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Surface Tension

Place / Poverty / Policy

From 'poverty' to 'social exclusion': implications of discursive shifts in European Union Poverty Policy 1975 – 1999

thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy in Geography

at the University of Waikato

Te Whare Wananga o Waikato

By

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Abstract

Key Words: | discourse analysis | European Community | NUD.IST | social exclusion |

This dissertation addresses four substantive issues or arguments that are linked in an interdisciplinary discussion informed by contemporary feminist and cultural geographies, feminist political philosophy, policy studies and discourse analysis.

The first argument is that there are flexible and contingent uses of discourses of 'social exclusion' in the supranational context of the European Union. The concept of 'exclusion' as the 'new kid on the welfare discourse block' has a distinctive provenance. I discuss the development of Poverty Programmes, and European Union social policy more generally in the liberal democratic milieu of the European Union over the period from 1975–1999.

My second argument concerns the relationships between policy and place. I develop a number of arguments about paradoxical spatiality and social policy. Metaphors of 'subsidiarity' and 'solidarity' have key place–effects in relation to anti–poverty discourse. Regional policy produces countervailing effects to supranational and national policy configurations. Projects, such as those developed under *Poverty 3* of the European Union Poverty Programmes, clarify the scale of operations of European Union policy initiatives and highlight the local level. Migrant bodies exemplify many of the axiomatic ways in which the principles of solidarity and social cohesion intersect in social exclusion discourse. All of these circumstances identify and reiterate the mutually constitutive and paradoxical nature of place / policy / poverty interactions.

The third issue relates to the metaphors and metonymic figurations that produce, and are in turn influenced by, particular interpretations and enactments of social policy. On the one hand, 'social exclusion' is linked to metaphors of 'social integration' and 'social cohesion'. This suggests that anti–poverty policy is part of a complex of social control measures. On the other hand, metaphors of economic 'progress' are linked to discourses of employment, employability and citizenship rights in a way that occludes the discursive space of poverty, and makes it appear as if economic progress is the sole motivation for anti–poverty policy. In either of these circumstances certain categories of poor unwork(able) bodies continue to be excluded from discourses of social exclusion.

The current discourses of 'social exclusion' are also producing new ways of 'targeting' 'poor bodies'. This final issue is taken up through a discussion of the relationship of social exclusion, as it is currently deployed in European Community discourse, to 'politics of recognition' and 'politics of redistribution'. Both of these dominant organising strategies for politicised policy initiatives have unanticipated outcomes for the social exclusion of unwork(able) 'poor bodies'. Care needs to be taken, in re–categorising the poor as 'excluded', to ensure that a 'politics of cohesion' does not produce new economies of disregard.

The thesis is also experimental in a number of ways. A specific 'technical' objective was to 'test' an approach to policy analysis through the application of textually oriented discourse analysis (TODA), following work pioneered by Norman Fairclough (1992, 1994), coupled with the use of a computer assisted qualitative data analysis system (CAQDAS). I used Qualitative Systems Research software (QSR): NUD.IST © as the tool. The method entailed the development of an online document corpus and also encouraged the use of the Internet as a data source.

Dedication

for

Sal

BP

and

SBKJ

(who came later)

Acknowledgments

These acknowledgments are a duty of care. In such an abbreviated account, it is extremely hard to do justice to the significant help, support, encouragement and inspiration that I have received during the attenuated process of preparing for and writing this dissertation. There are personal, intellectual, institutional, collegial, and familial debts to pay tribute to. Each contribution counts in its own way as irreplaceable and irreducible. Those who are not named here are acknowledged for the way their contributions made the burdens of others lighter. In following the protocols of naming my 'institutional' buttressing first I do not demean the more intimate contributions of those who are named later.

I am indebted to Professor Richard Bedford, as my chief supervisor but also as the Departmental Chair during my commencement, for accepting my research proposal, for encouraging me to 'go to Europe', for letting me come to the project in my own way and in my own time while never losing interest in my intellectual journey. Richard's ability to read at high altitude stood me in good stead as did his suggestion that I write 'position papers' to get past the paralysing points. Dr Catherine Kingfisher, my second supervisor, provided supportive commentary.

The Department of Geography at the University of Waikato provided me with a positive working environment. Not only was finance, space and time made available for travel, technology, and research, but also opportunities to teach, to apply for a lectureship, and to become a full–time colleague. I am grateful to both Professor Bedford and Associate Professor Lex Chalmers for their material and administrative support in this regard.

Within this Department, there are also particular thanks that are owed. Max Oulton, the Departmental Cartographer, not only made all of the diagrams and maps in this volume possible but invested time and effort in the document layout and editing. Max reworked my original diagram versions and made his own creative contributions in order to enhance the quality of the presentations. This was work 'above and beyond' and I feel privileged by the care and attention to detail that Max bestowed. Dr Peter Urich, formally designated as my 'technical supervisor', gave great service providing backup with computing demands. Peter facilitated my access to NUD.IST software and training workshops, to technical support for computer failures, and to a research assistant, Stuart Steel, who was able to knock the references into some semblance of order. Peter's work in the Department was supported by a number of excellent computer technicians. My thanks to Darryl, Dwayne, Girish, Judie, and Richard for computer support as and (so often) when required.

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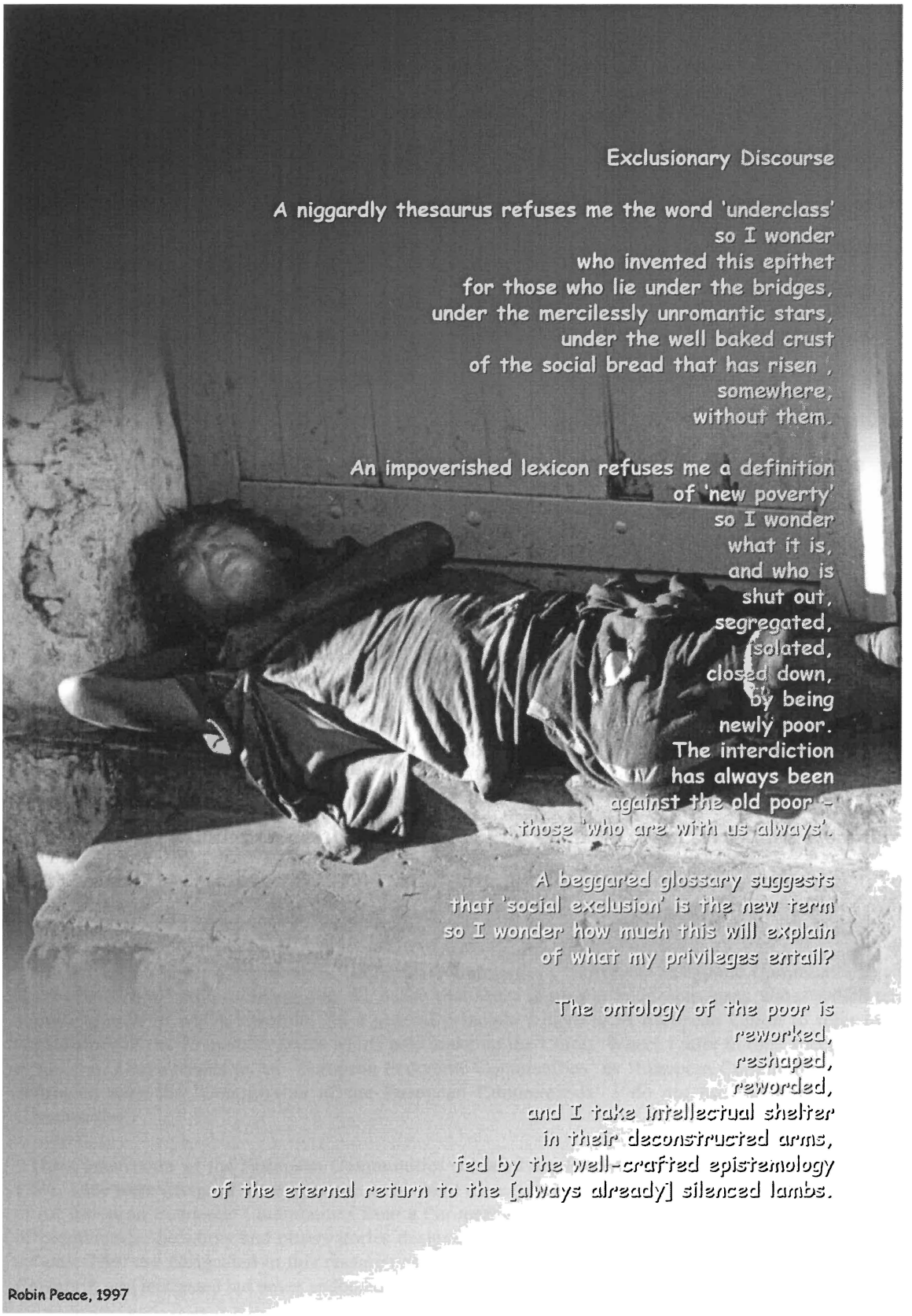
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Exclusionary Discourse

A niggardly thesaurus refuses me the word 'underclass'
so I wonder
who invented this epithet
for those who lie under the bridges,
under the mercilessly unromantic stars,
under the well baked crust
of the social bread that has risen ,
somewhere,
without them.

An impoverished lexicon refuses me a definition
of 'new poverty'
so I wonder
what it is,
and who is
shut out,
segregated,
isolated,
closed down,
by being
newly poor.
The interdiction
has always been
against the old poor -
those 'who are with us always'.

A beggared glossary suggests
that 'social exclusion' is the new term
so I wonder how much this will explain
of what my privileges entail?

The ontology of the poor is
reworked,
reshaped,
reworded,
and I take intellectual shelter
in their deconstructed arms,
fed by the well-crafted epistemology
of the eternal return to the [always already] silenced lambs.

Robin Peace, 1997

Chapter 1

Introduction

Social exclusion is the new kid on the welfare discourse block. Scratch any European Union[1] policy initiative on poverty, migrants, sole parents, the elderly, the disabled, youth, or social deviants, that has appeared since the mid–1980s, and the term social exclusion will be in evidence. Scratch any European Union policy initiative on employment, and it is quite likely that social exclusion will also make an appearance. It is my contention that although 'social exclusion' is a term that ostensibly covers both of these situations, such discourses, of 'marginalisation' on the one hand, and of 'employment' on the other, produce paradoxical tensions in the production and deployment of the concept of social exclusion in European policy.

This contention is teased out in relation to a perceived discursive shift, which has become apparent in European Union anti–poverty initiatives, that entails a move away from a social policy discourse that is focused on 'poverty' and towards a focus on 'social exclusion'. The policy initiatives that register this shift quite clearly are loosely designated as 'Poverty Programmes',[2] but the change in discourse is also apparent in a range of more recent policies that have developed subsequent to these Poverty Programmes. I examine a number of implications of these discursive shifts from three interdisciplinary perspectives – spatial, linguistic, and political – as a way of

---

[1] The terms, 'European Community', 'European Communities', 'European Economic Communities', and 'European Union' are problematic in the sense that there is no common consensus about which term should be used in which situation. As a general principle I have used European Union to refer to the constituency of the 15 member states which now make up the Union. Where I refer to time specific events or policies, I have tended to use 'European Economic Communities' or 'European Community'. To avoid confusion with the 'Commission of the European Communities' I do not use the term 'European Communities'.

[2] The Commission of the European Communities initiated the Poverty Programmes between 1975 and 1994. They were designed to address concerns about the extent and reach of poverty in the member states of the European Economic Communities from a European–wide perspective and were part of a wide range of programmes, networks and observatories designed to monitor and enhance anti–poverty projects and actions. They are designated in this research as *Poverty 1, Poverty 2, Poverty 3* and *Poverty 4,* although *Poverty 4*, was instigated but never endorsed (see Appendix **6** for a time-line of the projects).

synthesising existing theory on the subject and of speculatively extending existing analysis.

In particular, I contend that the discourse of 'social exclusion' is contradictory. On the one hand, it appears to have opened up certain opportunities in European policy space, but on the other hand it appears to have helped constitute a policy response that is increasingly focused on 'poor bodies'[3] that are 'employable' bodies. This paradox, this contradictory tension, is a central theme for this thesis.

The Poverty Programmes were not stand–alone documents. As the *Green Paper* (1993, 105–106) clearly indicates, they belonged with a number of initiatives in the area of "social security and social action" including the European Observatories on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion, the European Observatories on National Family Policy and the European Observatories on Ageing and Older People (*European Social Policy Options for the Union: the Green Paper* 1993, 105–106). The Poverty Programmes, and much of the associated social policy that was also developed between 1975 and 1994, are now archival reference sources rather than active vehicles for change. For the purposes of this research, they provide a basis, a surface, from which to consider tensions and contradictions engendered by the discursive shift in the meanings of the terms used to refer to 'poverty' in the social policy documents of the European Union.

I use the term 'discursive' throughout this project to refer to 'things that are produced by discourse'. Norman Fairclough (1992, 4), suggests that a discursive event is "simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice". Thus, in these terms, a discursive shift is one that incurs changes in identities, knowledges, and realities as an effect of changes in discourse in its widest sense (see Fairclough 1992, chapters 1–3).

---

[3] I have coined the phrase, 'poor bodies', to draw attention to the corporeality of individual 'poor' people, and as reminder that 'poor people' have specific subjectivity, and have bodies that need material, social, and emotional sustenance. The question of what or who a 'poor person' is, I leave open. The term is used in scare quotes throughout the text.

There is some evidence that the concept of social exclusion, as a policy term, made its English language debut in the Poverty Programmes in the 1980s though it had existed in the French policy milieu for at least a decade longer (Cannan 1997, Lenoir 1974, Silver 1994, 1995, but see Levitas 1996, who attributes English language usage to Townsend in 1979). It also appears that the deployment of the concept of exclusion has not been straightforward. There is considerable recent debate, but still no clear consensus, about what the term implies or means and how it differs from concepts such as 'poverty', 'deprivation' 'marginalization' or the 'underclass' (Allen *et al.* 1998, Bergman 1996, Bhalla and Lapeyre 1997, Commins 1993, de Haan 1998, Evans 1998, Gore *et al.* 1995, Jordan 1996, Rodgers 1995, Room 1990, 1995, Silver 1994, 1995).[4]

Various scholars confirm that the use of the concept of social exclusion appears to have produced unanticipated shifts and unpredictable ambiguities in poverty–related policies and policy responses (Allen *et al.* 1998, Hadjimichalis and Sadler 1995, Levitas 1996) and that social exclusion appears to be related to different policy effects at different scales – European, regional, national and local (Bartley 1998, Hantrais 1995, Laffan 1992, 1996, Room 1993, Tsoulouvis 1996, Vrychea and Golemis 1998). It is also a concept that is now widely used, not only in Europe, but elsewhere in the world (de Haan 1998, Friedmann 1992, 1996, Phongpaichit *et al.* 1997, Rodgers *et al.* 1995).

In this thesis I extend these arguments. Not only has 'social exclusion' taken over the discursive space of 'poverty' in the European Union policy milieu, but also its use has increasingly encouraged a conflation with the idea of 'exclusion from employment' and simultaneously encouraged a shift away from the idea of extreme marginalisation. In the next section I identify, in more detail, the concepts and research questions that have driven my research.

---

[4] The proliferation of 'social exclusion' material published since 1996, and the increasing sophistication of debates surrounding its use, attests to the way in which the concept has gained purchase and become contested. For the period 1990-1995, for example, I found 9 relevant English language articles on social exclusion in the *Current Contents* (online) database. There were 72 relevant records from the 1996-1999 period.

1.1: Research questions and conceptual frameworks

The focusing questions for this research were derived from a conceptual framework that was developed in two stages. The first cut at my framework is represented graphically in Figure 1.1. In this framework, the complex network of inter–relationships between exclusion, place, policy, language, politics and the Poverty Programmes is expressed. Mathew Miles and Michael Huberman (1994, 18) provide one of the few methodological discussions of conceptual frameworks and research questions and would characterise this framework as "exploratory" or "no–risk" in the sense that it lays out all of the elements without giving any particular weighting or direction to those relationships. I used this diagram to identify the core concepts, the matrix of their relationships, and the indeterminacy of the linkages between them. Ironically, framing my research in this way alerted me to different risks that did exist for this research: the risks of juggling a number of elements from disparate disciplines and pushing at unconventional juxtapositions.

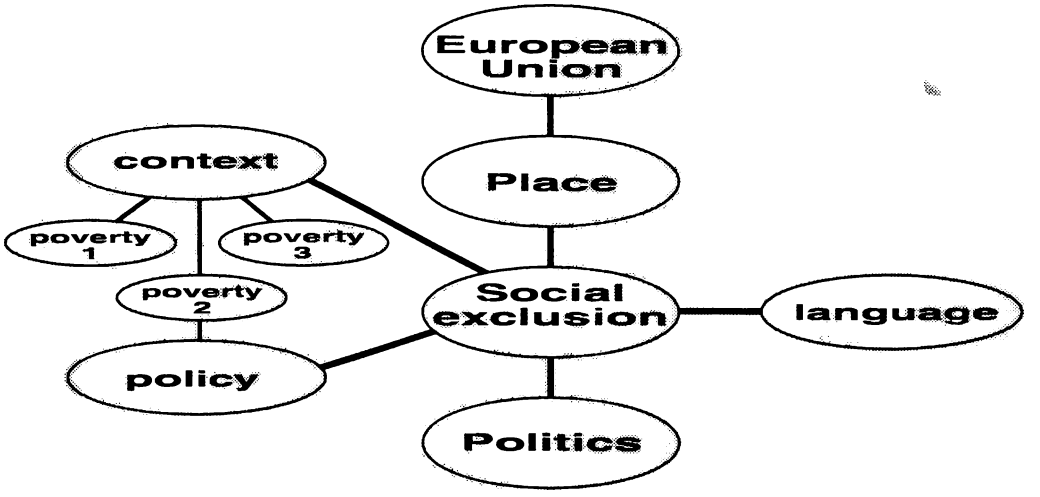


Figure 1.1: Conceptual framework for research

In the initial phase of this research I was interested in identifying and mapping the shift in policy language. Miles and Huberman (1994, 24) suggest a typology of question types which includes 'causal–research'; 'noncausal–research'; 'noncausal–policy'; 'noncausal–evaluation'; and 'noncausal–management'. The research question I initially developed (in 1994) to guide this section of the analysis would have fallen into what Miles and Huberman (1994, 24) call the noncausal–policy research question category. This initial question was:

> *What evidence is there, in the policy language of the Poverty Programmes, of a shift away from the concept of 'poverty' and towards the use of the concept 'social exclusion'?*

There is no doubt that this discursive shift has occurred and tracking the discursive shift has appealed to many other scholars (most notably Silver 1994 but also Andersen *et al.* 1994, Bhalla and Lapeyre 1997, Conroy 1994, Harvey 1990, 1994a and Rodgers 1995). However, the substance of my initial research question has now largely been dealt with elsewhere and thus I have needed to reconceptualise my research concerns.

I have chosen, as a first step, to consider some of the broader context in which the discursive shift appears to have taken place and have set up the following causal–research question:

> *What interrelated tropes[5] influence and constrain the development of social policy in the European Union in relation to social exclusion?*

In addition to this question, I also consider two secondary questions that relate to the way these intersecting tropes also govern the innovative capacities and economies of scale in the European Union. I therefore also consider the causal–research questions:

---

[5] I use the concept of 'trope' to indicate the figurative capacities of key conceptual terms such as 'democracy, liberalism and capitalism'. Technically, in linguistic terms a 'trope' is any figure of speech (*The Compact English Dictionary* 1991, 2117) but it is a term which is also frequently used in relation to important organising metaphors such as those listed above. I use the term in both senses but indicate where I am using it in the more technical sense.

What roles do key principles such as 'subsidiarity', harmonisation, solidarity, and social cohesion play in constraining or enhancing the promulgation of social exclusion policies in the European Union?

In what ways do factors of scale constrain or enhance the production of spaces of exclusion at local, national, regional and 'global' (European) scales?

Behind all three of these questions is a concern to identify the complex environment in which social exclusion policies have been set to work. They may also serve to clarify whether or not the discursive shift reifies and/or destabilises relationships between social exclusion initiatives and employment–related initiatives at local, national and global scales.

My second substantive aim is to examine some of the 'geographical' aspects of the social exclusion debate further, and in particular to focus on the paradoxical (Rose 1993) spatial dimensions that social exclusion discourse appears to produce – both in relation to real material places and imagined cartographies. Policy initiatives that are put into effect in different ways at different scales mean that there are ambiguous and often unforseen outcomes. I consider the causal–research question:

How and in what ways do the 'paradoxical spaces' of the European Union inflect policy practice and outcomes in relation to social exclusion?

The third aim is to examine 'linguistic' aspects of the new discourse in more detail. I examine metaphorical language, used in the Commission's texts, as one way of identifying some of the implications of the shift. Particular metaphors not only appear to reify the importance of social cohesion and social integration as *the* positive outcome from or remedy for social exclusion, but also they appear to reinforce the role of 'economic' (employment–related) strategies in producing such remediation. The noncausal–evaluation question for this third objective is:

Does it seem that metaphors and dichotomous terms and concepts intensify the linguistic and conceptual linkages between discourses of 'social exclusion', 'social cohesion' and 'employment–as–solution–to–exclusion' in European Union anti–poverty discourse?

This leads to the fourth and final aim, which is to examine some of the 'political' aspects of the discursive shift by developing a particular focus on the destabilisation of 'target categories' in relation to notions of exclusion and inclusion. Palliative social policy is usually attached to 'target bodies' that are defined in large part by political agendas. Shifting the terms of the discourse redefines both the categories and the bodies who are targeted by discourse. Thus, question four is concerned with 'target category' effects:

How and in what ways are 'poor bodies' being differently targeted and differently constituted through the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion?

These four research elements and objectives are more clearly visible in my second conceptual framework (see Figure 1.2).

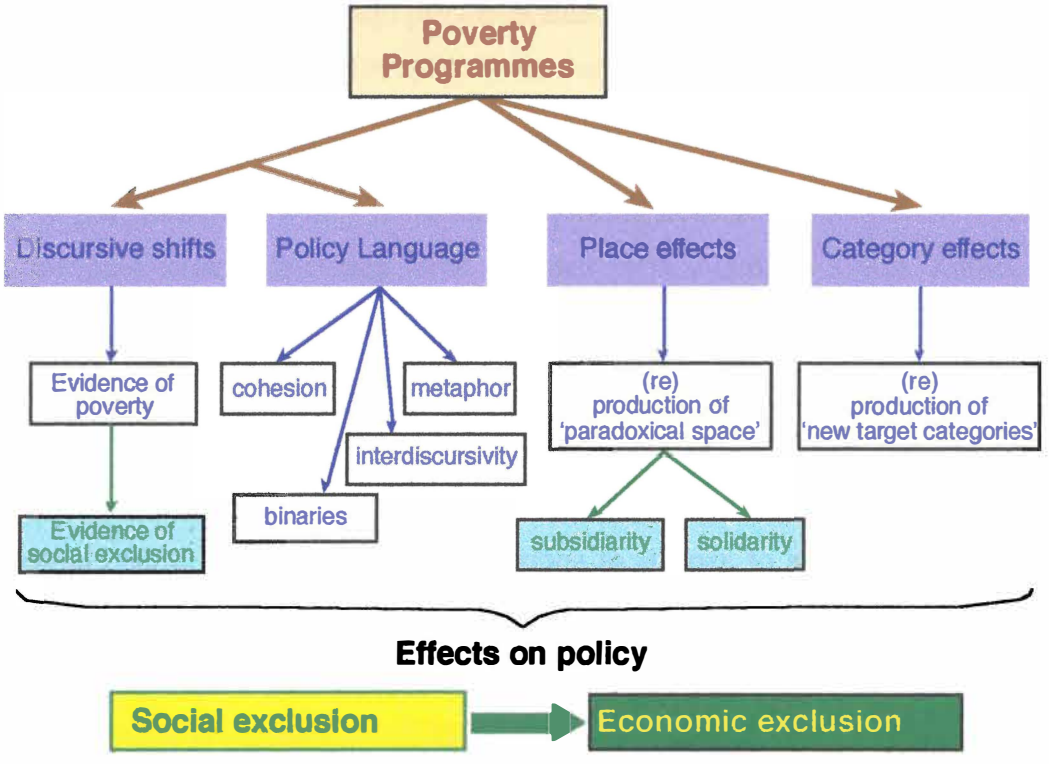


Figure 1.2: Second Conceptual Framework

The identification of research questions through this process of refining a conceptual framework allowed me to clarify a three–step demonstration that I wished to embark on. The first (two–part) step would entail demonstrating some of the 'geographical' aspects of the research, the second the 'linguistic' and the third the 'political' as follows:

> 1a. – The shift in orientation towards exclusion as an economic effect is coupled, metaphorically and instrumentally, to the ways in which key European Union principles such as subsidiarity and solidarity influence policy and produce different policy and spatial effects at different scales, and
>
> 1b. – the shift is also coupled to paradoxical spaces so that the deployment of and outcomes from policies directed against social exclusion have not been straightforward despite the increasing emphasis on economic effects.
>
> 2 – A detailed analysis of policy language may support the view that metaphorical language plays a significant role in reshaping the concept of social exclusion to a concept of economic exclusion and, if this is the case, would thus further affirm the notion that employment is the panacea for exclusion.
>
> 3 – The shift towards understanding exclusion as coupled to employment incurs 'category' effects – that is it affects in the way 'poor bodies' are targeted and represented in policy documents.

There is also an overall tension in my argument that centres on my particular deployment of the concepts of social and economic. In the next section, I briefly elaborate on this issue.

Concepts of the 'social' and the 'economic'

It could be argued that a 'common sense' naturalised concept of the 'social' provides the broadest possible basis for considering the notion of exclusion. People may be excluded from 'society' because of aspects of social class, social mobility, access to services, individual attributes and strengths, community networks, psychoanalytic effects and corporeal capacities. These issues might all be considered as legitimate foci for 'social exclusion' research. A more focused 'social' argument might be rights based. Some existing literature, for example, suggests that 'social exclusion' should be seen as a concept that draws attention to social rights in general (Gilroy and Speak 1998, Hantrais

1995, Room 1990). Others of these 'rights–based' literatures focus on the experiences of refugees and racial minorities (Bhabha 1998, Joly 1998, Muus 1998), on disability (Waddington 1997) and yet others on the problematic rights claims inherent in the shifting discourses of citizenship (MacKian 1998). Both a common sense idea of 'society' and/or an idea about 'social rights' forms the basis of common assumptions about what constitutes 'the social', and both of these concepts deal with the 'social' in exclusion discourse, as multi–faceted.

There is, however, another set of literatures that identifies a narrowing of the notion of 'the social' to a cluster of ideas and concepts that could more properly be designated as 'economic'. These are 'economic' in the sense that they focus on paid employment as the primary constituent of social intercourse and meaning. They underscore the desirability of paid employment as the instrument with which to counter exclusion. Within the European Commission, for example, there is a widely circulated argument that paid employment is the core mechanism for 'fighting' exclusion. It is believed that individuals can best demonstrate their capacity for participation and integration in society by finding paid work and thus fostering social cohesion (COM 1994b, 1996d, 1997a, see also Abrahamson 1991, 1997, Kennett 1994, Silver 1995, and Strobel 1996 for discussion on this point).

Thus 'social' exclusion policy is increasingly being understood to be about exclusion from the paid workforce (Craig 1998, Kennett 1994, MacKian 1998). Ruth Levitas (1996) has suggested that this employment focus is a new 'Durkheimian hegemony' based on principles of 'integration' and 'solidarity' and she appositely notes that "integration into society is elided with integration into work" (Levitas 1996, 11). This is only one, quite narrowly defined version of what it means to be poor or excluded.

These unmarked discursive shifts have the potential to reduce the scope of the concept to one of 'economic' rather than 'social' exclusion. That there is a shift in rhetoric from the concept of 'poverty' to the concept of 'social exclusion' can be demonstrated through acknowledgment of existing scholarship. That this shift presages further changes in the way in which social policy is promulgated in the European Union is still under

investigation. The argument in this thesis is designed to contribute to this investigation in a substantive way.

The intensification of the discourse about paid employment in relation to exclusion is reiterated in the next section as I discuss my use of the three different interdisciplinary analytic frameworks that relate to my use of 'geographical', 'linguistic', and 'political' perspectives for this research.

Geographical framework

There are both literal and metaphorical aspects of 'space and place' in European social policy. The former, the geography of 'where things are', is related to changes in the nature and purpose of palliative poverty initiatives, to the way policies are interpreted in different times and places in different ways. Spatial epistemologies as exemplified, for example, in economic, political and social–cultural geographies,[6] and in policy literature including migration and urban planning, also influence the way in which places, actions and actors are interpreted and represented. In the context of this research into European social policy, the metaphors of subsidiarity and solidarity are significant. The tension between these two concepts tends to produce 'paradoxical space' (Rose 1993) in which the outcomes of policy initiatives are unpredictable. These metaphors of subsidiarity and solidarity also allude to and reflect key spatial dimensions of policy and relate to the interplay of policy at different scales. Given their centrality to my geographical framework I discuss each briefly.

Subsidiarity

Subsidiarity is a metaphor and a legal principle. As a metaphor it relies both on the idea of something being subsidiary to something else, as in "serving to help, assist or

[6] I use this sub-disciplinary listing as a heuristic device. I often do not find it possible and seldom find it desirable to separate academic work into these bounded spaces. However, I do find it an expedient way to establish some narrative order.

supplement" (1991, 1946[7]), and on the idea of 'subsidy'. Thus, 'subsidiarity' acts as a positive signifier of supplementary assistance. As a legal principle, however, it relies on a more specific understanding of the term as being the case "that a central authority should have a subsidiary function, performing only those tasks which cannot be performed effectively at a more immediate or local level" (*COD* 1991, 1946). In this latter, juridical sense, the concept is problematic for European Union social policy as it is used as a rationale for a hands–off approach to social policy (see Hantrais 1995, 12–15 and COM 1992a).

The question of subsidiarity in relation to particular bodies and social policy is very clearly laid out in an essay by Francis Snyder (1993, 225–243 in collaboration with Hans Somsen and Hendrik Hoyer) who note that:

> The principle of subsidiarity is procedural, general and overarching ... Subsidiarity is a basic constitutional principle, which together with other concepts and principles defines the EC legal order ... Strictly speaking the principle of subsidiarity is concerned, not with the Commission of the EC's legal competence, but rather with the delineation of roles ... the principle of subsidiarity resembles many fundamental principles of constitutional law. The generality, vagueness or ambiguity of such principles rarely, if ever, prevent the judiciary or the administration from defining (or attempting to define) and applying them in individual instances. Indeed the ambiguity of the principle may be an advantage in making it possible to legitimate different policies, to facilitate shifts in policies, and to enable the political, legal and social order in question to change and develop.

Snyder's analysis of the historical origins of the principle of subsidiarity (see Snyder 1993, 243), and the precedents set by papal dictums, also identifies ongoing connections between religious and secular life and to deep connections between the principle of subsidiarity and the principle of solidarity.

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[7] I have largely used only two dictionaries to support definitions. *The Compact Oxford Dictionary* (COD) and *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (*COED*). The former, 2386 page, version is regarded as more 'authoritative'.

As a legal instrument, the 'Principle of Subsidiarity' has been reiterated and clarified in the so–called 'social chapter'of the *Treaty of European Union*[8] 1992. It is designed to devolve authority (for social policy in particular but not exclusively) to the "most appropriate level of provision" (Hantrais 1995, 13). It is also a powerful metaphor that encapsulates the relations of ruling between the Union and the State and between the State and the local authority.

This principle produces its own 'paradoxical spaces' in which policies do not necessarily conform to 'common sense' bureaucratic expectations. The Poverty Programmes, for example, sought to pay particular attention to target groups at different sites that represented different manifestations of 'poverty' at a European–wide scale. The designers of the Programmes were hoping both to develop a picture of poverty and social exclusion at the European scale, and to identify 'best–practice' models with which to combat the effects of them. During *Poverty 3*, conceptual doors were opened on those who were excluded from 'society' – the landless and homeless, social isolates and marginals, dropouts and deviants, as well as those who were in precarious employment or long–term unemployment – were all cited (and thus made more visible) as the 'socially excluded'. All of these 'exclusions', however, were manifesting at local levels and arguably could not be addressed by Commission policies that were constrained by the principle of subsidiarity.

The policies that could be addressed at the supranational level were those relating to employment as these were less subject to constraint. As I have already stated, in 'common sense' terms, paid employment is understood to be an 'economic' issue because it is within the discursive frame of the market. Labour supply is understood as an economic transaction in the market. In the Commission, economic issues, unlike social issues, are not subject to such rigid applications of the subsidiarity principle as economic policy is understood by all the member states to be the 'core business' of the

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[8] The 'Social Chapter' refers to the additional social agreement that was attached to the *Treaty of European Union*, (the so-called Maastricht Treaty). It is not an integral part of the Treaty and thus enabled the British Government to 'opt–out' of the optional social agenda. A description of the various European Union treaties is given in Chapter 5.

Union. It is both the contingency of geography – the questions of scale – and the subversion of rational spatial epistemologies, that appear to further intensify but also destabilise the links between employment and exclusion–related policies in the European Union. This also applies to a lesser extent, to solidarity.

Solidarity

'Solidarity' is also a powerful metaphor and one that has significant links to the labour movement and to discourses of both 'community' (especially religious community) and 'employment'. In the context of 'neighbourhood' and 'community', the connotation of 'solidarity' is group cohesion. Groups that demonstrate solidarity are often assumed to be propinquitous – to occupy similar places and localities – such as the parish, the work site, or the local neighbourhood. Ironically, the 'excluded' are also often seen to cohere in groups but these are groups that are understood to lack 'solidarity' and are perceived negatively.

Solidarity is also used both metaphorically and instrumentally. Metaphorically, it positively signifies collectivity as in "the fact or quality on the part of communities of being perfectly united or at one in some respect especially in interests, sympathies or aspirations" (*COD* 1991, 1823). In its instrumental sense it is a desired attribute in the sense that communities which rely on the principle of solidarity will not need to be looked after by the state (or, in this case, by the Union). 'Solidarity' is thus the mechanism by which 'subsidiarity' becomes a reasonable policy goal.

Both of these principles – solidarity and subsidiarity – relate in a range of different ways to issues of scale, distance, interaction, enclaves, to boundaries and notions of 'inside' and 'outside', and to paradoxical spaces. As such they are central to the geographical framework of my argument. However, they also provide a core link to the second framework as they are metaphors of social action rather than material artefacts.

As has already been intimated, the discourse of the Poverty Programmes contains powerful metaphorical language. Fairclough's (1989, 1992) system of discourse analysis provides one way of investigating some of the implications and consequences of metaphorical language in policy production and consumption. I develop an analysis of key metaphors used in the Commission's texts to suggest that the discursive shift from the concept of 'poverty' to the concept of 'social exclusion' under the alias of 'exclusion from employment' is produced through metaphorical language (see section 3.2 for further detail on 'discourse analysis').

As I explain in more detail in section 8.4, social exclusion is a 'nominalisation' that is linked to a 'negative' verb form – to exclude. It is 'naturalised' as a negative form and manoeuvred around our 'common–sense' understandings in relation to the binary pair of 'insider' and 'outsider' where 'insider' is the concept that carries positivity. This naturalised association with an in/out dichotomy facilitates a key metonymic slippage for the concept of social exclusion that comes as a slippage away from the negative connotations of exclusion and towards the positive connotations of inclusion, cohesion and social integration as these can be attained through the mechanisms of the market and paid employment. Although the texts used in my research rely heavily on a particular set of negatively oriented metaphors (relating to combat, disease, peripherality, marginalisation and decline), these terms are all linked with oppositional metaphors that are positive (such as co–operation, integration, centrality, inclusion and progress). It is these metaphorical perturbations that form the focus of my work in this framework.

The European Commission social exclusion discourse relies on powerful metaphorical juxtapositions that in turn produce paradoxical policy spaces. The paradoxical discursive spaces that are produced from ambivalence and contradiction in the language of policy, provide a link back to my examination of the spatial implications and effects of the discursive shift. They also provide a link forward to the 'political' analysis that becomes the subject of my third route toward understanding the ways in which 'exclusion from

employment' has come to dominate and destabilise both the conventional discourses of 'poverty' and the newer discourse of 'social exclusion'.

Political framework

The notion of destabilisation provides a link to my third analytical framework, which is based in feminist political theory[9], and relies on an examination of dichotomies and categorisations. I refer to (predominantly) feminist analyses of the 'politics of redistribution' and the 'politics of recognition'. I use the concept of a 'politics of redistribution' to refer to more conventional welfare discourses that are premised on notions of equality, and the concept of a 'politics of recognition' to refer to more recent discourses about identity politics.

The Poverty Programmes are based on the idea of palliating poverty by redirecting a greater resource share to those who are less 'well–off' or less 'fortunate' or have less access to adequate 'material benefits' – in other words they are based on the notion of redistributive justice. More recent policies, developed or enhanced since the demise of the Poverty Programmes in the late 1990s, tend to be focused around particular 'identity' groups such as 'women', the 'disabled', or 'youth'. Policies directed to these categories, however, are only developed to the extent that they can be measured or assessed or addressed through employment–related policies. The extremely complex matrices of disadvantage, disempowerment, disability, marginalisation and impoverishment – the matrices of exclusion – become 'simplified' as a set of economic criteria. A shift in the analytic frameworks used to understand exclusion, from a 'politics of redistribution' (as manifest in the Keynesian form of welfare statism) to a 'politics of recognition' (as evinced in the new rhetoric of difference and identity politics) has the potential to create new target categories for social policy and to intensify the 'economic' rationale of anti–poverty policies in unanticipated ways.

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[9] 'Feminist political theory' is a term used in this thesis to refer to the work of a small group of feminist political philosophers, particularly Iris Marion Young (1990, 1997), Nancy Fraser (1989, 1997, 1998), and Wendy Brown (1995).

The 'poor' who were addressed in the Poverty Programmes are no longer addressed in quite the same way. Some, such as women or the disabled, are now addressed under policies targeted at 'identity' groups. Others, such as youth or the long term unemployed, are addressed under policies targeting integration through employment. Some, I will argue – the marginals, the social isolates, the homeless and the sole mothers – are now seldom addressed at all under any general policy rubric. I suggest that the use of the 'exclusion' concept, in new policies promulgated at a European scale, is facilitating the development of new discourses in which a subtle and unacknowledged division is being made between those who have 'work(able)' and those who have 'unwork(able)' bodies.[10] The capacities of these bodies are determined, in large part, by their individual capacity for, and willingness to, work.

An individualistic articulation of the nexus between employment and exclusion, such as that fostered by a politics of identity, is likely to produce further discursive shifts and re–categorisations of 'the poor'. It also reduces the subjective space – the space for subjectivity – available for 'poor bodies'. The 'poor bodies' who occupy 'poor places' that are not also places of employment are less likely to be acknowledged in the developing discourse of social exclusion. These unacknowledged, workless places are both private and public. They include the unpaid spaces of domestic and largely female labour and the places of the urban and rural homeless, which are largely but not exclusively male and frequently migrant spaces. 'Poor places' are also arguably spaces of 'abjection' – spaces where unwork(able) bodies are being produced in both the discursive and literal terrain of social exclusion and rejected from the discursive and literal spaces of inclusion. The corporeality and abjection of 'poor bodies', in the context of a discussion about identity politics, in relation to social policy development in the European Union, is the final focus for this research.

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[10] I have coined the terms 'work(able)' and 'unwork(able)' to draw attention to the perceived relationships between work, ability to work and willingness to work.

These three frameworks, which I mark by the terms 'geography', 'metaphor' and 'politics', are reflected in the literature review (Chapter 3) and in the substantive analytical chapters (Chapters 7, 8, and 9). The final section of this chapter identifies the scope of the research, introduces the research method and outlines the chapter content.

Scope of the research

The interdisciplinary nature of my research made delimitation of the project challenging. In terms of a 'conventional geography', this research could have set out to cartographically map the locations of the Poverty Programmes, over the three consecutive periods in which the programmes were implemented. It could also have aimed to identify the areas where the bulk of European Economic Communities' Poverty Programme funding had been allocated or, indeed, to identify any clear and mappable spatial pattern produced by the phenomenon of exclusion. Astraightforward 'feminist' approach may have identified the gender bias within the Poverty Programme projects or discussed equal opportunities in the application for funding. A 'policy study' might have looked at the formal structures of the Poverty Programmes and how they were conceived and operationalized, and a 'political analysis' may have considered the respective merits of supranational versus national interventions in the social policy arena. What this research sets out to accomplish, however, is a mixture of all of these elements and the scoping exercise involved establishing a balance among the different elements.

The scope has been limited by a number of strategies. First, there is less attention given to broad philosophical questions about social rights or the nature of European Union, for example. Where applicable, sources that point to wider topics are covered in the literature review. Second, as Figure 1.3 suggests, I pragmatically limited the empirical scope.

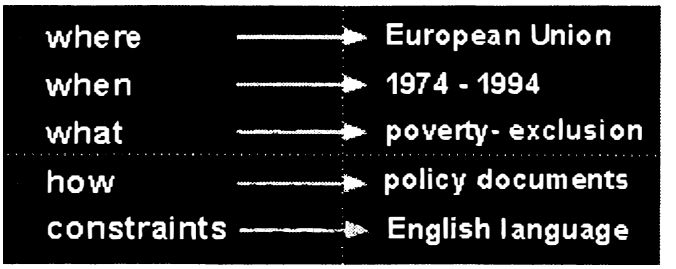


Figure 1.3 Limiting the topic

Only one small aspect of European Union social policy is considered in any depth, the time frame is specific and the research only considers English language documents.

Using specific policies is a vehicle for edging into the complex and paradoxical space of European Union social policy and provides a strategy for containment of the project. Inevitably the analysis moves beyond the Programmes on occasion, not least because the social exclusion rhetoric now has some currency in the international research arena. Using a specific research methodology also imposed constraints on the scope of the project.

Research methods

Geography has a long history of being a discipline modelled on a 'scientific' tradition. The language of science was taken for granted as the mechanism for transmitting 'truth' in terms of facts or scientifically verifiable information. Scientific language provided a vehicle for research based on hypothesis testing. Geographers have been drawn more recently into postmodern debates in which language is valorised; not for the 'truth it carries' but for the ambiguity it holds (Dear 1988; Harvey 1989, 1992; and Olsson 1992). This postmodern turn in geography has opened up debates about representation (Duncan and Ley 1993), about mapping, (Goss 1995, Harley 1989, 1990, Pickles 1995), about landscape as metaphor (Barnes and Duncan 1992; Cosgrove and Daniels 1988;

Daniels 1992), and has drawn the disciplinary eye to new fields for exploration and discovery.[11]

The key method of my research, textually oriented discourse analysis, relies on this new capacity in the discipline of geography to accommodate 'working with words' rather than 'working with facts'.

This is a piece of research that may be seen to fit criteria identified by Ducharme, Licklider, Matthes and Vannatta (1996) as characteristic of qualitative research. It is "word–oriented and descriptive" and is based on a research design that was "evolving; flexible; general" which drew on "small; theoretical [and purposive] sampling" in the process of "reviewing documents" and "conducting open–ended [semi–structured] interviews". The data sources, which were descriptive, comprised "people's own words ... field notes ... official documents, audiotapes ... and transcripts". The researcher was the "only instrument" and the procedures adopted were "inductive; ongoing" and based around a variety of "models; themes; [and] concepts". The problems encountered in the research were also those identified in the checklist: "time–consuming; procedures not standardised" were top of the list, but factors of "reliability" were also an issue. Although this checklist was designed and published by the FINE © Foundation[12] in relation to educational research, I found it useful.

The methodological puzzles encountered in this research process were intense for a number of reasons. In the first instance there was no single, clear, theoretical perspective driving the method. As the research drew from feminist and postmodern perspectives as well as more 'traditional' structuralist perspectives and was cross–disciplinary in its interest, it was not possible to anchor the research approach to any one theoretical perspective or method. In the second instance, the method, was innovative and was

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[11] I use this turgid metaphor advisedly. Two of the key entry points for geographers into postmodern contentions have been the critique of the gaze (the eye) (Pile, 1996; Rose, 1993) and coloniality (exploration) (Blunt and Rose 1994; Duncan 1996). Both the 'gaze' and the 'exploration' are frequently framed in terms of work in the 'field'. The relationship between gazing and exploration has produced innovative geographies.

[12] FINE © Foundation: First in National Education (1996, online).

being 'tested against itself' rather than extrapolated and developed from any pre–existing model.

What has emerged as the result of this methodological approach is a form of text description and analysis based on a relatively broad array of primary and secondary data sources, which meet Gay's (1987, 183) 'tests' for both external and internal critique. That is to say, the 'external test' establishes that the data sources were understood to be authentic – the personal gathering of the documents from 'official' sources was the clearest assurance of this but was assisted by the cataloguing designations which all official European Economic Communities documents carry. I was confident that the official documents I was using were the same as the documents being used by officials within the Commission, and the same documents could be sourced from libraries and official document depositories.

The internal tests were somewhat more complex, but established that the data themselves were 'accurate'. The authors of the official documents are understood to be skilled professionals who are knowledgeable about their respective fields of competence (though note my comments on this in Chapter 4 when the question of Commission personnel is briefly addressed in relation to the development of policy documents). The bias and motives of the authors of the original documents, although not entirely transparent, can be scrutinised, and my own bias and motives have been kept to the forefront where necessary. Gay (1987, 184) identifies "time delay" as a crucial element of external criticism of data in so–called "historical studies", and certainly time elements caused difficulties in this research, both in terms of the timing of fieldwork and the timing of official publications.

The fourth Poverty Programme, for example, could not be incorporated fully in this study as its approval through the Commission, Parliament and Council is still (1999) subject to protracted delays. A most recent ruling from the European Court of Justice reports that 86 programmes combating social exclusion have been rescinded following the Council's rejection of a proposal to establish the fourth programme. The United Kingdom, with the support of Germany, Denmark and the Council of Ministers,

successfully lodged proceedings for the annulment of the Commission's decision to grant subsidies to the *Poverty 4* projects (*European Report* 21: 5 1998). The methodology and the methods of analysis are outlined more fully in Chapter 4 as the chapter outline that follows indicates.

1.2: Thesis Outline

The layout of this thesis is deliberately conventional and formalised. It endorses the research requirements to make the problem, methods, analysis and conclusions as transparent as possible. The approach, therefore, is familiar, structured and pragmatic and is divided at the broadest level into two Parts. Part I deals with the procedural framework and Part II comprises the analysis.

Taken together, Chapters 1 and 2 comprise a detailed introduction to my research. The *Introduction* (Chapter 1) has commenced Part I by outlining the main research issue, the discursive shift from 'poverty' to 'social exclusion', and outlining my research questions and conceptual frameworks. It has included a short introduction to the scope of the research, the key research methods and this chapter outline. Chapter 2, *Foregrounds and Backgrounds,* engages with the research rationale both as an intellectual issue in the foreground of the research and as a more personalised background issue. The key assumptions that underwrite the particular constraints of the research provide the final section of this chapter.

The next two chapters also belong in Part I. The *Literatures and Key Concepts*, Chapter 3, reviews the 'parent' literatures that have informed my research and Chapter 4 is an account of the *Methods and Methodologies* of the research. For ease of management, Chapter 3 is divided into sections that reflect the three research frameworks, geography, metaphor and politics. Section 3.1 reviews contemporary geographical commentaries on poverty, social justice and the 'linguistic turn'.

Section 3.2, while not attempting a detailed review of linguistic and discourse analysis literature, identifies the key literatures and concepts that have informed my discussions of metaphorical language and discourse analysis.

Section 3.3 is similarly selective in its address of those literatures that have informed my feminist political analysis. The paradigmatic[13] binaries that predispose feminist literatures to the question of social exclusion are discussed, and mention is made of the importance of citizenship to contemporary debates about exclusion / inclusion.

Chapter 4 is an explanation of the methodological strengths and weaknesses of this research. In section 4.1, the research methods are identified as occurring in four phases that took place at different sites and at different times. The research procedures are outlined in terms of data collection, data entry and data analysis (Miles and Huberman 1994). The practices of discourse analysis are discussed and the particular approaches to computer assisted qualitative data analysis systems (CAQDAS) are covered. A critique and assessment of the advantages of CAQDAS is covered in the section 4.2 of this chapter.

Having thus established the purpose and process of my research in the first four chapters, Part II follows a more 'topic' based approach. Chapter 5, *The European Union and the Poverty Programmes,* is divided into two sections. Section 5.1 describes and identifies relevant aspects of the European Community and its social policy, including a descriptive analysis of institutional structures, key constraints and innovative capacities. This latter subsection makes space for a further discussion of the key tropes of subsidiarity and solidarity and is thus also a link back to the material in Chapter 1 where these tropes were first introduced. Section 5.2 addresses the Poverty Programmes more directly and explains their origin and nature.

Chapter 6, *Intersecting Tropes / Intersecting Scales*, provides a link between the descriptive research of Chapter 5 and the more analytical material that follows in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. Chapter 6 focuses on the concept of social exclusion and the existing evidence of the discursive shift in the context of the programmes, intersecting tropes, and economies of scale. In Section 6.1, I detail the existing research on social

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[13] I use the term 'paradigmatic' in a linguistic sense (and in opposition to the concept of syntagmatic). In other words a paradigmatic metaphor is one which exists in an associative relationship with another metaphor and a paradigmatic binary is one which contains antonymic terms (see Silverman 1983, 10, and *The COD* 1991, 1269).

exclusion. In 6.2, I discuss some of the ways in which the intersecting tropes of liberalism, democracy and capitalism influence the production of social policy in the European Union. In order to condense this discussion to a manageable length, I use a heuristic device provided by Fred Riggs (1997) in his typology of 'sheltering terms'. In the third section of Chapter 6, I discuss the intersecting economies of scale in the European Union in relation to social policy – global, supranational, national, regional, and local. This chapter provides a bridge, not only between the descriptive and more analytical chapters, but also between the three epistemological frameworks which provide the rationale for the three substantive chapters that comprise the remainder of Part II.

In Chapter 7, *Speaking Spatially,* I argue that spatial tensions and paradoxical space underwrite the promulgation of European Union social policy. After a general discussion of Gillian Rose's (1993) concept of paradoxical space in section 7.1, I examine specific aspects of her claims in relation to paradoxical space and demonstrate some of the ways in which scale and place produce unanticipated policy outcomes. First, I examine Rose's (1993) claims in relation to "geometrics of difference" and draw on the idea of real material places as paradoxical. I also invoke John Dryzek's (1997) notion of discursive stories as a tool for deconstructing instrumentalist ideas of space and place in this section. In section 7.3, I examine Rose's (1993) second claim about the 'Other' as constituent of the 'Same' in a section I have called 'imagined cartographies'. I consider certain new idealisations of 'poor spaces' and 'migrant bodies' and their attendant ambiguities. In sections 7.4 and 7.5, I provide two case studies that more specifically examine local developments that occurred in response to *Poverty 3* in relation to Rose's third claim to paradoxical space. They were chosen on the basis that they were visited as part of my field research in 1994. In section 7.4, I focus on the Brownlow Community Trust in Northern Ireland and in section 7.5, I examine the Single Parent Action Network (SPAN) in Bristol. Discursive policy response materialises in places and on surfaces, real, imaginary, local, and global, in contradictory ways.

Chapter 8, *Speaking Metaphorically,* relies on its own internal metaphor of 'surface tension' as a heuristic device for framing my examination of key paradigmatic

metaphors. I rely on textual evidence but also on the interviews and discussions with expert informants conducted as part of the field research. This chapter exemplifies the particular kind of discourse analysis I have chosen to work with that is modelled on Fairclough (1992). An explanation of metaphor and the value of metaphor in text analysis comprise sections 8.1 and 8.2 and precedes a detailed examination of four metaphorical clusters. In section 8.3, I examine paired metaphors of combat / solidarity, inclusion / marginalisation, centre / periphery, and progress / decline. I identify these clusters as being significant to the repositioning of discourses of **social** exclusion as discourses of **economic** exclusion but note that they are not exhaustive. Also and briefly, in section 8.4, I identify the grammatical role played by naturalisation and nominalisation.

In the penultimate Chapter 9, I identify and discuss the 'category effects' of the shift to the discourse of (economic) exclusion. The tension that I identify in the economic orientation of exclusion discourses comes in the (re)targeting of different kinds of 'poor bodies' for policy attention. In section 9.1 I identify a contemporary policy paradox that exists in the tension between a politics of redistribution and a politics of recognition. In section 9.2, I examine the politics of recognition in greater detail and suggest some of the ways this politics creates difficulties for marginalised poor bodies. In section 9.3, I focus on three contradictions in particular that follow from these difficulties.

Finally, in Chapter 10, I take an unconventional, postmodern path to my concluding remarks by introducing certain ideas, which have arisen for me during the course of my research. I consider disparate notions of abjection, the functional utility of the poor and curative poisons as areas for future research. In closing, I revisit each of the research questions and provide a critically reflective summary as well as noting other avenues for future research.

Chapter 2

Foregrounds and backgrounds

The process of research involves a dialogue between things 'on the surface' and things that are more deeply buried, less transparently connected to the story, less obvious. Establishing which elements of the dialogue are foreground and which background at any given moment may feel quite arbitrary at the time, but is critical to the construction of the research narrative. Thus, in this chapter I begin to outline the range of factors that helped produce this dialogue. I introduce a particular set of 'processes' that were involved in the production of my research.

Sotirios Sarantakos (1993, 90) suggests that research is a 'process' in the sense that researchers must keep asking, "what do we do next?" Kenneth Bailey (1994, 12–13), however, suggests it is a process because it contains both circularity and the staged progression from one point to another. I use the term 'process' to indicate that all of the identifiable elements of research are dynamic, interrelated and interdependent. Taken together, they tell a story that acknowledges both the tensions produced 'on the surface' in the content of the research, and the tensions that are part of a more opaque background.

2.1: Foreground to the Research

The foreground issues focus on matters that are traditionally understood to relate to the production of doctoral research – issues of academic rationale, originality, key assumptions and the constraints within which the research has been held. The subsequent background section, which relates to some of the more personal motivations for the research, provides a particular reflection on why I have chosen to approach my research in a particular way.

Rationale

My research has a disciplinary base in Geography,[1] thus the intellectual rationalisation for what is covered in the project is partly focused on the relationships between Geography and the other disciplinary knowledges that are invoked. The first rationale is in terms of the relationship between geographical perspectives and social policy, the second in terms of a relationship between geography, policy, and language, and the third in terms of experimental methods. The development of these aspects of the rationale enabled me to make the interdisciplinary links away from 'Geography' to other disciplinary areas – especially to areas of social policy, linguistics and feminist political theory. It also facilitated the links between my conceptual framework, my research questions and the scoping of the research, which have been covered in the previous chapter.

Geography and social policy

Geography and social policy are built on mutually relevant orders of discourse and it is this constitutive relationship that facilitates my pursuit of 'policy' questions in a geographical research project. I identify four aspects of this relationship. First, both disciplinary traditions accord high value to empirical research that reports on 'real world' situations. The literature that I understand to be axiomatic in bringing these two approaches together can be found in a range of academic journals. The *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, for example, has reported on exclusion in Greek cities (Tsoulouvis 1996). *Urban Studies* contains important articles on women's employment and social exclusion (Smith 1997) and on urban regeneration and social exclusion (McGregor and McConnachie 1995). *Environment and Planning A* (1996: 28/8) had a theme issue on financial exclusion, another (1995: 7/10), on the welfare state, and two others (1994: 24/9 and 26/8) on women and the European patriarchy. A journal once called *New Community: The Journal of the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations* (now called the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration*

[1] All references to Geography with a capital 'G' refer to geography as an academic discipline.

Studies), produced a theme issue (1995: 21/4) on European racism and urban violence. Journals such as *Development and Change* (1997: 28/3) and *The International Labour Review* (1997: 136/2) provide more international perspectives.

In these journals, the general tenor is of descriptive, positivist research based on careful information gathering. Much of this literature is highly specialised and as such it provided me with a valuable source of supplementary data. I did not find, in this style of research, a useful model for the broad–sweep interdisciplinary synthesising that I wished to embark on. In my view, however, Geography has a considerable disciplinary capacity to accommodate interdisciplinarity in projects relating, for example, to 'place, poverty and policy'.

There is an acknowledged eclecticism to the discipline both historically (Entriken and Brunn 1989, Hartshorne 1939) and currently (Gregory, Martin and Smith 1994, Johnston 1993, Livingstone 1992, and Peet 1998). Tim Unwin (1992, 12 and 21) identifies geography as an "integrative" or "bridging" discipline. Marcus Doel (1996, 421), more evocatively and provocatively makes connections between the complex postmodernism of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987) and something that Doel calls "scrumpled geography" – geography the follows rhizomatic paths and unpredictable associations. Such integrative eclecticism is sometimes seen as something that produces woolly scholarship, but it is also understood to be a strength that allows for and opens doors to interdisciplinary synthesis. It is this strength, this ability of the discipline to accommodate 'scrumpling' as well as meticulous specialisation, that my research aims to exploit.

Second, many of the authors of (geographical) social policy would describe themselves as planners or policy researchers rather than geographers. The connection between policy and place has not always been finely drawn in either Geography or Policy Studies and insisting on the strength of this reciprocity is an important aspect of my research. The recent publication, *Unemployment and Social Exclusion: Landscapes of Labour Inequality* (Lawless, Martin and Hardy 1998), provides an interesting case study of the kind of text that traditionally invokes both place and policy. In texts such as this, place is

understood to be the site at which particular policies are enacted, rather than as a condition that may be altered by the application of policies. As the highlighting[2] in this excerpt notes, this unilateral and largely descriptive relationship is reflected in opening comments such as:

> At an aggregate scale, there is a distinctive international geography to the OECD 'jobs problem' ... These international differences have been the focus of a formidable corpus of analytical scrutiny ... But equally there are marked regional and local disparities in the incidence of unemployment and labour market exclusion ... These regional and sub–regional geographies of unemployment and labour market exclusion are the focus of this book (Lawless, Martin and Hardy 1998, 12).

In my research I propose to pay much greater attention to the ways in which both place and policy are active constituents in the production of 'poor bodies in poor places'. Place and policy, like philosophy and geography, may well be "miscible matters" (Light and Smith 1998, 1).

A third point, in relation to the relevance of these geography / policy publications is their tendency, as noted above, to be locally or nationally specific. In the context of the European Union, the global / national / local interface of social policy is also critically important. I saw the capacity of geographical study to focus on this relational aspect and on changes at different geographical scales (Howitt 1998) as clearly advantageous to a study of supranational / national / regional and local policies such as those that characterise the Poverty Programmes of the European Economic Communities.

Finally, one of the more recent strengths of place–specific (geographical) social policy is the gender focus of some of the empirical research (see *Environment and Planning A* cited above, but also Baylina 1998, Bondi and Christie 1997, Dwyer and Smith 1998, Harkness *et al.* 1998, and Perrons, 1998). Such work provides a rationalisation for a connection between geography and policy from a feminist perspective. Feminist

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[2] I use three protocols for highlighting text. 1. *Italics* are used for original author emphasis. 2. **Bold** is used for emphasis that I wish to make – especially in text excerpts. 3. 'Scare' quotation marks are used for terms that are ambiguous or contestable in some way and which I wish to draw attention to rather than emphasise. Underlining is used rarely and only when a particular term has very specific emphasis.

geography is a well–established research tradition in Anglo–American Geography (McDowell, 1991; Rose 1993; Women and Geography Study Group 1984, 1997). My familiarity with much of this literature facilitates my links to debates in feminist political philosophy where discussions of categories and identity have strong links to social policy debates.

Geography and language

There is little existing geographical research that deconstructs[3] the relationships between people, place and policy language. There is work in the field of medical geography (Brown 1995, Hay 1989, and Kearns 1994), geographies of disability (Dyck 1995, Gleeson 1996, Hall 1994, Imrie 1993 and 1996) and geographies of ageing (Holdsworth and Laws 1994, and Phillips 1994), which invoke people and policy, but are tentative in their explorations of language and place. Geographers who are European Union migration experts deal extensively with the spatial expressions of human responses to migration policies (Carter, French and Salt 1993, King 1990, 1986, 1993a, 1993b, Sporton 1996, White 1993a and 1993b). There is, however, little in this literature that deconstructively identifies the ways in which policy language produces particular configurations of people and place.[4]

In the very different work of Glenda Laws (1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1995a, 1995b) on ageing and embodiment, and on "urban policy and planning as discursive practices" (Laws 1994b), there is evidence of exploration of these relationships between geography, policy and language. Gearóid ÓTuathail (1992a, 1996) and Simon Dalby (1992, 1993) have also done some work in this area with respect to language and geopolitics and Kenny (1992) provide examples of ways that textual analysis can become part of a geographical agenda. There is, however, considerable capacity to develop geographical research that pays systematic attention to discursive terrains, and

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[3] I use 'deconstruction' as a term for a poststructural, Derridean, approach to semiotic analysis.

[4] King, Connell and White's (1995) approach pays attention to language in their more discursive account of migration and literature.

this is a central rationale for my research. In order to develop this capacity, there is also a need for the development of appropriate methods.

Experimental procedures / Original contributions

The third rationale for this research, then, is that in order to 'do discourse analysis' as a geographer, it was necessary to investigate and develop a set of procedures. These procedures had to be 'simple' enough, on the one hand, to be operationalized by a non–language specialist, and on the other hand, had to be 'complex' enough to provide some depth and credibility to the analysis. I found that Fairclough's (1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1997) approach to discourse analysis – a composite set of procedures that paid attention to the social, discursive and textual elements of an issue – was an accessible starting place. Fairclough's textually oriented discourse analysis (TODA) forms the basis of my approach.

In addition, I was keen to explore computer assisted qualitative data analysis systems (CAQDAS). The business of geographers working in fields other than traditional quantitative methods is still fraught. In choosing to explore a computer assisted qualitative data analysis systems approach I was anticipating extending my own skills as well as creating an opportunity to work critically with the much valorised 'technology interface'. My rationale for engaging with experimental methods also comprises a significant part of the original contribution of this research.

As I have just outlined, a key rationale for my research is to develop interdisciplinary connections between geography, social policy, feminist political philosophy and linguistic analysis. This purpose provides me with an opportunity to develop at least four original contributions to geographical discourse. First, through my discussion of the role of metaphorical language in the policy documents with respect to 'inclusion' and 'exclusion', 'subsidiarity' and 'solidarity', I suggest that places and language are mutually constitutive elements in the production of the discursive space of social exclusion. I challenge the notion that space is a passive receptacle in which policy edicts are enacted without causing 'place effects'. There is evidence in the way in which social

exclusion policies are put into effect; that 'kinds of places' in fact produce different kinds of policies. By exploring and reiterating this claim, I add to an expanding body of geographical literature that is based on ideas about the social construction of policy and place (Jackson and Penrose 1993).

The second interdisciplinary connection is made through my discussion of language, policy and geographical scale. I argue that, at the supranational policy level, the concept of social exclusion is being used to reify links between employment and social inclusion. Paradoxically, at the local level, however, I note that the concept has been used more strategically as a heuristic device to ensure funding for local policy initiatives. Identifying the differences between policy expression at different scales relies on a detailed analysis of the metaphorical geographies of subsidiarity and solidarity that are so influential in relation to the concept of exclusion. Thus, I also deploy an existing concept (Rose's [1993] notion of paradoxical space) in a new field.

Through my discussion of categories and identity politics, I also expand on work developed in part by David Sibley (1995) which challenges the extent to which the concept of 'social exclusion' has the discursive capacity to destabilise neoliberal discourses of the human subject, and this is my third original contribution. Although there is much interesting work being done in feminist geography on embodiment and identity (see McDowell 1999, for an excellent overview), little of this work is to do with the identity of 'poor bodies'. Ironically, 'poor bodies' continue to be much more the focus of instrumentalist research while the bodies of merchant bankers (McDowell 1997), pregnant women (Longhurst 1997), body builders (Johnston 1996), queers (Bell and Valentine 1995), and migrants (Rapport 1995) are being explored in terms of identity politics.

Finally, I make an original contribution through the use of innovative methodology. My research aims to 'test' a specific method of textually oriented discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992), through the use of a specific computer assisted qualitative data analysis system: Non–numerical, Unstructured Data: Indexing, Searching and

Theorizing software or, as it will be called throughout this research, NUD·IST[5]. The inclusion of a method of formal discourse analysis (TODA) with the qualitative research software (NUD·IST) in a geographical framework is new.

By bringing together geographical awareness, linguistic analysis and insights from feminist political philosophy, this research provides the ground for a re–evaluation of the concept of social exclusion within some clearly established boundaries that are delineated, in part, by what I have chosen to assume about prior knowledge and readership.

Key assumptions

This is research that has been conducted on the English language versions of European Community policy documents. The map (Figure 2.1) on the following page identifies the nation (or 'member') states of what is currently regarded as the European Community or Union. In the 1990s, all European Union policy documents are automatically reproduced in at least three languages – English, French and German, as these comprise the official languages of more than one of the member states[6]. There is something potentially spurious about only examining the English policy texts as there is no way to note the intertextual influences operating within the inter–language translation environment. Although there are translation elements that are pertinent to this study – particularly issues of translation from one genre to another (see Steiner 1992), I address these only briefly (see Chapter 4). I believe my project would have been unmanageable if it had attempted to incorporate inter–language textual elements. I have thus made a necessary assumption that English language texts, in this context for my purposes, provide enough of a policy genre in their own right.

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[5] QSR NUD·IST© is the registered trademark for a software package developed by Qualitative Systems Research in Australia (*QSR* online).

[6] There are currently (1999) fifteen member states of the European Union: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, the Republic of Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. English is an official spoken / written language in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland; French is an official language in France and Belgium; German is the official language in Germany and Austria.



Figure 2.1: The fifteen member states of the EU –1999.

I believe there is sufficient weight in the English language texts to substantiate a claim that the discursive shift from 'poverty to exclusion' is occurring. Furthermore, much of the international policy discourse that derives from, or is influenced by, European Union policy, is promulgated in English.

The second assumption is that there are particular sets of what Fairclough has called "production processes", or "interactional routines" (Fairclough 1989, 98–102), or "interactional controls" (Fairclough 1992, 145–9), involved in the development of European Union policy documents. These production and /or interactional processes – the conditions of discourse practice (Fairclough 1992, 232–234) – have a significant influence on the documents that comprise the focus of this study.

The very formal processes by which European Union policy documents are derived and the myriad informal practices that shape those formal processes are beyond the scope of this study (but see Shore 1997).[7] Some sense of the densely bureaucratic environment in which the policy is developed is alluded to in Chapter 5 but can best be seen by visiting the ever–expanding web sites of the European Union.[8]

These production processes are thus assumed to be significant, and are acknowledged, but do not form a focus of my research. The different categories of documents used in my research – categories I have labelled as: 'formal policy', 'public relations' and so on (see Chapter 4) – have their meanings and audiences constrained and influenced by these broad interactional routines in European Community discursive practice.

The third assumption is that, although considerable attention is paid to some aspects of discourse analysis and text analysis, this detail provides, in some ways, only a backdrop to some of the more troubling questions that the research seeks to address. Text analysis,

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[7] Cris Shore's (1997) article on metaphors of integration in the European Union is one of the first of its kind. He discusses the 'production processes' of EU policy discourse quite well without ever calling them that.

[8] Web sites that give immediate access to the European Union policy environment include: *Welcome to D G V at the European Commission* (online); *EUR–OP News: Social Policy* (online); *CORDIS Community Research and Development Information Service* (online).

on its own, will not produce an 'explanation' of the dyadic tension between, say, 'exclusion' and 'integration'. Nor will text analysis serve, on its own, to provide a rationale for the tension between the global policy agendas of the Union, the protective and parochial stance of national governments, and the needs of individuals at local sites. What discourse analysis provides is one way to focus on these more troubling issues: one way to approach the dense, ambiguous and superficially indecipherable phenomenon that social exclusion has become.

A fourth assumption is that intersecting literatures underwrite this research and some competence across the range of key literatures is necessary. Being 'just a geographer' (as in: 'just a positivist earth scientist or GIS practitioner')[9] would mean there was no possibility of assuming familiarity with recent political and feminist theory. The debates surrounding globalisation are increasingly familiar to geographers – such that geographers could be expected to be cognisant of the contours of arguments about nation states in tension with supranational authorities, but the couching of that debate in terms of subsidiarity or harmonisation may be less familiar. In addition, the European Economic Communities produce policy in a unique political framework and both emulates and disallows political practice that is familiar to (Westminster) democratic process. Being familiar with the Westminster system of government but not with the globalisation literature might also be confusing.

Being 'just a feminist' (were ever such an incarnation possible) might be equally confusing because there is little that is explicitly feminist in these arguments. The claims that are made arise from the interstices of debates, central to the feminist intellectual project of at least the last decade, about the nature of subjectivity and identity, about deconstruction and the critique of rationality and the project of modernity. Some familiarity with these arguments is necessary to understand the ways in which these so–called feminist perspectives saturate the theoretical and empirical analysis in what follows.

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[9] I am speaking somewhat tongue in cheek here, but the intra–disciplinary wars in Geography suggest that there is still some desire to keep Geography uncontaminated by social theory.

In other words, I assume a level of background knowledge of European politics and policy promulgation, of feminist political philosophy, of psychoanalysis and geographies of exclusion, and of discourse analysis, qualitative research methods and the use of computer software packages to facilitate that analysis.

A final assumption is, in a sense, spatial. I have assumed, throughout this research, that my location is in the Southern Hemisphere. This puts me at some considerable geographical distance from the places that are the focus of the research and has had significant influence on the kind of work that has been undertaken and on the kinds of outcomes or conclusions that have been identified. What is important to accept, I think, is that this is a piece of experimental research for which the European Community Poverty Programmes proved to be a provocative model for developing innovative research techniques as well as for identifying some of the spatial, metaphorical and categorical implications of discursive shifts in social policy vocabulary.

I began this research in 1994 when the discussion of social exclusion had not entered antipodean[10] discourses of geography, social policy, linguistics or feminism. As a New Zealander, my perspective on the social exclusion debate is attenuated by distance and by the politics of information that dictate access to particular journals and data bases in a timely fashion. These and other more personal aspects of the research process are offered in the next section in which I provide some background to the research and situate myself with respect to those aspects of my personal life–story that are pertinent to the story that I tell.

2.2: Background to the research: situating knowledges

Academic research that focuses on the object of research and forgets the body and subjectivity of the researcher has been classically indicted in the work of a number of

[10] I use this phrase ironically to emphasise the 'otherness' of New Zealand in relation to the European Union. Sharing a common language and some commonalities of history with the United Kingdom does not ensure any transparent connections to the European Community.

feminist philosophers and researchers[11]. I position my research within this critical, feminist tradition and tell the following three stories as a preface to the research 'proper' – in order to situate some of the "locus of idiosyncrasy" (Scheman 1993, 192) from which this research derives. These are the "naively referential" narratives which Liz Stanley (1994, 133) suggests "exist to repair what is actually an awareness of ontological complexity and fragmentation". These narratives do not fill all the gaps. They do not explicitly permeate every page of the research. They do not address every personal or disciplinary idiosyncrasy that has shaped this researcher and this researched material in any particular way. They do provide an important reminder, at the outset of the project, that personal subjectivity has a significant impact on the production of research. The reader is asked to bear both the partiality and the significance of this personalised preface in mind.

Telling Tales 1: A rationale for the 'other'

The explanation of how this research was begun, carried out and closed off is important. I have been challenged, frequently, while doing this research. "You are looking at poverty? Why aren't you looking at 'poverty' in New Zealand?" "What is the relevance of European poverty research for New Zealand needs?" "You're a geographer – why would a geographer study poverty policy?" "It's perverse to go to Europe to look at poor people. You're just being a voyeur." "It's only 'our own' poor that are important – other people's ideas about poverty are of no use to us here." And so on, from friends, family, colleagues working in government. Europe, for the purposes of this research, became my 'other'. I looked in from the 'outside' onto histories of social welfare that were different from those with which I was familiar. I had no idea, at the outset, of the complexity of

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[11] Notably Sandra Harding (1986, 1987) in *The Science Question in Feminism* and *Feminism and Methodology*; Patti Lather (1991) in *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy with / in the Postmodern;* the collected essays in Kathleen Lennon and Margaret Whitford's (1994) anthology *Knowing the Difference: Feminist Perspectives in Epistemology* (particularly essays by Braidotti, Stanley, Strickland and Yeatman) and Naomi Scheman (1993) in *Engenderings: Constructions of Knowledge, Authority and Privilege.*

the 'welfare story' in the European Union context, or of the existence of competing traditions between the Scandinavian, Mediterranean, British and 'western' European.[12]

The original intention of my research was to explore the absence of social policy initiatives within the Australia and New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Treaty Agreement (ANZCERTA or CER). This New Zealand / Australia social policy research interest came out of discussions with colleagues about the co–existence, within European Economic Community (EEC) treaty documents, of both economic and social policy, and a desire to understand how social policy fared in a less elaborated bilateral trading agreement. The fact that there appeared to be little direct social policy content in the CER agreement was one reason I did not pursue this more local angle. Sir Frank Holmes and Clive Pearson's (1991) comprehensive discussion of New Zealand's position in relation to the European Community confirmed my impression, as did Holmes' (1996) summary of the development of the Trans–Tasman relationship.

A more compelling reason for the research was my realisation that 'social policy' was highly developed in the European Union and there was an apparent absence of knowledge of the extent, sophistication and fluidity of the European Union discourses on exclusion in New Zealand. The interrelationships between social, economic, fiscal and political policies in the European Union appeared to be complex. The 'Poverty Programmes', in particular, appeared to be social policy initiatives designed to work across different scales – European supranational / regional / national / local contexts. The debate surrounding 'social exclusion' was beginning to appear in European (especially English language) publications in the early 1990s but was not a term heard at all in the New Zealand context, let alone the context of CER. All of these factors encouraged me to abandon the New Zealand / Australian perspective in favour of a more in–depth analysis of one particular aspect of European Union social policy.

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[12] These 'divisions' are of course completely arbitrary in one sense but they are widely used in debates surrounding social policy in Europe (see particularly Esping–Anderson's (1990) account of the 'worlds of welfare capitalism' in Europe).

The focus of this research, as I have already outlined, is therefore on the so–called Poverty Programmes of the European Union and on the language shifts that have occurred in the promulgation of these and associated social policy initiatives. In my examination and description of the flexible and contingent use of discourses of 'social exclusion' in supranational, European Community anti–poverty policy in the period from 1975 to 1999,[13] I have borne in mind that these discourses are at variance with current anti–poverty debates in New Zealand. I am also aware that the perception of any positive connotation to the conflation of employment and exclusion does not come readily to my mind. European Union texts that unproblematically suggest that employment will provide the panacea for exclusion may therefore have been more surprising and more noteworthy to me.

There were a number of other unanticipated aspects to this research – not so much that I was ever surprised *per se* but rather that I did not have the experience to judge the degree to which certain elements would prove difficult. Managing inter–cultural research was difficult (as I explain in more detail in Chapter 4) and managing an interdisciplinary project also had unanticipated difficulties that required particular strategies. I used the concept of 'key informants'[14] as one strategy for managing interdisciplinarity.

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[13] European Economic Communities policy is promulgated in five–year cycles. *Poverty 4*, which was designed to succeed *Poverty 3*, was to have run from 1994 to 1999 but has lapsed for want of approval from the Council of Ministers.

[14] I use the term 'key informants' in line with Keith Carter and Lionel Beaulieu 1992 (online) who suggest that key informants are those who, "because of their professional training and/or affiliation with particular organizations, agencies, or associations, are in a prime position to know …". These persons may include "elected officials (e.g., mayors, commissioners, etc.), key persons in institutional areas of the community (e.g., religious leaders, bankers, public safety officials, school administrators, hospital administrators, etc.), agency administrators (e.g., social service department), leaders of public service organizations (e.g., Chamber of Commerce, Kiwanis Club), or professionals in specific service areas (e.g., physicians, lawyers, school faculty, etc.)". In my case the term also includes specific authors who are expert in the field and with whom I was able to speak.

Key informants is a concept I borrow from sociological / community research to suggest that I am relying on selected knowledgable sources rather than seeking to produce definitive outlines or surveys of relevant literatures. In a longer or more detailed document much more could be offered from each of the broad disciplinary areas. In this case I have aimed at representative partiality which lays the foundation for further examination of the linkages between geography, feminist theory, and linguistics.

In the first instance, I work under the disciplinary auspices of human geography. This research is therefore set against a backcloth on which people / place interactions are understood to be central. I draw on 'traditional' geographical expertise by being focused on a particular place – "Europe" – and by focusing on issues of geographical scale – the tensions between the supranational, national, regional and local aspirations of poverty policy. I understand myself to 'be' a geographer – to be a person who is steeped in the particular set of epistemological traditions that exemplify 'Geography'. In Chapters 6 and 7, therefore, I pay particular attention to the spatial implications of social policy and to the principles of subsidiarity and solidarity as political principles with very specifically geographical referents. I also explain, in Chapter 3, some of the ways in which the development of new spheres of interest in human geography – in the areas of what is called 'new' cultural geography and 'embodied' geographies – directly intersect with feminist political theorising on the politics of identity.

Feminist interventions provide a second backdrop. My awareness of critical feminist destabilisation of knowledge and critiques of binary oppositions (represented in this research in the separation of the social and economic, the public and private, the included and excluded, for example) has influenced the kinds of questions I have asked. In Chapter 9, I focus more specifically on the feminist discourses that address issues of identity and belonging. My key informants are very specifically restricted here to Nancy Fraser, Wendy Brown, and Iris Marion Young.

The third background area is in linguistics and language use and the intersection of issues of language with both the fields of human geography and feminist theory. The

serendipitous combination of these three interests finds its own unique expression in a methodology that seeks to facilitate language–based human geography research from a feminist perspective. I have relied heavily on the work of Norman Fairclough for the method of discourse analysis I have used and on George Lakoff (1987, 1991, 1995), Lakoff and Mark Johnston (1980), Joan Mulholland (1994) and Andrew Goatly (1997) for my understanding of metaphorical language.

In a sense, geography provides the field, feminist political philosophy the perspective, and discourse analysis the tool for synthesising my interdisciplinary view of the co–productive relationship between place / poverty / policy. Other informants would have provided different perspectives – not just on their own particular specialism but also on the potential direction of the linkages between the three approaches. My own role in this research also serves to make me a key informant. Aspects of my individual story also provide a partially represented frame through which the research aims may be viewed.

Telling Tales 3: The personal is political

This is a faded, now highly contested aphorism that had its greatest moments of resonance during the second wave of feminism[15] in the 1970s. It has significance for this research, as I am a researcher who came to her first political awakenings during the 1970s and find, if sometimes to my horror, that both positivism and second wave feminism are, as it were, 'in my blood'. It was a challenge to shape a research project with both of these differently dominant paradigms. Inevitably, both colour the motivations, goals, objectives and aspirations of this research.

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[15] In deference to the work of the turn of the century feminists and suffragists, who laid the foundation for women's claims to equality as citizens in the polis, the feminism that was developed in the 1960s and 1970s is now often referred to as 'the second wave' of feminism (Evans 1995, Nicholson 1997, Walby 1997, Whelehan 1995). Phillips (1991, 120) suggests that the first wave was "sweeping over Europe and America in the mid–nineteenth century, the second crashing against the post–war consensus just over a hundred years later."

I have turned to a research topic to which my 'gut', rather than my 'rationally inquiring mind' responds. I have needed to return again and again to some larger frame of reference than the 'mere topic' of the research. I have sought to synthesise, to take a 'holistic' approach to a topic that is otherwise too large for such synthesis. My own personal politics of upbringing, world view, and private sensibilities have urged me to try to 'understand' what is 'really going on', why people 'really behave so badly' towards other people and why it 'matters so much' who and what you are. This is the naive basis of this research – the element that I am reluctant to intellectualise or to disguise entirely within the intellectual project. These are 'personal' political frameworks that reflect my own positioning, my own standpoints from which the motivation to do this work derives.

As a feminist, I claim a space from which to interpret a particular 'politics of oppression' that challenges masculine hegemonic interpretations of reality. As a feminist who was inducted in the 1970s – when feminist politics seemed to be more raw, more passionate, more uncompromising – there was much that I found unpalatable in the black and white representations of good [women] / bad [men]. That dichotomous thinking, however, has been a pervasive influence and one that only began to be shifted in the 1990s under the influence of 'deconstruction'.

As a lesbian, I claim a much more personal politics of repression that is inflected by the vilification, the harassment and the culture of disapprobation that has surrounded my [absent–minded?] 'choice' of life style. It is a position which has also given me a particularly poignant sensitivity to being 'in the wrong body', to the material issues of embodiment and difference.

As a product of a 'domestically disordered' household in which love was lacquered over by violence, anger, confusion, hatred, misunderstanding and illness, I claim a capacity to be in the skin of a particular kind of 'suffering' that is / was exacerbated by minimal policies of protection. There was no police response to domestic incidents though 'non–molestation orders' could be (shamefully) negotiated – and in the absence of

economically viable alternatives to domestic chaos – no sole parent benefits and no welfare payments for beleaguered mothers / abused wives.

As a pakeha New Zealander of mixed Anglo–Celtic–Nordic origins, of recent enough migration status to claim British 'patriality' through my maternal (and therefore not counting) side, I have a particular reflexive set of views about Aotearoa, about 'Europe', about my 'whiteness' and my 'otherness'. As a traveller, I have an intimate if facile knowledge of places other than here, that bring me to think about this European place, this place of poverty and policy in very particular ways.

These three stories do not establish any necessary authority for my research. They serve, rather, as a reminder that what is in the foreground of the research is performed against an idiosyncratic and personalised backdrop without which the research process would lack its particular, partial and provisional context. In the literature review that comprises the next chapter, further 'backdrops' are revealed. My research is deeply indebted to the wealth of scholarship that has already been accomplished by so many different academics. In order to rationalise my account of the reading that, like my account of personal experience, lies behind my thinking, I have once again turned to my conceptual framework and produced a review that identifies geographical, metaphorical and feminist political literatures that have informed my understanding of social exclusion.

