to be exposed. A conflict that is most easily seen revolving around the dichotomy between costs and care in which the alternative value bases of professional and managerial discourse become exposed and it is here that the tensions in the discourse of trust become most apparent. The process of managing expectations, especially expectations related to financial imperatives and individual conduct structures the relationship between the state and welfare professionals and managers in a way that has particular consequences for the users of services, for users often have a limited appreciation of the alternatives that are possible. However, their relationship with welfare professionals and managers is one that is designed to maintain these limits and therefore constrain expectations within acceptable parameters. This limiting of expectations can be seen as justifiable by

organisations that are seeking to manage their core business and not to over stretch their resources.

However, this limiting of expectations takes place against a background rhetoric of choice, empowerment and opportunity. This means that to manage expectations managerial discourse will need to increasingly manage the contradictions between the hopes of users and the restrictions on resources. This may see more organisations attempting to move outside of the traditional funding structures as suggested by the manager in fieldwork forty-three, extract 8:26.

Chapter Ten. New Wave, Pragmatists and the Old Radicals.

10.1 Overarching themes.

The preceding five chapters have investigated the discourse of professionals involved in the processes of care planning. This exploration of the micro-politics of welfare has built a picture of the local field of operations both in terms of the range of organisations involved and in terms of the possibilities produced for those subject to these relations of power. The intention in this chapter is to move away from the close interrogation of professional discourse to a more holistic reading looking for patterns and issues that emerge when the text is considered as a whole.

The analysis of inter-discursivity has so far produced a number of examples where differences in the 'orders of discourse' surrounding citizenship, trust and managerialism produce divergent outcomes for those subjected to its effects. We might consider the following examples. Section 5.3.1 and fieldwork four highlighted the different social status produced for people with learning disabilities in the supported living model in contrast with the more traditional model of residential care. Section 8.4 and fieldwork thirty-nine explored the contradictions between the discourses of hope and trust where, from the perspective of users, the latter may frustrate the former. At the same time section 9.2 and fieldwork forty-three set out tensions in the orders of discourse between managerialism and trust where responsibility becomes contested around issues of costs and care.

The making of holistic readings was discussed earlier [section 4.6.4] as part of Mason's (1996) framework for the analysis of qualitative evidence. In the first part of the chapter the themes of power, citizenship, trust and managerialism are used

as tools in an overarching exploration of the text for patterns in the 'orders of discourse' that remain largely invisible in the more detailed explorations. This holistic approach is used to identify local variations in the 'orders of discourse' that enables services to be organised into three distinct categories which are described as *New Wave, Pragmatists and the Old Radicals*. This is followed by a section that draws upon this holistic reading to identify the process of change to the discursive structure – or orders of discourse – of an organisation, a process Clarke and Newman refer to as accommodation. The final section then returns to the question of an organisational typology.

10.2 New Wave, Pragmatists and the Old Radicals.

The section sets out to develop the three categories referred to above in section 10.1. However, before setting out on this discussion it is important to note that these categories remain tentative and specific to the organisations involved in the study. At the same time some organisations fit more neatly into a category than other organisations. Moreover, there is the danger in developing categories that the impression is created of a fixed and stable set of relationships. The purpose behind developing categories is to highlight a pattern in the relationship between different discourses which suggests that the differences seen in the 'orders of discourse' are not purely accidental, although the intention here is not to theorise about the causation of these differences. This caution about the tentative and specific nature of the typology is consistent with Watson's (2000) observation that the effects of social policy need to be understood as partial, specific and local, while Clarke and Newman remind us that the processes of accommodation create a dynamic of change.

The points upon which this comparison is developed are set out in detail in section 10.3. For the present the concern will be with the identification of the categories and the basis for the descriptors developed for each category. These descriptors aim to capture the positions that organisations hold in the local field of operations located around services to people with learning disabilities, which provides the context for the politics of trust. One issue that appears to be particularly significant to this positioning is the point in time at which an organisation entered the social welfare environment. Essentially this relates to whether the organisation was operating before the implementation of the NHS and Community Care Act 1990 or whether it came into existence following the act. The effect here is that those organisations that have been established to exploit the provisions of the act [referred to here as *New Wave*] appear more comfortable with the competitive environment than other organisations.

The first of the three categories of organisations is described as *New Wave*. This descriptor is used to highlight the way these organisations promote themselves as offering a different set of outcomes for the people they support in contrast with the more traditional models of residential care. There is a philosophical commitment to the 'supported living' model and its potential to produce the 'citizen-tenant' and an embracing of the 'market' in social welfare as a means of promoting change. This category includes the organisations represented in interviews, one, eight, ten and sixteen and it involves two NHS social care organisations, the Joint Purchasing Consortium (JPC) and a housing management agency. This group also represents the closest thing to a formal alliance seen within the local care planning environment with the JPC at the centre promoting the model through the contracting process [see

fieldwork two]. In comparison with the other two categories the organisations contained here are all relative new comers to the provision of welfare services i.e. they have come into place since the passing of the NHS and Community Care Act. However the professionals involved may have been working in health and welfare services for a lot longer.

The organisations contained in the second category are described as the *Pragmatists.* The descriptor is drawn from the pragmatic rather than philosophical approach of organisations in this category to providing support to people with learning disabilities. This pragmatism can be seen in their position towards the supported living model where, influenced by the *New Wave* organisations, they have embraced the model, but for the practical rather than philosophical reasons, as it enables access to different sources of financing. Included within this category are the traditional public sector providers of services directly managed by NHS trusts or the Social Services department and the County Registration and Inspection Office (interviews three, four, five, thirteen and seventeen). These organisations also demonstrate a particular approach to change where this pragmatism promotes a dual approach of change and conciliation [see fieldwork fourteen] with a focus upon managing the expectations of parents and carers. Of those organisations involved in the study they are the longest serving participants in the social welfare environment.

The third category is given the descriptor of *the Old Radicals* and it is made up of *organisations that are essentially antagonistic towards the supported living* model [or in the case of interview fourteen the Changing Days project]. The descriptor is drawn from contradictions these organisations are experiencing in a social welfare environment, which they first entered as a reaction and a response to

the failures of service provisions that became a public concern from the 1970s onwards i.e. as a radical alternative. An environment in which these organisations now find themselves increasingly marginalised as the *New Wave* and *Pragmatist* organisations, for different reasons, promote the 'supported living' model through the competitive tendering process. This marginalisation arises due to the model of care offered by *the Old Radicals* being considered as paternalistic and dependency creating. This category is formed by independent sector charitable providers and housing associations that entered the welfare environment prior to the 1990 act (interviews two, six, seven, nine, eleven, twelve, fourteen and fifteen), a number of which originate from parent led movements (interviews two, six, twelve and fifteen).

10.3 Developing the model.

As identified above the model was developed from the themes of power, citizenship, trust and managerialism. This section uses these headings and related sub headings to emphasise how the organisations have a different discursive structure. In constructing these categories, importance is attached to the overall discursive structure of an organisation and the points of difference and similarity it shares with other organi.. .ions. The table page 279-281 provides a summary of the key points of difference between the three categories of organisations.