Chapter 3

Literatures and Key Concepts

Why would a geographer be interested in social exclusion? And if geographers were interested in social exclusion, to which authorities would they need to turn in order to engage with this concept? In this chapter, I provide a context to my approach to social exclusion by discussing a range of literatures that inform my three conceptual frameworks.[1] Section 3.1 is devoted to a brief review of contemporary geographical discourse with a focus on economic, political and social–cultural geographies that relate to poverty and social justice. I acknowledge the cultural turn in geography and examine some of the geographical literature that attends to deconstructive techniques such as the analysis of metaphor, which thus links to the second section on discourse analysis.

In section 3.2, I extend the examination of the role of discourse and figurative analysis in geography by examining some of the literatures from linguistics. I identify the central theorists whose work I relied on and outline the role of the key tropes (figures of speech) of metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony, which I focus on in greater depth in Chapter 8. I critically assess the manner in which discourse analysis has been undertaken in geography.

The third section of Chapter 3 examines of some of the literatures that have informed my feminist framework. I consider three interrelated elements. First I note the role of paradigmatic binaries, which are the focus of much feminist analysis. I identify some of the source literatures I use to inform my analysis of exclusion / inclusion as a key example of the role of binary logic. I make reference to the discourses of inclusion and exclusion in the context of discussions about citizenship in order to draw attention to its significance in this context, but I identify such questions as belonging to the scope of

[1] An anonymous reader of my thesis has pointed out a certain irony entailed in my 'policing' disciplinary and subdisciplinary boundaries and it is an irony I am painfully conscious of. However, as I have stated elsewhere, this is a narrative management strategy.

future research. I briefly consider the contribution of feminist geography to the citizenship debate and suggest that further scholarly work in this field, by geographers, would also be productive.

3.1: Contemporary geographies

By 'contemporary' in this context, I refer to geographic writing that has been produced since the 1960s. The date is arbitrary in some sense but relates to the time that I first became a student of geography and thus "belongs to the same time" as myself (*COED* 1964, 263). There have been significant epistemological shifts over that time and the account that follows here is partial. What I have highlighted are those literatures with which I am most familiar and those that emerged most clearly during my research. In broad terms I identify some of the positivist traditions, some of the indebtedness of geography to sociology and some of the more recent shifts into post–modern discourse that have occurred in geography across a number of thematic areas including economic, political and social–cultural subdisciplines.

Framing economic geography

Trevor Barnes (1997) suggests that traditional approaches to economic geography can be related to the development and deployment of mechanistic analogies common to both neo–Marxist and neo–classical economics. He also suggests that there is an alternative possibility, that of thinking about economic issues through biological, as opposed to such mechanistic, metaphors. Barnes identifies four mechanistic metaphors that are commonly deployed in economic geographies. He suggests that metaphors of mathematical determinacy and 'energetics'[2] were influential in the development of neo–classical economic representations of the predictable nature of human activity.

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[2] Barnes (1997, 233), drawing on Philip Mirowski's (1989) explorations of science, economics and social theory identifies 'energetics' as a specialised branch of physics that has been used as a "theoretical template" for economic theory.

Systematic geographies (Bamford 1983, Dury 1961, Ilbery 1986) and theories such as industrial location (Clark 1983, Lösch 1959, Smith 1987) relied heavily on these notions of calculability, as did early schools of urban welfare geographers (Smith 1977). The legacy of this approach is far from extinguished.

Much welfare policy still derives from calculations of need based on a range of indices designed to support state level planning. Failure to register on an index is often the criterion on which individuals fail to benefit from policy, as writers such as Marilyn Waring (1990) and Susan George (1988, and George and Sabelli 1994) have so powerfully pointed out in the areas of gender inequality and the representation of third world peoples, respectively. The use of territorial social indicators is also subject to a number of pitfalls. There are often inappropriate relationships between data and scale of measurement, and ambiguity in the so–called normative data. A key problem in most index construction involving the measurement of human 'wellbeing' is that of defining the appropriate denominator in the index. As Kim Johnstone *et al.* (1998) discuss, the surrogate values that are often relied on in this context may be inappropriate. In the 1970s, although the concern over social problems was translated into efforts to collect and monitor data on a greater number of social, behavioural, and environmental issues, few of these pitfalls were addressed.

The second analogy Barnes notes is that of reductionism. The propensity for liberal discourse to rely on the centrality of the rational individual as the reductionist answer to the complexity of society makes it possible for "the notion of social regulation [to become] utterly meaningless because society is evacuated of content" (Barnes 1997, 233).

By working with metaphors that denigrate the specific individual, social policy–makers also buy into this reductionist paradigm. When the individual in harsh circumstances, for example, is identified as feckless, the chances for positive regulation on their behalf are indeed small. Sociological classifications of 'poor bodies' in terms of the 'dangerous classes' (Morris 1994), the 'underclass' (Auletta 1982, Mingione 1996) and the 'undeserving poor' (Katz 1990) have been identified as operating from such reductionist

bases. Bernard Boxhill's (1994), 'culture of poverty' makes some moves to a more complex conceptualisation of poverty which is less reliant on these individualist associations.

Barnes identifies 'ahistoricism' as his third analogy. Here he suggests that economic geographers, like their neo–classical economics mentors, rely on metaphors of equilibrium and reversibility to over–rule the possibility that time is a significant variable in human events. As Barnes (1997, 234) suggests:

> The kind of troubled, restless and unsettled landscapes of late twentieth century capitalism ... are irreconcilable with supply and demand diagrams that posit equilibrium through backward and forward movements on a two dimensional page.

My own extrapolation of Barnes' analogy leads me to this conclusion: in the world of neo–classical economics the time–sequenced event of an industry collapsing because wages are too high is theoretically reversible. Make the wages lower because demand for labour is now lower and the industry can be revived. Such a reading of economic logic 'logically' follows from the 'ignore time' analogy. Industrial decline, however, like most economic processes, is not simply a function of wage–labour relationships; it is a process embedded in a social context that has a history. The movement of wages alone cannot 'reproduce' industries.

In the world of welfare geography, social policy modelled on the 'fix it if the ratios are wrong' scenario is premised on the same [faulty] logic of equilibrium models. The discursive construction of acceptable rates of employment and unemployment in capitalist democracies is a pernicious case in point. As investors' obsessions with the "Employment Cost Index"[3] suggest, it is not the individual reality of unemployment for 'poor bodies' that matters, but only whether or not the economy can sustain equilibrium at this or that rate (see also Lee (1995) for a critique of this logic).

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[3] The Employment Cost Index is "A measure of total employee compensation costs, including wages and salaries as well as benefits. The employment cost index (ECI) is the broadest measure of labor [sic] costs" (*The Econoday online calendar* online).

In his final analogy, Barnes identifies the neo–classical yen for, and paradoxical entanglement with, a purposive, secular teleology. In a world–view that puts the idea of 'progress' in centre stage, the rational and natural 'optimisation' of human objective functions becomes a core value. Optimising functions bears little resemblance to doctrines of rationality envisaged in John Locke's[4] time when pervasive Christian ideals of sanctifying all human life were bound, flesh and soul, to the development of material aspirations and notions of the free, autonomous individual. Under contemporary secular conditions, progress towards some imagined but unspecified economic goal becomes the governing teleology both for the rational individual and for the whole (economic) society. In terms of social policy, this 'optimisation' is understood in terms of increased income generation, increased purchasing power and increased consumption. The enhancement of life, improving the quality of life (other than through cost–generating medical interventions) is not a part of any functionalist purpose.

As an economic geographer, Barnes effectively identifies key mechanistic metaphors that have had the capacity to shape the ways in which policy makers and spatial analysts read the socio–economic landscape. His outline of biological metaphors is also engaging and provides some antidote to the bleak picture he draws of neo–economic influence. Barnes (1997, 235–236) suggests that biological metaphors provide a kind of counter discourse[5] (though he does not use that phrase) to the mechanistic ones.

Where there is determinacy that excludes the 'irrational' behaviours of individuals or groups, it might be possible to imagine a system "which is both stochastic and determined, and as a result can never be fully known or precisely predicted." Where there is a reductionist will toward the atomistic individual, it might be possible to "seek

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[4] Locke's understanding of the 'social contract' entailed the individual's complete freedom to pursue happiness, but only in so much as this freedom is relinquished in order to be regulated by laws made by that society in the eyes of God (Ashcraft 1986).

[5] The idea of competing or counter discourses, as expressed in the work of Foucault (1976, 100–102) as "tactical polyvalence", provides a useful label for Barnes' strategy here. It is a concept intimately linked to Foucault's theories of power as constitutive rather than repressive and has been taken up and developed by a range of theorists including Chris Weedon (1992) and Teun van Djik (1997b). I return to this discussion in Chapter 6 where counter discourse is important to the conceptualisation of social exclusion for local, field practitioners who value the positive potential of the new term.

a holism or organicism where the emphasis is on emergent properties." Where teleological explanations drive theory in a single unitary direction with a belief in an end point or solution, it might be possible to opt for "a pluralist mix of different theories." And, finally, rather than elevate the timeless equilibrium model to godlike status, it might be possible to "accentuate historical process and change." Such post–positivist ideals have as much value in the social policy arena as they do in economic geographies but the development of theories and metaphors that might facilitate a transition from 'mechanistic' to 'biological' world–views is still in its infancy.

Barnes' debunking of neo–classical paradigms based on mechanistic models and his outline of the power of biological metaphors is a useful clarification of the contemporary direction in which some economic geographies are prepared to move (see also Barnes 1996). Marcus Doel (1996), in his vivid evocations of "scrumpled geography", also opens a path for a more overtly postmodern geography that has the capacity to negotiate such an epistemic change. Doel suggests that closer attention to the ideas of "schizoanalysis" put forward by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari would allow geographers to emphasise metaphors of flows, lineaments, and movements rather than ideas of the abstract universal subject. Here, the holism that Barnes adulates would be diverted into notions of fragmentation and disintegration in which it is the flows themselves that are crucial to the maintenance of paradoxical, contingent and ephemeral coherences. Both Barnes' ideas of holism and Doel's ideas of fragmentation are mediated through metaphors of biology.

As I outline in Chapter 5, European social policy, since its inception in the founding Treaty,[6] has been driven by considerations linked ultimately to neo–classical economics. I have found Barnes' analysis useful for my argument that European social policy initiatives are driven by essentially economic considerations, much more than by social imperatives. I have also found Barnes' synthesis of shifts in economic geography a

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[6] The 'founding Treaty' refers to the *Treaty of Rome* 1958 (online), which brought the European Economic Community into being for the initial six member states: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. All the online references for this and other treaties are cited in the final references under *Treaties* or *Treaty*

useful bridge between the pragmatic geographies of the 'real world' and the increasing attention given to the so–called 'linguistic turn'. Before I go on to discuss the linguistic turn, however, I consider recent political and social–cultural geography literatures relating to issues of European social policy.

The territories of political geography

The question of territorial scale is quintessential to any discussion of the European Union, and territoriality is the core concern of so–called 'political geography' (but see Painter 1995). Not only is the European Union a supranational, multi–state authority that is outside any of the traditional frameworks of twentieth century territory (not quite a world superpower as it has no united military but more than a nation state) but it is also subject to unique constraints. The principle of subsidiarity, the existence of 'opt–out' clauses, and the international civil service making up the Commission[7] all produce an extremely unusual set of geographical exigencies. What is remarkable is that there are so few geographical analyses of these circumstances.

Authors, such as Allan Williams (1991), writing an introductory study of the European Economic Communities for geographers, have had to draw on sources outside of the discipline. Recent initiatives from researchers at the Universities of Durham and Bristol tease out the connections between globalisation and integration (Amin and Thrift 1998) and the European Union and cohesion (Amin and Tomaney 1995). Lee (1995, 1591) is also concerned to make the links between regulationist philosophy and European social exclusion in the context of arguments about "increasingly global integration of the circuit of capital." Debates around issues such as integration and regionalism would appear to have occurred in a context of increasing globalisation on the one hand and a contradictory tendency towards the intensification of regional trade blocs on the other.

David Pinder's (1991) *European Community: The Building of a Union* is justly famous as an overview text, but it is one that highlights systematic geographies in quite a

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[7] I discuss all of these elements further in the third section of this review and in Chapter 5.

conventional fashion. A number of other geographies of Europe follow the same path (Clout, Blacksell, King, and Pinder 1993; and Unwin 1998). Systematic geographies are conscientious in their address of 'topics' such as transport, industry, agriculture, even poverty, but it is the topic, not the place that assumes significance. Although many of these texts unselfconsciously deploy conventional spatial metaphors such as 'landscape,' 'distance,' 'node,' and 'network'– that Sack (1997, 25) suggests are so crucial to addressing the centrality of geography – they do not examine them as metaphors, nor do they entertain the more frangible metaphors of 'home and world, space and place' that Sack identifies as key tropes.

Political geographical concerns with 'territory' and 'politics', it would seem, have attracted geographical analysis in the European Union context in very specific ways. I have already suggested that my research is limited to English language texts and this may in part explain the paucity of European Union focused work. The historical positioning of the United Kingdom as 'outside' of 'Europe' and the marked hostility towards conceptualising Britain as 'in Europe' may contribute to the absence of attention to 'Europe' in British geographical texts. That some of the recent research (Amin and Thrift 1998) has 'globalisation' (rather than 'Europeanisation') as its legitimating focus tends to confirm my suspicion. If I had hoped to find English language geographies that attended to poverty in a European context I was disappointed. However, from another point of view, that of scale, the concept of territory forms a significant link between geographical discussions surrounding poverty and the role of metaphor in geographical analysis.

Geographical scale

Having suggested that there is room for change in the representation of the place / policy relationship in geography, it is also useful to note the value of these didactic accounts of policies being enacted in certain places. Attention to the specificities of place has produced policy that is well informed by the differences that exist at local levels, and this is productive – especially for the local recipients whose circumstances are made arguably unique by their geographical location. Recent work by Neil Smith (1993) on

the geographies of the homeless in New York highlights the place specific impacts of policies. Smith (1993, 97) also points to the significance of metaphorical evocations of place in poverty discourse and suggests that:

> The construction of geographical scale is a primary means through which spatial differentiation takes place ... In a literal as much as a metaphorical way, scale both contains social activity and at the same time provides an already partitioned geography within which social activity takes place ... It is geographical scale that defines the boundaries and bounds the identities around which control is exerted and contested.

Perhaps not surprisingly, one of the first geographies to identify the role of metaphor in the signification of territory is one that addresses issues of homelessness. Smith (1993) critiques the literalness with which geographers have used spatial concepts. He makes the point, very relevant to any geography of the European Union, that events that might be construed as examples of the making of place, are, in reality, "contests over the production of scale". "Scale", Smith (1993, 101) claims, "is an active progenitor of specific social processes." In developing a very coherent argument about the extent to which spatial metaphor "taps directly into questions of social power," Smith (1993, 97) identifies four elements of analysis that I believe are invaluable for an analysis of social exclusion in the European Union context.

First, Smith (1993, 97) suggests that: "The construction of geographical scale is a primary means through which spatial differentiation takes place." Second, he suggests that "an investigation of geographical scale might therefore provide us with a more plausible language of spatial difference" – one through which different kinds of scale (political, domestic, hierarchical) can be discussed. Third, Smith claims that "the construction of scale is a social process" in as much as it is a discursive, expedient and mutually constitutive construct. Finally, he suggests that "the production of geographical scale is the site of potentially intense political struggle." Smith (1993, 98) notes that:

> Metaphor works in many different ways but it always involves an assertion of otherness ... to the extent that metaphor continually appeals to some other assumed reality as known, it systematically disguises the need to investigate the known.

This is salutary advice to which I have attended carefully. The following sub section on social–cultural geographies raises some other equally important issues.

Social–cultural geographies

The place of the so–called 'Chicago School' is significant in this narrative. The term, 'Chicago School', refers to the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago as it was in the period between the first and second world wars. Researchers and scholars such as Ernest Burgess, Robert Park, Robert McKenzie, William Thomas and Louis Wirth instigated studies of the city based on human ecology models. These models of urban space were later influential in the development of urban geography as a subdiscipline (see Johnston, Gregory and Smith 1994, 61–62).

The extent to which geography is indebted to sociology is thus strikingly clear in the area of urban geography and is usually acknowledged. The slippage between sociology and geography is less clearly articulated in other subdisciplines, however. The consequence of this is that many of the sociological perspectives that underpin welfare geography, geography and crime, and geography and poverty are poorly or improperly explained in geographical sources. Thus, for example, David Sibley's (1995) excellent account of geographies of exclusion never *specifies* its reliance on sociological perspectives but the reliance is implied in extensive footnotes to Emile Durkheim, Erik Erikson, Anthony Giddons and George Herbert Mead. As I outline in the next section, the Chicago School influence was pervasive in the geographies of the 1960s and 1970s.

There is a history to geographers' engagement with social justice which David Smith (1994, 4) describes as dating from the "latter part of the 1960s." The conjunctions of the sociological influences of the Chicago School with the so–called 'radical geography' (Peet 1977, 1998) tradition that developed later, gave rise to geographic investigations into crime, (Harries 1974, Herbert 1982), studies of housing inequalities (Jones 1977, Ley 1983, Pacione 1987, Watson 1977), and poverty (Morrill 1971, Peet 1972). The welfare geographers of this early period argued for an analytic framework from which geographers could consider how social constraints influenced social behaviours.

David Harvey (1973) was amongst the first to make an explicit and sustained case for the inclusion of issues of social justice in geographical discourse. His work in *Social Justice and the City* established geographical links between power and justice and between space and social and moral philosophy. Harvey provides a significant precedent for a concern with broader questions of social justice and his work complements that of the other writers in the fields of urban and social geography who have examined more specific questions of crime, housing, and poverty as urban phenomena with marked spatial effects. In other words, there is a concern both to connect geographical and philosophical questions, and to address more pragmatic issues.

The dual Anglo–American[8] geographic history provides further evidence of engagement with issues of social justice in the wider discussions about the nature of geography as an academic discipline. Ron Johnston, in his 1991 book *A Question of Place,* argues persuasively for geographic engagement with 'big social issues'. In the final chapter of his book, he identifies two schools associated with the development of this engagement. On the one hand, Johnston suggests, there are the 'geographers as engineers' who have the technical expertise (and the computer models) to provide solutions to contemporary policy problems. He identifies Bennett (1989), Openshaw (1989) and Rhind (1989) as exponents of this approach – advocates of technical expertise and professionalism, who represent a "pragmatic, opportunistic, and narrow definition of geography as an academic discipline" (Johnston 1991, 248).

On the other hand, there are those who are concerned to understand the philosophical underpinnings of spatial–temporal, cultural–physical relationships. Proponents like Stoddart (1986) look for the closer articulation of the physical / cultural interactions and interdependencies while others, like Sack (1997, 24–25), idiosyncratically and evocatively suggest the mutually constitutive nature of *Homo Geographicus* – our geographies and our geographical selves. Johnston (1991, 255) suggests that

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[8] The extent to which this research relies on Anglo-American sources (both 'Anglo' as in English language but also literatures from England, Ireland, Scotland, Australia, and New Zealand and American as in Canada and the United States) needs to be borne in mind. I have only drawn on 'Anglo-American' epistemologies but am conscious of differences between and within the two.

engagement with social issues is a necessary rather than contingent condition of geographical scholarship.

He suggests that an important aim of geographic work must be: "to identify what the major contingent features [of social variation] are, so as to provide a framework for the study of interactions among necessary relations and local conditions." Some specific subdisciplines of social geography have successfully made this engagement and medical geographies, which could loosely fall under the rubric of social geography, is a case in point.

Medical geographies

Recent medical geographies[9] have begun to develop sophisticated arguments with respect to policy and place. In part this can be understood in relation to a long–standing engagement of 'geography and health' (see Kearns (1993, 139–147) for a concise, partial historiography of place and medical geography), and in part as a response from geographers to recent postmodern deliberations on health issues. The influence of Michel Foucault, whose writings on the genealogy of medical incarceration (1988), on sexuality (1990) and reflections on geography (1980b) are widely cited, is apparent in many of these texts. Foucault's work has been used as a touchstone for many of the 'new' medical geographies written in the last decade (see Brown 1995 and Dyck 1995).

Robin Kearns (1993) provoked a debate by calling for a reformed medical geography and this debate deserves closer attention. On the one hand, in an invited response from Mayer and Meade (1993) on the reformation of geography, Kearns was accused of omitting 'disease ecology' from his examination of medical geography and was also

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[9] The term 'medical geography' is ambiguous. It may be used in a restrictive sense to refer to those discourses that focus on the spatial distribution patterns of medically related phenomena, particularly disease. Disease ecology might be a more specific title for this work. In data sources such as the BIDS IBSS (The International Bibliography of the Social Sciences) online data bases the term 'medical geography' appears to be relatively new (only one citation for the period 1980-1990 and 18 from 1990-1998). In these references the term is used to refer to a more critical and reflexive kind of medical geography as is reflected in the work of Hay (1992), Jones and Moon (1993), Kearns (1995, 1996), Mayer (1996).

accused of having an unacceptable desire to renegotiate the relationship between medical and social geography. Kearns' response to both these accusations is considered and pertinent. In particular he stresses that in the field of 'disease ecology' "the essential linearity in thinking has prevailed, consonant with the deeply embedded positivist epistemology of medical science" (Kearns 1994, 112). Whereas social geography, he suggests, has embraced qualitative research methods, it would seem that the methodological impetus in disease ecology continues in the direction of positivist, quantitative research.

There is a direct corollary here with social policy on poverty so much of which is informed by the "linearity in thinking" in the positivist epistemologies of demography (see, for example the very recent work on unemployment and social exclusion by Green, Gregg and Wadsworth 1998). A careful reading of Kearns' text suggests that he is deeply concerned with the relationship between medical and social geography and rather than eschewing the renegotiation between the two is at pains to clarify it.

Despite the fact that much of this recent medical geography commands our attention on the intersection of geography and social theory, little of this work focuses on the influence of spatial metaphors. Metonymic reference to place is evident in Michael Brown's (forthcoming) work on time / space and AIDS where he refers to "the importance of place in **bearing witness** to a crisis" and to "**city** politics". Such references are used by Brown, but not examined for their linguistic leverage. In the work of such authors as Brown (1995), Dyck (1995), and Kearns (1993), material places continue to be dominant.

Medicine and health are also discourses that are intimately connected to 'the body' and they thus have a potential to bridge the disciplinary space between medical and embodied geographies although this does not happen easily. For a potent, thought provoking and scholarly account of bodies and policies there is no substitute for Richard Sennett's (1994) *Flesh and Stone*. Sennett's primary concern, with the sensory deprivation of the human body in urban space, is premised on his belief that the spatial relations of human bodies make a difference.

His discussion of the "spaces to speak" (Sennett 1994, 52) provides insights into the constitution of citizenship. His discussion of "the great tension between economy and religion" (Sennett 1994, 159) makes it possible to understand the tension in the European Union between discourses of subsidiarity (economic independence and autonomy of member states) and discourses of solidarity (community and family support for the least privileged). His description of the work of medieval almoners in Paris (Sennett 1994, 176) further explains some of the intensity with which French Catholicism holds to the model of "charitable bonding" between the church and the poor. His poignant account of the rise of "urban individualism" (Sennett 1994, 321) presages the powerlessness of the poor in the great metropolitan centres of Europe in the face of twentieth century gentrification, new towns and urban renewal.[10]

Finally, Sennett's (1994, 365) account of the "civic body" and the spatial detachments of contemporary urban life goes a long way to explain the spatialised fears of difference that permeate the lives of urban dwellers.[11] These are powerful descriptions of embodiment and place and David Harvey (1975) and Kevin Lynch (1960) are the only two well–known geographers to whom Sennett refers.

As I have suggested elsewhere, there is a dearth[12] of geography that attends to the place / body / policy relationship, but geographies related to issues of health and disease make a significant contribution to the discursive production of 'poor places'.

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[10] Other historical accounts of European constructions of poverty, which I have found useful, include Bronislaw Geremek (1994), Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly (1979), Robert Jutte (1994) and John Pound (1971).

[11] Sennett's (1994) account of 'urban detachment' has much greater resonance for me than Iris Young's (1990, 227) "ideal of city life as a vision of social relations affirming group difference." As I go on to suggest later, however, Young's (1990, 227–241) rejection of the "ideal community" in favour of a "normative ideal of city life" may not entirely solve the problem of exclusion – even idealistically.

[12] A dearth but not a complete absence. New, interdisciplinary, 'geographies' of embodiment from eclectic perspectives, begin to tread into this territory – see Jon Binnie (1995) on policy *contra* queer bodies, the collected edition by Erica Carter, Donald James and Judith Squires (1993) on identity and location, Kathy Davis (1997) on embodying theory, David Evans (1993) on sexual citizenship, Mike Featherstone (1983) on consumerism and embodiment, David Morgan and Sue Scott (1993) on bodies in the social landscape, Heidi Nast and Steve Pile (1998) and Steve Pile (1996) on bodies in cities, and Chris Shilling (1993) on the body and social theory, for example.

Michael Dorn and Glenda Laws (1994) begin to shift conceptions of the material stability of place in their work, which identifies the body itself as an "implaced" place – as something which is, in part, produced by the culture of the place to which the body belongs:

> A truly liberating medical geography which appreciates the (postmodern) possibilities of recognizing difference cannot remain concerned simply with personal "rootedness". It must look to the culture of a place as the result of conflict over the accommodation of differences. Differing bodies are fashioned into deviant ones through the implacement of abjection.

The concept of the "implacement of abjection" is one of the few interpretive tools that have come to the fore in discussions of geography and policy. Useful to my argument is the proposition that 'abjection',[13] an arguably individualistic concept, is intensified through its articulation with place. 'Poor bodies' – particularly homeless 'poor bodies', arguably embody many of the characteristics of 'abject bodies' – they are, in Mary Douglas' (1966, 35) famous aphorism, "matter out of place". They are associated with dirt, disease, deprivation and displacement. But such understandings of 'poor bodies' are rooted to cultures of hygiene, cleanliness, and 'housed–ness', which specifically construct the 'otherness' of the poor. These constructions of 'poor bodies' are tightly bound to perceptions of the 'poor places' in which the bodies are to be found. The "culture of a place" in Dorn and Laws (1994) interpretation, becomes critically important.

The concept of abjection, and the deeply individualised nature of abjection, may provide one way to re–look at the metaphor of solidarity in European Union policy texts. The

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[13] The concept of 'abjection' has developed currency in social theory largely through the work of the French feminist philosopher, Julia Kristeva. Kristeva (1982) has argued her case most eloquently in *Powers of Horror: an Essay on Abjection.* This book–length essay has then informed the work of other feminist philosophers. In my reading, this influence has been apparent in the work of Judith Butler (1992, 1993), Maud Ellmann (1993), Elizabeth Grosz (1994, 1989), Sneja Gunew (1993), and Midori Matsui (1993) and is discussed in detail in critical commentaries such as John Fletcher and Andrew Benjamin (1990), and Kelly Oliver (1993). Most of this work could be seen primarily as psychoanalytic theory or literary critique.

poor Others, the abject subjects of poverty discourse, somehow need to be incorporated into the body of the Same. In 'family' discourse, solidarity may be hoped for through intergenerational sharing where elders care for their grandchildren or great grandchildren and may expect to be cared for in return through family networks. In 'religious' discourse, solidarity would imply that the church has the capacity to unify bodies through shared beliefs. In 'community' discourse solidarity might be assumed to be accessible through shared cultural values that are 'place–based'. In 'union' discourse solidarity is achievable through the common project of work–based unity. In European Union discourse solidarity may be engineered through the synergies from appropriate partnerships between 'business' and 'voluntary organisations'. In none of these scenarios is solidarity understood to be premised on any 'will' to belong. The 'will' is assumed. The desire for belonging is assumed. Developing a 'willingness' to participate in belonging may require a different 'geometrics' than any of these.

Geographies that are concerned with policy issues, however, predominantly refer to *place* as the ground to which policy or policy related services is delivered – a real, material location from which a policy outcome can be expected. The "spaces of representation" (Rose 1993, 153) that medical geographies[14] take note of tend to be those in which the binary between the same (the well, the un–diseased) and the 'other' (the diseased, the body as vector of disease) is tightly maintained. The rhetoric of confinement, containment, and control is paramount and the unanticipated 'freakishness' of disease serves only to drive the disease ecologists to despair. The unrepresentability of the abject 'real' of "matter out of place" (Douglas 1966, 35) is the paradox for medical geographies.

Spatial inequality studies

The focus on interactions, contingencies, distribution and the spatial effects of social policies can also be seen in the work of a wide range of other more recent key geographical writings. In the subdiscipline of social geography, Jennifer Wolch and

[14] Medical geographies that pay attention to 'health' rather than disease are exempted from this discussion.

Michael Dear (1989) discuss the impact of territory on social life in a way that expressly gives power to spatiality. Dear and Wolch (1987) and Wolch and Dear (1993, 1989), provide exemplary case studies of spatial inequality as a consequence of policy. These book–length, North American studies have been only recently echoed in the United Kingdom. Steven Pinch's (1997) analysis of *Worlds of Welfare: Changing Geographies of Welfare Provision*, written from the perspective of an economic geographer, provides an unusual discussion of not only some of the generic changes in the condition of the welfare state, but also of the developments in theoretical approaches to the welfare state. Although ostensibly cross–cultural (there are passing references to the United States, Europe and Japan), his anchors are firmly British and the empirical focus is clearly inflected by the 'distribution paradigms' that have driven the development of much economic geography since the 1930s. Other writers in the social geography field include Peet (1972), and more recently Eyles (1987) whose focus is on social planning, deprivation and the city as a site for poverty.

Trevor Barnes (1997, 234), takes a very different perspective from Pinch and argues for a view of economic geography that sees accumulation and regulation as "haphazard and contingent". Barnes, as I have already pointed out, provides a potent exposition of the development of, and change from, positivist paradigms in economic geography.

In the final sub–section of this discussion on contemporary geographical literatures, I follow some of the trends in the development of 'new'[15] cultural geography in order to develop a basis for a more comprehensive discussion of the role of figurative language analysis in geography. Anglo–American geographers, who see themselves as having transgressed subdisciplinary boundaries, would also see themselves as amongst the group of geography scholars for whom the 'linguistic turn' has proved the most appealing and provocative.

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[15] The 'new' remains in scare quotes on this page only – thereafter I let it slip in as an unmarked term except where it is being further defined.

The term 'new' cultural geography is a portmanteau term imagined and contested in a number of different ways. The derivation of the 'new' can be identified in a recent synopsis by Linda McDowell (1994). She proposes that there are four discernible threads to the development of cultural geography over the last thirty years. Each thread is pertinent to European Union policy analysis in different ways.

First, McDowell suggests that geographers turned more directly to social science and the humanities to borrow and articulate the concept of 'contested social practices' in a spatial context. Western Europe, the city, the metropolis, all formed theatres in which the performance of new geographies that identified the concentration of diversity in urban landscapes could take place. This was a shift away from the rational science of town planning discourses that saw density as creating complex sets of problems to be solved. Geographers came to talk of 'ways of seeing,' of geographies of 'every day life,' and of 'cities as texts.'[16] This kind of language, these representations of cities as spatially and temporally mutable sites from which it was possible to deduce socially constructed realities, makes it possible to consider the roles of place, poverty and policy in metaphorical as well as in literal ways.

In her second thread, McDowell (1994, 157) identifies the important role of cultural materialism in contemporary cultural geography. She suggests that the undue influence of two British cultural theorists, Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall, can be seen in the revival of localities geographies which valorise the "lost authenticity" of working class communities.

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[16] McDowell (1994, 155) cites Buck–Morss (1989), Gregory (1991), de Certeau (1984), and Duncan and Duncan (1988) respectively.

This assessment of the potential nostalgia of cultural geography is also applicable to social policy discourse that supports the ideals of community solidarity.[17] There has been little geographical exploration of the concept of solidarity as a mythic, figurative representation of locality. The third identification McDowell makes is of the role of mass consumption and consumption–based social practices as social forces with the power to over–ride locality studies. Debates about consumption, although not developed to any degree in this thesis, have considerable significance for debates about social exclusion. As Marshall Wolfe (1995, 90) suggests: "Although many people are still excluded through isolation, extreme poverty, or cultural resistances, even these forms of exclusions are being penetrated in incongruous ways by elements of consumer culture." Exclusion from consumption, he suggests, is one of the core axes along which it is possible to theorise the transformational possibilities of consumption and exclusion "for family and community interactions from the local to the global".

Consumption, identity and embodiment are beginning to be discussed in geography (see Longhurst 1998, Pile and Thrift 1995, and Smith 1993) and there is some specific support for these ideas in sociological collections (Edgell, Hetherington and Warde 1996, and Schatzki and Natter 1996). If identity is produced through an individual's capacity to consume, what kind of identity might an excluded person have open to them if they cannot participate in consumption practices? This question, and its unanswerability, is also connected to what McDowell identifies as a fourth element in 'new' cultural geography, that of landscape as text.

The key identification, that visible space may be read and interpreted in a text–like way, effectively produced the space for new cultural geography. I shift away from McDowell's analysis at this point to consider this issue more fully through the lens

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[17] The term 'solidarity' has particular significance in the European Union. It represents the ideal nostalgic relationship in which the church supports the state and the family, and the family, in turn, supports the local community and the individual. It is closely tied to the discourse of subsidiarity which implies that socio–political action must be taken as close as possible to its relevant object – whether that be the individual via the support of the family, the family via the support of the local community, or the nation–state via the support of all the regional and local communities which comprise the state. I discuss these concepts more fully later.

provided by Denis Cosgrove's (1994) resume in *The Dictionary of Human Geography.* Cosgrove (1994, 112) not only uses the phrase, "new cultural geography", but suggests that it refers to many, disparate constitutive elements. He suggests that new cultural geography is responsive both to multiculturalism and postmodernism by giving "voice to the 'other' … to those traditionally excluded." The inclusion of 'other' voices, and some idea of "cultural integrity" is insisted on, Cosgrove suggests, by new cultural geographies of "formerly colonized peoples, and of women, the materially dispossessed and other minorities." Writers in these predominantly postcolonial and feminist fields have been critical of the traditional cultural hegemony of "uniform and normative set[s] of beliefs, attitudes and material artefacts". Issues of representation and a fascination with ideas of national identity also form part of the diet of new cultural geographers, as does a renewed and critical interest in "landscape and environmental relations."

Cosgrove suggests that the cultural geography he identifies in the 1990s forges closer ties with both social and political geography and "reflects the collapse of foundationalism and metatheory." What Cosgrove does not concentrate on, but which is emphasised by Richard Peet (1998, 232), under the heading of "Poststructuralism" is that:

> … if a single tendency characterizes poststructural thought, it is the linguistic turn toward discourse, text, reading and interpretation. Insights developed in linguistic philosophy and literary theory draw a wide following, especially among those critical of, or disillusioned with, the theoretical claims of historical materialism and the politics of the socialist project.

A range of other significant collections of cultural geography (Anderson and Gale 1992, Cosgrove and Daniels 1988, Duncan and Ley 1993, Jackson 1987, 1989a, Jackson and Penrose 1993, and Keith and Pile 1993, Nast and Pile 1998), identify the scope of cultural geography and the foundation that this particular subdiscipline has been able to provide for the elaboration of a cultural and linguistic turn in geography. This turn appears to be upheld by two disparate energies – an energy for examining corporeal geographies and an energy for examining texts. A more detailed discussion of this 'linguistic turn' in geography forms the basis for the next section.

Corporeal geographies

Attention to 'bodies' is one recent development in new cultural geography that has come out of the parallel interests of diverse groups of academics. Some, such as David Bell and Gill Valentine (1995) have edited collections focused on queer bodies. Others, such as Ruth Butler and Sophie Bowlby (1997), Judith Butler (1998) and Vera Chouinard and Ali Grant (1996) have addressed issues relating to disabled bodies. In Nancy Duncan's (1996) edited collection, Joanne Sharp writes about national identity and embodiment from a feminist perspective while Kay Anderson addresses issues of race and the construction of self–other dichotomies. Robyn Longhurst (1996) has researched the bodies of pregnant women, while Lynda Johnston (1996, 1997) has attended to body builders and queer tourists.

In all of these new geographies, there is a concern to acknowledge the role of material humanity – the flesh and bloodedness of human negotiations of and in space and place. There is still, I would suggest, very little 'geography' that focuses on the embodied subjects of social policy discourse. There are, however, significant opportunities in the area of social exclusion research to focus on embodiment and policy. Although this is not the focus of my study, it is an area of great interest. In this section, I briefly examine some of the relationships between issues of migration, policy and embodiment as one example of how this topic could be pursued.

The migrant corporeal?

The issue of migration, like issues relating to health and disease, is central to the policy concerns of the European Union at a global scale. The question of who does or does not belong in the European Union and who may, or may not become a citizen is an immense field. It is not a field I can adequately address here. Rather I point to some of the discursive constructions of migration in the context of geography literatures and to the ways in which much of this literature eschews embodiment.

Migration has been a key focus of geographical research. It is one area of social research where 'place–to–place' relationships are central. Migration refers to the movement of

people from one place to another – in a material sense – but also refers to the inclusion and exclusion of persons from particular places on specific grounds. The notion of citizenship is embedded in migration, as are concomitant notions of individual rights and entitlements. It is only recently that migration literature has given due regard to issues of citizenship in a more than an administrative sense (see sociological work by Stephen Castles and Paul Spoonley (Castles *et al.* 1997 and 1993 and Castles and Spoonley 1997) in particular).

Russell King (1993) charts some of the contours of the relationships between migration and xenophobia in his recent work on European migration. King writes richly about fresh waves of immigrants on Europe's doorstep. The metaphors of migration – of 'waves' and 'flows' and 'trickles' and 'swells' – are invoked unselfconsciously in such texts (see also Barnes 1996). 'Thresholds' and 'doorsteps' are terms that unwittingly identify the liminal spaces through which migrants move, but the texts seldom pause reflectively in such spaces. The processes of exclusion and inclusion for would–be legal migrants are ratified in the liminal spaces of the borderlands[18] – places of passport control and places such as embassies that are somehow 'displaced places' in themselves. For would–be illegal migrants the liminal places of coastlines and border crossings are the places of potential discovery and repulsion. These are the paradoxical spaces of margins and centres. To get to the centre, the migrant must cross the margin but the margin is the centre of surveillance.

To write a geography of policy in / for such places would require attention to more than demographic trends, and intensities of flows. In a short, pertinent, non–geographical essay written by John Brady (1996) on *Public and Private Immigrants and the Search for a Common Political Language,* the significance of spatial specificity in migration discourse is made clear. Brady is describing a municipal decision to ban barbecuing from a public site and he suggests:

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[18] Gloria Anzaldùa (1987) has written one of the most moving accounts of the liminality of migration space. She is not, unfortunately for this discussion, a geographer.

> On the surface, the Christian Democrats' effort seems like a fairly innocuous attempt to better Berlin's appearance. Yet, as soon as one realizes that immigrants constitute the main group to use the park for barbeques [sic] and picnics, then the party's proposed ban takes on a completely different meaning. It is not a simple attempt at park beautification but rather an exclusionary social practice aimed at denying immigrants access to a public space (Brady 1996 online[19]).

It is not just a random, generalisable, 'immigrant' problem being discussed here, but a problem in a particular park in a particular German city. It is not just a problem of mobilising social behaviours – whether or not people might be encouraged to move away from barbecuing, from gathering in public places – but a problem of power. A problem of whether or not one particular powerful category of citizens might be successful in reducing the public and visible presence of 'foreigners' to more private spaces. This is the kind of analysis that would add richness to the geographies of migration.

What has tended to be produced in the European context is material from particular research sites such as the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI), which has accomplished a great deal of migration research into topics such as illegal migration (van der Erf 1997, online); Mediterranean migration (Schoorl 1997, online) and migration from African and eastern Mediterranean countries to western Europe (Schoorl, de Bruijn, Kuiper, and Heering 1996, online) in which statistical demographic data are paramount.

In terms of policy development modelled on migration policy, the European Commission's *Targeted Socio–Economic Research (TSER)* provides a number of examples. *TSER* has established a number of migration related projects for the 1998–2000 period (see Apitzsch (online), Bellamy (online), Cross (online), Glavanis

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[19] References to 'online' material in this text refers to material found on the World Wide Web (WWW) or Internet. This material seldom has page numbers so even where direct quotation has been made page numbers are omitted. All 'online' material is entered in the references under the key term in the bracketed citation – either an author's name and date or a title. The date the material was downloaded is incorporated in the reference.

(online),[20] which are designed to identify key research concerns and implementation needs. Although this research is immensely valuable it is highly specialist research and does not pretend to address the 'migrant corporeal'.

The present labour constituency of the European Community (European Union) is complicated by the convergence of complex historical processes. The question as to which of the European Union's residents have a claim to the right to mobility and the rights for protection as workers built into the Treaties of Rome and Maastricht, has become a source of deep divisions within the European Union.

Migrant labour represents one heterogenous group within the European Union that these divisions have tended to crystallise around (Ireland 1991). The polarisation identified by Castells (1989) as inhering in the separation of the elite managerial class from the expanding service proletariat, with the concomitant collapse of the middle class, operates across the spectra of the formal / informal divide and across the more traditional concept of core / periphery. The new information technologies have facilitated the evolution of a new set of relationships between capital and labour. These relationships allow or encourage or coerce (depending on your point of view) workers at all levels to participate in flexible manning[21] arrangements, to take up work opportunities within the informal sector, to learn to live with impermanent work and to be more entrepreneurial in their search for and exploitation of work opportunities. Mobility of labour has become a key factor.[22] But this labour is in fact constrained in significant ways. Once the economic opportunities of industrial growth were severely contracted by the world recession of the mid 1970s the migrant labour resident in the developed

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[20] These are all current research occurring in the 1997–1998 year.

[21] 'Flexible manning' is a phrase that is widely used in lieu of 'flexible staffing' which would be a less explicitly gendered term. I have used 'manning' to preserve the tenor of European debate on this issue.

[22] Portes (1990, 25) points out that the "underlying causes for the expansion of an informal economy in the advanced countries go well beyond the availability of a tractable foreign labour supply." It is important to not make a causal link between immigrant labour and the informal sector – it only muddies the already murky and complex picture.

countries of Europe became a cornerstone of the informal sector of those core economies (Waldinger *et al.* 1990, and Henderson and Castells 1987).

It is worth noting that the five million migrants within the European Union who come from other European Union countries come in particular from Southern Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain: from, in other words, the peripheral and less developed economies within the European Union. The other eight to ten million[23] come from beyond the borders of the European Union including not only the ex–colonies of France, Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands, but also Eastern European and Turkey.

It is to these same migrant communities, increasingly conspicuous in their 'disequalities', that the European Union has been reluctant to turn its "human face" (Room 1990, Shahid 1991, Séché 1977, Shanks 1977). A large immigrant labour force is particularly vulnerable as an 'underclass' in that they are positioned within a democratic deficit – they may lack legal status as legitimate migrants, they may lack full citizenship rights or they may fall through the cracks in the existing socio– cultural milieu because of racism, lack of proficiency in the language of the host country, lack of adequate educational provision or lack of financial means to access adequate health, housing, and education. Sassen (1984) and Fanstein *et al.* (1992) have both produced detailed empirical work that suggests that highly unequal outcomes have resulted from employment restructuring. The competitive metropolitan context encourages greater instability in employment relations. These same metropolitan contexts are the sites to which migrant labour, both legal and illegal, are attracted: for the very reason that the new employment structures continue to offer job opportunities even though they are predominantly within the unstable sectors. Sassen, Castells and Fanstein all suggest that exclusion from the formal labour market is mainly a product of job mismatch. I return to the problematic construction of migrant geographies in Chapter 7.

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[23] The data on migrants is not precise, not least because comprehensive estimates of the undocumented migrants and unregistered movements have yet to be made. A working figure for the number of migrants in the European Union is around 16 million.

In the European Union, it is migrant communities (especially undocumented migrant communities), the under 25 year olds, those close to retirement, sole mothers and the disabled who are particularly likely to be in a weak position in terms of up–skilling, retraining or being generally able to take advantage of new job opportunities in the skilled managerial and technological fields (Room 1990). It is also migrant communities who occupy the ambivalent territories of the 'peripheries in the centre', the 'centralised peripheries', the marginalised places of dissent and community, the "doubled positions" (Rose 1993, 151) that I speak of further in Chapter 7. Migrant bodies are archetypes of the 'other' – visible, susceptible to discrimination on the basis of difference – which increasingly claim subversive space in the body of the same. The paradoxical positioning of the migrant body, occupying the centre and the margin simultaneously, is arguably a useful space for geographers to begin to rethink the complexity of policy–making for bodies that are both literally and figuratively mobile and marginalised.

There is a very real concern in European Union policy to address issues of migration.[24] Racism and xenophobia attract specific policy initiatives in the European Union [25] and authors such as Les Back and Anoop Nayak (1993) provide not only a comprehensive bibliography but also a collection of essays that represent (English speaking) postcolonial voices. As Gerard Delanty (1996 online) suggests:

> The crisis of national identity in Western Europe is related to the rise of a new nationalism which operates at many different levels, ranging from extreme xenophobic forms to the more moderate forms of cultural nationalism. Underlying the new nationalism in general is more a hostility

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[24]The European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER) has recently published three books: Muus (1997), van Kempen (1997), von Benda–Beckman and Verkuyten (1995), on migration policy and citizenship concerns. ERCOMER also maintains its own homepage (ERCOMER online) and access to *The World–Wide Web Virtual Library* (online). Until recently it was also the home of the *Journal of Migration and Ethnic Studies* – formerly *New Community*.

[25] Including programs devised by autonomous organisations such as the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions – established 1975. See in particular the *Improvement of Living and Working Conditions – Combating Racism, Xenophobia and Anti–semitism* (online); and *Improving Living and Working Conditions – Social Integration of Immigrants from Non–Community Countries* (online).

against immigrants than against other nations; it is motivated less by notions of cultural superiority than by the implications multiculturalism has for the welfare state, which is being attacked by neo–liberal agendas.

This question of nationalism and migration is contested in the exchange between Gerard Delanty (1996, online) and John Rex (1996, online). Avtar Brah (1996, 152) contextualises "gendered racisms, ethnicities and nationalisms" in contemporary Europe.

Questions of the authority of the nation state[26], the status of citizenship and the place of social justice in a 'globalised' world economy, have particular relevance in the context of European Union social policy. As Back and Nayak (1993) and Sibley (1995) point out, pernicious forms of exclusion are associated with illegal migration and racialised politics. The need to address such issues as more than an instrumentalist conundrum has led to the development of corporeal or embodied geographies. Feminist geography, in its capacity to engage with the corporeal, both through an engagement with the binaries of inclusion / exclusion and its investment in discussions of citizenship, may provide an appropriate vehicle through which to recuperate the 'migrant corporeal' into (geographical) policy discourse. Another pathway, still under the rubric of new cultural geography, might be through a engagement with a politics of representation.

Texts as landscapes, landscapes as texts

A chiasmus[27], such as this subheading statement, which inverts the key terms of a phrase or phrases to produce a paradox, is indicative of the more recent obsessions with language and meaning that have filtered into social science and humanities disciplines since the 1970s. It is now more readily accepted that rhetoric, and figures of speech such as simile, metaphor, and chiasmus, for example, have a place to play in apparently pragmatic and unpoetic disciplines such as geography. Peet (1998, 233), places

[26] I use the term 'nation state' deliberately to differentiate the concept of governance (by the State) from the contested concept of the 'nation'. Arguably it is both the literal 'State' and the "imagined community" (Anderson 1991) of the 'nation' that are implicated in globalisation, citizenship and international migration.

[27] A 'chiasmus' may be defined as a grammatical figure by which the order of words in one or two parallel clauses is inverted in the other (*The Compact Oxford* 1991, 245).

geographers such as Dennis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (1988), James and Nancy Duncan (1988), and Trevor Barnes and James Duncan (1992) at the forefront of this work. These authors do indeed attend to the idea that metaphorical world–views are not the direct equivalent of literal world–views, but I would argue that much of the richness of metaphorical analysis is still being left to others outside the discipline. Barnes (1997, 232) suggests that:

> Although there is much controversy over the meaning of a metaphor, most agree that it involves asserting a similarity between two or more different things; for example, that supply and demand is like the intersecting blades of a pair of scissors.

The implication to be drawn from Barnes' simplification is that metaphor is the same as simile – that supply and demand is *like* the intersecting blades – and that the assertion of similarity is all that is required to make metaphorical readings effective.

In terms of analysing the metaphorical landscapes of texts, however, the difference between similes, metaphors and metonyms are perhaps more important than Barnes suggests. Certainly the subtle differentiation between key tropes in the context of my discussion of social exclusion is important, as I shall explain in a moment. The critical weakness in much, even most, of new cultural geography's attention to landscape as text has been too great a reliance on the visuality of the landscape and too little attention to the text. Arguably, this is inevitable, given what Gillian Rose (1993) has identified as a masculinist geographical obsession with the gaze. What so many of the new cultural geographers continue to gaze at is the literality of the landscapes – the economies rather than the semiotics of the signs and space (Lash and Urry 1994).

Ironically, the 'cultural (or linguistic) turn' is not explicit in more conventional cultural geography.[28] It tends to be merely implicit in research agendas that examine questions of social justice, citizenship and the nation–state (Anderson 1993, Clark and Dear 1984,

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[28] I refer to 'conventional cultural geography' to differentiate between the Sauerean 'cultural landscape' school and the 'new cultural geography' that Barnes and Gregory (1997, 504) describe as paying "more attention to the intersection between power, practice and representation in the production of landscapes".

Jackson 1989b, Johnson, Knight and Kofman 1988, Kofman 1993, and Smith 1989). Although studies such as these clearly overlap some of the ground of political geography, and are clearly pertinent to discussions of social exclusion, they are not concerned with issues of representation and symbolism directly. The nation–state is pre–eminently the unit of analysis and is understood to be, *a priori*, a condition of citizenship if not of social justice (although the latter assumption is also frequently implicit). It is precisely this self–evident treatment of space that Smith rails against.

The turn in Geography to a 'critique of representation' is perhaps best exemplified in the edited collection of Trevor Barnes and James Duncan (1992). The title of this collection identifies a preoccupation with **Writing** Worlds, and the subtitle: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the **Representation of Landscape,** delimits a focus on the accessibly geographical concept of landscape. Other geographers, notably Simon Dalby (1992, 1993) and Gearóid Ó Tuathail (1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1996), have used discourse analysis more specifically to examine policy texts. Crang (1998), Duncan (1993), Jackson (1989a), Kariya (1993), and Kobayashi (1993) have also added to the pool of geographers concerned with the discursive effects of representation. Writings such as these indicate that a space, a niche of sorts, is being carved out for discourse analysis within Geography.

Barnes and Duncan (1992, 9) suggest, in their introduction, that there are three emergent concepts for geographers to be attentive to: texts, discourses and metaphors. What underpins these approaches, they suggest (Duncan and Barnes 1992, 448), is the "critical and self–critical spirit" implied by postmodern deconstruction. However, I believe that deconstruction and discourse analysis has a richer and more exacting connotation than the one that is deployed in Barnes' and Duncan's approach.

3.2: Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is an important aspect of my research and particular attention is paid to analysis of semantic and metaphorical devices, textual cohesion, intertextuality[29] and wording based on the schema developed and refined by Fairclough (1989, 1992, and 1997). The discussion in the following section is not designed to be a comprehensive review of literature in the field of semiotics or linguistics. Rather, it is designed to draw attention to some of the main literature sources on which I relied, and outline some of the key concepts that I used in relation to my discourse analysis. Thus I discuss the work of Norman Fairclough in some depth but also allude to the work of George Lakoff, Joan Mulholland and Fred Riggs among others. I begin by giving a brief account of my understanding of Fairclough's debt to Michel Foucault (and my own debt to Jacques Derrida) in deciphering the role of text, metaphor and dichotomies in relation to textually oriented discourse analysis.

The text is not some static, rarefied product conditioned by immutable rules; rather it is produced 'arbitrarily' in response to the particular sets of influences operating in relation to it at any one time and place. The structuralist[30] and subsequent post–structuralist debates on the arbitrary nature of the sign have considerable bearing on Fairclough's interpretation of discourse.

Ferdinand de Saussure's[31] (1966) original insights,[32] that it is the relationship between the signifier and the signified that is arbitrary and that metonymic and metaphoric figures of

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[29] Intertextuality refers to the way in which the meaning in texts relies on meanings which are already in circulation on other texts.

[30] The terms, 'structuralist' and 'post–structuralist', are both used here in the context of linguistics.

[31] "Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) was a Swiss linguist, whose ideas about language structure influenced the development of the linguistic theory known as structuralism" *Encarta Concise Encyclopedia* (online). He radically reconceived linguistics along semiotic lines and his *Course in General Linguistics* (1966), formed a basis for the work of semioticians concerned with the study of "the life of signs". Silverman (1983, 4–5).

[32] de Saussure speaks of this in terms of orthogonal relationships in which metaphoric orders of discourse are identified as paradigmatic or substitutive orders and metonymic orders are identified as syntagmatic or combinative.

speech exist in binary opposition, rather than as related figures of speech, underpin both Foucault's notion of discourse and Derrida's concern with logocentric reason.

Discourse analysis, in terms of textually oriented discourse analysis, is not the same as the radical deconstruction advocated by Derrida. Fairclough does not draw directly on Derrida's ideas. My own inclinations towards the poetic, the metaphoric / metonymic power of language has been influenced by discussions of Derrida's work – especially Jonathan Culler (1982) and Kaja Silverman (1983), and some translations of Derrida's own work (especially Derrida 1967, 1982, 1991, 1992). Once I have used the textually oriented discourse analysis system to establish the whereabouts and nature of critical language elements, I also bring deconstructive insights to bear by disassembling key binaries used during the analysis of the text .

Fairclough (1992, 37–61) devotes a chapter to Foucault's contribution to the development of the analysis of discourse, both in order to honour the contribution Foucault makes and to distance his own work from that of Foucault. Rather than embark here on any in–depth summary of Fairclough's detailed analysis and critique I draw attention to several points, which are directly relevant to the focus of my research. Drawing on the insights of Foucault's commentators, Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982 cited in Fairclough 1992, 37–38) suggest that:

> Foucault's work makes an important contribution to a social theory of discourse in such areas as the relationship of discourse and power, the discursive construction of social subjects and knowledge, and the functioning of discourse in social change ... He opted for a focus on discursive practices in an effort to move beyond the two major alternative modes of investigation available to social research – structuralism and hermeneutics.

Of particular significance for the conceptualisation of Fairclough's textually oriented discourse analysis (and my subsequent use of this method) are Foucault's notions of the constitutive view of discourse and the interdependency of discourse practices. Fairclough (1992, 39) identifies the constitutive view of discourse as:

> ... actively constituting or constructing society on various dimensions: discourse constitutes the objects of knowledge, social subjects and forms of 'self', social relationships, and conceptual frameworks.

The interdependency of discourse practices, in Fairclough's (1992, 39–40) view, comprises the way in which:

> Texts always draw upon and transform other contemporary and historically prior texts ... and any given type of discourse practice is generated out of combinations of others, and is defined by its relationships to others.

Fairclough, despite his critique of Foucault on other grounds, sees both of these elements as crucial to the textually oriented discourse analysis he advocates. Both of these are incorporated into Fairclough's model under the broad heading of 'discursive practice': the former implicated in all aspects of the production, distribution and consumption of texts, and the latter under the more specific typology of 'intertextuality'.

The spatial and temporal contingency of texts and language comes to be of critical importance in the development of a model of discourse analysis that pays attention to the mutually constitutive roles of subjectivity, text, discursive practice and social practice. I have focused on elements of intertextuality in my observations, in Chapter 6, of the way in which the discourse of social exclusion has been promulgated and distributed. I have also noted, in Chapter 7, the extent to which the subjectivity of the socially excluded is implicated in the production, distribution and consumption of the concept of exclusion.

Fairclough (1992) insists on the need for synthesis between language analysis and social theory. He suggests that analysis needs to be multidimensional, multifunctional, historical and critical if discourse analysis is to be an effective tool in investigations of social change. Multidimensionality[33] is conferred through the three dimensions of text,

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[33] One of the pitfalls of interdisciplinary study is the way that key terms can mean quite different things in different contexts. Fairclough's use of the concept of multidimensionality is not to be confused with the use of this term in the EU policy discourse.

discursive practice and social practice. The inter–relationships between these three dimensions ensure that the analysis is not rooted in one level of reality only. Multifunctionality is also conferred through a tripartite relationship but this time through the interconnections between the changes in knowledge and social identities that are mediated by changes in discursive practice. Fairclough (1997, 275) summarises this idea in his more recent text:

> A useful working assumption is that any part of a language text, spoken or written, is simultaneously constituting representations, relations, and identities [representations of the world, social relations between people, and people's social and personal identities].

The historical attribute of discourse relates to intertextuality, or the idea that no text or piece of discourse exists in isolation but is interconnected with other texts from other times and other places. This idea is reinforced in Foucault's (1970) concept of orders of discourse.

The concept of 'orders of discourse' refers to the socio–political conventions which govern the production of particular discourses in specific times and places. In order to discuss the power embedded in discourses of social exclusion, for example, it is necessary to recognise the ideologies embodied in the discourse as well as the social nature and practices involved in the discourse. In practical terms, 'orders of discourse' serve to construct discursive possibilities in very specific ways that are both constraining and enabling. As Fairclough notes: "Part of what is implied in the notion of social practice is that people are enabled through being constrained: they are able to act on condition that they act within the constraints of types of practice – or of discourse" (Fairclough 1992, 28).

Fairclough (1992) also draws on Michel Pêcheux' work in relation to the ideological components of orders of discourse. According to Pêcheux (1982, 111), a discursive formation is that which

> in a given ideological formation, i.e., from a given position in a given conjuncture determined by the state of the class struggle, determines what

> can and should be said (articulated in the form of a speech, a sermon, a pamphlet, a report, a programme, etc.).

These ideologically invested discursive formations can exist at different scales. At one level they include fashions of speaking such as codes, social dialects, anti–languages, and extend to include officially ratified or institutionalized fields of discourse defined by topics such as 'scientific discourses', 'medical discourses', and 'legal–juridical discourses' to even more generic forms of discourse such as 'jokes' 'anecdotes', 'speeches', or sermons'. My research focuses mostly on institutionalised fields of discourse but also includes speeches.

In all of these orders of discourse, linguistic tropes facilitate the transfer of ideological meaning. The direction that my study takes is toward a more formal exegesis of figurative tropes, which are produced by ideological investments. Although I analyse the role of these tropes in detail in Chapter 8, I set them out as the basis of my discussion here in order to emphasise their centrality and to situate them in specific literatures in a way that makes them easier to conceptualise in my particular context.

Key tropes

The word 'trope' is currently circulating more widely in academic texts and reflects the influence of the 'linguistic turn' in different disciplines. My suggestion is that it is a word that has been lifted for its context in formal linguistics in the first instance by literary theory, from there has crossed into cultural studies and from there been picked up in geographical literature. In its translation from one intellectual context to another, however, the meaning of the terms has subtly shifted. In a recent cultural geography text Crang (1998, 62) defines tropes as:

> … ways of telling a story, through a particular format, a scenario or relationship of characters so that the pattern is repeated in different concrete situations with different contents.

Here, a geographer's interpretation turns a 'trope' into a 'thing in itself' rather than the mechanism by which that 'thing' is made to work. In a more linguistically oriented

definition, a 'trope' is simply 'a figure of speech' – a mechanism that facilitates the transfer of meaning from one unrelated context to another. I suggest, following work in social psychology,[34] that there are four main or 'master' [sic] tropes available to English language speakers: that is, there are four powerful ways in which word meanings may be diverted from literal to figurative contexts. Brigitte Nerlich (1998, online) of *The Metaphor and Metonymy Group* suggests the following succinct distinctions:

> ... metaphor (where we transfer an old word to fit a new concept or object, belonging to a different semantic domain), metonymy (where we transfer an old word to fit a new concept or object related to the old one in space or time, by form or function), synecdoche (where we use words for the taxonomically related things we mean) and irony (where we mean the opposite of what we say).

These distinctions are not intuitive and certainly are not readily accessible outside the disciplinary specialities of linguistics or language study. They have been developed in historiography and literary criticism through the work of such critical theorists as Hayden White (1978) who originally identified these tropes in this way.

Trevor Barnes (1997) and Mike Crang (1998) have been quick to gloss over the attention to tropes as linguistic devices *per se* in order to use them as a way of explaining what tends to happen in the text or narrative. Barnes, for example, pays little attention to the discussions of metaphor in linguistics, or to the debates about the extent to which metaphor and metonymy are constitutive cognitive phenomena as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) suggest they are, or to the idea that the brain structures information according to association or analogy as Roman Jakobson (1971) claims.

Crang moves straight to a representation of a trope as a 'plot–line'. There is little discussion in geography texts of the differentiation of meaning made possible by the differences between metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony (but see the recent publication by Tim Cresswell (1997) on metaphors of displacement). However, I

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[34] As there is no geographical work done in this way, to my knowledge, I have moved outside disciplinary boundaries. There is considerable focus on tropes in social psychology (and I have used *The Metaphor and Metonymy Group* (online) in particular) and in linguistics.

identify my understanding of how these tropes operate in relation to social exclusion in the following step by step discussion.

My central argument is that the concept of social exclusion is powerful and flexible and has been able to produce unanticipated consequences in part because of its capacity to figure as a trope in all four modes. As I explain in more detail below, 'social exclusion' is a concept that may be understood, in its metaphorical guise, as a refiguring of the domain of 'poverty'. Metonymically, it functions to naturalise the relationships between the 'social' and 'exclusion'. In synecdochic terms it confuses the boundaries between the whole and the parts and ironically, appears to mis–name the 'economic' as 'social'. At any one point in time all of these tropes may be in the sub–conscious domains of the users.

Metaphor

Metaphor is the substitution of an old word into a new domain, the substitution of a familiar concept into an unaccustomed context – or, as *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary*[35] (S.O.D. 1973, 1315) suggests, it is a name transferred to some object where it is not immediately applicable. As Daniel Chandler (1995), in his *Semiotics for Beginners* (online), suggests:

> Metaphor expresses the unfamiliar (known in literary jargon as the 'tenor') in terms of the familiar (the 'vehicle'). The tenor and the vehicle are normally unrelated: we must make an imaginative leap to understand a fresh metaphor.

Metaphors depend on being both like and unlike the thing to which they allude.

The quixotic juxtaposition causes the reader to reassess, revalue, reconsider, both the familiar term and the unfamiliar context. Jacques Derrida's (1967) claim that metaphor is never innocent and that unforeseen, indeterminate, meanings accrue to all events, and

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[35] *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (1973), hereafter *The Shorter Oxford* (or S.O.D.).

through language, is brought into sharp relief when set beside George Lakoff's (1991, online) discussion of "Metaphor in Politics." Lakoff claims:

> Metaphors can kill. Metaphorical thought, in itself, is neither good nor bad; it is simply commonplace and inescapable. Abstractions and enormously complex situations are routinely understood via metaphor. Indeed, there is an extensive, and mostly unconscious, system of metaphor that we use automatically and unreflectively to understand complexities and abstractions.

The concept of 'social exclusion' is just such a metaphor. The oxymoronic association of 'social' with 'exclusion' begins the process. 'Social' suggests collective, inclusive, well–adjusted activity – the antithesis of 'exclusion', which suggests cut–off, shut out, isolated, maladjusted activity. 'Social exclusion' works metaphorically by implication. Certain social processes are producing, or being produced by, exclusion. The implication, through the process of nominalisation,[36] is that exclusion is somehow capable, in and of itself, of altering, or being altered by, a given social milieu. Exclusion, however, is not an applicable name for this activity domain as there is no specified agent. Someone or something has to perform the exclusionary acts but in this case there is no such actor. We, the reader, are jarred by the impropriety of this naming but cannot identify the source of the discomfort. The two old and familiar words slip into their new domain with vivid purchase. Metaphorically speaking we are appeased.

Metonymy

The Shorter Oxford (1973, 1317) describes metonymy as a process whereby the name of an attribute or adjunct is substituted for the thing meant. As Nerlich (1998 online) suggests, this process obtains its power through the relationship of space, time, form or function between the old concept and the new. The classic exemplar of metonymy is the expression, 'the Crown,' as a functional substitution for the concept of 'government'. Chandler (1995 online) puts his definition through two colourful examples:

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[36] Nominalisation is a semiotic process in which a verb is made to behave as if it were a noun (see Chapter 8).

> Metonymy broadly involves an individual example (e.g. a mother) standing for the related general category (e.g. motherhood) – or more specifically an associated detail (such as a gold packet) standing for an object (such as Benson and Hedges cigarettes).

I argue that 'social exclusion' operates metonymically as well as metaphorically. It is a functional substitute for the concept of 'poverty' as well as a spatial substitute for the concept of 'ghetto'. Increasingly, policy makers mystify the harsh realities of poverty by using the term social exclusion. No one is quite sure what it means but it carries a certain authority. It is not hackneyed, over–used, dull coin. Whereas a well–placed metaphor can heighten awareness and provoke reassessment, metonymy often operates to blur distinctions and obscure the relationship between the thing and its substitute by appearing to make a more natural association between the terms.[37]

Synecdoche

This act of substitution inherent in metonymy also operates through synecdochic relationships that blur but also express the boundaries between the whole and its parts. In the process of subsuming a whole thing through some passing reference only to a part of the thing, the whole is reduced, minimised, and fragmented. There is a process of disassociation at work in which the whole picture dissolves in a series of refracted and partial glimpses. Although Nerlich (1998, online) claims that "there is no clear definition of synecdoche," Chandler (1995, online) proposes that:

> Synecdoche is a form of metonymy in which a part stands for the whole or vice versa (a policeman is 'the law'; London is 'the smoke'; workers are sometimes called 'hands'; 'I've got a new set of wheels').

There has been heated discussion in the social policy field (see Rodgers, Gore and Figueiredo 1995) about whether 'poverty' or 'social exclusion' is the more comprehensive term. Either way, they are not taxonomically equivalent concepts. The definition of one term as a parent term implies a whole for that term at the expense of

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[37] Note the figurative language here: hackneyed, dull coin, heighten, blur, natural. Our language is saturated with tropes.

the other term, which is reduced to comprising the part. As I explain in more detail in Chapter 6, European Union social policy on 'exclusion' is being reduced, through a complex set of synecdochic references, to policies which have the capacity to refer only to employment. And this is the bitter irony of the palliative policy initiatives that have been developed through the [anti] Poverty Programmes.

Irony

My final engagement with this detail of rhetoric and figurative language is to argue that the concept of social exclusion can be identified as an ironic representation of economic reality. Although policy makers may challenge such a reading, the 'reality' that I set out to uncover and elaborate in this thesis is that European Union policy–makers pay attention to '**economic** exclusion,' but, ironically, continue to call it '**social** exclusion'. The clear focus of their policy is on material expressions of income insufficiency caused, in the main, by unemployment. Neither the insufficiency, nor the means of its alleviation, is to be explained in 'social' terms at all.

Institutional spheres of power

These four linguistic elements, plus some concern with issues of denotation and connotation[38] and a number of other matters identified through my focus on the work of Norman Fairclough, form the basis of my claim that geography needs to pay more attention to the linguistic turn. It is possible to close this section with further recognition of the steps that have already been taken. Paul Ricoeur (1971), as an advocate of hermeneutics and textual exegesis, has been referenced in geographical work (Barnes and Duncan 1992) but more as an alluring prospect than a practical example. Peet (1998), as a philosopher of geography, identifies a range of postmodern and poststructural influences – Georges Bataille, Frederich Nietzsche, Michel Foucault,

[38] Chandler's (1995, online) definitions of these terms are helpful. He suggests: 'denotation' tends to be described as the definitional or 'literal' meaning of a sign; 'connotation' refers to its socio–cultural and personal associations (ideological, emotional etc.). It is, however, more complex than Chandler suggests (see Greenberg's early analysis of language universals, 1966).

Jacques Derrida, Richard Rorty, Jean François Lyotard, Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari and Jean Baudrillard to name the most prominent – that are drawn into geographical circulation through an enhanced sensitivity to social theory and the power of text.

Peet's idiosyncratic (and comprehensive) interpretation of the influence of these social theorists on geography falls short, like that of Barnes, in terms of its lack of any exploration of their key tropes. My sense is that there are further productive associations to be gained from geographers developing a more sophisticated working knowledge of these master tropes and the ways in which metaphors, in particular, are embodied. My research, focused as it is on the geography of social policy, has also enabled a response to a criticism of *Writing Worlds* made in a review by the anthropologist, George Marcus. The substance of this critique is that the 'new'[39] geography fails, perhaps, to understand itself as, equally, a critic of the "institutional spheres of power" (Marcus 1992, 363), and of "subaltern others". Marcus seems to suggest that the postmodern turn in geography could (and should) avoid the surface engagements that characterise postmodern exegesis elsewhere in the academy.

Fred Riggs, an emeritus professor in the field of International Relations at the University of Hawaii, has coined 'onomantics' as a neologism for a new approach to the problem of defining policy terms. Riggs is part of a group (the Committee on Conceptual and Terminological Analysis (COCTA)) that is developing these onomantic strategies as an alternative to 'semantic' strategies. The novelty of their approach is both appealing and refreshing. Of the 'Onomantic Option', Riggs says: "the word itself derives from onomasiology, an established term for the analysis of meanings and the origins of terms. As a broad field, it includes two sub–fields, the analysis of 'individual concepts' (i.e. the names of persons, places, events, objects) and of 'general concepts' – those used in theories and scientific analysis" (Riggs 1996/7 online). Rather than focus on the grammatical or functional role of words or the derivation of their meaning, onomantics

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[39] Cultural Geography has a long pedigree dating back particularly to the pre–World War II work of Carl Sauer of Berkeley. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, there has been a reinvention of cultural geography in the 1980s and 1990s which aligns itself much more closely with Cultural Studies and postcolonialism than with the regional diversity, and man–land relationships pioneered by Sauer (see Leighly 1963).

seeks to establish fixed 'provisional' meanings for practitioners so they do not have to worry about the word itself – just its strategic context.

Geography, like anthropology, rooted in the 'real', has some "responsibility to interpret and translate abstract insights, to mediate between the academy and its other" (Marcus 1992, 363). But, he goes on to say, perhaps the necessary object of this critical geographical gaze is not the "other" as "subaltern subject" or "common man (person)", but the "institutional spheres of power". In the conceptual framework outlined here, I suggest that techniques of discourse analysis may provide one approach to a geography of "institutional powers".

Such concerns with institutional powers, tropes and embodiment are more easily associated with the work of feminist philosophers and it is the area of feminist political philosophy that forms that core of the third section of my literature review. Thus in the final subsection of this chapter I consider some of the feminist literature which has informed my thinking about questions of identity, subjectivity and citizenship.

3.3: Feminist political frameworks

Why would a feminist[40] be interested in social exclusion? And if a feminist was interested in social exclusion, to which authorities would she turn? These are questions of a different order from the ones with which I began this chapter. First, the idea that a feminist might not be interested in exclusion is something of an oxymoron. The nature of feminist scholarship[41] is such that it is predicated on the binary of masculine /

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[40] The word 'feminist' is highly contested. I use it here to refer only to female academics and scholars who have a specific commitment to describing issues of gender inequality or difference and also to women authors committed to developing epistemological and ontological arguments for such inequality and difference. I do not dispute that some men may claim a place working with 'feminist' epistemologies and may even claim that they 'are' feminist. In the context of this European research, where such male commitment is not the norm, it is expedient to leave this debate to some other forum.

[41] The extended analysis of the positioning of the feminine in Cartesian logic is accessible in the work of feminist philosophers such as Nancy Fraser (1989, 1997), Moira Gatens (1996), Elizabeth Grosz (1989, 1994), Carole Pateman (1988), Chris Weedon (1987), Anna Yeatman (1993) and Iris Young (1990, 1997), for example. I discuss these and other authors' work more fully in different parts of this section.

feminine in which feminine is the marked[42] or excluded term. Being feminist arguably ensures a passionate engagement with discourses of exclusion. Poverty, social policy, and notions of citizenship are also all explicitly gendered concepts.

Paradigmatic binaries

Binary constructs other than masculine / feminine provide a second, paradigmatic rationale for using feminist arguments in relation to social exclusion. Critical, feminist readings of the concept of social exclusion bring other key dualisms into focus. To deconstruct these binaries may require the authority of a semiotic analysis, which identifies paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships. Gunther Kress (1989, 87) suggests, "paradigmatic relations have been used most frequently to define the value of items in a structure, or the values of the structure itself in the context of larger structures." More explicitly, Kaja Silverman (1983), working closely with the ideas of Ferdinand de Saussure and Emile Benveniste[43] suggests that "subjectivity is ... grasped in relational terms ... the subject relies upon another term within the same paradigm – here the personal pronoun 'you' – for its meaning and value." Concepts, or 'signs' in a semiological sense, such as 'social exclusion' and 'citizenship,' and the chains of signifiers that represent these concepts in different contexts and times, have their value determined by relational difference. Silverman (1983, 103) explains that:

> A sign's value is determined in part by the ways in which it deviates from the other members of the abstract groups to which it belongs – i.e. by its place in the system. Its significance is not only mediated, but established, by that value.

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[42] According to Chandler, (1995, online) Roman Jakobson introduced the idea of 'marked' and unmarked' terms in semiotic analysis to refer to the different values given to the terms in paired paradigms. The 'marked' term represents the term which is different from the 'unmarked,' hegemonic term.

[43] According to Silverman (1983, 43–4), Emile Benveniste (1902–1976) was "a linguist in the Saussurean tradition" who extended Saussure's analysis to claim that language, discourse and subjectivity were theoretically inseparable terms. Benveniste also (according to Silverman (1983, 45) established a strong argument for claiming that the "individual finds his or her cultural identity only within discourse, by means of the pronouns 'I' and 'you'".

Silverman (1983, 105) defines relational dualisms, or paradigmatic antonyms, as "any term[s] which help[s] to define the value of another within the same system … But in each instance there is an implied comparison, and an implied distinction."

Feminist analysis of dualistic relationships engages with these semiotic concepts of 'value', 'comparison', and 'distinction', which are understood to inhere in binary oppositions, to structure feminine and masculine experience and epistemology, and to constitute some of the burden of feminist scholarship. Thus, a feminist engagement can be easily put to the task of weighing the binaries of inclusion / exclusion, economic / social, wealth / poverty, citizen / alien, supranational / national, national / local, active / passive, employed / unemployed, which figure so powerfully in this research.

Feminist political theorists provide a wide range of examples of this intellectual work in arguments about the importance of subjectivity and identity, the repression of sexual difference, citizenship, political participation and difference, and the liberal democratic welfare state, to name a few of the important research areas. In the next subsection I take a closer look at some of these.

Core critiques

Seyla Benhabib and Drucilla Cornell (1987, 10) engage in a "critique of the unencumbered self" in which they challenge "the inequality, asymmetry and domination permeating the *private* identity of this [equal and abstract bearer of rights] self as a gendered subject." Adriana Cavarero (1992, 45), also concerned with "equality and sexual difference", claims that "thinking in terms of sexual difference is also a hermeneutic key that allows the modern concept of equality to be perceived as a principle which is false in its logical foundation and homologizing in its concrete effects."

The "good–enough citizen", whom Susan James (1992, 62) credits with existence in the liberal polity, appears in the form of women who hold the requisite (liberal) impartiality by means of their own self–esteem. James (1992, 62) suggests that "true self–esteem can only be created and maintained in practices that are sensitive to and respectful of

difference" and that, for women, the polarity between impartiality and dependence may be mediated by such self–esteem. The 'poor' are arguably also subject to inequality and domination and are also caught in polarities mediated by self–esteem. One of the key shifts in feminist epistemologies in the last few years has been the accommodation of factors other than gender in feminist analysis. Susan Wendell's (1996) feminist account of disability in *The Rejected Body* and Valerie Smith's (1998) anthology, *Not Just Race, Not Just Gender* are both useful examples.

Carole Pateman's (1988) famous treatise on "the sexual contract" identified the intensity of the public / private dichotomy and laid the ground for at least a decade of fierce debate about the constitutive role of contracts in women's lives. She called the foundational assumption of patriarchy into question by instantiating her controversial presumption of fraternal bonds in the construction of modern patriarchy. Pateman (1988, 114), in a chapter entitled "Genesis, Fathers and the Political Liberty of Sons" rather damningly issues a reminder that:

> Liberty, equality *and* fraternity form the revolutionary trilogy because liberty and equality are the attributes of the fraternity who exercise the male sex–right. What better notion to conjure with than 'fraternity', and what better conjuring trick than to insist that 'fraternity' is universal and nothing more than a metaphor for community. [In this civil community], public (market) competition is regulated by the laws of the state, and competition for wives is regulated by marriage law and by social norms.

The development of 'equality' arguments, in policy discourse, which address the absence of egalitarian grounds for participation by women in civic society, may arguably find its source in Pateman's (1988, 115) claim that: "Conjugal relations are part of a sexual division of labour and structure of subordination that extends from the private home into the public arena of the capitalist market." European Union social policy has increasingly paid attention to the economic ramifications of these structural inequalities for women, while at the same time arguing for the importance of family policies, which rely, implicitly and explicitly, on the existence and maintenance of those inequalities. 'Family policies' are a significant set of policy instruments in their own right in the

European Union. The European Observatory on National Family Policies was established by the European Union in 1989 (Ditch *et al* 1996).

The controversial "ethics of care" debate raises the more complex question of gender in the context of moral theory (see in particular Benhabib (1992), Gilligan (1982) *contra* Kohlberg (1971), Jagger (1991) and Tronto (1993)). The women–centred starting point of this branch of feminist moral philosophy inflects debates about the role of the family and unpaid domestic work in specific ways and is a reminder that the transparency of masculinist versions of justice and distribution can be called to account. Benhabib (1987, 81), in drawing insights from the Gilligan–Kohlberg debate, puts it thus:

> ... the *definition* of the moral domain, as well as the ideal of *moral autonomy*, ... lead to a *privatization* of women's experience and to the exclusion of its consideration from a moral point of view. In this tradition [universal contractarianism – Hobbes to Rawls], the moral self is viewed as a *disembedded* and *disembodied* being.

It appears that the identification of this moral dimension of the lack of autonomy and consequent privatization of women is not yet a core consideration in some of the excellent feminist analyses of social policy. Fiona Williams (1989) for example, makes no specific reference to these moral concerns. I would argue that not only is Benhabib's observation of the result of masculinist definitions of the moral domain pertinent to women, it is also pertinent to 'the poor'. Benhabib (1987, 81) goes on to note that:

> Universalistic moral theories in the Western tradition from Hobbes to Rawls are *substitutionalist*, in the sense that the universalism they defend is defined surreptitiously by identifying the experiences of a specific group of subjects as the paradigmatic case of the human as such. These subjects are invariably white, male adults who are propertied or at least professional.

This question of paradigmatic specificity not only has significance for the question of citizenship and the production of target categories for 'poor bodies', but also for the production of welfare policy generally.

From a different perspective again, Susan Okin (1991) shifts the framework of this gathering body of evidence against the masculinism of the state to critique John Rawls (1971) influential book, *A Theory of Justice.* Okin (1991, 181) asks about "justice as fairness – for whom?" As Okin (1991, 182) clearly states:

> There is little indication throughout most of *A Theory of Justice* that the modern liberal society to which the principles of justice are to be applied is deeply and perversely gender structured … The major reason is that throughout most of the argument, it is assumed (as throughout almost the entire liberal tradition) that the appropriate subjects of political theories are not all adult individuals, but [male] heads of families.

Chantal Mouffe (1993, 18–19), writing from a self–proclaimed framework of "radical democracy", suggests that political philosophy is an important vehicle through which the debates about liberalism, democracy, capitalism and the welfare state can be articulated and contested. The body of intellectual theory that comprises political philosophy may act as a sounding board for the contestation of a wide array of common place terms that have pragmatic significance for ordinary people. Mouffe (1993, 19) claims that: "Some of the key concepts of liberalism, such as rights, liberty and citizenship, are claimed today by the discourse of possessive individualism." Mouffe (1993, 19) also suggests that the concept of radical democracy:

> … demands that we acknowledge difference – the particular, the multiple, the heterogenous – in effect everything that has been excluded by the concept of man in the abstract. Universalism is not rejected but particularized.

Iris Young (1990), in her book, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, refines the basis for a critique of liberal justice by focusing on the distributive paradigm. As Young (1990, 16) suggests, there are powerful arguments for not starting to consider issues of social justice from the premise of distribution, but rather, for starting with "concepts of domination and oppression". Young's insights form part of the basis of my discussion of category formation in Chapter 9. At this point, it is worth noting that the effects of distributional paradigms of social justice are very evident in European Union social

policy. As Deborah Stone (1988, 9) suggests: "behind every policy issue lurks a contest over conflicting, though equally plausible conceptions of the same abstract role."

Stone (1998, 14) and Young (1990, 12–13) both suggest a reconceptualisation of the notion of 'community' as a partial solution to the paradoxes of policy and distribution, respectively. Both 'solutions' are more in the form of idealised accounts. Stone (1988, 14) suggests that:

> Unlike the market, which starts with individuals and assumes no goals, preferences, or intentions other than those held by individuals, a model of the polis must assume both collective will and collective effort … We can scarcely speak about societies without using the language of collective will.

Young (1990, 12–13), from an arguably even more idealistic position, claims that although "community represents an ideal of shared public life, of mutual recognition and identification," it also "coincides with a desire to preserve identity." In this sense, Young sees 'community' as an intrinsically weak form of inclusion and offers the notion that the 'city' provides an alternative place for developing social relations that are less prejudicial to otherness. She suggests, somewhat surprisingly to me, that the least repressive form of 'community' can be found to reside in city life, which "embodies four virtues that represent heterogeneity rather than unity: social differentiation without exclusion, variety, eroticism, and publicity."

Young's sociological notion of community is at odds with a more geographical view that would understand the propinquities of city life to also produce 'communities'. It is possible that Young conceptualises 'community' as something that is always less than a 'city' in socio–spatial terms. Geographically speaking the two could be understood to be coterminous in many cases. The abstract role of 'community' is certainly highly contestable in the European Union context and a critical examination of the role that 'community relations' play in the distribution of policy outcomes would occupy several PhD candidates.

A specific and sustained critique of liberal democracy can be found in Anne Phillips' (1991) book *Engendering Democracy*. Not only does Phillips (1991, 23) provide a comprehensive overview of 'the classic debates', but she also engages with the "the paradoxes of participation". In speaking of the impacts of the 1960s 'women's movement' on democratisation,[44] Phillips (1991, 145) makes the astute observation that:

> ... when the ideals of democratic equality are set impossibly high, they can produce contradictory effects ... The emphasis on talking things through rather than just taking a vote did enable women to rethink and develop their ideas, but also made conflicts more difficult to acknowledge and resolve. The resistance to formal structures did help counter the divisions into leaders and led, but also made accountability an impossible task.

The issues of accountability in the European Union context can be clearly seen in the institutional structures that give great power to bureaucratic processes. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. The Commission's mode of operation, based on memos, formal committees, ad hoc networks and layer upon layer of authorisation procedures, is the antithesis of the radical feminist dream of participatory democracy.

These feminist political theorists have all made substantial contributions to the re–interpretation of the limitations of liberal democratic theory but they by no means comprise the limit of relevant feminist literature. Agnes Heller and Ferenc Fehér (1988, 56), for example, in discussing the need to reassert an understanding of morality in modernist philosophy, suggest that there is a complex simultaneity of universalism, particularism, individualism and contingency, which inflects the person / polis *Sittlichkeit*.[45] This debate about universalism and particularism re–emerges in many policy debates. It has been central to a discussion conducted in the academic journal *Critical Social Policy* by Paul Spicker (1996). It is also central to arguments about target

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[44] It is the 'second-wave feminist movement' that became central to the rise of what Jane Mansbridge (1980) identified as "participatory democracies".

[45] The notion of *Sittlichkeit*, or customary mores, has come into English political discourse via translations of Hegel. As an incommensurable term, it has remained in the original German and denotes ethical life, or in the way Slavoj Zizek uses it (Lovink 1995 online), 'unwritten rules' as in: "When a new political logic imposes itself, the Sittlichkeit, the unwritten rules are still unsure, people are still searching for a model".

categories in social policy debates, and accords with the dilemma of universalism as substitutionalism noted by Benhabib (1987) above.

The particular claims of subject groups to the distribution of goods and services on the basis of their particularity underwrites most affirmative action policies for women, people of colour and those whose abilities differentiate them from the heterosexual, masculine able–bodied hegemon. In the European Union social policy context, universal claims of the right to paid work and particular claims of some people to work differently or not at all, is the source of considerable tension.

Inclusion and exclusion

In conventional (masculinist) classifications of participation, involvement, or contribution, there are two classic criteria for inclusion / exclusion. The first involves a tendency to look for evidence of 'active' as opposed to 'passive' engagement as a measure of inclusion / exclusion. Jean Bethke Elshtain (1986, 30–31) takes an eighteenth century Kant to task for his formulation of active and passive citizenship in which most women were relegated to passivity, to be disqualified from having a "civil personality." Much discussion on inclusion / exclusion may be tied to debates of citizenship, especially where this relates to access to goods and services provided by the state.

Active participation, in a societal context, is often understood as involving work in the public sphere whereas activity in the domestic sphere is often construed both as passive and as 'not work.' The tendency then, is for employment policy to appear as the 'natural' focus of social policy because it calls for participation in the public sphere and provides a self–justification for the expenditure of public money on policy initiatives. There is a consequent call for social inclusion to be predicated on inclusion in the workforce. Another classic signifier of participation is the legitimacy accorded to individuals through the status of citizenship. In the European Union the notion of citizenship is potent. It is tied, not only to the nationalistic discourses of each member state, but also to the rhetoric that attempts to call 'Europe' into being as a political,

economic, social and cultural entity. Identity, I argue in Chapter 9, is a vital but ignored aspect of the discourse of social exclusion. It not only shapes the formal inclusion of citizens, but it also shapes the counter discourses of "decent scum."[46]

Citizenship and identity

The question of who can be a citizen is neither transparent nor self–evident.[47] Most citizenship debate traces the origins of the citizen to the Greek *polis* (Okin 1991) and it is argued that the role of the citizen, as it was understood in the world of the classical city–state, was only available to free men – women, slaves and children were excluded. Iris Young (1997, 123), documenting a more contemporary condition, expresses it thus:

> In the tradition of modern political theory, independence is the citizen virtue of the male head of the household and property owner. The bourgeois citizen meets his own needs and desires and those of his dependents, by means of self–sufficient production on his property and by means of independent contract to buy and sell goods.

Citizenship, it seems to me, is predicated on a complex set of intersecting and hierarchically organised binaries which structure ways we think about who or what a citizen is.

Stephen Castles and Paul Spoonley (1997, online) use the philosopher, John Rawls, to make this point succinctly:

> In liberal theory, all citizens are meant to be free and equal persons, who as citizens are homogeneous individuals (Rawls, 1985: 232–4). This requires a separation between a person's political rights and obligations,

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[46] In August 1998, Television One (New Zealand) showed a BBC documentary entitled *Decent Scum.* The focus of the documentary was a young homeless couple in London who chose 'rooflessness' as a viable alternative to high rents and high cost of living in settled accommodation.

[47] A 'politicised' feminist analysis of citizenship draws on notions of identity, embodiment, and the corporeal and can be seen in the work of Judith Butler (1993), Moira Gatens (1991), and Denise Riley (1988). Feminist authors such as Valerie Bryson (1992), Jean Bethke Elshtain (1990), Rosemary Hennessey (1993), Jane Landes (1988), Ruth Lister (1997), Chantal Mouffe (1992), and Carole Pateman (1988), address the issues of citizenship more directly.

> and their membership in specific groups, based on ethnicity, religion, social class or regional location. The political sphere is one of universalism, which means equality and abstraction from cultural particularity and difference. Difference is to be restricted to the 'non public identity' (Rawls 1985, 241 cited in Castles and Spoonley 1997).

Here, the dichotomies of free / not free; equal / unequal; citizen / not citizen; universal / particular and public / private [non–public], leave a distinctive trail.

The commonly accepted narrative of citizenship is one which involves an outsider (or stranger, or newborn) gaining access, through a process of formal recognition, to the privileged space in a community which confers rights, responsibilities and a sense of 'belonging.' The people whose status is recognised become part of the *polis*; those whose claims are not recognised remain excluded. Inclusion and exclusion are the foundational binaries for the conceptualisation of citizenship. As Ruth Lister (1997, 42) confirms: "Inclusion and exclusion represent the two sides of citizenship's coin."

Lister's (1997) book, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, is one of the few sustained theoretical and material elaborations of the exclusion / inclusion binary in the context of citizenship. It incidentally provides a clue to the relative scarcity of feminist literature on the topic more generally, and of feminist geography literature in particular. In the opening paragraph of her introduction, Lister (1997, 1) relates her response to being asked why she was prepared to study an "irretrievably White male" phenomenon such as citizenship. Her rationale turns on her identification of "three broad interrelated trends affecting nation states", the first of which includes trends toward the "re–shaping of national boundaries ... pressures in some nation states for regional autonomy ... and the implications for all nation states of the forces of globalisation". These are all issues of critical importance in the lives of woman and, in their implication of boundaries and territories, comprise the very stuff of geography. But Lister's analysis is not 'geographical' in any clearly identified sense.

The second key theme Lister (1997, 2) identifies centres around the "demise of active political citizenship in representative democracies marked by increased bureaucratisation and technical advance" in the 'west' and the rise of new citizenship in

the so–called 'south.'[48] "In Latin America," Lister (1997, 2) claims, "the discourse of citizenship has helped to unite democratic and feminist struggles." Her sociological imagination leads her towards narratives of group and individual experience and contestation of the concept of citizenship.

The spatial fora (the nation, the community, the region) in which these relationships take place become the backcloth, the stage, the dead weight of space in which the exclusions and inclusions take place. Lister (1997, 42–43) also suggests that:

> Traditionally, citizenship theory, following Marshall, [T.H. Marshall, author of the much–cited book *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950)] has tended to concentrate on the processes of inclusion / exclusion within the boundaries drawn and regulated by nation–states. This has provided only a partial picture ...
>
> Critical citizenship theory has put the spotlight on the symbiotic processes of exclusion and inclusion which form the kernel of citizenship as a concept and a practice. Whether the focus is the nation–state, or particular groups within these localities, boundaries and allocative processes serve to include and exclude simultaneously.

Lister's (1997, 2) third theme concerns the interconnectedness of social citizenship and the embedded values of the welfare state and the extent to which "the philosophy of citizenship has provided a means of reconciling the collectivist tradition of the left with notions of individual rights and responsibilities." Here, Lister's (1997, 3) feminist political imagination leads her into the critique of liberal democracy and an acknowledgment of the "importance of a sustained feminist analysis of the meaning, limitations and potential of the notion of citizenship." It would appear, therefore, that there are strong arguments for a feminist engagement with citizenship, and Lister has provided three incontrovertible grounds.

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[48] The shorthand terms for the areas of the world that are materially privileged and disprivileged, are, like so much else, deeply contested. I use the term 'west' to refer to the countries of Western Europe, North America and Australasia and I use the term 'south' to refer to the countries of Central and Latin America, Africa, the island Pacific and Asia (while acknowledging that each of these 'identities' is also contestable).

Citizenship lies at the heart of arguments about exclusion and inclusion in terms of liberal democratic theory and the role of the nation state. Feminist critiques of this discursive terrain are succinct and persuasive. I have noted, however, that the state, citizenship and the liberal discourse of rights and responsibilities, are not clearly on the agenda of feminist geography. I move, therefore, from this more general discussion to a brief analysis of feminist geographers' contribution to citizenship and social policy debates. My intention is to highlight the extent to which the subdiscipline has been lax in the attention that it pays to such issues.

Codes of silence – feminist geography and the discourse of citizenship

Feminist geographers may well have a two–fold objection to the seduction of citizenship. First, the discourse of citizenship has been framed on the basis of a male ideal of citizenship[49]. Property ownership as a gendered criterion for citizenship has a long history (Marshall and Bottomore1992). Second, the decontextualised, desubjectified, territorial focus of much existing work on citizenship and in migration geography may be anathema to feminist approaches which resist universal, masculinist ideals, and which put the female subject at the centre of research projects. An examination of the key dualisms that underpin the discourse of citizenship may also provide a way of understanding the distance between feminist emancipatory projects and the ideal of citizenship. I suggest that the binaries, identified in Figure 3.1, are germane.

[49] In T.H Marshall's influential analysis of citizenship, the question of women's access to civil rights is noted as being "in some important respects peculiar" (cited in Marshall and Bottomore 1992, 12). Marshall and Bottomore (1992, 69) note that rights were extended to women "very much more slowly than to men" and that "women have usually experienced discrimination".

marked (negatively valued terms)	unmarked (positively valued terms)
private	public
local	national
woman	citizen
social	political
industrial work	civil service
migrant	resident
excluded	included

Figure 3.1: Key dualisms

Feminist geography scholarship that focuses on what might be understood as 'real' feminist subjects would tend to produce and value research focused on the marked terms in the list. To do otherwise, it could be argued, would be to concede ground to hegemonic values and attitudes. Feminist geography has the epistemological capacity to consider, with respect to citizenship, subjects such as migrant women (Humbeck 1996), lesbian citizens (Valentine 1996), and the public / private worlds of welfare (Kofman and Sales 1996).

True, it is possible to find feminist geography accounts of the ways in which citizenship is compromised in some specific space or time. Recent interventions from feminist geographers on the question of citizenship can be found in the work of Eleanore Kofman (1995), Audrey Kobayashi (1993, 1995), Wendy Larner and Paul Spoonley (1995), Sarah Radcliffe (1996a, 1996b), and Susan Smith (1989, 1993) among others. But in all of these cases, citizenship appears incidental to other concerns. Kofman and Larner and Spoonley, for example, have focused on migrant women, Kobayashi on ethnic

difference, Radcliffe on postcolonialism, Rose on political democracy and Smith on 'regional nationalism'.

Doreen Massey (1984, 1991, 1993) revived the idea of locality studies as a basis for analysing what Nigel Thrift (1989, 151) calls "the complex dialectic of international and national restructuring and local responses" and hinted at the possibility that citizenship might be analysed at different scales. Generally speaking, however, the argument about exclusion from the spaces of citizenship is given poor regard in geographical texts.

Conclusion

As Trevor Barnes (1997) suggested in the context of economic geography, the nation–state is an *a priori* category of geographical analysis and citizenship relates to that taken–for–granted category. In order to establish a ground for feminist geography to engage with citizenship it may be necessary to identify the extent to which issues of social policy overlap with other developing areas of scholarship that may come to be considered 'legitimate' geographical subjects.

In this chapter, I have reviewed a range of literatures that are outside the immediate frame of European Union social policy. I have used these parent literatures to identify discussions in geography about poverty and drawn attention to the ways in which economic, political, and feminist geographies are responding to debates in social theory. I have suggested that these responses allow greater attention to be paid to linguistic analysis on the one hand, and feminist deconstruction of paradigmatic binaries on the other. This background also lays the foundation for Chapter 6 in which I focus on the production of social policy in the European Union. I couch this discussion in a framework of liberal democratic theory in order to argue that policy is produced in a discursive milieu. In Chapter 4, however, I turn my focus to the methods and methodologies of my research.

Chapter 4

Methods and Methodologies

According to Sarantakos (1993, 114), my research could be described as exploratory, qualitative, "familiarisation" research. As my aim is to collect and analyse a wide range of readings of the concept of social exclusion, the document collection, the interviews and the discourse analysis which comprised my methods all reflect this exploratory aspiration. I had no "operational definition" in any classical social science sense (Bailey 1994, 53; Dooley 1995, 66; Singleton *et al.* 1993, 105). I worked inductively, as a researcher "attracted to a paradox – a situation in which existing theories and data seem to clash … [who] attempts to reconcile apparently divergent ideas and facts within a more complete framework" (Dooley 1995, 66). This is not, however, problem solving research and I was not committed to the outcome of a 'more complete' framework with all the connotations of successful resolution that such an approach entails.

The purpose of any qualitative method must be to establish a "practical, communicable, non–self–deluding" base from which to draw valid meaning (Miles and Huberman 1994, 1). I am wary of claims that, with qualitative method: "one can preserve chronological flow, see precisely which events led to which consequences, and derive fruitful explanations" (Miles and Huberman 1994, 1). Such a claim imputes a "flat ontology" to causality (House 1991, 5) – a congruent narrative that unfolds from a rational beginning to an enlightened end. This suggests that qualitative research, like quantitative research, is teleological – deserves to find an end point and purpose in the conclusions that are reached.

It is difficult to escape from the idea that research is purposive (why else do we do it?) or that we know more at the end of a research project than we knew at the beginning. I also endorse Miles and Huberman's (1994, 1) claim that "good qualitative data are more likely [than hasty, incomplete data] to lead to serendipitous findings and to new integrations … to get beyond initial conceptions and to generate or revise conceptual

frameworks." In this case I understand Miles and Huberman to refer to 'rich' data that is based on more than one or two records and that has enough 'density' of information to give the researcher pause. Unanticipated ideas and observations appear during the reading of such 'rich' data or during the conduct of research that has deviated from a prior formulaic pattern. It is this aspect of qualitative research that I have aimed to develop in this project. It has involved a journey and in many senses I am in a different place now than I was five years ago. I reconstruct aspects of this research as both an exploration and a journey.

If the research is 'exploration' then, in the geographical language of 'the field', the research is also a journey. It has been a journey which entailed not only the literal passage from southern to northern hemisphere, from New Zealand to 'Europe', but one which also entailed the displacement of the familiar and the adjustment to new disciplinary boundaries, new contexts, environments, expectations – a journey with no fixed destination. David Clark, cited in Lather (1991, 62), appositely suggests that: "the road to complexity is what we are on in our empirical efforts."

In each part of this research journey, separated by considerable time periods as well as by purpose, I have determined a greater respect for 'method' as emergent, dialectical, and reflexive. As a mark of this respect I have given some weight to this chapter, rehearsing some of the more 'mechanical' aspects as well as reflecting quite intently on some of the unanticipated outcomes from, and shifts in, my own perceptions of concepts, processes and tools. I begin by identifying three categories and four phases into which my research procedures can be secured. In section 4.1, I discuss the phase of project development and in section 4.2 I explain the process of data collection in Europe. I follow this with more detailed explanations of discourse analysis as theory and method and of NUD.IST software as a tool in section 4.3. I conclude, in section 4.4, by reflecting on some of the constraints I see in the use of computer aided qualitative data analysis software and on some of the conceptual difficulties encountered in using a methodical approach to discourse analysis.

The procedures for this research fall into three conventional categories: data collection, data entry, and data analysis. Miles and Huberman (1994, 10) suggest categorising these as data reduction, data displays, and conclusion drawing and verification. I have followed their systematic rationale quite closely though I have chosen to use different terms and different frames. What is appealing about their approach is the recognition that 'analysis' is a constitutive part of all three categories. Certainly my (retrospective) assessment of the process confirmed this insight. At each step I analysed, reassessed and renegotiated the processes and findings involved – whether these were procedural, empirical, or theoretical.

In reconstructing this account of my research process – from my field notes, taped commentaries and subsequent evaluations, and critical assessment – I follow a rough chronological order. I represent the research as occurring in four distinct but not exclusive phases identified by the location of the research activities and the kind of research involved. At each site, processes of data reduction, display and verification were ongoing (see Figure 4.1).

As indicated in Figure 4.1, this chronology is in four parts. "Project Development" work at the University of Waikato constituted Phase 1. Phase 2 comprised the work undertaken in Europe – "Europe fieldwork". I have called Phase 3 (the cyber–site) "Digital fieldwork" because most of the Internet research and computer aided analysis occurred in this phase. Finally, I have designated the final drafting and editing of the research document, "compilation", as Phase 4. Such a diagram makes the research process look tidy. It signals that I am about to engage in what James Scheurich (1997, 74) has identified as the filling of "indeterminate openness" with "names, categories, constructions, [and] conceptual schemes" to create order.

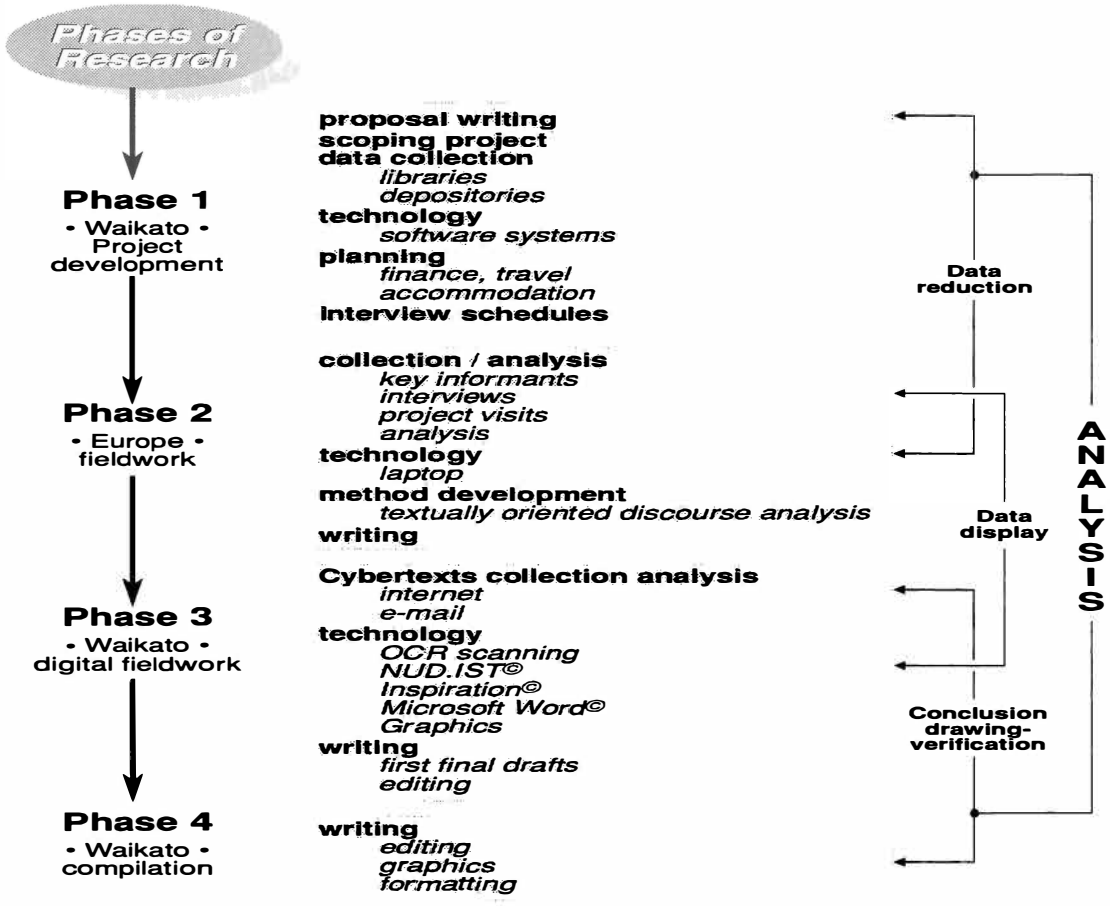


Figure 4. 1: Phases of research

Despite this apparent representation of order, I have consciously resisted the implicit positivism in Miles and Huberman (1994) (and most of the other qualitative research handbooks that I refer to in this chapter). I have attempted rather to establish a postmodern / poststructural framework for this research in which I engage in "an interactive process of interpretive construction" (Scheurich 1997, 77).

As Patti Lather (1991, 111) suggests:

> Poststructuralism demands radical reflection on our interpretive frames as we enter the Foucauldian shift from *paradigm* to *discourse*, from a focus on researcher ontology and epistemology in the shaping of paradigmatic choice, to a focus on the productivity of language in the construction of objects of investigation.

Lather is referring here to the particular Kuhnian notion of paradigm. Thomas Kuhn (1962, 1970) developed an elaborate notion of the role of paradigms in 'normal science'. As Derek Gregory (1988, 337) suggests, 'paradigm' in this sense comprises

> the working assumptions, procedures, and findings widely accepted by a group of scholars, which together define a stable pattern of scientific activity; this in turn defines the community which shares it.

What I believe Lather to be suggesting is that this fixed notion of paradigms as 'forms of truth' has given way to a much more open and reflexive process in which discourse is seen to be relational, arbitrary and subjective.

I have been intrigued, throughout this research process, by the 'messiness' of method and the extent to which research is influenced by events, attitudes and attributes that are not discussed in conventional methods texts. I have tried to incorporate these elements, and my reflections on them, throughout this account. There are a number of elements that are not covered in great detail, however, including debates about field work. I acknowledge that this is an important topic to consider in any research project – whether the 'field' is the library or some exotic, overseas, location, such as 'Europe'.

Scheurich has provided one of the few texts outside of the feminist canon,[1] which addresses the arbitrary and ambiguous processes of research. His engaging "postmodernist critique of research interviewing" (Scheurich 1997, 61–79) identifies many of the anxieties that my research interviewing engendered. Building on Lather's work, he has also identified "policy archaeology" as a "new policy studies methodology" (Scheurich 1997, 94–118). This is a useful, retrospective descriptor for my research. Although there are key differences between Scheurich's approach and my

[1] There is an extensive feminist literature on research method that challenges and critiques many of the mainstream assumptions of qualitative methods. See, for example: Holland, Blair and Sheldon (1995), Code, Mullett and Overall (1988), Fine (1994), Jayaratne and Stewart (1995), Kelly, Regan and Burton (1995), Lather (1994) and (1991), Oakley (1993), Reinharz (1992), Roberts (1988), Stanley (1990) and (1997), and Stanley and Wise (1993). There has also been considerable work in this critical field in anthropology (see Denzin and Lincoln 1994).

own,[2] his analysis of "regularities" (of race, gender, class, governmentality and professionalization) provided a useful framework for reconsidering some aspects of my analysis. At this point, however, I turn to the chronological account of the methods, approaches and dilemmas of this research.

4.1: Phase 1: Project development

The project development phase involved writing the research proposal, scoping the research, collecting primary data, identifying software and developing field plans. These are all activities that require a reduction of data: a narrowing down of the topic, a specification of the research questions, an identification of technical, financial and personal constraints. Writing and getting approval for the comprehensive research proposal was the first step. Subsequent preparatory elements were less straightforward and the greatest challenge was calculating the scope of the research in the absence of accessible literature. There are convincing arguments for doing the scoping at the outset – knowing clearly what is to be in the foreground and what is to be in the background shapes the time to completion (Phillips and Pugh 1993, 52–58).

In the initial stage of the project I had not anticipated travelling to Europe and was relying on locally available publications – part of the rationale for doing 'discourse analysis of policy documents' was my supposition that the documents could be accessed here. I was hoping to do "available–data research" (Singleton, Straits and Straits 1993 354) or what is more commonly called "document study" (Bailey 1994, 294), or to be able to rely on "documentary sources" (Scott 1990). It became obvious after the first six months that published material in either New Zealand or Australia would be limited. I was then faced with the prospect of reinventing the project or inventing a way to get direct access to the data. I took the latter path because I had by then committed my curiosity to the European Union, to the Poverty Programmes and to using discourse analysis.

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[2] Scheurich's analysis is deeply anchored in a Foucauldian perspective on discourse. He is conversant with policy discourse and appears to have passionate commitment to a kind of social justice, which

The first set of data collection procedures involved finding relevant literature in New Zealand and Australia. The original general background information was easily found in New Zealand libraries. In the first instance, the University of Waikato library delivered background material on the European Communities (such as Pinder 1991), about social policy in the Community (such as Betten 1991, Lodge 1983, 1989, and Shanks 1977) and specific authors who touched on the Poverty Programmes (such as Room 1990). Some of these general texts, such as Taylor (1983), and Williams (1994), included material that was critical of the emasculation of social policy in the Communities. I kept track of geography texts that focused on the Communities and noted their concentration on regional and systematic appraisals of the member states (Blacksell and Williams 1994, King 1993a, Pinder 1991, Williams 1994, Wise and Gibb 1993).

Subsequent searches and discussions with local librarians (under–rated repositories of expert knowledges) led me to the three New Zealand European Community 'document depositories'.[3] The depository held at the Auckland Public Library proved most useful, not least because the document librarian there went out of her way to be helpful – to bring large collections up from archives at short notice and track down obscure references with interest. None of the documents available in New Zealand dealt specifically with the Poverty Programmes although there were relevant copies of the *Official Journal,* the *Bulletin,*[4] and a number of policy documents explaining the Structural Funds, the roles of the key institutions and the key treaties. Entries in the

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acknowledges the inadequacies of both conventional and post–positivist policy studies.

[3] A 'depository' or 'repository' is a specialist library archive that is part of a collection in a more general library. Documents from a particular source (often legal) are deposited in satellite library locations. The European Economic Community maintains an elaborate network of depository libraries in New Zealand – three in the North Island: in Wellington (accessed through the Dan Long Memorial Library) and two in Auckland (the Public Library, and the University of Auckland Library).

[4] The *Official Journal* is the European Economic Communities' official publication for all legal opinions and decisions. The *Bulletin of the European Union* is published by the Secretariat-General of the Commission, 10 times per year with additional special-topic supplements.

Official Journal made it possible to get access to the relevant cataloguing codes that then enabled documents to be tracked in both Australian and European libraries.

The regional repository for Australasia is in Canberra and is connected to the consular desk for the European Economic Communities. The Consulate served as a document source and as the first point of protocol for organizing my visits to Brussels. All the arrangements for my visits had to go through the Canberra office. The first key document from the Canberra Office was a very poor photocopy of the *Interim Report on a Specific Community Action Programme to Combat Poverty* (COM 1989: (88) 621/2 final). This was my first evidence that the Poverty Programmes had been formally documented. Having access to one document made it easier to obtain others. The Canberra Office subsequently provided *The Final Report on the Second European Poverty Programme* (COM 1991: (91) 29 final). Neither of these two documents was machine–readable and I later had the first, which I was never able to replace, re–typed so that it could be scanned into the computer.

The final sources of data were in Europe and collecting material there becomes part of the story of the second phase which I have designated as 'Europe field work' to distinguish it from the less easily recognised 'field' work[5] in local and New Zealand libraries. There were 27 sites for *Poverty 3* projects in Europe as well as 11 sites of "innovative initiatives" (see Figure 4.2) and it was with an awareness of all of these locations that my field work took place even although I was only ever able to visit three of them.

[5] Stuart Aitken (1997, 197–212) has written amusingly but seriously about the perceived need for geographers to "do time in the field". He also cites Heidi Nast's (1994) conception of the field as a "political artefact" which is close to the idea of the textual policy field, which this thesis explores. It is apposite to note, that although Aitken refers to "literary ... anthropological ... art and photography ... film ... music and television ... reading maps ... and landscape as text" there is no mention made of geographers' engagement with policy text.

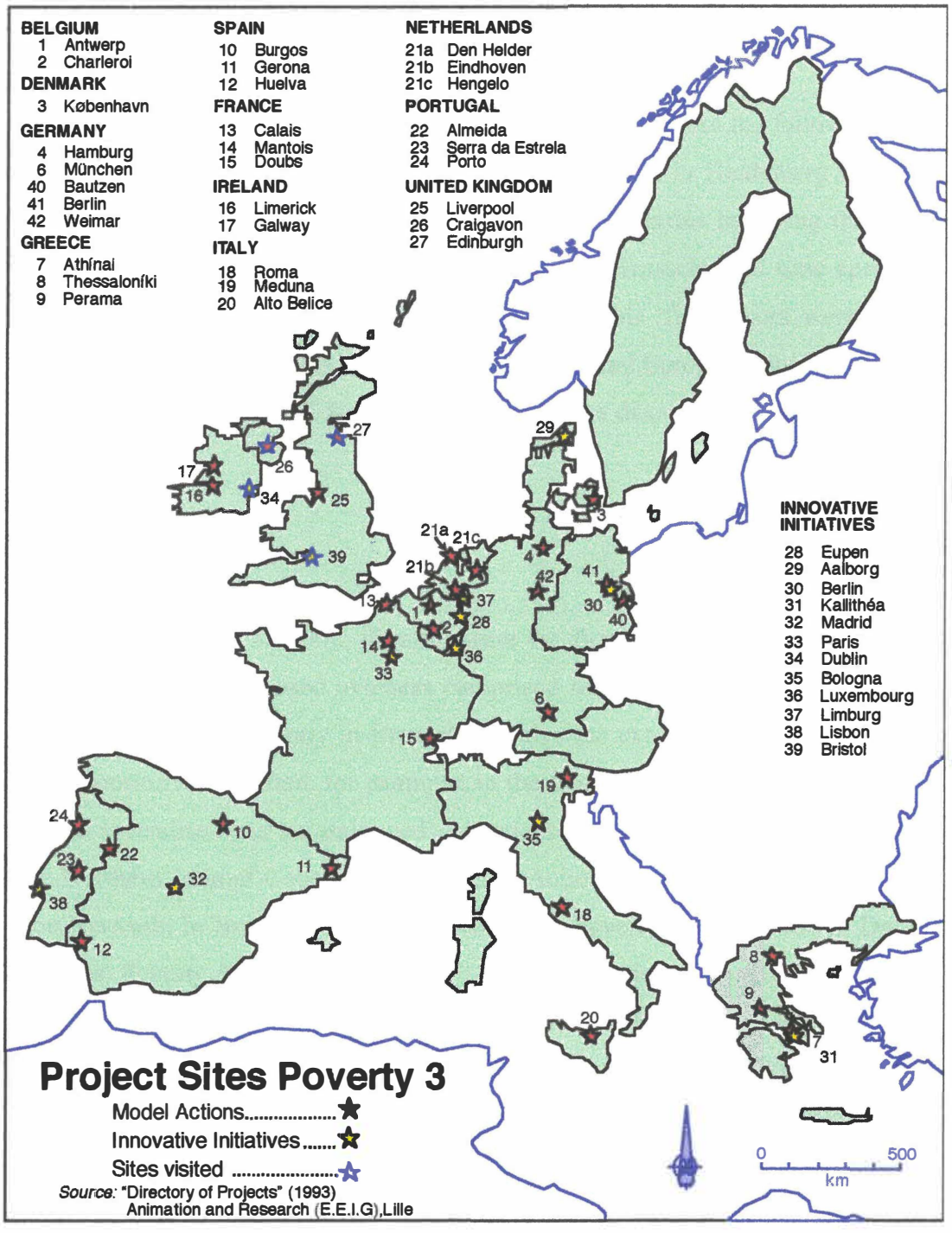


Figure 4.2: Sites of the Poverty 3 projects in the European Union

4.2: Phase 2: Europe field work

In 1994, I travelled to Europe for five months of 'field' work. As the following account describes in detail, this included time spent at conferences in Heidelberg and Prague, time spent travelling through a number of European countries including the southern European countries of Italy and Spain, time spent in Brussels, and time spent in the United Kingdom and Ireland. The two main aims of this 'field' work were to collect documentary evidence about the Poverty Programmes and European Union social policy and to interview a number of key informants about the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion.

Access to documents

In Europe, as in New Zealand, libraries were the first source of information for this research. The libraries I used overseas comprised both the highly specialised official European Commission library in Brussels but also the extensive European collections held in repositories attached, for example, to the University of Edinburgh. There were also other specialised and uncatalogued[6] collections held in Belfast, at the European Unit of the Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action; in Bristol, at the Single Parent Action Network; in Brussels, at the European Anti–Poverty Network; and in Dublin, at the Combat Poverty Agency. I went to each of these libraries and spent time talking with the archivists about the kinds of material I was looking for – European Union information on the Poverty Programmes and on social exclusion – and then spent one or two days photocopying material from each place. Visits to the smaller collections were arranged by appointment and wherever possible I paid for the photocopying, or in some cases, for the time of a person who had been engaged to do photocopying for me.

[6] The small collections often had a catalogue system that local users or the librarian could access but these were not networked internationally. I needed to physically visit each of the centres, explain what information I was looking for, and then locate material on the shelves, in file boxes, or in filing cabinets.

There were a number of ethical problems do be dealt with at this information gathering stage. The people to whom I spoke in the specialist libraries were often extremely knowledgeable and several would have made ideal interviewees. I had no information prior to meeting them, however, and was often only in contact with them for that one occasion. I had no 'ethical approval forms' and nothing to offer them in return for the privilege of taking their time in anything other than an informal 'chat'. There was not appropriate time or circumstance to elicit "informed consent" (see Sarantakos 1993, 24–25). In all cases I chose not to use the 'librarians' as 'key informants'. The issues and protocols for whether or how to pay for the information posed another ethical dilemma which I tended to resolve by offering to pay in all circumstances.

Several days were spent in the Central Library in Brussels though surprisingly little information was gained there. This was my first exposure to some of the curious ironies of the bureaucratic delays arising from the decentralised / centralised politics of the European Union. I discovered that the funding for the Poverty Programmes came from the centre – from the Commission – and was dispersed to the periphery – to the individual projects – which were in turn coordinated at a national level. The reports and research, however, were generated in the periphery and tended to be accessible at each individual site but not necessarily made available to the central site – or at least not immediately. The local material that ended up in the central archives appeared minimal.

One telling 'oversight' was my failure to arrange a visit to Lille, in North France, where the EEIG Animation and Research[7] office collated and published much of the material on the Poverty Programmes produced by the Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs V (DG V). It was not until after I had left Europe that the significance of this office as a clearing–house for the Poverty Programmes' documentation became clear. Subsequent attempts to communicate by letter and fax to follow up particular documents were frustrated by my not being a European Union

[7] Animation and Research (A&R) was set up in 1989 as an European Economic Interest Group (EEIG) to bring together an innovative, multilingual service centre for the Poverty Programmes. A&R provided technical assistance, organised seminars and exchanges, undertook training, and conducted research and evaluation, published material and established telecommunication networks.

national, by frequent changes in staff at the office (so that my faxes were mislaid), and by a policy of providing only specific documents on request. In order to make a request, I had to know the catalogue number of the document but in order to know the catalogue number, I had to have access to the document, etc – a classic catch.

In 1995, I did get access to one very useful resource, which I was never able to use other than as a reference guide. In 1993, Animation and Research in Brussels published the *SPES Database: Bibliographic Review on Poverty and Social Exclusion: Documents in English.* This data base – a significant output from the third European anti–poverty programme, *Poverty 3* – is a compilation of all of the *Poverty 3* resources as well as bibliographic references to books, articles, and reports in the wider field of poverty and social exclusion. The database was one of the first European Union experiments in online resources in the poverty area. The text–based documents were all in electronic form and could be downloaded via a "KERMIT protocol".[8] Given the cost of this electronic access from New Zealand (it was all managed through international telephone charging), I never used the links but did find the database invaluable as a check list for documents I already had, or imagined I might not be able to do without. In many instances, the brief summaries in the bibliography were enough to reassure me that I did not need that material in detail.

What was gained from all this grubbing in archives and libraries was a substantial body of material that specifically related to the Poverty Programmes. I had copies of the Commission documents which discussed the rationale for, funding of, and some reflection on, the first, second, and third Poverty Programmes. I had detailed information about four specific projects: the Single Parent Action Network (SPAN) project in Bristol, the Pilton project in Edinburgh, the Craigavon project in Northern Ireland, and the Combat Poverty Agency (CPA) in Dublin. I had collected information on the European Communities' institutions, legal structures, and initiatives. I had copies of the controversial Green and White papers relating to social policy, employment and social

[8] The KERMIT protocol is a file transfer software (ftp) device available in the public domain. The SPES KERMIT ftp cannot be accessed outside of Europe except through very expensive telephone connections.

exclusion and had a copy of the *House of Lords Report on Social Exclusion* (1994) and copies of the *UK Observatories on Social Exclusion* (Robbins 1992, Room 1992). I also had a copy of the *SPES Data Base* and the *Poverty 3: Lessons of the Poverty 3 Programme* (1994) put together by the DG V team at the Animation and Research centre in Lille.

None of this material was available in New Zealand or Canberra. None of it was readily accessible by interloan and much of it was not yet catalogued in the public domain. Apart from the logistics of sending all the material back to New Zealand – or rather, sending my 'disposable' luggage by post so that I could accompany this (by then precious) material on the plane – I had acquired most of my documentary sources and significantly reduced the amount of text data I proposed to work with. There was, however, another very rich and troublesome information dimension to the European field research – interviews with key informants.

Prior to interviews – European dilemmas

Prior negotiations with the Canberra Desk had given me a sense that interviews were likely to be difficult to set up and awkward to initiate and manage if I was not going to be based in Brussels for very long. Despite being very conscious of the value of interviews for qualitative research such as this, I envisaged the Commission interviews as supplementary, rather than primary, sources of data. In retrospect, I realised that the interviews were a too fascinating source, not just of 'data' in the empirical sense, but of 'inside glimpses'. They provided a window to the Commission and its staff that was worth the efforts entailed in arranging them. If I had had a chance of a second set of interviews, armed with the experiences gained from the first set, I would have arranged to stay longer in Brussels and used Commission staff contacts more widely. This would only have been possible, however, if I had been able to identify myself more confidently as a 'legitimate' researcher (see the following summary of 'ethical considerations' for more on this point).

Time and costs militated against extended 'side trips' to any of the potential research sites in Europe. One of the frustrating, but also heartening aspects of the European Union is the widespread base of its operations. It was both time–consuming and costly to get from one place to another. It was cheaper and quicker for me to access many of these sites electronically from New Zealand and had the websites been as sophisticated in 1994 as they were in 1998 it may have been possible to conduct many of the interviews by e–mail rather than in person. (This is not to suggest that e–mail interviews would have been an adequate substitute for the face–to–face encounters. Such face–to–face encounters have their own particular power because they communicate so much by body language and environment. However, I believe that increasingly there will be a place for e–mail interviewing as a supplementary source of information. There is some useful discussion on this by Neil Selwyn and Kate Robson (1998) and Ross Coomber (1997). E–mail may be particularly useful where time and cost and distance together militate against face–to–face interviews (see also Robson 1998, 1997)).

What is heartening about the decentralisation is the extent to which member states benefit directly from European Union initiatives in their own territories. The cartoon (see Figure 5.4) of the pantechnicon carrying great loads of documentation across the Union represents my mental map of the more frustrating aspect of the decentralisation. It is also a reminder of the extent to which e–mail has further advantages over 'snail' mail. Conducting interviews by post is the 'conventional' alternative to e–mail but time is a critical factor that can be addressed by electronic means if both the researcher and researched have access to compatible technology. The fact that the European Union continues to manually move documents is a useful reminder of the exclusiveness of electronic communication. This is a further ethical consideration to be borne in mind.

The Commission is in Brussels and the General Secretariat of the Council is in Brussels but in April, June and October the Council meets at the Kirchberg European Centre in Luxembourg where the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors, and the European Investment Bank are also situated. The Parliament is in Strasbourg, but a new parliamentary building in Brussels means that some meetings of Parliament are now conducted there. The European Ombudsman's office is in Strasbourg. The European

Bank headquarters are in Frankfurt. A number of affiliated agencies and bodies working with poverty and employment are scattered widely in the peripheral states: the European Agency for Safety and Health at Work (EASHAW) is in Madrid, Spain, the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (EFILWC) is in Dublin, Ireland, and the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) is in Thessaloniki, Greece and the Comparative Research on Poverty (CROP) network is in Bergen, Norway.

My research would have benefited from interview visits to many of these institutions. In particular, I would have liked to have tracked down and interviewed European Members of Parliament, spoken to French and German academics as well as English, looked for contacts in other Commissions, in the Committee of the Regions, the Economic and Social Committee and the affiliated agencies such as ASHAW, EFILWC, CEDEFOP and CROP. Contact with more of the Poverty Programme projects at the 'grass roots' level, mediated by translators, would also have been useful.

As I have already suggested, the opportunity to go 'to Europe' to obtain research material was not in my original plan. The subsequent commitment to go then required a high level of organisation before going and a high degree of organisation after I had arrived 'in Europe'. In Appendix 1, I provide supplementary information on my access to research funding and support. Parts of the complex world of research 'methods' became obvious in stages. I have come to recognize that not only is funding a very important aspect of 'field research' but so also is having some 'support services'. Having a 'compatriot' – my partner, a fellow New Zealander – with whom to share my perceptions of the European Union, to share anxieties about getting dressed for interviews and who waited on draughty streets in the European Quarter while my interviews took place, reshaped the trials of that experience into something that was bearable. Certainly, the corporeal anxieties experienced prior to going to Europe, and while in Europe, distracted me at times from the arguably more significant tasks of being a researcher, preparing for my interviews, and working in libraries.

The role of international conferences

The second element of the research planning was the selection of an appropriate conference. The singular conference turned into two conferences, both of which were very important to the early development of my ideas and directions but which also dictated the timing of the field research perhaps some six months before I was really 'field ready'. As I needed to give a paper at one of the conferences to secure some of my funding, pre–travel time was also spent on that exercise.

The first conference, in Heidelberg, drew together thirty–five international feminist geographers under the auspices of the Regional Conference of the International Geographical Union (IGU) 1994, and was focused on the theme of *Beyond Borders: Gender Implications of Multistate Economic Policies*. Another aspect of the 'research process', giving a paper at this conference (Peace 1994), was not part of my then repertoire of skills, but was one that subsequently provided me with three key insights.

The first was that there was a community of feminist geographers outside of New Zealand who engaged in policy research, who were interested in new perspectives, who were part of a well developed international network and who were willing to share ideas. From discussing my work with these women, I realised that the work I was proposing to do – looking at multistate social policies without a specific focus on 'gender issues' – was unusual.

This second realisation made me reflect very carefully on the 'feminist' engagement I subsequently undertook. If 'gender issues' were not to be my explicit focus, was the research still 'feminist'? Positioning myself as a feminist geographer outside the boundaries of the 'gender and geography' school has haunted my research and encouraged me to pursue postmodern, poststructural, and social constructionist debates in mainstream geography with care. My research ostensibly has more in common with the work of David Sibley (1995) than it does with the work of Maria Dolors García Ramon and Janice Monk (1996), despite the fact that the essays collected in their book do not reflect a unitary position on 'gender and geography'.

My third insight was in relation to the multilingualism of Europe. Although the conference was conducted in English (hosted in a German speaking university) most of the participants did not speak English as their first language. This tangible reminder of the 'translation' processes at work in the European Union was also to haunt my research.[9]

The second conference, in Prague, was a large and prestigious gathering of the regional European branch of the IGU. It was bilingual – papers were delivered in English and French. It was also masculinist, conservative and self–confident. There were few 'young researchers' present (other than those co–opted to act as hosts, guides and helpdesk staff). There were few papers of direct relevance to my research, but it was an initiation into the Anglo–European geographical world and confirmed that 'going to Europe' was about more than data collection and interviews.

Throughout this narrative, I have used the phrase 'going to Europe' with some irony. It is how the expedition was phrased for all of several audiences at home – past and present colleagues, near and distant family – who wanted to know where we were going. It somehow seemed absurd to say I was 'going to Brussels'. In the event, I went 'to Europe' with my partner. We went, not only to Brussels, but also to places in Germany, Czech Republic, Austria, Italy, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium, the United Kingdom, and the Republic of Ireland.

In unexpected places (in shops, in museums, in the interminable railway stations and down–at–heel hotels), where I had the opportunities to speak to 'local' people informally about the European Union, about 'poverty', or about social exclusion, I learned a great deal. This 'Europe' that I had come to interview did not seem to have so much substance, materiality or a rich exterior life. A shrug most often dismissed the 'Union' and a more compassionate kind of shrug dismissed the 'poor'. The European Quarter, in Brussels, the place I really had come to interview people, provided a very different

[9] The issue of language and the academy is railed against by Paul Treanor (1997a, 1997b, 1998), a prolific online challenger of Anglo academic hegemony. An active debate on the critical geography listserve (Crit–geog–forum online) in June 1998 identifies most of the key issues in this debate.

picture – one which resonated with images of 'Europe', with references to 'Europe' and with the idea of 'Europe–as–real'.

In this Europe–in–Brussels environment, my work fell into three categories: formal contact with the liaison desk, time in the European Union Central Library and four formal, semi–structured interviews with European Commission spokespersons. A second phase of interviewing was undertaken later in the United Kingdom where I conducted informal, semi–structured interviews with academics, whose special interests were in the areas of social policy, poverty research and the European Union.

A third series of informal, semi–structured interviews involved Poverty Programme field workers and resource persons associated with various Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Each of these will be dealt with separately as each entailed a unique set of problems and rewards. The calculated synopsis of the interviewing process that follows identifies not only what was gained from the interviewing, but also indicates what I have learned subsequently about the unanticipated problems of interviewing 'expert' sources.

Interviews 1: Brussels – Commission staff

Complex arrangements were made to contact and then interview four European Commission personnel in Brussels.[10] None of the interviews was allowed to be taped (Commission security policy restrictions) so notes were taken by hand[11] and I reflected on the interview process directly afterwards to tape. Each interview was scheduled for 20 minutes. Three took between 1–2 hours at the interviewee's instigation.

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[10] The following lists European Community people I interviewed formally or informally (in person or by telephone): Linda Hurd, Liaison Desk; Annegret Van Miert, chief research librarian at the Commissions' Central library; Stephen Brain, Technical Expert (Directorate–General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs, DGV); Research Assistant for George Katsourakis (Directorate–General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs, DGV); Mr. Noterdames, Assistant Director of Poverty Programmes (Directorate–General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs, DGV); Anders Joest Hingel, Principal Scientific Administrator (Directorate–General for Science, Research and Development, DG XII).

[11] See Valentine (1997, 122–123) for a concise summary of the logistics of taping, and see Kvale (1996) for a comprehensive guide to interviewing as qualitative research practice.

The first contact was with Linda Hurd from the Commission's Liaison Desk. She was the 'gatekeeper' (Bogdan and Taylor 1975). The Canberra Desk had vouched for me, but Hurd had to finalise all the arrangements. The situation of being a non–national of the European Communities and a 'student' posed a number of unanticipated difficulties. In retrospect I would have had greater ease of access throughout the process if I had 'posed' as an already accredited university lecturer. The question of my 'place' in this research became increasingly problematic as I became increasingly implicated in it. I had never 'done' research prior to this project (other than as an undergraduate student in the early 1970s).

Many people assumed, however, from my age, that I was a mature researcher and were very surprised to learn that I was doing doctoral as opposed to post–doctoral research. I 'chose' to represent myself as a student because that is what I 'was' at that point. My previous life roles as 'Head of Department' and 'teacher' had evaporated during my year as an honours student and it felt curiously 'dishonest' to represent myself as anything other than a student. As a "peripheral researcher" (Singleton *et al.* 1994, 339) I had no membership access to the group of Commission staff other than that of researcher. Amplifying my status may have opened different doors or even the same doors more widely, but I did not fully appreciate this at the time. The issues of 'posing' and 'amplification' in the context of 'mature students' deserve further research. I provided Hurd with a copy of my key questions, which she then faxed to each of the persons with whom she negotiated interviews (see Appendices 2a, 2b, 2c).

Annegret Van Miert, the chief librarian, was my second formal contact, although not strictly as an interviewee. I spent four days in the library and was able to discuss some issues with her in relation to the management of supranational data, the availability of material in translation, public access to material, delays in processing acquisitions and access to up–to–date stock. Gaining access to the library alerted me to the potential obstacles of access to buildings and the problems of security. I had to surrender my passport and surrender to a gentle frisking of body and bag each time I went to the library. The first formal interview session was to be at the premises of DG V. Even getting to this interview had its share of classic 'field problems'. According to all the

addresses I had been given on letters and faxes, DG V was in the Berlaymont building – the great architectural landmark built for the Commission in 1969 in the centre of the European Quarter.[12]

In casual, 'antipodean' fashion, I reconnoitred the Berlaymont building on foot the weekend prior to my appointment. I needed some sense of the environment to which I was committing myself. The huge edifice was deserted. A tiny hand–written note in English said: "Closed for refurbishment". There was nothing to suggest where the offices had gone. My first appointment was at 9.00 a.m., so I had to contact the Liaison Desk by phone on the Monday morning – although it did not open until 9.00 a.m. – and engage Hurd to reschedule the appointment to 9.30 a.m. by which time I hoped to be able to negotiate my way to the new place from my strategic central phone box. It had not occurred to anyone that I would not know that the Berlaymont was closed as it had been vacated over a week previously.[13]

I include these anecdotes of my research experience as a reminder that none of the processes of research are as clean and disembodied as we might prefer them to be. I was an observer of a foreign, bureaucratic culture. I had to find ways to 'fit in' to a corporate world that had quite fierce expectations and seemed saturated with self–importance. I was aware of myself as a 'student researcher', a 'foreigner', and as monolingual. I had sweaty–palms when I presented myself for more frisking and passport capture to DG V where I was appointed to meet a 'Technical Expert', Peter.[14]

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[12] The Berlaymont building has been replaced by the Breydel and Balieu buildings, which are providing temporary headquarters in Brussels for the Commission. DG V is located in a separate, purpose–built structure of its own (Urwin (online): *A Glossary of The European Communities and European Union*).

[13] There is a reluctance to acknowledge the location of buildings, commissions, and agencies in the European Quarter. Buildings seemed like private places for staff. The streets have few shops or shoppers, but there were a few beggars strategically outside offices and lunchtime cafés. Email and electronic addresses are given but few directions for finding actual buildings were available. This 'absent geography' is also reflected in European Union websites where the physical whereabouts of places is not given priority.

[14] Although the interviewees were all happy to be identified, I have chosen to use pseudonymous first names to preserve the confidentiality that was assured in the consent form which they each signed (see Appendix 3).

Peter was British, perhaps about 35, warm, not at all formal or fierce and very frank in his response to my questions. Not unexpectedly, talking with a British Commission worker made this first experience more accessible – relatives who had emigrated to New Zealand, the role of Britain in the European Communities and French–English bilingualism all formed part of a brief introductory discussion. Peter had read the schedule of questions I had provided via Linda Hurd and kept the subsequent discussion focused on them. Peter's job was to provide "technical advice" on the implications of policy at the national level. He was familiar with the Poverty Programmes and the problems the initiatives had encountered in various national areas.

He provided a useful interpretation of Britain's position with respect to the opt-out from the Social Chapter, and confirmed that one of the historical reasons for use of 'social exclusion' may have been a translation slippage from the French, *exclusion sociale*, into English. He discussed the main initiatives of the Commission in the broader social policy area; outlined the problems and contradictions of Commission bureaucracy; and discussed the influence of the key figures of Jacques Delors and Padraig Flynn[15] in the social policy area. This information confirmed and expanded my knowledge. An invitation for ongoing contact was offered at the end of the meeting, and although I never followed this up, I felt it to be a sincere expression of interest in my project and boosted my confidence for the subsequent two interviews. Peter personally escorted me through the warren of offices all in various stages of being unpacked from the recent moves. Boxes spilled into corridors and the staff seemed generally harried.

The second interview was a startling contrast. George, with whom I expected to have the interview, was just leaving his office as we arrived. Despite his initial agreement with Linda Hurd, he declined to be interviewed. In a confusing interchange, I was left to interview George's young researcher, whom I shall call Mary. Mary was perhaps 25, was English, and explained that she was a graduate recruit. She knew nothing whatever about the Poverty Programmes but explained the role of the European Social Fund in

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[15] Jacques Delors: then President of the European Union. Jacques Santer has succeeded him. Padraig Flynn is the Commissioner in charge of Employment and Social Affairs (DG V) and Relations with the Economic and Social Committee (ESC).

social policy initiatives, and the differences between 'mainstream' and 'initiative' funding.[16] The latter information was the only material with which I was not already familiar and despite my own discreet responses I was quickly exposed as someone who knew at least as much as she did about the European Communities' funding. This was a frustrating interview experience.

The third interview was rescheduled while I was in the Mary's office, so rather than a three hour break to transcribe my notes and reflections to tape I went straight into a two hour session from noon to 2.00 p.m., with Pierre. The lived–reality of being an interviewer came home to me. I was hungry. I was anxious about information overload and not being able to remember all the fine details of the meetings I had already had, and I was worried about my partner waiting an extra two and a half hours at a pre–designated location. Given the appearance of pressure, the sense that the interview was a now–or–never affair and my desire to cause as little irritation as possible, I agreed to go forward for what I imagined would be another half hour interview at best.

Pierre was an assistant director of the Poverty Programmes. He spoke French as his first language, appeared to be in his early 30s and was profoundly anxious that his job was about to disappear. This anxiety, coupled with the still unpacked office, created an air of quiet desperation. For the next two hours I sat in his office, occasionally getting an opportunity to ask one of my key questions but being left for long periods with piles of documents fresh off the press. Pierre rushed in and out, signed memos, faxed documents, talked furiously on the phone in rapid French and dropped more documents on my lap as they came to light out of boxes. Not only was Pierre a key source of up–to–date documentation (he arranged for me to come back the following day to collect duplicate copies of all the documents I wanted), but he also gave me the names of key informants in the United Kingdom. We talked about the question of 'exclusion' versus 'poverty' and he adamantly expressed the view that 'exclusion' was a much more versatile and

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[16] 'Mainstream funding' included the major budget allocations to Directorates, to the Common Agricultural policy and to harmonisation. When Commissions propose particular projects that have to be budgeted into five year planning cycles they are known as "initiative funding". The key difference between the two is that Initiative Funding has to be constantly renegotiated.

therefore more powerful concept and one which had allowed the Commission policy makers to side–step economic policy constraints. This opinion was also confirmed, the following day, in my final Commission interview with Paul.

Paul was the Principal Scientific Administrator for Directorate General XII – Science, Research and Development (DG XII). He was Danish, in his 50s, and a sociologist / business economist who had a long career with theCommission. This was a very important interview of unanticipated value. Paul was dealing with issues wider than just the Poverty Programmes or their funding. He was very focused on the dilemmas of research funding allocation between 'soft' social science research of the kind I was engaged in, and the 'hard', economic research favoured by the Commission. He was able to identify the shift to specific research on poverty and why it had happened. He explained the way poverty research had interconnections with other Directorates, and described the important roles of the interservice group[17] on social exclusion, the URBAN[18] initiative coming from DG XVI, and the existence of the CROP network. It was in my discussion with Paul that I first began to see the depth of some of the significant links. The Poverty Programmes were linked to the Commission's involvement in social policy issues and to the compromise this represented in being involved in the 'soft' science that supported such research. The Programmes were also linked to the highly bureaucratic networking that supported all of the policy initiatives.

Critique of interviews

I have detailed the events of these interviews because they highlight certain methodological problems. Gatekeeping processes ensured the interviewees were selected for me. I had no assurance that the people I was assigned to would not have other engagements. I was only permitted to interview four people. The status of the

[17] Interservice groups are common in the Commission. Representatives from different Directorates and Commissions, technical experts and specialist advisers, are brought together as 'think–tanks' and liaison networks on particular issues.

[18] URBAN is a key initiative in the European Union that has replaced some of the work of the Poverty Programmes in cities.

interviewees within the hierarchy was hard to ascertain. The time was limited to 15 minutes per interview (officially) and there was no set of negotiation protocols for extending the time although it happened on three out of the four occasions. The interviews were all different and were all more unstructured than I had anticipated. All the material gathered from the interviews was anecdotal, in the sense that each one gave me their personal perspective on social policy and on social exclusion.

The value of these 'interview stories' to my research was, however, high. The inconsistency of the stories alerted me to the fact that there was no 'company line', no 'authorised version', no particular face–lifted truth, that came out of the Commissions. Different individuals, in different jobs with different backgrounds and different commitments, told the story in different ways. This confirmed the possibility that there would be more than one way of interpreting the value and impacts of both the Poverty Programmes and the discursive shift to social exclusion.

What was evident from their collective account was that all four were aware of the shift in language, all were aware of the possible slippage from the French '*exclusion sociale*' and all were aware that the chance of there being a fourth Poverty Programme was slim. Not only did I gain substantive insights from these interviews, but also I experienced some of the culture of the Commission. In being exposed to more of the unpredictable elements of field research, I learned a number of hard lessons about the interviewing process in these first encounters. Some issues are discussed further in the later section on ethics.

I felt that I had been involved in a series of dynamic conversations rather than in 'proper', formal interviews. Subsequent to my arrival in the United Kingdom, I set up a number of similar conversations with a wide range of British and Irish academic researchers who also contributed, through their 'conversations', to my developing knowledge of the European Union and the Poverty Programmes. In retrospect, this technique of informal conversation seemed to fit well with my sense that I had been on a

'fishing expedition'.[19] Had I not been attempting to keep a sense of the 'bigger picture' I may have seen less value in these interviews and may not have continued to use this technique in the subsequent interview situations in the United Kingdom and Ireland.

Interviews 2: United Kingdom and Ireland – academics and researchers

I set up 12 face–to–face interviews[20] with academics and policy researchers in addition to a wide range of more informal conversations. There was some "snowballing," some "cold calling" and some "gatekeeping" in this recruitment process (see Valentine 1997, 114–116 for a synopsis of these methods). I was grateful for the open way in which academics passed me on to others working in the field, or who mediated my on–the–spot contact with people working in the same institution. An impromptu opportunity to speak with Jane Millar, for example, who also worked in the Social Policy Unit at the University of Bath, gave rise to one of my few discussions on gender perspectives on European Union social policy. I generally spoke with each person for between 30 – 60 minutes but Graham Room, Diana Robbins, Jim Walsh, Pauline Conroy and Nicola Yeates each gave me between one and three hours of their time. A series of phone calls, letters and faxes from my base at Edinburgh University secured this series of interviews over the period from September to December 1994. I made one trip to the south in

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[19] I have thought about 'fishing expeditions' in research as an ethical as well as a pedagogical issue. Robert Niles (online) encapsulates the feeling of not quite knowing where to start when he says: "you've cast your net into the sea of sources but are still not coming up with the information you need". 'Fishing' has become more acceptable as a metaphor for information gathering in the age of Internet but the ethics of this as a 'formal' research method needs further research.

[20] Even more so than the interviews with the staff in the Commission these were "conversations with a purpose" (Eyles 1988). The interviewees included: Allan Williams (University of Exeter) with whom I discussed general European Union background geography; Mark Blacksell, Michael Gibb, and Mark Wise (University of Plymouth), who were geographers specialising in European Union social and regional policy; Michael White (Policy Studies Institute, London) a policy analyst working in the area of European Union employment and labour policy; Graham Room (University of Bath) who directed much of the Poverty Programmes research in the United Kingdom along with Diana Robbins who worked as a consultant on the United Kingdom Observatory on Social Exclusion; Pauline Conroy and Nicola Yeates (University College, Dublin) who were expert informants on the Poverty Programmes; as were Jim Walsh (Combat Poverty Agency, Dublin), Brian Harvey (Researcher, European Anti–Poverty Network (EAPNS) Dublin), and Quintin Oliver (Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action (NICVA) and Roisin McDonough (Brownlow Community Trust (BCT) Belfast).

November to Bath, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth and London. In early December, I went to Belfast and Dublin.

Graham Room, whose expertise in the Poverty Programmes had been brought to my attention through his books (Room 1995, 1993, 1991, 1990, 1986) and whom I had been advised to contact by Pierre, talked at length about the Programmes and the rise of social exclusion. Discussions with Graham Room and with Diana Robbins clarified much about the institutional and bureaucratic linkages between the Commission and the National Observatory. I certainly had not been given a sense of the role of the national observatories in my discussions with the Commissioners. Neither of these discussions was taped as each requested a less formal approach.

In retrospect I felt this may have reflected some of the tension that was building in the National Observatory as funding came under pressure and projects were jeopardised by lack of clear commitments from national and international bodies. It also became apparent from my discussions at the national and local level that there was a lack of clarity about how the Commission worked and about the roles of interservice committees and lobbying activities at the supranational level.

As with my experience of interviewing at the European level I found that every conversation added to my store of ideas. I do not propose to summarise the content of these interviews. They were all part of the fishing expedition. Some of them were taped, some of them not. I made transcriptions of three interviews: with Jim Walsh, Roisin McDonnaugh and with Quintin Oliver. I deemed their direct and focused discussions of the concept of exclusion to be appropriate for scanning for the later stage of discourse analysis.

I gained a number of important insights from these twenty hours of discussion in addition to the 'factual' information I was offered. First, the number of researchers and academics in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland who were aware of the existence of the Poverty Programmes was very small and much of that awareness was focused amongst the researchers who were specifically engaged with the projects. Thus

they were to be found in Bath and Dublin, for example, but not in Plymouth. Despite this, the number is continually on the increase.[21]

Second, there was limited engagement with the European Union amongst the community of geographers in the United Kingdom. Those who had developed expertise in this area often had very specific interests and little knowledge of European Union social policy. Third, there were few geographers engaged in European Union policy analysis and none working in the area of discourse analysis with respect to policy. Finally, it seemed evident, too, that those non–geographers who were working directly with policy analysis were neither particularly focused on the spatial implications of policy enactment, nor on analysing the specific discourse in which the policy was promulgated.

This confirmed my sense that there was scope for original interdisciplinary work to be developed. Given the publication lag in the production of academic texts it would have been harder to develop this awareness from New Zealand. This confirmed my sense that face–to–face networking still carries considerable weight despite the proliferation of publications and increasing cyber research possibilities. The final set of interviews would not have been accessible on either the Internet or public domain publications. In that sense the interviews with people directly involved in the Poverty Programmes were very valuable.

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[21] In the three years since I was in the United Kingdom, the numbers of geographers working with the social policy aspects of European Union policy have increased. Apart from the work being done by Katherine Duffy (University of Loughborough), Russell King (University of Sussex), Eleanore Kofman (Nottingham Trent University), Erik Swyngedouw (Oxford University), and Paul White (University of Sheffield), there are new pockets of geographical / interdisciplinary research and teaching on European Union social policies developing across the United Kingdom. The Economics and Social Policy Birkbeck College, London, now runs an interdisciplinary degree programme which includes the Human Geography of the European Union and Social Relations and Social Policy. Diane Perrons, London School of Economics, works in the area of Economic and Social Cohesion in the European Union and is part of the Gender Institute of the London School of Economics. At the University of Durham, a research Study of Local Initiatives to Combat Social Exclusion in Europe is underway as part of a wider programme – the Political Economies of Geographical Change, which includes authors such as Amin and Thrift (1994), Amin and Tomaney (1995), Painter (1995), Hadjimichalis and Sadler (1995). Jon Binnie (1995) (John Moores University, Liverpool) is part of a new group of geographers working on aspects of sexual social policy.

There were only three contacts made directly with the Poverty Programmes. The first was with Sue Cohen from the Single Parents' Action Network (SPAN). The second with Clive Foster, who had worked for the Pilton project in Edinburgh, and the third was with Roisin McDonnaugh, the Director, Craigavon – Brownlow Poverty Project, Belfast. I discuss these interviews in some detail, and use them as a basis for two case studies in Chapter 7. They were quite different in tenor and purpose from the other interviews. Unlike the academics in the previous interviews, who had waved away consent forms but declined to be interviewed on tape, written and oral consent was obtained from the two participants who agreed to be interviewed. In each of these two cases the interviews were taped.

My only interview in Bristol was with Sue Cohen, who was the Director of SPAN. Sue was different in every respect from any of the other interviewees: a British West –Indian, neither an academic nor a career public servant, a woman, a sole parent and a participant in the Poverty Programmes rather than a producer or commentator. In the phone call confirming the preliminary arrangements, Sue advised me to take a taxi to the door as the neighbourhood might not 'feel safe' to me as an outsider. I was glad of that advice. The nearest bus came within a half–hour walk of the old school buildings that SPAN was based in. The area was one of the most depressed I had seen in the United Kingdom outside of Pilton in Edinburgh, which I had made a one–off journey through on a bus. Houses were boarded up. Corner stores were closed. Dense, angry graffiti covered the corrugated iron fences, and house and warehouse walls. Groups of young men, sloping and smoking, were the only people on the streets. The pouring rain and cold intensified the images of hostility, isolation and impoverishment. This indeed seemed an appropriate environment for a 'Poverty Project'.

SPAN occupied two classrooms in an old primary school. In the main office there were four women working at computers, filing, talking on the phone. I was welcomed warmly, offered tea. Gas heaters pushed back the worst of the howling draughts. The atmosphere was optimistic, busy, and full of joking and laughter. Sue took me to the

second room – a less convivial training room – and I discussed the consent form, the time frame and the use of the tape recorder.

This interview turned out to be another turning point in the development of my thinking about social exclusion. I could see the evidence of positive effects from Commission seed money. Sue spoke enthusiastically of what had been made possible by the Project funding and what would never have been possible from a national grant pool. My realisation, and one that Sue instantly confirmed, was that 'social exclusion' was a term that had opened up a possibility for a pro–active rather than palliative response. I return to this SPAN case study, and the Craigavon case study, in Chapter 7.

Roisin McDonough, my second project contact, also confirmed that the European Union funding for the Poverty Programmes had created possibilities for innovative, effective, social action in Craigavon–Brownlow in Northern Ireland. Her description of the initial invention[22] and subsequent betrayal of the New Town of Craigavon and the role of the Poverty Programme funding in setting up a range of ultimately autonomous services was a powerful story. Her sense that Craigavon typified a site of 'social exclusion' in its broadest, structural sense was brought home to me when I later visited the bleak, car–less, tree–less streets, and boarded up new suburban houses.

My third contact, with Clive Foster, an independent researcher with the Pilton Community, Edinburgh, was not an interview. It was difficult to make a time to meet given his commitments to a wide range of voluntary organisations and my travel to the south. In the end he posted me a collection of papers describing what had happened in the Pilton area under the auspices of the project. In our one brief telephone conversation, he advised me against going to the Pilton area and gave a less positive representation of the European Union's role. Although he also confirmed that social exclusion was a

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[22] The concept of the 'invention of place' has been borrowed by geographers from Benedict Anderson's (1991) classic: *Imagined Communities* (see: K. Anderson (1993), Charlesworth and Cochrane (1997), Duncan (1992), Duncan and Sharp (1993)). The idea that 'new towns' are invented places has both imaginative and practical resonance. The process of 'dreaming up' new towns is well documented in British town planning literature (Brindley 1996, Evans 1972, Howard 1945, MeadBrook Mercury online, Toy 1994).

new and arguably useful term he suggested it was more likely to cause the policy focus to shift away from poverty.

The Bristol and Craigavon interviews left me feeling that I had perhaps made a mistake in my previous choice of interviewees and that I would have had access to more stimulating and controversial material if I had arranged more interviews with Poverty Project workers like Sue and Roisin.

I had selected the "English speaking" sites as I had no budget for translation, but had only contacted one in Bristol, one in Edinburgh, one in Belfast and one in Dublin. Limerick, Galway and Liverpool were not on my agenda. I was afraid to go to the particular Liverpool project on my own – there had recently been a series of quite violent outbursts in response to the Liverpool project being denied new roll–over funding for a second stage. Limerick and Galway were too expensive to get to. Rational though all these decisions were, I could not easily shake the feeling that interviewing documents as my primary source had been a way out of having to face the more demanding (and therefore self–validating?) experiences of interviewing the people who were 'really involved' in social exclusion.

Overall, given the constraints of time, the purpose of my interviewing procedures, and the use to which I wished to put the interview material, I felt I had done quite well. I ended the five month visit to Europe with documents, and with a range of ideas about who was involved in what, where they worked and what kinds of human commitments they had to issues of European Union social policy and social exclusion in particular. There were some disappointments from not being able to interview all of the people whom I had hoped to contact.[23]

[23] I made telephone contact with a number of people who I could not subsequently meet with including: Duncan Gallie (Nuffield University, Oxford, Social Policy: European Union employment); Lila Leontidou (King's College, London, Geography: European Union citizenship); Erik Swyngedouw (Oxford University, Geography: European Union) and Katherine Duffy (University of Loughborough, Social Policy: European Union Observatory on Poverty Programmes).

In order to conduct these interviews I had to confront the basic issues of research ethics. The Commission environment, with its concern for security and confidentiality, brought the ethics considerations to the fore. I had submitted my proposal to the University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee and had it approved. The stringent verification of my status and interests by the Canberra Desk was a second check and being vetted by the Liaison Desk in Brussels was a third. At each of these stages I had opportunity to reflect on why I wanted to conduct these particular interviews, what I hoped to achieve, and how I hoped to conduct myself in the interviewer's role. All the Commission staff gave their informed consent as did the more 'formal interviewees' in the UK. Ironically, many of the individuals with whom I talked (as if I were interviewing them) in universities and research institutes waived the consent – "Oh dear, you don't want that – we're not going to touch on anything sensitive in this discussion". The issue of confidentiality was secured in the Commission context from the outset. There was no taping allowed. Note making was to be kept to a minimum and no 'sensitive' material was to be discussed. None of the interviewees requested I confirm material prior to publication of this research.

In retrospect, I could see that all of the people I had interviewed were familiar with research. They were either people who orchestrated lay and academic research themselves or who produced and advised on research–based policy. Notions of consent, confidentiality and consequences (Kvale 1996, 111) were all familiar to the interviewees and they all responded to the interview situation as a dialectical conversational process (Scott 1997, 165).

Also in retrospect, I have reflected on the extent to which my prior training as a counsellor – someone with highly developed skills in questioning and probing for information – influenced my interviewing techniques (Adams and Preiss 1960). Once each interview began, I enjoyed the interchanges, and extemporised the 'introducing, follow–up and probing questions' (Kvale 1996, 133), to fit each situation. The

interviews were all 'fishing expeditions' and whatever information came into my 'social exclusion' net was useful.

The ethical issues I was aware of here were complex. It was 'easy' for me to obtain information and there was, at times, a sense of being an investigative journalist 'looking for dirt'. In order to keep the sense of the 'research' as an ethical procedure I needed 'informed consent', but this was difficult to obtain from people who understood themselves to be in the business of sharing information in the way that a lecturer might with any student coming to discuss a research issue. I was also aware that many of the research participants were committed to the issues of social exclusion and willing to share information widely to increase the dialogue about an issue that had been kept quiet too long. My own capacity to monitor my role as a researcher was highly significant.

There were ethical issues of a different kind associated with my cyber research. Some of the more abstract ethical dimensions of cyber work are teased out in books like Allucquere Roseanne (Sandy) Stone's (1996) *The War of Desire and Technology at the Close of the Mechanical Age,* and more pragmatically in Steven Jones' (1997) *Virtual Culture: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*. Critiques of increasing reliance on 'digitisation', such as those articulated by Carl Boggs (1993) in *Intellectuals and the Crisis of Modernity,* suggest that we do not think enough about the implications of this technology for our research. Keeping "the cultlike mystique of computers" in perspective so that "a certain supremacy [is not given] to 'facts' (and methods) over ideas and values" (Boggs, 1993, 107) is a significant ethical concern which is not widely addressed in accessible methods literature.

On a more pragmatic level, there are also issues about the integrity of Internet sources. I have tried to preserve whatever integrity resides in the Internet texts themselves, by downloading and dating material and crediting sources carefully at all times. The fluidity of Internet[24] documents has sometimes made this difficult. URLs disappear, online

[24] Internet language has also become very fluid in cyber–space and words like 'Internet', 'Url', 'download' and 'online' become everyday to users of them and remain complete mysteries to those who do not. Glossaries of terms are available on the net.

editing of documents occurs so that later versions are not the same as the originals, servers change so that all zealously bookmarked access points become obsolescent. It is sometimes hard to establish the credentials of Internet authors, or to identify the institutional or private base from which they operate. Ethical issues about 'cut and paste' citation, and protocols for citations, are still only now being developed.

I became increasingly conscious of, and fascinated by, these issues as my research progressed and I used the Internet more and more. Despite my reservations, the introduction to 'doing digital fieldwork', using the Internet, was a challenging and interesting aspect of this research.

4.3: Phase 3: digital fieldwork

In 1994, at the time I went to Europe, European Communities' material available on the Internet was scant. In the later stages of this project I have relied on Internet sources a great deal. I discuss these two situations briefly now and make some comments on the use of the Internet as a research tool. Under the heading of Phase 3 there also belongs a detailed examination of the method of textually oriented discourse analysis (TODA) and the use of NUD.IST software in facilitating data management commensurate with the TODA system. Much of the technical detail of this method is included as Appendices 3a, 3b, and 3c. In this chapter I limit the discussion to the broad framework of both techniques.

Internet resources

The Commission of European Communities is committed to electronically facilitating the creation of 'Europe'. The World Wide Web [www] hosts the server for the European Union, *Europa.* This server has been described grandiloquently as the "server of servers"[25] because it acts as such a comprehensive gateway to electronic information on

[25] *Europa* offers "information on the European Union's goals and policies ... is a common endeavor of the EU's institutions, run by the European Commission ... provides information about the Union's Institutions and policies ... [and] gives access to official documents" (Bezzina 1996, online).

the European Union. The availability of www resources on the Union has made the third phase of this research possible. Much of the information that I brought back to New Zealand from the United Kingdom and Brussels, in hard copy, needed updating. Much of it was going to be of best use to me in an electronic form compatible with the software I had chosen for the discourse analysis. Being able to downland electronic copies of some of the resources and to update and cross–reference other data has proved valuable. In the final eighteen months of the research I bookmarked over 200 *Europa* sites as I searched for verification of particular details, copies of policy documents, the names of key personnel and recent developments on the topic of social exclusion (see Appendix 4 for key bibliographic bookmarks).

Through *Europa,* I have been able to unravel the complex bureaucracy of the Union, confirm empirical details, trace the origins and translations of acronyms and identify networks of projects and programmes. I found that *Europa* and most of the other electronic databases and facilities for the European Union are provided for by three powerful Commissions, the Directorate General for Industry (DG III), the Directorate General for Science Research and Development (DG XII), and the Directorate General for Telecommunications, Information Market and Exploitation of Research (DG XIII). These are Directorates with access to large budgets. DG XII appears to have responsibility for developing the so–called *Frameworks* policy (*Fourth RTD Framework Programme* (online) and *Fifth Framework Focus* (online)) for research and development.

Through Internet linkages, I traced the establishment of the *Targeted Socio–Economic Research (TSER)* (online) initiative of the Fourth Framework. Funding was made available under this initiative, for research into social exclusion.[26] This *Targeted Socio–Economic Research* programme has a budget worth 147 mecu ($NZ 286·8million approximately). This amount comprises 1.1 % of the budget funding for the whole

[26] It is possible that the *TSER* funding was set up in lieu of the controversial *Poverty 4* programme, which has yet to gain approval. See appendix 5

Fourth Framework project, but is far in excess of the 55 mecu allocated to *Poverty 3*.[27] The Fifth Framework project, which came into force in 1998 with a budget of 16,300 mecu, contains no mention of 'social exclusion' as a major theme, focus of action, or area of specific concern (*Targeted Socio–Economic Research* online, 1998 and see Appendix 5 for a list of current TSER research in social exclusion).

I learned to expect to spend between two and four hours accessing sites, to confirm information such as is given in the previous paragraph. Often the Internet search would be conducted in conjunction with reference to hardcopy material in my office, and occasionally involved e–mail to specific locations. It was also necessary to establish protocols for references and to compile appropriate footnotes. Digital fieldwork, like any fieldwork, is time consuming and detailed.

Other technicalities

In addition to the Internet research, there were a number of other 'technical' matters to which I needed to attend in Phase 3. These included identifying, purchasing and installing three new forms of software: the NUD.IST software for managing the discourse analysis aspect of my project; the *Inspiration* software for managing the diagram formatting for some aspects of NUD.IST, and *Endnotes* software for managing the bibliographic details. I needed to work alongside the departmental cartographer for the production of the more technically sophisticated maps and diagrams and to contact a range of technical computer software and hardware experts. These were also all time consuming tasks. They required a commitment to learn new technology and adapt that technology to my particular use.

The 'technology' aspect of research is something that tends to be taken–for–granted or overlooked in books on 'methods' unless you go to the few 'technical' handbooks.

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[27] The budget for the Fourth Framework project as a whole was 13,215 mecu. The *TSER* programme has, as one of its three aims: "Research into social integration and social exclusion in Europe" (*TSER* online). The development of the *TSER* initiatives was one more nail in the *Poverty 4* programme coffin. The budget allocation for *Poverty 3* was a mere 55 mecu (COM 1993e: *Report on the Implementation*, 42) and for the proposed *Poverty 4,* 112 mecu (COM 1993b: *Medium Term Action Programme*, 32). *Poverty 1* had an allocation of 20 mecu and *Poverty 2,* 25 mecu (COM 1993c: *Report on the Implementation*, 40).

Recent publications on using computers for qualitative research, such as Weitzman and Miles (1995) and Tesch (1990), do give excellent guidance on software choice and predictable trouble shooting. They outline the value of using computers to assist qualitative analytical work and discuss a range of interpretive techniques. Both books are classics in their field. A few less well–known texts venture into ambivalent and more critical territories. Bryan Pfaffenberger (1988, 23) suggests that:

> To use the microcomputer, then, is to use a symbol that tacitly communicates meanings of potency, male prowess, control, legitimacy, efficacy, expertise and efficiency ... In the academic environment where survival requires constructing an impression of competence, using the computer is as irresistible as using other socially meaningful symbols of scientific or scholarly competence, such as big words and the passive voice.

Other authors (such as Calhoun 1981) have recorded earlier anxieties about computer use, including the problems of technological obsolescence, dehumanisation, and organisational inertia. These anxieties are now regarded as passé and are seldom referred to in texts. In my experience, they are still very real.

There are also ethical questions at stake, in the use of microcomputers for qualitative research or even for the publication of theses, that need more explicit attention. The expectation of a polished final product is another aspect that has the capacity to affect the final product of the research in quite profound ways. The computer interface was the source of my deepest frustrations during this research. Technology that 'failed'[28] on a regular basis and on which I had to self–teach skills consumed far more time than

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[28] I used four different computers during this project. The first, a portable laptop, which went to Europe, was an MS–DOS based system on which I used *Word Perfect 4.1*. All documents created on this machine had to be subsequently upgraded. On the second machine, a PC (*Digital* IBM clone), I used *Word Perfect 5* until I was 'encouraged' to change to *Microsoft Word* to suit the skills and interests of the local computer support technicians. As this machine 'crashed' twice and needed a new 'motherboard', I was not in a position to argue much with support staff. The third machine, a *Digital Venturis 5100*, also required three new motherboards and has continued to 'crash' on a fairly regular basis. Trying to run any combination of *Word, Netscape, NUD.IST, Inspiration* and *Endnotes* seems to be 'too much' for my silicon to handle. The current machine no longer has *Word Perfect* installed but all the footnotes in documents and diagrams created on earlier machines have had to be reformatted as have all the 'special symbols' used (é, ó etc).

seemed appropriate. I have reflected on the shift in expectations on researcher time that has followed the adoption of 'time–saving' technology with some wry interest.

TODA and NUD.IST

I have used both a theoretical framework, Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA – from Fairclough 1989 and 1992), and a computer assisted software system (NUDIST) for my research. My rationale for this dual approach to text analysis was that I needed a systematic and structured framework through which to assess the shifting policy orientation of the Commission. In attempting to establish a method, a 'way of performing' this dual coupling, a number of technical and logistical problems were encountered. These are addressed in the final section, which also identifies the strengths and weaknesses of this particular project.

My research experience has given me a 'taste' only of the potential of using computer assisted software to manage data in a TODA framework. I believe that a refinement of the process over a period of time would produce more sophisticated analysis. For the purposes of this project I think the decision to couple these two approaches was a productive one.

Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA)

Fairclough (1992, 63–100) presents a "social theory of discourse" in which the "text" is seen as embedded in "discursive practice" which is in turn embedded in "social practice". This is represented diagrammatically in Figure 4.3. In each of these three dimensions, particular attributes can be identified (see Figure 4.4). In Fairclough's system, individual attributes of discourse can become the focus of analysis. In my application of Fairclough's ideas, only a small number of these attributes were eventually used, though I initially developed a typology which would encompass them all.