10.3.1 Power.

Within the theme of power the issues of distinction between the three categories revolve around three key areas, the definition of needs, the model of service provision being promoted and the nature of the identity produced for service

users. The first point of distinction lies in the emphasis that each places upon issues in defining the needs of people with learning disabilities who they support. The *New Wave* organisations emphasise the problems experienced through having the stigma of the label 'learning disability' and the experience of discrimination [see fieldwork one, extract 1:131a]. This contrasts with the somewhat more paternalistic orientation of the *Pragmatists* who, while also acknowledging the problems of stigma and discrimination, tend to take the standards of accommodation and meals to be primary factors when defining needs [fieldwork one, extract 4:29 and fieldwork thirty-five, extract 3:5]. However, with *the Old Radicals* the paternalistic theme is much more pronounced with the protection of individuals from abuse a major factor. The implication is that this abuse will be perpetrated by paid carers rather than by members of the community, as can be seen in the following extract.

2:30. "Nothing is ever swept under the carpet, it goes into a proper system people know that abuse is not acceptable. I don't actually mean physical abuse or mental sexual abuse, it can be not allowing people to choose what television station, what's on, that is a form of abuse, there's mental abuse as well so I work very hard to a culture that is against that and I believe that if you've actually got that culture it actually works, the rest of it starts to follow. And staff who may have been 'iffy' staff will leave if they know the culture will not accept them."

This paternalism can be seen with other factors that might lead to stress or abuse, financial issues are a part... .lar concern.

12:94. "........Some residents, some people are quite able to handle payments and can take the concept that something that's been agreed. Something that they've entered into, something that is a part of normal living you would do. There's some people with the best will in the world who can't grasp that concept at all and will often have enormous problems with money in that respect. And if you're asking

people to pay over several hundred pounds at a time I don't know how realistic that is..."

The second point of distinction relates to the model of service provision being promoted for people with learning disabilities. Here both the *New Wave* organisations and the *Pragmatists* are promoting the supported living model although the reasons for this show a different emphasis. The *New Wave* organisations show a clear commitment to the potential of the model to produce an independent citizen [fieldwork six, extract 8:16b and fieldwork seven]. Whereas the *Pragmatists,* while acknowledging the improved status of individuals, tend to focus upon the advantages of being able to maximise other sources of income [fieldwork eight, extract 3:17 and fieldwork twenty-seven 4:23]. In contrast *the Old Radicals* show little enthusiasm for this model seeing it, as something of a scam. In particular there is a view that the basis of the tenancy agreement is not sustainable and their commitment is to improving the traditional model of residential care [fieldwork twenty-four, extract 2:87]. There is also the belief that the model is merely a cheaper option.

9:172. "...... I suppose in a way I was concerned about going down the non-registered route [supported living model] because, how can I put it. I felt at one time it was going to be cheaper option again, for the consortium to go down that route because you could use the housing benefit.."

The third point of distinction surrounds the identities being promoted for people with learning disabilities. The *New Wave* organisations are actively promoting the idea of the citizen-tenant who has clear rights and responsibilities and who is supported to be a responsible citizen. Included in this is the formation of a private space [fieldwork three, extract 1:69, fieldwork six, extract 8:16b and fieldwork

seven]. The *Pragmatists* and *the Old Radicals* are concerned to promote the rights of individuals but in a protected way [fieldwork, fourteen, extract 5:3 and fieldwork twenty-two, extracts 3:5a and 2:131]. Although as noted above the *Pragmatists* accept the supported living model where *the Old Radicals* do not.

10.3.2 Citizenship.

In the second theme, citizenship, the key points of distinction between the three categories concern issues of social status, the relationship with the community, issues of obligation or responsibility and issues around participation. The first point of distinction concerns the social status produced for individuals with a learning disability. Organisations in all three of the categories articulate the idea that people with learning disabilities should be the same as everyone else, however they tend to mean different things by this assertion.

The *New Wave* organisations locate this 'being like everyone else' with access to the same benefit platform as other members of the general public needing housing and unemployment benefits. This position includes a clear rejection of an alternative benefit status exclusive to people with learning disabilities symbolised by the residential care model. As noted above [section 10.3.1] this status also includes the active production of a private space within the home protected by the legal rights surrounding tenancies. At the same time there is an assumption that this model brings with it a degree of financial independence which is central to the status as citizen [fieldwork twenty-two, extract 1:133], although this independence is from the local authority. A situation that will develop through the provisions of the 'Direct

Payments Act' [fieldwork forty-seven, extract 10:103], as the following extract indicates.

1:133b "But let's go back to the direct payments. That doesn't make people financially independent but it does make them, or it does give them an ability to make choices about how to spend their money."

In contrast to this more radical position both the *Pragmatists* and *the Old Radicals* tend to limit the idea of 'being like everyone else' to the use of community facilities such as shops, pubs and other amenities. However, there is within the *Pragmatists'* discourse a recognition that the tenancy and the provision of a legally protected private space does enable people with learning disabilities to resist attempts to change their living arrangements without consent [fieldwork nine, extract 3:19]. Using Taylor Gooby's (1993) distinction the position achieved by individuals supported by *New Wave* organisations resembles the description of a captivity culture for while there are achievements in terms of citizenship there remains an exclusion from paid employment. In contrast the position produced through the other two forms of organisation resembles the description of a dependency culture.

The second area where the three categories show key differences is in their interpretation of citizenship this concerns the relationship between individuals with a learning disability and their community. The position adopted by the *New Wave* organisations can best be described as private and individualised. The focus is upon supporting individuals so that **they** can use community facilities and find work. There is no discussion of activities, which involve people with learning disabilities on a collective basis, nor are there any attempts to create specific pockets of community activities for the people they support. The position of the *Pragmatists* is

somewhat more ambiguous for while they promote the supported living model the discourse surrounding it is less strident in its individualism. At the same time there remains an underlying paternalism and there are some, although limited, interventions based upon collective needs e.g. using respite services to enable people to meet and socialise [fieldwork forty-seven, extract 5:6] or the development of the service for Asian users [interview fifteen].

However, the position of *the Old Radicals* is very different with organisations showing examples of how they have actively intervened into the community to create work or leisure opportunities. In contrast with the other two categories *the Old Radicals* demonstrate a clearly collective approach to the relationship with the community. Although this relationship is largely structured between the organisation and the community rather that any of the individuals for whom they provide a service [fieldwork twenty-four, extracts 6:128, 11:114, and 11:116 and fieldwork thirty-one].

Parallel to this relationship with the community is a set of issues linked to the idea of obligation or responsibility with the differences identified here mirroring those discussed above. In the case of the *New Wave* organisations the obligation of the individual is to themselves and others through the idea that they should act reasonably [fieldwork twenty-four, extract 1:129b and fieldwork six, extract 8:16b]. The *Pragmatists* retain the somewhat ambiguous position of looking for individuals to act reasonably while maintaining the paternalistic stance of taking responsibility when things go wrong [fieldwork thirty-five, extract 5:48 and fieldwork four, extract 3:39]. In contrast *the Old Radicals* actively set out to construct a range of obligations across the local community providing services to other disadvantaged groups such as gardening for older people [fieldwork twenty-three, extract 6:114] or clearing snow

[fieldwork eighteen, extract 11:9] or, to the general public at a subsidised rate as in the case of the park tea-rooms [fieldwork thirty-one, extract 15:134], activities which become fixed within a rhetoric of 'giving something back'.

The final area for consideration in relation to citizenship is located around issues of participation. Taylor (1996a) makes the distinction between active forms of participation such as collective self-advocacy and essentially passive forms of participation such as consumerism. The fieldwork demonstrated that all three categories of organisations promoted consumerism as the central means through which people with learning disabilities exercised choice [fieldwork twenty-eight]. However the attitudes to advocacy differed, not so much in terms of whether the organisations supported advocacy but in terms of attitudes about who made suitable advocates and the role of advocacy in the lives of people with learning disabilities.

The *New Wave* organisations have adopted a position where the role of parents and relatives as advocates is actively rejected through the claim that they were likely to be biased [fieldwork thirty-five, extract 8:66b]. The implication is that parents were less likely to take risks and enable the individual to make a more independent lifestyle. These organisations are active in seeking the views of the people they support although this was perceived more as a quality feedback mechanism than as a political activity [fieldwork twenty-nine, extract 8:66a]. The *Pragmatists* maintained a strong commitment towards obtaining the views of both users and their parents/carers. The general attitude being that parents/carers had a right to be involved and that the organisation respected their concerns. However, again the emphasis was upon managerial concerns such as managing change and/or conflicts [fieldwork fifteen, extract 3:60 and 4:49]. There is also the idea that

advocates should be 'reasonable' and temper their demands through recognition of limited resources [fieldwork thirty-nine, extract 3:58]. *The Old Radicals* had a slightly different position for while there was not the overt attempt to manage the voice of parents, as there was with the *Pragmatists*, the recognition of parent concerns was clearly implicit. This probably arises as the origins of *the Old Radicals* lay in parent led organisations and therefore a need to develop strategies to manage the parent/carer voice would not have emerged. However, there were examples of individuals from these organisations being involved in collective self-advocacy although this was external to the organisation and therefore has little or no impact upon its functioning. The tendency was to view this activity as part of the care plan [fieldwork twenty-eight, extract 15:67].

10.3.3 Trust.

This next section concerns variations between the three categories around the theme of trust and it focuses upon three key areas; the general method of operation, the use of systems of distrust and the views held of workers. With respect to the general method of operation the *New Wave* organisations take a particularly individualistic approach with the key focus for managing expectations being those of the purchaser through the delivery of the contracted care plan for a particular individual [fieldwork forty-two, extract 8:60]. The second focus for managing expectations relates to a national campaign organisation, Values into Action (VIA), a member of which provides a consultancy for both the housing management agency and the purchaser (JPC) [fieldwork thirty-five, extract 11:42]. The manager of the housing management agency describes the situation.

8:5d. "...... and I contacted (name) at the point and said... look, can you act as consultant for me so he did and continues to do so three to four years later. So we've got this specialist national knowledge there.. because he's a trainer and everything else. I sat down and worked out some philosophies as to how we would approach the whole thing and we very much emphasised the need for individualising everything."

The *Pragmatists* operate in a more complex way managing the multiple expectations of diverse range of groups such as parents and carers, local communities and specific minority interest groups e.g. the Asian user group in interview seventeen [see also fieldwork fifteen and fieldwork thirty-five, extracts 5:12, 17:73, 4:47 and 5:6a]. The management of this diverse range of expectations can seen in the dual approach of change and conciliation which has been highlighted previously. In contrast *the Old Radicals* tend towards collective approaches where they take over a person's total life within the operation of the organisation. These organisations can be seen to struggle in their acceptance of expectations from individuals or agencies outside of the individuals, which they are directly supporting. This can be seen in their general antagonism towards the contracting process and the role of the purchaser (JPC) [fieldwork two, extracts 9:120 and 11:120].

The second area where differences can be identified between the different categories relates to systems of distrust. The *New Wave* organisations set out to establish their own systems and they are very deliberate in their intention of avoiding the existing systems linked to residential care such as Registration and Inspection, and local planning regulations [fieldwork four, extracts 8:18a and 10:43]. One manager puts the situation in the following way.

1:59a. "The other thing is that generally it is non registered although one could argue that you could provide a supported living environment within a registered

home, it's a bit difficult but, registration brings with it a whole bunch of rules and regulations which generally in a supported living environment you wouldn't have."

The *Pragmatists* are divided between health trusts and the social services department where each has different commitments. However, in either case there is an acceptance of the established processes of monitoring such as Registration. Any systems that are developed are used to supplement rather than replace those that already exist. In the following extract the Registration Officer provides a disinterested (see Giddens section 8.2.3) but sceptical view of the supported living model.

13:39. "The independent living movement is a very positive. There is a down side, which is that they are removed from inspection. And this doesn't apply in Xshire where we are, lucky with the providers we have involved with independent living. However, they can be very exploitative. I would support in fact the Housing Federation, is supervising some kind of change to inspection and registration of schemes...."

The *Old Radicals* adopt a different position as they actively support the Registration system relying upon the Registration officer for advice [fieldwork thirty-six, extract 2:123 and fieldwork thirty-seven, extract 12:76]. At the same time they exploit this relationship with Registration as evidence of their trustworthiness while casting doubts upon the trustworthiness of those promoting the supported living schemes [fieldwork thirty-five, extract 2:117]. Moreover they use the question of preserved rights as a point of resistance to the movement towards the supported living model [fieldwork five, extract 6:90a] with the claim that they are seeking [can be trusted] to maintain the best financial position for the people they support.

The final area under the theme of trust relates to the view organisations have of their own employees. This can range from staff as a problem to staff as an asset or alternatively, to staff as the potential source of abuse. The *New Wave* organisations appear to consider their employees as a potential problem as they may be the carriers of alternative discourses surrounding the role and identity of people with learning disabilities. In particular these employees may not respect the citizen status, the private space or the promotion of the self-managing individual [see fieldwork three, extract 1:69 and fieldwork sixteen, extracts 8:5 and 16:88].

In contrast the *Pragmatists* consider their staff to be something of an asset with one organisation tempering the pace of implementing change through a concern not to alienate its staff so that they might leave [fieldwork thirty-two, extract 3:39b]. In this following extract the organisation considers its staff as a key resource for promoting change. This can be contrasted with a comment [fieldwork sixteen, extract 16:88] from a house manager in a *New Wave* organisation where the mass exodus of the staff group was welcomed.

4:33. "It was quite hostile - no way are you going to close this etc. That was the sort of attitude coming over, not coming over from everybody but the voice there. And its about, with all the staff doing it and staff are key to this because they have a much more of a working relationship with the carer."

The Old Radicals provide a more ambiguous picture, for staff are rarely mentioned and when they were, they were seen as a potential source of abuse [see section 10.3.1, extract 2:30].