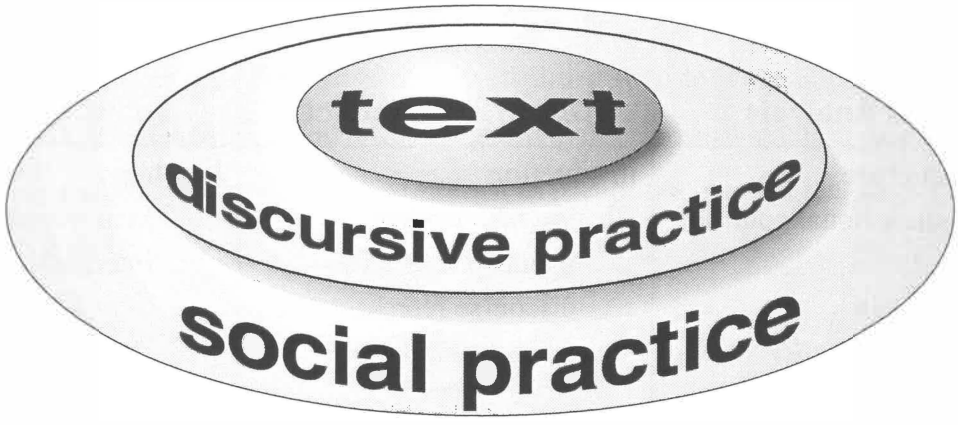


Figure 4.3: Text – discourse – social practice: embedded relationships.

Source: After Fairclough (1992, 73)

Fairclough (1992, 68–73) is adamant that this "three dimensional conception of discourse", which entails both "description" and "interpretation", and which relies on the identification of "orders of discourse" and the "reconfigurations of boundaries between discursive elements", is closer to political and ideological practices in the 'real' world. In terms of analysing specific policy documents produced by the Commission of the European Communities, textually oriented discourse analysis provides both a framework for examining the texts against a background of more general discursive and ideological influences, and a framework for examining specific details of the texts' construction and use.

Textually oriented discourse analysis provides a rationale for examining these research questions and policy documents in a three–dimensional way. The 'text' of the project is the actual language in the policy documents. In this project I examine particular aspects of vocabulary use. I focus on word meaning, wording, and metaphor, on the one hand, and aspects of text cohesion and intertextuality on the other. The 'discursive practice' (the way in which these particular documents are produced, distributed and consumed) is examined with respect to the circulation of the term, 'social exclusion', in international, national and local policy environments. I make some observations about the institutional policy producing environment of the European Union (see also Chapter 5) and about the role of specific Poverty Projects as policy consumers (see also Chapter 7).

Dimension one: **Text Analysis**	Dimension two: **Discursive Practice**	Dimension three: **Social Practice**
text structure	**production**	**Ideology**
interactional control	***interdiscursivity***	material forms
	manifest intertextuality:	***interpellation of subjects***
text cohesion	discourse representation	sites of struggle
intertextuality	presupposition	***hegemony***
grammar	irony	leadership
transitivity	meta discourse	alliances
theme	negation	concessions
modality	**distribution**	(re)/(dis) articulations
vocabulary	intertextual chains	model
word meaning	***conditions of discourse practice***	matrix
wording	institutional	***social change***
metaphor	political	***contradictions***
force of utterances	economic	***innovations***
politeness	**consumption**	***naturalisation***
ethos	***coherence of texts***	***colonisation***
	conditions of discourse practice	
	social context	
	mode of interpretation	
	transformation	
	extra–discursive effects	

Figure 4.4: Attributes of text analysis, discursive practice and social practice

Source: Fairclough (1992) Note: items that are the focus of my research appear in ***bold italics***

The final dimension, 'social practice', allows for the identification of aspects of ideology, hegemony and social change. In terms of 'doing discourse analysis' Fairclough (1992) suggests a range of prescriptive but flexible parameters under three key headings: "Data", "Analysis" and "Results". Figure 4.4 tabulates these as a condensed working checklist[29] in which the items that are the focus of my research

[29] The effect of this condensation on the 'meaning' of the original text needs to be borne in mind. Further detail may be found in its original, uncondensed form in Fairclough's (1992, 225–240).

appear in bold. In my research I have focused on the hegemonic ideologies (liberalism, capitalism, democracy) through which metaphors such as cohesion, harmonisation, partnership, subsidiarity and solidarity are given their rhetorical strength (see Chapter 6). Several of these key tropes are also examined as part of the detailed language analysis in Chapters 6 and 8.

Organising 'Data'

In textually oriented discourse analysis, organising the selection and collection of data is the first key step. To facilitate a systematic approach to this set of tasks, I identified five separate processes. Each is discussed in turn and summarised in Figure 4.5. Another key organisational element is to identify the 'cruces' or crucial ideas around which core arguments will turn. Being able to identify the cruces becomes central to the resolution of many of the coding decisions that need to be made in the transfer from a conceptual system such as Fairclough's to a practical coding situation that will enable data to be entered into a computer–based data management system.

Step 1. Definition of the project

In this five–step typology, "definition of the project" relates particularly to identifying forms of social practice and their relationship to "power relations, and hegemonic projects at the societal level" (Fairclough 1992, 226). The research questions that drive any research project play an important role in establishing forms of social practice. My questions are reiterated here (see text box, Figure 4.6).

In my research, the project was delimited in part by the research questions, but also by the disciplinary perspectives to which I chose to pay attention – particularly the spatial discourses of geography and the discourses of feminist political philosophy. Examination of the research questions does not disclose their particular disciplinary debts, however, and these have to be borne in mind. The research questions are focused on finding out the extent to which the practice of 'talking about' social exclusion in policy texts is producing discernible social change.

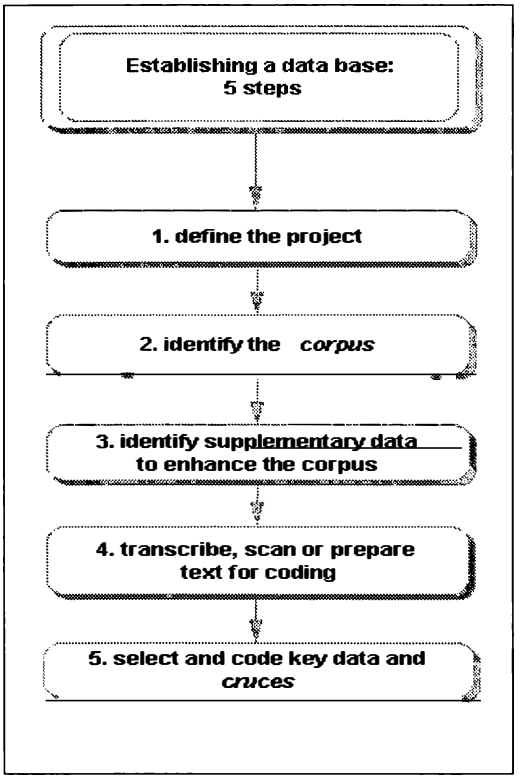


Figure 4.5: Five steps for establishing a data base for discourse analysis.

Research questions
What interrelated tropes influence and constrain the development of social policy in the European Union in relation to social exclusion? What roles do key principles such as subsidiarity, harmonisation, solidarity, and social cohesion play in constraining or enhancing the promulgation of social exclusion policies in the European Union? In what ways do factors of scale constrain or enhance the production of spaces of exclusion at local, national, regional and 'global' (European) scales?
How, and in what ways do the 'paradoxical spaces' of the European Union inflect policy practice and outcomes in relation to social exclusion?
Does it seem that metaphors and dichotomous terms and concepts intensify the linguistic and conceptual linkages between discourses of 'social exclusion', 'social cohesion' and 'employment–as–solution–to–exclusion' in European Union anti–poverty discourse?
How and in what ways are 'poor bodies' being differently targeted and differently constituted through the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion?

Figure 4.6: Research questions

Step 2: Identifying the corpus

The second process involved in establishing a data base for this three dimensional research is the identification of the *corpus*. In Fairclough's terms, the *corpus* is the particular array of texts upon which the analysis will rest. I divided my collected archive of material on the Poverty Programmes and social exclusion into six broad categories (see Figure 4.7). Two of these categories, the "formal policy documents" produced by the Council of the European Communities and the Commission of the European Communities, and the "in–house memoranda",[30] comprise the *corpus*. The *corpus* included official reports, but also guides, and supplements whose principal readers are Commission of the European Communities employees. This *corpus,* of 15 documents, became the body of text, which was subjected to the most detailed TODA analysis.

Categories for document archive

1. **Formal policy documents:** official publications of the Commission on social policy, the Poverty Programmes or social exclusion.
2. **In-house memoranda:** guides and supplements for Commission staff.
3. **Policy analysis documents:** non-Commission research material that discusses the Poverty Programmes and social exclusion.
4. **Public relations documents:** material about social policy, or social exclusion produced by the Commission for public consumption.
5. **Media commentary:** Internet and print media reports on the Poverty Programmes or on social exclusion.
6. **Interview transcripts:** transcripts from interviews with Sue Cohen, Roisin McDonough, Quintin Oliver and Jim Walsh.

Figure 4.7: Organisational categories for the document archive

Step 3: Enhancing the corpus

The third step, identification of the ways in which the *corpus* could be enhanced with supplementary data, meant making decisions about which of the remaining materials would contribute the most to my research questions. I chose 'policy analysis documents'

[30] In–house memorandum is the name I gave to all those documents which are published by the Commission but which are not policy documents.

which directly commented on the Poverty Programmes,[31] 'public relations documents' that amplified the role of the Commission, 'media commentary' from European and British newspapers, magazines and Internet sites which commented on the Poverty Programmes or on social exclusion, and my 'interview transcripts' and notes.

In all I had a selection of some 100 documents from which to produce the online text for NUD.IST. Before this task could be done, however, some 30 of the documents (something in excess of 250 pages) had to be scanned and edited. This fourth step engaged me in the transition from Fairclough's conceptual system to the more technical but also conceptual system of Non–numerical Unstructured Data – Indexing Searching Theorizing (NUD.IST) software, which I discuss next.

Step 4: Transcription, scanning and preparation for coding

As NUD.IST works with data that is software–compatible, most information has to be in the form of online documents.[32] My published documents were scanned on Scan Jet hardware, which used *optical character recognition* (OCR).[33] I encountered a number of technical difficulties during my use of NUD.IST (see Appendix 3), but eventually managed them. Once scanned and edited, and saved as Text Only Files, the online documents can be introduced into NUD.IST via *create project / introduce document* processes as on–line documents. At this point they become the working property of NUD.IST and the user, and can be manipulated and investigated in a range of ways. The

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[31] Poverty Programmes analysis has been undertaken by organisations such as: the University of Bath Centre for Research in European Social and Employment Policy (CRESEP), the Comparative Research on Poverty Network (CROP), the Combat Poverty Agency (CPA), the European Anti–Poverty Network (EAPNS), the Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion (ONPCSE), in Bath and the Policy Studies Institute (PSI), London.

[32] The NUD.IST system also allows a researcher to work with offline data – such as visual, audio or kinaesthetic material that cannot be reduced to a scannable input. NUD.IST allows the researcher to identify these as 'external documents' by recording "the document's name, the number of text units and a header of information about the document ... these documents can be: coded at nodes in the index system ... [and] ideas about them can be stored in memos" (*QSR NUD.IST* 1997a, 10).

[33] Scanner technology has improved significantly in the last three years. The problems I encountered may now be overcome.

two most powerful tools within NUD.IST are the *index* and *search* functions, which are now briefly described.

Indexing in NUD.IST

The conceptual premise of the software's index system is that ideas, concepts and categories can be codified and mapped onto a tree–shaped index system in which each "tip node" (see Figures 4.8 and 4.9) of the index system represents a "jointly exhaustive, mutually exclusive" position (*QSR: Workshop Manual* 1995b, 11).

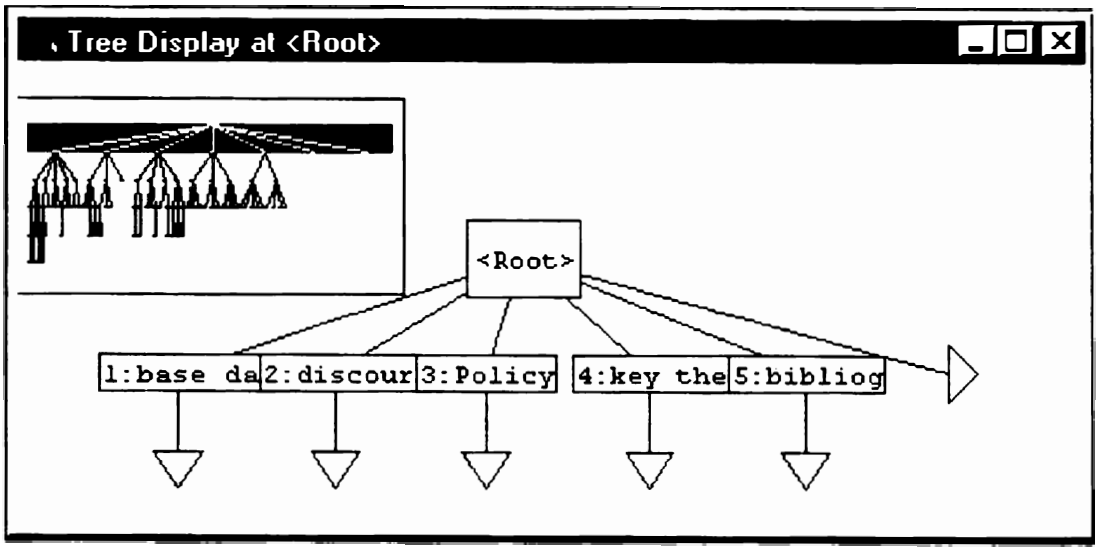


Figure 4.8: Tree display in NUD.IST 3 – root nodes

Source: QSR NUD.IST 3

In other words, each branch of the tree has typological integrity – everything in that branch is connected to everything else by type, and whatever appears at the tip node of that branch cannot logically be placed anywhere else. Information on age, for example, cannot logically be coded under gender but both age and gender may be node points under a sub–tree called "Vital Statistics". The development of the index tree is a slow process and is not necessarily intuitive. The *Workshop Manual* (1995b, 11) suggests that the index system does not have to be created before the start of a NUD.IST project and indeed my attempts to establish a tree before coding was very frustrating.

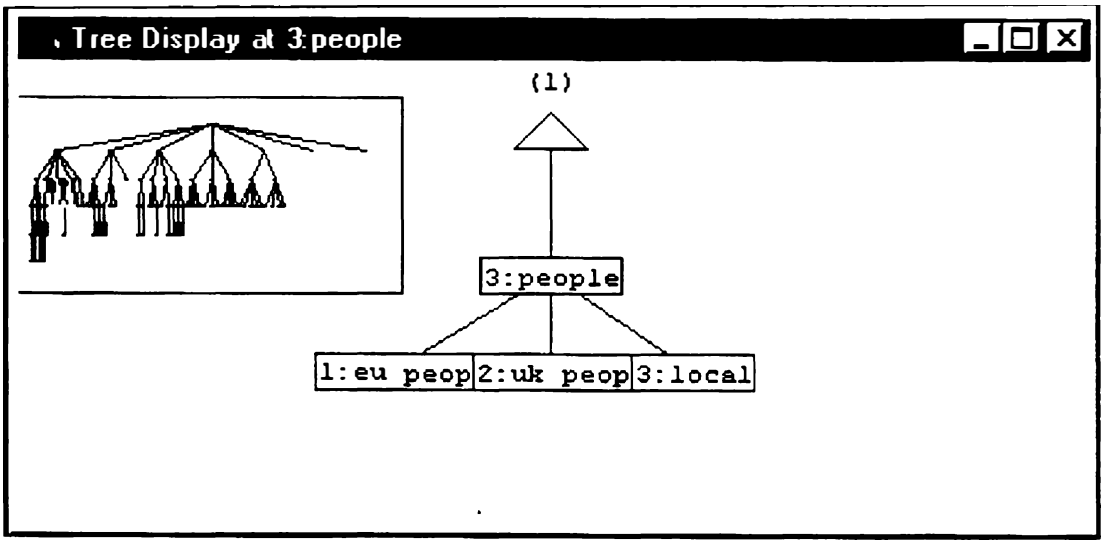


Figure 4.9: Tree display in NUD.IST 3 – tip nodes in 'base data'

Source: QSR NUD.IST 3

What evolved, in my case, was a period of trial runs where a small index was used for coding information from a handful of documents. These original forays were lost to the final project but they served the role of pilot studies well. Not only did the conceptual awareness of the indexing process develop during this time, but also the documents yielded a number of unanticipated relationships, which were crucial to the clarification of the research findings. The indexing tree is represented diagrammatically within the programme but can not be copied in its entirety. Figure 4.10, Conceptual coding, is a final layout version of my main working tree and can be seen in full size on the following fold out page.

As the diagram suggests, the pursuit of the concept of social exclusion turned into a complex and multi–layered investigation. Although all the details of the indexing tree were not ultimately used in my analysis, having the conceptual inter–relationships mapped in this way pushed my thinking to an exceptional degree. Despite my reservations about the extent to which binary configurations have the potential to restrict interpretations (Peace 1998), representing the relationships in this way was provocative rather than constraining. It was not possible to generate this sophisticated diagram from the NUD.IST software.

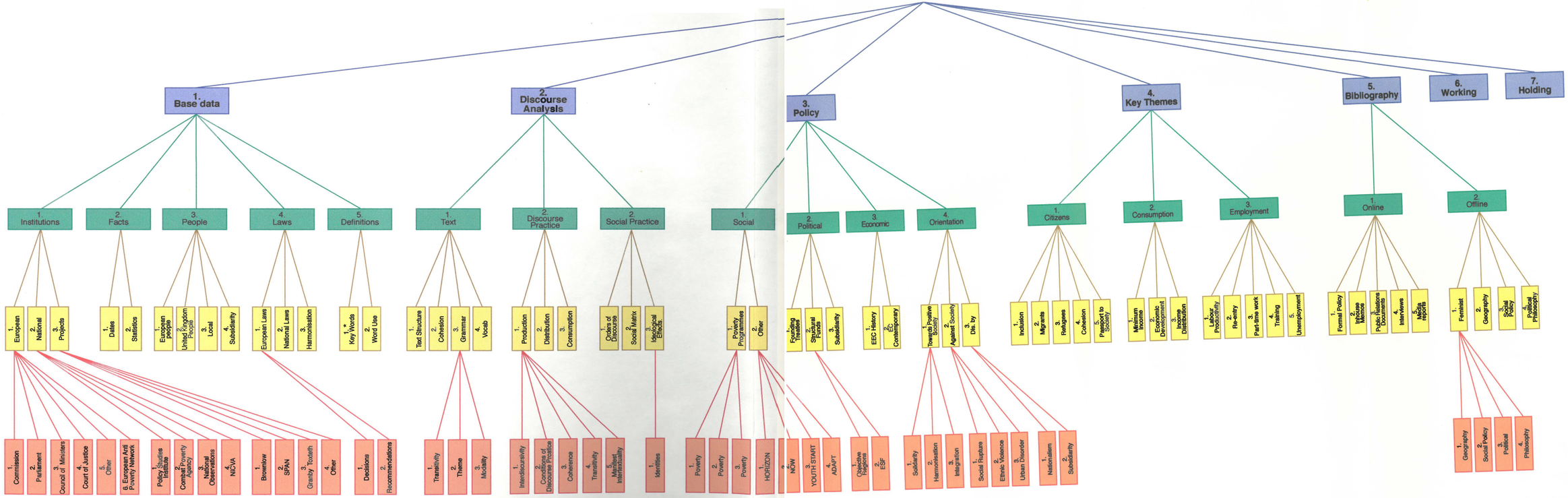


Figure 4.10: Conceptual coding for NUD.IST project.

In the first instance I printed out each sector of the tree (see Figures 4.8 and 4.9) as the software is able to produce it, and then manually cut these and pasted them together to compile the full picture.

This cut and paste was then given to the departmental cartographer, Max Oulton, to translate into the final version using "Freehand 8 for Macintosh" software on a MacG3. This selective presentation (in)capacity of NUD.IST is frustrating and the assurances from the software developers, that it is 'being worked on' have not mollified the international network of NUD.IST users (see online discussion on the *QSR NUD.IST home page* (online)).

Indexing strategies

The indexing / coding in NUD.IST is the most crucial activity. It generates the richest data, but it is also the most complex phase of the process. At one point I resorted to an 'indexing party' to which a number of people were invited in order to construct a mutually intelligible but succinct tree structure. By involving others in the exercise I was able to be more confident that the index was 'transferable'. At a later stage I also ran the tree past a NUD.IST trainer at a workshop I attended in Australia.[34] Although the categories and structures were self evident and logical, the trainer confirmed that the project as conceived was too large for one researcher and that my decision to work in detail with selected parts was appropriate.

My first indexing strategy was to identify a string of key words that appeared in the documents and to use those terms as node titles. The words chosen included social exclusion, employment, Poverty Programmes, solidarity, subsidiarity, competitiveness, disadvantaged sectors, integration, marginalised, poverty, privileged. There was no grammatical integrity or congruency amongst these terms; rather they were identified in the form in which they most commonly occurred in the texts. A comprehensive key word search was then conducted on each of these terms and the resultant searches

[34] In 1997 I attended a 3–day NUD.IST training session at the University of Western Sydney (Campbelltown) with Dr Pat Bazely.

printed out. It would be possible, from these print outs, to make visual assessments of the cross correlation of key terms. The NUD.IST "search operators" are, however, designed to perform this function in a range of quite sophisticated ways and this was the second indexing strategy.

Index System Search Operators (ISSO)

The Index System Search operators (ISSOs) are divided into five types. There are those which collate data, the collating operators; those which identify the occurrence of terms in a contextual framework, the contextual operators; those which restrict the recall of data to particular nodes or sets of information, the restrictive operators; those which identify taxonomic relationships between data throughout the tree structure, the taxonomic operators; and finally, those which generate matrices of related data, the matrix–constructing operators. With these five functions available the NUD.IST operator is able to use the node addresses to which data have been indexed to perform a wide range of tasks very quickly. In trying to identify the principles behind what Miles and Huberman (1994, chapters 5–9) describe as data display: "within–case displays"; "cross–case displays"; "case–ordering" and "matrix displays" I conducted some manual experiments in which I set up tables to display key ideas and relationships. I took two days, on one occasion, to cross correlate text summaries of two key terms from one of the off line policy documents. The same task can be performed through NUD.IST in 12 seconds. The ISSO operations, however, are vitally dependent on a robust and fully coded index system.

To conclude this focus on NUD.IST application, I return to the question of index construction and outline the different kinds of data that I required for my textually oriented discourse analysis of a social policy corpus and how that shaped the final version of the indexing tree, or the indexing framework. From there I return to the question of index searching.

The tree did not just appear. In fact, the final tree was only recognisable as such after all of the NUD.IST searches had been completed. Renata Tesch (1990, 96), in her groundbreaking synthesis of qualitative research, identifies this element in her ten point principles for qualitative practices. Tesch (1990, 96) suggests, not only that "categories for sorting segments are tentative and preliminary", but also that "manipulating qualitative data during analysis is an eclectic activity" for which there is "no one right way". I built the framework as I worked in an 'emergent' fashion.

The first consideration was how to code the 'technical' features of the policy language to index nodes. This is represented in the final tree as a major (second tier) sub–tree labelled *2 / Discourse Analysis* (see Figure 4.10 foldout). I created three third tier sub–trees in this category: *2.1 / Text, 2.2 / Discursive Practice* and *2.3 / Social Practice*. Under these three sub–trees I created fourth tier *tip nodes* that corresponded to each of the attributes identified in the textually oriented discourse analysis schema. All the coding of that attribute was attached to this fourth tier, *tip node*.

The task of indexing or coding to the node is the part of the operation that allows the researcher to become very familiar with the online text and is what prevents the coding from being a 'mechanical' exercise. It is the researcher's discretion, in every case, to decide which element is relevant to which node. Coding text attributes was a challenging aspect of the research and was one of the experiences that convinced me of the scale of the task I had originally envisaged. To code evidence of 'transitivity' or 'modality' for example, requires quite sophisticated grammatical knowledge and in my mind, is better left to highly qualified linguists. What I was able to code successfully under 'text analysis' was evidence of metaphors (and this forms the basis of the analysis in Chapter 8), use of particular wording, and word meaning.

Other aspects of the coding were more straightforward. Under a second tier heading, *1 Base Data*, I coded material on European Union institutions, general 'facts', key people, laws, and definitions. The factor which makes this eclectic information cohere is that it is background material. *2 Discourse Analysis*, as has been discussed above, contained all

the information derived from textually oriented discourse analysis. Under *3 Policy*, I coded information about European Union social, political, and economic policy that relates to the Poverty Programmes and most importantly includes a category labelled *4 Orientation.* This third tier sub–category provided nodes for indexing the extent to which I perceived policy documents to be orientated towards or against key concepts such as subsidiarity, harmonisation, solidarity, and partnership. This level of coding also provided sites for registering policy preoccupation with issues of ethnic violence, urban discord and social rupture. The fourth second tier heading was *4 Key Themes,* under which I indexed material that referred to the substantive philosophical arguments of the thesis: citizenship, consumption and employment.

The final three categories were functional sites to which I coded reference related material under. *5 Bibliography* contained all the online and offline reference material with annotations and had the advantage of being part of the on–line database. *6 Working* was a category designed to cope with exigencies. Material that was ambiguous and difficult to index was stored here along with current material waiting for completion of analysis before coding. *7 Holding* was an even more contingent category for holding material that seemed important but could not be readily coded – a fail–safe site. Having conceptualised the tree while engaged in the process of actually coding the documents, I ended up with an index framework that had embedded a wide range of indexed items. These indexed items then provided the data bank that was amenable to searching.

Index Searching

One of the key tasks in this research was to identify the shift in key word use from 'poverty', in earlier policy documents, to 'social exclusion' in the more recent publications. The key word search function in NUD.IST is not dissimilar to the 'find' operation in any word processing package. *Word Perfect 6.1* for example can facilitate a search through an online document for any key word on a document by document basis. This is the method I was using prior to familiarity with NUD.IST. Each time 'poverty' or 'exclusion' appeared on the screen I 'recorded' it, with a context chunk, on a parallel screen and ended up with a 'list' of every time either of the two terms had been used.

This was a time–consuming process and the 'paper trail' was hard to follow. In order to record precisely where each item occurred, all the details of document and page number had to be entered every time. The NUD.IST system not only sped up the process and entailed a much more sophisticated, automatic paper trail, but also facilitated a search through the whole data base in one sweep. NUD.IST, in fact, permits a whole range of research activities as outlined in Figure 4.11.

It is possible to generate a copy of the lines in the text where the key terms occur as a separate document. The "system closure" facility of the programme means that this document can also be used as further data input (*QSR User Guide* 1997a, 30).

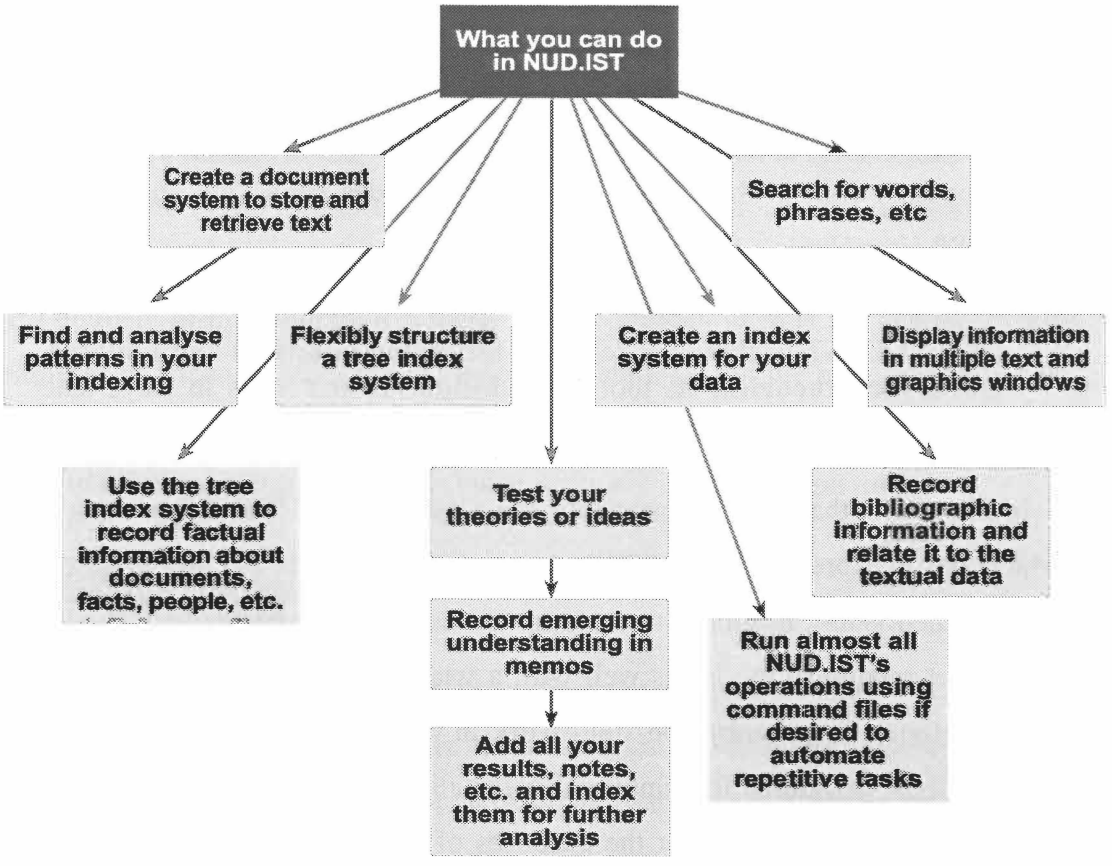


Figure 4.11: What you can do in NUD.IST

The search tools allow not only for the identification of the key term, but also for any identifiable synonyms or alternates (in this case 'poverty' / 'material deprivation' / 'disadvantaged groups' and 'social exclusion' / 'marginalisation'). The system allows

for the generation of a summary record of the number of occurrences and a record of the source documents. The programme also has the facilities to code directly to nodes, attach memos to coding and generate reports.

The ISSO operators facilitate the inclusion or exclusion of nodes (but not documents *per se* – another frustrating glitch in the logic of the system), the merging, collecting and inheriting of information at nodes, and the creation of matrices. The particular function of each of the ISSO operators is outlined in the *QSR Workshop Manual* (1995b, 26–27) and more comprehensively in *QSR User Guide* (1997a, 136–137). The detailed specification of them here is counter–productive, as they are difficult to understand outside of the context of their operation.

The final claims of NUD.IST to sophistication and finesse lie in the degree to which the programme supports 'Theorising'. This theorising capacity inheres (in the researcher's thinking processes and) in the support NUD.IST provides for asking questions of the data. The *QSR User Guide* (1997a, 3) claims that:

> QSR NUD•IST is above all designed for **asking questions and building and testing theories.** Its tools link documents and ideas in ways that allow you to: … construct and test theories about the data.

"The simple rule is that you can probably ask a question in NUD.IST as long as you have the nodes to express it in" (*QSR Workshop Manual* 1995b, 24). My understanding of what the 'theorising', in this context, comprises is that it is a particular way of testing hunches about relationships. It fits well with a wide range of other positivist, 'theory testing' paradigms in geographical field work in that it proceeds by inductive logic. Rather than fight or ignore the empirical orientation of this kind of qualitative data analysis I accept its presence. For the purposes of this research it is useful to have a 'technique' which facilitates the examination of the text in a constant manner. A range of theoretical perspectives influence what transpires from the subsequent interpretation of the results of this analysis.

4.4: Phase 4: Compilation

This is more of a resume of the final stages than a fully detailed account. There are a number of elements of the research process that only came to my attention in these final stages. The first was the level at which the narrative becomes the necessary vehicle for the story of the research and installs a need for a delicate and transparent chronology – a beginning, a middle and an end – that invites a particular kind of reflexive response from the reader. Constructing and managing the narrative, then, becomes a key task at this stage.

The second element that has provided a focus in this stage is the management of referencing. Referencing is seldom spoken about as a 'difficult' or challenging aspect of research but, as it provides a key means of validation for the narrative, it requires a meticulous approach, not only in the collection and collation of references but also in the cross checking of the role of the references in the text. I found the tasks of referencing from the Internet and referencing 'official' documents particularly exacting tasks. A third element of the compilation stage, already alluded to, was the management of the computer interface. Neither the increased expectations, nor the increased time demands that accompany computer generated documents in terms of proof correction and standard of presentation, seem to be taken seriously in literature on method.

Critique and conclusion

NUD.IST is arguably one of the most frequently used and sophisticated software packages available for qualitative data analysis (*QSR homepage* online) but the troublesome aspects of using computers as 'assistants' to qualitative data analysis also need to be addressed. This section comprises a summary of my reflections on this issue.

Coffey, Holbrook, and Atkinson (1996) suggest that whereas a postmodern impetus in qualitative research generally has led to a proliferation of heterodox techniques and methods, as well as inspiring new epistemologies and ethics in social science research and encouraging a focus on difference, divergence, discrepancy and particularity,

computer use may constrain these proclivities. There is, perhaps, a binary juxtaposition between heterodox and orthodox tendencies in qualitative research and computer assisted qualitative data analysis systems and systems such as NUD.IST may represent an impetus towards orthodoxy.

I appreciate Coffey, Holbrook, and Atkinson's (1996), identification of this 'modern'/ 'postmodern' tension in the use of computer assisted qualitative data analysis systems. In particular I draw attention to the fact that computers require 'technical' sophistication and consequently have a number of, often unacknowledged, 'technical' constraints. Some of the very 'modern' technical innovations in computing have facilitated the development of computer assisted qualitative data analysis systems and such technical innovation implies a progressive rationalisation of information and knowledge and consequently reinforces a notion that 'technology' has the capacity to facilitate 'knowing'. I also suggest that use of computer technology may lead researchers into 'conservative' rather than 'innovative' research in unanticipated ways.[35]

I found it necessary to have a clear understanding of the distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches and needed to have a clear understanding of the kinds of pressures to which my qualitative data was to be subjected. Frequently, researchers who are new to the field end up using the systems that they hear about rather than the one that is necessarily the best for their purpose. The arrival of comprehensive and readable texts and accessible Internet sites on the subject of computer assisted qualitative data analysis systems is making these decisions less random (Fielding and Lee 1991, Kelle 1995, Miles and Huberman 1994, Richards and Richards 1993a, 1993b; Weitzman and Miles 1995). My choice of software was constrained by institutional practice to some extent but I ended up making an informed choice.

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[35] See Peace (1998) for a discussion of a range of specific 'technical' issues surrounding the use of NUD.IST as an exemplar of computer assisted qualitative data analysis system – including issues relating to hardware, software and technology support. In this discussion I develop the argument about 'conservative' and 'innovative' research by making a comparison between NUD.IST logic and a new development in GIS logic, called "Qualitative Reasoning" .

A desire for systematicity, completeness and 'technical' expertise, such as is promised by computer assisted qualitative data analysis systems, has all the hallmarks of a modern project, and, as such, it is fitting perhaps to subject these aspects of my research to at least some element of postmodern critique.

Postmodern perspectives

Madan Sarup (1993, 130), in his accessible and frequently entertaining book, *An Introductory Guide to Post–structuralism and Postmodernism*, claims that the concept of what is 'modern' is that which reflects a momentum towards mastery of: "progressive ... rationalisation and differentiation of the social world" based on "scientific discoveries and innovations ... driven by the expanding capitalist world market" (Sarup 1993, 130–131).

He also suggests that:

> Postmodernity suggests what came after modernity; it refers to the incipient or actual dissolution of those social forms associated with modernity ... [it] emphasizes diverse forms of individual and social identity ... [and] that the autonomous subject has been dispersed into a range of polymorphous subject positions inscribed within language (Sarup 1993, 130).

Postmodernity and polymorphous subjectivity are both issues that are debated in relation to the 'computer age' and both are issues that deserve careful thought in relation to computer assisted qualitative data analysis systems. Polymorphous subject positions have become something of an issue in research in relation to the notion of hypertext in particular. 'Hypertext' is a slightly confusing neologism. 'Technically' speaking it is used in computer speak in relation to HTML (Hypertext Markup Language). In literary theory it has developed a wider competence and is used extensively to refer to the technologies of reading and writing through the mediation of electronic devices. As is indicated in the following quotation, hypertext, in this 'literary theory' milieu, is that which has the capacity to blur the boundaries between the organism and the machine. As Michael Joyce (online) suggests, hypertext involves:

> graphical computer interfaces, hypertexts, virtual realities, and other instances of what Haraway calls the "couplings between organism and machine conceived as coded devices" serv[ing] to externalize the internal. Such varieties of technological experience insist upon the permeability of the "self" and the "what" and the uses made of each. Cyborg consciousness invites us to turn proprioception outward beyond Haraway's "crucial boundary breakdown" of organism–machine to a place where we take "pleasure in the confusion of boundaries and responsibility in their construction".

As researchers strive to find more rigorous, more scientific frameworks for their research proposals, the availability of 'technology' to support larger and more complex project conceptualisation has great appeal. Programs like NUD.IST may be used to justify research funding for large projects that carry greater kudos than smaller ones. The software reinforces a tendency, implicit in existing manual methods of indexing data, for codification to be seen as a marker of successful research. The speed and dexterity of the computer system makes the codification and indexing seem somehow more potent, more reliable and more rigorous. At the moment when research methods are being opened up to the reflexivity of postmodern theorising about truth, hegemony and polyvocality, a 'technology' makes its appearance and researchers are inspired to reinvest energy into codification, systems, and rationales of 'completeness'. As Coffey and her colleagues suggest, 'it is [increasingly] possible to identify a different trend; towards homogeneity' (Coffey *et al.* (1996, 7), but see Lee and Fielding (1996) and Richards and Richards (1995) for critiques).

A second postmodern critique can be raised in relation to claims for a focus on difference, divergence, discrepancy and particularity. My experience in this research leads me to contend that computer assisted qualitative data analysis software systems constrain our capacity to focus on the aberrant and the discrepant. Elements of difference and divergence are sacrificed to the computer's capacity to work with categories and codes. As a general principle, any form of categorisation produces an impetus towards identifying patterns. Patterns, in turn, are expressions of generalities and generalities tend to over–ride particularities. It became very obvious to me that I could 'get answers' as long as I was prepared to stick with categories. One of the underlying arguments of my research is that social policy depends on quite clear sets of

categorisation – there is no space for individual embodiment in policy documents other than as a whole string of contingent exceptions. So it is with NUD.IST. It is possible to develop files of word strings and pre–set relationships but it is not possible to identify difference.

I am suggesting, therefore, that computer technology belongs firmly in the modern camp. Computer assisted qualitative data analysis systems are as recent as the development of desk top word processors with text retrieval and text handling capacities. The 'find and replace' and 'search' capacities of any standard word processor perform similar functions to the basic computer assisted qualitative data analysis system. As Nigel Fielding (1991) has suggested, much of the early development of software for qualitative research came from researchers experimenting with their own solutions to domestic research problems rather than the software being developed by commercial software houses. The NUD.IST system is a classic example of this and its research driven basis is one of its strengths.

Despite all the utilitarian capacity of computer software systems, however, there was no way in which the binary logic of the software could even begin to help me understand and question the endless chain of signification that my research questions implied. How can the analysis of data, which conforms to neither yes nor no in any definitive instance, be facilitated by a software package that is based on strict systems of codification and classification? This is the large question that underwrites the use of software systems in qualitative research, and it is one I cannot answer here.

If computer assisted qualitative data analysis system technology is part of an innovative, scientific, mechanistic, modern impetus in research methodology, this can perhaps best be identified by its technical parameters. The technology requires a power supply (with all the assumptions of 'developed', industrialised economies embedded therein), a supply of appropriate hardware and software and a method of accessing whatever system support is offered as part of the program.

Using computers also requires a decision to commit to a capitalised project, and it requires that all of these elements be in place before the research gets underway. Word

processing is an increasingly taken–for–granted decision in most resource–rich research institutions.

There are also research politics at stake. In my case, money was available for the software (and its update), the training, the data scanning and for Internet access. I was able to feel part of 'real science' as I called on the expertise of technicians and argued a case for a 'technical supervisor', Dr Peter Urich, on my supervisory panel. I loaded in software packages that my colleagues were not using and found myself being used as a source of expert advice by staff members and students from my own and other departments. This was all heady stuff and I have found it much more difficult to reflect on critically than some of the more 'mundane' elements of critique that I have already put forward in relation to data collection, interviewing and ethical dilemmas. But it serves as a salutary point to pause on and from which to move to the next stage.

Conclusion

I reserve my final comment in this section to an observation about the use of graphics / 'maps'. Geography is so well understood to be a discipline connected to 'maps'. There are endless jokes about whether or not a person's thesis, or book, or paper, has maps or not. On one level this is just 'joshing' – part of the culture of riposte that accompanies the rituals of academic writing. On another level it connects to the visceral anxieties that patrol disciplinary boundaries. If there are no 'maps', can it **be** 'geography'? In an ironic twist, the 'new' boundaries being served by the 'new' geographies inadvertently install new anxieties – if it has 'maps', can it be 'new'? For better or worse, my narrative follows a linear trajectory but makes occasional lateral excursions. Like all good binaries, the 'map' and the 'text' are not mutually exclusive. My maps and diagrams produced the thinking, as did the text, the readings, the discussions, and reflections. In Part II of this thesis I carry forward the outcomes from my theoretical reading and practical analysis in order to extend the narrative of the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion.

Part II

Chapter 5

The European Union and the Poverty Programmes

The focus of my research is securely on the European Commission's elaboration of the concept of social exclusion. The European Union, however, is securely embedded in a so–called 'liberal democratic' tradition which, although not easy to define, has had a profound influence on the provenance and promulgation of social policy, the development of the Poverty Programmes, and the development of the concept of exclusion. Arguably, to understand the latter, some attempt must be made to expose the large–scale influences of the former and the dialectical relationship that binds the two.

In this chapter I draw on broadly based literature to outline the complex institutional arrangements of the European Union. In the subsequent Chapter 6, I consider some of the ways in which the institutions and policies of the European Union are embedded in particular ideologies that are contingent on the different scales at which they are deployed. Piecing this particular narrative together was not altogether straightforward. Although there is a very extensive literature on the European Union, little of the introductory material pays much attention to social policy.[1] In section 5.1 of this chapter

[1] There is a literature on many different aspects of the development of the European Union. Other than the sources I cite in depth, the following are also useful. For a broad overview of EEC social policy see: Collins (1980, 1983), Coombes and Rees (1991), and Shanks (1977). For general sources which outline the function and purposes of the EEC–EU and provide a necessary context for the social policy functions see: El-Agraa (1980), Bainbridge (1995), Barbour (1996), *Butterworths Expert Guide to the European Union* (1996), Green, Hartley and Usher (1991), Gold (1992), Goodman (1993), Harrop (1989), Kerr (1986), Lodge (1983, 1989), Pinder (1990, 1991), Shanks (1977), Shackleton (1992), Taylor (1983), and Williams (1991). Other sources focus on the particular tensions of social policy in the context of intensified relations between the EU states under Maastricht and the Single European Act. See, for example: Betten (1991), Cavazza and Pelanda (1994), d' Amico and Piccone (1992), Hurwitz and Laquesne (1991), Ireland (1991), and Lepsius (1992). Other necessary sources for building an understanding of social policy in the EEC are those texts which deal with issues of funding. The works of Harrop (1996), Hitiris (1991), Shackleton (1989), and Wise and Gibb (1993) provide general overviews of the EEC Structural Funds.

I review literature that describes the nature and functions of the European Union – its history, institutions and the constraints on its powers – in relation to social policy. Many of the interpretations differ in the fine detail and the Commission documents that can be used to verify particular claims are often hard to come by in New Zealand. Some information is available only to those directly involved with the particular issue in question.[2]

In Section 5.2, I discuss the Poverty Programmes in greater detail. The Poverty Programmes are significant to the small groups of people and organisations who have been caught up in the direct outcomes of the policy process, and they do have some currency in the international research arena. Many of the geographers with whom I spoke at various British universities, however, had never heard of them, even though they were very well versed in the intricacies of other Community policy areas such as regional policy or migration policy. Reference to the Poverty Programmes is also difficult to track on the Internet.

5.1: A brief history of the European Union and its social policy

There have been four major changes in the 'name' given to the changing constituency of the countries that are grouped together in the 1990s as 'The European Union'. I will briefly deal with each of these, starting with the European Coal and Steel Commission set up in the 1950s and moving through the renaming to the European Economic Community, the European Economic Communities and finally to the European Union. At each of these stages in the development and reconceptualisation of 'Europe', complex negotiations between the international actors ensured consensus about who was to be excluded and who included in the terms of each new treaty. The treaties also ensured what was or was not admissible for international debate between the actors and

[2] A check in January 1998 for "poverty programmes" (*Infoseek* online) gave 749 pages of which one was relevant to the European Economic Communities' Poverty Programmes – a glossary compiled by Professor Derek Urwin, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Aberdeen (Urwin online) which gave the following entry under Anti–poverty programmes: "Anti–Poverty Programme. An element of the 1974 Social Action Programme, reconfirmed and extended in 1981". There were, however, a large number of more general references to poverty and social exclusion.

established the political and legal mechanisms for monitoring this decision making. In addition, the terms of the treaties established where the balance of power lay between the newly established international authorities at each stage. Although my introduction to these roles and functions is brief, I believe it sets the stage for a preliminary understanding of the complex and contingent history of European decision making.

The European Coal and Steel Commission

The 'European Idea' surfaced, in a national sense, under the European Coal and Steel Commission (ECSC) of 1952, which was designed to promote the possibility for a peaceful post-war Europe. The underlying logic was to integrate the iron and steel production capacities of the key protagonists in the Second World War in such a way that armaments and munitions production could no longer be independent (El–Agraa 1980, 12; Kerr 1986, 5). Consequently Luxembourg, West Germany, France and Italy joined their interests in the control and marketing of coal, iron and steel. It was recognised that production rationalisations would create unemployment in these industries which would not only be unacceptable to the unions (who were already represented on the consultative committee) but might also conduce to political unrest.[3] Provision for re–deployment, research into occupational safety, and grant–aid for housing schemes were incorporated in the articles of the *Treaty of Paris* (Collins 1983, 98).

The success of the ECSC provided both the impetus, and an institutional model, for the development of the EEC[4] five years later. In 1957 the six nations of Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany agreed to the terms of the *Treaty*

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[3] By 1952 the International Labour Organisation (ILO) had been in existence for 33 years. As a prestigious international forum, it was able to voice labour concerns to the ECSC and ensure representation. The model of ILO representation paved the way for the tripartite composition of the ESC.

[4] Williams (1991, 21–25) gives a clear outline of the complex events that led to the signing of the *Treaty of Rome*, the political contingency of those events and the roles of existing treaties – notably ECSC, EUROTOM, and NATO.

of Rome. The two guiding principles of this document were the free movement of capital and goods and the free movement of workers.

The European Economic Community

The model of a union of European States that was established in 1957 with the initial six member states has underwritten the subsequent developments and enlargements (see Figure 5.1). Few of the actual articles of the *Treaty of Rome* dealt explicitly with social issues, however. Article 2 stipulated the general goal of raising standards of living on a Europe wide basis. Articles 48 and 49 clarified both the intention of the idea of freedom of movement and the means towards its implementation. The transferability of social security was covered by Article 51. In line with similar moves instigated by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the question of equal pay for work of equivalent value was established under Article 119. A commitment to common goals, by member states, on a range of issues such as labour legislation, working conditions, occupational health, safety and training, was evoked under Article 118.[5]

Many of these social instruments were pushed forward by the French. As Taylor (1983, 200) notes:

> [the French Government] wished to reduce what was believed to be an additional burden upon French industry which had resulted from the more liberal welfare policies in France, compared to her partners.

Italy also "was strongly behind the implementation of the labour movement policy" (Collins 1980, 273), as it saw a need to facilitate emigration from the impoverished Mezzogiorno region of Southern Italy to other parts of Europe.

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[5] Collins (1983, 99), Green, Hartley and Usher (1991, 93), and Taylor (1983, 200) provide useful detail on the coverage and extent of these legal provisions (see also Prechal and Burrows 1990, Folsom 1995, Séché 1977, Rudden and Wyatt 1996 and van Haame 1991).

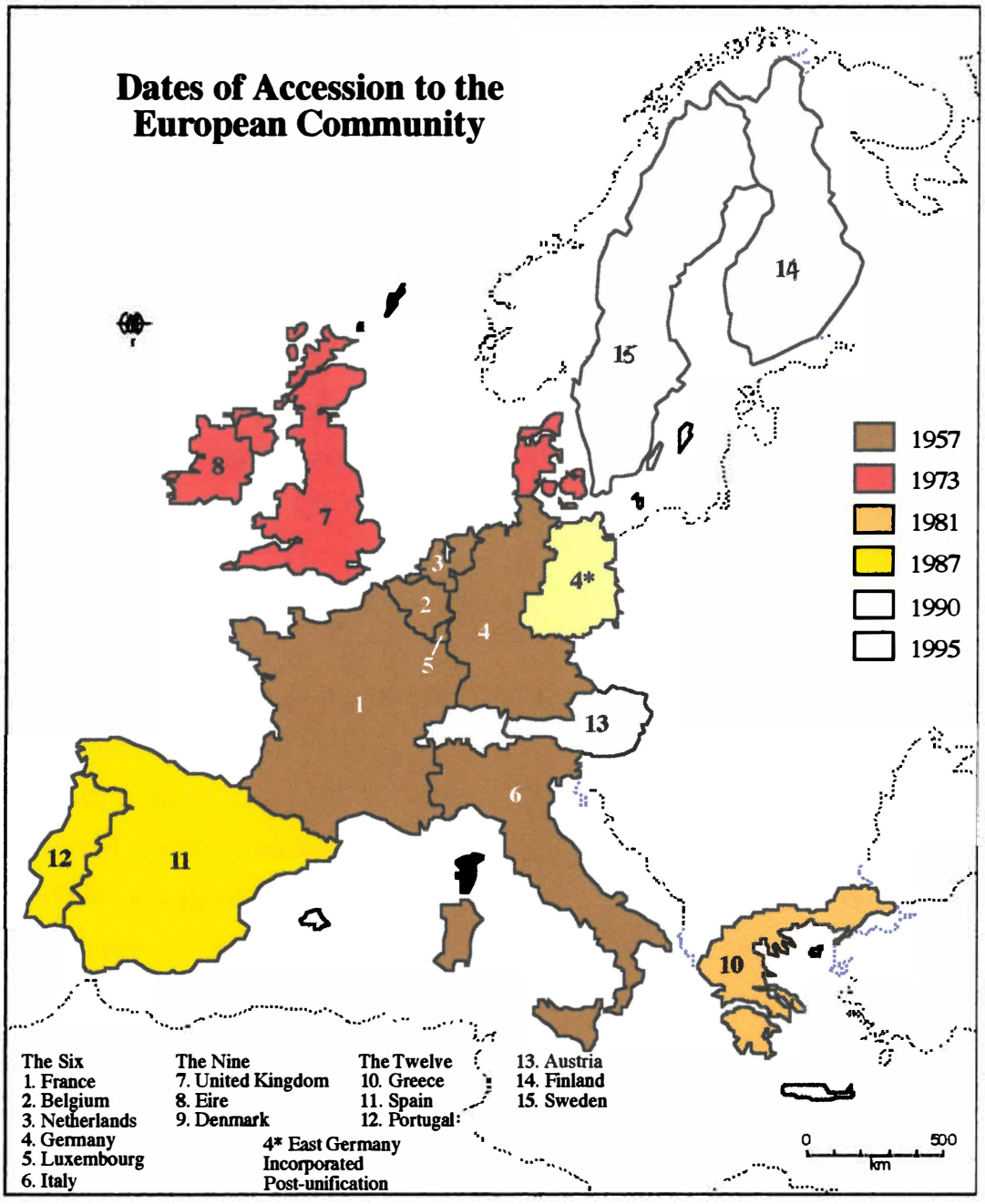


Figure 5.1: The Stadial enlargement of the European Union 1957–1998

The establishment of the Economic and Social Commission (ESC) and the Social Fund concluded two other critical aspects of the Treaty of Rome, which were set up under Articles 123–127. These two measures allowed for a particular focus to be given to social issues in the first instance and for the setting aside of targeted funds from within the EEC budget in the second instance.[6] Some measures were specifically undertaken by the ESC in the early years but the activities were on a relatively small scale and were piecemeal. Much of the limited budget was spent on retraining schemes (Article 125).[7] The regional focus of this spending was evident and controversial (Collins 1980, 240). Under Article 50, young people were especially targeted for assistance and encouraged to develop habits of labour migration through a process of student and youth exchange migration (Williams 1991, 135; Collins 1983, 102)[8].

The European Economic Communities

In 1969 the three existing treaties to which the Six subscribed were merged. The ECSC (the European Coal and Steel Community), the EEC (the European Economic Community) and EURATOM (the European Atomic Energy Commission) were now incorporated in a new constitutional version of the Treaty of Rome. The move to include EURATOM was significant in that it gave a particular focus to environmental concerns and these came increasingly to be considered part of the jurisdiction of the ESC as health and occupational safety issues were identified. In 1974, prior to second round of oil shocks of the later 1970s and on the wave of confidence generated by the apparent economic successes of EEC policy and the mood of optimism associated with rapid economic growth and high employment, the elaboration of social policy commenced.

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[6] For a general outline of the ESC, see Kerr (1986), and for a useful critique of its limitations see Taylor (1983). General introductions to the EEC / EU can be found in: Archer (1994, 1996), *Butterworth's Guide* (1996), Dinan (1994), Goodman (1993), and Moussis (1995).

[7] Taylor (1983, 209) notes that in the 10 years following its inception the Social Fund spent some $US421 million on 1.3 million workers.

[8] "Member States shall, within the framework of a joint programme, encourage the exchange of young workers" (*Article 41* (ex Article 50) *Consolidated Version Of The Treaty Establishing The European Community* online).

The Social Action Programme that was established in that year was ambitious, forward thinking and distinctly welfarist in its approach. Shanks (1977) provides a useful overview of the key measures proposed and actions that were initiated. In the area of employment, the Regional Fund was established to subsidise investment in regions of high unemployment. The Social Fund grants for training and retraining were given wider focus to include agriculture workers made redundant by changing agricultural practices, as well as clothing and textile workers hit by industry retrenchment in the face of overseas competition and increasing technological innovation. New provisions were made for rehabilitation of the 'handicapped'. Specific legislative provisions for migrant labour and the under 25 year olds were tabled and legal discrimination against women in employment was outlawed. Under a guideline on improvement in living conditions the social budget was increased by 500 percent to enable, in part, the collection of the essential statistical data that would make the identification of need possible.

The legislative agenda included moves toward the harmonisation of labour laws, such as common minimum standards on collective dismissal and protection of workers during industrial mergers. The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (EFILWC) was established, as was the action programme on occupational health and safety. The first Poverty Action Programme was inaugurated. A quadripartite body, the Standing Committee on Employment (SCE), took the debate to ministerial level.[9]

Despite this appearance of strategic supranational intervention, however, the Social Action Programme had little real effect. As Taylor (1983) points out, the euphoria and 'progress' of the early 1970s was already under siege by the end of the decade. The recession provoked by the oil crises and the (mis)management of petro–dollars was beginning to pinch manufacturing worldwide. Europe, with its significant industrial

[9] The SCE included the representatives of Employers and Unions (the two 'social partners'), the Ministers of Employment or Social Affairs from each member state, and representatives of the European Commission (Shanks 1977).

base, was not exempt. Restructuring, factory closures, and mass unemployment created a new face in 'Social Europe'.[10]

This 'new social face' was increasingly to be found on the unskilled blue–collar male, on the untrained under 25 year–old, on the unskilled migrant worker and on those close to retirement age. It was also, perhaps unexpectedly, to be found on the face of peasant farmers whose debt servicing incapacities or smallness of holding ensured the failure of their farming enterprise. This was the face of the unemployed and the under-employed with no immediate prospect of full, permanent, or secure employment.

Increasingly, regional and intra–regional disparities grew. Money that might have been used by the ESC was channelled into the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) (Taylor 1983). There was a growing wariness of the role of the EEC in the straitened domestic affairs of the member states. The British Conservatives took an increasingly dim view of anything that might be construed as interventionist (George 1992, Gold 1992, and Haar 1992). Social Policy initiatives took a back seat and the business of business became the apparent focus of not only the EEC but also the constituent nation states.

During this period cases were increasingly taken before the European Court, which acted as a testing ground for the resilience and coverage of existing legislation. Van Haame (1991, 45) suggests that some 400 cases had been brought annually before the Court since the 1970s. These cases raised the profile of social issues both within the legal profession and within governments.

In addition, the Eurocrats[11] who work in the social policy areas of the Commission, though not universally admired, appeared to be a dedicated and committed group. The staff of the ESC continued to press for change. In 1986 the formulation of the *Single*

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[10] The notion of 'Social Europe' is constructed and reinforced in large part through published material. After a review of DG V publication policy, the Official Commission Publication *Social Europe,* has been replaced by a new publication entitled *Employment and Social Affairs* (ESA) (see *Bye Bye Social Europe* (online)). This fits with my thesis argument that the Commission is increasingly interested in social policies that target employment.

[11] A semi–derogatory title for the civil servants who work for the Commission as well as for any European Union bureaucrats in general.

European Act (SEA)[12] signalled the move toward greater "economic and social cohesion" (Coombes and Rees 1991, 207). On 7th February 1992, the Maastricht Treaty (The *Treaty on European Union*)[13] merged into one text both the *Treaty on Economic and Monetary Union* and the *Treaty on Political Union* (Gold 1992). Thus, the Community came to be a pluralised body – the European Communities. These three legal instruments articulate with the 'three pillars' of legislative and policy competence to form the Union.

The European Union

In the broadest possible sense, and in its current incarnation, the European Union may be understood to be the fifteen member states bound together by a shared history and shared set of institutional structures in adherence to the so–called 'three pillars' of the Union. According to the *NATO Handbook* (1998, online) the three pillars of the *Treaty on European Union* include:

> The first, ... the Community pillar, is based upon the Treaties of Paris and Rome, as modified by the 1986 Single European Act. The other two pillars, newly created by the Treaty on European Union, deal primarily with inter–governmental cooperation, as distinct from cooperation within the Community pillar which is governed by Community legislation. The second pillar is that of the Common Foreign and Security Policy ... The third pillar ... relates to cooperation within the Union in the spheres of civil and criminal law and of home affairs.

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[12] The *Single European Act* (1986) was a significant amendment to the *Treaty of Rome* (1957). It was ratified by all the then member states and provided four key strengths to the Rome treaty: the completion of the single European Market in goods and services by the end of 1992, an improved co–operation procedure to enable the European Parliament to play a more active role in decisions on the internal market; the inclusion of provisions concerning collaboration in research and development and in environment policy; and the formalisation and strengthening of co–operation on foreign policy issues.

[13] The Maastricht Treaty is more formally known as the Maastricht *Treaty of European Union*. As with all the preceding treaties the name of the place where the treaty is signed becomes part of its full designation. Maastricht is a small town in the Netherlands.

The *Treaty of Amsterdam*,[14] signed on 2nd October 1997 (*SCADplus* 1998c), provides for some of the fields covered by the third pillar to be transferred to the first pillar – including legislative capacity with respect to visas, asylum, immigration and other policies related to free movement of persons. It also reunites all fifteen member states in a strengthened Social Agreement.

The Social Agreement

The history of the Social Agreement is relevant to the development of social policy initiatives in the European Union.[15] The first Social Agreement, based on the 1989 Social Charter, was to be signed as part of the *Treaty of European Union* in 1992.

The United Kingdom 'opted out' of being a signatory to this Agreement, however, and this action necessitated the precedent setting Social Protocol. The (then) twelve member states adopted the Social Protocol in place of the Agreement, which was annexed to the *Treaty of European Union*. The Protocol effectively authorised the other eleven member states to develop their own version of the Agreement (*SCADplus* 1998c). Since the Labour Party, under Prime Minister Tony Blair, has come to power in Britain the position of Britain *vis a vis* the European Union has changed on a number of fronts. Accession to the full Social Agreement under the terms of the *Treaty of Amsterdam* is a core element of this shift in policy direction.

According to the *SCADplus Glossary* (1998a online) on the reform of the European Union:

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[14] The *Treaty of Amsterdam* was signed in 1997 but came into effect in October 1998.

[15] For general discussions on the history and development of social policy in the EU see Collins (1980, 1983), Coombes and Rees (1991), Hantrais (1995), Lodge (1983,1989), Purdy and Devine (1994), Room (1991), and Wise and Gibb (1993). For a specific discussion of social protection, see Corona–Viron (1991), and Petersen (1991). For a discussion of unemployment / employment policy see Giersch (1996), Hoffmann and Lapeyre (1994), Lane (1989), Layard and Calmfors (1987), Muysken and de Neubourg (1989), Rhodes (1992), *Unemployment: Choices for Europe* (1995), Voruba (1995), and Wise and Chalkley (1990). For health care policies see Ludvigsen (1996), and for policies in relation to older people seeWalker, Alber and Guillemard (1993). Policies in relation to migrants are discussed later.

> **The Social Policy Agreement** is annexed to the Social Policy Protocol, which is itself annexed to the Treaty on European Union. It was signed by fourteen of the Member States (the United Kingdom opted out) and sets out the social policy objectives for which the 1989 Social Charter paved the way: **the promotion of employment, improved living and working conditions, the combating of exclusion, the development of human resources** and so on. It also lays down the procedure for the adoption of social policy measures and clearly **acknowledges the vital part played by management and labour in the dialogue on social policy**. Following the election of a new government in May 1997, the United Kingdom announced its intention of abandoning its opt-out clause on social policy. This means that once the Amsterdam Treaty enters into force, the Social Policy Agreement - whose provisions have now been strengthened - will be incorporated in the Social Chapter of the Treaty establishing the European Community. A **new legal base will be created for equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women at work, and mention will be made of the fight against social exclusion**. Finally, an explicit reference to fundamental rights will add a new dimension to the objectives of social policy.

Thus, the new Amsterdam Social Agreement, signed in 1997, specifically gives regard to:

- improvement of the working environment to protect workers' 'health and safety' working conditions
- information and consultation of workers
- integration of persons excluded from the labour market
- equality between men and women
- [and] ... the **possibility** of adopting initiatives specifically **designed to combat social exclusion** (*SCADplus* 1998c).

But, as the French *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères* puts it "Social Europe for all means more growth, more jobs and the consolidation of existing social rights. Accordingly, the Treaty on European Union guarantees protection for workers" (*Social Europe*, online, 1996).

From the perspective of the Federation of European Employers (FedEE 1998/99 online) the social agreement has opened up the possibility for unnecessary attention on the social aspects of economic development. In a section of their report entitled *Safety Net Vs Best Practice* they suggest that:

> The key feature of 'Social Europe' has been the establishment of minimum terms and conditions across the European Union in order to create a 'level playing field' and stimulate true competition. But gradually the attention of The European Commission is moving towards 'good' or even 'best' practice, with its threat of harmonization and leveling up costs. They talk about the importance of 'bench marking', the 'information society' and vague concepts such as 'social inclusion'. They also encourage 'main streaming' in areas like equal opportunities and refer to 'positive action' as if it were a permanent - rather than a temporary - measure.

The Social Agreement is seen by some to be a threat to the 'economic' advantages of closer union and there is some argument about the future directions for 'Europe' as a socially, economically and politically united international organisation. The *Treaty on Political Union*, the Social Agreement proposed as an integral part of that treaty, and the subsequent *Treaty of Amsterdam*, are the subject of the reflections in the next section on the social policy implications of a politically unified Western Europe.

Unifying principles – contestable directions

'Western Europe'[16] is a conceptually loose term that means different things to different people. In the context of this research, the term applied only to the fifteen countries that are currently member states of the European Union: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

There are extensive debates amongst all of these constituent states on the matter of political union. Political union is seen as a step towards the development of a federal 'superstate' that would destabilise the current relationships of national sovereignties with the European Union.[17] The federal model of the United States of America[18] springs

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[16] This is a distinction that has technically ceased to exist since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 but it is not yet a distinction that has ceased to exist in the so–called 'popular' imagination, or even the academic one (see, for example, Pinder's *Western Europe: Challenge and Change* 1990).

[17] There have been a number of discussions of federalism in relation to the Community. See D' Amico and Piccone (1992), Dehousse (1994), Harrop (1989, Heydebrand *et al* (1990), Shore (1997), Steiner (1991), Taylor (1983), for example. And conversely the 'politics of semi–detachment' (George 1992), with

quickly to mind as an example of a politically unified body that has some, but not all, powers over its constituent states. The key difference between this federal example and the European Union case is not such things as a commonality of language, culture, and tradition (India, for example, as another federal constituency, has breathtaking ethnic and linguistic diversity), but a willingness on behalf of the state governments to be subsumed within the wider polity of a federation, to pay taxes to the Federal Government and State Government, and to elaborate a notion of citizenship that inheres within the Federation rather than the State.

In Europe, the rights and privileges that accrue to citizens are fundamentally different from those that accrue to tourists, visitors, migrants or illegal aliens (undocumented migrants). In the current economic climate in Europe, the privileges of citizenship are costly to the state. Health care, education, welfare benefits, social security, and pensions are all economically burdensome, as are minimum wages and minimum conditions for workers. That an organisation, which is not part of a national order of governance, should have the temerity to suggest supranational solutions to the high costs of maintaining national standards, is rather like having the social worker come into a middle–class person's living room and suggest ways for them to better manage the household budget.

The debates about 'full integration' are enormously complex and I do not propose to develop this theme here further than I have, other than to introduce economic commentator Bela Belassa's[19] (1961) typology of integration (see Figure 5.2). Belassa's typology is generic rather than specific to the European context and is not tied to any

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respect to Britain. See also Chapter 6 for an extended discussion of the innovative capacities of the European Union in relation to its ambiguous positioning as neither quite a federal superstate nor quite subsidiary to national polities.

[18] Canada, Australia, Mexico, and India also serve as useful examples of states that are united under a common Federal Government as do the European examples of Germany and Austria.

[19] Belassa (1961) as quoted in Williams (1991, 163). I may not do any justice to his theory using such a brief synopsis, but it would seem that such neat evolutionary models are less likely to be viable in the postmodern era of what Lash and Urry (1987) identify as the period of disorganized capitalism. See also Claus Offe (1984, 1985).

specific time frame although he developed it in the 1960s with some apparent prescience.

According to Belassa, the countries of the European Union were well advanced in the process of economic integration even in the late 1960s when he suggested that they stood between stages four and five. He acknowledged that the European situation had the added complication of a detailed social agenda and suggested that this would 'distort' any 'normal' progression through the stages of the model.

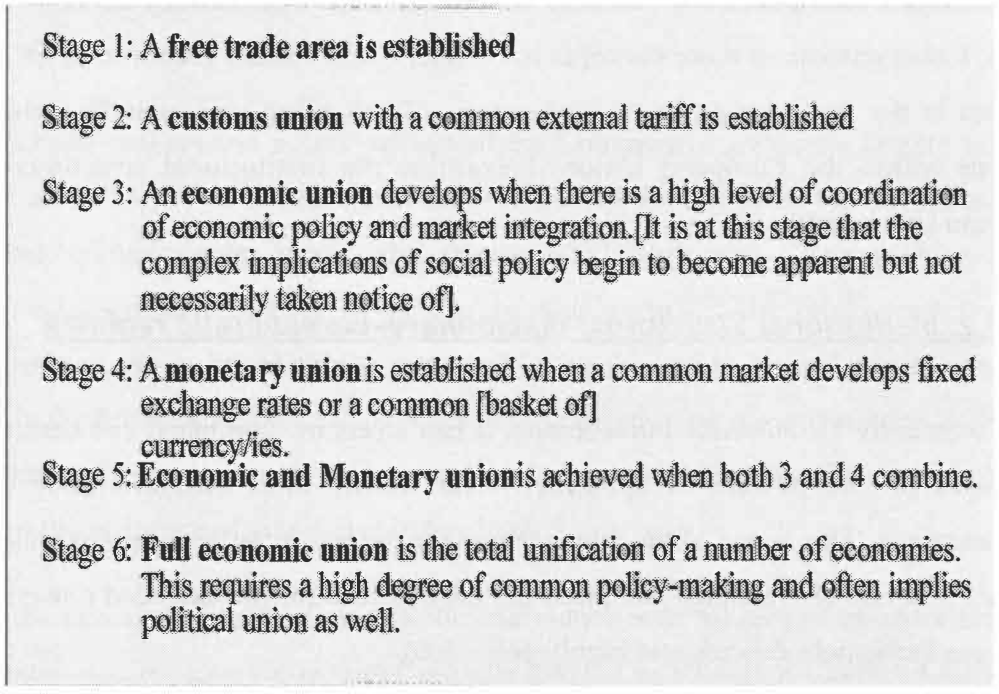


Figure 5.2: Stages in the process of economic integration

Source: Belassa (1961)

Belassa's progressivist notion of 'arrival' at the point of political union fails to do justice to the intricate and sensitive questions of national sovereignty, citizenship, or the social and political implications of federalism. The question of political union has most recently been 'resolved', it would seem, by the thrust of *Agenda 2000* (COM 1997a, online) towards enlargement of the existing union to a more flexible and open affiliation of states.

Progressive moves toward integration, such as presaged by the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties and discussed in Grant (1994), and more cynically in Middlemas (1995), provide signals of some potential for a democratic 'federal' nationalism. Counter initiatives towards a looser, enlarged Union, however, also indicate that market rhetoric is still too powerful to ignore. Whatever the long term prognosis for monetary and political union, social policy seems set to continue to be at the crux of tensions between the 'economic' and 'political' positions of the member states in relation to closer union. One way of developing further understanding of this tension is to examine some of the core principles that uphold the rationale for the existence and efficacy of the European Union. I have introduced these concepts in Chapter 1 and discuss them further in section 5.4. But in the next section, as a further way of extending understanding about the tensions within the European Union, I examine the institutional structures at the European Union level.

5.2: Institutional Structures: disciplinary–bureaucratic regimes

The Community[20] is intensely bureaucratic. It has layers of 'command and control' that are based on the powers of appointed elites rather than democratically elected representatives. This is one of the things that make the governance of the Community so unusual. It is one of the things that made the negotiations for the extended powers of the European Parliament delicate and highly politicised.

By way of prescient understatement, Laffan (1996, 93) suggests that: "[t]he novel idea of transforming diplomacy into democracy faces considerable barriers." Not only are the disciplinary–bureaucratic[21] regimes intensely present in the Community, they readily can be seen to conform to C.W. Mills' (1957) 'cynical' definition of a power elite as being groups of invulnerable men, similar in interest and outlook, who shape events from behind the scenes.

These institutions are responsible, not only for the ratification of social policy, but also for the accommodation of social policy as a first principle. A key argument that I put forward in Chapter 6 consists in acknowledging the extent to which European Union is conditioned and constrained by the philosophical premises in which Western liberal democratic capitalism is anchored. In considering the overview of these institutions that I offer here, the place of social policy must be borne in mind. Economic policy is the 'driver' of European Union affairs and social policy takes a very partial place in that agenda. Wherever the bureaucracy is complex, the time and fiscal constraints significant, or the potential for deferment inevitable, it is social policy initiatives that inevitably fare worse.

The decision–makers and policy–writers of the Community are drawn largely from the staff of about 15,000 of the European Commission who work under the direct control of the twenty commissioners appointed to the main 23 Directorates–General (DGs), and 15 or so specialised services areas of the Commission's work.[22] This brief note serves as a reminder that the political forces responsible for the production of social exclusion policy in the European Union are complex, not inclined to be operating solely within the constraints of a parliamentary democracy, and are susceptible, in unique and particular ways, to the influence of significant individuals.[23]

The influence of significant Commission individuals was alluded to on more than one occasion during my interviews with Commission staff in 1994 (see Chapter 4 for further detail on this). One interviewer discussed the role of Jacques Delors (Commission President) in the area of social policy; another drew my attention to the role of Edith

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[20] The 'Community', in this context, refers to the established Institutions of the European Union – especially the Commission, the Council of Ministers, the Parliament and the Courts.

[21] See Barry Hindess (1996) for an excellent discussion of "Foucault on Power, Domination and Government" in which the relationship between bureaucratic and disciplinary powers are teased out.

[22] See online sites for: *The Commission Administration* (online), and information from this site: *The European Commission 1995–2000* (COM 1995a online).

[23] See Cowles (1995) for a discussion of the role of business elites in setting the agenda for the Single European Act. Laffan (1996), and Wincott (1995), contain more general accounts.

Cresson (the then Director General of DG XII) in the area of human resources, education, training and youth; another to the work of Padraig Flynn (Director General of DG V) in employment and social affairs; and a fourth to the work of Odile Quintin (Director, Directorate D, within DG V) in the area of social dialogue, social rights and equal rights. Similarly in the 'informal policy sector', in the United Kingdom, the work of researchers such as Graham Room (1979, 1986, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995), Diane Robbins (1992, 1994), and Duncan Gallie (Benôit–Guilbot and Gallie 1994a), Gallie, Marsh and Vogler (1994b), Crompton, Gallie and Purcell (1996) was frequently brought to my attention. There is also a literature on the role of key individuals in the policy process that is well covered in, for example, Christopher Ham and Michael Hill (1984).

Wendy Brown (1995, 191) makes clear that "one of the most significant aspects of bureaucratisation is its blurring of the clear line between state and civil society." She suggests that there is a strong masculinist precondition to this penetration of the state by bureaucratic forms which has significance for the kinds of structures that are compromised by this blurring. Brown (1995, 192–3, following Ferguson 1984) indicates that:

> ... the structures and values of bureaucracy – hierarchy, separation, abstract right, proceduralism – stand in relation to ... women's socially constructed experience as care–givers ... [and that] the instrumental rationality constituting both the foundation of bureaucratic order and the process of bureaucratic rationalization is grounded in the social valorization of maximised power through maximized technocratic control ... [F]inally, bureaucratic power quite obviously 'serves' male dominant interests through its disciplinary function: state agencies of every variety create disciplined, obedient, rule–abiding subjects.

This feminist argument about the 'masculinization' of bureaucracy is given significant attention in the European Union case, through social policy analysis, (Glendinning and Millar 1992, Meehan and Sevenuijsen 1991, and Williams 1989), legal analysis (Ellis 1991, and Nott 1997), and more generally in discussions about democracy (Pateman 1988, Phillips 1991). Social policy, law and democratic process are all understood to

impinge on gendered subjects. In addition, the European Union makes a particular place for 'gender' policies both in the founding treaties[24] and in specific policy fields. [25]

These diplomatic elitist and patriarchal tensions entail contradictions and paradoxes in relation to the development of social policy in the European Union. Highlighting some of the key roles, functions and attributes of the central European Union institutions confirms the extent to which these institutions conform to democratic / capitalist / liberal ideals.

Key institutions and their constitutive powers

In the 1990s there are five important European Union authorities. The Council of the European Union (CEU), which is also referred to as the Council of Ministers (CEC);[26] the Commission of the European Community (CEC) (also known as the European Commission); the European Parliament (EP); the European Court of Justice (ECJ); and the European Court of Auditors (ECA). Each of these institutions has been influenced by changes in the overall conception of the European Community and its constitutive powers.

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[24] Article 119 of the *Treaties Establishing the European Communities* (1993) makes explicit reference to "the principle that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work." (Note the irony that the *Treaty on European Union* (1992) refers to the 'citizen' **'he'** with respect to voting rights (Title II, articles 8b and c, online)).

[25] For example, the *Communication from the Commission on Incorporating Equal Opportunities for Women and Men into all Community Policies and Activities* (COM 1996a); and the *European Women's Lobby* (EWL) (online). The EWL underlines the fact that European citizenship must necessarily include the active participation of all people, women and men. If 'Europe' wants to be close to the individual, it cannot integrate only half the population into the decision–making processes. The EWL argues that the democratic legitimacy of the European Union rests to a large extent on its ability to promote the equal representation of women and men. *Employment – Now* is a part of new Commission Employment initiative designed to run to 1999 with European Social Fund support. NOW suggests that "Women experience high rates of unemployment and account for a disproportionately large percentage of those in precarious, poorly paid or part–time employment and remain under–represented at decision making levels in the working world" (*Employment – Now*, online).

[26] The Council of Ministers is not to be confused with either the European Council – a separate body which includes ministers from a much wider range of European countries who meet for twice yearly summits as the European Heads of State – or with the Council of Europe – the name given to the 40 member intergovernmental organisations which meet on security and defence issues in particular.

The Treaty of Rome (1957) set out the institutional framework for the execution of Community affairs. In this conception the parliamentary assembly and Court of Justice mooted under the original European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) were maintained but a new relationship was devised for the two most powerful institutions, namely the European Council (of Ministers) and the European Commission. Each of these institutions was given a mandate to operate under limited powers conferred through the *Treaty of Rome.* Under the two most recent treaty negotiations (*Treaty on European Union*, 1992 and *Treaty of Amsterdam*, 1997) some of these powers have been further altered. The European Economic Community is primarily a 'bicephalous' political authority in which the relationships between the Council of Ministers and the Commission are the most influential and significant. It is the Council of Ministers that most directly seeks to limit the extent of social policy development.

There have been shifts in this power relationship over the years, and in the extent to which any of the key authorities is able to operate autonomously. It is debatable whether the European Parliament, the European Court of Justice, or the most recently formed Court of Auditors would be in agreement about where the core power lies (Henig 1980). Keith Middlemas (1995) has presented a quite persuasive argument of the extent to which informal networks and powers outweigh even the Council and the Commission in reinforcing the power of the market in particular. As Middlemas (1995, xiv) puts it:

> Players in the informal sector of a system are those who chose to enter out of self–interest, who have the willpower and resources to stay in and the capacity to make themselves heard in that highly competitive arena ... There is no democratic bias here.

It could be argued that the informal sector operators reflect the much vaunted notion of possessive individualism through which liberalism's self–interested best are able to behave as liberal democratic capitalists and valued citizens. If, as Middlemas suggests, 'Europe' is orchestrated by this capitalist self–interest then there may be little space for the kind of social policy envisaged in the Poverty Programmes.

The Council of the European Union – indirect representative democracy

The Council of the European Union, consisting of the elected government ministers of the member states, is the only institution in the European Union with the power to make legally binding decisions with respect to Community laws (See Hayes–Renshaw 1995). It may adopt or amend proposals brought before it from the Commission or from the Parliament via the Commission. Each of the Council Ministers is theoretically accountable to its own parliamentary constituency and is consequently constrained by the policy agendas of the individual member state's governments.

In a sense, the Council is in the shadow of but not constituted by, a democratic mandate. The ministers who represent their national constituency are indeed democratically elected to their respective national parliaments. They attend the Council, however, more in the role of appointed advisers. They may imagine themselves to be elected representatives, but in the Council context they are more directly answerable to the constituency of their 'Crown' rather than their local electoral boundary. The electoral process in each member state ensures that the ministerial representatives are the elected representatives of each member state although, as cabinet ministers, they can only be representatives of the ruling party in each instance.

Unanimous agreement of the Council is required on any matters pertaining to taxation policy, voting rights, and the financial system. It is in the Council, under the strengthened provisos of the *Treaty of European Union*, that the question of subsidiarity is kept to the fore, with the further proviso that the Council itself can be taken before the Court of Justice for infringement of this principle.

The Council of Ministers is, to a limited extent, also accountable to the wishes of the European Parliament and compelled to engage in dialogue with both the Commission and the Parliament. In effect, under the terms of the Maastricht and Amsterdam treaties,

the Parliament has a "negative assent procedure" which it may exercise over the common positions of the Council with respect to certain policy provisions[27]

Social policy issues are affected by requirements for unanimity, Qualified Majority Voting[28] and adherence to the principle of subsidiarity. Social policy is also directly affected by regimes of taxation, and financial systems. Although the *Treaty of Amsterdam* technically reshapes the place of social policy, the quashing role of the Council of Ministers became clear during the Maastricht negotiations and also in the refusal of the Council to approve *Poverty 4*. Britain's Conservative government stance, that the Protocol and Agreement on social policy "might lead to arbitrary restrictions and unnecessary costs for employers" (*European Union* 1996, 37), could only be upheld by means of the principles of unanimity and subsidiarity which are in turn upheld by the Council in the first instance.

The impetus towards nationalism, reinforced by the principle of subsidiarity and facilitated by the principle of unanimity, both of which are enacted by the Council, stands staunchly in the way of the realisation of any 'true' liberal democracy at the level of the Union.

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[27] The negative assent procedure entails the Council obtaining Parliament's assent (absolute majority of its members) before certain important decisions can be taken. Parliament may accept or reject a proposal but cannot amend it (SCADplus (1998a, online). Under article 189b the Parliament may exercise negative assent procedure with respect to policies on: the free movement of workers, right of establishment, treatment of foreign nationals, mutual recognition of qualifications, education and culture, public health, consumer protection, guidelines for trans–European networks, research and development and the environment (*European Union* 1996, 20). Most of these provisions would broadly fall under the category of 'social policy'.

[28] The term "unanimity" refers to the requirement for all the Member States meeting in the Council to be in agreement before a proposal can be adopted (SCADplus (1998a, online). Qualified majority voting is a special procedure whereby the 'qualified majority' is "the number of votes required in the Council for a decision to be adopted when issues are being debated on the basis of Article 148(2) of the *Treaty Establishing the European Community*. The threshold for the qualified majority is set at 62 votes out of 87 (71%). The votes are weighted as follows: France, Germany, Italy and United Kingdom 10 votes each; Spain 8 votes; Belgium, Greece, the Netherlands and Portugal 5 votes each; Austria and Sweden 4 votes each; Denmark, Ireland and Finland 3 votes each; Luxembourg 2 votes" (SCADplus, (1998a, online).

Commission of the European Community – an appointed bureaucracy

The Commission of the European Community (CEC) is the law making body of the European Community. It has the ability to initiate and amend the directives and regulations that shape the body of the treaties that are agreed to by the member states. In what must be understood to be a curious democratic paradox, the 40 person executive are all appointed by their respective member states. Although they are advised by the Council of Ministers (who are the elected ministerial representatives of each of the member states) and the European Parliament, the Commission is a largely independent civil service. Whereas the ministers in attendance at the European Council are clearly operating for the interests of their own national constituencies, the Commissioners are charged with an obligation of complete independence in the performance of their duties. National, regional, local or corporate interests may not advise them.