10.3.4 Managerialism.

There are two key areas for discussion under the theme of managerialism these concern the respective positions of the three categories of organisations towards competitive tendering and partnerships. With regards to competitive tendering the *New Wave* organisations can be identified as being subjected to the discourse [see section 5.2.2 and fieldwork three], appearing comfortable with the conflicts produced within the tendering process. The celebration of the process can also be seen in the use of rhetoric and metaphor with claims of 'creating a market' [fieldwork two, extract 10:7] and the 'winning' of contracts.

1:23. ".....All of those services have been won through a tendering process, the majority of them are of a result of the resettlement of people from the (long stay hospital).

The impression of a conflict is also seen in the use of the rhetoric of 'fighting and battle' which emerges in the discourse used by the *New Wave* organisations when discussing aspects of care planning [see fieldwork six, extract 8:16b]. The JPC manager provides the following description.

10:29. "I don't automatically get it, I have to battle battle for it. And I mean I've overspent every year. But I have to justify and say well look I have considered this carefully, there's nothing I can do. Here is somebody who has to have a service."

This conflict is also assumed to have potentially positive outcomes, which is apparent from the following extract.

16:86. "I would imagine because the (organisation name) were sort of, you know ceasing to function yeah and then put the place up for tender if you like...... Not cheapest solely, but cheapest with a good plan yeah. And that's what (Company Name) Care came up with .... So, I don't know sometimes residential care it's just quite boring isn't it? You plod along – you've no goals but now we do want to

achieve this. I would imagine that's why this happened because it – the company who took over made that plan, sold it to the joint purchasers because that's just the way it goes."

The *Pragmatists* are best described as subjected by the discourse as they are more than reluctant participants in the tendering process but they remain less that convinced by its claims [see fieldwork forty-one, extract 4:69], also the following extract.

3:43a. ...." you may invite people to bid, but there you have got an existing service you have to be careful as you can cause major anxieties and often competitive tendering isn't always the best way to achieve the best service."

In contrast *the Old Radicals* appear alienated from the process. They have no commitment to the tendering process and as yet they appear to have experienced few gains but have encountered losses in the process. These include failing to win contracts when they have entered the tendering process and being forced to review both their organisational rules and the way they operate if they wish to compete. A housing association manager makes the following observation.

9:120. "But I mean for us we work so well with (NHS Trust) as I said we got all the schemes up and running. The tender process in some way got in the way. We moved thirty-two people out of (long stay hospital) within nine months to start to finish at the planning process at least. Some other tenders have got much more than that from the start to finish."

The consequences of the tendering process for one *'Old Radical'* organisation was that it spelt the end of its existence [fieldwork two, extract 11:120, see also 11:86 above]. At the same time there is the suspicion that tendering is used

as a device to force the price down reducing the quality of services [fieldwork forty-three, extract 6:110] another manager makes a similar observation.

2:51. "........and it's all done in a very nice way where everyone's happy with the clients have made the choice. But the reality is the choice is actually made by money not by their rights or their ability to make that choice."

One particular issue that arises here is the tendency among *the Old Radicals* to have a collectivist view of how to provide services to people with learning disabilities. This contrasts markedly with the individualistic approach of the *New Wave* organisations. This collective view is also apparent in the way finances have been approached within these organisations, the shift towards having to account for individual care plans is causing problems where traditionally there has been a block budget [fieldwork twenty-four, extract 9:142]. A point highlighted by a manager in the following description.

2:79. "Yes it depends how it's funded. I've got one where.... I mean from our point of view it's absolutely a nightmare. If one service user, who has the 40%, needs to leave, wishes to leave we've got a heck of a problem. Where on the old model it doesn't matter so much for one to leave as we just bring somebody in the fund stays the same. So we could end up with extra staff who we are actually not funded for. So from our point of view that's not good..."

The second area under discussion in this theme focuses upon partnerships. The discourse of the *New Wave* organisations contains little reference to partnerships and where the term partnership is used it is reserved for the relationship between the organisation and the individual client they are contracted to support. However, it would be accurate to describe the relations between the different organisations that advocate the supported living model as an alliance with the housing management

agency (interview eight) and the JPC (interview ten) providing the core. This is more than an informal relationship with the housing management agency having the expertise to construct the supported living model from the labyrinth of housing and benefit legislation, while the JPC had the opportunity to promote the model through the tendering process [see section 6.6 for the discussion of Foucault's fifth methodological precaution].

8:5. "..... and they [the purchasing consortium] were more looking for somebody to sort of expand that out to ordinary housing if you like even to people with severe learning disabilities. So I said I've never really dealt with care staff as such and my expertise is more in housing rather than pure social type work... so I thought about it for a moment and then I didn't do anything about it. But then I was asked again and I thought that perhaps there's something in this and when I thought about it. We actually have already got the management and administration set up because we've already been running for seven or eight years at that point as a property management company, providing housing to all sort of people. Mostly private sector but also to people through special circumstances."

The *Pragmatists* show a different interpretation of the idea of partnership for there appears to be a marked inequality in the nature of partnerships these organisations form. In particular these partnerships are usually produced through the *Pragmatist* organisation engaging in some form of contracting or tendering process. The targets of the partnership are often independent sector organisations where the purpose of the arrangement is to provide a form of safety valve, which occurs when the *Pragmatist* organisation is unwilling or lacks the resources to provide a particular service or alternatively, where the intention is to promote change [see fieldwork eleven, extracts 3:23 and 4:63 and fieldwork forty, extract 4:55].

In contrast *the Old Radicals* demonstrate a reluctance to become drawn into partnerships. One explanation put forward is that these organisations are very protective of their autonomy [fieldwork forty, extract 14:52]. The following extract confirms this suggestion.

6:104. "Its evolved, I think people are very nervous about getting into partnerships. But, in fact now they're nervous about owning property it kind of comes full circle for (organisation name) itself, very nervous about risking something. So certainly the trend is for somebody else to worry about where the money's coming from on the build and use the premises. It took (organisation name) a little while to latch on and be comfortable with that."

10. 3 .5 Comparing the key criteria for the categories of *New Wave, Pragmatists and Old Radicals.*

The discussion so far has developed the typology by looking at the three categories of organisation as they compare and contrast across the themes used in the study. This section organises and summarises the key points of comparison and the significant issues identified into a single table that produces a visual representation of the orders of discourse in each of the organisational types. The table also enables the quick comparison of the three organisational types.