This autonomy of the Commission has some direct significance in the area of social policy (see Laursen 1995). The Commissioners are each responsible for the employment of staff in their particular area of responsibility. Not only do they tend to recruit from a pool of potential employees who may be known to them (that is, of the same nationality and political preferences), but they have the capacity to develop policy that reflects their own personal commitments rather than the commitments of their country of origin. This has been particularly evident in the development of policies of social exclusion under the leadership of the French Commissioner, Odile Quintin (DG V).

Under the Maastricht *Treaty of European Union* no change was made to the number of Commission members (17 Commissioners for the twelve existing member states with provision for one Commissioner to be added for each new enlargement). As from 1995, the Commission and Parliament have coterminous periods of office of five years. It has been argued that the democratic deficit of the Community resides in the strength of the Commission and the weak powers of the Parliament.

The European Parliament – elected representation

The Community has its own representative Parliament elected by universal suffrage (since 1979) throughout the Member States. This Parliament has advisory, watchdog, and budgetary powers. The role of parliament in relation to social policy is critically important as most of the 'demand' for social policy is expressed at the parliamentary level. Parliament, ideally and at least to some extent, represents the voice of 'the people' of Europe, rather than the voice of the power elites expressed through the Council. As the *Europa* (online) site states:

> The European Parliament, because it is elected, brings democratic legitimacy to the Union's 'unique institutional framework'. Parliament takes part in the Union's legislative and budgetary activities, and in its initiatives in the fields of common foreign and security policy (the 'second pillar') and of cooperation in the field of justice (the 'third pillar') (*Europa: What is the European Union?* online).

The *Treaty of European Union* established new guidelines for the competence of Parliament with respect to the other key institutions (see Lodge 1995). The instrumentalist reality is astutely captured by Middlemas (1995, 690) when he states:

> But the Community is not a democracy and, in the form that had evolved by the late 1960s, was not meant to be. It was taken for granted in practice by the main players, if not by their public statements, that leadership could only be provided by a European elite drawn from national elites, which would work in relative obscurity, unanswerable to national electorates – platonic guardians of the new commonwealth in constant competition with the governments of the day.

In 1992, at the Edinburgh European Council agreement was reached to expand the size of the Parliament to 626 elected representatives (see Figure 5.3 for a country breakdown of this representation). The expansion of representation is one strategy for strengthening the voice of Parliament and thus also of strengthening lobbying for social policy initiatives.



Figure 5.3: Parliamentary representation

Source: The European Parliament (online).

The Parliament sits for five day plenary sessions once a month in Strasbourg. There is a geographical, international distance between the Parliament and the Commission, which is possibly underrated as a source of tension between these two institutions. Interim parliamentary committee and lobbying work takes place in Brussels between the parliamentary sessions. Figure 5.4 represents the geographical locations of the key institutions and highlights the distances between them. The mobility imposed on European Members of Parliament, both between their constituencies and Strasbourg and between Strasbourg and Brussels, further limits the individual capacity of each MP to represent and address social policy concerns.

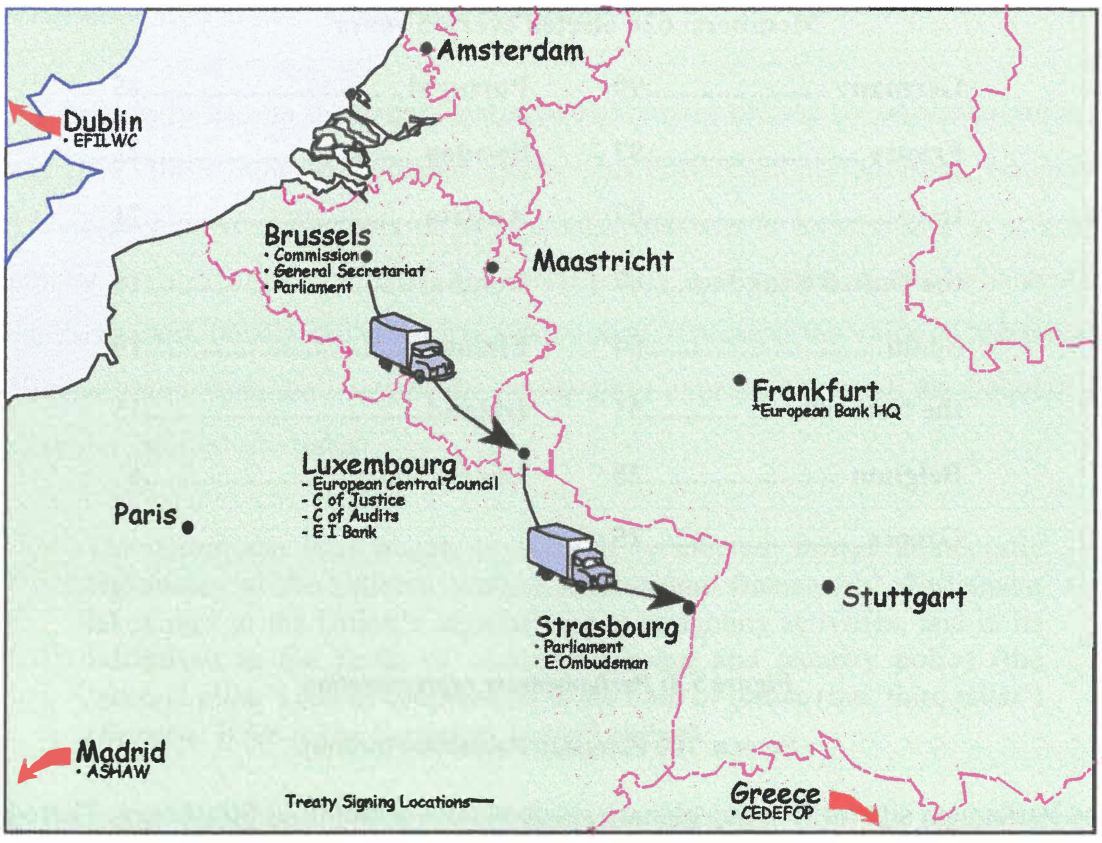


Figure 5.4: Travelling bureaucracies

Under the terms of the 1992 *Treaty of European Union* a number of new parliamentary competencies were instated. An important new condition established by the Treaty was the competence of the European Parliament to vote approval of the appointed body of Commissioners. Prior to Maastricht, the Parliament had no say in the appointment of the Commission although it did have a right of censure over the whole body of the Commission. This capacity, of some two third's majority of Parliament, to remove the Commission from office has never been exercised[29] (until 1999).

[29] The 1999 resignation of the twenty Commissioners was indirectly in response to parliamentary pressure and was triggered by a 1998-1999 commission of inquiry into fraud allegations in the Commission. The BBC (online network Tuesday, 16 March, 1999) claimed that "the commission, responsible for proposing and implementing EU legislation, only avoided being toppled in a European Parliament censure vote in January by agreeing to order the independent investigation. It was as a result of this inquiry that the Directors of the Commission resigned.

It is a capacity retained under the *Treaty of European Union* and the *Treaty of Amsterdam* (and has been put to good use as the implicit force in the 1999 resignation of the full Commission). Enhancing the powers of Parliament is understood to be both a mechanism for addressing the democratic deficit of the European Union and for enhancing the Union's capacity for dealing with social affairs.

Three other new powers have been vested in the European Parliament, which have direct relevance for the formulation and delivery of social policy objectives. The first of these is the negative assent procedure mentioned above. Parliament may now reject Council / Commission common positions on the basis of an absolute majority once the process of a Conciliation Committee, designed to mediate between the Council and the Parliament in debates involving co–decision procedures, has been worked through. In addition, the Parliament may propose amendments to the Council's common position. Although these powers are restrictive and selective, the Parliament does now have a say in the final processes of approving new Community laws.

The second new power of Parliament is that it may now request the Commission to submit proposals for legislation where this is deemed necessary. This not only gives the Parliament the capacity to identify areas of need and to be proactive in initiating proposals, but it also means that the European Members of Parliament can be more responsive to the demands of their constituents. The third new power is the provision for the Parliament to establish a committee of inquiry to investigate alleged contravention or maladministration of Community law.

Under the terms of the *Treaty of Rome*, the Parliament was subject to the charge of incompetence in the sense that it had limited powers. The so–called 'democratic deficit' of the European Union was addressed at length in the 1997 Intergovernmental Conference (IGC). In this conference, earlier recommendations put forward by Justus Lipsius were endorsed. Lipsius had suggested that

> An enhancement of the role of the EP, a strengthening of the role of the national parliaments, an improvement in the representative nature of voting in Council and the virtual blanket use of majority voting are the

> recommended means for making the European Union more democratic (*IGC Briefing 23*, 1997 online).

Anderson and Eliassen (1995) and Wessels (1995) have also discussed the perceived problem of the democratic deficit that the parliament works within. This democratic deficit has been addressed to a small degree in the changes brought into effect by the Maastricht and Amsterdam treaties. The Codecision procedure, Cooperation procedure, and the Assent procedure have all been enhanced under the Treaty of Amsterdam and there are new consultative, budgetary and compositional powers (see the *Committee on Institutional Affairs* 1997, online). Qualified Majority Voting (QMV), as has already been mentioned, is a not–quite majority voting system with a safeguard against any power monopoly by the five big players. Each member state has a vote, comparative to their population, but to reach a majority at least seventy–one percent must be in favour. The 1997 Intergovernmental briefing papers notes that:

> The Commission stresses the importance of creating a people's Europe, which must be made simpler and more democratic. In the area of justice and home affairs, it points out the absence of democratic and judicial review, which it proposes should be remedied by making qualified majority voting the rule, giving Parliament a greater role and involving the national parliaments more closely in Union affairs (*IGC Briefing 23*, 1997 online).

The European Parliament, however, still has lesser powers than the Council or Commission, despite the fact that neither of these two authorities could operate in the absence of the Parliament. In addition to these three bodies, there are two other institutional powers that work in favour of the liberal democratic agenda of social justice in the European Union. These are the European Court of Justice and the Court of Auditors.

The European Courts – internal and external judiciaries

The European Court of Justice (ECJ) has two primary roles. The first is an interpretive role in which the ECJ seeks to ensure that all proposals from the Commission or the Council conform to the definitions of the treaties. The ECJ can declare void any acts that

infringe the treaties. The second role is an adjudicative role in which the Court has the capacity to make legally binding decisions on matters of dispute. Each member state appoints a judge to the Court and six Advocates General are also selected to advise the Court. Individual citizens, corporate interests, member states' governments and the European Parliament may all take cases to the Court. A Court of First Instance, established under the *Single European Act* in 1987, was introduced to deal with individual and corporate cases and to handle cases brought by employees of the European Community institutions on conditions of service, promotion and discipline.

The ECJ handled 144 cases directly related to 'social policy' in the period 1988–1993 and made 97 preliminary rulings and 47 direct actions with respect to these cases (Leonard 1994, 61). The role of the Court has been significant in the area of social policy. As Meehan (1993) points out, the European Court of Justice has a critical role to play in maintaining the rights of European citizens.

The Court of Auditors (established in 1977) has an internal watchdog role with respect to the European Community's own financial arrangements. As with the European Court of Justice, their staffs are appointed by national government with one representative for each member state. Lodge (1989, 54) sums this up:

> As the EC's external 'financial conscience', it is responsible for the audit of the legality, regularity and sound management of EC finances ... The EP has made full use of the opportunities opened up by the Court's investigatory powers, opinions and annual report to strengthen its own control over EC expenditure and to lend weight to its annual decisions granting a discharge on the implementation of the EC budget.

This mutual dependence between the Court of Auditors and the Parliament is a further demonstration of the interdependence of the key authorities in the European Community, but also a reflection of the innovatory character of the European Community. I discuss these innovative capacities in more detail in Section 5.4, where I suggest that various innovative aspects of European Community bureaucracy and organisational authority have explanatory power in relation to issues of social policy.

The statutory authorities were established relatively close in time to the beginning of the European Union and concerns relating to issues of 'social policy' were more readily accepted on the adjudicative agenda at that time. The non–federal but distinctly supranational constitution of the authorities ensures that no single perspective on social issues is ever relied upon. To the degree to which the European institutions have supranational authority over the fifteen member states, social issues can be acknowledged and negotiated in a 'public space'. This authority has been renegotiated with every new accession and is often in a contestatory relationship to the authority of the governments of the member states: the debates centred on subsidiarity are crucial to debates about social policy.

5.3: Key constraints

In this section, I note some of the constraints under which these key European Community authorities operate in relation to social policy development. The constraints are largely 'institutional' in the sense that they only exist because the policy is being promulgated in a complex institutionalised milieu. However it is also possible to identify specific aspects of these constraints in terms of material time / space and financial arrangements. The magnitude and complexity of the supranational organisation of the Union militates against an uncomplicated and streamlined operation. In some areas, such as competition policy, and agricultural protection, the Union institutions have been seen to be powerful and effective. In other areas they have been accused of being sclerotic. In the area of social policy I have identified three key constraints to the promulgation of effective and responsive policy initiatives: institutional, temporo-spatial and fiscal.

Institutional constraints

The institutional constraints are perhaps the most self–evident. Taylor (1983) effectively critiqued the limits of European powers in his book *The Limits to European Integration.* Individual member states do have very significant powers to constrain European Commission initiatives. They also have considerable say in the composition of the key institutions. Appointees make up the Commission and the Council. The Commissioners,

though directly appointed by the member states' governments, are expected to transfer their loyalty and impartiality to the supranational constituency. As Holland (1993) points out, the absence of any politically unified perspective amongst Commissioners may either give rise to a dynamic and fruitful synergy or, as easily, produce serious policy sclerosis. The five year delay between the first and second poverty initiative has been attributed to these sclerotic tendencies (Room 1990).

The Council, on the other hand, comprises Ministers of the existing governments of the fifteen member states. These ministers are under no obligation to seek impartial outcomes. The recent debates about the Social Charter are the obvious example of this, but so too is the blocking of *Poverty 4*. There is neither time nor space in this project to consider this aspect of the European Union as fully as it warrants. I have tried to bear these constraints in mind, however, when I have speculated on the outcomes of social policy initiatives.

Temporo-spatial constraints

Another side to these bureaucratic constraints is the length of time the European Community procedures take. Few actions can be taken without referral back to the Council of Ministers, the Commission, the Parliament, or all three. In the setting up of the Poverty Programmes, for example, these delays have been marked. Figure 5.5 illustrates the decision–making path under the Maastricht Treaty. If anything, the extension of Parliament's powers, though democratically laudable, has attenuated the decision–making processes. The extent of these delays literally allows issues, such as *Poverty 4,* to slip from the agenda or to be reconstructed as something that is no longer necessary as alternative policies have been substituted.

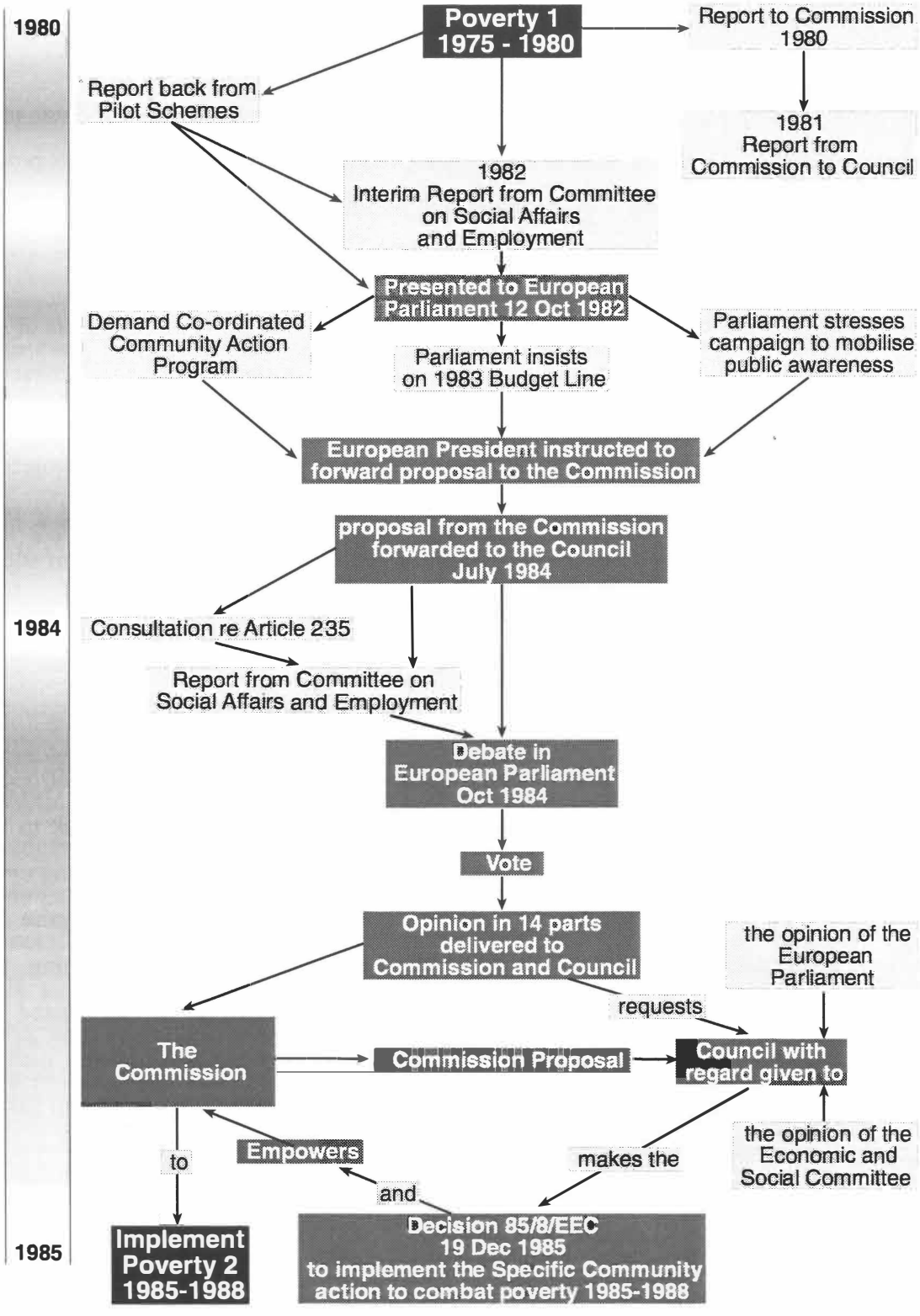


Figure 5.5: Treaty of European Union – institutional decision making path

The spatial constraints have already been alluded to in the map (Figure 5.4) and are also discussed in some detail in Chapter 6, as are further impacts that can be identified in the relationship between supranational and local social policy scales. Unlike corporate business that is increasingly and apparently successfully organising at a supranational scale, social affairs appear to be best negotiated at the local scale. 'Poor bodies' and / or socially excluded bodies, do not tend to be highly mobile and, as I will also argue in Chapter 9, do not tend to have generic needs. Negotiating social policy at the supranational scale is inherently paradoxical.

Fiscal constraints

The financial constraint is arguably the most significant. Some outline of the European Community's budgetary competence with respect to social policy is necessary if the limitations and frustrations of the social agenda are to be understood. According to Leonard (1994, 76), social policy was allocated 8.8 percent of the 1994 budget. This expenditure comes primarily through the Structural Funds.[30] Recent reform of the Structural Funds has rationalised the channels and procedures for securing budget allocations and has ostensibly increased budget allocations to these Funds for social policy to 31.6 percent of the total budget.

The provision of budgetary resource to social policy is neither straightforward nor secure. The Poverty Programmes are not directly funded from any of the Structural Funds' allocations. This curious anomaly requires some explanation.

The Structural Funds

Explaining the role of the Structural Funds is made more complex by the fact that the bases for funding are constantly subject to change. These Funds fall into three main

[30] There are five Structural Funds. The first four aim to reduce inequalities between different regions and social groups and include "The European Regional Development Fund" (ERDF), "The European Social Fund" (ESF), "The European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund" (EAGGF) (Guidance Section), and "The Financial Instrument for Fisheries" (FIFG) (*Structural Funds* online). The fifth, the "Cohesion Fund", is a separate and more recent instrument.

categories: the European Social Fund (ESF), the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), and European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF). Under the Maastricht Treaty the European Cohesion Fund (ECF) provides a fourth area of funding for initiatives that could loosely be described as 'social'. The 1994–1999 funding decisions show that resources have been allocated to new spatial orders as well as to new sectoral targets and have been encapsulated within a new framework of initiatives.

The kinds of financial constraint on social policy development can be illustrated in part by looking at this idea of allocating funding to these different spatial orders. The concept of spatial ordering refers not only to the arrival of new countries within the Union, but also to the size of regions and sub-regions that are identified. As I explain in Chapter 6, the 'Objective Regions' are arbitrary divisions that show regions which include whole countries, large parts of countries, very small parts of countries and parts that overlap between countries. These divisions of space for the allocation of Structural Funds are also arbitrarily changed from time to time. Older orders of claim on the Structural Funds have to compete with new orders to maintain levels of funding. The consequence for policy initiatives is that funds are seldom secure for any length of time, and are made contestable on the basis of shifting borders.

A second and similar constraint evolves out of funding policy reform. There have been two major reforms of the Structural Funds: the first in 1988 and the second in 1993. These Funds operate in conjunction with the Community support frameworks (CSFs) and the single programming documents (SPDs) which are negotiated between the member states and the Commission on the basis of regional or national development plans (COM 1998c, *Guide to the Community Initiatives*, 11). The Structural Funds concern themselves only with European–wide activities and are supplementary to other, more specific activities. For the 1994–1999 period the Funds were allocated to contribute to the achievement of the five Priority Objectives of structural policies. Policy initiatives that fell outside the scope of the Priority Objectives failed to secure funding. The Poverty Programmes have been caught between these shifts in the allocation of resources at the European level. I discuss this more fully in Chapter 6.

The European Union can undoubtedly be identified as a provisionally stable political system despite these constraints. Just how provisional this stability is was evident in the months of crisis precipitated by the move towards a deepening of the economic, political and social bases for union under the *Treaty of European Union* 1992 (Gold 1992, Hurwitz *et al.* 1991, Steiner 1991, Williams 1991). More recently it has been tested by the full resignation of the twenty Commissioners. The coherence within the European Community system theoretically derives from the shared goals articulated in the founding document of the *Treaty of Rome* 1957. The fifteen present member states acceded to the European Union on the basis of a shared understanding of those theoretical principles (Kerr 1986, Lodge 1983). The Union also has a legal and bureaucratic coherence (Green *et al.* 1991, Steiner 1991).

The shared goals and shared understanding of theoretical principles arguably contribute to the idea that the European Union is innovative in some ways. In closing this section on the Union I focus briefly on these key theoretical principles in the context of their contribution to the innovative capacity of the union.

5.4: Innovative principles

Elizabeth Meehan (1993, x) suggests that in the European Union:

> It has become commonplace now to admit the innovatory features of the Community: that it is neither wholly intergovernmental nor wholly supranational, yet also both; that it is a legal federation, yet not a political federation; that it is not a state but has some state–like features.

Meehan alludes here to the complexity and ambiguity of the European Economic Community as a twentieth century political organisation. John Pinder (1991, 1), British geographer and European Economic Community specialist, has also noted that:

> ... the European Community is a remarkable innovation in relations among states. Its institutions are more powerful than those of conventional international organisations and offer more scope for development.

If, as Pinder (1991) and Meehan (1993) suggest, the European Community is a remarkable innovation in relations between states, on what terms might such a claim be

substantiated? There are, I believe, three broad areas in which the innovative capacity of the European Union can be determined. In the first instance, as has already been mentioned, it involves fifteen member states in a non-federal relationship, which is subject to constant renegotiation. The Union is also innovative in the sense that it has been subject to unprecedented constitutional reorganisation in a very short time period and appears to have some flexible capacity as a result of its relative newness (the constitution has not yet been elevated to sacred status).

In the second instance, as has already been noted, European Community policy extends across a broad range of policy areas: not solely economic, but also fiscal, political and social and this versatility also comprises an innovative capacity. The policy compass established in 1957 was a curious mix of altruistic, strategic and economic motives. In the 1990s, the trace of these broader commitments is still visible in both the claims for social policy and for political unification.

In the third, and perhaps most significant instance, the European Community has considerable supranational powers and is able to constitute at least some of these powers independently from the national authorities of the member states. This is not a simple or straightforward relationship. As Holland (1993, 90) explains:

> The normal distinction between executive and legislative functions, or between bureaucratic and political roles, inadequately describes the Community's innovative and to date unique institutional structure ... [T]he Community is a legal system and its competencies are derived from these [1952, *Treaty of Paris*; 1957, *Treaty of Rome*; 1986, *Single European Act*; 1992, *Treaty on European Union*] collective documents; but the equivalent to constitutional conventions also play a part in the Community's behaviour, most noticeably in relation to European Political Cooperation ... In sum, the Community is based on a hybrid formal and informal system which has shown remarkable flexibility and adaptability in its short life.

Thus, the European Union is idiosyncratic and original in the flexibility of its constitution, in the range of policy concerns to which it pays attention, in the contestable scope of its supranational powers and in its hybridity. Ironically, one further innovative capacity lies in the extent to which this hybrid system is held together by tensile

contradictions produced by key theoretical principles that are played out between the Union and its constitutive states. These principles, including the principles of subsidiarity, harmonisation, solidarity, social cohesion and partnership, which are also developing in unique and idiosyncratic ways, condition the development of policy and deserve more specific discussion.

Subsidiarity

As has already been indicated in earlier discussion (see Chapter 1), the principle of subsidiarity states that problems are best solved in the subsystem where they arise. This is similar to the idea of management by exception. Subsystems are encouraged to resolve their conflicts themselves without referring them to higher authority. Whatever solution is adopted, the subsystem executes it. The Commission has adopted a very scientistic notion of subsidiarity (Wheeler 1970, 133) and applied it to the political relations between states.

In European Union terms the principle is now defined in the *SCADplus* (1998a, online) glossary as:

> The subsidiarity principle is intended to ensure that **decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen** and that constant checks are made as to whether action at Community level is justified in the light of the possibilities available at national, regional or local level. Specifically, it is the principle whereby the **Union does not take action** (except in the areas which fall within its exclusive competence) **unless it is more effective than action taken at national, regional or local level.** It is closely bound up with the principles of proportionality and necessity, which require that any action by the Union should not go beyond what is necessary to achieve the objectives of the Treaty (*SCADplus* 1998a).

Subsidiarity is paradoxical in as much as it conflates two existing discourses – one underwritten by the 'Church' and the other underwritten by 'Science' – and adopts them as a unified principle of governance. It deploys the 'Church' concept of self- sufficiency to produce an instrument for developing a less conflictual form of political collectivity. Since the consent of the member states is mandatory for the resolution of conflicts and the execution of Community decisions, such outcomes are sought without reference to a

higher authority whenever possible. Thus, subsidiarity can be seen to be a political strategy through which the integrity of the member states can be seen to be maintained (see Schilling 1995 online for a detailed discussion of this point).

The idea that the principle is sound because it ensures that the power of decision–making is held at the most local level could be, and has been, challenged. The implication seems to be that the principle will ensure 'common good' outcomes but there is never any guarantee that the smallest unit will or can produce the most effective outcome. The problem with the principle of subsidiarity, as I see it, is that it is invoked at the supranational level but is discursively deployed at the national level. The European Union's commitment to the principle may well ensure that national policies do not become consumed by the whims of the Eurocracy, but the logical extension of the principle may create problems of a different order. The British Government, for example, can invoke the principle in order to abrogate responsibility for some impoverished neighbourhood at the local level on the assumption that that neighbourhood is best equipped to deal with the homeless on its streets. Similarly, a local or state authority can decline responsibility for severely handicapped or mentally disturbed people through a claim that families are the most appropriate care-givers for their kin.

Increasingly, at the European Union scale, subsidiarity is invoked to discourage Commissioners or Commission staff from developing social policy at a European level. Indeed, the Poverty Programmes have fallen into abeyance precisely because they fail the 'subsidiarity test' and appear to require member states' governments to endorse a set of initiatives that clearly contravene the principle. Policy which disrupts the logic of subsidiarity is understood to also contradict the principle of harmonisation.

Harmonisation

Ironically, harmonisation is more of a technical than a philosophical paradigm for the European Union. In its strict technical sense the process of harmonisation refers to priority setting of common standards for goods and services produced within the Union.

Congruency, in the standards adhered to for a wide range of products, makes for greater administrative ease and simpler inter–state procedures and has been the motivating force behind the establishment of the customs union, the *Treaty on Economic and Monetary Union*, the common currency and portable qualifications standards.

The principle of harmonisation is not solely a matter of technicalities, however. Harmonisation of services pushes the discourse of intra–group solidarity towards the development of congruent working conditions, salaries and wages. On this footing, harmonisation becomes a crucial tool in social policy debates. It is for the 'common good' of Europe, of the Union, of all the member states, that workers in one place are treated equally with those in another place. If workers in Germany are getting high wages is it fair for workers in Portugal to be paid a pittance? Although ostensibly an instrument of economic policy, harmonisation has innovative capacity in the area of social policy to the extent that it is used as a very cogent argument both against 'social dumping' and the internal undermining of the principle of solidarity.

Trade Compass (online) suggests that:

> Proponents of Community action argued that **EU–wide legislative initiatives were necessary** in order to **harmonize member state policies** in areas such as **labor markets**, **occupational safety** and **health, worker information and consultation** and **part–time work** to ensure that workers benefited from the economic gains of the Single Market and **that their wages and working conditions were not eroded by the possibility of social dumping and unfair competition based on low labor standards** ... [In] 1990 a Social Action Program containing 47 specific labor market initiatives designed to implement the broad principles of the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights for Workers [was established].

Harmonisation of labour conditions, for example, was one of the key grounds for the British government's refusal to ratify the Social Charter in 1994. Debates regarding the harmonisation of particular European Union directives often invoke debates about the principle of subsidiarity and the two concepts are closely connected. Harmonisation and subsidiarity can also be regarded as being in tension with certain other principles – particularly solidarity and partnership.

'Solidarity' as I have also already noted in Chapter 1 is a complex metaphor invoked across a range of discursive domains in the European Union from the labour movement, the church, the family and the state. It appeals to powerful notions of community and is related in complex ways to ethics of personal responsibility and taking care of others. It is the basis for calls for unity amongst ethnic groups, parishes and nations. The notion of partnership between private businesses and non-government organisations, for example, is a key mechanism, as I explain shortly, by which European policy provision shifts the discourse of responsibility for social provision from a 'top down' to a 'bottom up' approach.

In the context of the European Union, the principle of cohesion is enshrined in the articles of the founding treaty:

> Title *xiv*. Economic and social cohesion: Article 130a. In order to promote its overall harmonious development, the Community shall develop and **pursue its actions leading to the strengthening of its economic and social cohesion**.
>
> In particular, the Community shall **aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions** and the backwardness of the least–favoured regions, including rural areas (*Treaty of Rome*, online).

The core concern with cohesion is the way that the concept has become closely tied to the idea of economic integration (see Begg online; de Pinninck 1995, online; Mortensen 1995, online; Quest 1994, online). In order for the member states to be cohesive, the levels of inter–state competition must be reduced. Cohesion implies a situation in which the member states strive for the success of 'Europe' as a cohesive whole, rather than their own national constituency. The development of regional policies (which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6) is a direct outcome from the idea of cohesion. The metaphorical strength of the concept of cohesion is discussed further in Chapter 8. Cohesion is also closely tied to the principle of subsidiarity and although this has already been briefly discussed I return to it here because it is central to my concern about the

motivations behind some of the discursive shifts in the language of social policy that occur at the European Union level.

Partnership

The principle of partnership is less frequently or at least less ambiguously alluded to in Union rhetoric. One of the founding innovations in the EEC in the *Treaty of Rome* enshrined the commitment to partnership between the three core sectors of society: government representatives, business associations and representative trade unions. This tripartite arrangement has been formalised through the Economic and Social Committee (ESC) which is an autonomous institutional body at the European level that has its own powers and authority invested by the Commission and the Council. The tripartite basis is unusual: its appointed members represent on equal terms employers, trade unions and 'general interest' bodies such as farmers, doctors, shopkeepers, and consumers (Kerr 1986, 67). This has led commentators like Taylor (1983, 44) to observe, disparagingly, that:

> they were appointed for a four year period by their governments and this would suggest that they were unlikely to adopt a challenging stance in relation to their governments: in effect the ESC was a *quango*.

The power of the ESC is derogated through its association with the European Parliament and its powers have also been enhanced under the *Treaty of Amsterdam*.

The principle of partnership also operates at the level of local initiatives and has become crucially important as a signifier of the necessary relationship between social policy initiatives and business. Social policy for local communities must now be supported by sponsorship from the business sectors of those communities. Trade union organisations are sometimes in a position to also offer sponsorship, or as it is more properly called, partnership.

Within this environment of specific histories, institutions and powers, effective synergies and constraints, the European Commission has faced and still faces the 'problem' of poverty. In the next section of this discussion, I focus on the poverty

policies more directly. All of the broad conditions outlined in the previous section need to be borne in mind when considering the fate of the Poverty Programmes.

5.5: The Poverty Programmes 1974–1994

The *Treaty of the European Economic Communities* (online), negotiated in the post–war years of the early 1950s, explicitly recognised the complementary role of 'social policy' in the production of economic policy. The High Contracting Parties (the Heads of State of the then six member states) agreed, in 1957, to a document that stated:

> The Community shall have as its task, by establishing a common market and progressively approximating the economic policies of Member States, to promote ... a continuous and balanced expansion, an increase in stability, **an accelerated raising of standards of living** and closer relations between the States belonging to it (*Treaties Establishing the European Communities* 1993, 223).

As has already been noted, the European Commission developed a detailed Social Action Programme (SAP) in the early 1970s and within this programme established particular poverty initiatives. The *Bulletin* noted specifically that:

> **greater prosperity has not resolved the social problems of the Community**, and indeed in some cases has exacerbated them. There are the problems of those regions and groups which have not fully participated in the general advance, and which, in some cases, find themselves falling further and further behind (*Bulletin* 1974 (2), 13).

According to Lodge (1989, 311):

> The Council adopted a Social Action Programme which the Commission welcomed as 'the first attempt by the [EEC] to draw up a coherent social policy setting out in a purposeful way the initial practical steps on the road to the ultimate goal of European Social Union.' The SAP had three broad aims: (i) full and better employment; (ii) improvement of living and working conditions; and (iii) greater participation of the social partners in the economic and social decisions of the EC.

The Poverty Programmes were conceived as part of a larger move towards the harmonisation of social security and social welfare policies in the then nine member states and were part of a parcel of activities called the Social Action Programme (see Appendix 6 for an abbreviated time–line of the development of the Poverty Programmes).

Unlike other programmes and policies, the Poverty Programmes addressed the question of welfare for those who were excluded from the categories of either 'worker' or 'citizen'. In this they represented a new initiative for the Community. In the increasingly complex supranational world of the European Economic Communities, immigration and contestation of citizenship, alongside the restructuring of the relations of production, a situation arose in which many people were not eligible for social welfare because they fell outside the definition of worker–citizen. In the initial formulation of the Poverty Programmes, the legislative constraints imposed by the limits of the European Economic Communities' authority were side–stepped through the articulation of the goal of constructing a 'European Social Union'.

In 1985, it was reckoned (COM 1992 (542))[31] that some 50 million people in the twelve member states lived at, or below, a poverty line that is differentially calculated for each state. There is a suggestion here that whereas economic or fiscal policy resides in the public domain, social policy is more often conceived of as a 'private' concern. Wise and Gibb (1993, 126) observe that "social policy was something ... to keep within the National Sphere."

Community intervention in the area of 'persistent poverty' disrupted accepted ideologies of social policy being regarded as the prerogative of the nation–state. In particular, the instigation of Poverty Programmes, which would operate across the spectrum of the EEC as a whole to the specific sites of intervention and into particular localities,

[31] All documents published by the Commission of the European Communities are cited in the text as "COM" with an appropriate date and document number (in brackets) where applicable. In the final references this COM is spelled out in full as "Commission of the European Communities" with the accompanying date and document number (in brackets) also included.

represented a unique opportunity for social policy to be promulgated outside the constraints of the nation–state.

Hantrais (1995, 146) points out in her discussion of social exclusion, that at the outset (1957 and the signing of EEC treaty):

> The emphasis on employment-related rights in the Community's and Union's Treaties and Charter meant that attention was focused on the need to protect workers against major sources of hardship due to incapacity for work as a result of ill health, disability, unemployment, old age and other contingencies.

The at–risk groups changed over the years between the 1950s and the 1970s. By the mid 1970s the Commission was looking for opportunities to set in place policies that could also address the "new poverty" (Room 1990) that was being produced by the industrial restructuring under the Single European Market. Hantrais (1995, 146) goes on to note:

> New poverty was recognised as being qualitatively different from the poverty experienced hitherto, since it affected people from a much wider range of socio-economic groups.

The long term unemployed, lone parents, and young families with children were noted for their increased vulnerability to poverty.

The response, at the European level, came from three directions. First, according to Hantrais (1995, 148), the Structural Funds continued to focus attention on the capacities of the working population by providing vocational training support, re-settlement allowances and re-employment strategies. The ability of these instruments to counter poverty lay in their focus on regional disparities (see Chapter 6 for an elaboration of this point).

Second, the Single European Market, the Community Charter and the Maastricht Treaty all emphasised economic and social cohesion and recognised the uneven costs and benefits of economic restructuring. Although these instruments paid scant explicit attention to poverty in the early stages, by 1992 the Council of the European

Communities had issued what was in effect a 'Guaranteed Income Recommendation' that recognised:

> **The basic right of a person to sufficient resources and social assistance to live in a manner compatible with human dignity** ... [to be organised by] fixing the amount of resources considered sufficient to cover essential needs with regard to respect for human dignity, taking account of living standards and price levels in the Member State concerned, for different types and sizes of household (COM 1992b (441)).

The third strategy that Hantrais (1995) identifies is the Poverty Programmes.

Funding for the Poverty Programmes

As has already been mentioned, the Poverty Programmes were very small initiatives in European Community terms. *Poverty 3*, the most ambitious of the programmes, received an allocation of 55 mecus (million European Currency Units) compared with the 13 mecus allocated to the *Poverty 1* and the 20 mecus allocated *Poverty 2*. When these figures are compared with the budget giant in the European Union – the Common Agricultural Policy – the spending can be seen to be small indeed. The appropriations requested for the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund in 1996 (Guarantee Section only) were at the level of 41,805 mecu (*Twenty-Seventh Financial Report*, EAGGF online).

The projects specified within the Poverty Programme each apply to the Commission for a grant. This application must be matched, in each case, by a 50–55 percent allocation from a 'local partner' (national, regional or local government sources). This method of funding reflects the experimental, small scale, localised and data-collection focus of the Poverty Programmes. Although the programmes were instigated at the Community level, the only Community-wide objective for the programmes was that of building up a data-base about the extent of core problems and possible best-practice approaches to those problems.

During the development of the Poverty Programmes' initiative, much of the work that is seen to be necessary in terms of 'combating social exclusion' has become written in the scope of other, more substantial European Community activities. Georis, Mernagh and Mylonakis (1994) and the Central Unit Report (1994) recognise this feature of the Programmes and identify opportunities for 'synergies' between the Poverty Programmes and the Structural Funds. As Georis *et al.* (1994, 3) note:

> Thus, the recent reforms of the Structural Funds (July 1993) include, in their target groups, 'people who are vulnerable to social exclusion.' The European Social Fund (the ESF) has explicitly been given the task of facilitating these people's insertion[32] into the labour market. *The significance of this is that the fight against exclusion is no longer limited to a few Community initiatives and programmes with small budgets, but is part of the structural operations programme.*

The Social Action Programme was supported by funds levied from the member states under the budget of the European Social Fund (ESF). Leonard (1994, 143) suggests that the ESF established under Article 123 of the *Treaty of Rome* is the cornerstone of the Union's social policy. By 1994 the financial commitments of this ESF amounted to 6,460 mecus or 8.8 percent of the EU budget. It was from the ESF funds that the European Commission allocated the specific funds for the three successive supranational poverty action programmes.

Poverty 1

In 1975 a 'programme of pilot schemes and studies to combat poverty' was set up to run through 1975 and 1976 to:

> promote or provide financial assistance for pilot schemes which test and develop new methods of helping persons beset by or threatened with poverty in the Community, and to promote, carry out or provide financial assistance for pilot studies to improve understanding of the nature, causes,

[32] The concept of 'insertion into the labour market' is significant in European Union social policy. It is also significant in the context of the discursive shift from 'poverty' to 'exclusion' as I explain shortly. The concept of 'insertion' *per se*, however, is not one that I deal with in any depth in this research (but see Chapter 8).

> scope and mechanics of poverty within the Community, within the limits of the relevant appropriations (*Council Decision L322/28*, 12 Dec. 1977).

This programme was extended to run to 1979. The main achievements of *Poverty 1* were the development of a precedent for supranational social policy directed at poverty, the establishment of a sustainable infrastructure and the identification of specific individuals who could lead, initiate and coordinate local anti–poverty action.

Between 1979 and 1982 poverty initiatives fell in abeyance and were not reconstituted until 1984. The European Council Decision of October 1982 recognised both that Europe has

> a large number of poor people which are not only long established and persistent but which is growing with the long–term economic crisis ... [there was] enormous danger of political instability and threat to the democratic principles of our societies which results from this tendency of [restructuring] pushing more and more people towards poverty (*Council Decision* 12 Oct. 1982).

As a result, the Council demanded a budget allocation of 12 mecus to launch a coordinated Community Action Programme to Combat Poverty – the so–called Second Poverty Programme, *Poverty 2.*

Poverty 2

The European Council Decision of 1984, which ratified this second initiative, clearly spells out the rationale and purposes of Community intervention in poverty. It states that "the persistence of poverty within the Community is incompatible" with the articles of the *Treaty of Rome* upon which the Economic Community is based. As the emphasis in the following excerpt indicates, combative metaphors were used:

> The Commission may implement an anti–poverty programme in order to **combat** poverty more effectively [than is possible under national economic and social policies] and carry out positive measures to help the underprivileged and identify the best means of **attacking** the causes of poverty and alleviating its effects in the Community (*Council Decision,* 19 Dec 1984).

What, in effect, transpired from this curiously combative rhetoric were 91 separate action research projects in different local settings within the Community. In order to give some cohesion to what was being undertaken, the Commission identified eight 'poverty' themes, which would then provide a focus for funding appeals, including the long term unemployed, youth unemployed, the elderly, single parent families, migrants and refugees, and marginals.[33] The themes also identified specific poverty in rural areas and specific poverty in urban areas.

These action projects were by way of pilot programmes and the information gathered from them was collated, translated and disseminated by the Commission to national governments, welfare agencies and interested parties in a fairly comprehensive fashion. A great deal of detailed statistical data was collected for the first time and the full nature and extent of what 'poverty' looked like – what it comprised, how it was constituted, who could be understood to 'be poor' - in the twelve member states began to take shape.

Poverty 3

In 1989 the Third European Poverty Programme, *Poverty 3*, was established with a budget of 55 mecu. As with *Poverty 2* it had a focus on action projects. There were 39 projects identified and these were divided into 29 Model Actions, including integrated urban projects and integrated rural projects in 11 countries and 12 Innovatory Initiatives (*Poverty 3 – Developments and Achievements* 1994, 6). Luxembourg was the one country not represented in the anti-poverty initiatives – perhaps because poverty was understood to be less significant there or because no specific proposals for projects were put forward. The innovative initiatives were small scale projects established to test the limits of anti-poverty action by working with novel approaches and experimental ideas.

Poverty 3 was more centrally organised than the previous two Programmes. It was coordinated through a Central Unit (located in Lille, France) and had nine national

[33] The term 'marginals' appears, in the Commission texts, to be used specifically for people who have been forced into illegal activities through lack of access to a so–called 'normal job', or those who can no longer live in a so–called 'normal domestic environment'.

Research and Development Units. A fifteen person European Observatory was established under the coordination of Professor Graham Room who was the then Director of the Centre for the Research in European Social and Employment Policy at the University of Bath. The Commission concurrently established five international networks to share models of policy and practice and to bring together those working in the fields of women, elderly persons, the homeless, rural dwellers, and *universités populaires*.

The details of *Poverty 3* are presented in a series of submissions made to the United Kingdom House of Lords (*House of Lords, Submissions to Sub–Committee C – the 9th Report 1993–4*). In these reports written evidence was provided in a series of memoranda. Each of the submissions was built around a series of ten questions designed to identify the justification for, impact of, and lessons from *Poverty 3*. In addition, the questions were designed to elicit information about the role of the European Union, ongoing prospects for funding and the transnational potential of the projects. Katherine Duffy's (1994) stand–alone submission on behalf of the United Kingdom's Research and Development Unit of *Poverty 3* provides comprehensive answers to the key questions. In response to the (facile?) question "what explanation do you see for the increase in recent years of people living in poverty? ..." Duffy (1994, 31) provided the following response:

> **The central argument of the response to this question is that the burden of restructuring is being shifted onto those least able to bear it, the already disadvantaged, whose voice is least heard.** In the long–term this is not a costless policy, there are costs to poor health and education and in the social exclusion and disorder that may follow a 'two thirds / one third' society. The relevant issue is not whether there is a cost to restructuring, but who will bear it and how that burden should be shared.

The testimony given to the House of Lords was an attempt to sway the British Government to be in favour of the *Poverty 3* social exclusion initiatives so that the programmes could be extended for a further term.

At the European level, the so-called Central Unit for the *Poverty 3* programme had also developed a rationale for extending the programmes by identifying three key strategies that could inform processes of accountability. Partnership, multidimensionality and participation were established as core principles that were to form part of the contractual obligations of the Model Actions and were thus a useful set of concepts from which to develop accountability strategies. These three concepts have since become key signifiers in the debates surrounding social exclusion and the need for on-going anti-poverty/exclusion initiatives.

As with so many of the concepts used in the multi-lingual, multi-administrative milieux of European Union social policy production all three of these concepts have multiple meanings in a variety of contexts. One of the significant contributions of the Central Unit was the efforts made to provide some provisional stability for concepts and terms that were emerging through the reconceptualisation of 'poverty' as 'social exclusion'. A series of booklets produced in 1994 by the Central Unit under the collective title *Poverty 3: The Lessons of the Poverty 3 Programme* explicitly address these principles and I describe each largely in relation to the *Poverty 3* Central Unit perspective.

Partnership

Partnership was the first of the three strategies to be explicitly established (*Poverty 3 – Developments and Achievements* 1994, 29). It appears as a concept explicitly tied to the notion of 'participation', in a 1992 Commission document:

> Social exclusion can be combated only through the active participation of all those who contribute – via their political, institution, professional, associative and civic responsibilities – to such development. Above all the exclusion problem needs the greatest possible participation of the populations actually concerned, who should be fully fledged **partners** in any integration drive ...(Com 1992 (542), 25).

By 1994, 'partnership' had become a central term in the social exclusion discourse. (Becher, Estivill, Papantoniou and Zanier 1994). It had its own role in relation to *Poverty 3,* it had multiple applications in the context of European Union social policy,

and drew its strength from its place amongst the diverse administrative traditions of the member states. Although Becher *et al.* (1994, 5) conclude that the polyvalence of the term is in part its strength they also offer the following "starting point definition". Partnership is:

> the process by which **two or more agents of a different nature** agreed upon a means of achieving a specific objective, the result of which represents more than the sum of the two halves. It could also be an action which they could not complete alone, or which is different from what they would do habitually. Each would maintain its individuality in the venture which would include risk and potential benefit which would be shared by those partners (Becher *et al.* 1994, 5).

At a less abstract level Becher *et al.* (1994, 8) suggest that "business, union and employers' organisations be consulted, but also the local authorities and the regions as well." The Commission report (COM 93 (435), 58) identifies that:

> Right from the start, partnership at a local level was put forward as one of the fundamental principles of *Poverty 3*, as it was seen as the most appropriate instrument for mounting a suitable response to the complex process of social exclusion. **Applicants to the programme, in particular pilot projects, were required to devise and implement their projects within the framework of a joint undertaking with both public and private partners.**

A detailed description of partnership in action is provided by Jim Walsh in his Report on the Implementation of the Third European Union Poverty Programme by the Paul Partnership, Limerick (Model Action 16). Walsh (1994, 5) notes that the project was established as a limited company that comprised 15 local, regional and national organisations which represented community, social, statutory and voluntary sectors. Juggling all of these bodies (represented by a nominated 24 person management committee) was, in Walsh's words (1994, 6) "a great challenge".

These partnerships were complex, difficult to establish and maintain but essential if a project was to receive funding from the Commission (usually on something close to a 50-50 financial agreement). As Becher *et al.* (1994, 9) note, developing a 'partnership culture' was less difficult for some of the member states than for others. Germany, the

Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Luxembourg and Denmark, for example, all have various longstanding traditions of social consultation between the state, business representatives and major NGOs including the trade unions. In France, Italy, Portugal and Spain (and Ireland) the role of the Church is also significant in partnership models as a result of particular Roman Catholic histories of charitable organisation. In Greece there were few models of partnership available to the organisers of *Poverty 3* projects.

Ideally, at the Union level and specifically in relation to social exclusion, Becher *et al.* (1994, 8) suggest that partnership might eventually involve:

> the introduction of a specific round-table consultation process between the European Anti-poverty Network (EAPN), the European Trade Union Confederation [ETUC], the Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederation (UNICE) and the COFACE (Confederation of Family Organisations in the European Union) on every occasion that a guideline or a Directive or a regulation proposed by the Commission could impact on exclusion.

According to Katherine Duffy (1994, 6), "Partnership is a means of encouraging horizontal integration of agency policy and expanding the scope for effective local response". It is through the discourse of 'partnership' that the discourse of 'multidimensionality' also came to be developed in the context of *Poverty 3*.

Multidimensionality

According to Pierre Georis and Bernard Simonin (1994) this was an unfamiliar concept in many of the European Union member states and because it was unfamiliar it had to be 'talked up' in the publications associated with *Poverty 3*. The self-explanatory English language meaning – that a thing has many facets or dimensions – was carried over into the *Poverty 3* rhetoric but not without problems. On the one hand its use was designed to encourage a focus on 'the multidimensional and relative nature of poverty'. In other words, the 'problem' of poverty was multidimensional. This sense of the concept is clearly articulated by Patrick Commins (1993 cited in Georis and Simonin (1994, 3)) who provides the following comprehensive explanation:

> That **[social] exclusion is the result of a combination of contributing factors** is now an accepted fact ... The practical implication of this fact is that the poor and the excluded are confronted with a whole range of problems at the same time: low incomes, modest accommodation, insufficient education etc. ... As a result, the **social and economic integration of the least privileged groups requires multiple, co-ordinated actions which respond to the multidimensional nature of the problem.** The projects are therefore expected to tackle every aspect of the problems that obstruct these people's path towards integration, in order that their condition can be improved on a permanent basis.

In order to respond to the diverse problems associated with poverty and exclusion, a multidimensional approach – one that tackles problems on many different fronts - is required.

In another sense, the concept of multidimensionality is used to refer to the different sites at which poverty and social exclusion needed to be addressed. Projects were understood to be multidimensional if they offered a coherent set of policies and programmes over a diverse area. In this sense multidimensionality is seen as a spatial criteria. This dual deployment of the term created an inherent tension in the *Poverty 3* programmes such that some projects were based on the former interpretation of the principle while others relied on the latter. It subsequently became very difficult to assess the success of this principle in the programme as Georis and Simonin (1994) point out.

The accountability processes that were in place with *Poverty 3* ensured that the principle was considered seriously, however, and on further reflection it was agreed that 'multidimensionality' would become one of the three key principles of social exclusion policies in the future. Georis and Simonin (1994, 5) made the following predictive recommendation for the 'new' (*Poverty 4*) programme:

> The next programme is intended to be a platform for experimentation and exchange, [to] stimulate and optimize the efforts of those involved and [to] foster transferable organisational models ... [it] will encourage the development of new capability at local, regional and national levels for the **conception, organization and implementation of multidimensional strategies, requiring partnership between public and private** organizations, all of whom should be competent at promoting the notion

> of integration, **by putting emphasis on one particular region or one particular problem**.

In this interpretation, multidimensionality can be directed either topically or territorially but must be connected to the principle of partnership and also to the third principle of *Poverty 3*, 'participation'.

Participation

In essence, 'participation' means involving the policy recipients in policy processes. An overview of the principle of participation is provided by Wim van Rees and Fernanda Rodrigues (1994) in a booklet which summarises a range of conference discussions on the principle not only in the context of *Poverty 3* but also in the context of the earlier programmes. Pauline Conroy (1992) noted that in *Poverty 2* participation was "advanced as a more efficient form of ground level consultation with a view to perfecting the functioning of social welfare or social services" (cited in van Rees and Rodrigues 1994, 21).

In *Poverty 3*, however, there was a serious desire to shift away from this instrumentalist view of participation towards a more dynamic and 'inclusive' one which would actively encourage the participation of target groups, interest groups and self-help groups. As van Rees and Rodrigues (1994, 22) suggest:

> In the context of the programme [*Poverty 3*] the concept takes on a fundamental and specific meaning of ***empowerment*** of the least privileged groups by facilitating their attaining full citizenship – that is, their becoming actors in social, economic and political life.

In the *Poverty 3* literature, there is a clear attempt to distinguish the concept of 'participation' from a more passive and liberal notion of participation such as can be found in a wide range of other European Union social initiatives such as NOW and HORIZON. The functionalist, liberal notion of participation can be likened to the French concept of 'insertion'. As van Rees and Rodrigues (1994, 24) suggest:

> NOW seeks to stimulate the participation of women in, and to enhance their contribution to social and economic life ... Support, access, equal opportunities are the key words which denote the meaning of integration through the promotion of equal opportunities [or] the liberal meaning of anti-inequality and anti-discrimination strategies ... as such this fits with the French concept of '*insertion*' which, from an Anglo-Saxon perspective smacks of functionalist notions of people being slotted into their place.

In *Poverty 3* 'participation' is "a learning process, a means of empowerment, for combating exclusion and fighting oppression; it is a political culture, a cornerstone of civil society" (van Rees and Rodrigues 1994, 24). This radical interpretation of the capacity of *Poverty 3* to actively engage the concepts of exclusion and citizenship may well have contributed to the anxiety of the European Union heads of state who subsequently went on to quash *Poverty 4*.

Poverty 4

The Fourth European Poverty Programme (*Poverty 4*) was designed to run from 1994–1999 (Harvie 1994). Its proposed budget of 110 mecu was more generous and its aims more ambitious. Some 44 local model action projects (both urban and rural) were proposed along with 19 national model actions and a new concept of 7 transnational networks. The actions were proposed in the fields of income, education, training, employment, accommodation, social and consumer protection, health, transport, local development, freedom of movement, personal security, access to justice, access to public services, culture and leisure and were to be based on the model of partnership, multidimensionality and participation developed in *Poverty 3*.

It was understood that new potential partners would be identified from NGOs, employers, small businesses, friendly societies, charitable trusts, trade unions and public and private agencies, and that these would work together with local groups and individuals to develop 'solidarity'. The idea behind the transnational initiatives was to develop expertise in areas of debt, trade union organisation and participation in local development, children at risk and residents involved in environmental improvements. It was envisaged that a Management and Coordination Unit would replace the Central Unit

and 'national correspondents' would replace the Research and Development Units of *Poverty 3*.

From 1994 to 1998 members of the Council, in particular Germany, lodged objections to the proposal. By 1998, *Poverty 4* had been stalled indefinitely. It is hard to know whether or not *Poverty 4* has been completely abandoned but there are suggestions that some of the initiatives are being followed up in other ways, notably through the research initiatives identified in the TSER (*Targeted Socio–Economic Research* (see Chapter 9). What is clear is that in the process of developing the Poverty Programmes between 1974 and the 1990s, 'social exclusion' became the term that was increasingly used. It was not always used instead of 'poverty', nor was it used to cover exactly the same territory. It did, however, appear to be an increasingly 'fashionable' term and one that marked out the territory for a 'discursive shift'.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined some of the pragmatic aspects of the working environment of the European Union. I have suggested that the policy making regimes of the European Union are both bureaucratic and disciplinary and the possibilities for introducing and effectively promulgating social policy are small. I have described the Poverty Programmes as a set of policies that developed considerable sophistication despite paltry funding and that produced significant discourses in relation to the guiding principles of partnership, multidimensionality and participation. These principles have continued to be a significant part of social exclusion discourse in the European Union. I have outlined some of the background to the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion and noted some of the potential for tension in the use of the concept of exclusion.

The discourse of social exclusion is rooted in the ambiguity and tension encapsulated in the loose phrase 'social policy' but is also, as I go on to explain in Chapter 6, rooted in the ambiguities and tensions of 'liberal, capitalist, democracy'. The overriding liberal discourse in contemporary western democracy is an economic one. Policies such as the

Common Agricultural Policy, Competition Policy and Industrial Policy of the European Union are the 'policies of power' in the European context and have facilitated, it would seem, a particular kind of European capitalism in which social policy is acknowledged to have some kind of paradoxical and peripheral place.

Looking to the future prospects for social policy development in Europe, Alain Lipietz (1992) suggests that there is the possibility of some provocative alternatives to the existing 'liberal–productivism' of Europe. Lipietz, however, does not see these possibilities being carried by the Community. Rather, Lipietz (1992, 60) suggests there are:

> ... three themes against which any 'progress' and any policy must be judged: autonomy of individuals and groups, solidarity between individuals and groups, and ecology as the guiding principle behind relations between society, the product of its activity, and its environment.

It would seem, in Lipietz' assessment, that the European Union has failed these 'tests', and that "what this Europe lacks is the democratic control which alone would allow the vast majority of Europeans to be represented" (Lipietz 1992, 158). His solutions and recommendations are frequently regarded as too Francophile (too anti–German?) and too extremist to have been widely accepted by the hierarchy of figures and powers who comprise the "disciplinary–bureaucratic regimes" of the Community. In the next chapter I reflect more widely on the contradictory tensions in 'liberal, capitalist, democratic state' and use a particular linguistic strategy to 'manage' this task. I also address the contradictory space that is produced in the European Union through geographical tropes of scale.

Chapter 6

Intersecting tropes / Intersecting scales

This chapter provides a link between the descriptive research that was involved in 'finding out how the European Union worked' and the analytical research that was undertaken on the policy corpus. It is also a bridge between the analysis of place and the analysis of linguistic tropes and is a reminder of the extent to which the three frameworks of the research were constantly intertwined and interdependent. In the first section of the chapter, I examine the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion that was mentioned in the conclusion to Chapter 5. In the second section I explore three intersecting tropes that have enormous power in relation to social policy in the European Union. These are the tropes of liberalism / capitalism / democracy. Rather than approach the vast epistemological domain of 'liberal democratic theory' from a conventional point of view, I have focused my attention on providing a provisional, onomantic[1] definition of the key tropes in direct relation to the European Union's institutional structures, powers and policy making processes. In the third section, I turn my attention to more geographical matters and identify some of the issues of scale (global, national, regional and local) that are also relevant to issues of social exclusion.

The main argument of this chapter is that both the meanings of key everyday terms (such as liberalism) and the meaning of key everyday spaces (such as regions) are open to question but policy work must often assume unequivocal meanings for these concepts. In operational contexts, meanings require restraint. One of the things that became increasingly obvious to me, as I tried to track the genealogy of the concept of 'social exclusion', was that most of the terms being deployed in the European Union policy context were potentially ambiguous. Not only that, I also found that this ambiguity was sometimes clearly an asset rather than a liability. One writer who has addressed the 'asset factor' in semantic ambiguity is Fred Riggs (1998 online), an International Relations scholar based in Hawaii. I explore Riggs' concepts in more

[1] Refer to earlier discussion in Section 3.2.

detail shortly but first establish the need for this enquiry by examining the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion in the Poverty Programme texts.

6.1: The discursive shift

The shift in language was one of the particular products of *Poverty 2*. It is not easy to establish the extent to which the policy makers in the Commission wittingly created particular directions for anti–poverty policy to follow. Uncovering any deliberate policy strategies to change poverty discourse at the European Union level would be a fascinating project but is one that is beyond the scope of this thesis. Certainly, the few interviews I conducted in 1994 with Commission planners seemed to indicate the switch to the use of 'social exclusion' was useful, but not 'deliberate'. It was seen to be useful because it was a term that translated effectively between the then two 'official' translation languages (English and French). It was a term that had less pejorative baggage (especially for the French and Italians) than 'poverty' and it was a term that allowed policies to develop a structural (ie economic) focus. As I also explain in Chapter 8, the translation preserved a syntagmatic relationship between 'social' and 'exclusion'. The French, for example, did not use the concept of *exclusion economic* as a term to discuss housing, health or marginality.

Thus, to the lay person, the term 'poverty' just seemed to 'begin to give way' to the term 'social exclusion'. The working definition of 'the poor' for the action programmes was:

> The Poor [sic] shall be taken to mean persons, families and groups of persons whose resources (material, cultural and social) are so limited as **to exclude them from the minimum acceptable way of life** in the Member States in which they live (COM 1988, *Interim Report*, 25).

The term 'exclusion' came to stand for, or alongside, the term 'poverty'. In *Poverty 3* its use increasingly reified a new identity for 'the poor' as 'socially excluded.' I return to discuss this in more detail shortly. Social exclusion is increasingly used as a code word for 'the problem of the poor'. To a large extent it has replaced terms like 'New Poor', 'underclass' and 'culture of poverty'. The specific *Community Action Programme to Combat Poverty* was the product of long and detailed negotiations

between the Commission, the Council and the Parliament throughout the period from 1975 to 1985.

A number of recent publications (Bhalla and Lapeyre 1997, Bergman 1996, Brown and Crompton 1994, Commins 1993, de Haan 1998, Jordan, 1996; Rodgers, Gore, and Figueiredo 1995; Room, 1990, 1995 and Silver 1994), and European Community policy documents (COM 1994b, 1993a, 1993b, and 1992) have also attended to the question of coverage under the concept of 'social exclusion'. Much of this debate focuses on the distinctions between 'poverty' and 'social exclusion' and also highlights discussion about which target categories should be addressed by policy signified by exclusion.

From 'poverty' to 'social exclusion'

The implications of the discursive shift from 'poverty' to 'social exclusion' are not self–evident and they are ambiguous. The shift has profound implications for the language of social policy texts and for the ways in which social policy is expressed and understood. I discuss some aspects of this further in Chapter 9. The shift also has profound implications for the place and material reality of 'poor bodies' and I discuss this aspect further in Chapters 7 and 9.

The core of 'poverty' discourse, on the one hand, appears to be still largely a discourse of welfare and redistributive justice that depends on categories of targetable 'poor bodies' for its logic. Poverty Programmes, which depend on specific categories of bodies for the establishment of action projects that ostensibly have the capacity to sustain and enhance the lives those bodies are able to live, are very much an example of redistributive justice. On the other hand, a discourse of 'social exclusion' appears to be more open to becoming a discourse that is focused on 'unemployed' or unwork–(able) bodies. The relationship between poverty and employment is profound, does exist, and is arguably the greatest structural factor affecting the lives of millions in the European Union. However, the introduction of the concept of social exclusion has compromised this relationship in quite complex and ambiguous ways.

The shift away from use of the term 'poverty' towards 'social exclusion' became more marked in the Poverty Programmes in the 1980s and 1990s. In order to understand some of the discursive and material repercussions of this shift in terminology the next section attends to some of the existing definitions of poverty and social exclusion.

Key definitions

One influential definition, and one that has internationalised the concept, is given in a UNESCO–MOST[2] document. This material in this document represents Bessis' interpretation of three principles identified by Bhalla and Lapeyre (1994) who originally suggested the following three–part definition. According to Bessis (1995, 20):

> **Exclusion is economic**: in the first place the excluded are the unemployed ... [those] eliminated from the labour market ... deprived of regular income ... [or] access to assets such as property or credit ...
>
> **Exclusion is social**: unemployment not only deprives one of an income but also of his [sic] status in society. He [sic] is denied all social existence ... may lose his personal dignity ... [it also represents] the loss of an individual's links to mainstream society, which leads to the fraying of the social fabric ...
>
> **Exclusion is political**: certain categories of the population – such as women, ethnic and religious minorities, or migrants – are deprived of part or all of their political and human rights ...

What is significant in this definition is not only the extent to which exclusion is acknowledged as economic, and social, and political, but also the extent to which exclusion is defined in terms of deprivation, lack and negativity: the **un**employed; the **eliminated**; the **deprived**; the **denied**; the **loss**. In the rhetoric established under *Poverty 2*, the concept of social exclusion began to be inflected by the particular

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[2] UNESCO maintains a full web site and the documentation for the MOST initiatives can be found through these links (see UNESCO online, MOST online). According to its own promotional material, MOST: "is a research programme, designed by UNESCO, to promote international comparative social science research. Its primary emphasis is to support large–scale, long–term autonomous research and to transfer the relevant findings and data to decision–makers" (*MOST General Information* online).

sense that the excluded were more than 'just poor' but that they were somehow being 'shut out' and deprived by some unspecified agents or circumstances. I develop this observation further in Chapter 9.

One of the primary Commission documents on the Poverty Programmes that was used in this research (COM 1988, *Interim Report*, 5) proclaims:

> … around the year 1975, the number of poor in the nine member Sates amounted to roughly 30 million. **Poverty** was defined as **less than half the average income per head** in the member states.

The highlighting indicates a quite unsophisticated and uncomplicated conflation between 'poverty' and (lack of) 'income', and represents a narrow materialist definition.

A decade later, as reported in the same document (COM 1988, *Interim Report*, 5):

> Still using the same definition, the first estimates available indicate that roughly 44 million (14%) of the total community population of 315 million were living in **poverty** in 1985 … These figures are limited by the fact that they relate to **income poverty** only. There is no comparable recent information with which to measure the extent to which **other dimensions of poverty** have improved or deteriorated e.g. **on low quality or overcrowded housing, homelessness, irregular or inadequate schooling or illiteracy, difficult access to or poor quality of health services, lack of other community facilities, or unhealthy or dangerous living or working environments**. Neither is it possible to measure the numbers of people experiencing **social or cultural exclusion**.

In this second excerpt, poverty is still conflated with lack of income but other material dimensions of poverty are also identified. 'Social exclusion', however, is seen as something quite separate from and additional to the 'real' grinding aspects of poverty which in themselves stand apart from the only really measurable criterion – lack of income.

It has not been possible to literally trace the spoor of the concept of social exclusion as it moved from the specific context of Commission documents to quite casual usage in everyday poverty talk. Certainly Andersen *et al.* (1994) and his team of researchers working for the Animation and Research arm of *Poverty 3* in Lille have

undertaken the necessary initial work of establishing some bases for definitions. While acknowledging that the terms have been used in often–contradictory ways, the consensus for the *Poverty 3* programmes, according to the evaluative synthesis prepared by Pauline Conroy (1994, 4), seemed to be that:

> The use of the **terms poverty and exclusion** have **both practical and theoretical** implications. They contributed in part to determining the types of strategies developed by projects in the Programme. While **exclusion may include poverty, poverty does not embrace exclusion.** Indeed, **social exclusion encompasses problems caused by a lack of resources as well as problems not caused by a lack of resources.**

There is some circularity in this definition which suggests that the ambiguity of the concept of social exclusion was well established by 1994.

Social exclusion seems to be a term that is understood, both by some anti–poverty field workers[3] and by some researchers (see Andersen *et al.* 1994), as a term that holds (or has held, or could hold) some emancipatory promise. It certainly encapsulates a different notion of agency from either the rhetoric of the 'underclass' (Morris 1994), or the rhetoric of the 'deserving poor' (Jeffry 1993), and allows for the possibility that 'structural forces' have a role in the production of poverty (Friedmann 1996). As the 1992 European Commission conference on social exclusion reports:

> Social exclusion manifests itself in unemployment, racism, xenophobia, neighbourhoods in crisis and the denial of social rights. So social exclusion is neither a minor nor an individual problem: it is structural.

It appeared that there was, for some, quite strong agreement that 'poverty', as a term, had become increasingly associated with individual fecklessness. By refraining from using the concept it was considered possible to shift the focus of anti–poverty

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[3] An interview with James Walsh, Combat Poverty Agency in Dublin, suggested that yes, "the positive view would be that social exclusion is a concept that tries to reflect the changing nature of poverty – a new dimension to this...". Pauline Conroy, University of Dublin, endorsed that social exclusion was more amenable to the articulation of a discourse of rights than the concept of 'poverty' had ever been.

strategies back to the major structural factors that were having an impact on people's lives – particularly the lack of employment and support infrastructure like schools and training establishments. [4]

Friedmann (1996, 64) is somewhat more prescriptive in his suggestion that:

> *Exclusion* is a more polemical term that is meant to suggest the **exclusion of certain groups from the circuits of capital and accumulation** and / or from their 'fair share' in the benefits of economic growth. The term employs an **implicit structural explanation** of poverty.

Friedmann is not specifically working with the European Union discourse of social exclusion and his reading is also tinged with 'development' rhetoric. By 1996, not only was the term exclusion being used in international discourse quite comfortably[5] where it had obviously developed some purchase, but also the term 'social' had become disengaged from the concept and the income, work–related aspects of exclusion were being emphasised.

In an interview conducted with a field worker in Northern Ireland in 1994, I recorded this extended and insightful response to a secondary question about the strategic difference between poverty and social exclusion:

> Q. Do you lobby [Westminster and the Commission] in terms of poverty, or in terms of social exclusion?
>
> A. Interesting, interesting [pause, laughs]. In different countries we elevate different parts of it. The **French**, for example, **insist on social exclusion being added to the title**, so the European Anti–Poverty

[4] See John Friedmann (1996), Bill Jordan (1996), Gerry Rodgers (1995), Hilary Silver (1995), Pierre Strobel (1996), and Alan Wolfe (1995), for quite detailed accounts of the deployment of social exclusion and its genealogy.

[5] See its use in MOST / UNESCO literature (Bessis 1995) and ILO literature (Rodgers, Gore and Figueiredo (1995).

Network[6] is not enough for them, so their title is European Associations in the Struggle against Poverty and Social Exclusion. The **Italians likewise**. But in the **British and Irish context, poverty is still broad enough in its conception and definition to be used** as the title, so we're happy with the Anti–Poverty Network. Although we understand that **poverty focuses on financial deprivation and social exclusion focuses on the processes that accompany that financial deprivation and create a wider awareness of marginalisation and alienation and powerlessness.** But we feel we can encompass that under the poverty heading.

There's another counter theme in that we think we've been almost too successful at allowing the **bureaucrats to shift the debate to social exclusion.** But we always argued **it's not just about poverty, it's not just financial, it's about powerlessness**, and **it's a political issue**. In a sense **we were too successful**, because they've now said, "yeah, yeah, social exclusion – wonderful – **it's not about poverty is it? It's not about financial issues**? **It's not about reallocation of wealth**? **It's about *processes*** – so let's find some money, set up some partnerships and we'll keep it all quiet that way" – that's a kind of counter balancing danger.

So we argued for example, strongly, that the Poverty Programme should still be called the Poverty Programme, whereas for others there's an interesting conflict. Some could see that, but others said look, **poverty's a bit negative, social exclusion is more descriptive**, it is more broad and all encompassing in terms of the processes – let's call it an exclusion programme. That wasn't a clear–cut debate, because there were countervailing trends within both camps (Quintin Oliver, interview 1994).

The ambivalent attitudes towards the shift from poverty to social exclusion are represented here on a number of fronts. On the one hand, the shift is seen as an issue between different countries – France and Italy support the positive connotations of the concept of exclusion, Britain (prior to the present Labour Government of Tony Blair[7])

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[6] The European Anti–Poverty Network (EAPN) is a powerful lobby group – especially at the European level. The interviewee worked with EAPN, the Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action (NICVA) and with the Poverty Programmes (see European Anti–poverty Network *Annual Report*, Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action *Developing Partnerships*).

[7] Tony Blair's British 'New Labour' government has embraced the concept of 'social exclusion'. In fact the government has established its own Social Exclusion Unit which has and Internet site where social exclusion, is defined in a Frequently Asked Question (FAQ) section as: "Social exclusion is a shorthand

and Ireland see it as a somewhat superfluous concept. On the other hand, it is represented as a cynical attempt by 'bureaucrats' to silence anti–poverty workers by giving them money to 'run a few projects' in which case nothing need to be done about the major structural problems such as lack of jobs. It is likely that all of these factors had a bearing on the shift taking place. Certainly the argument that the existence of '*exclusion sociale*', the French rendition of the concept, in French discursive space prior to the development of the Poverty Programmes is regarded as having been an important influence (Silver 1995).

Social exclusion, in this sense, could be seen to facilitate discourses of empowerment or resistance in ways that other rhetoric can not. However, it is a term that has come slipping in to policy discourse and has tended to catch policy critics unawares. It has been taken to mean different things by different interpreters and it is translated from one context to another in different forms. As Oliver, from NICVA states:

> Although I accept and respect the French / Italian view, that in their political cultures, social exclusion is a more powerful weapon, that's just an example of the diversity that Europe encompasses and the tolerance and understanding that we've acquired, and the flexibility – so that **people can run with what's most appropriate for them.**

In my argument, social exclusion is not a term to embrace uncritically as a new discursive panacea. In the next section, therefore, I touch on some of the ways in which the European Community discourse of social exclusion is implicated in a complex politics of scale and in liberal / democratic / capitalist ideological tensions.

The once fluid metaphor of exclusion is increasingly condensing into an employment–related signifier. Its context is shifting from an understanding of the

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label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown" (*The Social Exclusion Unit* online). In addition, this Social Exclusion Unit has established a set of priorities. "In its first phase (to July 1998), ...the Prime Minister has asked the Unit to concentrate on the following priorities: truancy and school exclusions, rough sleeping, worst estates, and also to focus on: improving mechanisms for integrating the work of departments, local authorities and other agencies, feeding into the Comprehensive Spending Reviews, drawing up key indicators of social exclusion (*The Social Exclusion Unit* online).

"collective nature of the processes of social exclusion" (Johnson 1992, 4) to a notion of individual shortcoming and responsibility and from an emphasis on 'structural causes' to individual culpability. Increasingly, it is not unemployment – the structural absence of suitable jobs – that is seen to be the problem, but the unemployed; it is not racism – the structurally embedded discourses of hate – that produces difficulties for individuals, but an individual's lack of motivation to work in, and put up with, less than ideal circumstances; it is not the denial of social rights – the constraining pinch of juridical boundaries – that is seen as the issue, but the individual's refusal to accept full social responsibility for themselves. This shift runs counter to many of the express hopes of the writers who recorded the transactions of the Poverty Programmes but is reflected in the Ministerial–level refusal to endorse *Poverty 4.*

The brief discussion above, which reinforces a number of observations that have already been made in this thesis, also reinforces the precarious, ambivalent and paradoxical nature of the discursive spaces of European Union social exclusion discourse. The principles that underwrite the rationale for much European Union policy making are ambiguous. One of the reasons the concept of exclusion is not fixed, I argue, is that the underlying philosophical precepts or tropes that the concept draws on are also ambiguous.

In order to understand the conflicting and ambiguous ways in which the discursive space of social exclusion is being reified as unemployment space it is thus necessary to consider the equally conflictual and ambiguous world instantiated by 'liberal, capitalist, democracy'. In the next section of this chapter I consider some of the ways in which these other, even more encompassing tropes, can exert effects on the promulgation of social policy. In presenting this section I am suggesting one possible framework for looking at the complex intersections between ideas of social exclusion and ideas of 'liberalism', 'democracy', and 'capitalism'.

The broad philosophical motivations that appear at the core of policy development in the European Union arguably belong in a category that could loosely be designated 'liberal, capitalist, democracy' in which the core tenets of 'liberalism' are understood to 'govern'

or 'condition' the form and representation of the other two factors. Thus, it is possible to talk about 'liberal capitalism' and 'liberal democracy' far more easily than it is possible to talk about 'capitalist liberalism' or 'democratic capitalism'. In making my argument that 'economic' motivations are overtaking 'social' motivations in the production of policy initiatives at the European level, my primary focus is on the capitalist rather than the liberal motivations. I was looking for some capacity or technique for producing a reverse discourse in which it would be possible to postulate 'capitalism' as the governing term and thus remove the liberal veil behind which capitalist self interest is repeatedly disguised.

6.2: Intersecting tropes

The terms, 'liberalism', 'democracy', and 'capitalism' are key political signifiers that identify associated but not interchangeable domains. Political philosophers have engaged in extensive debates on these issues and arrived at few clear, consensual definitions. They are all terms that are loosely used in everyday speech but have specific meanings in political discourse and have metaphoric as well as literal interpretations. Riggs (1998c) provides an interesting framework for managing this problem of definition. He suggests three onomantic strategies (stretching, metaphoric usage, and sheltering) for defining the 'fuzzy terms' of ordinary language so they may develop purchase in specialist vocabularies.

In order to create my own provisional definitions of these terms, I make use of Riggs' onomantic strategies, and have two reasons for doing so. First, the existence of onomantics is a reminder that deconstructive semiotic approaches are not the only way to approach discursive ambiguity. Calculating the utility of either onomantics or semantics for my kind of geographical study could, I felt, only be determined by trialing both methods. I rely heavily on conventional metaphor analysis in Chapter 8, and using onomantics in my discussion here provides a small opportunity for making a critical appraisal of onomantics in a practical setting. My second reason is that Riggs (1998a), a keynote speaker at the recent International Sociological Association's 14th World Congress, held in Montreal, Canada, July 1998, has recently been responsible for

producing a *Nomenclator of Poverty* for the Comparative Research on Poverty (CROP) network.[8] This more public exposure of his ideas suggests that his 'onomantics', produced in the more rarefied atmosphere of public administration, is being discussed more widely and directly in relation to European Union poverty policy. Thus it seemed even more appropriate to explore his approach.

An anti–semantic approach to definitions

I begin this sub–section with a brief explanation of Riggs' onomantic strategies but do not claim to be an authority on them (see Riggs 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). The first onomantic strategy, 'stretching', is suggested in, and borrowed from, the work of Giovanni Sartori (1984, cited in Riggs 1997 online). This strategy involves identifying the 'level of abstraction' at which a particular term is operating in a specified context. Sartori suggests that terms become ambiguous because they are subject to 'stretching'. The meaning of a word or term is extended up (or down) a ladder of abstraction. Any word, or term, can be identified within a spectrum of generic to specific concepts and may be [re]applied, in some different context, as though it represented either a more generic or a more specific concept. The concept of 'exclusion' is a good example of a stretched term.

The *specific* phrase, **socially** excluded, for example, extends or stretches the meaning of 'excluded', so that it refers to something more than the dictionary definition of: "shut out (person, thing *from* place, society, privilege)" (*COD* 1964, 421). 'Socially excluded' is

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[8] The word 'nomenclator' has been resurrected from an 'obsolete' term to refer to "the title of works containing collections or lists of words; hence a book of that kind; a vocabulary" (*COD* 1991, 1174). CROP is a scientific committee, appointed by the General Assembly of the International Social Science Council, which is dedicated to anti–poverty research. CROP has been central to my research in a number of ways. Important texts on poverty, which have been published with the support of CROP, have come out during the course of my research – notably *Poverty: A Global Review. Handbook of International Poverty Research* (Øyen, Miller, and Samad 1996), *Poverty and Participation in Civil Society* (Atal and Øyen 1996), and *Law, Power and Poverty* (Kjønstad and Veit–Wilson 1997). The *CROP Newsletter* has provided updates on international anti–poverty conferences and CROP supported research projects. *CROPnet,* the hyperlinked archive / database of researchers and persons interested in poverty research, provides information on over 1000 persons involved in anti–poverty research and information on over 130 research projects.

thus a more specialist marker, which extends the concept of exclusion to include some act, or agency or power of a 'social' nature that generates or supports the state of being excluded.

Equally, the *general* principle of 'exclusion' can be stretched to include 'social exclusion' or 'economic exclusion' or 'political exclusion' and still be indicated in policy documents by the generic term 'exclusion.' In policy documents, the term 'excluded', or 'exclusion', is used frequently in place of the specialist marker 'socially excluded' or 'social exclusion' and its meaning is left open by the omission of a sheltering term (see below). Both Sartori and Riggs would tend to argue that the loss of specificity entailed in stretching key terms is a negative attribute in policy language but, as I discuss later, the open–endedness in stretched concepts has both positive and negative consequences.

Metaphoric usage, a common tool in semiotic analysis, is the second strategy that Riggs identifies and it works by taking an idea, formed in one context, and extending it into a new or unexpected context. Metaphors, therefore, also contribute to concept formation by stretching the meanings of a word. The idea of exclusion, for example, as a literal 'closing out' becomes stretched to include less tangible, less literal ideas of closure, separation and denial. I refer to the concept of metaphors extensively in Chapter 8 but defer to more conventional semantic interpretations there.

The third concept that Riggs refers to is 'sheltering'. This appears to be a metaphor that Riggs has coined as part of his onomantics project to cover particular refining and defining processes for acknowledging what he calls 'fuzzy concepts'. The uncertain peripheries of words in common usage, Riggs claims, can be clarified by operationalising them to only perform in particular ways in particular contexts. As Riggs (1998, online) suggests:

> To make such a concept precise (to operationalize it), additional criteria are needed, but every such refinement in meaning restricts the applicability of the concept. A shelter term can be used unambiguously, in context, for every concept it shelters, yet out of context, an additional unequivocal term is needed in order to express the intended idea clearly.

A shelter term, in Riggs' typology, makes a key term less ambiguous in its specialist context. In the first instance, identifying that a term will be used as a 'shelter' is a way of acknowledging that the term is potentially ambiguous. Having identified the concept that will provide the 'shelter' it is expedient, Riggs (1998c online) suggests, to provisionally define that term, perhaps by resorting to a particular aspect of a dictionary definition. This strategy establishes that that particular word can be used unambiguously in the given context and refined by the substitution of a more specific term. In effect, when the Poverty Programme documents refer to 'poverty' they are (unwittingly) setting up the concept of poverty as a shelter within which the concept of exclusion takes on a very specific meaning. Thus:

> The concept of social exclusion is a dynamic one, referring both to processes and consequent situations ... **More clearly that the concept of poverty**, understood far too often as referring exclusively to income, it also **stakes out the multidimensional nature of the mechanisms whereby individuals and groups are excluded** from taking part in the social exchanges, from the component practices and rights of social integration and identity. **Social exclusion does not only mean insufficient income, and it even goes beyond participation in working life: it is felt and shown in the areas of housing, education, health and access to services** (COM (92) 542 online).