Table one. A comparison of the key criteria for the categories of New Wave, Pragmatists and Old Radicals.			
	New Wave.	**Pragmatists.**	**Old Radicals.**
Power.			
Definition of need.	Remove stigma and fight discrimination.	Remove stigma and provide good accommodation, meals etc.	Protection of clients from abuse. In particular the abuse of paid carers.
Model of service provision	Supported living model with a commitment to produce an independent citizen.	Supported living model with an interest in maximising sources of income.	Residential care.
Identity of service user.	Citizen-tenant with clear rights and responsibilities. This includes the formation and recognition of a private space.	Promoting rights but in a protected way.	Promoting rights but in a protected way. Licence is considered as good as the tenancy.
Citizenship.			
Social status.	'Being like everyone else' a status achieved through sharing the same benefits platform as other members of society. This involves a rejection of a special status as a consequence of learning disability. Captivity culture (Taylor Gooby 1993).	'Being like every one else' refers to the use of community facilities and a level of participation in the local community. Tenancy stops services from moving people without consent. Dependency culture (Taylor Gooby 1993).	'Being like every one else' refers to the use of community facilities and a level of participation in the local community. Dependency culture (Taylor Gooby 1993).
Relationship with community.	Private and individualised.	Less strident than New Wave organisations in the promotion of a private and individualised relationship. There is evidence of interventions into the community on a collective basis.	A collective approach with organisations actively working in the local community to create leisure and work opportunities. Users become dependent upon the organisation for their participation in community life.

Obligation and responsibility.	Users have an obligation to themselves and to act responsibly.	Ambiguous position expectation that users will act responsibly. However, the organisation continues to take responsibility when things go wrong.	Organisations set out to construct a range of obligations with the local community providing services to other disadvantaged groups.
Participation.	Passive (Taylor 1996a) through consumerism. Advocacy through service feedback systems. Rejection of parents and carers as advocates due to assumed bias.	Passive (Taylor 1996a) through consumerism. Involved in taking the views of users and carers in a strategy of change and conciliation. Advocates should be 'reasonable' and temper demands in the light of available resources.	Passive (Taylor 1996a) through consumerism. Origins as parent led organisations appear to have led to strategies of user/carer involvement being underdeveloped. Examples of involvement in collective self-advocacy although this was external to the organisation providing services.
Trust.			
Method of operation.	Managing expectations with the purchaser around an individualised care plan. Use of a national campaign organisation as consultants to both purchaser and provider.	Managing the expectations of a diverse range of groups such as users, carers, communities and minority interest groups. Use of dual approach of change and conciliation.	Collective approach with a person's whole life constructed within the operation of the organisation. Resistance to expectations from outside agencies especially purchasers.
Systems of distrust.	Development of own systems with a deliberate avoidance of statutory regulation i.e. registration and inspection, planning permission.	Use of established processes of either the health authority/ trust or of statutory registration and inspection. New systems supplement rather than replace existing systems.	Active support for the use of registration and inspection with this relationship promoted as evidence of trust. Open challenge to the supported living model on this aspect.

Views of workers.	Workers as a potential problem as they may carry alternative (paternalistic) discourses about people with learning disabilities.	Workers as an asset whose views and sensibilities have to be taken into account in the process of change.	Little discussion of workers and where this does take place staff are considered as a potential source of abuse.
Managerialism.			
Attitudes to competitive tendering.	Positive attitude to competitive tendering. Evidence of rhetoric based around conflict e.g. winning, battle.	Participate in competitive tendering but not convinced that it is always appropriate i.e. acknowledge strengths and weaknesses of the process.	Generally alienated from the competitive tendering process with few gains since its introduction. Sceptical of the benefits considering it to be aimed at achieving lower prices with consequences for the quality of care. Collective approach to budgets.
Partnerships.	Term partnership tends to be preserved for relationship between the organisation and the individual service user. Evidence of an alliance between organisations that promote the supported living model.	Actively promote partnerships with independent sector organisations. A particular use appears to be to provide a safety valve for the Pragmatist organisation. Inequalities in the partnership as the Pragmatists place the contract.	Reluctance to be drawn into partnerships as this is perceived as limiting autonomy.

10.4 Processes of Accommodation.

As noted in section 10.2 the construction of the categories described above is done with a degree of caution for while this process can help to highlight overarching themes that remain hidden in the closer analysis of the material in the study, it is important to remember that these categories remain tentative and specific to the organisations involved in the study. One danger in developing categories is that the impression is created of a fixed and stable set of relationships. A second danger is that the development of categories might imply allegiances between organisations where none exist. This can be seen in the fieldwork which produced evidence of allegiances in just one category and then this mainly concerned two organisations (see the discussion of partnerships in section 10.3.4).

However, drawing on Clarke and Newman's (1997) discussion of accommodation it is possible to identify processes of change in the 'orders of discourse' as the effects of power penetrate the discursive structure of organisations bringing about changes in the material practices of that organisation. In this way particular combinations of discourse and practices become hegemonic, a position that can be associated with the *New Wave* organisations and the 'supported living model' in this study. The penetration of the discourse of 'supported living' into organisations shapes the nature of the discourse and practices of that organisation producing a shift in its discursive structure. This contributes to an emerging consensus around the benefits of the 'supported living' model. However, it needs to be remembered that the 'orders of discourse' that are proving to be hegemonic are dynamic and therefore also subject to change creating the potential for further tensions and divisions [fieldwork forty-three, extract 8:26].

This process of accommodation can be seen in the way the managerial approach of the purchasing consortium (JPC) is coming to be accepted by organisations particularly *the Old Radicals* who have been quite hostile to the way it has exercised its influence through the tendering process. The clearest example of accommodation relates to the development of 'care co-ordinators', a role the JPC has introduced as a mechanism to monitor the care planning process. This is acknowledged by organisations to have simplified the process and to have real advantages over the individual Social Worker case management approach [fieldwork forty-two, extracts 2:73, 7:64 and 9:112]. At the same time it is possible to identify one particular organisation among *the Old Radicals* where the process of accommodation is having a profound effect. This can be seen in the way it is behaving reflexively, actively seeking to reposition itself within the social welfare environment through letting it be known that it is seeking to change [fieldwork seventeen, extract 6:98]. This also links to the core theme of governmentality for as Rose (1993, 1996) notes expertise has become embedded in a range of semi-autonomous organisations with the expectation that it will be innovative, reflexive and able to anticipate change while at the same time these organisations are disciplined through mechanisms such as competitive tendering and commissioning [see chapter five].

In considering the process of accommodation the importance of the discursive structure of the organisation and its effects in the production of individual identities and possibilities should not be underestimated. This can be clearly seen when comparing the discourse of two managers who are discussing the provision of a service to the same group of individuals in the same house. The only difference is

that the interviews are separated by a few months during which time the organisation providing the service has changed with an *Old Radical* being replaced by a *New Wave* organisation.

The first series of extracts are taken from the interview with the manager of the *Old Radical* organisation. Here he is discussing the potential impact of the JPC's intention to change the status of the home from being a nursing home and to move towards the supported living model. The first extract concerns the apprehension of both the manager and the staff that the JPC is underestimating the needs of the individuals living in the home which, in their opinion could be detrimental to their welfare.