'Poverty' defines a commonplace concept, which has a well–defined core and a loose periphery. As Riggs (1998c, online) suggests:

> ... poverty may be due to lack of money in a market economy, or lack of resources in a subsistence economy. In marketized contexts, we presuppose poverty to involve lack of cash income, whereas in non–marketized societies, subsistence farmers may live comfortably without cash. We could make the distinction by speaking of cash poverty, or material poverty whenever that distinction is relevant. However, in most contexts, poverty alone will be adequate because everyone involved will know whether it involves cash or non–cash relationships, or a mixture.

Riggs (1998c, online) goes on to say:

> In the CROP project, a large number of definitions of poverty found in the literature have been collected. Many of them identify a precise sheltered concept that can be called "poverty" without ambiguity in many contexts, yet its availability permits ambiguity to be overcome in contexts where this term by itself would not be clear. By accepting the dictionary definition of a word like "poverty," one can create a shelter that permits one to use the word unambiguously for a variety of different concepts, always provided the contextual environment is clear. When the context is not clear, however, having a set of sheltered terms permits users to substitute a more precise term to replace the shelter term.

Riggs' typology has already provided a useful basis for terminology research into poverty. At the time I first contacted CROP, in 1994, there was general agreement that the term 'social exclusion' was also dangerously 'loose' and in need of clear definition. As I have already suggested, the collection of essays edited by Gerry Rodgers, Charles Gore, and José Figueiredo (1995) was the first systematic attempt to provide such definition outside of work done by the Commission of the European Union (see *Poverty 3* 1993). More recently a full *CROP Glossary on Poverty*, edited by David Gordon and Paul Spicker (1998) has appeared. In these publications there appears to be greater ambivalence about which of the terms, 'poverty' or 'social exclusion', is the more all–encompassing. Riggs' sheltering strategy suggests one way in which some of the ambivalence could be minimised at least for policy purposes.

Despite the direct relevance of Riggs' poverty vocabulary work to my own project, I have two problems with Riggs' approach. First, he tends to be derogatory about the role of semantics *qua* interpretive language work and I believe this is misplaced. There is much to be gained, as my research experience has demonstrated to me, from exploring the contours of semantic analysis without necessarily making a wholesale commitment to formal linguistics. A second, and related, point is that Riggs' approach is instrumentalist. He is concerned with making the meaning of concepts more transparent to policy–makers, not only in order to reduce the unpredictability of policy interpretation, but also and inevitably, to reduce the unpredictability of 'client' response to policy.

I suggest in Chapter 8 that the capacity for multiple interpretations of core terms can be a great asset to those who stand to lose from prescriptive policy interpretation. Having said this, however, I acknowledge the fresh insights into language and knowledge organisation that Riggs has provided, and for his *Nomenclator of Poverty,* which adds to the body of work committed to defining concepts of poverty and social exclusion. More pertinently in this immediate context, I find the 'stretching' and 'sheltering' concepts useful in highlighting some of the core tensions in the terms liberalism, democracy and capitalism and I take some liberties with Riggs' method in order to establish another aspect of my own argument.

In the next three sub sections, I use the onomantic strategy of sheltering to destabilise the notion that 'liberalism' is the 'governing' paradigm or key trope in the idea of 'liberal capitalist democracy'. I rather suggest that capitalism is inescapably the 'governing' or 'sheltering' term and the reification of 'liberalism' serves to occlude the role that capitalist economic philosophy plays in producing the particular democratic milieu in which European Union social policy is produced. Thus, I suggest that in naturalised discourse, liberalism shelters capitalism and democracy (and affiliated concepts such as 'nationalism' and 'bureaucracy') but in effect, this discourse is misplaced.

If liberalism were indeed the 'governing' term in European Union discourse, notions of equality would deliver a rationale for the inclusion of social policy. Where capitalism in effect governs the production of policy at supranational, national, regional and local scales, the outlook for social policy is bleak. It would require another thesis, at least, to demonstrate this suggestion in any comprehensive way, and my examination is at best partial. I have alluded to it here, however, because in thinking through my underlying unease with the discursive shift, I came to recognise that it was part of a deeper 'sleight of tongue'. By looking again at the philosophical perspectives that underwrite the western capitalist democracies I found a more unsettling discursive shift than simply one that moves poverty into the discourse of social exclusion.

The first core value of liberalism seems to be that it represents what Richard Tarnas (1991, 298) describes as "the triumph of secularism" facilitated by the paradoxical concord between science and religion in the Middle Ages. See Bellamy (1994) for a resume of the key tenets of liberal philosphy. The second core value could be expressed as the valorisation of "competition and atomistic individualism" (Kymlicka 1995, 483). Secularisation enabled not just rational science, but rational man, to come to the fore. Kymlicka (1995, 483) suggests that as:

> … one of the major political ideologies of the modern world, liberalism is distinguished by the importance it attaches to the civil and political rights of individuals. Liberals demand a substantial realm of personal freedom – including freedom of conscience, speech, association, occupation and, more recently, sexuality.

These are the values upheld in the founding treaties of the European Economic Community and these are the values that also underwrite the notion of the autonomous sovereign individual. They are also values which, when coupled with underlying Judeo–Christian religious beliefs that persisted despite secularisation, support the ideas of 'freedom from want', and 'freedom for self–fulfillment'.

A third core value – the separation of the church and state – was equally contingent on the secular revolution. Theoretically, the liberal state seeks to "provide a 'neutral' framework within which citizens can pursue their diverse conceptions of the good life" (Kymlicka 1995, 483). It is the value accorded to this "neutral framework" that makes the glue between liberalism and democracy as a system of political authority, separate from any social and economic features. It is this (notional) neutrality that is invested in the institutional structures of the European Union and which facilitates the Union's role as a policy producer. Ideally, autonomous liberal individuals will seek prosperity (employment) and (economic) self–sufficiency. The desire for the 'good life' is thus what ostensibly motivates people to avoid poverty but also provides the norm against which the exigencies of the poor can be measured. In establishing normative (and

secular) parameters in this way, liberalism paradoxically opens up possibilities for palliative social policy.

In these various conceptions of liberalism the imprecise boundaries around the core concept variously allow associations between liberalism and nationalism, liberalism and (bureaucratic) democracy, and liberalism and capitalism in intersecting and often contradictory forms. In each of these associations, the sheltering term of 'liberalism' conditions the understanding of what can possibly follow, and establishes conditions which are different from those pertaining under the shelter of 'capitalism'.

Liberalism shelters nationalism

Peter Sugar (1994, 171) identifies the precursors of the European democratic tradition in nationalistic movements, which were basically "anticlerical, constitutional and egalitarian." Benedict Anderson (1991), in his classic account of the imaginative beginnings of the nation state, attributes the rise of print culture, popular revolutionary culture, and official nationalism as significant influences in Europe. Philip Cerny (1990, 87) suggests that by the 1950s, the nation state had developed a structure which meant, metonymically, that:

> The state, in theory contingent and fragile, but in history adaptable, self–producing, expanding, has therefore not only come to constitute the main 'political' structure in society, but has also come to be located in the site where it claims to stand, and is believed to stand, for society itself.

Cerny (1990, 97–109) provides an extended account of a range of orthodox and pluralist interpretations of the nation state and a very persuasive explanation of the position of the "modern state at the crossroads".[9] His observation is apposite:

> The state as we know it is giving way to a much more complex form – less like an extended family and more like a firm. However, in order to

[9] According to Cerny (1990, 21), the orthodox theories of power include elitism, class analysis, corporatism and state theory (see also Stephen Lukes 1974).

> maintain support and legitimacy, it must continue to *appear* to be like a family. The domestic requirements of loyalty and of economic performance may come into greater conflict and tension, creating new interstitial gaps and logics and new opportunity structures.

Arguably the European Union acts to fill such an interstitial gap, but it does so at the risk of confusing the relationship between nationalism and democracy by requiring the democratic burden to be carried as much at the level of the Union – at the level of the 'European House' (Chilton and Illyn 1993, Shore 1997) – as at the level of the nation state. The domestic requirements of social policy must now be reconciled as part of the business of the Union and as part of the national interest. The democratising faculties of the European Parliament may ensure that social policy remains in the Union agenda, but this can only occur at the expense of nation state autonomy. Thus, social policy is caught in an undesirable tension between Union 'democracy' and national sovereignty.

The fusing of the idea of democracy with the idea of nationalism has become an increasingly confusing aspect of the attempt to establish a democratic polity for the European Union. The Union is not premised on a single national constituency but exists at some uneasy confluence of local, regional, national and supranational influences. This is not simply a problem of scale but is also a problem of function.

Cerny's (1990, 197) suggestion that nation states have been subject to dual forces of "de–differentiation and re–differentiation" is relevant to the unique articulation of national and supranational powers in the European context. "De–differentiation", in this sense, refers to the changing relationship between state and non–state actors in which non–state agents (the informal sector) work by "creating pressure groups, policy demands, issue networks and political allocation processes on single issues or limited clusters of issues" (Cerny 1990, 197). It is this informal set of approaches that were activated by the anti–poverty networks in Europe to set the Poverty Programmes in train in the 1970s. It is also this informal networking at the local level, within the bounds of the national polity, that most characterises the operation both of the principle of solidarity and of the principle of partnership.

"Re–differentiation", on the other hand, refers to an opposite process in which the state plays an increasing role to counteract the negative outcomes from a whole range of unanticipated consequences of deregulation. The state, or in this case the Union, seeks to re–regulate at a supranational level, to ensure greater harmonisation between states and consequently achieve a greater degree of social cohesion (in an instrumentalist sense) across all the member states. The principle of subsidiarity is critical to this re–differentiation process. Cerny's (1990, 28–53) thesis, that state structures and bureaucracies have an inordinately significant role to play, is also extremely useful for understanding the complex nature of the European Union and his analysis should not be overlooked.

Liberalism shelters capitalism

I identify liberalism as a sheltering concept for capitalism (as in, 'liberal capitalism') because this provides an easy means to be reminded of the component of individual self–interest that resides in liberal philosophy and European Union policy making. According to Will Kymlicka (1995, 483):

> ... critics of liberalism argue that liberalism emerged as the ideological justification for the rise of capitalism, and that the image of the autonomous individual is simply a glorification of the pursuit of self–interest in the market.

These critics may well be right. According to David Held (1980), the critical theorist Max Horkheimer identified the link between liberalism and capitalism in terms of the free market, but also suggested that self–interest and the common good were linked. Held (1980, 193) expresses it thus:

> Conventional capitalist social relations depend on, among other things, the freedom of the individual to pursue certain self–defined goals and interests. The importance of individual choice is at the very centre of bourgeois theory and practice. The progress of society is said to depend on the interaction of the divergent wants and interests in a free market. To this idea belongs a fundamental principle of liberalism – that the individual, pursuing his own interests, at the same time automatically serves the common interest as a whole.

This collectivist view of 'liberal capitalism' has largely been abandoned by the 'monetarist' values of neo–liberalism, but it reflects an important element of liberal philosophy that is retained in the European Union commitment to social policy development.

Simon Bulmer and Andrew Scott (1994, 5) point out, however, that:

> Economic integration has not evolved as the result of some functional logic. Nor has it developed as the result of some 'natural' economic law enforced by Adam Smith's 'invisible hand'. Functional and economic determinism fail to explain both the setbacks to integration and the relaunches; economic integration has not been a smooth process following some scientific logic. Rather, it has been dependent upon political and institutional dynamics.

The Union, far more explicitly than its predecessor the Community, has both an economic and a political context but, as Bulmer and Scott (1994, 7) argue, many of the political (security) motivations are economically driven. In their list of seven reasons for European co–operation and integration, they cite the need to overcome the 'economic dislocation' of the (Second World) War, the need to support the development of a 'competitive superpower', and the need to base security and defence on 'economic reconstruction'.

A number of states are currently making application for admission to an enlarged European Union and the future planning for the Union's development certainly takes these applications seriously. Currently, in the five year planning cycle for 1995–2000, under the auspices of *Agenda 2000* (online), applications are being considered for Hungary, Poland, Estonia, the Czech Republic and Slovenia and, in a slightly different circumstance, Turkey. Accession to the Union depends on the applicant states fulfilling the 'democratic capitalist' criteria, laid down by the Copenhagen European Council in June 1993. These criteria state that:

> The applicant country must have achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities;

> it must have **a functioning market economy**, as well as the capacity to cope with **competitive pressure and market forces** within the EU;
>
> it must have the ability to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union (COM 1997a, *Agenda 2000*).

There is nothing in these democratic capitalist criteria that bespeaks any explicit recognition of, or concern for, social exclusion. What is somewhat concerning about this absence is that many of these potential member states bring social concerns that are beyond anything the European Union has yet seen.

In the decade 1980–1990 the European Economic Communities strove to obtain the perceivable benefits of deepened integration notwithstanding the provocations of a changed, global economic environment. As Lane (1989: 583) suggests: "Managements have responded to economic recession, intensified competition and increased uncertainty on product markets by creating more flexible employment structures and forms of production organisation." In so doing, these management structures have encountered a critical tension between their goals (of lower production costs and increased, innovative productivity) and the goals of the *Treaty of Rome* (which also include the 1950s rhetoric of enhanced wages, and protection of existing working and living conditions for the citizens of the member states). In the context of the Maastricht Treaty this tension is heightened.

What is perhaps curious about the transparency (or otherwise) of 'liberalism' and the 'new economic order' in the European Union context is that it has often been glossed over in the more heated discussions about the impacts of the *Single European Act*, the *Treaty on European Union,* the *Single European Market* legislation, and the *Treaty of Amsterdam.* I would argue that the discussion of the impacts of neo–liberal reforms at the European level has been vitiated by the more immediately acrimonious debates about subsidiarity and the Social Chapter, or as it is now called, the Social Agreement, and how it articulates the tension between capitalist and democratic ideals in terms of citizenship rights.

The debate over citizenship is crucial. It is a debate that needs to acknowledge the predicament of those who are excluded from rights of citizenship by their precarious status (*precarité*) within the Union. There are those who have no **national citizenship** because they are **migrant workers** from outside the boundaries of the European Union, and there are those who have no **industrial citizenship** because they are not **'workers' within the formal economy**.

Room (1990, 6) sums up this tension explicitly when he states:

> The [European] Commission wants to guarantee to the citizen of a Community country the right to dispose of his or her labour untrammelled by the restrictions of nationality; to take part, through Community–wide systems of collective bargaining, in the decision–making processes by which the workplace is governed; and to enjoy certain basic minimum standards of health and safety in the working environment. **These guarantees are all concerned with what can be broadly described as 'industrial citizenship'** (Marshall 1950), raising this from a national to a European level.

Foreigners, aliens, unpaid domestic workers, children and the unemployed are all excluded from the capitalist framework of production as neo–liberals have reconceptualised it. These excluded bodies need to be recuperated through some kind of **social citizenship**, and such social citizenship lies at the heart of the democratic project. In Riggs' (1998c) sense, the ideal of democracy is also implicitly sheltered by the unspoken concept of liberalism.

Liberalism shelters democracy – and bureaucracy

Identifying liberalism as the sheltering term for democracy (as in 'liberal democracy') is also a functional coupling because it serves as a reminder that a component of collective good continues to reside in liberal philosophy. As Ralston Saul (1997, 76) idealistically suggests:

> The most powerful force possessed by the individual citizen is his or her own government … Government is the only organized mechanism that makes possible that level of shared disinterest known as the public good

> ... the individual ... lives in society. That is the primary characteristic of individualism.

In Larry Diamond's (1996, online) exposition of the so–called "Freedom House" criteria for a liberal democracy, the concept of 'the market' is similarly not present. To Diamond (1996, 24), the criteria of liberal democracy includes:

> ... regular, free, and fair electoral competition and universal suffrage ... the absence of 'reserved domains' of power ... 'horizontal' accountability of office holders to one another; ... the rule of law, and the deliberative process ... [and] extensive provisions for political and civic pluralism, as well as for individual and group freedoms.

Despite Saul and Diamond's respective clarity about democracy, however, David Collier and Steven Levitsky (1997) have identified 550 'subtypes' of democracy, which suggests that the term refers to more than some liberal notion of collective good. In the context of the European Union, the notion of liberal democracy has become exceedingly complex and contested.

As Chantal Mouffe (1993, 11 citing Lefort 1986, 305) suggests, modern democratic society is constituted as:

> ... a society in which power, law, and knowledge are exposed to a radical indetermination ... The absence of power embodied in the person of the prince and tied to a transcendental authority pre–empts the existence of a final guarantee or source of legitimation.

Liberalism is predicated on the absence of the divine right of kings, as is democracy, but they are not the same thing. Mouffe (1993, 135) confirms that democratic society is based on the central tenet of liberalism – the neutrality of the state. In her compelling essay on "the articulation between liberalism and democracy", Mouffe (1993, 102) finds that it is not that there is no connection between the "liberal ethical principle of self–realization and the capitalist market economy", but that "the market ... is increasingly presented as a necessary condition for successful democratisation." In other words, Mouffe tellingly demonstrates that the three conceptual universes of liberalism, capitalism and democracy are closely articulated but not commutable.

Democracy, the political terms of liberalism premised on the neutral state, is the well–established *raison d' être* of the present fifteen member states. Although countries such as Spain, Portugal and Greece have had more recent histories as non–democratic polities, their accession to the Community was in fact dependent on their embrace of democratic regimes (see Laffan 1996, 87, and Williams 1994, 75–76). This 'state–neutral' concept of democracy is important to social policy as it governs, or not, the extent to which liberalism's terms are tied to welfare regimes.

As I have already suggested, the European Union had its genesis in a postwar worker / welfare orientated moment. In the 1960s and 1970s most of the then member states were developing more broadly based state welfare regimes that had regard for individuals who were not potential paid workers, as well as those whose recent past contained no direct connection with the paid workforce. Kenneth Dyson (1980), in *The State Tradition in Western Europe*, notes the existence of at least three traditions of statehood under which welfare regimes have evolved in member states and then been subsumed in the European Union: a 'continental tradition', a 'Scandinavian tradition', and an 'Anglo–American tradition'.[10]

By the 1980s these models were being compromised, both by internal shifts within the member states and by shifts in the relationships between the member states and the Community. As Keith Middlemas (1995, 98) has noted:

> Nine elections also took place in the EC during the period 1980–83, causing substantial political changes, especially in France at a time of rising unemployment, and industrial discontent ... In a much longer timescale, and in various ways, most member states followed Britain's lead in profoundly questioning their welfare systems' efficacy, relations between state and industry, and the state's role itself.

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[10] Elizabeth Meehan (1993) provides a useful overview of the intersection between debates about European citizenship, models of statehood and parallel models of welfare identified in the European social policy literature; Gosta Esping–Anderson (1990) provides a 'classic' model; and Fiona Williams (1989,13–37) provides a discussion on "Perspectives in Welfare", which also highlights the classificatory work of Richard Titmuss (1974), Ramesh Mishra (1977), Robert Pinker (1979) and Graham Room (1979).

The development of New Right ideologies (Gray 1995, Hutton 1995, Kelsey 1993, 1997 and Kymlicka 1990) is implicated in this questioning of the role of welfare systems and further reinforces the imbrication of democratic and capitalist counter–forces influencing the politics of liberalism in the Union (Purdy and Devine 1994). These contradictory influences also affect the philosophical and material direction of social policy in the Union.

Liberalism, democracy and capitalism are metaphors that structure relations of ruling in the European Union at a macro scale. Riggs' typology has facilitated my examination of some of the contradictory impulses within these intersecting tropes. I have become more convinced that although each of the terms has its own particular purchase in the context of European Union social policy, the concept of capitalism more securely shelters liberalism. These tropes provide the taken–for–granted basis for policy making platforms at the European level and facilitate much of the interaction between the Community bureaucracies and the bureaucracies of the member states. In the next section, I examine another set of taken–for–granted relationships that also structure relations of ruling – relationships that derive their power through geographical scales. The concept of scale, and the concept of 'setting', to which scale is understood to apply in a geographical sense, is powerful, not least because it is attached to the concept of the 'map'. In the next section I map the development of European Union social policy in relation to tropes of the global, the national, the regional and the local.

6.3: Economies of scale

From a geographical perspective, scale and setting[11] are also key tropes. Ideas of 'global', 'national', 'regional', and 'local' operate as taken for granted conceptual

[11] I am using these terms 'scale and setting' in quite 'traditional' ways here. By 'scale' I am referring to an almost literal sense of bigness and smallness in a territorial sense so that 'local' refers to things which happen at a 'small' level, say at the level of a local authority – a particular town, suburb, specific locality – and 'global' refers to those things that occur at the 'whole world' level. 'National' is defined not by size, but by the existence of mutually agreed upon sovereign borders and 'regional' is a precarious concept that fits somewhere between – though it can as easily be between the scale of local and national as between the

frameworks in ways that are quite similar to the tropes of liberalism, capitalism and democracy. Consequently, it is perhaps appropriate that scale and setting in relation to European Union social policy should also be subjected to some form of critical exposure. In the European Union the scale at which things take place is central. The Union, or more accurately in this case, the European Community, is a supranational organisation that has the power to transcend local, regional and national authorities in many areas. The Community is itself subject to the overriding or at least influential powers of a number of global institutions that are larger than it is. I begin my discussion by examining global influences and move 'down' through the spatial hierarchy to 'arrive' at the local.

Global influences

'Globalisation'[12] literature would suggest that the influences of global capitalism have had a significant effect on the development of policy in the European Union (Bulmer and Scott 1994, Taylor 1989, and Smith 1996), and in particular on the development of social policy (Mingione 1996, 1991, Morris 1994, Sassen 1991). What is evident is that the European states have been exposed to the rigorous contingencies of international treaty making. The European Union is fully implicated in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the new body created from the GATT Uruguay round – the World Trade Organization (WTO) – and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (Colchester and Buchan 1990, Middlemas 1995). It is also closely tied to the proliferation of Multilateral Environment Agreements (MEAs) on environmental protection that were the product of the United Nations Conference on Environment and

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scale of national and global. I use the term 'setting' to refer to the named 'real material places' that are connected to these territorial entities at different scales. Both concepts are highly problematic.

[12] I acknowledge that globalisation is a contested concept (see Cox 1993, McGrew 1992, Slater 1997, Smith 1990, and Taylor 1995).

Development in Rio in 1992.[13] It is also party to the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) negotiated by OECD in March 1997.

The particular impact of international policies in the areas of environment and trade is direct on the one hand and indirect on the other. Economic initiatives have a direct impact on social policies, particularly on employment policy, and Europe is certainly not immune to the embargo effects of other world trading partners (see *Report on United States Barriers to Trade and Investment* (1997, online) for some indicative aspects of this; also Laffan (1996)).

Indirectly, economic initiatives establish a precedent for international policy making in the social fields. This precedent is emulated, and to some extent replicated, through European Union liaison with organisations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), through specific programmes such as the Management of Social Transformations (MOST),[14] the Second United Nations' Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT II (online)), The Metropolis Network,[15] through the work of the International Labour Organisation (ILO),[16] and through participation in United Nations' sponsored events such as the *World Summit For Social Development* (WSSD).[17]

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[13] These MEAs and the Commission's position on them are laid out in the online document *Communication to the Council and to the Parliament on Trade and Environment* (COM 1996b).

[14] See Sophie Bessis (1995) for an account of a joint European Union /MOST initiative.

[15] The Metropolis Network is a multi-partner migration initiative spanning European and North American agencies in particular (but New Zealand is also involved). In Europe, it is supported by The Association Internationale pour la Revitalisation des Quartiers en Crise, (Brussels), ERCOMER (Utrecht), European Commission (Brussels), The Migration Policy Group (Brussels), the OECD (Paris), and UNESCO–MOST (Paris) and groups in Italy, Israel and Scandinavia (Metropolis online).

[16] The International Institute of Labour Studies and the United Nations Development Programme sponsored the publication of Gerry Rodgers *et al* (1995) account of social exclusion's international penetration into policy documents and initiatives as a contribution to the 'World Summit for Social Development'.

[17] The WSSD was based on a 1992 United Nations General Assembly Resolution (47/92), which called for "the 'Convening of a world summit for social development,' and set the process in motion for organizing a over

Other specific transnational agreements such as the Schengen Agreement[18] on the free movement of peoples also involve international diplomacy as well as European Union policy making. As most final European Union decisions are arbitrated by the Council of Ministers (usually the Heads of member state) the element of international diplomacy is never far off.

These global relationships are explicit in my policy corpus and are explicit in a way that reinforces the suggestion that social issues are vitally connected with world trade. For example:

> ... several initiatives have been taken recently both in the context of the Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) and within the World Trade Organisation (WTO). With regard to the former, the **Commission will establish a report on the outcome of the analyses carried out within international bodies such as the ILO, WTO, OECD on the relations between trade and workers' rights** (second half of 1996) (COM 1994c, Medium Term Social Action Programme, online).

Similarly, the documentation also contains reference to the intensification of international social policy links:

> ... the globalisation of commerce and trade and the **resulting trans–nationalisation of social, employment and industrial relations issues** have **increased** the importance of the **role** played by **international organisations** such as the UN, ILO, WHO, WTO, OECD, the Council of Europe and the G7. In this context, the **Commission will strengthen the links** with these organisations, **encourage the nomination**, where necessary, **of contact points in the social policy field, identify areas** for common reflection and cooperation, and **set up agreed cooperation procedures** with the international organisations concerned. The Commission will **publish** every two years a **report on multilateral cooperation in the social field**, starting in 1996 (COM 1994c, Medium Term Social Action Programme, online).

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meeting of Heads of State or Government to tackle the critical problems of poverty, unemployment and social integration" (*A Brief History of the WSSD* online).

[18] The Schengen Agreement was originally signed in 1985 but is currently undergoing renegotiation with non–EU states such as Norway and Iceland (see *Free Movement of Persons within the European Union* (online) and *The Schengen Agreement* (online)).

It is these economic connections between social policy, workers' rights and world trade that reinforce the capacity of the Commission to maintain a vital interest in social policy concerns despite the principle of subsidiarity. In this way, the international spaces of commerce and trade paradoxically provide the ground for international spaces of social cooperation. In a sense these are geometrics of difference (Rose 1993) hinged on the binary of economic / social.

There is real tension between this supranational interest in social policy and the anxiety of many of the member states that they may lose control over their 'private' issues of poverty and social exclusion. The push to maintain the principle of subsidiarity underscores this and it can be seen in the brief analysis of supranational / national scale tensions within the European Union that follows. In this sense, too, the paradoxical nature of spatial relationships at different scales becomes evident. The tension between the supranational and the national over responsibility for social policy only exists because a new set of constituency claims have come into effect through the production of a new scale of organisation. Without the Union, there would be no need for the rhetoric of subsidiarity – the geographies of difference between the nation states would have a low profile or at least would be brokered in an international arena where national sovereignty is not 'compromised' by loyalties and ties to a supranational organisation.

Supranational / National

There is no clear way to understand the articulation of the member states of the European Union with the European Union itself. It is a dynamic relationship that constantly shifts, strengthens and fades. What is important, for an analysis of social policy, is the extent to which the principle of subsidiarity is threaded through, and underwrites the capacity or incapacity of European Union policy initiatives. What is also important is the extent to which the supranational constituency has begun to create itself as a 'nation'. As Figure 6.1 illustrates, 'Europe' has been invested with the symbols of nationhood: a flag, an anthem, a map and a currency. It has a Parliament and a court and Europeans are actively encouraged to imagine themselves as 'Europeans'.



Figure 6.1: The production of 'Europe'

Montage designed and compiled by Oulton / Peace

Source: http://europa.eu.int/, ***http://europa.eu.int/en/eu/emblem.html***, ***http://europa.eu.int/en/comm/dg10/api/index.htm***, ***http://europa.eu.int/abc/9-may/index-en.htm***, ***http://europa.eu.int/abc/obj/chrono/40years/poster/index-en.htm***

But each of the fifteen member states also sees itself as a nation state and this inevitably produces tensions. Which authority counts? Who has the right to initiate policy and on what grounds? It is in the authoritative ambivalence between the supranational and national scales that paradoxical positionings become possible.

Wendy Brown (1995, 53) has suggested that nationalism is "a naturalistic, legitimating narrative of collective identity". She adds that it is one which is under assault from within and without and appears to be ironically torn, on the one hand to be frangible, "loosened from what retrospectively appears as an historically fleeting attachment to states", while on the other hand "being fervently asserted". The debate about whether the European Union will loosen the legitimating narratives of the member states is hotly contested.

Some argue that "Fortress Europe" is a volatile chimaera (Egan and McKiernan 1994) that has been 'hyped up' by the Commission to appear to have some power as a trade bloc and closed labour system. Others suggest that the European Union ultimately has a federal future (*Eurobarometer* 44). Still others, such as the maverick Internet columnist Paul Treanor,[19] ask the question: "Europe, Which Europe?" He suggests that there are many kinds of Europe, many ways in which 'Europe' may be spoken of: "Europe of nations, Europe of regions, Europe of the peoples, Unitary Europe". Treanor (1997 online) identifies the tensions inherent in debates about the Europe of nation states and suggests that there are at least four competing attitudes to the European Union:

> The real existing Europe is a Europe of nation states, 'Europe des patries' ...There are four basic attitudes [to this constituency]: active rejection of the EU as an enemy of nations, a passive acceptance of nations and the EU, a belief in the necessity of co–operation among nations, and a specific belief that the EU is good for existing nations.

Once again, it can be argued that this multidimensional Europe is full of paradoxical spaces. The Union is sometimes seen as restrictive and confining. Other times it appears to offer opportunities for the celebration and affirmation of difference.

Citizenship, and the capacity to belong to either the member states or the entity of the Union of States, as either workers or citizens and preferably as both, is a critical concern for individuals as well policy makers. Citizenship is an ambiguous and contested space and one which carries some of the defining characteristics of the included and excluded and I return to this debate later in Chapter 7. Even the issue of the Euro passport is enormously complex and has significant implications for the supranational / national policy milieu.

Individual policy recipients, however, those on the receiving end of policy dictums, do not play too large a role in the supranational spaces of policy making. There is some suggestion that regional, municipal and local foci more effectively mediate the tensions of 'belonging to' the supranational European Union than any global or national initiatives. [20]

Quintin Oliver, the Director of the Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action (NICVA), who I interviewed in 1994, aptly identified the overall tenor of the tensions between these different scales of operation. He suggested that:

> Even within our network [NICVA] we constantly struggle with that because we are trying to be an effective European operator but we know that **politically and structurally the European Union is organised not in Brussels and Strasbourg but in the 12 [1994] member states'**

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[19] I call Treanor a maverick simply because he is prolific, outspoken, widely published on the Internet but not keen to divulge his academic affiliations other than his training in political science at the University of Amsterdam.

[20] Michael Ignatieff's (1994, 7) argument about the dual face of 'belonging' is persuasive. On the one hand he argues that the reification of nationalism occurs through a sense of belonging premised on the notion that "Belonging [to the nation ensures] ... first and foremost protection from violence ... If nationalism is persuasive because it warrants violence, it is also persuasive because it offers protection from violence". On the other hand he follows Isaiah Berlin's interpretation that: "To belong is to follow the tacit codes of the people you live with; it is to know that you will be understood ...".

> **capitals**. So the **power** is still **not** with the **Commission**. The Commission has a role, – not with the Parliament – the Parliament has a role too – but **the real power is with the Council of Ministers, which is the national governments**.
>
> So we, as a network, have had … we describe it as parallel action – **we take action at the European level and we will lobby the Parliament and the Commission** but the **parallel action**, which is absolutely critical and essential, **is at the national member states level**. And then, because we are an open and democratic participator at the poverty networking level, working with the most marginalised groups, **we also work very much at the very local level** [pause] – and that becomes very endlessly complicated because you have literally hundreds of chapters – members' organisations in hundreds of towns, cities, rural areas – across an area populated [pause] – before the new members [pause] – over that immense geographical area, that immense political cultural linguistic area, at local, regional, national, and European level (Oliver 1994, interview).

The 'imaginary Europe' to which individuals feel themselves 'belonging' is much more the one to which they can be directly connected through local networks. Whether the supranational Union will ever engender the intensity in 'feelings of belonging' that currently accrue to local communities or specific nations is a moot point and one that can be argued through the presentation of perspectives based on regional, municipal or local scales of action.

Regional

Bridget Laffan (1996) provides a useful account of the tensions to which this imaginary Europe is subject – at supranational, national and regional levels – and argues that regional interests in Europe are tending to cede from their national constituencies in favour of more direct alliances with the Union. The cases she cites of the Basque, Corsican, Welsh, Scot, Catalan and Breton regionalist revivals also speak to debates about exclusion (see also Hechter and Levi 1994).

In these regional enclaves, 'politically' excluded minority cultures often overlap with constituencies of 'socially excluded' categories on indices of health, education, income and so on (Joly 1997). Thus, there is a strong basis for social policy claims between the

region and the Union. There is also a strong counter desire, at the supranational level, to pay attention to these areas of regional grievance as such regions are also often the source of dissidence and social unrest. The line along which Union policy can balance, either in terms of social assistance or security, is very delicately drawn, however, because 'interference' on either social or security grounds can be understood to breach the principle of subsidiarity. Regional policy, which is ostensibly directed at rectifying economic inequalities, is a useful 'bridging' tool, as I explain shortly.

Laffan's case for "Euro–cities" (Laffan 1996, 91) also strikes a reflexive chord with issues of exclusion and inclusion. She notes that municipalities have claims that may not be congruent with the claims of national polities and that the needs of cities for particular policy initiatives can be seen in the increasing number of fora which allow city leaders to come together irrespective of their national affiliations and positions (see also *Metropolis* online, in this regard, specifically in the policy area of immigration).

A recent initiative from the French National Centre of Scientific Research (CNRS) was the 1997 international seminar, *City Words*. This seminar, conducted mainly in French, advisedly used the concept of the city as the focus of its interdisciplinary research programme. *City Words* is now linked to the MOST clearing house and demonstrates not only the transfer of the concept of exclusion to international policy fora, but also the use of the city as the nucleus for exclusion research. The conference included a session on the "Languages of Urban Stigma", which highlighted the relationship between the city, exclusion, and language. Yale historian John Merriman, for example, spoke on "The Emergence of 'Faubourg' and 'Banlieue' as Urban Terms of Social Reprobation and Collective Identity in Nineteenth–Century France" and traced an interesting genealogy for the association between peripherality and social marginalisation. Merriman endorses my own sense that the processes of spatialisation, urbanisation and marginalisation are articulated in complex and contradictory ways. He suggests that:

> The identification of social marginality with peripheral spaces was … not new … increased large–scale industrialisation, the embourgeoise–ment of some central districts … [and] projects of urban renewal … accentuated the dichotomy between center and periphery. The edge of the city

> increasingly became the unprivileged space of unwanted activities (slaughterhouses, asylums, 'dirty industries') and unwanted people. ... At the same time, while the people of the faubourgs and banlieue were rejected and feared by urban elites, **the sense of exclusion could contribute to the emergence of a sense of collective identity, as well as of political challenge, on the periphery.**

In Rose's (1993) typology, this is the paradoxical space between the centre and the margin within the city but also between the city and its rural other. The city is, almost inevitably, a focus for social exclusion research and policies. Cities contain the concentrations of 'poor bodies' in specific urban spaces that give intensity to both the perceived need of policy (by policy makers) and the concerted demand for it by local excluded groups and individuals. The Poverty Programme initiatives which focused on rural areas, for example, sought to destabilise this fixation with the poor in urban spaces.

Other recent international projects with a focus on cities (for example the MOST and Habitat II projects) have further facilitated such developments, as has the uniquely European Union body *The Committee of the Regions [COR]* (online). In 1997, COR hosted the *European Summit of the Regions and Cities* (1997, online) which specifically set out to give voice to the regional and municipal authorities within the European Union.

Regional[21] policies are also particularly imbricated in the discourse of cohesion and solidarity. Regionally focused policies have an independent Commission of interest in the *Directorate General XVI – Regional Policies and Cohesion* (online) under which it is understood that:

> DG XVI is responsible for **Community action to promote economic and social cohesion** aimed at **reducing the gaps in socio–economic development between the different regions** of the European Union. DG XVI's work is focused on the management of two major funds, which

[21] In order to identify the links between 'regional' and 'cohesion', for example, I used NUD.IST text and index searches. The concept 'regional' occurred frequently in the corpus with 167 text units in 32/58 online documents, while the concept 'cohesion' (and its affiliates) occurred in 52/58 documents. The concept of the 'region' overlapped with that of cohesion in 73 text units.

> give financial assistance to programmes and projects in the more disadvantaged regions of the Union: the European Regional Development Fund [and] the Cohesion Fund (COM 1998I, Regional Policies and Cohesion, online).

The 'Cohesion Fund' (budgeted at 15 billion ecus over 7 years 1992–1999) is arguably the most transparent fund for linking together the notion of cohesion and the notion of solidarity and is provided by the Structural Funds. The Cohesion Fund was specifically set up to provide assistance to projects in Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain, which contribute to the improvement of the environment or to the development of transport infrastructure and networks.

> The Cohesion Fund is a new instrument for support and solidarity, intended to contribute to the strengthening of the economic and social cohesion of the European Union and to help the least prosperous Member States take part in Economic and Monetary Union (Regional Policies and Cohesion, online).

To date, the Cohesion Fund has been used almost exclusively for the four 'cohesion countries' (Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain) which are regarded as Europe's 'peripheral region'. The Structural Funds separately support the European Regional Development Fund[22], which is also based at a regional rather than a national scale. It is also important to understand the difference between the Structural Funds and the Poverty Programmes. At the time of operation of the Poverty Programmes, they were frequently confused. Under the reform of the Structural Funds, which came in to force in 1994, *Poverty 3* was linked to the Structural Fund through the mechanism of the European Social Fund.[23]

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[22] The ERDF resources are allocated to disadvantaged regions according to the Structural Fund's priority objectives for structural assistance. Financial assistance from the ERDF is mainly targeted at: supporting small and medium–sized enterprises, promoting productive investment, improving infrastructure, and furthering local development (*European Regional Development Fund*, online).

[23] "The European Social Fund" (ESF) was established in 1960 and is administered by DG V. The ESF is the main instrument of Community social policy and provides financial assistance, according to objectives 3 and 4 of the Structural Funds for vocational training, retraining and job–creation schemes, which are

The existence of regional policy (and, indeed urban and rural policy) has been one instrument that has been used to perpetuate the existence of social policy activities at the supranational level. Arguably, the capacity to exploit policy initiatives at the European scale is evidence of the extent to which the spatial boundaries of Europe are still porous. The restrictions of constrained and tightly defined space are not yet in place, perhaps reflecting the extent to which 'European space' is neither transparent nor self–evident. DG XVI represents the face of the European centre in regional politics but, arguably, the development of the Committee of the Regions has given local and regional advocacy a more 'democratic' face. The singular instrument of the Committee of the Regions is the designated Objective Regions.

Objective Regions

The Objective Regions are based on the premise of 'interspatial solidarity' – the idea that no one region or area of the Union would want to out–do or compete to the detriment of, any other region. This concept is critical to an understanding of the interconnectedness between desires for solidarity and desires for increased 'community democracy'. As Conroy (1994) suggests:

> 'Community democracy' would be nothing more than an empty idea if the pressure of competition ... meant that each local community managed its own individual "external constraints" by accepting more precarious and more arduous working and living conditions in the name of competitiveness. **Community democracy can only really succeed in every area if they are all somehow protected from "unfair competition" and "socio–ecological dumping"** on the part of other communities .

The Objective Regions are tightly defined and the definitions of regional constituencies they establish are worth considering in full. (See the table of descriptions Figure 6.2).

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targeted particularly at unemployed youth, the long–term unemployed, socially disadvantaged groups and women (*The Structural Funds,* online).

Figure 6.3 identifies the key Objective Regions and the different scales of different 'objectives'.

The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) concentrates assistance on 4 priority Objectives corresponding to 4 kinds of regions. They are:

• Objective 1: promoting the development and structural adjustment of regions whose development is lagging behind – primarily this includes entire countries: Greece, Ireland, Portugal; substantial parts of Spain, Italy (southern and island), the United Kingdom (Northern Ireland, Scotland (north west and island) and scattered pockets in the Midlands) and Germany (the Länder).

• Objective 2: converting the regions or parts of regions seriously affected by industrial decline – these areas are less clearly demarcated but exist in pockets in the older metropolitan areas of all the member states other than Greece, Ireland, and Portugal.

• Objective 3*: combating long-term unemployment and facilitating the integration into working life of young people and of persons exposed to exclusion from the labour market, promotion of equal employment opportunities for men and women.

• Objective 4*: facilitating the adaptation of workers to industrial changes and to changes in production systems.

• Objective 5a*: speeding up the adjustment of agricultural structures in the framework of the reform of the common agricultural policy and promoting the modernisation and structural adjustment of the fisheries sector.

• Objective 5b: facilitating the development and structural adjustment of rural areas – these are also small, scattered pockets especially in Austria, Denmark, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

• Objective 6: development and structural adjustment of regions with an extremely low population density – which is particularly relevant to Sweden and Finland.

*Objective 3, 4 and 5a are the non regional priority objectives of European cohesion policy and as such cover the whole of the Community.

Figure 6.2: Table of Descriptions of the Objective Regions

Source: The Structural Funds' Priority Objectives (online).

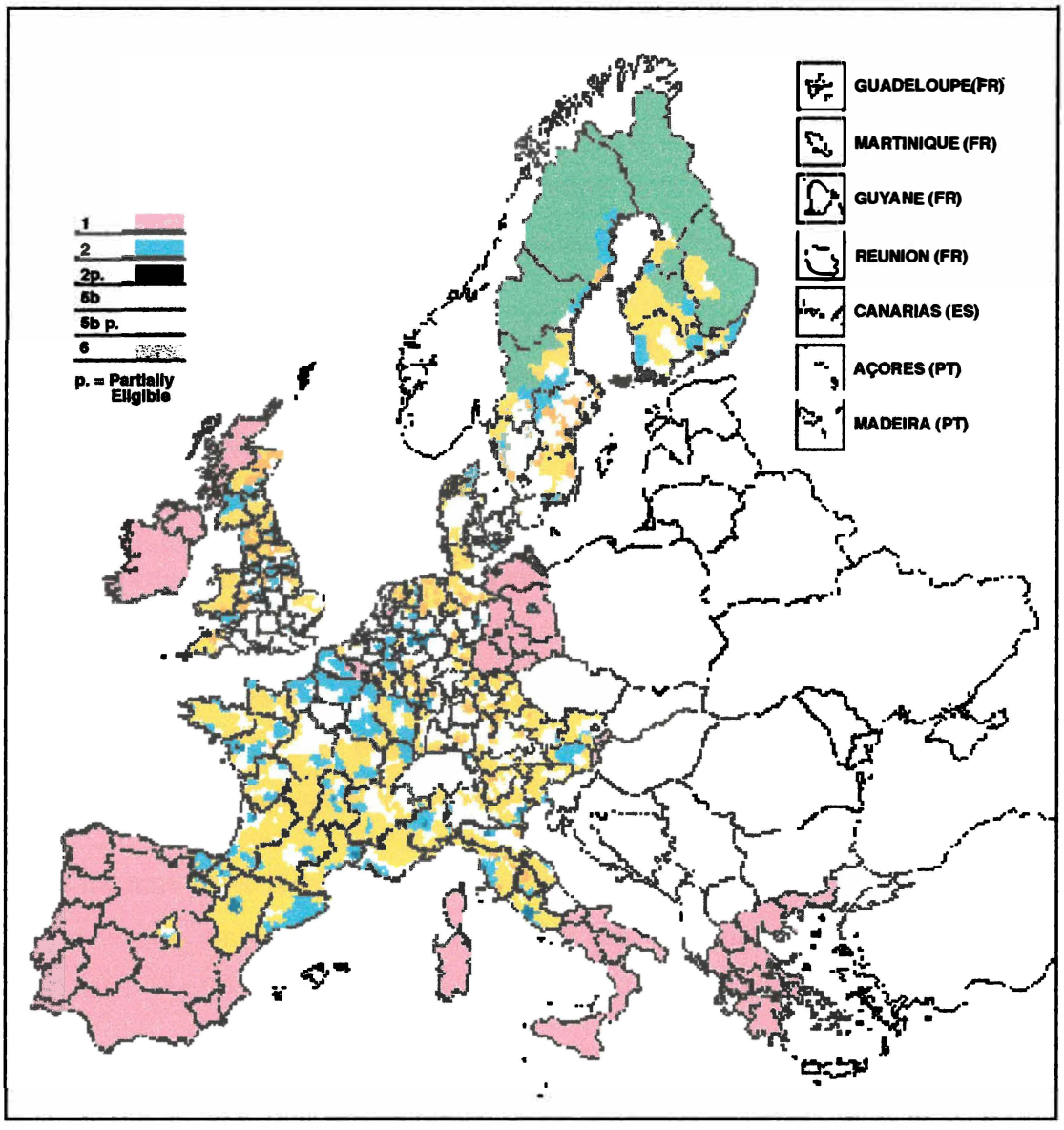


Figure 6.3: Objective Regions

Source: European Regional Development Fund (Online).

Some of the 'regions' are small and highly specified, others, like whole countries, are extremely generalised. Social policy workers looking for sources of funds for the development of projects have a whole new range and scale of spaces to investigate. The geometrics of difference (Rose 1993) created by the 'quirky' conceptualisation of the 'Regions' creates unanticipated opportunities. This is despite the fact that the link to the ESF limited the scope of the programmes to Objective 3 and Objective 4 employment–related activities of "The Structural Funds' Priority Objectives" (online):

> • Objective 3 **Combating long–term unemployment** and facilitating the **integration into working life of young people** and of persons exposed to exclusion from the labour market; **promoting equal opportunities for men and women in the labour market**.
>
> • Objective 4 Facilitating the **adaptation of workers to industrial change** and **to changes in productions systems** (Structural Funds' Priority Objectives, online).

Both of these objectives had their focus on labour markets and employment. Given the visionary regard that many of the planners of the Poverty Programmes had for the complexity and multifaceted nature of social exclusion, this constraint was not popular.

One of the innovative responses of *Poverty 3* to the narrow funding window was to opt for experimental and exemplary measures. This is spelled out specifically in the Central Unit Report, *Developments and Achievements* (1993, 5):

Poverty 3 is not intended and not able to tackle all aspects of poverty in the Community ... **Its aim is to promote experimentation** with new strategies.

The report also made the distinction between the "Model Actions" and the "Innovative Initiatives". Model Actions, according to this, were to:

> Bring together the public and private partners at the local level who are resolved to implement jointly a coherent and coordinated strategy to fight poverty (Central Unit Report 1993, 6).

The Brownlow Community Trust (described in Chapter 7) is an example of a Model Action project. The Single Parent Action project (described in Chapter 7) however, was an Innovative Initiative. According to the report, Innovative Initiatives are:

> ... on a modest scale: they are micro projects which explore appropriate responses to the specific situations [of] isolated groups (Central Unit Report 1993, 6).

The Northern Ireland director of NICVA, cited previously, summarised the paradoxical nature of this new constituency of policy opportunities:

> It's obviously **complicated,** and obviously, we who have had experience of working within a country, say the UK or Ireland, have had, over the last period, to **rethink our alliances and our coalitions** and our understanding of power structures – because of the move towards European integration – because of the strengthening of the European Union, as we now call it – because of the Single Market and its very strong centralising economic forces – against which the social dimension has slowly been pushed up the agenda, but not altogether adequately as far as we are concerned. And it has **put into sharp focus issues such as peripherality**, and **where you stand in the geographical question of your relationship to this new power centre**, and how any **regional policy, or decentralising policy** can be **put into place** within the European Union to **counter balance some of the centralising forces** of some of the bureaucracy and the **big centralising forces of the economy** (Oliver 1994, interview).

He also suggested that:

> I think that's a wider lesson that a lot of us are now learning about the differences between Brussels and Westminster, and the fact that there are different cultures and different styles of operating, and sometimes one is easier or more amenable than the other. And that sometimes that's for political reasons and electoral reasons, and sometimes it's for administrative reasons, or wider cultural reasons. And I think that that is one of the great benefits of the European experience – is how you learn and see things happening differently, and **use one model to leapfrog a problem or go around the back of something or to try it in a different way** (Oliver 1994, interview).

This perspective, from a person who has been involved in the administration of anti–poverty initiatives and networks at both Community–wide and regional levels, is useful. Oliver explicitly articulates the advantages and the disadvantages of working across different scales, in different spatial configurations. It was certainly my sense that there was no one way to evaluate the shift from poverty to social exclusion in this spatial context. For every constraint at one level there appeared to be a countervailing opportunity at another level that was facilitated by the existence of the constraint. This strength in the policy–making milieu is perhaps also borne out in discussions about the local scale. In order to follow this discussion in a tighter theoretical framework, I return to some interesting work done in the 1980s by Manual Castells (1997, 1989, Castells and P. Hall 1996, Castells and Henderson 1987), and Stuart Hall (1991).

Local / global

Manual Castells (1997, 1989) has written extensively about the significant economic, political and social transformations taking place in response to global changes in production and distribution. In particular he has been attentive to the local effects of global flows of information and the powers that accrue to those flows. Castells (1989, 348) suggests that we are witnessing:

> … the historical emergence of a space of flows, superseding the meaning of the space of places. By this we understand the deployment of the functional logic of power–holding organizations in asymmetrical networks of exchanges which do not depend on the characteristics of any specific locale for the fulfilment of their fundamental goals.

Castells goes on to suggest that the new information technologies are not in themselves the *source* of this organisational logic but they are the enabling *instrument* of it. His concluding assessment is that this organisational power is held disproportionately in the hands of 'global elites'. The most productive intervention, he suggests, to mitigate the effects of increasing, and socially threatening, polarisation between the 'haves' and the 'have–nots', is possible at a local level through the process and activity of local government. Local government, as Castells seems to envisage it, has the best

opportunity for using information networks to foster significant policy initiatives to ameliorate poverty. But it is not just local government that has this capacity, as non–government organisations frequently exploit this potential as well.

One such church–based resource in Salford, United Kingdom is THOMAS (**Th**ose **o**n the **Ma**rgins of a **S**ociety, online). THOMAS is an Internet vehicle for stories about the socially excluded with an aim to:

> … build a bridge of dialogue between the church and people who are on the margins of society especially those who are homeless, addicted to drugs or involved in crime . To assist these individuals it gives support by offering practical help and by encouraging other organisations to do likewise.

A recently completed conference on *Youth lost through Social Exclusion* sponsored by THOMAS not only identified the exclusion problems young people face, but also provided a vehicle for the views from the statutory and voluntary agencies, including the metropolitan police. THOMAS is an example of the kind of information that is accessible through the new electronic spaces of flows, though there is little sign of direct links between the secular and religious arms of poverty policy at the European scale. Such interaction still tends to appear as a local commitment.

At the European scale, information technocrats are certainly aware of the global / local linkages, and are particularly opening up possibilities for local input, though perhaps not always wittingly. The investment in information technology at the supranational level has been specifically targeted at the facilitation of linkages across spatial scales. Direct links are possible between European Union level organisations and local organisations as well as between one local organisation and another. The Commission supports two distinct structures: a central informatics service (the Informatics Directorate supervised by the Information Resource Management Board, IRMB), and local organisations within the Directorates General and Services (under the *Comité Technique de l'Informatique,* CTI). Both these branches are well resourced.

In addition, there are two Commissions that are heavily implicated in electronic networking as part of their *raison d' être*. Directorate–General X is responsible for information, communication, culture and audiovisual policy and is involved in programmes such as *PRINCE* (online).[24] This has three "priority information actions: Building Europe Together, Dialogue with Citizens and Business, [and] The Euro: A Currency for Europe". These initiatives are designed to strengthen local initiatives. Directorate–General XIII, responsible for telecommunications, the information market and exploitation of research, is much more directly concerned with hardware, single standard and compatibility issues.

The *Trans–European Networks* (TENs) are programmes designed to support the production of modern, technologically advanced infrastructures which are claimed will: "pull Europe together to **create a stronger economy, more jobs and a better quality of life for all citizens**" (TENs, online). In projects such as *PRINCE*, the rhetoric is directed towards producing citizenship through business and economic opportunity. In projects such as TENs the rhetoric makes explicit connections between jobs, the economy and quality of life. In creating information flows at the level of the Union, there is real potential for information exchange on the subject of social exclusion. What tends to occupy the electronic interstices, however, is discussion about jobs as the solution to economic exclusion.

Directorate–General XII, responsible for science and technology as well as for education and training, is also explicitly part of the European 'space of flows' because it manages the huge multi–annual Framework Programmes.[25] The density of the European Union's affiliation to Internet networks has increased exponentially over the last four years. Although it is extremely doubtful whether many homeless or unemployed take direct

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[24] PRINCE: *Programa de información para el ciudadano europeo*. The information programme for the European citizen – *Le programme d'information du citoyen européen* (PRINCE, online). Note that there appears to an increasing trend to draw acronyms from any of the European Union languages.

[25] Including the current Fourth Framework Programme (1994–1998), which has a total budget of 13.1 becus (billion ecus), and the Fifth Framework Programme (1999–2002) with a proposed budget of ECU 16.3 becus.

advantage of these electronic resources, indirectly their local predicaments are more accessible as rich source of research materials for academics.

Castells (1989, 351) alludes to the proliferation of new job opportunities created by the 'space of flows' but notes that:

> The bargaining power on the part of the informational labor force is highly vulnerable if it is not backed up by the social strength provided by cultural identity, and if it is not articulated and implemented by renewed political power from local governments.

The role of new information technologies is highly significant in the European Union and is significant in brokering the disparate demands of national, regional and local constituencies. Castells (1989, 351) also suggests that:

> Localities must also be able to find their specific role in the new information economy ... While the overall logic of the production and management system still operates at the level of flows, the connection between production and reproduction ... requires an adequate linkage to the place–based system of formation and development of labour.

Place and identity

In Castells' scenario, in other words, the informational flows do not only operate at the apex at the networks. They have the potential to operate within the local community, the "place–based" community as well. But Castells' notion of place–based local communities is restrictive. He suggests, somewhat self–evidently, that "people live in places" (Castells 1989, 349), but by saying this, he is choosing to emphasise that, regardless of what is happening at the global level in response to the "power that rules through the flows" of global–based information, a "local" reality exists. Castells (1989, 350) talks about the "tribalisation of local communities" and makes at least some suggestion that local communities have some affinities of ethnicity or even kinship that are denied to the global community. It is on this basis of affinity that Friedman (1992, 167) may have come to describe 'local communities' as "the dangerous communities".

Stuart Hall (1991) has a more subtle argument about the ways in which identity politics might work in 'localised' sites to produce the "counter–movements, resistances, counter–politics" (Hall 1991, 61) that might be regarded as the activities of 'dangerous communities'. Castells' suggestion that local government can be most effectively mobilised as the source of counter–power seems a little glib. Hall (1991, 41) discusses the concept of localised resistance from a more pragmatic perspective:

> I was obliged to ask if there is a politics, indeed a counter–politics of the local. If there are new globals and new locals at work, who are the new subjects of this politics of position? What conceivable identities could they appear in?

In returning to the question of identity and the question of difference that is imbricated in the question of identity, Hall takes a step away from any superficial assumption that the local will be constituted by homogeneities of ethnicity or kinship. He goes on to state that: "having lodged either the individual or collective subject always within historical practices, we as individuals or as groups cannot be, and can never have been, the sole origins or authors of those practices" (Hall 1991, 43). Neither the global nor the local actors are the authors of the practices of globalisation – although the 'local' may be quick to attribute authentic power to the global.[26] In fact Hall (1991, 61) contests that: "I do not make that distinction between the local and the global. The question is what are the locations at which struggles might develop?"

Locations imply multiple sites, multiple possibilities of contestation and this is the critical difference between Castells' 'immobilised tribalists', in their communities of affinity, and Hall's 'ambulatory strategists' who transform both themselves and their politics in the course of coming into alliances with the other groups, the other identities, that they are separated from (Hall 1991, 65). It is the use of information flows across the space of places in innovative and proactive ways, by those who speak from the

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[26] On Tuesday 13 October 1992 the Lucas company announced the redundancy of 8,000 workers world–wide. This could be construed as the authentic practice of a very specific group of global managers. It could also be argued, perhaps less convincingly, that the 8000 who lost their jobs did so precisely because they failed to be the original authors of their own retraining in anticipation of redundancy.

understanding of their own positionality, that may provide the enabling moment of counter–politics.

The social polarisation which is so evocatively recorded in the work of Sassen (1991), Room (1990), and Moroksavic (1991) will undoubtedly intensify unless interventions are both well informed and proactive. In the case of the Brownlow Community Trust, it is possible to argue that both ambulatory strategists and information flows enabled an emancipatory politic to emerge. The rationale for the Poverty Programmes and for the particular way in which they aspired to articulate supranational and local interests is spelled out in the preamble to an extensive report provided to the House of Lords in the United Kingdom. I have identified the key elements of this articulation in the extended quote which follows:

> Finally, these [Poverty] programmes are also **intended to contribute to the transfer of know–how and good practice** and the **building up of networks of players** engaged in transnational exchanges on the basis of relatively comparable tangible experience (which accounts for the importance the Commission attaches to the coherence of the programme as a whole and its European organisational structure).
>
> These functions set specific programmes quite clearly apart from funds. **They require the Commission's active presence at grass roots level as partners** to demonstrate the Community's commitment, to stress the coherence which is sought and to help reap the benefits of the experience of all ...
>
> They **involve sustained cooperation with the Member States**, not only to ensure that the projects are run as efficiently as possible but also to maximise the impact of the projects and programmes in providing impetus for policies and in the transfer of good practice. (House of Lords Select Committee Report 1994, online).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued for the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion in section 6. 1, and have suggested that large numbers of researchers are currently investigating the contours of this shift. I have also, in section 6.2, exploited Riggs'

onomantic strategies in order to destabilise the naturalised relationships between liberalism, capitalism and democracy that are key tropes governing the production of social policy in the European Union. By drawing on Riggs onomantic strategies, I have teased out some of the critical points at which liberal philosophy appears to contain contradictory impulses connected to capitalism on the one hand and democratic principles on the other, and have suggested that the role of capitalism is occluded by the practice of using 'liberalism' as a shelter term. As a result, social policy often appears to occupy paradoxical positions – being neither fully instrumental in a functionalist capitalist sense, nor fully focused on the autonomous (liberal–democratic) individual citizen.

Given that my working knowledge of these tropes, prior to my research, was much more rooted in the elementary representations provided by the 'popular' media, Riggs' typology provided a very useful framework for thinking about these very naturalised concepts in the context of my study. It has encouraged me to focus on the scope and breadth of these encompassing terms and to pay attention to the way in which other scholars represent their interrelatedness and still contested definitions. This analysis is rudimentary and provides, more than anything, a suggestive starting point for more in–depth research along these lines and in particular for examining further the extent to which capitalist discourse might more aptly be understood as the shelter term.

The third and final aspect of this chapter (section 6.3) has involved an analysis of the economies of scale that also govern European Union social policy production at the macro scale. In this section I have identified global influences, supranational / national influences, regional realities and global / local conjunctions and considered some apsects of their effects on social policy production. A discussion of place and identity towards the end of this chapter identifies the shift in focus from this representation of philosophical and geographical tropes to the work of the next chapter which focuses on real material places and the imaginary geographies of exclusion in Europe.

Chapter 7

Speaking spatially

'Speaking about space' in relation to the discourse of social exclusion is, ironically, one of the most problematic aspects my research. As I have already mentioned in Chapter 3, foregrounding 'space' often results in representations in which space is static and transparent. I have already alluded, in Chapter 6, to how the question of scale dominates much of this discussion and in one sense I have deliberately bracketed scale out of the discussion in this chapter although it reappears in the case studies towards the end. European Union social exclusion policies exhibit a dense, largely unexamined and paradoxical spatiality. The 'local' configurations may be contradictory to the 'regional' or may complement or intensify the relationships between the 'regional' and the 'national'. 'Real material' places and metaphorical evocations of place provide examples that emphasise the importance of both spatial and temporal specificities in policy / body relationships. Thus, in this chapter, I attempt to answer my research question about how and in what ways the paradoxical spaces of the European Union (over and above the questions of geographical scale), inflect policy practice and outcomes in relation to social exclusion. I work both with Gillian Rose's (1993) conceptualisation of paradoxical space and with John Dryzek's (1997) analysis of metaphor and policy.

'Exclusion',[1] the process of shutting out or expelling someone or something from somewhere by some means, is a pre–eminently spatial process. Paradoxically, however, it is seldom represented in such an active and spatialised sense in European Union social policy texts. In section 7.1, following a brief introduction to Rose's concepts, I discuss how policy representations of real material spaces tend to obscure geometrics of difference. I also use Dryzek's (1997) approach to discourse analysis to suggest one

[1] As noted earlier, dictionary definitions of exclusion suggest both 'shutting out' and 'thrusting forth' as current meanings. *The Compact Oxford English Dictionary* (1991, 544) defines exclusion on five grounds

strategy for identifying and valorising geometrics of difference in policy texts. In section 7.2, I examine the paradoxical spaces of centre and margin, and representability and unrepresentability that are also evident in the European Union texts. I suggest that 'imagined cartographies' also play a significant role in the production of policy space. I speculate on some of the ways in which the tropes of subsidiarity and solidarity, for example, also relate to Rose's notion of paradoxical spaces. I also consider some of the ways in which migrant bodies are excluded bodies in paradoxical ways. In section 7.3, I introduce two case studies: the first, Brownlow, is focused on a deprived socio–economic community in Northern Ireland, and the second, SPAN, is focused on single parents in Bristol, England.

Paradoxical Spaces

Gillian Rose (1993, 150–155) identifies three different kinds of paradoxical space to which feminist geographers increasingly attend. These are, in her words, "the geometrics of difference", "the paradox of the centre and the margin" and the "paradox of being with the Same and the Other".

In the first instance, Rose (1993, 150), borrowing from Donna Haraway (1991), suggests that there are "geometrics of difference and contradiction" that imply that:

> geography can no longer simply be a mapping of social power relations onto territorial spaces: masculine and feminine onto public and private for example ... Any position is imagined as not only being located in multiple social spaces, but also as at both poles of each dimension.

It is not possible, in other words, to imagine that social power relations embedded in policy directives will traditionally map onto territorial spaces. There is a much greater awareness, in the 1990s, that power relations are plurivocal as well as plurilocal. Thus, as I explain shortly, geometrics of difference are the antithesis of traditional social

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including: "shutting from a place, a society etc. debarring from privilege, omitting from a category, from consideration ... the action of putting or thrusting forth from a receptacle ... the action of discharging."

policy texts where the tendency is for social policy to be written in the terms of instrumentalist planning discourse. This means that the geometrics of difference are often overlooked. I demonstrate this in relation to the discourse in my research corpus and use Dryzek's (1997) four point checklist as a tool for locating tendencies for linearity and universalising. I also note that the discourse of multidimensionality in the Poverty Programmes has contributed to the production of contradictory policy outcomes in just the way that Rose's (1993) argument suggests.

The second paradoxical space that Rose (1993, 151) alerts us to is what she describes as "the paradox of occupying both the centre and the margin". Rose argues that there is subversive potential in the "doubled position" where social actors can simultaneously occupy both an insider and an outsider position. The 'Other', as Rose suggests, is not somewhere apart from the 'Same'. The discourses that produce the 'Other' are produced by those who would understand themselves as belonging to the category of the 'Same'. Those who are categorised by discursive othering may (or may not) be aware that the words that notify them as 'Other' also create the very grounds for their inclusion – both discursively and materially – in the place of the 'Same'.

The third and final paradoxical space that Rose (1993, 153–4) identifies is "the paradox of being within the same and the other" in the epistemic terrain of the "spaces of representation and unrepresentability". The complexity of this space, in which the 'other' both claims and eschews interpellative process, in order to *appear in* the discourse but *not* be colonised *by* the discourse is a crucial aspect to consider in any place / policy debate. This is also a subtle and arguably contentious claim. Rose identifies this third paradoxical space as an extension of the potentially subversive space produced through the juncture of centres and margins. She suggests that this third discursive space is one in which 'others' must "depend on a sense of an 'elsewhere' for their resistance" (Rose 1993, 154), on a space which is "beyond representation".

Rose's (1993) discussion was specifically developed as part of her critique of masculinist knowledge in Geography. My desire is to extend the reach of her argument into a critique of social policy texts and this is not difficult in the sense that the

representation of the complex, the contingent, the "critically mobile" (Rose 1993, 14) is compromised by epistemic histories in both areas. In both discursive fields, geography and social policy, representing geometrics of difference runs counter to what Rose (1993, 144–149) identifies as the two normative directions of spatial discourse. The first of these can be seen in the tendency to confine social actors (especially women and 'others' – migrants, refugees, the ill, the homeless) to particular restrictive places. The inscribed embodiment of 'others', of social actors who do not occupy the transcendent space of the masculinist subject, makes these subjects vulnerable. Not only do policy makers demonstrate a tendency to map the bodies of these others onto uncomplicated notions of bounded territorial space, but also to deny the capacity of the complex and paradoxical subjectivity of these social actors to remake spaces.

The second normative impulse in spatial discourse that Rose (1993) critiques is the tendency for masculinist spatial knowledge to conflate claims to know (about a particular space) with access to and, often, occupation of that space. Territory is understood to be "a kind of property won, historically, often by violence and conquest" (Rose 1993, 148). Furthermore, "the epistemic closures and exclusions which legitimate that violence have been described as coercive in their claims to territories of knowledge … this violence is the guarantee of the same" (Rose 1993, 148). As I suggest later in this chapter, there is evidence of epistemic resistance to the discourses of exclusion in these terms.

Spatiality (in both material and metaphorical terms) is a critical component of the concept of 'social exclusion'. Thus, a 'geography' of social policy may also be used to highlight the paradoxical spaces that social policy inhabits and may be used to demonstrate the ways in which the concept of social exclusion occupies just such paradoxical space. Arguably, the spatial paradoxes that inhere in 'policy' appear in the gaps between materiality and metaphor.

I begin to establish some linearity to my argument by looking at conventional material representations of spatial discourse and relating them to Rose's three configurations of paradoxical space. I begin by mapping a relationship between real material places and

the arguments that Rose puts forward in relation to geometrics of difference. I suggest that it is at the level of material places that difference is most easily and unthinkingly overlooked in the policy discourse of social exclusion.

In section 7.2, I map Rose's arguments about the centre and margin onto so–called imagined cartographies[2]. Rose's (1993) three propositions, central to my argument, stand in stark contrast to what Rose (1993, 146) has so tellingly identified as "the analytical stare of geography". It is to some of the elements of this 'stare' that I now turn my attention.

7.1: 'Real material' places

The classic geographic evocations of the importance of place are encapsulated in these two subtly differentiated aphorisms:

> Places Matter: . . . (Johnston 1985).
>
> Place Matters: . . . (Monk 1994).[3]

On the one hand, Johnston's phrase is suggestive of the predictable contours of geographic research with respect to materially *real places* in the form of countries, towns, localities, areas, and regions as the named sites, the territorial locations, the

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[2] In that wonderful way that sometimes happens apposite terms seem to just 'come to mind'. It was incidental that I discovered that I needed to (regretfully) concede this evocative term to Michael Keith (1991).

[3] Neither Ron Johnston (1985) nor Janice Monk (1994) use their particular phrase to make a distinction between material and metaphorical place as I do in this chapter. In fact they both discuss the idea of place as context. However, given that this research is concentrating on small elisions in meaning I have used these aphorisms to reiterate the point that no language is transparent, or unambiguous. In a later book, Johnston (1986, 38) conflates the term *geography* with *place* and so, in claiming that *places matter*, he is also claiming that geography – as an academic discipline – matters. Monk, in her article where this statement appears, is in fact arguing that material places matter in the production of feminist geographies. John Agnew and James Duncan (1989, 1–8) provide a detailed discussion of the meaning of place and space (see also Sack 1980).

'actual places' in which people live. In relation to the formulation, implementation and evaluation of social policy, such mappable places are of great significance.

Monk's phrase, on the other hand, alerts us to the possibility that *place* can also be understood as an abstract concept – a signifier which shares a conceptual equivalence to *time* – having the capacity to underwrite the unique contexts of human experience in terms of temporal and spatial specificities.

Both *places* and *place [space]*[4] are signifiers of spatiality – of sets of relationships between peoples and their environments that are intensified or attenuated by boundaries, distance, scale and interaction. Both place and places matter to social policy. What is central to my overall argument here, however, is that social policy often gives cognisance to material places but overlooks the metaphorical signification of place. In the case of the European Union the 'real material' places are given the particular weight of hierarchical organisation that is designed to uphold the principle of subsidiarity as a governing instrument.

Space, in this incarnation, is the palimpsest on which the natality, fertility, mobility and mortality of citizens of the nation state are engraved but it is only some citizens whose lives are accurately registered by the engraver. For others the contradictory geometrics of their lives are not only misrepresented but elided.

Geometrics of difference

The discourses of spatial transparency, on the one hand, and spatial confinement, on the other, can be identified in the instrumentalism of policy planning discourse. The first transparently instrumentalist influence is in the development of policy planning

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[4] Some theorists, such as Foucault (1980, 149), Harvey (1989), Lefebvre (1991, 73), and Keith and Pile (1993), for example, use the term *space* rather than *place*. Although at times this semantic slippage constructs significantly different meanings it often does not. The hair–tearing of undergraduate geographers who try to understand the difference is perhaps misplaced. My argument rests on the crucial distinction between place [or space] as an abstract as opposed to a concrete signifier (see also Harvey (1993) for a postmodern reading of the space / place quandary).

documents, in which place is assumed to be the site of the activity. Here, the 'geometrics of difference' tend to be ignored. Policy documents tend to rely on naturalised conceptions of *real material places.*

Place is the stage on which the policies are played out. The place becomes marked by the material outcomes of policies and is seen as the site of action and change. Space is understood in this context as a container (see Rogers *et al.* 1992, Sack 1980). The 'space as container' conception has been called into question by David Harvey (1974, 18–24) who asked "what kind of geography for what kind of social policy?" in order to question the passive representation of 'geography' as the place at which something occurs. Places as containers of social reality also appear in 'Applied Geography' courses in many universities (see Johnson 1994, 20–24). The site or place of policy enactment is seen to offer some inherent constraints or advantages that need to be measured, assessed or defined. Applied Geography – particularly quantitative and cartographic skills – is often understood to be a reasonable provision of tools for the conduct of policy focused geography.

Such conceptualisation of space and place has been challenged in recent interdisciplinary collections such as Heidi Nast and Steve Pile's (1998) *Places through the Body*. Nast and Pile (1998, 4) move to the crux of the place / poverty / policy dilemmas when they claim:

> Bit by bit, bodies become relational, territorialized in specific ways. Indeed, places themselves might be said to be exactly the same: they, too, are made–up out of relationships between, within and beyond them; territorialized through scales, borders, geography, geopolitics. **Bodies and places, then, are made up through the production of their spatial registers, through relations of power**. Bodies and places are woven together through intricate webs of social and spatial relations that are made by, and make, embodied subjects.

In this instance it is not the places themselves that constitute the territories but the complex "production of spatial registers through relations of power". Relationships, Nast and Pile suggest, "become territorialized" rather than occur in places that 'are'

territories of any kind in the first instance. Such analysis, however, is not the norm. Rather, policy texts are redolent with implicit instrumentalist references to place.

The materiality of these references becomes clear in such titles as: *The Power of Maps* (Wood, 1992), *Urban and Regional Planning* (Hall, 1992) and *Regional Development and the Local Community: Planning, Politics and Social Context* (Weaver, 1984). The most common references to places are in terms of spatial hierarchies. On the one hand, policy documents identify the spatial scale within which they have competence – local, regional and national scales, for example – and on the other hand they refer to specific places as sites within those scales. Policy documents, or documents written as part of a specific planning discourse, refer both to place–based policy formulation, implementation and evaluation at local, regional and national levels, and to hierarchies of disbursement for the funding of those programmes.

Place–naming, in the European Union policy texts, is a good example of taken–for–granted conceptualisation of place. There are frequent references to national places, to particular countries such as Belgium, and to regional places that are not quite countries but are too large to be 'local areas', such as Scotland, or the Basque country. There are also references to local places, particular suburbs or boroughs or parts of metropolitan areas such as Brownlow. Confusingly there are also places designated because they are cities, towns or particular villages, or places that are in some way identifiable rural communities. All such places are frequently invoked in the policy texts and policy is tailored for each constituency. For example, particular named places occur in the policy texts and plans are made in relation to particular scales of authority in those places:

> In the Poverty 3 programme, many projects in **Belgium**, **Denmark**, **France**, **Spain** and **Italy** experimented with actions to **counteract local** underdevelopment ... In **Denmark local** unemployed people succeeded in having their **needs responded to by** local construction entrepreneurs ... In **Belgium** some structural solutions to the neglect of districts were in fact **accepted by a city authority** (Conroy 1994).

A second facet of these 'real material' places that confirms instrumentalist influences in policy planning responses has already been discussed and can be identified in the existence of the structural hierarchies (see Chapter 6). These hierarchies produce clear niches at different levels for policy process. Often there is an assumed, spatialised hierarchy of policy decision–making from the local, to the regional, national, and supranational authorities, even to the level of the global.

In the European Union context these hierarchies are ratified through the principle of subsidiarity. Indeed, it is hard for decisions to be taken at some levels because of the reliance on the demarcation that is in the legislation.

> In its initiatives, the Commission takes the principle of subsidiarity into account so that it **initiates legislation only in the areas where the European Union is better placed that individual Member States** to take effective action (*European Commission 1995–2000*).

These hierarchies, and the extent to which they confine and constrain the representation of factional interests, are also taken–for–granted, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

> Just as **local programmes** depend on **consultation and cooperation** between the parties involved, **national policies** depend on **coordination between the various ministries** ... **Some Member States** [such as France] have **set up specific authorities** ... Others have tried to draw up general **cooperation frameworks** bringing together those involved at local level [such as Italy] or **national policy agreements** involving the social partners [such as the Programme for Economic and Social Progress, Ireland] (COM 1992, 579).

In the supranational European Union context, not only are the structures in place, at local, regional, national, and international scales, but both governmental and non–governmental authorities have their roles configured through the principle of subsidiarity. There are few questions asked about the legitimacy or capacity of the spatialised hierarchy of policy decision–making except in the light of contraventions of the principle of subsidiarity.

However, 'geometrics of difference' also make their appearance in the scalar geographies of the European Union where "claims to know" the social spaces of the

nation, the region, or the local area, are confounded by intersecting tensions and contradictory knowledges (as has been discussed in Chapter 6). Some of these emanate from the macro, supranational constituencies, some derive from particular case studies within local areas, and some are produced by the ambiguous metaphorical rhetoric relating to notions such as subsidiarity and solidarity. The allocation of the Structural Funds, for example, to conform to the boundaries of 'regions' seems to assume that it is quite a simple thing to identify pockets or areas or countries on the basis of particular criteria. The mapping, however, is entirely dependent on the perceptions of those who collate the data to inform the cartographer and it is not a 'simple' or 'straightforward' thing at all (see Pickles 1992). Rather than assuming that particular areas might need 'assistance' in some blanket form, the policy directions may need to be much more multidimensional.

A discourse of a "multidimensionality" that recognised the social and spatial complexity of poverty occurred with increasing frequency in the Poverty Programmes. As the *House of Lords Report* (1994, 49) records and as the highlighting emphasises, poverty is complex:

> We have chosen to deal with **multidimensionality** first, as it is the theoretical concept that **underpins partnership and participation**. Our work with families in particular shows that poverty is multifaceted. For example to tackle the poverty faced by an individual family a **range of interventions may be required** such as childcare, personal development, access to transport, skills training, health promotion, debt counselling, benefit advice, to assist in providing greater access to the labour market and statutory services .

In Rose's terms, I would argue that this acknowledgment of complexity is also an acknowledgment of the 'geometrics of difference'.

The desire for multidimensionality, expressed in the critique Rose offers of masculinist geographic space, also runs counter to rational representation of space as transparent and self–evident. Space only does not matter to those whose rights / rites of passage are unfettered by convention, prejudice, misinformation or disprivilege. There can be no simple discussion about solving poverty by attending to structural disadvantage at the

macro level when, increasingly, the discussion must be about implications of the public and private elements of particular individual lives. It is not possible to "know the social space" of Brownlow, for example, by simply examining the indices of car ownership or the decline of public sector housing.

The Poverty Programmes as an example of a supranational policy instrument, generally, however, have little or no specific site focus. Their focus is on how the funding mechanisms and authorisations can be made to work to deliver funding to 'local areas' and 'regions'. The organisations or authorities that apply for the funding make the initial definition of those areas. Their application reflects the particular interests and motivations of their group and their area is defined according to what is most expedient for their immediate ends. The Objective Regions, discussed in Chapter 6, provide an excellent example of hierarchies of disbursement at the European Union scale.

There is further clear evidence of this planning orientation in the policy corpus of my research. In a reported *Opinion of the Economic and Social Committee on Local Development Initiatives and Regional Policy*, for example, Carlos Ferrer, as the President of the Economic and Social Committee, further outlines the role of instrumentalist hierarchies:

> The **role** of the **public bodies** in galvanizing the key socio–economic categories – first and foremost, **the social partners** – of a given community is particularly crucial and delicate. By successfully interpreting the economic and cultural aspirations of their communities, the **various tiers of public authority** can achieve the social cohesion and harmonious cooperation, which is vital for local development. In general, **these authorities can help the social partners to act by eliminating red tape, revising legislation, reforming the labour market, spatial planning, promoting vocational training (especially for new types of work), providing financial assistance and new financial instruments, and setting up advisory and support facilities** (Ferrer 1996, online).

In Pauline Conroy's (1994), *Evaluation of the Achievements of Poverty 3 Synthesis,* the comment is also made that:

> In the Poverty 3 programme, many **projects** in Belgium, Denmark, France, Spain and Italy experimented with actions to counteract local underdevelopment or the failure of local initiatives to emerge. Key issues such as the **creation of new organisations**, **support for local development projects** and **input into territorial planning** were among the methods used (Conroy 1994, online).

There is an increasingly large literature, which addresses issues of spatial, infrastructural and environmental planning in the European Union, that tends to take policy / planning / place interrelationships for granted. Some texts focus specifically on urban planning (Newman and Thornley 1996), on housing policy (Balchin 1996), others on transport policy (Bell and Cloke 1990) and still others on environmental policy (Hale and Lachowicz 1998). In all of these texts, the utility of generic macro–planning is made clear, but the places for which the policies are being produced remain static, material sites. The 'geometrics of difference and contradiction' in such sites receives little or no discussion. Where these elements can receive attention, however, is in deconstructive accounts of policy and place.

Discursive stories about place and policy

One influential environmental planning text (albeit not a geographical one) clearly points to the value of examining the discursive effects of policy discourse. John Dryzek (1997), a political scientist, has not only addressed the issue of metaphor in environmental planning discourse, but has provided a useful model for considering some of the influences on policy development in the European Union. In these next few paragraphs, I draw on this model to identify further the kinds of exogenous influences that reinforce the material spatiality of European Union social policy.

Specifically, Dryzek (1997, 18) identifies a four point checklist of elements from which particular discursive stories are constructed. Each discourse, he suggests, contains elements of:

> basic ontological entities whose existence is recognized or constructed …; assumptions about natural relationships – [such as the assumptions

> that certain power relationships or hierarchies are natural –] …; agents and their motives …; [and] key metaphors and other rhetorical devices.

Dryzek (1997, 17) emphasises that:

> Most story lines, in the environmental arena no less than elsewhere, depend crucially on metaphor … Metaphors are rhetorical devices, deployed to convince listeners or readers by putting a situation in a particular light. Many other devices are available to perform the same tasks. These include appeal to widely accepted practices or institutions, such as established rights, freedoms, constitutions and cultural traditions … Appeals can be made to deeper pasts … [and] the negative and discredited can be accentuated as well as the positive and treasured.

Dryzek thus brings environmental planning discourse into conjunction with policy analysis that depends on linguistic analysis, but also provides a concise basis from which to consider the imbrication of policy and place.

Basic entities

Dryzek's typology identifies that "basic entities" of policy discourse tend to assume the existence both of inert spatial locations and of aggregated categories of human types or behaviours. Aggregation of categories is one of the powerful normative elements embedded in policy discourse and is an element which reinforces the notion that 'normal' behaviours will be acted out in 'normal' places. 'Global' policies are thus produced for the member states as a whole, or for particular countries, regions or local communities, and they are produced with particular categories of people in mind. Neither the 'bounded spaces' nor the 'categories' tends to be called into question.

In the following citations from the *House of Lords Select Committee Report* on the Poverty Programmes in the United Kingdom, the places and the categories have been emphasised to highlight this point.

> In **Pilton [Edinburgh]** there was emphasis on education, including the education of **adults** on the same premises as **school children**, training, the increased take–up of welfare benefits and the provision of **child** care

> which would free **women** to take up employment or training (*House of Lords* 1994, 121).

The categories of 'adult' and 'child' are presumed to be self–explanatory. The provision of child care for women is taken for granted so that neither children of particular ages nor parenting fathers or males come into the picture.

> In **Granby–Toxteth [Liverpool]** there was emphasis on the Project's visibility and credibility; on increasing the employment of **local labour** including **ethnic minority labour**, by developers; on supporting a housing association intended to help **local people**, including **ethnic minority groups**, determine how their housing needs were met; and on campaigns to increase the take–up of welfare benefits (*House of Lords* 1994, 115).

In the shorthand versions of events necessary for 'executive summaries' any references to the problematic definitions of 'local' and 'ethnic' fade off the page.

> In **Brownlow, [Northern Ireland]** the Community Trust, among a host of activities, reported on the establishment of a **women's** centre, providing groups for **young mothers**, a crèche and community education courses (*House of Lords* 1994, 50–52).

The gendered nature of the categories and the arbitrary way in which they are reproduced in the texts goes un–noted and unquestioned. Basic entities are usually understood to be just that, secure ontological categories that in themselves are not the subject in question. In identifying 'basic entities' as one of a parcel of elements in a discursive construction, Dryzek opens up the possibility for difference. Basic entities are 'geometrically differentiated' along intersecting axes of ethnicity, class, gender, age, ability and so on.

In the following citation, the authors refer to generic places as if they were very specific locations. Particular kinds of bodies are tied to those places in an unproblematic way. Once again, the bold emphasis picks out the place and the categories identified in those places.

> ... the **Pilton** Partnership's **Child Care Action Group** derived real impetus from their visit to Belgium (p 122); **Brownlow learned** from the Utrecht project **about the use of volunteers in health promotion** and influenced the **Calais** project's **use** of **part–time paid workers** (*House of Lords* 1994, 29–30).

In this case the association is being made between action groups and Pilton, volunteers and Brownlow and Utrecht, part–time paid workers and Calais. Brownlow and Calais in particular appear to have become animated 'things in themselves' capable of 'learning' and 'using'.

It is these 'basic entities', these taken–for–granted places, that are invoked in the principle of subsidiarity. But these basic entities are also open, in Rose's (1993, 151) terms, to redefinition through an appreciation of the geometrics of difference.

Michael Dorn (1998), echoing Rose's sense of the subversive potential that inheres in confinement, suggests that only dissidence (the spatial separating out caused by discontent) can register the polyvocality of the excluded other. Dorn (1998, 189) claims:

> The architecture of public space enables a certain subset of the population to engage in commerce and rituals of citizenship. Other individuals find that these socio–spatial arrangements neglect their different needs and abilities. **For these misfits, active dis–identification with the rituals of public power and the 'proper' use of public space becomes a legitimate, even sometimes unavoidable option for resistance.**

The degree to which this spatial dissidence, as opposed to moments of public dissent, promotes anxiety is reflected in much of the discourse of social exclusion. As I argue in Chapter 8, 'social integration' is as much a discourse about reclaiming control over the bodies of the excluded through the discipline of work, as it is about ameliorating the privation of the poor. The basic entities in exclusion discourse are increasingly understood to be 'paid workers', rather than individuals who may or may not have the capacity, will or desire to participate in paid work.

Glenn Voris (1997, online), writing for the *LabourNet* Forum on Labor in the Global Economy, reported the dissident view of life in the European Union when he claimed:

> There are **20 million registered unemployed** in the European Union today and **50 million people live below the poverty line. We could all, one day, be affected by unemployment and poverty**. The breakdown of the welfare state, increasing unemployment and the onslaught of poverty are attacking people's dignity, as witnessed by lower standards of working conditions, dropping incomes and welfare benefits to the lowest possible level, [and] inciting racism by encouraging inequality.

Voris (1997, online) suggested that the dissidents' demands, to be expressed in the transnational "all Europe march against unemployment!" in 1996, were not simply for 'work':

> Above all, our **immediate objective** is for **all the unemployed**, those **on low incomes** and **the disadvantaged** to be allowed a dignified life–style and for small–holders to live off their land. This includes, for both nationals and immigrants, the **right to housing, education, health, freedom of movement, sexual equality and a decent living wage**.

The unemployed, the disadvantaged, those on low incomes, are all, in some sense at least, 'insiders', but their occupation of 'insider space' is only conceivable if the idea of space is polyvocal and polylocal and is premised on contradictory geometrics of difference. Particular discourses of unemployment and poverty produce a space of exclusion – an 'outsider' status – for millions of Europeans. Paradoxically it is the being at least in part on the 'inside' that produces the claim – not just for jobs or even a 'decent living wage' – but for the things that 'insiders' have: good housing, education and health services, freedom of movement, and sexual equality. These are the attributes of 'civilised life' that are naturalised in the full context of social citizenship.

Assumptions about natural relationships

Dryzek also argues that there are "assumptions about natural relationships" between the different elements of discourse. This is a useful observation to consider in the light of policy making where hierarchical relationships are taken for granted. Policy making, at global to local scales, depends on assumptions of prerogative and capacity at each level of authority. The existence, in the European Union, of the principles of subsidiarity and

harmonisation reflect this. The following citations from the policy corpus also endorse the hierarchical relationships and the assumptions of unilinear prerogative.

In speaking of the difference between the deprived new town of Brownlow in Northern Ireland, and the depressed older urban area of Pilton, in Edinburgh, the *Brownlow Community Trust Memorandum* identified some of these prerogatives and hierarchical constraints.

> Unlike **Pilton**, which has **two tiers of local government**, the **Regional** and **District Councils**, the powers of the **local authority [in Brownlow]**, a **Borough Council**, are limited; **most service delivery is provided by regional arms of the British state so that there has been little local ability to influence provision.**

In a slightly different context, *The Citizens' Charter* also notes the complementary roles of different hierarchical scales and succinctly suggests that:

> Citizenship entails **complementary local, regional, national, European and worldwide dimensions, in line with the principle of subsidiarity** (European Citizens' Charter (draft) 1998, online).

In discussing the role of the Commission as a key policy authority, *The European Commission 1995–2000* document identifies the scope of European Union policy making and the interconnected agents involved in policy making at the supranational level:

> The **scope** of these activities are laid down in the Treaty and range from trade, industry and social policies to agriculture, the environment, energy, regional development, external relations, overseas development and others. **Before it issues an item of draft legislation,** the **Commission** carries out extensive preliminary soundings and discussions **with representatives of governments, industry, the trades unions, special interest groups and, where necessary, technical experts.** It tries to take account of these often–competing interests when it prepares its proposals (COM 1995a).

Governments, industry, trades unions and special interest groups are naturalised as the appropriate agents for advising the Commission on the drafting of European Union legislation.

A further irony produced by the widely accepted practice of naming places as if they were self–evident realities, is the extent to which places are named but not located, or implied but not mentioned. Most of the Poverty Programme project sites are listed in the documents as 'places' with little in the way of descriptive or identifying embellishment. In the excerpt below, which ostensibly seeks to provide examples of specific projects supporting particular interpretations of social exclusion, the 'places', though mentioned, are immaterial (they are quite literally bracketed out):

> Subjective aspects of exclusion have been addressed by quite different projects in terms of the meaning that people attach to reality **(Berlin, Germany)** or the meaning of poverty for people's lives **(Pilton, UK)** (Conroy 1994).

By and large, the specificities of place are entirely lost in the patterns of policy reporting that rely on phrases such as:

> **Many projects** stress that strategies to combat deprivation (such as in housing) will not be sufficient to combat poverty. Those who experience multiple deprivations and find themselves swirling in a vicious circle of persistent exclusion demand multidimensional approaches to their situations. **Most projects** would insist that lack of resources is a basic problem in the widest sense to include resources to participate as well as resources to consume, purchase and engage in social relationships (Conroy 1994).

Similarly, writers of the policy documents tend to elide named places altogether in order to discuss the generic objects of the projects rather than the specific characteristics of individual sites. Thus the idea that the objectives were to be operationalised in 'a' place became naturalised at the expense of any specific linkage between a given policy and a given place:

> **Four–fifths of the projects** were located in urban areas. **A model action project's area** of operation was usually limited to a defined territorial

> area with a population of between 20,000 and 50,000. **The areas selected** suffered from multiple disadvantages (Conroy 1994).

In creating loose associations of place and objectives through such naturalised assumptions of a necessary relationship between place and policy, it is also possible to lose sight of the role of agents and their motives.

Agents and their motives

According to Dryzek (1997), the identification of 'agents and their motives' is also critical to any understanding of the spatial allocations of policy outcomes or policy rewards. Identifying the presence or absence of agents in policy texts is a further deconstructive strategy that makes possible the identification of the complex webs of 'geometrics of difference' embedded in seemingly straightforward policy texts.

The agents may be represented as being relatively powerless, as this discussion of decision–making in Brownlow implies:

> **Local authorities have little choice** but to place those in need of housing, whether because they are homeless families, single mothers, are being discharged from institutions or being moved as a penalty for rent debt or breaking tenancy rules, to those areas where there are 'voids' – usually on the least attractive estates where there is unpopular, often poorer quality housing and existing social problems (House of Lords, Select Committee Report).

The agents may also be represented as being relatively powerful, however, with the capacity to take action on their own account, to delegate authority and take credit for the provision of rewards. These aspects are evident in the following citation from *The European Commission 1995–2000*:

> The **Commission has used its right of initiative** to transform the framework provided by the Union's founding treaties into today's integrated structures. The benefits for citizens and companies throughout the Union have been considerable: more freedom to travel and trade, more prosperity, much less red tape. But **the Commission has not done this alone**. It works in **close partnership** with the other **European institutions** and with **the governments of the Member States**. Although

> the Commission makes proposals, all the major decisions on important legislation are made **by the ministers of the Member States in the Council of the European Union**, after taking **account of the advice of** (or, in some cases, in codecision[5] with) the democratically **elected European Parliament** (COM 1995a).

By developing a strategy for focusing on agents and their motives, Dryzek is also able to invoke a notion of 'performativity'[6] in policy discourse. Dryzek's (1997) notion of performativity as a rhetorical device also has great power in any argument about geography and social policy. The idea of appealing "to widely accepted practices or institutions" (Dryzek 1997, 17), as a way of establishing the power of particular claims is highly significant in policy discourse. The bounding of space as 'national', 'regional' or 'local' is one such widely accepted practice. The nation state and or regional entities and local communities are based on nothing more than the political conventions of boundary drawing. The boundaries that are drawn in the European Union appeal to the very widely accepted practices of working within bureaucratically and politically established administrative units – nation state, metropolitan area, borough and so on – and working within particular understandings of the limits of agentive power – the President has x roles and the Commissioners y roles.

Dryzek's (1997, 16) analytic framework has been useful for thinking about some of the ways in which places and social actors are both "entities whose existence is recognised or accepted" and that policies make "assumptions about natural relationships". He may have created a valuable precedent for environmental policy analysts to follow, but there is no clear indication that this framework is being used elsewhere in geographical texts. Dryzek and Rose both challenge the veracity of monolithic truths. Where Dryzek (1997,

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[5] The codecision procedures are a particular aspect of European Union instrumentality concerned with the allocation of powers between the Commission, the Council and the Parliament. According to Urwin (online), the codecision procedure "refers to the treaty provisions which describe the conciliation procedure within decision–making to be followed by European Union institutions when they fail to agree on proposed legislation".

[6] Dryzek does not identify his ideas of 'agents and motives' as performativity (Butler 1993, 1998), but I found it useful to think of them in these terms. 'Performativity' is a linguistic concept used to refer to reiterative speech acts that establish traditions, rights, cultural understandings and so on. The classic and most easily recognised 'performative speech act' is the "I do" of the English language marriage vow.

17) identifies "different discursive realities", Rose (1993, 150) claims that "geography can no longer simply be a mapping of social power relations onto territorial spaces". These observations suggest, perhaps, that the rational and self–evident discourses of 'place' in policy discourse may be under duress. As long as policies are made in relation to spatial hierarchies, however, through the instrument of subsidiarity, the duress will not produce much that makes space for 'geometrics of difference'. Arguably such space may be found in the metaphorical spaces of identity and belonging that exist in both the centre and margins in problematic and contestable imaginaries.

7.2: Imagined cartographies

When Rose (1993, 151) writes about the "paradox of occupying both the centre and the margin" she is referring to both literal and metaphorical terms. I focus on the metaphorical aspects of this paradoxical positioning in this section. Rose (1993) uses two analogies to outline her understanding of the paradoxical nature of metaphorical boundaries that produce and reproduce marginal space and identity. She uses the metaphor of the closet to examine the positionality of the homosexual body occupying insider / outsider status, and uses the metaphor of the outsider–within to examine a black domestic servant's body occupying the space of a 'white' house. I discuss these two constructs before I return to the spaces of exclusion in the European context.

The idea of being 'in the closet' suggests that homosexuals are hidden away, are invisible and are thus excluded from many of the territories of ordinary life. Thus 'coming out' (of the closet) ostensibly exposes the secret, creates visibility, and tenders opportunities for inclusion. In reality, what so often happens is that visibility ensures not inclusion and acceptance, but expulsion and more rigid and non–negotiable terms of exclusion. Paradoxically, 'coming out' may well make the queer body visible but may also create the potential for it to become more permanently invisible as it is expelled beyond the boundaries within which it was accepted when it was a 'closeted body'. Friends, colleagues, and family may all desire greater rather than less distance from, and greater rather than less visibility of, the queer body to which they have suddenly become connected.

Not only does visibility have the potential to compromise the places of acceptance for queer bodies (by constructing them as outsiders), it also has the potential to compromise what the queer body can see by constraining the 'insider' status enjoyed by the closeted body. To paraphrase (and rephrase) Marilyn Frye (1984), a queer body may be in a more powerful position if it 'acts' straight but 'watches' queer.

Similarly, in Rose's second example (developed from the insights of Patricia Hill Collins (1990) into the relationships between the 'black domestic' servant and her 'white mistress') a complex paradox emerges. The black housemaid gets to 'work white' – to be inside the fabric of the white society – but continues to 'watch' black (as an outsider) and circulate counter knowledge about the fallibility of the 'master' subject.

In both of these examples Rose suggests that there are powerful strategies of resistance and redefinition at work which continually destabilise power relationships through the doubling of the social actors' positions. Protection, of a kind, is afforded to those people who are able to simultaneously occupy the inside and the outside and thus, paradoxically, the doubled position is a powerful one. The potential destabilisation of hegemonic positioning by the doubled actor is an ironic counter to the naturalised presumptions of hegemonic power.

To my knowledge, there has been little examination of this paradoxical positioning with respect to social policy in the European Union. The principle of subsidiarity assumes that every constituency understands its place in a hegemonic spatial and administrative hierarchy but often the boundaries are transgressed. The principle of solidarity assumes that 'cohesion' can be forged on the basis of propinquity and / or recognition of sameness. There are a number of different ways in which these assumptions can be destabilised in the European Union policy context by working through this second notion of paradoxical space that Rose has put forward. I suggest that the margin / centre relationship is destabilised by the role of regional policy at the supranational level. Regions are both 'insiders' in a nationally bounded space and 'outsiders' in their desires to be separate from that national space. Similarly, local areas are 'inside spaces' that directly offer protection (in some circumstances at least) to those people identified as

'outsiders'. I also consider some of the ways in which geographies of migration have attended (or not) to the insider / outsider predicament of migrant bodies.

Marginal spaces

Metaphors of place and space that have developed as part of the Poverty Programmes' discourse begin the process of categorising place in terms of marginality. There are new place categories coming in to circulation. Some of the particularly vivid examples from my corpus include 'islands of the poor', 'poor spaces', 'inorganic communities', 'random residential zones' and 'clandestine residential zones' (see Figure 7.1).

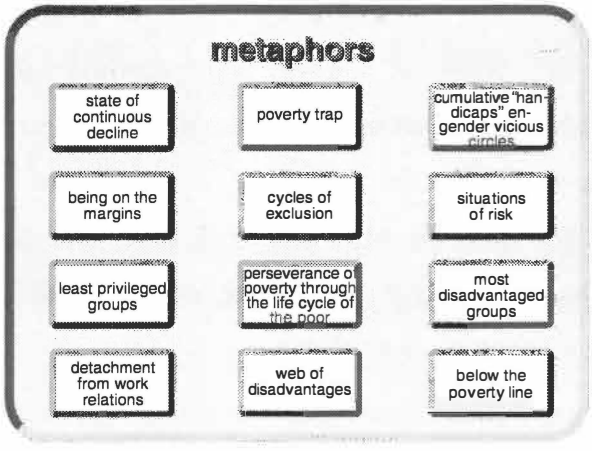


Figure 7.1: Spatial metaphors

In all of these instances, the names of the spaces are produced through metaphors of marginality. They are insular rather than mainland, poor rather than unproblematically wealthy, inorganic rather than 'naturally' or organically cohesive, random rather than ordered and rational, clandestine rather than above board and wholesome. They are ghettos and shanty towns outside the prescribed normative spaces or urban life.

These metaphorical spaces can be divided into three broad groups – those that refer to the development of very marginal local poverty enclaves (islands of the poor); those that relate to poverty at a more regional scale (depressed areas); that are connected to the centre in some rational way such as through the funding of the Objective Regions; and

those that refocus attention on poor places as part of a national fabric (urban poverty and rural poverty) and constitute these places as 'economic issues' rather than real places.

The interplay between these metaphors subtly supports the European Union agenda of shifting social policy into a less contestable domain dominated by the principle of subsidiarity. Local poverty enclaves are, arguably, the responsibility of local authorities but local authorities are frequently less well resourced than their regional or supranational counterparts. As the discourse of subsidiarity would argue that local problems need local solutions, there needs to be some mechanism for dealing with the intense marginalisation of the poor in local areas and for providing an opening in policy discourse at the European level for such marginalisation to be addressed.

Paradoxically, this space is provided, in a way that is reminiscent of Rose's metaphor of the closet, through the very universalising discourses that are understood to be the source of the marginalisation in the first place. It works like this. The poor body is universalised – at a European level – in policy discourse that constructs generic categories for the poor. President Santer, for example, addressing the European Parliament in January 1995 proclaimed that:

> The challenge of poverty and exclusion is just as big [as the equal treatment of men and women]. In Europe **the ranks of the poor, the badly–housed and the excluded** are on the increase .

Santer invokes the "ranks' of the poor and implies that these ranks are poorly housed and excluded. In the same address, Santer goes on to say:

> This is intolerable. I am not asking for new powers for the Commission. But the **fight against social exclusion is a duty** which transcends institutional quarrels. I am prepared to explore all possibilities, in whatever context, in the search for remedies ... I will never tire of repeating that the **European project** is a comprehensive one and **regional solidarity** is an integral part of it.

In Santer's mind, the problem of the poor can be solved by Europeanisation, regional solidarity and the dutiful exploration of remedies *for* the poor (*by* the not poor). Not only does this allude to the particular discourses of solidarity and duty, but it also invokes the

'idea' of Europe. 'Europe' is the place occupied by the ranks of the poor and thus it is at a European level that a solution must be sought. If the 'poor' can stay in a closet where their poverty does not have to be specified in any form, then a rousing presidential speech can recuperate them to the centre.

In his *Plea for a Social Europe*, Mr Derycke (1996, online), Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, also called for European level responsibility:

> It is clear that the **European Union** must aim at maximum employment and that this policy needs to be supported as much as possible through social dialogue. **Member States need to fully acknowledge that such a policy is part of the "common interest."** Obviously, **the principle of subsidiarity will have to be a two–way street** in this respect. On the one hand, unemployment is a virus which affects all Member States. As combating the virus on a national level does not seem to have the required effect, one has to admit that **at least part of the solution should be sought at the European level**.

In addition to the subsidiarity principle, there are other discursive effects of margin and centre in policy metaphor. The use of the metaphor 'deprived area' is intertextually linked to a discourse of 'deprivation' as a physiologically distressed and marginal state. A deprived area is not sated at the centre, but 'starved' at the periphery. Such a metaphor is likely to intensify and confirm the relationship between a marginal individual's powerlessness in the face of their social exclusion and the spatial expression of that exclusion. The discourse of 'deprived places' is, arguably, a discourse about those places full of deprived people. Deprived people should not seen to be produced by structural disadvantage as much as by individual need. The discourse of solidarity, however, might suggest that the solution to deprivation can be linked to the development of common policies. As the Permanent Forum of the Civilian Society suggests:

> The most important aspect of [balanced federalism] means a guarantee of civil rights for all (men, women, national or immigrants), and any other person who is legally resident in any of the Member States; the **solidarity of the Union** towards the economically disadvantaged regions and peoples; **the development of real common policies** – and not just measures of co–ordination in the field of employment and the fight against poverty and exclusion.

Once again, in this instance 'solidarity' is being linked at the central, supranational level, to the actions of the 'Union'.

In a different way, the spatial expression of exclusion can have paradoxically negative effects. In the *Evaluation of the Achievements of Poverty 3*, Pauline Conroy (1994), suggests:

> The very subject matter of poverty carries its own set of risks in relation to visibility. **Presenting an area** to the media **as a so–called poverty or deprived area runs the risk of having it stigmatised or being perceived as stigmatised** to the detriment of efforts to put the area on the path of development and rehabilitation as an up and coming district.

Places that become known as 'shanty towns', or 'ghettos' or 'islands of the poor' become taken out of the 'closet' and into the paradoxical space where their very visibility is what damns them.

Similarly, the metaphor 'poor islands' is intertextually linked to discourses about islands as small, vulnerable entities subject to largely uncontrollable exogenous forces. John Campbell (1997, 1) discusses the conflation of smallness with weakness. He suggests that:

> Vulnerability refers to a condition of the vulnerable: it is their weakness, their exposure, their defencelessness or their instability ... to be vulnerable is to be in a position of powerlessness ... we tend to consider small nations to be vulnerable, because smallness is related to connotations of weakness.

In the final Poverty Programme report, islands of the poor are described thus:

> Urban poverty is usually a **poor "island"** in **a developed** surrounding. Often characterised by **degraded housing**, whether in old and **abandoned quarters** (sometimes historic centres of towns) or in **precarious barracks**. (COM 1991).

Not only is the metaphor of insularity dominant in this discourse, but so too is the metaphor of 'development'. There has already been extensive work with the metaphors

of development and underdevelopment in a range of literature that suggests that economism and development are tightly linked (Amin 1974; Slater 1973, 1977, 1997). Epeli Hau`ofa, who also challenges 'development' rhetoric, challenges the conflation of islands with notions of smallness. His essay on *Our Sea of Islands* stands as a (sea)mark reconceptualisation of hegemonic and subordinate metaphors of vulnerability and smallness. One of Hau`ofa's (1993, 3) observations, as applicable to Pacific Island communities as it is applicable to communities of 'the poor' in metropolitan centres in Europe, is that some areas are seen to be too small:

> Too small, too poor, and too isolated to develop any meaningful degree of autonomy is an economistic and geographically deterministic view of a very narrow kind, that overlooks culture history, and the contemporary process of what may be called 'world enlargement' carried out by tens of thousands ... under the very noses of academic and consultancy experts, regional and international development agencies, bureaucratic planners and their advisers.

The 'poor islands' may not conform to hegemonic views of economically active areas of full employment. They may be areas in which real material deprivation figures large in the lives of most of the inhabitants. They may also be areas that have dynamic potential that cannot be accessed through reiterative processes of confinement to particular discursive and material worldviews.

In all of these metaphorical evocations of poor places, the discourse of social exclusion has both negative and positive connotations. People, such as Conroy (1994), have noted the ill effects of stigmatising places and others, such as Campbell and Hau`ofa, have challenged the confining rhetoric of insular vulnerability. These new metaphors create imagined cartographies that allow layers of contradictory meanings to accrue to the literal transparency of rational places. Some of the commentary on social exclusion has begun to explore the power of these metaphors in the production of poor places but it is a thin beginning. There is considerable scope for both policy and place research to explore the implications of 'imagined' exclusions and to explore them in relation to margins and centres.

In the European social policy context, migrant bodies are marked for social service provision ranging from visa recognition for refugees, special schooling provision for religious or ethnic minorities (Wrench 1997, *Mercator* online, *Euromosaic,* online), and 'repatriation packages' for illegal immigrants (for example *Koppelingswet,* online).[7] Concerns for the 13 million non–European Union citizens currently residing in the European Union are frequently voiced (Bousetta 1997, online). *Directorate General XXII – Education, Training and Youth* (online) – formerly under Commissioner Edith Cresson[8] – has particular responsibility for a range of policies that seek to intercept the construction of young migrant bodies as welfare beneficiaries of any kind. An array of programs is sanctioned under these schemes, including the *Mercator* programs which foster minority linguistic groups.

Justice and Home Affairs is now the official Commission sector with responsibility for all matters to do with migration. It is a part of the new 'third pillar'[9] policy area in the *Treaty on European Union* (online) which is concerned with (among other things) asylum policy, rules governing the crossing of the external borders of the member states, and immigration policy but not including the Schengen Agreement. Note that Justice and Home Affairs is underwritten by 'Communitization', a principle described as:

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[7] The "Koppelingswet" is a new Dutch bill aimed at excluding immigrants without residence permits from almost all social benefits (*Centre for Migration Law* 1997).

[8] In the 'reshuffling' of the Commission in 1999 subsequent to the inquiry which exposed fraud and mismanagement, Cresson was among one of those who lost her job.

[9] As I have already suggested in Chapter 5, the 'Pillars of the European Union' refers to the three pillars of the Treaty on European Union, which are: the Community dimension corresponding to the provisions set out in the Treaty establishing the European Community: Union citizenship, Community policies, Economic and Monetary Union, etc. (first pillar); common foreign and security policy, which is covered by Title V of the Treaty on European Union (second pillar); [and] cooperation in the fields of justice and home affairs, which is covered by Title VI of the Treaty on European Union (third pillar) (SCADplus (1998a, online). There are angry debates about the European Council's refusal to promote immigration issues to the first pillar.

> The Community method (of 'Communitization') is based on the idea that the general interest of Union citizens is best defended when the Community institutions play their full role in the decision–making process, with due regard for the subsidiarity principle (*The Reform of the European Union in 150 Definitions, SCADplus*: 1998a, online).

The Schengen Agreement, a European–wide migration agreement, is based on authority conferred by nation states rather than by the Community.

The year 1997 was designated as the *European Year against Racism* (online) and Tom Jenkins, the then President of the Economic and Social Committee, suggested that there was a need:

> … to associate ourselves formally with the Joint Declaration of Intent of the Council, Parliament and Commission. The Declaration calls upon all institutions, public authorities, private organisations and individuals at European, national and local level to contribute in everyday life, at school, at the workplace, in the media to the struggle against racism, xenophobia and anti–Semitism (Jenkins 1997, online).

Europe is haunted by a range of post–holocaust spectres – including the horrifying destruction of Yugoslavia and the break–up of the Soviet Union – as well as by the express fears of newer immigrant groups (Turks, Cypriots, Algerians, and East Europeans). All of these peoples comprise the stereotypes of alterity (Vella 1997, online) that invest Europe with a particularly complex racialised demography (Brah 1996, 167).

The (European) ghetto is an exemplary place of confinement, but is also an exemplary place of difference and of meanings that run counter to a hegemonic, Christianised norm. The ghetto is both a literal and a metaphorical signifier of space as restrictive, contained and patrolled, as both fictive and factual. As Michael Keith (1991, 181) argues in a discussion of the 'black' ghetto:

> There seems to be a repeated elision of the ghetto as a metaphor and the ghetto as reality, a fictional black colony that signifies criminality in racist discourse and a factual black colony of subordinated communities.

In drawing attention to the material and metaphorical realities of ghetto spaces, Keith (1991, 190) provides a rationale for imagined cartographies in which "both an imaginary place and an empirically circumscribed location are equally real, equally concrete."

Indicators of postcolonial[10] sensibilities apparent in racialised stereotyping can also be tracked in the policy corpus of my research. Reference to "ethnic minorities" and "migrants" occur consistently within the social policy rhetoric in phrasing such as:

> The problem of racism in British society is a very old one, but became more acute still as the numbers and variety of **different ethnic groups** increased during the 1970s and 1980s at a time of economic recession. The problems faced by these groups are not uniform or constant, but change with time and apply unevenly **to different peoples** – indeed, there is considerable tension between **ethnic minorities** in many inner–cities. **Nor is this a simple matter of racism–versus–integration** – the problem going much deeper that that. For example, since unemployment is disproportionately high among members of **Britain's minority populations**, those **aspects of exclusion** derived from poverty, poor housing, and so on, are also greater for many of **these people** (*Study of Local Level Initiatives,* online)

> Today, there are an increasing number of temporary badly–paid and unstable jobs. Women, young people and **ethnic minorities** are the worst affected (Abou Sada *et al.* 1994).

Migrants are also subject to being sub–categorised in a range of ways – as legally, familially or ethnically specific, for example:

> The Commission will continue to take forward the actions **to strengthen integration policies** for the benefit of **legal migrants** set out in its 1994 Communication on immigration and asylum policies, including: protection of the **rights of migrant workers and their families** (COM 1997d, *The European Commission 1995–2000,* online).

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[10] I am using the term 'postcolonial' advisedly. Discussions of postcolonialism are usually related to those countries that were colonised. The term must have different implications in Europe, which was the coloniser *par excellence*. The movements of European Jews, either pre– or post–holocaust, are seldom alluded to in European literatures as postcolonial although, arguably, they are (see Brah 1996, and Sennett 1994).

> Moreover, the *Comenius*[11] action aims to support integration and equality of opportunity for the **children of migrant workers**, people pursuing itinerant occupations, **travellers and gypsies**. In this case, support for projects promoting greater awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity and wealth must make a contribution to the **fight against exclusion from society, racism and xenophobia** (COM 1997e, *First Report,* online).

In other words, not only are 'ethnic minorities' and 'migrants' recognised explicitly within the discourses of the European Union but they are also constantly referred to within the context of exclusion and integration. In order to secure a racially cohesive Europe, particular attention needs to be paid to the migrant body that occupies both the centre and the margin simultaneously. The arbitrary division of international space produces 'legal' and 'illegal' migrants. Discourses of solidarity can destabilise such categories when ethnic groups establish networks back into their 'own' communities (seeking to establish 'solidarity' amongst their 'own') and migration laws are 'flagrantly flaunted' in order to reconstitute families and communities in 'other' places.

The paradox of being within the Same/Other but also elsewhere

Rose's (1993) final point about paradoxical space provides a strategic space for the inclusion of two case studies in this chapter. She describes this third paradoxical space as an epistemic position from which the production of hegemonic knowledge can be contested. As Rose (1993, 153) notes:

> The manipulation of the field of the Same/Other, being both separate and connected, the simultaneous occupation of both the centre and the margin, being at once inside and outside: all these discursive spaces depend on a sense of 'elsewhere for their resistance ...' thus the paradoxes described in the previous sub–section themselves depend on a paradoxical space which straddles the spaces of representation and unrepresentability. This space of unrepresentability can acknowledge the possibility of radical difference.

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[11] "*COMENIUS* is the name given to the School Education section of the European Community action programme in the field of education *SOCRATES*"(*SOCRATES,* online).

This is a complex claim that Rose exemplifies through a discussion of 'lesbian separatism'. Rose cites Marilyn Frye (1984) and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1995) who both argue that some 'things' (lesbianism in this instance) are not representable. As Rose (1993, 154) suggests:

> Frye's defence of separatism ... does not prescribe what women will define themselves as ... she [Frye] describes her search for a definition of lesbian as located in a 'strange non–location beyond the pale' in which she is 'dancing about in a region of cognitive gaps and negative semantic spaces' ... Sedgwick too sees lesbian practices as occupying the realm of the non–representable; she suggests that dominant discourses can leave 'in the stigma–impregnated space of refused recognition, sometimes also a stimulating æther of the unnamed, the lived experiment'.

As Rose (1993, 154) hastily adds:

> The notion of a 'stimulating æther' is not, it must be emphasised, in any simple sense outside the discourses of gender, race, class or sexuality; it is meaningful only in relation to the absences in those discourses ... Black feminism has spoken of segregated communities, of immigration, of exile, of the diaspora, of a 'third world' now found on the streets of New York and London as well as the southern hemisphere, and speaks of these spaces not as 'natural' units which divide social groups but as part of a political consciousness of shared oppression and potential coalition.

I am convinced that many of the 'socially excluded', other than lesbians and black feminists, also occupy such non–representable spaces. The paradox of policy discourse is that to become a policy recipient the space the recipient occupies must be recognised. The 'homeless', for example, occupy a 'stigma–impregnated space' as do drug addicts, the 'insane', even sole parents. In order to facilitate the kind of paradoxical coalition politics that Rose (1993) alludes to, these excluded groups need representable unrepresentability.

The two brief case studies in this last section are designed to further identify some of the ways in which grass roots, local projects have been able to take advantage of the 'irrational' spaces of the European Union in order to support projects designed to counter social exclusion. They are apt examples of the value of extending Rose's

conceptualisation of paradoxical spaces beyond the frame of the feminised 'other', although they are both centred on and draw from feminist energies in many ways.

7.3: Case studies

The Brownlow Community Trust

In 1994 I visited Roisin McDonough, in Belfast, Northern Ireland whose name had been given me by Diana Robbins as a possible contact person for the *Poverty 3* innovative project that had been set up in the new town[12] of Craigavon, in County Down. The interview provided me with an extraordinarily detailed picture, not only of the Community Trust project, but also of the development of social policy initiatives in the Northern Ireland context. It also gave me insight into the way a politics of resistance can be bought into existence at the local level.

McDonough began by describing the local area (the material place) in which the project was developed, the need for the project and a summary of some of its achievements. First, she suggested that 'the troubles' in Northern Ireland helped create very locally specific housing needs:

> [Brownlow is] a new town created about 25 years ago, essentially for two reasons. One was to take the pressure off housing – what there was in Belfast, because of the beginning of the troubles and people crowding out of areas that they felt unsafe in, which was essentially mixed communities or interface areas, into the more respective ghetto areas, and that was putting huge pressure on demand for housing. So one of the central government responses to that was to build a new town. – Right in the middle of Northern Ireland.

[12] New towns are the product of a particular planning discourse that developed in the United Kingdom. For general information about the British New Towns see British Information Services (1974), Coursey (1977), and Osborn and Whittick (1969). For a case study of Milton Keynes, arguably one of the most famous of the British New Towns, see Toy (1994). Evans (1972) provides a collection of essays about the new towns as 'Garden Cities'.

In other words, part of the motivation for social exclusion policies in Northern Ireland was linked to wider social issues – in this case the ongoing military and political instability in the area that was having an increasing impact on the lives of people who might not ordinarily be seen as poverty stricken or excluded. Roisin went on to explain that there was also a strong capitalist motivation behind the plan to develop a new town:

> A second ostensible reason was that they wanted to create a new regional centre for industrial development and urban investment away from the main urban areas of Belfast and Derry. In other words they wanted to try and diversify the industrial base of Northern Ireland.

Retrospectively it was of great interest to me that the twin motivations of social control (moving the population to a place that would minimise social disruption) and capitalist advantage (creating a labour force for a new industrial site) were present in the proposal to develop the new town. The consequent failure of the town was foreshadowed in the intense debate that preceded it:

> There was a fair amount of opposition to the question of a new town in Craigavon, and many people argued that west of the Bann ... which included Derry and its hinterland ... really needed to be developed. And one of the ways that they could have done that was to actually strengthen the second city, Derry, rather than trying to create a new town, and strengthen the industrial infrastructure of Derry. They chose not to do that ... They didn't want to create a strong, vibrant centre in Derry because it would attract a lot of the population there. So there was quite a lot of intense debate.

> The idea was to build a town for 120,000 people – some of whom would be drawn from Belfast, some would be drawn from other areas in Northern Ireland. And the idea was to link, was to make a new town drawing on 2 existing much older towns, Portadown and Lurgan. And then there was to be created, or Craigavon was to link up these two old towns with the new configuration, which was to be called Craigavon – as it was. And what happened, was that they built all the roads and they attracted some multi–national investment, and they built some houses for workers to go down and work in the factories – they would pay grants of, I think £400 – possibly the equivalent of £5000 now – which is a lot to a working class family. Workers went down, got the money and left and that was a kind of recurring pattern for a long time (McDonough 1994, interview).

A detailed report of the Brownlow project became available through the submissions that were made to the *House of Lords European Communities Committee (Sub–Committee C)* in March 1994. These submissions had been called for at a time when the British Government wanted to determine the value of supporting the *Poverty 4* initiative, which was to run from 1994–1999. In the words of the Committee:

> In more formal terms the enquiry will be into the Commission's proposal for a Decision establishing a medium term action programme to combat social exclusion and promote solidarity (1994–99) and its Report on the implementation of the Community programme for the social and economic integration of the least privileged groups (1989–94) (House of Lords).

The Memorandum provided by the Community Trust was detailed and the report provided a record of the questions that were asked of the key witnesses.[13] Much of the rest of this description of Brownlow is drawn from this document.

The Brownlow project, like many of the *Poverty 3* projects, was based on the three principles of multidimensionality, partnership and participation. It was designed to have local impact particularly on the lives on women, on health services, on the provision of play facilities for children and on unemployment. It also provided extensive feedback to the 'Animation, Information and Research' co–ordinating body (the Central Unit) that had been set up to oversee the initiatives. The Trust organised 'transnational contacts' with Greece, Utrecht, Den Helder, Limerick and Calais in line with the overall philosophy of *Poverty 3,* that sharing successes and failures in a European context was an essential part of the Programmes' 'Eurovision'.

The extent to which the Brownlow project was linked in with other European Union and regional initiatives was revealing. There were specific links to NOW (New Opportunities for Women), which had provided initial funding for a full-time women's

[13] Both of the women that I had interviewed, Roisin McDonough of Brownlow and Sue Cohen of SPAN, were key witnesses.

training programme. INTEREG[14] (Regional Development) had provided seed funding for the Craigavon Volunteer Bureau, which runs formal accredited training for community volunteers. The European Anti–Poverty Network, European Women's Lobby and the European Citizens' Action Service have also been involved. The "Central Unit" for Poverty Research and Development (in Lille) also provided advice and services.

The Brownlow Community Trust is part of a well developed regional network that also provides support and services. Northern Ireland has a well–established network that is coordinated through the Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action (NICVA). The Council also has extensive links with European initiatives (see Figure 7.3). Cynically, it could be argued that the increasing extent to which local projects are networked (via the Internet) with the parent European funding organisations may only reflect the availability of a local person with html[15] skills rather than any significant success with anti–poverty interventions.

This is not a small local scheme providing ad hoc services for a local community. Under the auspices of the Poverty Programmes significant innovations in terms of networking, multi–purpose programming, developing community infrastructure, transnational comparisons, and a broader perspective on the European scale of exclusionary processes, was possible.

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[14] INTEREG is a policy initiative of DG Vto "help promote cross–border co–operation and ease nationalist tensions" (*European Dialogue* Jan – Feb 1997 online (1).

[15] 'Html' (Hypertext macro language) is the programming language for preparing web sites for the Internet. It has become a skill that is in high demand, carries some kudos, requires a great deal of time and is actively sought after by the EU as evidence of 'networking capability'.

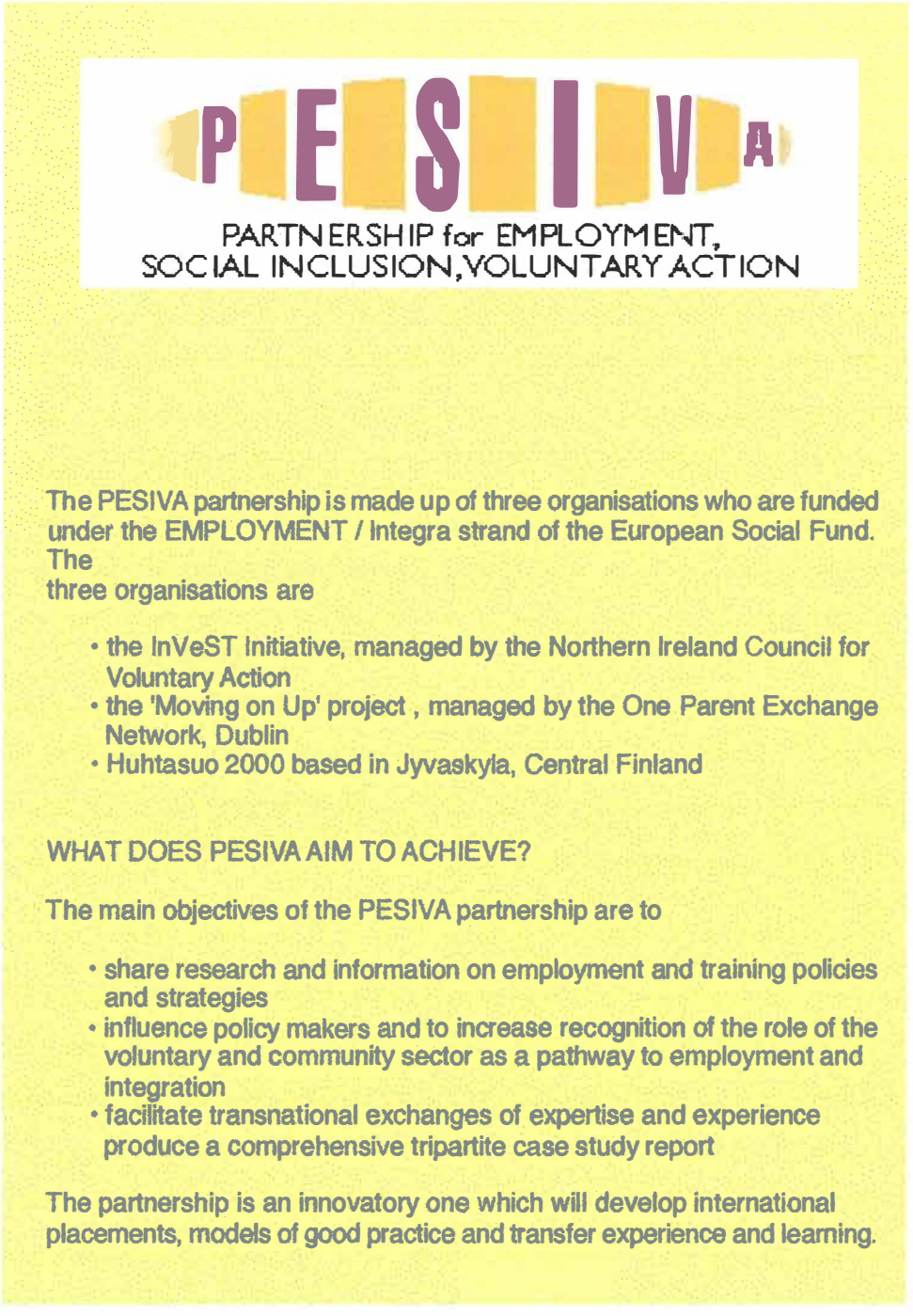


Figure 7.2: PERSIVA: Partnership for Employment

Source: Partnership for Employment (Online)

There are a number of ways in which this case study exemplifies paradoxical space and the power that accrues to places where hegemonic relations can be destabilised.

First, Brownlow was expressly not a united, homogeneous local community. It comprised a number of 'diasporic' communities, many of which stayed in Craigavon, despite the depressing conditions and lack of opportunities. In particular, it was a place of protection for those families who did not fit in the sectarian enclaves in Belfast or Derry. Many were of 'mixed' Protestant / Catholic marriages but others were immigrants, travellers or other ethnic minorities. They were groups who were marginalised in the centre of Belfast because they flouted religious codes, or were not 'Irish' enough. They were not any kind of 'natural' unit but had the potential for coalition politics because of their position in relation to mainstream Irish religious life.

Second, it is a community which has been able to make effective use of the power of information flows to secure funding, to disseminate success stories, to make contacts with similar groups in other European countries, to publish extensive material about its activities and the evaluation of those activities, and to provide persuasive submissions to Westminster. It has 'come out', in a sense, and claimed a central and visible place on the stage of anti–poverty work at the European level.

Third, the programme has acknowledged the geometrics of difference in the heart of its community and developed a multidimensional, polyvocal programme. It has activated partnership programmes which facilitate the acquisition of 'insider' knowledge and has exploited every available avenue at every available scale in order to develop synergies. None of these strategies on its own would have had the destabilising and simultaneously empowering effects that became possible. By the time that it was clear that *Poverty 4* was not going to be an option for further funding, Brownlow's anti–poverty initiatives became self–sustaining. The Single Parent Action Network (SPAN), in Bristol, was not so fortunate.

The SPAN was set up as an innovatory project under *Poverty 3* in 1990. In the four years in which it received funding from the European Union it was under the directorship of Sue Cohen, a local community activist in Bristol, England. The rationale for the funding was presented in terms of the extent of the need for initiatives for single parents. The project represented this need in terms of the following, somewhat ambiguous, statistics:

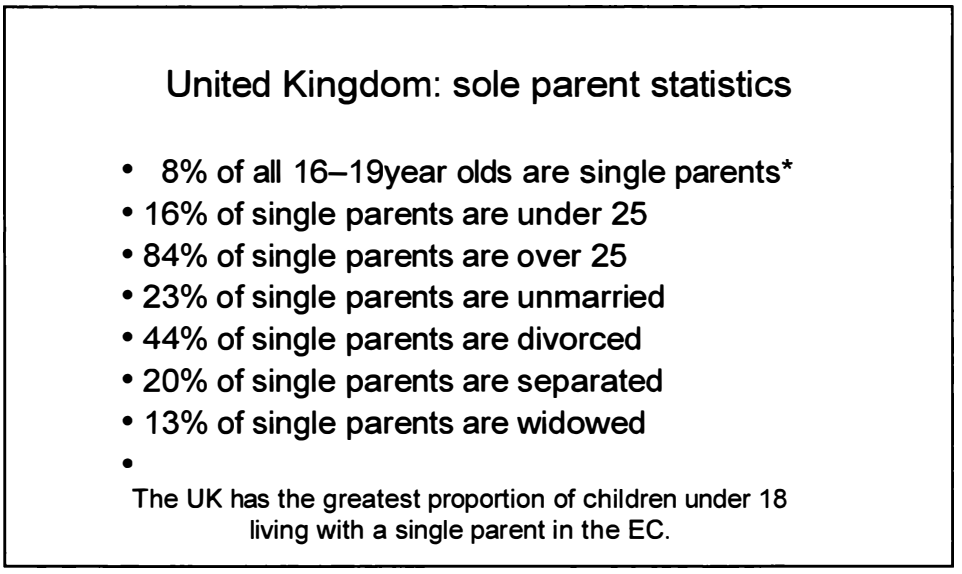


Figure 7.3: Sole parent statistics –UK

Source: Source: Single Parent Action Network information leaflet (undated).

In my interpretation of these statistics, it would seem that the majority of single parents are over 25 years of age (84 percent), but a significant proportion are under 25 years of age (16 percent) with some of the single parents being as young as 16 years of age. Despite the rhetoric about 'unwed mothers' a smaller proportion (only 23 percent) of single parents fall into this category. SPAN was about providing access to services for these single parents, not just in the Bristol area but on a national scale.

Cohen explained the operation of the organisation during an interview in 1994:

> It's a national network and so we have a coordinating committee where there's 12 representatives from different groups around the country –

> single parent organisations. And they have to be themselves single parents if they're on the committee. We have spaces for 6 black representatives and 6 white, and that's always been the ethos of the organisation – to have it equally balanced between black and white, and always be single parents who are the decision makers.
>
> We're not an all women group, but they are all women. All the active members are women ... We do lobbying work on the child support act for example. We do development work in helping groups to set up, but in particular helping forums to set up – Single parent forums working with local agencies on changing policy. And doing some national partnership work to support anti–poverty strategies with local authorities and informal organisations. We do parliamentary work as well with the child support act (Cohen 1994, interview).

As Cohen saw it, the project was multi–functional but its critical role was keeping the concerns of single parents in the public, and more importantly, in the parliamentary eye. The dissemination of information, the coordination of national activities and political lobbying were all core activities. Cohen noted that:

> We were the only innovative project to be selected in the UK really. And then it meant we had interchanges with people that our organisation would never have dreamt of being able to make contact with, so it was a very empowering and intellectually very stimulating (Cohen 1994, interview).

The Innovative Initiatives of Poverty 3 provided access to funding for projects that were not directly tied to 'employment' creation as was specified in the ESF funding criteria and in this way they represented a radical departure from many of the anti–poverty / social exclusion initiatives and projects that had been run – or were later to run – at the supranational level. As I argue in Chapter 9, the retargeting of groups that has taken place since the failure of *Poverty 4* to win approval from the Council of Ministers has been relentlessly in favour of employment related initiatives.

In the SPAN project, women were actively involved in identifying the causes of their own predicament and communicating with other groups to ensure that the political nature of those causes was discussed at national and supranational levels.

In the report to the House of Lords the SPAN submission expressed this view bluntly. An uncompromising response was offered in answer to the question: "What explanation do you have for the increase in poverty in the EC?"

> ... this is too vast a question to answer here. Briefly, in terms of single parents, the main causes would be: Women's lack of economic equality at all stages of their lives. Family policies that favour the nuclear family. The inequality experienced by black people at all stages in their lives. Lack of investment in childcare, nursery schools, social housing, and social welfare policies. High unemployment, low pay and the poverty trap on benefits. The long term cycle of disadvantage on children. Isolation and exclusion from decision–making processes (*House of Lords* 1994, 63).

This is not an answer that pays much attention to job creation or vocational schemes. It identifies institutional sexism that negatively affects women, institutionalised family values that compromise the lives of those who do not belong to 'normal' (two parent, heterosexual) families, institutionalised racism that has negative impacts on black people, and exclusion from power and decision making. This is a project that is close to the ideal of a project to address **social** exclusion rather than just **economic** exclusion. It was also more than just a 'poverty' programme. Cohen saw the advantage of the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion but she saw it as being a potential handicap as well:

> I think it was **double–edged**, really, because Margaret Thatcher wasn't going to support it if it was called the Poverty Programme. It had to be called something "medium termed", something "social" something, something, something, and then she would give it support ... But I think the two go hand in hand, social exclusion and poverty. But yes, I think **certain governments were unhappy about the word** poverty. I think Germany might be unhappy about it. ... I was **initially very suspicious** of the term at first**, but we've actually been able to use it**, certainly **in the definition of our goals**, the marginalisation of single parents and children, improving the conditions of their life and preventing their social exclusion ... we managed to get money from trusts on social justice ... We also have money from the Horizon programme (Cohen 1994, interview).



SPAN - Single Parents Action Network

The Single Parent Action Network is a national multi-racial organisation run by single parents working to improve the conditions of life for one parent families in the UK and Europe. Single parent members of SPAN take pride in our children and in our role as parents. We feel that by uniting together we can change discriminatory policies and attitudes which reduce one parent families to poverty and isolation.

We aim to :-

- Help set up and support self-help groups focusing especially on families living in poverty and on anti-discriminatory ways of working.
- Empower single parents to take control over their lives
- Link with existing one-parent groups to exchange information, ideas and practice.
- Work with organisations and statutory agencies in the UK and Europe to change and improve those policies which affect one parent families.
- Help create a more equal society for single parents and their children.

Problems for single parents

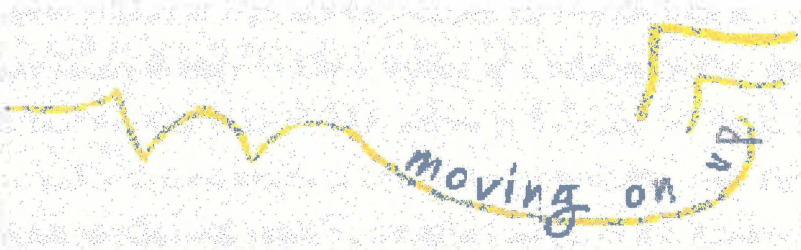
- Discrimination against one parent families, including hidden racism and sexism.
- Lack of resources - poverty, benefit cuts, the poverty trap.
- Unemployment - lack of opportunity, lack of confidence, lack of jobs.
- Lack of Childcare - pre-school, when at school, in the evenings. The UK has the worst childcare record in Europe.
- Lack of habitable homes and homelessness. Over 50% of homeless families are one parent families.
- Policies and structures which create these oppressions.
- Social isolation - cut off from friends and family ; lack of control over one's life.
- The effect of all these problems on children - socially, emotionally, educationally and health-wise.

How do we work ?

- Involving single parents at every level of decision-making, locally, nationally and in Europe.
- Encouraging good support for local self-help groups, including high quality childcare, training, further education, comfortable premises, counselling, social networks, volunteer and travel expenses, etc.
- Helping to set up individual self-help groups by providing small starter grants and ongoing support.
- Organising workshops, meetings and conferences to set up a dialogue which will help us to unite in action with other groups and agencies working on anti-poverty strategies and social justice.
- Promoting structures and ways of working which take the very different needs of one parent families into consideration, including different races and cultures, parents with young children, parents with teenage children, lesbian mothers, teenage mothers, disabled parents and children.
- Working in anti-racist ways and against discrimination and prejudice generally in all areas.
- Developing participatory ways of working against discrimination.
- Providing information thorugh a Newsletter highlighting funding opportunities, campaign events in Europe, etc.

Figure 7.4: SPAN: Single Parent Action Network

Source: SPAN: Single Parent Action Network (online)



ONE PARENT EXCHANGE & NETWORK - OPEN

One Parent Exchange & Network (OPEN) was founded in 1994 as a response to the need for a national network to support the growth and development of lone parent self-help groups. The number of affiliated groups has grown from 20 to 60 in just over three years.

OPEN's MISSION STATEMENT

"To promote the concept of family diversity along with positive image of one parent families through the provision of a programme of support, training and development for locally based lone parent self-help groups"...

MOVING ON UP

In 1997 OPEN was successful in receiving funding under the EMPLOYMENT / Integra Initiative for the "Moving On Up" project which runs from January 1998 - December 1999.

The project has two aims:

To increase the capacity of OPEN and its local leaders to engage with the policy issues facing lone parents and their children

To enhance the ability of local leaders to secure paid employment for them in their own groups and/or communities...

The project Aims & Objectives will be realised through a number of Actions:

- The provision of a range of training courses
- Work placements
- An information support service
- The development and distribution of...a self-help guide ...
- Research into family friendly employment policies...
- Three regional research workshops
- A policy briefing paper
- A national policy seminar
- The development of best practice guidelines for in-company work placements.

Figure 7.5: One Parent Exchange and Network–OPEN

Source: OPEN: One Parent Exchange and Network (online)

The SPAN project still has its logo and information page on the Internet (see Figure 7.4) but it no longer seems to have as much impact as a national voice. The projects for single parents that seem to have become active in its place are those that are more closely aligned either to local needs or church–based solidarity (see Figure 7.5). The Innovative Initiatives were the most controversial aspect of the Poverty Programmes. Organisations such as SPAN, which tried to see past the economic boundaries of work training and employment creation, were seen to be political and 'dangerous'. As with Brownlow, the goals and aspirations of the local organisers and participants, those who were able to make a great deal happen on very slim budgets, were not matched by commitments from national, regional or supranational authorities.

Regardless of what else has happened in the process of developing and deploying European Community poverty policy as 'social exclusion' there have been some non–governmental agencies that have been able to exploit a paradoxical niche that was not available before. On the surface, and despite the metaphorical thrust towards particular conceptions of the excluded, there are strategic advantages for well–informed, canny, local, grass roots organisations that are able to exploit 'principles of solidarity' and paradoxical spaces.

Cohesive subsidiaries

It is in this context of projects such as Brownlow and SPAN that Rose's notion of paradoxical space has been most useful for encouraging me to identify the successes embedded in the Poverty Programmes. In an environment in which hegemonic forces have been unidirectional some subversive potential in the discourse of social exclusion has been realised. Local government, no less than member state government or global capital, has been subject to the transformative imperatives of privatisation, deregulation and increased flexibility.

The relocation of existing populations (predominantly migrant enclaves) in the gentrification process shifts the responsibilities of social reform to the new receiving areas of these displaced communities (the suburbs or the new towns). The fragmented

nature of local politics and the principle of subsidiarity work to ensure that this is where the responsibility then remains. The new local area has neither the resource in its own right to deal with the problems, nor access to the conduced wealth in the development area. In the less tax–strong, culturally heterogenous suburban milieu the displaced migrant, the unemployed worker, the single parent, or the marginal population, has an even weaker claim.

The principles of subsidiarity, harmonisation, solidarity, partnership and social cohesion that underpin the global / national / regional / local tensions in the European Union are principles that have spatial implications in literal and metaphorical senses. Solidarity and social cohesion imply the binding together of things that have been diffuse. Subsidiarity implies ranking. Partnership implies working together in the same space. All of these terms are interdependent and interactive in temporal as well as spatial dimensions. As Rose (1993) has argued, all of these apparently self–evident, transparent relationships are not only complex but also paradoxical. In this chapter I have tried to identify the wide range of ways in which discourses both construct our understanding of how things are but also open up opportunities for things to become otherwise. Paradox, ambiguity, and contradiction riddle the metaphorical spaces of the European Union. Social exclusion, as a key discourse in that imagined space of 'Europe' also depends on ambiguity, and contradiction.

Discourses that appear to break the constraints of normative confinement appear to escape the 'objectivity' of conventional geographies and take up Rose's (1993, 146) call to:

> [dissolve] the split between the mind and the body by thinking through the body, their bodies. This way of thinking also seems to disregard any distinction between metaphorical and real space; spaces are made meaningful through experience and interpretation.

Finding epistemological grounds for countermanding discourses of confinement may be one way for new imagined cartographies to become possible.

Conclusion

The most significant overall contribution that can be taken from Rose's (1993, 155) work is expressed succinctly in her own words:

> The subject of feminism insists that spaces are extraordinarily complex … Its multidimensionality refers to [a] complicated and never self–evident matrix of historical, social, sexual, racial, and class positions which women occupy, and its geometry is one strung out between paradoxical sites.

This 'feminist' insight is invaluable to discussions of place and policy and is applicable to the whole gamut of relationships, not just those concerning female subjects. In this chapter, Rose's notion of paradoxical spaces has informed much of my analysis. Paradoxically it has been difficult to develop a 'linear narrative' of how and why this matters to my discussion of social exclusion. In one way, thinking through issues of paradoxical space has allowed me to see the extent to which the discourse of social exclusion is fluid and ambivalent. I did perhaps begin this project with a sense that the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion had sinister connotations.

Thus, my research question: "How and in what ways do the 'paradoxical spaces' of the European Union inflect policy practice and outcomes in relation to social exclusion?" itself becomes a paradoxical space in which I acknowledge that policy practice and outcomes are ambivalent and often unpredictable. In a sense, too, specific research agendas that are motivated by a particular bias may also be undone or at least made more problematic and complex.

In the course of thinking about the paradoxical spaces that are produced in rewriting forms of geographical inquiry, in seeking to understand the metaphorical purchase of European Union principles of subsidiarity and solidarity, and in considering the complex ways in which these things are interrelated, I have come to have a much richer understanding of the implications of discourse and human agency.

There are no clear conclusions from this chapter other than that the writing of it has forced me to think more carefully about the multiple pathways to destabilisation of the hegemonic view. People are excluded *from* something or somewhere in many different dimensions by many different forces – the 'exclusion' is a spatial and temporal multidimensional phenomenon that articulates with sets of processes and situations in literal and metaphorical ways. The implicit presupposition is that there is always some place where individuals or groups may be included and where their inclusion is taken for granted as the norm. The inevitable corollary of this is that there is always already an outside – a space of *exclusion*. The dynamic nature of exclusion carries with it connotations of expulsion *from* that place of inclusion.

Rose (1993) provides a position through which to examine some of the spaces of destabilisation and exclusion. As Rose (1993, 150) suggests, the "articulations of different spatial structures have also complicated arguments about claims to know social spaces." The "social power relations" (Rose 1993, 150) within the European Union do not map simply onto territorial spaces but the roles played by administrative bodies in the allocations made within spaces continue to assume a transparent relationship between place and social action.

There is too little attention paid to the "plurilocality" (Rose 1993, 151) of the spaces of the 'other'. The 'geometrics of difference and contradiction' need to be more explicitly laid on the legislative and council tables. Multidimensional, faceted spaces, liminal spaces, the spaces of margins and peripheries, the spaces of the same and the other, are all the places inhabited by exclusion and by the bodies of the excluded.

In this next chapter, I shift my position again. I am no longer focused on what geographical literatures can contribute or what descriptive policy material can add to an understanding of social exclusion in the European Union. I turn my attention to metaphorical analysis and consider some of the complex binaries that are embedded in social exclusion discourse.

Chapter 8

Speaking metaphorically

A considerable amount of research now demonstrates that the concept of 'poverty' has given way to the concept of 'social exclusion' in many of the European Union texts. Where 'poverty' is still used, it is often used in conjunction with and as a complement to the concept of 'exclusion'. Thus, it appears that 'social exclusion' is being widely used by the policy–makers in the European Commission and that it has become familiar to local and national anti–poverty workers – at least in the United Kingdom. As I will argue in this chapter, however, this discursive shift has also entailed a shift in the object focus of those policy discourses. My research question: "Does it seem that metaphors and dichotomous terms and concepts intensify the linguistic and conceptual linkages between discourses of 'social exclusion', 'social cohesion' and 'employment – as – solution – to – exclusion' in European Union anti–poverty discourse?" underwrites this analysis.

Whereas in the earlier Poverty Programmes' discourse, a wide range of 'poor bodies' were the focus of palliative policy, in the more recent documents many of the 'poor bodies' who are the objects of policy actions are those bodies that are unemployed. Other 'poor bodies' have tended to become invisible in the policy discourse.

In section 8.1, I offer an explanation of metaphor that draws on the intellectual work of a number of linguists and political philosophers.[1] I follow this, in section 8.2, with an

[1] In particular I have relied on Mikhail Bakhtin (1986), Malcolm Coulthard (1985, 1994), Andrew Goatly (1997), Jaakko Hintikka (1994), George Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Mark Johnston (1980), Gunther Kress (1989), Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge (1979, 1988), Joan Mulholland (1994), Andrew Ortony (1979), Michel Pêcheux (1982), Deborah Schiffrin (1987), David Sless (1986), Kaja Silverman (1983), Teun van Djik (1985), and Richard White (1996), for primary insight and Anthony Judge (online), Chris Shore (1997), and Paul Treanor (online), for metaphors of Europe. I also consulted specific work on policy language such as Martin Hewitt (1992), feminist deconstruction of key words such as Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon (1994) and Ruth Smith (1990), feminist discussions of discourse and psychoanalysis (Kitzinger and Wilkinson 1995), and policy and welfare activism's relationship to language (Mimi Abramovitz 1988).

explanation of the specific metaphorical clusters that illustrate my argument. I then devote a sub–section to each of the four key clusters. The final part of the chapter, section 8.3, deals with a discussion of the role of nominalisation (grammatical metaphor) and naturalisation as two further linguistic tropes that are useful in my analysis.

A discursive context

The focus of this chapter is not on the discursive shift, *per se*, but on the meanings, usages and implications of the concept of social exclusion. A certain malleability in the concept of 'social exclusion' has allowed for quite subtle shifts to occur in the way it is being understood. I suggest that detailed analysis of the metaphorical tropes that underpin our 'common understanding' of the concept may expose some of the ways in which these subtle shifts are being facilitated by language use. It is too early at this stage to claim definitively that these shifts have occurred and are irrevocable. I do believe that they are important to consider because they have policy implications.

My sense that the concept of exclusion is malleable, comes partly from its 'newness' and partly because its meaning has yet to be fixed. The outcomes from using the concept of exclusion as an alternative to poverty appear to be both ambiguous and unpredictable. The discursive shift has potentially complex repercussions for the ways in which poverty / social exclusion is understood and reified in both lay and policy orders of discourse and, as I argue in Chapter 9, has produced a potentially radical recategorisation of 'poor bodies'.

In this chapter I study a range of metaphors associated with the use of the term social exclusion. I argue that these metaphors are paradigmatic in the sense that their power within the policy corpus relies on the implicit coupling that they entail. The notion of 'exclusion' would have less power if its 'opposite term' – 'solidarity' – was not implicitly present. As I go on to explain shortly, the connection between exclusion and solidarity is not an intuitive antonym but one that acquires its oppositional status through metonymic slippage. The notion of the 'centre' would be meaningless in this context without the notion of 'periphery'. The idea of 'marginalisation' serves in this discourse

to invoke the notion of 'inclusion'. The trope of 'progress' is co–determined by the trope of 'decline'.

All of these associations, in this particular discursive context, allow the idea to take root that exclusion might best be 'solved' by economic, employment–related policy initiatives. I am not arguing that employment related initiatives are not important or that economic factors are not prescient to the phenomena of exclusion. I am suggesting that several aspects of 'language' in the corpus of my project conduce to a shift in perception about employment and exclusion. The shift that I see occurring relates to the intensification of the relationship between economic, employment–related discourse and the concept of social exclusion, and the concomitant silencing of other social discourses linked with 'poverty' notwithstanding their reference to 'social' exclusion.

One of the ways this intensification occurs is by the metaphorical coupling of the concept of social exclusion with markers of 'disease'. Another is through association of the concept with markers of 'progress' and 'development'. I suggest that both of these powerful couplings produce opportunities for a quite subtle metonymic slippage to occur. This slippage entails the already naturalised connections between combat and contagion on the one hand and 'employment' and 'progress' on the other.

I also speculate that the fact that this slippage has occurred may be obscured because exclusion is still talked about as 'social' exclusion. In order to understand the linguistic strength of the bond between 'social' and 'exclusion' in the phrase 'social exclusion' it is useful to also consider the notion of syntagmatic relations in text. As Silverman (1983, 11) explains:

> These [syntagmatic] relationships can only be realized in discourse, and they always involve a formal proximity. The various words in a sentence enjoy a syntagmatic relationship with each other, as do shots in a film or garments of clothing worn together.

In terms of meaning, the formal propinquity between 'social' and 'exclusion' in the phrase is significant. What the syntagm ensures is that concepts of 'the social' are linked in readers' and users' minds with the concept of exclusion. There are very few specific

references in my corpus to 'economic exclusion'. The corpus contained references to 'economic exclusion' in 3 documents out of 58 (5.2 percent) of the corpus documents with only 6 separate references overall. The phrase 'social exclusion', however, was found in 86 percent of the corpus documents with 407 separate references to the concept. It is perhaps worth noting that of the references to 'economic exclusion', most were made in such a way as to create a distinction between the economic and the social. For example:

> A project, such as that of Girona (Spain) has stressed the destructuring effects of **social and economic exclusion** on the poor themselves leading to an accumulation of obstacles to their emancipation (Conroy 1994).

Here it is very clear that there is some understanding that 'social' exclusion is something separate from 'economic' exclusion. Similarly, in the *House of Lords Report*, the distinction is made quite clearly:

> Using "poverty" as a shorthand for the **social and economic exclusion** affecting the most disadvantaged groups in society, our enquiry had the modest aim of seeking some pointers.

The Submission to the Sub–committee of the House of Lords further endorsed the connection:

> In a future programme it would be an interesting experiment to attempt a city or region wide area–based partnership with a focus on the social implications of change and co–ordination of policies to combat **social and economic exclusion**.

As I have already explained in Chapter 6, the translation of a French concept –*exclusion sociale* – into English, may have syntagmatically preserved the connection between exclusion and things 'social' on the surface of the text. It may not have established a strong enough bond to immunise the relationship at a 'deeper' level. Hence my attention to the metaphorical and paradigmatic relationships established in the texts.

The metaphors, the metaphorical clusters, provide a basis for rethinking some of the crucial relationships between economy and society, subsidiarity and solidarity and for

thinking about the ways in which discursive spaces create opportunities for real, material events to take place within particular sociopolitical configurations. My final suggestion is that, coupled with the intensification of unemployment and exclusion (or work and inclusion), there is danger that those whose exclusion is not susceptible to mitigation via 'work' may cease to seen by policy–makers whose focus is on work–(able) rather than unwork–(able) bodies.

8.1: What is metaphor?

Generally, metaphors are understood to belong to a category of 'literary devices' or 'figures of speech' that are used in literary writing – particularly poetry. A metaphor is understood to have the capacity to make us think about relationships between representation and reality – to call into question ordinary and everyday ways of describing things. Recently, several commentators in the field of linguistics have seriously challenged the narrow scope of this conception of metaphor (Goatly 1997, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Ortony 1979, Paprotte and Dirven 1985). Metaphors are ubiquitous and powerful linguistic elements, and comprise the 'persuasive tactics' of language (Mulholland 1994).

Andrew Goatly, in his recent book which focuses on how metaphors work as part of communication, suggests unequivocally that "metaphor is basic to language and to thinking" and that "metaphor is everywhere in the language we use and there is no escape from it" (Goatly 1997, 1–2). Goatly also suggests that "the metaphors we use structure our thinking, hiding some features of the phenomena … and highlighting others" (Goatly 1997, 2).

It is this notion that metaphors "structure our thinking" that is of most interest to me here. In the process of developing social policy documents for the constituent states of the European Union, a group of people gather together in rooms or huddle over pages in private offices and use the words in their private lexicons to record ideas about policy direction and to make policy proposals. Despite the ostensible neutrality and objectivity of policy documents it is easy to see that the policy products are saturated with

metaphors that indicate anything but 'neutrality' and 'objectivity'. My claim, throughout this section, – eminently well supported by Goatly's timely and comprehensive text – is that the metaphors not only structure the thinking of the policy makers but they structure the material outcomes of policy.

However, claims to ubiquity and power are not the only parameters by which metaphors may be judged and identified. There is an array of technical competence in metaphorical language that can be systematically identified to support the claims to potency and ubiquity. Metaphors are 'special language things' and, as Joan Mulholland (1994, 183) notes:

> Metaphors act to represent one thing, X, called the 'tenor' [or 'topic' see Goatly 1997, 9], in terms of another thing, Y, called the 'vehicle', and in so doing can direct a reader's perception of X by aligning its meaning with that of Y. This can involve fair comparison, or the exclusion of some aspect of it, or a distortion, as these suit the [communicator's] goals.

The capacity of the metaphor to encourage conceptual juxtaposition between the tenor and the vehicle is as powerful as it is invisible. It does not encourage us, the reader, to look for the banal recognition engendered by simile, but rather, it persuades us at the level of the subconscious. There is nothing in the European Commission policy texts, for instance, that explicitly suggests that social exclusion is 'like' a battle field. Metaphorically, however, we are persuaded by just such an analogy.

Mulholland (1994, 183) goes on to say that:

> Metaphors, therefore, provide clues to the understanding of two important aspects of discourse: (a) [the communicator's] attitude to the subject matter of the communication, and (b) [the communicator's] sense of the nature of the current interaction.

Although Mulholland is writing about metaphors in the context of the 'persuasive tactics' of spoken language in everyday interpersonal relations, her work provides two important suggestions in relation to my analysis. The first is that the metaphors disclose some of the motivations of the policy writers, and the second is that they make the temporality of the policy process more transparent. If, for example, in the 1970s,

policy–makers were concerned with equity as a key part of the interaction between the haves and the have nots, then it would be ordinary for the policy makers of that time to use the language of equality and opportunity to discuss issues of impoverishment. In the 1990s, a policy maker might well be responding to a quite different set of interactions in the current socio–cultural environment. Mulholland's analysis corresponds to what Fairclough (1989, 1992) has identified as interactional control, to which I return shortly.

Mulholland further argues that 'persuasion' is not something that can only be found in the languages of law or advertising. Her suggestion that 'persuasion' is intimately connected to 'purpose' is particularly pertinent to my research. I would argue that it is necessary that European Union policy makers are attuned to persuasive talk tactics. The 'purpose' of European policy is to effect changes in the global European environment and this necessitates persuading, not only the Commission, the Commissioners, the Parliament, the European Council, and the heads of national governments, but also 'the people' – the European citizenry, the non–government organisations and elected representatives at local and national levels. The power of the persuasive talk of the policy documents needs to be very effective both in order to produce changes in organisational behaviour and response and to ensure the policy makers continue to have a job.

Although this research deals with the products of those tactical talks rather than the talks themselves, the metaphors with which the policies become imbued are generated in the policy talk prior to the formulation of the formal written documents. What is arguably interesting about the power of particular metaphors within this discursive arena is that they only survive into the written policy document stage if there is a degree of consensus about their use. The four metaphorical clusters, which I go on to identify here, are clearly in the policy texts and this would suggest that the policy writers, at least, have been persuaded by their efficacy.

So, the first thing to note about the 'unpacking' of the metaphorical burden of policy texts is that metaphors are ubiquitous, tactically persuasive, and purposive. As such, they are likely to go unnoticed and unannounced. In order to clarify what a metaphor might

be and how it might function within the syntax of sentences and ideas in the text it is necessary to look in even greater detail at their linguistic characteristics.

Characteristics of metaphorical language

Metaphors may be either 'extended' or 'brief'. At least three kinds of brief metaphors can be readily identified – (although, see Goatly (1997, 112) for a more detailed typology of seven kinds of metaphor) – dead, inactive (either tired or sleeping) or active. These represent something of a continuum between those metaphors that can no longer be readily accessed in common speech (particularly as the relationship between the tenor and the vehicle has become obscured as words have changed their meanings), those metaphors that are dulled by familiar overuse, and those metaphors that still retain a profound capacity to shock the reader into a new understanding or the perception of a new, fresh relationship between the topic and the vehicle.

Inactive, or cliche–metaphors work surreptitiously, can set hidden agendas, are hard to spot and therefore hard to counter, and may insinuate a representation of the current activity – as in use of 'war' cliches – that predispose the reader to a particular interpretation of the discourse. The cliche is that with which the reader is deeply familiar – so deeply familiar, in fact, that the metaphor seems to be the fabric rather than the embroidery: the fustian not the silk thread.

In addition, there is also the extended metaphor to consider. Mulholland (1994, 184) suggests that an extended metaphor is a:

> comparison of some matter with something different, ... which shares some characteristics with the main matter to be presented. It can take the form of a simile, and be signaled by 'like' or 'as' ... or it can be verbally unsigned but recognizable as a metaphor because of its difference from the matter ... the two ideas ... are each developed and the connection between them is maintained.

Extended metaphors are more easily identifiable and therefore do not persuade so easily or subconsciously, but they can provide coherence to the text, they can create a bond between the communicator and the audience, and can clarify complex ideas by analogy.

As with brief metaphors, extended metaphors use metaphorical language to create a set of relationships between the producer of the text and the text consumer. This assumption of a relationship, or a potential relationship, between producers and consumers serves to reinforce the persuasive purpose of the policy documents.

Mulholland (1994, 185) suggests four ways in which metaphors can be seen to be 'marked' in the text. These metaphor markers include:

> a) words such as 'like' or 'as';
>
> b) juxtaposition of literal and metaphorical words for the same referent, as in "the black bat night is flown";
>
> c) close grammatical connection, such as adjective and noun, or adverb and verb, as in 'dancing kettle' or 'verbally attacked';
>
> d) omission of the literal and the substitution of the metaphorical, as in 'measuring life in coffeespoons' [sic].

Apart from the question of whether or not metaphors can be traced in the policy texts and what forms they take, there are other considerations.

Metaphor, according to Fairclough (1992, 24), may be "a question of fusing different domains of meaning, but it is also a question of what words are used in a text, which is an aspect of its form". Metaphor is also capable of holding ideological and political significance and for representing conflict between alternative metaphors (Fairclough 1992, 77). More potently, Fairclough 1992, 194–5) claims that:

> When we signify things through one metaphor rather than through another, we are constructing our reality in one way rather than another. Metaphors structure the way we think and the way we act, and our systems of knowledge and belief, in pervasive and fundamental ways. How a particular domain of experience is metaphorised is one of the stakes in the struggle within and over discourse practices.

In this next sub–section I focus on the techniques used to identify the specific metaphors and metaphorical clusters that form the basis of my analysis.

Techniques for identifying metaphor in the text

It is useful to note, over and above the discussion about the use of NUD.IST in Chapter 4, that close text analysis was dependent on the capacity of the software programme to track and record the incidence of the terms, sentences and paragraphs identified. These syntactical pursuits were unusual 'tests' to deploy in NUD.IST.[2] Terms such as 'like' and 'as' could be identified by a straightforward pattern search but the three other relationships were more complex. In the case of the juxtaposition of the literal and the metaphoric I tried a number of strategies.

The most productive was to read the summary documents from the paragraphed grammar searches on poverty and exclusion to manually identify any key use of parallel referents. I used a number of different search tactics with NUD.IST which involved formatting the base documents in two different ways. The first formatting was done on the basis of 'text only with line breaks' where text searches saved and retrieved individual lines of text only. The second formatting was on the basis of 'text only' which allowed the text search to retrieve whole paragraphs of text (see Appendix 3a).

For the 'grammar' searches the paragraph (text only) retrieval was used. This enabled study of both context and key words. The closest match was in the use of terms such as 'social fabric' in which the concept of the 'social' can be understood to be the literal element and the concept of 'fabric' to be the metaphoric element. Arguably, concepts such as 'social exclusion', 'social cohesion' and 'combating poverty' fall into the category of close grammatical connection.

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[2] In an e–mail discussion I had with Norman Fairclough in early 1997 I ascertained that he had not made any use of software programmes in his own work and that although he had graduate students working with computer software in their research he was not aware of any attempt to marry his typology to software such as NUD.IST. Although I have not fully explored the capacity of the programme to carry all the categories of Fairclough's typology it has certainly proved useful for collating evidence on metaphors, cohesion and wording.

In order to identify the metaphorical clusters I chose one clear term from the corpus – for example 'combat' – looked this term up in a thesaurus, and then used a 'pattern search' through the entire corpus for the key term and the associated terms in a range of parts of speech (as verbs in various tense forms, and as nouns).

Halliday (1985) provides another avenue for identifying grammatical connection through his coinage of the concept of "grammatical metaphor". Halliday notes that the process of nominalisation, the turning of verbs into nouns – which is a key characteristic of formal, written English – is one way in which these grammatical metaphors are created. All the terms in the policy texts which end with the suffix '–ion', are nominalisations. The argument in relation to nominalisation is significant enough for it to be dealt with, separately, later. Suffice to note here that tracking nominalised terms through NUD.IST 'string' searches is relatively straightforward.

The specific key terms I focus on under nominalisation are 'exclusion', 'cohesion', 'integration', 'insertion', 'participation' and 'marginalisation'. These terms had already been tracked in key word string searches. Omission and substitution cannot be directly tracked through NUD.IST searches as the search functions rely on presence rather than absence. However, a manual search through some of the summary documents is instructive. The key terms, exclusion, cohesion, and integration, frequently exist in the absence of the qualifying term 'social'. The marker terms, such as exclusion, did provide some systematic framework for identifying the metaphors in a range of contexts. The discussion of these metaphors, the rationale for my particular choices of metaphorical clusters and my brief identification of other linguistic strategies is the focus of the next section.

8.2: Metaphorical clusters

I have chosen to analyse four sets of metaphors although there are many more in the texts. There are certainly many more metaphors associated with our general understandings of health and well–being – concepts such as 'care', which could have been studied. Two factors motivated my choices. First, I only used concepts that were

frequent in my policy corpus. In every case the terms had an occurrence rate of more than 15%[3] and some such as 'integration' were as high as 79%. This was not a strictly 'rational' choice, however, as I allowed myself to be influenced by the general tenor of the corpus and by my own hunches. I was concerned with salience and relevance more than with frequency. *Poverty 3*, for example, highlighted the notion of 'combating social exclusion' and promoting 'solidarity' in the title of its core document (COM (93) 435 final) and an earlier document was entitled *Towards a Europe of Solidarity: Intensifying the Fight Against Social Exclusion* (COM (92) 542). I was looking for metaphors that would highlight ambiguities, contradictions, and provocative connections.

The metaphors that I focus on in this analysis, therefore, are firstly those associated with combat and contagion, medico–military imagery juxtaposed to the counter discourse of 'cooperation', 'solidarity', 'participation' and 'integration'. Metaphors of 'inclusion' and 'marginalisation' comprise the second set. Metaphors associated with cooperation slide into the set of metaphors associated with exclusion and are in some ways an extension of the first set. Similarly, the metaphors of 'centre' and 'periphery' that constitute the third set are also an extension of the discourse of marginalisation. My choice of centre and periphery is also partly motivated by my geographical interest in these concepts. Geographical representations of the place of centre–periphery discourse in contemporary European geography can be found in, amongst others, John Agnew (1997), Harold Carter (1995), Costis Hadjimichalis and David Sadler (1995), Paul Knox and Peter Taylor (1995), and Dudley Seers, Bernard Schaeffer, and Marja–Liisa Kiljunin (1979). Discourses of centre and periphery also overlap into a discourse of 'development' which is central to my fourth cluster focused on metaphors of 'progress' and 'decline'. I identify these metaphorical clusters in oppositional pairs (see Figure 8.1).

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[3] In other words they occurred in more than 15% of the texts in the project and all but three of the terms occurred more than 40 times in the corpus. Metaphors of fighting and solidarity occurred 132 and 146 times respectively. Metaphors of integration 226, participation 175, and progress 257 times. The weaker links tended to be in the antonyms so that inclusion only appeared 12 times, progress 32, marginalisation 47, and decline only 4. These 'anomalies' are explained further in the text.

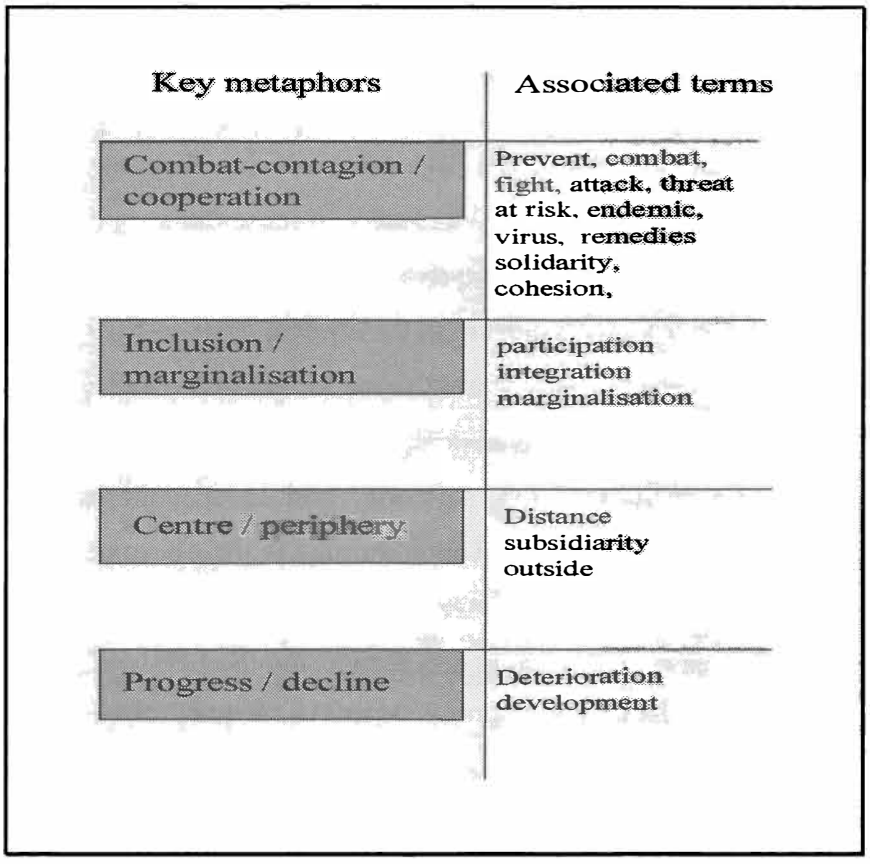


Figure 8.1: Key metaphors and associated terms

Metaphor and meaning

Meaning and understanding in Eurocentric culture is predicated on complex systems of binary logic as has been discussed in some depth in Chapter 3. This dichotomous, Cartesian logic privileges positive terms in metaphorical conjunctions and reinforces derogatory, negative or less well elaborated connotations in the paired term. 'Exclusion', because it is a concept that carries a negative connotation, cannot be regarded as a 'positive' term. The negative connotation embedded in 'exclusion' derives in part from its etymology as a Greek and Latin prefix indicating 'out' or 'without'. In other words, the association of medico–military metaphors with social exclusion sees the 'opposite' of exclusion – solidarity, participation and integration – represented as the positive, active and persuasive relationship. Ironically in this conjunction, what is the actual

'primary' policy focus – social exclusion – becomes displaced by the 'secondary' focus – solidarity. This is paradoxical in one sense but very rational in another.