11:84c. "....So certainly they [the people with learning disability living in the house] *all know about it but without any obvious ... In terms of the staff group, well obviously people have different interests. There is certainly a lot of apprehension. There are certainly a lot of concerns of which I share, maybe not to their extent. I think they're more concerned than I am, that sort of, if we were to go down that road the amount of support that would be given to these people is detrimental, particularly in you know, not always in terms of their ability. Maybe this person has the ability to only have a much more domiciliary support. Although it would need to be quite a lot of that type of support but that you have x amount of people that choke, don't digest their food properly. You have people that don't cause a disturbance during the night, but who do wander around, you know this type of thing. You do have that thing where you have people who want to stay up at night. So therefore how late do you have to have somebody there to switch off and how do you put in if there is an emergency. How do you put in, if you don't have a sleep-in person. All these sort of things which I agree with them that the clients that we have do not as yet have the ability and maybe never will have to be able to deal with that."*

In this second extract this same manager questions the validity of the assessment upon which the proposed changes are based.

*11:86c. "Because to a certain extent the Joint Purchasing Consortium and ...
(organisation name) are really going by the (consultant) report. Now (consultant) is
one person with his ... his own opinions. He spent 45 days with us and in that time
he did a needs-led assessment for 15 people plus a report on the company. Well,
you work that out, that's less than, even if you take away the report on the company.
That's three days per person, that's writing it up as well and all the other bits that go
into it. So therefore the amount of time he spent with each person is fairly limited.
So to then make a judgement, a sound judgement on somebody's ability to cope
with such a fairly radical change. I would suggest doesn't have the understanding
and knowledge of that person and individual."*

The picture that emerges from these extracts is of a concerned group of staff
and a dependent group of people whose needs are being underestimated to the extent
that this may prove to be detrimental to their wellbeing. However, in the second
series of extracts a different picture emerges for here this same group of individuals
is seen as having been held back in a dependency situation, protected and cared for.

*16:82a. "No, not at all they have in a sense I mean, they've gained a lot more skills
in the last six months because they've been expected to the last fifteen years they
weren't. They were cared for and they were told what to do. They were told when
to do the washing. They had the ironing done for them, it just seemed like stupid
little things. They always had their lunch made for them. They never cooked, they
did a lot of cleaning but it was just token really, do you know what I mean. "Yeah,
you can sweep the floor love, you know. And I'll come and do it after you straight in
front of you. Do you know what I mean it was that sort of rubbish really. Not rubbish
people thought they were doing the right thing at that time. But the people living
here are capable of far more."*

At the same time the view of the staff group changes from one where they
have genuine concerns to one where the staff are a problem.

*16:88. "Yes that's been difficult for them. They also had a massive change of staff
at that time as well. Which helps – cleared out a lot of people who had been here*

for a long time and people who are very sort of dictators those sort of people went. It's difficult still for the residents and us, it's the whole concept of cause and effect. If you know what I mean of taking responsibility for actions and living with consequences."

One issue of interest that emerges from this comparison is that these two managers come from the same professional background. The marked difference in their discourse appears to be linked to the organisation within which they are embedded, a trend that was observed throughout the fieldwork although not in such a pronounced way. That is, from the fieldwork, the differences in the discourse of people from different professional backgrounds i.e. nursing, social work etc, largely disappear when the category of the organisation is taken into account. This trend, if repeated elsewhere has implications for social policy as multi-disciplinary and inter-professional education and training are being actively promoted as a means of overcoming boundaries in the provision of health and social care (Barr et al. 1999, DoH 1998, 2000).

In making the suggestion that the discursive structure of organisations may be of significant importance to the development of inter-professional and inter-agency working it has to be acknowledged that this observation emerges as a side issue from the study. For this was never the focus and therefore it did not set out to study the differences between different professional groups. However, it would appear that the high goals of inter-professional education (Barr et al. 1999) are likely to be frustrated if it were found that organisations engage in multi-disciplinary and inter-professional education and training with other organisations with similar discursive structures.

10.5 Summary.

The holistic reading of the evidence from the study suggests that the discursive structure of an organisation – the particular orders of discourse through which the social practices of the organisation are organised, is central to the analysis of power relations. Inextricably linked to this analysis is the understanding of the options and identities produced by organisation for those it claims to support. At the same time this holistic reading enables the identification of similarities and differences between organisations in a way that has allowed them to be grouped into a three-way organisational typology of *New Wave, Pragmatists and the Old Radicals*. The development of this typology has been identified as tentative and limited to the organisations included within the study. However, this in itself is not a problem for the influence of Foucault's work in the development of the study assumes the importance of the micro-politics of a particular context in contrast to approaches that focus upon the macro-politics. At the same time Watson (2000) notes that the outcomes of social policy differ from context to context and therefore the effects of policy need to be understood in partial, specific and local ways. This can be most clearly seen in section 10.3.2 which identifies the different possibilities and meanings produced around citizenship by organisations in the study.

The proposition that the effects of social policy are partial, local and specific suggests that while organisations elsewhere will develop practices that demonstrate the material effects of discourses embedded within social policy (Lewis 2000) the particular orders of discourse within and between organisations will depend upon more specific historical and social relations [see section 10.3.1]. A particular issue within this study was whether the organisation was constructed to exploit the

arrangements established by the NHS and Community Care Act. Here these specific relations have produced a situation where one particular model – the supported living model – has become hegemonic although other models such as residential care remain prominent. This links with Clarke and Newman's (1997) observation that the effects of policy are not uniform but show an uneven and fragmented development. The process of accommodation discussed in section 10.4 shows one aspect of the dynamics of process of change and implementation.

Finally, the proposition that the discursive structure of an organisation may be an important factor in the exercise of power can be linked with the observation made by Beechey and Donald (1985) that Foucault in his later discussions was moving away from the totally fluid conceptualisation of power that characterised his earlier work. They argue that he was moving towards a position where it was possible that power could become located about particular social configurations such as the state and classes. In this sense it would reasonable to argue that if power is exercised through social practices then organisations, as they represent concentrations of social practices may also represent concentrations of power. This would mean that an understanding of the discursive structure of an organisation is essential to the understanding of power relations within a particular field of operations such as social welfare.

Chapter Eleven. Care Planning and the Politics of Trust: Conclusions.

11.1 Introduction.

This final chapter aims to provide an overall summary of the study by bringing together the themes that have emerged across the chapters. The study was undertaken in a very particular context provided by the care planning processes designed to support people with learning disabilities in one English County. It set out to explore the proposition that professional activity or the activity of expertise purposely aims to manufacture trust in a very specific form, a trust that is impersonal and therefore not reliant upon any one individual. The production and maintenance of this impersonal trust is not benign, as it has been shown to function as a commodity within the competitive relationships that surround the processes of care planning. Trust is claimed, contested and lost within this environment with material consequences for organisations, professionals and the individuals they set out to support - hence the politics of trust.

The analysis of this context and its social relations has drawn upon insights provided by Michel Foucault and others that have developed the concept of governmentality. This has enabled the exploration of particular local circumstances to be placed with wider questions related to the management of populations and to the role of expertise in the surveillance of conduct. This links with the issues raised by Barton (1996) that research concerning disabled people should not be merely descriptive but hold the potential to change social relationships [see section 3.2.1]. In this context the study will contribute to the understanding of the power relations and

politics involved in the production of particular categories of individuals, the material outcomes of policy and an exploration of professional interests.

The approach adopted in this study aims to make a contribution to knowledge in three ways. The first contribution is linked to the discussion developed by Lewis et al. (2000) under the title *'Rethinking Social Policy'* and in particular Watson's (2000) point that the consequences of social policy need to be identified in their partial, specific and local effects. The second contribution is directly linked with the first with the concept of governmentality drawn upon in a case study of the micro-politics of a particular and local context of welfare. The third contribution was to develop a discussion of the way professionals worked to produce trust and to link this with governmentality.

The study explores professional discourse through four themes: power [politics]; citizenship; trust and managerialism. The first two themes politics and citizenship are developed from the concerns of disabled writers explored in chapter two. The third theme trust, was developed from my own interest in Klein's (1980) treatment of loyalty while managerialism was drawn upon to explore the rhetoric of choice, quality and empowerment found within professional discourse. The analysis of professional discourse through these themes has enabled a number of insights that will be summarised in the following sections of this chapter. These insights also enabled a holistic reading of the evidence to produce the organisational typology described in chapter ten. This typology suggests that the discursive structure of organisations – their particular 'orders of discourse'– is of particular importance to the understanding of power relationships which produce particular categories of individuals and develop particular opportunities while closing off others.

11.2 Issues of Politics, Citizenship, Trust and Managerialism.

The aim of this section is to summarise the themes and insights drawn from the four themes that provided the structure of the study. As noted above the identification of politics and citizenship as themes came from their identification as central issues for disabled people by disabled writers. Chapter two also identified the tensions within the social model of disability that saw professional practice being influenced by mid-range theories of stigma and normalisation while disabled people were seeking to articulate their social experience through materialist or post-modern theories. This tension was accommodated within the methodology employed in the study by having the professional discourse developed from the fieldwork interrogated by the critical discourses found in published works in either books or academic journals.

The methodology was also influenced by the adoption of Michel Foucault's conceptualisation of power to explore the politics of the relationship between professional workers and the disabled people they claim to support. This choice brought with it two concepts that became central to the study. These were governmentality as the means of understanding the relationship between the state, professional expertise and the users of services and secondly discourse as a representation of social reality and the means of identifying the effects of power. The adoption of an approach to discourse analysis developed from Foucualt's conceptualisation of power produced the structure of the main part of the study [chapters five to nine] where the formal critical discourse found within published works is brought into contact with the discourse of professionals from the study.

11.2.1 Power and politics.

Chapters five and six develop the understanding of power and politics that are used in the study with the first chapter identifying a number of concepts central to the understanding of governmentality. Rose (1993, 1996) sets out the basis for understanding how the present environment of welfare has been produced. This involves the way in which the relationships between the state, professional expertise and the users of services has been reconstructed through the fragmentation and dispersal of the welfare state into a range of semi-autonomous organisations disciplined by market mechanisms such as competitive tendering. The role of expertise is to manage conduct and to identify risk, which brings with it moral authority based upon the power to define needs. The issue of particular importance here is the development of the citizen-tenant with particular expectations over rights and responsibilities.

The second chapter develops a case study of the micro-politics that surround care planning within the specific and local context of services for people with learning disabilities within a single county. This chapter is based upon an application of Foucault's five methodological precautions in the analysis of power and it demonstrates the way in which the web of power circulates through a range of organisations and individuals drawing them into a particular field of operations. The effects of power are demonstrated as individuals, workers, organisations and communities become targeted drawing in techniques originating in practices related to banking, housing benefits, housing markets, local shopkeepers and the local gym into the process of care planning.

The final methodological precaution draws out the relationship between knowledge and truth. Here knowledge generated from the practices that underpin the activity of welfare professionals, for example in the promotion of the supported living model, is circulated becoming further embedded through processes such as tendering, standards and auditing. This truth then becomes part of professional training and education, which is then re-articulated through professional practice.

11.2.2 Citizenship.

Chapter seven takes up the second key concern identified by disabled writers – citizenship - with the discussion being set against a background where influential public bodies such as the Kings Fund (1999) are claiming that people with learning disabilities have finally achieved recognition as citizens. However, citizenship is identified as a problematic concept combining elements of private concern [the civil] with collective concerns [civil]. This is linked with Miller's (1993) discussion of governmentality and the self-managing individual to demonstrate that while citizenship can represent gains for a social group it can also be understood in the context of techniques of managing populations. The relationship between citizenship and people with learning disabilities is explored in four areas: work; participation; community and consumption each of which highlights particular ambiguities. In the context of work there is a separation of labour and reward, which frustrates the achievement of an independent adult status while the analysis of participation shows some embryonic political activity but this is largely peripheral to the activity of organisations.

The exploration of community demonstrates a particularly stark divide between those individuals whose organisations promote the 'supported living model' in contrast with those who operate a more traditional model of residential care. The individual 'citizen-tenant' produced through the supported living model experiences an individualised form of citizenship. Their status, rights and responsibilities are the same as any other person who is unemployed and in receipt of benefits. This contrasts with the more collective orientation of the organisations promoting residential care where there is a conscious move to construct obligations with the local community through becoming active in voluntary work.

This contrast demonstrates a key finding from the study, which relates to the way individuals with learning disabilities experience their citizenship through the organisations that provide them with support. This has the consequence that different organisations produce different outcomes depending upon discursive structure of the organisation. Using Taylor Gooby's (1993) distinction between a captivity culture and a dependency culture the study compares the supported living model with the captivity culture while the residential care model with its approach to voluntary work in the community producing a hierarchy of passive non-citizens is compared with the dependency culture.

The final area discussed in relation to citizenship involves Michael Harrison's (1991) concept of welfare cleavages in which patterns of consumption are a key issue. Here a distinction is drawn between people with learning disabilities and other individuals who might be reliant upon unemployment and housing benefits. This identifies a welfare cleavage where people with learning disabilities in comparison with other highly marginalised groups experience high levels of consumption linked

to the level of support needed. At the same time there is clear evidence of differential

positions being produced for those individuals are considered as high risk where they

are excluded from even this highly marginalised citizenship.

To return to the sentiment contained in the Kings Fund's assertion that

citizenship has been achieved for people with learning disabilities, this is seen to be

an optimistic claim for while there have been considerable gains for this social group

there continues to be major obstacles. Maybe it would be more accurate to claim that

a move is being made 'from care *towards* citizenship'.

11.2.3 A politics of trust?

Chapter eight explores the central theme of this study, which contained the

proposition that, the understanding of the social welfare environment in general and

professional activity in particular requires an understanding of trust. Trust in this

sense is defined as the reduction of complexity and the management of expectations.

The study claims that trust is a product of professional activity and part of a

conscious strategy through which professionals seek to promote and maintain their

position within the social welfare environment. Moreover, trust is more accurately

conceived as an essential element within techniques of governmentality. A link that

is established through Rose's (1996) description of the role of expertise in the

management of the population and Osborne's (1997) reflection that governmentality

involved experts in the problematisation of life and the management of expectations.

Trust engages the management of expectations as it mediates the relationship

between the state on the one hand and the community on the other. At the same time

the state is keen to retain and develop mechanisms through which professional

activity can be disciplined should trust break down (Rose 1996, Clarke and Newman 1997).

The analysis of the discourse of trust enables these power relations between the state and the users of services to be made explicit. One strategy identified in the study involves organisations in seeking to claim the moral high ground and appearing to speak for the user. This was shown in professional discourse in rhetorical oppositions between support and care, for profit and not for profit [fieldwork thirty-four], and costs versus quality [fieldwork forty-three]. Each of these oppositions involves an attempt to discredit other organisations' ability to represent the user without actually naming specific instances of failure.

A second strategy seen in the study concerns the efforts organisations go to in manufacturing trust through systems of distrust, many of which are constructed voluntarily and then used to promote or counter claims of trustworthiness. Likewise the study has identified the critical role of trust as a commodity (Dasgupta1988) in the competitive environment of social welfare. The fieldwork demonstrated that those organisations committed to the supported living model were 'trusted' by the 'purchaser' providing them with an advantage in the competitive tendering process. While the loss of 'trust' could mean that organisations were either excluded or, as seen in one example, forced to close.

Governmentality also provides the basis for the link between trust and citizenship. In Miller's (1993) discussion of governmentality the contradiction between the selfless citizen and the selfish consumer is seen as central to the production of the self-managing individual. Mirroring this contradiction professionals are engaged in a dual process of inciting people to behave reasonably

while at the same time promoting complexity through individual choice. In this sense

expertise is trusted by becoming engaged in the surveillance of individual conduct

(Jack 1995a). However, there exists here a paradox, which can be identified in the

tension between trust and hope for professional discourse can be seen to colonise

user perspectives claiming to talk for the user whilst at the same time neutralising

radical voices. Moreover, the management of expectations contains the perverse

incentive that the lowering of expectations may serve to promote trust.

11.2.4 Managerialism and trust.

The final theme - managerialism is explored in chapter nine through the

relationship between professional and managerial discourse. Drawing upon the work

of Clarke and Newman (1997) who have identified processes of colonisation and

processes of accommodation between managerial and professional practice, the study

identifies movements between the two discourses. However, divisions between these

two discourses are also exposed where tensions emerge due to conflicts over trust in

process of care planning. In particular tensions can be seen in areas such as the

responsibility for assessing needs and issues such as costs versus care. Issues that

have become central to managerial discourse such as choice and empowerment can

be linked through governmentality with strategies to promote self-managing

individuals and to manage risky groups. Likewise, through governmentality it is

possible to identify the present focus upon developing partnerships as a technique of

government aimed at disciplining autonomous organisations.

11.3 An Organisational Typology: *New Wave, Pragmatists and the Old Radicals.*

The final chapter in the study develops a holistic reading of the evidence from the study which suggests that the discursive structure of an organisation – the particular orders of discourse through which the social practices of the organisation are organised, is central to the analysis of power relations. Inextricably linked to this analysis is the understanding of the options and identities produced by organisation for those it claims to support. This holistic reading enabled the development of a three-way organisational typology of *New Wave, Pragmatists and the Old Radicals.* Although tentative and limited to the organisations included within the study this typology is seen as evidence of the value of the micro-analysis of policy as well as an example of what Clarke and Newman (1997) describe as the fragmented and uneven process of policy implementation.

Finally, this proposition that the discursive structure of an organisation may be an important factor in the exercise of power can be linked with the observation that Foucault's conceptualisation of power can see its location about particular social configurations (Beechey and Donald 1985). In this sense it would reasonable to argue that if power is exercised through social practices then organisations, as they represent concentrations of social practices may also represent concentrations of power. This would mean that an understanding of the discursive structure of an organisation is essential to the understanding of power relations within a particular field of operations such as social welfare.

11.4 Care Planning and the Politics of Trust.

This final paragraph represents the closure of the study, which set out to explore and describe the quality of the trust formed between professionals and the individuals they claim to support. This has been achieved through an analysis based upon the processes of care planning designed to support people with learning disabilities. Possibly the most important insight that emerges from the study relates to the way in which people with learning disabilities become fixed in a set of relations that are largely outside of their control. In this politics the 'user' exists only as a passive object in a struggle between the different interests concerned with the provision of services. Even where processes of collective self-advocacy occur these appear to have little impact upon the way in which this politics is conducted.

However, it is important not to write off the more long-term impact of movements for user involvement especially as writers (Beresford et al 1997, Clarke and Newman 1997) note the way professional discourse has accommodated such views with the consequence of real changes in the way services are provided (Barnes and Shardlow 1996, Beresford et al. 1997, Morris 1997 and Ward 1997a, 1997b). Nevertheless, this accommodation may be at the cost of loosing the more radical aspects of this resistance.

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Appendix one.

Address.xxxxx
yyyyyyyyyyy
zzzzzzzzzzzz
tel 333333

Date

Dear ....

I am undertaking research within (County) as part of a part time PhD programme. The focus of my study is the citizenship of people with learning disabilities and I am especially interested in those people with severe learning disabilities. I am writing to you to see if it would be possible to interview both yourself and some of your senior staff. I am interested in identifying the contributions made by people with learning disability to their local communities. The aim of the study being to develop an understanding of the way in which this contribution can be measured and to demonstrate the level of contribution that is made.

The study is in the early part of its fieldwork stage and I would like the opportunity to discuss some of the following issues. The first set of issues one might call material in that they focus upon where people live, their housing status (licensee, tenant, owner), the general geographic area from which the care staff are drawn, general levels of income and personal possessions, bank accounts and wills. Other material issues relate to where people obtain their basic supplies such as food stuffs, household materials, petrol, leisure services, health services and maintenance. A second set of issues relate to the relationships people have with their local community such as favours one might do for a neighbour, visits from family friends and neighbours, involvement in clubs or church activity. A third set of issues relate to the level of involvement people have in their lives, for example house meetings, advocacy groups, citizen advocacy schemes, civil activity or voting.

This initial stage would involve an interview, which would last about an hour. The first interview with yourself as the local area manager would include some brief information about who you are. Following this the focus would be upon the overall structure of the service, the way in which you consider relationships with the various local communities are developing and the contributions that people using the service are making. It would also be helpful if I could obtain any general documentation e.g. philosophy, broad operational policy etc.

Appendix one.

With regards to the senior residential staff the format would consist of biographical details relating to the service, brief details about the interviewee followed by open ended questions about the way in which people who use the service interact with the local community. It would again be helpful if I could obtain copies of any general documents relating to the service such as an information booklet, mission statement, guidelines for care staff or service philosophy. There is no intention to gain personal information regarding any of the clients involved in your service and all the information gained would be treated with the strictest confidence.

I anticipate that at a later stage in the fieldwork that I would be seeking the views of people with learning disabilities about their perceptions of the community in which they live. I would be interested at this initial stage in your views about how this might be achieved.

Thank you for your consideration of my request. If you wish to discuss the proposal in more detail then I will be very happy to do this.

Yours faithfully

Tony Gilbert.

Social Welfare: Care Planning and the Politics of Trust.