It is a paradox in that it is the 'fight' against exclusion that repeatedly grabs the headlines, and it is the 'fight' that is represented in masculinist military metaphors. I would argue, however, that the metonymic slippage between the military and the medical metaphors that repeatedly occurs in the corpus, tends to flip the discourse into the feminised space of 'health' and 'care'[4]. Once in this less privileged position, it is easier for the 'counter–discourse', in this case the discourse of solidarity, to occupy the privileged discursive position. Thus, solidarity and social cohesion – the binding together of the people in the European Union through work – becomes the policy goal, rather than any solution to 'poverty' *per se.* This is rational, at least from a government point of view, in the sense that building social cohesion through work is more likely to ensure political stability and social order.

Similarly, the concepts of inclusion, centrality and progress tend to occupy the dominant meaning space in the juxtaposed terms. It is ironic that the term that is the focus of the research, 'exclusion', is not a positive term. It is one of the curious sleights of language form that tend to appear in policy documents or other material that is written in administrative language (see Edelman (1971) for identification of language types). The key term often has an ambiguous status in the corpus. This ambiguity, arguably, allows the administrators some flexibility in the interpretation of documents.

As I have already stated, these four metaphorical clusters by no means exhaust the metaphorical substance of the corpus but they are particularly potent in their capacity to highlight the interplay between discourses of solidarity and inclusion, on the one hand, and the battle against poverty and exclusion on the other. I speculate that these metaphorical spaces are very closely linked to an emphasis on employment as the key solution to exclusion – particularly to the extent that metaphors of progress and development are also prevalent in the corpus. The core metaphorical terms have highly

[4] See Elizabeth Grosz (1989) for a discussion of how military metaphors have a masculinist connection and metaphors of 'care' are feminised.

complex associations of related words that also increasingly serve to intensify the linkages between social integration and the premise that 'employment' will facilitate this integration. In terms of my discussion, this employment–related discourse is an 'economic' interpretation of poverty.

If I tease this out a little more, I could represent my discussion diagrammatically (Figure 8.2) and relate it to Erving Goffman's (1974) notion of 'frame analysis'. Goffman's approach to discursive framing is usefully discussed for my purposes in Kimberly Fisher's (1997, online) article on "locating frames in the discursive universe". Fisher notes that Goffman argued that:

> cultures generate '*primary frameworks*', which render 'what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful' by offering a point of comparison or a conceptual structure through which people can digest information (Goffman 1974, 21 cited in Fisher 1997, online).

In Figure 8.2 I have suggested there are two discursive 'frames'. The first is 'poverty', which is an already naturalised concept in the English language[5] and the second is 'exclusion'. I suggest that in both frames, the concepts are associated with metaphors of sickness and contagion and there is a notion that both 'poverty' and 'exclusion' are conditions which must be fought against. In the frame of poverty, however, the 'cure' is seen in terms of social provision, whereas in the frame of exclusion, the 'cure' is seen in terms of employment (or economic) provision.

This particular reading of how European policy makes "societies reproduce meaning" (Fisher 1997, online) in relation to the notions of poverty and social exclusion is helpful. The concepts of exclusion and poverty are not intrinsically distant from one another. In fact, as I have mentioned elsewhere, the concepts are frequently conflated, read differently in different national and cultural contexts, and represented as different things in different texts. I am speculating here in order to explore some of the possible

[5] Although 'poverty' is naturalised, it has a great range of meaning. In this context I am generally only referring to its use in the Poverty Programmes where it has a particularly strong 'poverty as welfare' association.

ramifications from reading the concepts through their paradigmatic and metaphorical relations. Each of the relationships noted in the analysis would require much more detailed and focused study to determine whether or not they were 'true' in any empirical sense. Such analysis is beyond the scope of this project.

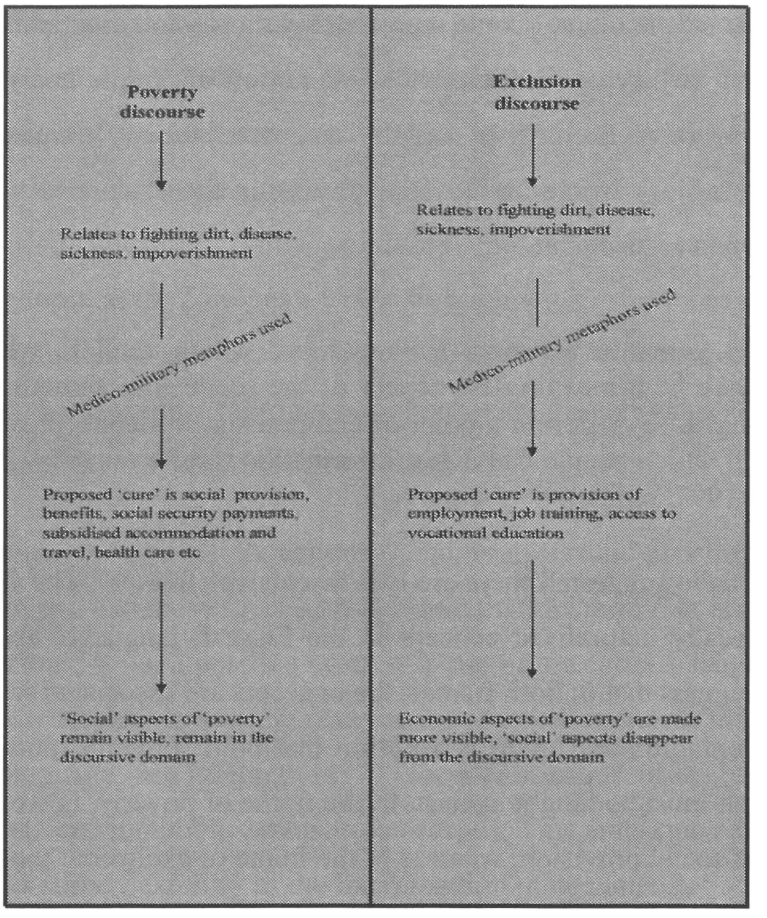


Figure 8.2 Discursive frames of poverty and social exclusion

Introducing the terms

The policy documents contain a contradictory metaphorical space. On the one hand, there is a clear reliance on combat / contagion, medico–military metaphors in the European social policy documents and on the other hand, there is a counter reliance on affirmative or 'sympathetic' metaphors by means of which notions of solidarity and cohesion can move to centre stage. The military metaphors construct the notion that 'poverty and social exclusion' are the subject of a battle, but the sympathetic metaphors

construct the European social project as one that can rely on solidarity and cooperation and unity to win the war.

The tension between these antinomies is unresolved and generally unacknowledged in the social policy texts this research focused on. My argument is that the tension between these countervailing discursive tendencies is 'disposed of' by the production of policy that appears to go in a third direction – towards a discourse of employment. I argue that this is almost a sleight of hand, a trick of consciousness manoeuvre that does not seem to be self–consciously enacted but which produces a persuasive argument in favour of employment as the ultimate palliation.

Metaphors of combat – contagion / co–operation

In this sub–section I outline a four–step process that I undertook in order to develop my argument about employment as dominating the discourse of social exclusion. First, I identify some of the ways the European Union policy discourse about exclusion relies on images of combat and war. Second, I argue that notions of combat and contagion become conflated during the discursive representation of this war. Third, I suggest that metaphors of contagion play a particular role in opening up a discourse of 'cure' which leads in turn to the fourth step, the development of a permissive space in which contradictory discourses can coexist without undue question. The evidence for this assertion can be systematically tracked in the full array of the research corpus.

Images of war

Poverty and exclusion are consistently portrayed in this corpus as a phenomenon that must be 'fought against'. This becomes evident in the frequent references to terms like 'fight', 'combat' and 'challenge':

> *Poverty 3* was designed to provide funding and support for pilot projects with the goal of encouraging innovation in the policies implemented to **prevent and combat** poverty (*EUR–OP News* 2, 1995, online).

It is noted that a new proposal for action in the area of social exclusion:

> implements one of the recommendations of the European Commission Communication "Towards a Europe of Solidarity: **intensifying the fight against social exclusion**, fostering integration" ... of 23 December 1992. It pursues the approach agreed in the Council Resolution on **combating social exclusion** of 29 September 1989 (COM 1993b: *Medium–term **Action** Programme to **Combat Exclusion** and Promote Solidarity*).

In other instances, the metaphors more loosely arraign notions of challenges, reconciliation measures and fighting. The notion is one of taking steps to wage war against the challenge of exclusion:

> A new communication on the social and labour–market dimension of the information society, "People First – The Next Steps", outlined the **challenges** we face if we are to reconcile our social, economic and technological goals, and laid down **specific measures** aimed at maximising the positive impact of the information society on employment and the **fight against exclusion** (COM 1997g: *Report on Implementation of the Commission's Programme for 1997*).

Documents variously discuss the need to combat and fight against "long–term unemployment" (Giroris *et al.* 1994), "mortality and sickness" (Commission of the European Communities 1994c), "social security fraud" (European Parliament 1996), "the problem [sic] faced by rural communities (Commission of the European Communities 1994b), "deprivation" (Andersen *et al.* 1994) and to "Combat poverty and racism" (House of Lords 1994).

The rhetoric of war might be intimidating in its own right but the constant reiteration of metaphors of fighting also has a number of other effects. It aligns the discourse of 'social exclusion' with 'just cause'. In many of its guises, there is a powerful resonance with Christian doctrines of 'fighting the good fight' and 'soldiering for Christ'. I do not have the space to pursue the religious / secular linkages but I believe that would be a very profitable line of enquiry. Not only are there textual alliances between church and war, but there are also alliances between war and disease.

Conflation of combat and contagion

The images of war that are consistently deployed in the policy corpus metonymically produce a shift to a medicalised discourse. The metaphors associated with combat systematically create a discursive space in which poverty and social exclusion may be understood as an affliction. In this discursive space, an "unarticulated analogy persuades" (Mulholland 1994, 37) the reader of a relationship between poverty and contagion.

Not only are the policy documents saturated with these images of combating and fighting social exclusion, they are also saturated with images that suggest that exclusion is a threat. The policy documents abjure European society to 'fight against' and to 'prevent' the 'threat' of social exclusion in the same way that western medical discourse abjures medical professionals to 'fight against' and to 'prevent' the 'threat' of contagion. Medical discourse relies on images of war – disease is invasive, it attacks, it must be combated and fought against. The policy documents, and the less formal reports of policy initiatives, consistently represent social exclusion as a threat in precisely the same way that medical discourse speaks of the threat of influenza, bubonic plague or AIDS:

> The European Council ... emphasizes that high and sustained non–inflationary economic growth over the medium term is essential to reduce significantly and durably the Community's unacceptably high level of unemployment and to **combat the threat of social exclusion** (*EUR–OP News* 2 1995, online).

In other documents the notion of 'risk', with its connotations of contagion and infection, are emphasised:

> Objective 3 aims to combat long–term unemployment, facilitate the entry of young people into the world of work and integrate **those at risk** of exclusion into the labour market (COM 1997e: *First Report on the Consideration of Cultural Aspects in European Community Action* 29).

Sometimes the representation of risk category is relatively benign, as it is in the quotation above, but sometimes the rhetoric becomes more pernicious, as in the instance

cited below. These schemes are identified as 'not coping' and groups of people are identified as having weaknesses which are inherent in a high risk (excluded) group.

> Very often the social security scheme **cannot cope** with such situations, especially since their total or partial exclusion from the labour market bring to the fore or **accentuate other weaknesses** of these **high–risk groups** of people (Hansenne 1997, online).

In yet other instances, a more subtle medical metaphor is employed in the image that exclusion might be a progressive disease:

> The EMPLOI / YOUTHSTART [initiative] ... supports projects to promote the entry into the world of work of young people without vocational qualifications, particularly those **threatened** with long–term unemployment and **progressive exclusion** from **active** society (COM 1997e: *First Report on the Consideration of Cultural Aspects in European Community Action*, 41).

The juxtaposition of 'progressive' with 'active' in the passage above, further reinforces the idea of progressive debility.

The rhetoric in the following quotation from a labour organisation initiating a European wide 'march against unemployment' suggests that the medical metaphor is as comfortably deployed in street discourse as it is in the policy documents and official speeches:

> We could all, one day, **be affected** by unemployment and poverty. The breakdown of the welfare state, increasing unemployment and **the onslaught** of poverty are **attacking** people's dignity ... (Voris 1997, online).

Correlation with notions of contagion also becomes clear in passages that discuss the potential or effects of research. Researchers will study the 'threat' or 'problem' in much the same way that microbes and vaccines will be studied to determine their efficacy in the fight against the rare danger that threatens:

> The objective of this programme is therefore clear: to encourage European **researchers to study** together the **threats** to employment and the **problem** of social exclusion, at a time when the fabric of society in Europe is under **threat as rarely before** and when **research** limited to scientific or technological aspects **cannot provide all the answers** (COM 1997f: *Interview with Édith Cresson,* online).

And, as with all good research cultures, the disclaimer sits in there – "cannot provide all the answers" – to reinforce the only human capacities of the scientists and researchers whose skills are stretched to the limit.

Not only are researchers at the limit but the phenomenon is endemic. As the Commission's *White Paper* on social policy clearly suggests: like the common cold, like influenza, like AIDS, exclusion is everywhere and threatens the very core of society and can only be successfully overcome if all resources are mobilized:

> At present, with more than 52 million people in the Union living below the poverty line ... social exclusion is an **endemic phenomenon**, **stemming** from the structural changes affecting our economies and societies. It **threatens** the social cohesion of each Member State and of the Union as a whole (COM 1994b: *European Social Policy: a Way Forward for the Union. A White Paper*).

> As a result, **preventing and combating** social exclusion calls for an **overall mobilization** of efforts and combination of both economic and social measures (COM 1994b: *European Social Policy: a Way Forward for the Union. A White Paper*).

In some instances the medicalised metaphors are explicit, as in this case when President Santer offers the idea of "remedies" in his Presidential address to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France, 17 January 1995:

> But the **fight against** social exclusion is a duty which transcends institutional quarrels. I am prepared to explore all possibilities, in whatever context, in the search for **remedies** (Santer 1995, online).

Mr Derycke, (1996) Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, puts it thus:

> On the one hand, **unemployment is a virus which affects all Member States**. As combating the virus on a national level does not seem to have the required effect, one has to admit that **at least part of the solution should be sought at the European level.**

There is a rich density of these medicalised and military metaphors in the corpus of this study and certainly cannot be fully represented here[6]. What remains to be suggested here is the extent to which metaphors of unity, cooperation, and solidarity instantiate an alternative image – one which is analogous to good health and in which the body is understood to be in harmony, to be united and to be strong.

The metonymy of poverty and contagion creates a necessary desire for some palliation of the diseased condition and this is rendered, in the policy corpus in particular, as 'employment'. In other words, not only do the metaphors evoke notions of bellicosity, they also evoke notions of disease and cure (see Chilton 1988, Fairclough 1992, Lakoff and Johnston 1980). An 'enemy' is identified (social exclusion), a strategy is developed (combat) and a curative agent (employment) is invoked. The 'militarisation' of 'medical' metaphors (and the subsequent 'medicalisation' of 'military' metaphors) occurs through a naturalisation of the ideas of 'attacking' disease, and 'invasive' illnesses (see Fairclough 1992, Sontag 1988).

So 'exclusion' comes to be understood not only as an 'enemy' but also as a 'disease' or 'contagion'. If its status is understood to be that of a 'disease' then it is possible to find a 'cure'. 'Employment' may be seen to be, and understood as, that naturalised medicinal essence that has the capacity to restore both individual and social well being. This particular slippage between combating and curing is pervasive in discourse that relies on military metaphors.

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[6] The facility in NUD.IST to record statistics of occurrence of key words and colligates (in this case) provides useful 'evidence' in a quantitative sense. For example, in a pattern text search, references to 'fight, fighting, combat, combating' occurred in 52 (80%) of the 57 documents on–line in the corpus. In an index search which correlated all the overlapping instances of the terms "violation, act against, targeted, target, combat, fight, prevent, prevented, blocked, block, threat, threaten, tackle and breakdown" with all the instances of "poverty and social exclusion", some 50 (88%) of the 57 identified a strong correlation. (Research data 25 November 1997).

Finding the 'cure' for social exclusion is explicitly represented as a desirable aim in much of the policy discourse. Under the sub–heading "Prevention and cure: an integrated strategy" in the Commission's (1992, (542)) document *Towards a Europe of Solidarity,* the case is presented thus:

> Combating social exclusion means not just working to prevent it from developing but also to find a **cure** to the current situation. **Prevention** efforts must concentrate on tackling the cumulative and interdependent mechanisms generating exclusion and which, for the most part, stem from the structural changes taking place in Europe's economies and societies. Finding a cure for the situations encountered involves fostering resolute action aimed at economically and socially integrating the people, groups and regions involved.

In some texts, it is taken for granted that agencies working the area of social exclusion aim to prevent or cure exclusion:

> the wealth of innovations aiming to **prevent or cure** social exclusion arising from a variety of agencies calls for more coherence in the content and methods of cooperation between public and private sectors to combat social exclusion (COM 93 (435)).

The European Union White paper (COM 93 (700) final), on the one hand despairingly claims that "there is no miracle cure" and on the other hand suggests a wide range of curative (**employment–related and medicalised**) strategies that are being undertaken:

> There is **no miracle cure**. Together with the broad agreement among the Member States on their **diagnosis** of the situation, there is also a wide measure of agreement on what **remedies** should be adopted. There can certainly be no miracle cure, but there is a need for a thoroughgoing **reform of the labour market**, with the introduction of greater **flexibility in the organisation of work** and the **distribution of working time**, **reduced labour costs**, a **higher level of skills**, and **pro–active labour policies**. There is also a good degree of convergence on the need to maintain social protection systems. Finally, reference is also made to giving **priority to combating unemployment among young people and long–term unemployment**, as well as social exclusion.

Apart from these explicit references to curing exclusion, the idea of curing or preventing exclusion is also implied in three other discursive arenas, those of solidarity, participation and integration.

Solidarity

The dichotomy is firmly established in official document titles that repeatedly couple the idea of combating exclusion and promoting solidarity. Social cohesion and solidarity are used as synonyms in these instances with the inference being that the fight against exclusion will facilitate solidarity and social cohesion:

> From **Social Exclusion** to **Social Cohesion**: a Policy agenda (Bessis 1995, 24).

> Proposal for a Council Decision establishing a medium–term action programme **to combat exclusion and promote solidarity**: a new programme to support and stimulate innovation (1994 –1999) (COM 1993b, *Medium Term Action Programme*, 435).

> Combating **Social Exclusion**, Fostering Integration: towards a **Europe of Solidarity** (Johnson 1992, online).

The coupling appears systematically in the body of the texts as well as in ways which reinforce the connection between cohesion, solidarity and social integration:

> For the purposes of the action programme, actions to **combat exclusion and promote solidarity** shall be specifically aimed at the economic and social **integration** of the economically and socially least privileged groups and persons that are exposed to social exclusion especially in urban areas (COM 1993b, *Medium Term Action Programme*, 435).

> ... the increasingly explicit national policies to **combat social exclusion** as the drive towards economic and **social cohesion** exacerbates the need to modernize traditional welfare systems (COM 1993b, *Medium Term Action Programme*, 435).

Apart from direct references to social cohesion, the role of 'exclusion' in relation to the diminution of social solidarity is expressed in a number of less explicit ways. Its meaning is most poignantly expressed in a phrase drawn from the Citizens' Charter,[7] in which solidarity is identified as a duty of citizenship in these terms:

> The [European] Union is the guardian of a common good made up of all individual civil, economic and social rights. It cultivates the shared values of civilisation that are peace, dignity and respect for the human individual, democracy, freedom and the **duty of solidarity** (*European Citizens' Charter* 1998, online).

In Community terms, solidarity has special connotative power and is frequently invoked in terms of 'duty' and 'responsibility'. As President Santer grandiloquently claimed in a speech to the European Parliament in 1995:

> The Union must be a Union of solidarity. That is a **moral imperative** and much more … **our duty** to future generations … In the run–up to the new millennium the Union will be stronger, show greater **solidarity** and be closer to its citizens (Santer 1995, online).

What is implied, but not stated, in such proclamations, is that 'solidarity' is also understood to be a synonym for cooperation in the fight against the disease of exclusion. The European Council Decision to develop a further poverty programme for the period 1994–1999 identified this plainly:

> **Curative strategies** [for 'low risk' social exclusion] require the development of **new forms of solidarity** between public and private bodies and groups (COM 1993b, *Medium Term Action Programme*, 435).

The economism, the increasing privatisation, latent in this preceding passage is made more explicit in an excerpt from a speech by Karen Jesperson (Danish Minister of Social Affairs):

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[7] The Citizens' Charter was a draft document presented by the European Forum of Civil Society, in Rome on 22 March 1997, and presented in Amsterdam on 15th June, one day before the European summit for the signature of the new treaty of European Union. It encapsulates very strong sentiments in relation to ideals of European citizenship and the social rights and responsibilities of European citizens.

> … when one speaks of solidarity and the struggle against social exclusion, one cannot **avoid the question of costs** (Jesperson 1993).

The idea that cohesion is a costly goal is also alluded to in very specific terms in this reported comment of Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, the Danish Prime Minister, who identified the problem of social cohesion as being:

> … one of **solidarity** between those with a job and those without. The rift is greater between those in more and more qualified posts and those who are becoming more and more unemployable … 'innovation is necessary, but we also have to have the courage to say what it costs' (Rasmussen 1993).

Rasmussen is making a very explicit connection here between issues of solidarity, the costs of social cohesion and the significance of employment. The implication seems to be that those who are unemployed, or unemployable, do not mesh with, do not cohere with, those who have work – that they are a costly part of the problem of maintaining solidarity.

Participation

Participation, like solidarity, has taken on a particular hue in European Community discourse. It is held up as one of the two cornerstones of European democracy in the age of the Community:

> Democracy at the level of the Union is made up of **two components: representation and participation** (*European Citizens' Charter* 1998, online)

What is implied by participation in this sense is the active involvement of ordinary citizens in the Community. This participation is traditionally understood to occur through three primary avenues.

The first is through 'participation in the workforce'. Working people can be inducted into The Community through particular activities and opportunities that are offered to European citizens who are part of a workplace culture. The European Council Decision

(No 2493/95/, online) proclaimed 1996 the *European Year of Lifelong Learning* (COM 1996c, online). This document highlights the concept that participation is understood to occur through the self–development of the working individual ably assisted by innovative Community schemes:

> The aim is the promotion of **personal development** and sense of initiative of individuals, their **integration into working life** and society, their **participation in the democratic decision–making process** and their ability to adjust to economic, technological and social change (*Decision of the European Parliament,* 1995).

The second avenue for the promotion of participation depends on a rhetoric of sexual equality. Women are represented as a special sub–category of the population for whom there is a perceived democratic deficit. By encouraging women into the active labour force, women will naturally come to be more involved in democratic processes and will therefore have higher levels of participation. This is demonstrated in such texts as *The Medium Term Social Action Programme* (COM 1994c, online) which states:

> Giving **women the opportunity** to realise their potential in all spheres of society by **promoting their full participation** at all levels and all sectors of public and economic life will be a central issue which the Commission will address between now and the end of the century.

And further, from the same document:

> The Commission will present a draft Recommendation to the Council defining measures and actions to **promote the participation of women in the decision–making process** in both the public and private sectors (COM 1994c, online).

It is worth thinking about the extent to which 'women' also bear the responsibility for solidarity and cohesion within the family and the local communities of which they are a part.

The third avenue for fostering participation is a singularly European approach that depends on the active cooperation of the social partners. It represents an approach that would not, for example, be readily mirrored in the United States of America, or in New

Zealand. In the European context, the social partners comprise the workers (as represented through trades unions), business and management (farmers, employers, workers, small businessmen, consumers, and professionals) and the government – in this case represented at the global level by Community organisations. In this sense, participation is invoked in relation to the Social Fund and the social partners. As stated in the Commission document (COM 1994b), *European Social Policy: a Way Forward for the Union: A White Paper*:

> **The Structural Funds represent the main Union instrument for promoting cohesion** within the Union. Action, especially by the European Social Fund, will be developed in an integrated and comprehensive approach. Most aspects of social policy are affected, including combating unemployment and exclusion, promoting equal opportunities, supporting the integration of young people, promoting the mobility of workers and their adaptation to industrial change, and, in the regions lagging behind, strengthening education, science and technology services and training for the health sector.

This approach is supported by claims such as:

> A first report on this subject will be issued before the end of 1995, and a European Conference will be held in the first half of 1996 to encourage the **active participation of the social partners in ESF** [European Social Fund] operations as an essential feature of the partnerships needed to maximise the impact of the Fund (*Decision of the European Parliament* 1995).

It appears to be increasingly acknowledged, however, that this somewhat restrictive notion of participation as something which happens amongst the social partners needs to be broadened. This already seems to have happened in late 1993 and 1994 in two distinct ways. First the notion of the social partners has been widened to include voluntary organisations and NGOs. In the area of social policy this is particularly important as the burden of social policy initiative and enactment increasingly falls on the voluntary sector. Directorate General Five acknowledges this in the *Medium Term Social Action Programme:*

> The social reforms needed to address the challenges and massive structural changes facing the Union require a new balance between legislation and collective bargaining and an **increased participation of the social partners** in the preparation and implementation of Community social policy. **A wide range of voluntary organisations and other representative bodies also need to be much more actively engaged** in helping to reconcile economic performance with a wide–spread social solidarity (COM 1994c, online).

More specifically, too, the documents in this corpus reporting directly on *Poverty 3* reflect a further shift in the broadening of the concept of participation to include the necessity for the participation of excluded groups and individuals. In the joint document prepared on *The Contribution of Poverty 3 to the Understanding of Poverty, Exclusion and Integration*, Andersen *et al.* (1994) identify the relationship between participation, poverty and political exclusion thus:

> **Political exclusion** is one of the most widely mentioned [forms of exclusion] ... **Poverty means ... lack of participation** in pressure groups and political organisations; non–fulfillment of citizenship; no access to the system of rights and law.

Having identified the lack of participation as a key element in a lack of progress against poverty, Anderson *et al.* (1994) go on to suggest that participation has to involve the grass roots of those affected by exclusion:

> It appears, therefore, that **participation of the excluded** themselves in the process of integration appears as a necessary component of any successful strategy of integration. Indeed, changes in the mechanisms of exclusion and the **development of mechanisms of integration** can only be fostered in the right direction **with the active participation of the excluded**.

This is a different position from that advocated by most of the rest of the documents in the corpus. It is a position that is echoed in the *European Citizen's Charter*, however, which identifies participation as applicable to all citizens including the poor and excluded:

> All citizens and all representative organizations have the right to formulate and make known their opinions on every area of the Union's

> competence. **The Union shall guarantee the participation of all**, in particular individuals and groups in a situation of poverty and social exclusion (*European Citizen's Charter* 1998).

This expanded notion of participation has been identified and used by Pauline Conroy (1994) to highlight the binary tension between participation and exclusion. Drawing on the work of W. Van Rees and F. Rodrigues (1993), Conroy (1994) suggests that:

> **Participation,** a key principle in *Poverty 3*, **stands opposed to exclusion** and, more specifically, oppression.

Furthermore, Conroy (1994) identifies other dichotomies that reinforce the dynamic character of both participation and exclusion:

> Both exclusion and participation are active concepts. Exclusion gives rise to problems relating to core and periphery, divisiveness, lack of access and openness, differentiation and modernisation.

Conroy (1994) draws a parallel between participation and democratic or citizenship entitlement within the framework of a liberal, egalitarian regime where individuals take responsibility for their own personal development:

> **Participation is based** on the development of a society with human and social values such as the **development of democracy**, **social justice** and increasing people's choices. Participation thus, is not only a key principle of the programme but **also an educational process** that has practical implications for development, change and the learning process.

What is unusual in the statements in Conroy's (1994) synthesis of the *Poverty 3* initiatives is the explicit decoupling of participation and employment. This deserves a moment's closer attention. Conroy suggests that the principle of participation in this instance depends upon the participation of the target groups in the anti–poverty action:

> The **principle of participation as a key to anti–poverty actions** in the case of *Poverty 3* follows the logic that the direct involvement by the target group at all levels of the project is not only indicative of integration in its own right but also that it facilitates the overall processes of economic and social integration of the least privileged groups.

Conroy concludes with the very clear claim that:

> In this wider sense, [participation] means more than labour market insertion, it is a means for empowerment, for combating exclusion and fighting oppression, in other words a cornerstone of civil society (Conroy 1994, online).

Conroy is not only the author of the key synthesis document for *Poverty 3*, but is also a researcher based at the University of Dublin and was one of the key informants whom I interviewed in 1994. She was one of the few policy analysts who appeared to be aware of the potential for the concept of exclusion to be ratified by its association with employment and insertion into the labour market.

Conroy's perspective, however, does not appear to be widely reflected in Community documents on exclusion and participation[8] although it does appear in some Irish documentation on *Poverty 3*. Arguably, Conroy's stance on this issue relates to her personal politics as much as to a position that is endorsed by the Commission. It may reflect her position as a university based researcher, as an Irish researcher with a protracted involvement in poverty research and as a researcher who specifically disagrees with much of the economistic research that is undertaken by Commission research contractors. Her claims, with respect to participation and exclusion in particular, do however provide a clear endorsement of my position.

The perspective provided by the documentation on *Poverty 3* suggests that the metaphor of participation is bound to ideals of democracy and citizenship, as well as to the concept of exclusion. I argue that it is specious to some degree to claim that the excluded must or should or can participate when the real premise of participation is tied to a capacity to consume goods and services.

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[8] I have conjectured that there may well be quite torrid professional relationships at stake in the social policy research fields – particularly at the European level. There are prestigious and lucrative research contracts available that are funded at the European level and it would be likely, in the competitive climate of research in the United Kingdom and Eire at least, for some research to attract more funding and more kudos than others.

In summary, the use of the concept of participation is widespread in the corpus of this project. Overall, its use appears to endorse a dichotomous tension between 'exclusion' and 'cohesion' and it would appear that participation is related to employment, the potential for employment, or the potential for insertion into the labour market. In other words, participation of the active working citizens of the Union is one mechanism by which exclusion can be overcome and cohesion attained. Participation is one of the remedies for exclusion because it fosters solidarity, unity, integration, and cohesion. One further term which intensifies the exclusion / cohesion relationship is 'integration'. Once again, this term has been given a particular nuance in the Union texts.

Integration

In 1997, Padraig Flynn, the Irish Commissioner with responsibility for DG V, used the term 'integration' extensively in a speech to the British Chamber of Commerce. Although the speech is quite short, Flynn uses the concept of integration in a range of ways and demonstrates the flexibility and significance of the term. First, he suggests that individuals need to be integrated (by means of employment) into the society:

> That's why we need new approaches to skills, work organisation and **integration** of those hit by structural upheaval **into the labour market** (Flynn 1997, no longer online).

Flynn (1997) also suggests that the five areas to which Structural Funds should be allocated in the social arena include:

> health and safety; working conditions; information and consultation of workers; equality between men and women in employment; and the **integration of people excluded from the labour market**.

In this sense, Flynn is concentrating on the idea that integration is something that happens to individuals and is a force that has some capacity to address the problem of social exclusion. Integration is something to do with being a part of society. I will return to this usage in a moment.

Flynn (1997) also, however, uses the term in a different context. He suggests that: "We have 15 members in this Union, all with different starting and finishing points on many aspects of integration". In this context integration appears to be something to do with a process that is in some way connected to the development of the European Union (rather than the development of the society/ies that comprise the Union).

This perspective is echoed in other public speeches such as President Santer's 1995 address to the European Parliament in Strasbourg. For Santer, integration is the goal at the level of the Union – a political integration of the disparate member states despite the principle of subsidiarity. Integration is seen as an end goal – the place to which the road of a common Europe leads. As Santer observes, "The Union faces enormous challenges, which are a reflection of the progress already achieved along the road to European integration" (Santer 1995, online).

In this metaphorical incarnation, integration is an exceptionally powerful concept. I will return to the issue of subsidiarity later, but at this point it is useful to note the way in which subsidiarity and integration are deployed by Santer (1995) – once again in a militarised metaphorical frame:

> **Subsidiarity has another enemy**, namely those who deliberately want to interpret it as a way of **curbing integration** and so use it as an excuse to bring matters back under **national control**, while forgetting to apply it in cases where the Union is better placed to act.

'Integration', it would seem, is something that is jeopardised, particularly with respect to social policy, by the self–interest of national governments who are wary of the potentialities of an 'integrated' Europe. This political sense of the concept of integration is central to the tension between the global and national interests within the Union. Whereas, at the level of Union politics, integration is seen as a positive vehicle for political, economic and social change, at the national level, it seen as an integral threat to national sovereignty. One of the discursive resolutions to this dilemma is the dual meaning that seems to be attached to the integration concept.

The *European Citizen's Charter,* for example, suggests that integration is a positive, and necessary element of the social development of the European Community:

> The Union shall have the objective of ensuring the security of all its inhabitants by **working in favour of the social integration of all** and of protection of the environment and worldwide natural resources (*European Citizen's Charter* 1998).

The Commission of the European Communities also sees its role in fostering integration in a positive light:

> The Commission's job is to ensure that the European Union can attain its goal of an ever–closer union of its peoples. A principal task is to ensure that goods, services, capital and persons can move freely throughout the territory of the Union. It must see to it too that the **benefits of integration** are balanced between countries and regions, between business and consumers and between different categories of citizens (COM 1995a).

And, as President Santer (1995) puts it, in more personal terms:

> I am deeply committed to ensuring that the new Commission's day–to–day work is firmly rooted in a reaffirmation of our **shared values** and the **noble objectives** that underlie **European integration**.

'Integration' also appears to have both a more literal and more banal meaning. The Opinion of the Economic and Social Committee on Local development initiatives and regional policy states that:

> To be sound, local development should not mean local bias, but an ability to operate smoothly in the single market through (i) **integration of the various production sectors**; (ii) linkage with externally generated development; (iii) inclusion in European spatial planning; and (iv) linkage to a network of local development areas (Ferrer 1995, online).

Here, integration is being used in a more literal sense to imply the joining together of different economic sectors. The word appears, in this sense, to be quite ordinary and without any complex undertones. This normalisation is a bit unnerving given the extent to which the term is also employed with heavy undertones.

The most frequent use of integration is in the sense of generating 'togetherness' where the undertone is that integration is to do with getting, or even perhaps bullying and coercing, individuals who are part of specific target groups to be actively involved in society. The 'coercive' element appears in the use of terms such as 'supports', 'encourages' and 'promotes'. The following five quotations from *The First Report on the Consideration of Cultural Aspects in European Community Action* (COM 1997e) developed by DG X (Directorate General 10: Information, Communication, Culture, Audiovisual, online), encapsulates this usage well:

> The EMPLOI/NOW part **supports** the development of approaches and instruments which are both innovative and effective in terms of the vocational training and **integration of women.**
>
> The EMPLOI/HORIZON part **encourages** the **professional integration of disabled people and the underprivileged**, to combat economic and social exclusion.
>
> In 1993, the ESF supported this mechanism which **promotes** the **professional integration of creative young people**.
>
> A third cultural dimension in social policies is that of culture as a **privileged means of expression and affirmation** for **people in difficulty** and thus as an aid to their **integration, particularly into the labour market**.
>
> Moreover, the Comenius action aims to **support integration and equality of opportunity** for the children of migrant workers, people pursuing itinerant occupations, travelers and gypsies. In this case, support for projects promoting greater awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity and wealth must make a contribution to the fight against exclusion from society, racism and xenophobia.

In addition to targeting youth, people of minority ethnic status, the disabled or women for integration into society, other target groups such as the elderly and the disadvantaged, are also identified.

> The concerns of today's and tomorrow's older citizens go beyond the traditional issues of pensions and care services, vital as these policy areas will continue to be. The challenge is bigger: it is to maintain a high level of **integration of the older population** as Europe ages (COM 1993c, *European Social Policy*).
>
> Several projects have linked the economic and social dimensions of integration and have revealed a capacity for local responses to national preoccupations to promote economic and social **integration of the disadvantaged or poor households** (Conroy 1994).

In all of these circumstances, 'integration' is used as a synonym for participation but a synonym with a twist. Whereas participation allows some degree of autonomy to those who might be moved to participate, integration, in this sense, clearly implies an activity that will happen to those groups who are so targeted. Integration appears to be a more coercive variant of participation but still part of the ubiquitous discourse of solidarity in opposition to exclusion. As Andersen *et al.* (1994) has suggested:

> **Integration is the word by which the Community programmes have tried to express the opposite of poverty and exclusion**. To borrow Castel's model, integration would be represented by a situation of stable and consistent work relations and family and social relationships. With regard to poverty, integration implies also self–sufficiency with respect to resources.

Slippages

In summary, then, integration slips conceptually between a high flown rhetorical idea of political unity within the Community of member states, and as such is caught up in the discourse of subsidiarity, and a notion in which integration is understood to be the impetus towards cohesion and in opposition to exclusion and poverty. This slippage could be as innocent as the slippage between the literal use of the term integration identified above and either one of these variable meanings. I would argue, however, that the slippage is far from innocent in its effects.

The failure to distinguish between these two uses lexically, by having separate words for the political rhetoric of integration and the idea that particular categories of people need

to be more integrated in the socio–economic project of Europe, results in a metonymic transfer of conceptual power between the two terms. The integration of the Community, the establishment of unity at the political level, begins to appear to rely on the integration of targeted groups of 'excluded' people. In these two quite separate contexts, the idea of integration develops a curious interdiscursivity (Fairclough 1992, 232). The discourse of political unification of the fifteen member states of the Union is an intergovernmental discourse and one which depends on the success of an ideological shift in relation to concepts of federalism (Eichengreen 1996, Piccone and Ulmen 1990, Schmitt 1990) and subsidiarity among other things.

The discourse of egalitarianism, which appears to lie under the idea of the integration of the less favoured and less fortunate individuals, is a different discourse altogether and one that does not necessarily produce political unification. The metonymic conflation of the two discursive fields produces a dangerous capacity. No one, in the European discursive field, can ever know, intuitively, whether a declaration in relation to integration is referring to inter– or intra–national cohesion and solidarity. Nor can policy makers and users tell the extent to which the discourse of exclusion is being invoked as the scapegrace for the lack of any political response involving the acknowledgment of and support for difference. Integration thus becomes a kind of negative political proxemics in which the linguistic, cultural and social spaces between people are not adequately acknowledged.

I would argue that the range of terms used as a substitute for 'solidarity' – cohesion, participation, and integration in particular – also become implicated in this intimate slippage between political unification and social cohesion. What the texts represent, with respect to these synonymous terms, is a conflation of the real materiality of the lives of those who are excluded and the abstract panacea of social cohesion. Social cohesion, solidarity, participation and integration, however, become identified, through the metonymic process outlined above, with the larger project of European political unification. As I suggested earlier, this slippage then ties both cohesion and exclusion into the discourse of subsidiarity.

The important insight that can be drawn from this analysis is that subsidiarity is such a significant political principle in the European Union that it is inevitable that employment and economic benefit come to play a key role in the development of the discourse of social exclusion. The conceptual muddiness in the texts, the use of a wide range of synonyms which themselves have variable meanings, tends to occlude the inescapable logic that it is **economic exclusion** that is the real focus of European policy. Those groups and individuals who are not part of the economic system – those who do not, can not, will not work – may have been part of the picture of poverty policy but they are not a part of the picture of exclusion policy premised on a goal of socio–**economic** cohesion. The slippage between solidarity and subsidiarity is indicative of other, what I have called 'permissive dualisms', in which conceptual looseness facilitates a range of unanticipated outcomes.

Permissive dualisms

For a dualism to be 'permissive' in my sense it needs to accommodate some ambiguity, paradox or potential for 'doubling' or counterpoint. In the case of metaphors of combat–contagion and cooperation, for example, a double discursive space is opened up by the counterpoint between these states – the warlike and the sympathetic. It is not just that social exclusion is a disease which must be fought against using all possible strategies and powers but also that the alternative to exclusion is not, directly, inclusion. The process of social inclusion – which, in a dichotomous reading would be the anticipated antidote to the poisonous depredation of exclusion – is not discussed in such explicit terms. Rather, inclusion is deployed as an opposite to 'marginalisation – as will be discussed shortly – and what is presented as the antidote to or cure for exclusion is 'social cohesion' and 'social solidarity'.

There is no mandatory remedy for the pathologised social exclusion, which might result in 'inclusion' for those benighted individuals and groups who have somehow found themselves on the outside of what it is that makes European society hold together. There is only the holding up of the ideal of recovery and good health in terms of the unified, harmonious body – the corporeal composure of the body politic. In as much as this

rhetoric does not depend on predictable antinomies, it is permissive. The rhetoric allows looser interpretations of cause and effect, problem and solution. The solution is not, in any transparent sense, to include the excluded. Rather, the solution is to intensify the degree to which the society (of those who are potentially includable) is cohesive.

This permissiveness encourages the interpellation of 'employment' as the necessary palliative for the social diseases of poverty and social exclusion. I would argue that the calling of 'employment' into this discursive space has been facilitated further by the articulation of 'social exclusion' rather than 'poverty'. Retaining use of the concept 'poverty' as the generic term for all aspects of deprivation would have required a much more explicit set of linguistic shifts. As the next sub–section indicates, however, the ambiguities and tensions embedded in other binaries also work to draw discourses of 'employment' to centre stage.

Metaphors of inclusion and marginalisation

The second metaphorical dualism I examine surrounds the cluster of metaphors around 'inclusion' and 'marginalisation'. A focus on these two metaphors provides a space for a further discussion of the discourses of solidarity and social cohesion.

Solidarity, as I have already indicated, is a complex metaphor that may be read in terms of 'family', 'regional', 'union', 'church', 'national' or even 'supranational' attributes. Social cohesion – a rhetorical notion of strength and unity across the body of the European Union – reflects the discourse of solidarity. One of my speculations here, is that, arguably, employed citizens are less likely to be a source of social disruption and are more likely to share the dreams and aspirations of a stable, cohesive society. In this case, the relevant counter–discourse is that which identifies marginalisation, fragmentation and difference as a social liability.

Unity and conformity is constructed as a positive force for generating a cohesive social body – one that is not riven by strife or torn apart by social disorder. It is in the interests of the European project, in its widest sense, to be able to claim that its policies and initiatives go to make Europe a safer and better place – one which is conducive to gentle,

participatory citizenship premised on employment and capacities for consumption. Marginalisation, the process of pushing things to their extreme edge, of attenuating cohesive forces so that things cannot be held toward the centre, is one of the processes by which disorder, random chaos and disunity is encouraged. It entails processes of de–integration, segregation, isolation and disadvantage.

Marginalisation is referred to directly in a number of texts as if it were a direct synonym for social exclusion:

> ... the economic and social cohesion policy is also implemented through ESF interventions under objectives 3 and 4 ... such interventions deal with or often include cultural aspects which by improving the human resources involved, make it possible to offset the **risk of marginalisation** (COM 1997e).

> [social] exclusion translates into low standards of living and unsatisfactory quality of life; social discrimination and hostility, **stigmatisation (which compounds disadvantages);** negative image of the poor groups; no access to the welfare state, to social citizenship, housing, public amenities and means of communication; lack of knowledge and information; poor health (both a cause as well as a consequence of poverty); **isolation** and loneliness from the family and the community; **the sense of being forgotten** ("out of sight and out of mind") (Anderson *et al.* 1994).

It is also used, in some of the specific commentaries on *Poverty 3*, as a way of making a distinction between the kinds of poverty and disprivilege that keep people on the 'edge' of society rather than completely **beyond** the margins. These sections are worth quoting at length as they represent a few of the instances in the corpus where the problem of the definition of concepts is given serious attention:

> **Marginalisation** has been used by some [Poverty] projects alongside social exclusion to represent isolation from economic, social, cultural and political life (Conroy 1994).

> ... problems of poverty and exclusion may be seen as a process that involves various stages that go from **de–integration from work** relations to **de–integration from family ties and social relationships**. Castel

> (1990) and Petersen (1993) refer to **the process as social marginalisation and reserve the term social exclusion to its extreme phase**. Poverty would be more closely related to a state of deprivation and to some form of detachment from work relations, whereas social exclusion would refer to a deeper (extreme) **stage of the process of marginalisation, implying also the weakening or rupture of family ties and social relationships** (as exemplified by the homeless, the tramps, etc.). Thus, it seems that, in this perspective, as long as poverty does not co–exist with de–integration from family ties and social relationships, it does not correspond to a situation of social exclusion. In other words, the notion of exclusion is specifically linked to those ties and relationships (Andersen *et al.* 1994).

The notion that marginalisation is linked to inclusion, however, is explicitly expressed in the following comment from the European Parliament on the issue of developing European Social Policy. Ironically 'inclusion' is also used in a more literal sense in the opening sentence:

> Parliament calls for the inclusion of a social dimension in the [Maastricht] Treaty ... There is a need to promote more **active protection**, **focusing on inclusion** and preventing beneficiaries from being **segregated** from the rest of society ... It is essential that social programmes do not stigmatize the people for whom they are intended, but **keep them firmly bound into the social fabric** (European Parliament 1997).

It is the notion of marginalisation as a process that is dependent on the "weakening or rupture of family ties and social relationships" that is of interest in my argument. If 'inclusion' is understood to be the 'binding' of groups and individuals into the 'social fabric', then marginalisation is the process by which the unravelling of the social tapestry is initiated. 'Employment' in the following quotation is, once again, represented as the thread that has the capacity to stitch the marginalised back into the cloth:

> many participants felt that on the contrary, new marginalized groups will arise – those who have neither the skills for, nor access to, new technology. The discussion emphasized the threat that some new forms of work are liable to generate social exclusion, leading to isolation, decreased access to collective channels of representation and lowered availability of a range of rights and benefits associated with conventional employment. The **solution should include systems of rights that include new forms of work** wherever possible. **Existing social security**

> **and benefit systems need revision so as to relieve "poverty traps" and remove the obstacles to reentry into employment** (European Parliament 1997).

The Community is seen as the body that has the capacity to set the necessary programmes in place:

> … the Community Initiatives to be launched during 1995 all involve to a greater or lesser extent a **commitment to the promotion of employment and a concern for social inclusion** (COM 1998d, *A Citizens Guide*).

Although less substantially supported in my corpus than the extensive records of solidarity, participation, and integration, the dichotomy of marginalisation and inclusion also serves to intensify the relationship between employment and social exclusion as does the dichotomy between centre and periphery which I consider next.

Metaphors of centre and periphery

The third metaphorical cluster comprises terms associated with 'centre' and 'periphery'. This sub–section also includes some specific reference to places – to the Commission in Brussels, which is understood in this context as the centre, and to specific nation states – particularly the United Kingdom, which is understood in this context as the periphery. The representations of 'Southern Europe' – Spain, Portugal, Greece, Southern Italy – which are the poorest parts of the Community, are also referred to as the 'periphery'. Referring to Southern Europe as the 'periphery' is particularly common in geographical texts. As Blacksell and Williams (1994, 93) suggest:

> After almost twenty years of the ERDF [European Regional Development Bank], there is a growing realization that the EC is a group of states with a number of, structurally, chronically disadvantaged regions … Most of the measures used to define and explain regional disparities use the contrasts between a dynamic 'centre' … and a weak 'periphery' …

The states which Williams and Blacksell identify as peripheral also include the Republic of Ireland and they note that "the former East Germany (DDR) is a special case" (see also Pinder 1990).

The binary of the centre and the periphery is thus politicised in a material as well as an abstract sense in the debate about subsidiarity in the European Union. The Union, with its physical focus on the Commission and the headquarters of the Council in Brussels, is constructed as the centre and the individual Member States, with their autonomous governments, are constructed as the periphery. Subsidiarity is also invoked, however, by the Commission, as a desirable principle for interactions between national governments and local bodies. In this sense the discourse of subsidiarity establishes a flexible hierarchy in which the relatively larger body is constructed as the centre and the smaller and less financially independent body as the periphery.

The deployment of the metaphorical binary, centre / periphery, creates a discursive space that endorses the [European] politics of subsidiarity. Subsidiarity instantiates a hierarchy in centre / periphery representations which also serves to create ambiguous territories in the policy arena. Subsidiarity has acquired its strongest claim in the debate about what is the just provenance of European level policy initiatives. National governments, within the European Union, have vigorously claimed that social policy is beyond the provenance of European level policy mandates. The British government's refusal to sign all the tenets of the social protocol in 1994 is a clear case in point, but earlier arguments in relation to the Social Charter are also indicative (Archer and Butler 1996, 105–108; Artis and Lee 1994, 289–90; Middlemas 1995, 180–183).

The claim that is generally put forward by national governments to the European Council, to curtail European Commission and Parliament activities, is that the European Union is an 'economic' not a 'social' Union. Social policy, it is argued, should be left to the individual member states. The Commission and the Parliament, however, have consistently argued that it is not possible to separate economic and social policy in this way and therefore it is important for the European Union to have an active profile in social policy areas.

In order to develop a policy base that even begins to address issues of social exclusion, the European policy makers have tended to 'talk up' the 'economic' aspects of the phenomena. This makes the social component of the policy more acceptable at the

national level. In terms of the centre, then, employment discourse has been a tool for conjuring the 'social' into the 'economic'. Local initiatives which want to claim the value of European level policy can sidestep the national constraints on social policy by appealing directly to the centre as well.

This serendipitous versatility of 'employment' discourse has produced some opportunities for European level social policy makers to assert and privilege the centre against the periphery. Although the term 'subsidiarity' is used at 'global', national, regional and local scales within the European Union, it is a term over which the European Union has greatest control. It is more likely, in effect, for the term subsidiarity to be invoked in the relationship between the European and the national levels.

The word 'centre', as such, is seldom used in the corpus and in only one instance is used in a way that endorses the ideological positioning of the Union as the centre:

> ... the **extra distance** that each new enlargement puts **between individual citizens and the centre** makes it increasingly necessary to reinforce the democratic legitimacy of the Union (Santer 1995).

Periphery is mentioned even less but when it is, it refers to the European South (the Latin areas), the edges of urban areas and rural areas:

> Seemingly, in the **periphery** countries, and in the **Latin** countries in particular ... the trigger for success has been the combination of a large industrialized urban centre with the **development of industrial districts on its periphery** ... (Abou Sada *et al.* 1994).

> The participation of the target groups is essential. Certain questions have to be made priorities: unemployment, for example, and in particular long–term unemployment, the problem of underprivileged urban areas, of **periphery** rural areas (Quintin 1993)

These are 'commonsense' deployments of the terms. Conroy's (1994) observation that "exclusion gives rise to problems relating to core and periphery ... " encouraged me to consider the dichotomy more carefully and to look again for the use of synonyms and

parallel metaphors that might allude to a more particular use of the term. A text search for 'subsidiarity' reveals some of the explicit intensity underlying the principle.

The Commission, on the one hand, states its own position very carefully:

> In its initiatives, the Commission takes the **principle of subsidiarity** into account so that it **initiates legislation** only in areas **where the European Union is better placed** than individual Member States to take effective action. Subsidiarity is enshrined in the Maastricht Treaty on European Union (COM 1995a, *The European Commission 1995–2000*).

The Commission also supports a very clear position with respect to the wider application of the principle as is evidenced in this statement from the President of the Economic and Social Committee, Carlos Ferrer (1995):

> Lastly, the greatest difficulties derive from the excessively centralized and hierarchical structure of public–authority procedures ... This again highlights the **need to apply the subsidiarity principle in the Member States**, by decentralizing administrative activity and **setting up local machinery** such as development agencies based on a socio–economic partnership and involving both the public and private sector.

Ferrer seems to be suggesting here that the subsidiarity does apply right through the system with each unit at the larger scale deferring to the capacities of the unit below.

Both of these understandings of subsidiarity express a demarcation of jurisdiction and this is important. It suggests that there are limits to the power and control that can be exerted from one part of the political sphere to another. When this limitation is understood to be content based as well as jurisdictionally based the implications become more severe. The general understanding of the demarcation, which is codified in the Social Protocol, is that each political unit undertake only those activities which are closest to its powers. In other words, the Commission only formulates policy in areas which are beyond the scope of any one national government; the national governments only formulate policy which is beyond the scope of any one local authority; and local authorities refrain from interfering in individual or community initiatives which are

specific to that particular individual or community. Social policy is highly susceptible to emasculation through this logic.

The social deficit, the lack of access to good health, education, housing and income, for example, tends to manifest itself at an individual level, at the level of 'poor bodies' – individual, corporeal beings. Under the principle of subsidiarity, individuals are most likely to be left to their own resources to manage access to social goods – to health services, educational opportunities, safe and adequate housing stock and reliable and adequate income. Subsidiarity, therefore, instantiates an inherent source of conflict in European Union social policy. Can the Union, through the policy making and ratification capacities of the Commission, Council and Parliament, promulgate policy that will have a bearing on the complex social conditions of individual Community citizens? The answer is surely, no. The principle of subsidiarity reinforces the tendency for social policy initiatives to be expressed as if they were, in fact, economic policies. At best the European Union can endorse policies that recommend that individuals engage in productive paid work. It is this need to justify policy as 'economic' rather than 'social' that leads to further conflation of 'exclusion' and 'employment'.

Mr Derycke (1996), Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressed the parameters of this dilemma quite succinctly when he identified the idea that the Union must take responsibility for maximising employment despite the principle of subsidiarity:

> It is clear that the European Union **must aim at maximum employment** and that this policy needs to be supported as much as possible through social dialogue. Member States need to fully acknowledge that **such a policy is part of the "common interest."** Obviously, **the principle of subsidiarity will have to be a two–way street** in this respect.

The centre / periphery dichotomy has been discussed (in Chapter 7) as it functions as the scalar metaphor that underpins European socio–political transactions. It is important at this stage to bear the issue of subsidiarity in mind for the way in which it motivates social policy to appear in the guise of economic policy. Vos (1997) discusses the way in which the proliferating committee structures of the Commission and the Union work both for and against the role of subsidiarity in social policy.

'Fringe', 'margin', 'edge', 'outer' and 'outside' are also synonymous metaphors through which I explored possible aspects of a centre / periphery dichotomy. The only one of these terms that yielded any more food for thought was a range of references to 'outside'. The *House of Lords* 1994, 'Submission to Sub–Committee C', referred to people "at risk of falling **outside a 'safety net'**" and to the "existence of large numbers of the **poor outside of the labour market**" or to "sections of the UK population [who] live **outside of mainstream life**". In these references there is a sense that individuals and local communities also occupy the periphery by being beyond the border of what is understood to be an acceptable basis for inclusion. In the next subsection I speculate on the extent to which the trope of 'progress' is also implicated in the metaphors of 'solidarity' and 'inclusion'.

Metaphors of progress / decline

My final analysis of metaphor examines 'progress' and 'advancement'. I am persuaded by George Lakoff's argument (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) that there is a psychoanalytic link between notions of progress and the fact of human achievement that is recorded in the child's first forward steps. I argue that notions of progress saturate the European Community discourse and that this has some inevitability given the socio–political space within which the Community operates. In this section, I pay attention to the idea that the European Union is philosophically positioned in the project of modernity. Concomitant to this modernist discourse of progress are employment and its corollary, consumption, made possible by wage and salary earnings.

In this sub–section, I take a slightly different approach to discussing metaphorical clusters. In the first instance I consider 'progress' and its antonyms, 'decline' and 'deterioration'. On the one hand I rely more heavily on key insights from the linguistic analyses of Andrew Goatly (1997), George Lakoff (1987) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980). On the other hand, I examine some aspects of 'progress' as a trope of 'western civilisation' and the implications of this discursive field for European Union social policy.

'Progress' is a concept which is not self–evident in the texts nor is it a concept which readily appears to 'belong to a binary' in this corpus. The use of key antonyms to the concept of 'progress', for example, "decline, deterioration" (*Chambers Thesaurus* 1988, 49), is what invokes the notion of 'progress' in the texts. But these terms are not invoked with the same ease as any of the other terms examined so far. 'Deterioration', in fact, appears only once in the corpus in a somewhat emotive declaration in the Commission's *White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment*, where it has medicalised overtones that suggest that deterioration is part of a 'condition':

> Yes, we can create jobs, and we must do so if we want to safeguard the future –the future of our children, who must be able to find hope and motivation in the prospect of participating in economic and social activity and of being involved in the society in which they live, and the future of our social protection systems, which are threatened in the short term by inadequate growth and in the **long term by the deterioration in the ratio of the people in jobs to those not in employment** (COM 1994a: *White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness, and Employment*).

There is a slightly pejorative overtone in this use of 'deterioration', which serves to confirm the positive representation of employment. The underlying message seems to be that unless people participate through paid work, social and economic conditions will suffer 'deterioration' because there ultimately will be fewer people working than not working.

When the term 'decline'[9] is used, other than in a literal sense of a reduced number (a decline in population, a decline in jobs), it is used to refer to places and sites where progress has been thwarted by the vicissitudes of economics. And, although it is never explicitly coupled with the term 'progress', it enters the text as a signifier of the absence of progress in particular places, as in:

> the **decline** in the regions which were heavily industrialized in the past (Abou Sada *et al.* 1994).

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[9] The word 'decline' appears 53 times in the corpus of the "Grammar" project [note that this project is a 'text only with line breaks' corpus containing 72 documents. I have used this corpus occasionally to cross check items in the main project].

> … converting regions seriously **affected by industrial decline** … (COM 1998d, *A Citizens Guide*).

'Decline' is also used in relation to particular sectoral activities as in:

> The **decline of shipbuilding** and the reduction of military … (*Study of Local Level Initiatives to Combat Social Exclusion in Europe*, online).

> … rural areas where the weakness of local labour markets combined with **agricultural decline** results in a high proportion of low–income households … (COM 1993b, *Medium–term Programme to Combat Exclusion and Promote Solidarity*).

> Europe has experienced a **decline in economic activity** … (COM 1994a, *White Paper*).

Places that are not progressing, not advancing, not developing, are those places that are in decline. Decline is associated with social exclusion in the sense that those places where 'progress' is not richly evident are those places where social exclusion is most rampant, where the absence of social cohesion is vividly demonstrated, and where the social fabric is most frail. As is suggested in one of the earlier policy documents on Poverty:

> There are also disparities between urban areas: [sic] the developments observed tend to exacerbate the differences between conurbations and, within the latter, are accompanied by growing differentiation or segregation: [sic] here, too, some cities and urban areas will receive a boost while others will suffer recession or stagnation fraught with dire consequences, especially **cities where economic decline** set in and, more generally, the run–down districts of conurbations which have become **a refuge for rejected or stigmatised populations and where the social fabric is disintegrating.** (COM 1993b, *Medium–term Programme to Combat Exclusion and Promote Solidarity*).

In some instances, 'decline' is metaphorised into a social element as a more direct synonym for 'exclusion':

> The unexpected strengthening of these relationships has been a positive factor for areas torn by neighbourhood divisions, **social decline** and antagonisms born of the piling up of social problems (Conroy 1994).

> Such a de–structuring effect goes along with deprivation and affects cumulatively all the aspects of life: health, education, housing, work, social relations, etc. These subjective aspects add to the barriers that come from the economic, social and cultural inequalities and other marginalising factors, leaving the poor with no way out of the situation or in a **state of continuous decline** (Andersen *et al.* 1994).

That 'progress' itself is part of the irrefutable logic of the Community's goals is also born out in different ways. Lakoff (1987) suggests that the success of forward momentum as a positive metaphor in western thinking may be attributed, in part, to the success of 'walking' as a first infant activity that is associated with enthusiastic and affirmative adult response. The 'forward step' becomes a metaphor through which 'goodness' and 'rightness' can be identified on the grounds that adults perceive the first steps of a child as 'good', 'right', 'appropriate' behaviour that deserves unmitigated praise. And, equally, the child who is slow to walk, or who perhaps fails to walk, is understood as 'retarded' in its development or perhaps even 'handicapped'. The idea of 'development' is deeply implicated in this analysis.

Development

Lakoff's (1987) discussion elaborates further. 'Development' is understood, in the first instance, as a 'natural', biological, phenomenon. The egg is fertilised and 'development' takes place – first of the 'ova', then of the 'foetus', then of the 'baby', and finally of the 'child' who develops into the finished product of a 'man'. Development, in this context, suggests an unfolding of a natural process, a progression, which has some specified final result that is understood to be somehow pleasing and 'finished'. This biological process of development then becomes transferred to the trope of 'progress'. Lee (1992, 71) concisely explanation how this metaphorical process works:

> One domain of experience [that of biological development in this case] ... is being structured in terms of a different domain of experience [that of economic 'progress'] through the use of language.

So the trope of progress becomes imbued with those other qualities attached to the growth and development of the human individual and is understood to be an exciting, natural, positive and applaudable event.

Ironically, the subsequent process of 'decay', which seems to begin for organic entities once they have reached 'maturity', is not understood to be a 'natural' part of the 'development' process in human animals but is, rather, some strangely negative aspect of the evolutionary momentum – some intrusion of the 'natural' into the sanctity of the 'cultural' – that has somehow overtaken the body and, particularly the mind, of the adult, sentient human. I do not propose to explore the ramifications of Lakoff's proposal or my intuitive reading of it too far. There are, however, two elements of the idea that I do identify as significant in the overall frame of this argument.

First, the idea of 'progress' is implicated in the idea of development. Metaphors of biological development have been transposed quite comprehensively into the 'economic' realm such that it is now possible to talk about nation states, economies, business firms and so on, 'developing' in the same naturalistic and 'evolutionary' way as a living organism. In the European Union documents, 'development' is so naturalised that it would be easy to overlook its significance.[10] It is used to indicate the 'development' of the Community, the single market, transport networks, local infrastructure, policy initiatives, and development models and sustainable development. It is used in relation to the development of potential, of particular groups of people (such as women), and of opportunities and incentives. It is used in the context of the development of employment as the necessary counter to the development of social exclusion. The corpus is saturated with a notion of progress masquerading as rhetoric of development. In all its uses, the word 'development' signifies the potential for change for the better, for improvement,

[10] The word 'development' is extensively used in the corpus. The total number of text units found was 1557 in 57 out of 72 on–line documents. This represents 79 percent in the 'text only with line breaks' "Grammar" project. See the final subsection of this chapter for a discussion about 'naturalisation'.

for enhanced capacity, for maturation and for staving off the decay that is 'secretly' embedded in the folds of its own metaphorical invocation. Such a discourse, such rhetoric, is also successful in intensifying the relationship between employment and social cohesion.

Secondly, Lakoff's (1987) notion of a psychoanalytic link between the idea of the 'first steps' and the notion of progress lays a foundation for the transition from this chapter, with its focus on metaphor and text cohesion, to the concluding chapter, in which I consider some psychoanalytic implications in the discourse of social exclusion. Lakoff's (1987, 409–415) model exegesis in relation to "Anger, Lust and Rape" is used as a basis for some of this chapter.

In summary, the idea of 'forward progress', which is a significant aspect of European Union discourse in all fields, is also apparent in the corpus of this research. Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997, 413) make the claim that:

> More recently, the European debate on social exclusion and the work undertaken at the International Institute of Labour Studies (Geneva) suggest that **social cohesion should be regarded as one of the main dimensions of development**.

My concern is that the European debate on social exclusion is premised so firmly on a concept of development and progress that there is little room for any alternative readings. If the notions of solidarity, inclusion, integration, participation, and social cohesion, within this discursive field, cannot be uncoupled from the notion of progress then it is also more likely that 'social exclusion' will only be understood as something that is connected to employment capacity. In other words, in order for the European Community to 'progress' there needs to be a high degree of social solidarity and cohesion, which, as I have already established, is increasingly seen to derive from high levels of employment.

At the individual level, the capacity of any particular 'body' to be employed relates directly to its capacity to contribute to the development of Europe through ensuring greater and greater degrees of social cohesion. In modernist terms, development,

employment and consumption are all part of the trope of 'progress'. 'Progress' is such a powerful trope in contemporary life that it seems to be a completely natural aspiration. It is common sense for people to want to progress, advance, develop, earn more, buy more and 'be' more.

In teasing out some of the detailed implications of the synonyms for solidarity – cohesion, integration, participation and inclusion – a great deal of linguistic and grammatical nuance has been overlooked. I have been attempting to establish a general ground from which to examine the implications, for poverty discourse, of the naturalisation of a bond between exclusion and cohesion. In order to extend this argument one step further it is necessary to examine the concepts of naturalisation and nominalisation in more detail. In the next sub–section I briefly do this with a view to understanding the ideological effects of significant tropes.

8.3: Ideological effects

So far in this chapter, I have identified one significant element of what happens, in the textual field, when the concept of exclusion and solidarity are so intimately linked through metaphorical terms. In these next few pages, I examine two other textual strategies, – naturalisation and nominalisation – that have a particular capacity to further intensify the conceptual and ideological bond between the key terms under review. Fairclough (1989) makes a very powerful, and to my mind persuasive, argument about the imbrication of language and ideology. The focus on the ways in which language elements produce and confirm ideological positions is one of the attributes of Fairclough's work, as a linguist, which separates him from other linguists and makes his work appealing to social theorists in a broader field.

One of the persuasive suggestions in Fairclough's (1989) work is the circularity with which 'commonsense' is produced through naturalisation processes. In this argument, dominant discourse is seen to be produced in institutionalised contexts (government, schools, medical arenas) which tend to reflect prevailing ideologies in state polities in any given time and place. Dominated discourse types tend to be suppressed through a

range of controls and de–legitimation functions. As a result of these two processes, of institutional inculcation on the one hand, and discourse suppression on the other hand, a consensus on 'commonsense' is arrived at. It is commonsense, for example, for people to work for a living, for beneficiaries to be understood to be lazy and for all children to go to school till the age of 18.[11] However, once a position becomes accepted as commonsense, its ideological motivations become muted or even invisible. As Fairclough (1989, 92) suggests:

> [I]n the naturalization of discourse types and the creation of common sense, discourse types actually appear to *lose* their ideological character. A naturalized type tends to be perceived not as that of a particular institution, but as simply that of the institution itself. So it appears to be *neutral* ... The apparent emptying of the ideological content of discourses is, paradoxically, a fundamental ideological effect: ideology works through disguising its nature, pretending to be what it isn't.

Once terms, concepts, or ideas are established in discourses within institutional contexts, those institutions tend to be rationalised in ways that explicitly and implicitly legitimise them and reaffirm their hegemony.

Nominalisation is a second linguistic strategy that Fairclough (1989) identifies with ideology. He suggests, and I will demonstrate this shortly, that 'unspecified causality' produces profound ideological effects. Nominalisation is a grammatical form in which a 'process' is expressed as a noun, as the name of some entity that contains agency. As Fairclough (1989, 51–52) states:

> One effect of this grammatical form is that crucial aspects of the process are left unspecified: in particular we don't know who or what ... is causing [the process to happen] – causality is unspecified ... the power being exercised here is the power to disguise power ... It is a form of the power to constrain *content*: to favour certain interpretations and 'wordings' of events, while excluding others.

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[11] The arbitrariness of 'commonsense' comes to light whenever ideological positions change and subsequent changes in policy take place. The constructions of common sense have to change consequentially. The frequent changes in school leaving ages are a useful case in point.

In the next two sub–sections I briefly look at these two grammatical forms in more detail and in relation to the concept of social exclusion. I believe this is a very productive line of enquiry and one that warrants much closer attention and amplification that I am able to give it here.

Naturalisation

Fairclough (1989) has particularly represented naturalisation in relation to dominant discourse. He suggests (1989, 91) that:

> If a discourse type so dominates an institution ... then it will cease to be seen as arbitrary ... and will come to be seen as natural and legitimate because it is simply *the* way of conducting oneself.

What is at stake, in this institutional affirmation of dominant discourse, is the space for counter discourse to survive. Only those ideological assumptions that match the contours of power of the controlling discourse are likely to gain purchase and come to be understood as 'commonsense'. Once a discourse occupies the privileged position of being able to be equated with 'commonsense' it becomes exceptionally powerful in institutional contexts. Persons making decisions in institutional contexts are often pressured to base their decision making on what appears to be obvious commonsense. Such decision making is expedient.

Fairclough (1989) points out that there are really only two possible positions for discourses that run counter to this 'hegemony of institutionalised commonsense'. The first is the production of what Michael Halliday (1978) calls 'anti–language'. Any language form that is consciously set up as an alternative to established discourse would fall into this category. Indeed, the term 'social exclusion', when it was first adopted in the European Union context in the 1970s, was a kind of anti–language. It was designed to shake policy makers out of the complacency and confusion engendered by the concept of 'poverty', which was the term that then dominated discourse about the poor. Ironically, exclusion has been subjected to powerful normalising influences that have led to its containment.

'Containment' is the second strategy that Fairclough (1989, 91) identifies as a position for counter discourse. As he suggests:

> Where dominated discourses are oppositional, there will be pressure for them to be suppressed or eliminated; whereas containment credits them with a certain legitimacy and protection – with strings attached!

In the case of 'social exclusion', the strings have firmly tied the discourse to the prevailing European Union focus on employment and productive contribution to economic development.

In the same fashion, relationships between terms in discourse can also contribute to the naturalisation of the relationship between the terms (Fairclough 1989, 105). In this case, I would argue that the naturalisation of the relationship between exclusion and cohesion is what then facilitates the naturalisation of a discourse of 'employment' as the solution to the problems of exclusion – although this is not necessarily straightforward. A careful application of Fairclough's logic in relation to naturalization goes some way to explaining how this might happen.

In Fairclough's discussion of naturalisation, he suggests that there is much ideological purchase to be gained from the naturalisation of discursive elements. In particular he suggests that the power of naturalization can be exerted in three separate fields: the naturalisation of the meanings of words, the naturalisation of interactional routines and the naturalization of subject positions (Fairclough 1989, 105). The first of these is of interest to me here and I return to the latter in the final chapter. Interactional routines, although undeniably a significant element in all European Union relations and all aspects related to the production of social policy at global, national and local levels, is not addressed here. In addition, the ideological effects (Fairclough 1989, 99) of the particular policy writing milieu of the Commission is a subject in its own right and beyond the scope of this analysis.

Fairclough (1989, 105) suggests that:

> The naturalization of the meaning of words is an effective way of constraining the contents of discourse and, in the long term, knowledge and beliefs. So too is the naturalization of situation types, which helps consolidate particular images of the social order.

Fairclough's focus, in relation to word meaning, is with regard to the idea of the 'commonsense'. He suggests that even the most banal commonsense is compromised by two linguistic elements: the variability of meanings, and the nature of meaning systems (Fairclough 1989, 93). Some of the extent of variability of meaning has already been demonstrated in the previous sections – particularly in relation to 'solidarity', 'integration' and 'participation'. This should suffice to illustrate the nature of the 'problem' but what Fairclough goes on to say about variability of meaning is that the variability of any one term is not infinite, nor is it randomly generated. The slippage between the two main meaning clusters of 'integration' is a clear demonstration of the interdependence of word meanings.

What Fairclough (1989, 94) goes on to suggest is that this variability and interdependence is tied into complex meaning systems. When one meaning system comes to dominate the way in which a particular 'commonsense' meaning is understood, then an ideological effect of power has been produced. I am arguing here that this is precisely what is happening in the production of particular, naturalised readings of social exclusion. The commonsense understanding of social exclusion is being produced in documents such as those in my policy corpus. In these readings, social exclusion is being described as if it were what happened when there was not enough 'solidarity', 'participation' or 'social cohesion'. The ideological effect of this discourse is clear. People (employers, policy analysts and government officials in particular on the one hand, and the unemployed, underemployed and homeless on the other hand) come to believe that 'inclusion' is a desirable state and one that will be achieved simply when there is enough solidarity, participation and cohesion.

The verb, 'to exclude', is quite a different concept from the verb 'to cohere'. The former suggests an act of expulsion, or at least, distancing from the agent wishing to perform the exclusion. The latter implies sticking together, holding on, being part of something.

One of the curious effects of the naturalisation of exclusion and cohesion in my corpus derives from the propinquity of these terms in so much of the social policy text. They begin to appear as dependent terms – combating exclusion 'naturally' appears to result in increased cohesion – that cannot be rationally separated. The naturalisation of the link between exclusion and cohesion is also reaffirmed through processes of nominalisation.

Nominalisation

Nominalisation is a kind of 'naming', turning a word that is ordinarily a verb and that describes some kind of action, into a name of a thing. The verb, for example, might be 'employ' as in: 'I shall employ that person', 'she was employed'. When it is nominalised, the word becomes 'employment' as in, "integrating employment at all levels", or "employment promotion". In this process of shifting from the verbal to the nominal state, the actor, the agent, the one who does, or the one for whom the doing is possible, disappears. The verb requires the actor, the person who will perform the action, but the nominalisation does not. Mulholland (1994, 195) suggests that "the act of naming causes the thing named to acquire a tangibility, or 'reality', in communication, and hence a validity in people's experience, which it otherwise might not have." A named thing makes more sense.

A reader, seeing the term 'employment', would know it to be the name of that state in which a person has a job. Employment = jobs for all. But that same reader, looking at the word and knowing what it means, would not know to whom the term applies. There are few references in the European Community social policy texts to the active verb 'employ'.[12] What appears, in place of an idea that there might be some agent or person or organisation engaged in the business of actively 'employing' persons, is the nominalised notion of 'employment', for whom there is no specified provider or

[12] In the 57 documents, there are 8 paragraphs in which the term 'employ' is used as an active verb. In the same corpus, there are 59 paragraphs in which the nominalised verb term 'employment' is used. In some of those paragraphs, the term 'employment' appears more than once (Text search 23 and 24 in Paragram Project).

consumer. Similarly, there are few references to the active verb 'integrate',[13] in which some person/s or agents have a responsibility for bringing together other persons or agents, but many references to 'integration', as some kind of abstract and agentless process which occurs without motivation or human impetus and is some kind of idealised goal. There are few references to 'cohere',[14] with a sense of things sticking or holding together as a result of some specified force, but many references to 'cohesion' as an abstract phenomenon that just happens in the right circumstances.

The case of the terms 'exclude' / 'exclusion' and 'poor' / 'poverty' is a delicate example in this argument and one that is central to my hunch that shifting the terms of the debate from 'poverty' to 'exclusion' has more to it than meets the casual eye. Joseph Williams (1989, 14), in an elegantly titled chapter, "The grammar of clarity", observes that: "we can nominalize not only verbs, but adjectives as well." The term, 'exclusion', is made from the nominalisation of a verb and 'poverty' from the nominalisation of an adjective. A verb has a more direct function in an English language sentence than an adjective. A verb also requires an agent or a doer in a way that an adjective does not. When a verb is nominalised, the disappearance of the agent is consequently more significant.

A native English speaker would readily assume 'poverty' to be the state of a thing or a person – a description, almost, of what that particular state is. The phrase, 'living in [a state of] poverty' is itself not uncommon. 'Exclusion' is not the same sort of term at all. If a person were 'living in [a state of] exclusion' a native speaker might either assume that the more appropriate term would be 'seclusion' or that someone or thing would have actively worked to put the person into a position in which they were excluded. Exclusion is not so much a state as a process. This is recognised in one of the clearest attempts at a definition of exclusion in the extended corpus:

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[13] In the 57 documents, there are 20 paragraphs in which the term 'integrate' is used as an active verb compared with 283 paragraphs in which the nominalised term 'integration' is used. In some of those paragraphs, the term 'integration' appears more than once (Text search 21 and 22 in Paragram Project).

[14] In the 57 documents, there is one paragraph in which the term 'cohere' is used as an active verb compared with 52 paragraphs in which the nominalised term 'cohesion' is used. In some of those paragraphs, the term 'cohesion' appears more than once (Text search 25 in Paragram Project, see Appendix 7).

> **Social exclusion is the opposite of social integration, mutual acceptance, solidarity.** It stands for the downside of 'progress' and development, the unwelcome and unacceptable consequences of demographic change, cultural disharmonies, and economic forces and policies ... **exclusion occurs when there is a breakdown or malfunctioning of the processes, or mechanisms of integration** ... [which include] **the democratic and legal system which promotes civic integration; the labour market, which promotes economic integration**; the **welfare states system promoting what might be called social integration**; and the **family and community system which promotes interpersonal integration** ... One's sense of belonging in a society depends on all four systems (*Combatting* [sic] *Exclusion in Ireland 1990 –1994*).

If exclusion is a process, and as such is 'active' rather than static, it may also have another point of connection to ideas of employment and integration. Employment is also understood to be an 'active' state (the 'going out' to work, the 'doing' a job) and unemployment a 'passive' state ('sitting' on your backside, 'loafing' around). The 'activity' inherent in the concept of employment metonymically reinforces the 'process' of exclusion. Being 'given' a benefit, or 'receiving' social security are not concepts that are in league with this dynamic notion embedded in both employment and exclusion.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have made a preliminary foray into the territory of linguistic analysis. I have considered metaphors, metonyms, naturalisations and nominalisations as tropes that structure the interpretation and understanding of the concept of social exclusion in the specific corpus of this study. I have identified ways in which metaphors and dichotomous terms and concepts intensify the linguistic and conceptual linkages between discourses of 'social exclusion', social cohesion and 'employment–as–solution' to exclusion in European Union anti–poverty discourse.

I have suggested that the rhetoric surrounding exclusion is couched in military metaphors that draw analogies with 'war' and 'fighting' and with 'threats' and 'risks' and that these military metaphors are also medicalised through analogies with disease progression, research, the endemic nature of exclusion and with remediation. Exclusion

must be fought against and the risks minimised. Social exclusion is a blight that must be remedied. I have suggested that medico–military metaphors play a significant role in producing the need for a discourse of 'cure', thus opening a way for the entry of a discourse of employment as that cure.

This chapter has also indicated the value of linguistic analysis for identifying contradictory meanings that are associated with particular terms – especially, in this case, the concept of 'integration'. I have identified a number of bonds between exclusion and solidarity, participation and integration. I have noted that exclusion does not appear to be partnered in the texts with inclusion but rather with solidarity and that solidarity is spoken of as a duty but also as a cost. It is increasingly a discourse that is seen to be compatible with the principle of subsidiarity. I have also noted tension and ambiguity in the dualisms of marginalisation and inclusion and between centre and periphery.

My belief is that this pursuit of ambiguity and ambivalence in the nuance of the text deserves much more detailed analysis in relation to the concept of social exclusion. With these speculations in mind, I leave this analysis of metaphors and tropes. As Cris Shore (1997, 150) says, "Metaphors make it possible for Europe to be imagined". Metaphors exist and have their particular power, however, partly because language requires categorisation and one of the ways the English language offers flexibility of categories is through the facility of metaphorical language to shift ideas and concepts from one categorical box to another. In this next chapter I examine some of the complex ways in which social exclusion, and the attributes associated with the concept of exclusion, are categorised. My aim is to build on the analysis of the previous two chapters in which I have examined paradoxical space and ambiguous metaphors. I identify the contradictory tensions between categories of social exclusion that have been identified within a politics of redistribution and those that have been identified more recently under the auspices of a politics of recognition. I suggest that some categories of the excluded have fallen between the gaps in policy rhetoric.

Chapter 9

Speaking categorically

The space for paying attention to the power of Cartesian logic in western philosophy has been largely afforded by postmodern and poststructuralist theories and deconstructive analysis and I make use of these in this chapter. Different arguments about the European policies of social exclusion, and the tensions that are embedded in them, are evoked by the metaphor of social exclusion and its silent (but ever present) partner, inclusion. The binary of inclusion / exclusion is a paradigmatic case of an oppositional term that can now be subject to quite rigorous review.

Bruno Latour suggests that Michel Foucault's deconstructive approach to dichotomies exists in the 'slash'. Latour (1993, 247) perceptively notes, however, that Foucault "slashes knowledge / power, discourse / society, but adding the slash does not solve the question." Foucault's 'slashes' may, in Latour's estimation, have failed to solve the big epistemic questions but they have not failed in bringing the ineluctable tension of dichotomous thinking into clearer view.

In this final substantive chapter, I return to the field of feminist philosophy, (discussed in Chapter 3), and apply it to the history of 'targeting'[1] in European Union social policy. In seeking to answer my research question: "How and in what ways are 'poor bodies' being differently targeted and differently constituted through the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion", I make a three point argument. First, in section 9.1, I examine the contemporary tensions in policy debates about the politics of redistribution.

[1] 'Targeting' in this context is a policy term that refers to the process of identifying particular categories of human subjects that have specific group needs and developing specific policy programmes to meet those needs. 'Sole parents', for example, can be seen to be a 'target' category, as could the 'unemployed'. 'Migrants' are targeted in migration policy both by category and by number.

In section 9.2, I focus more explicitly on the politics of recognition. In the final section 9.3, I speculate further on the paradoxical spaces that open up between 'poor bodies' targeted under policies of redistribution and those targeted under policies of recognition.

Targeting and recategorisation

The discursive shift to 'social exclusion' is neither an inconsequential event that has 'just happened' nor solely an event that has a range of 'interesting' discursive contours rather than acute material ramifications. In this chapter I examine targeting and recategorisation as one further way to denote the effects of the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion. Paying attention to categories provides grounds that are empirical – more attentive to the real life bodies of the 'poor'[2] – and more speculative.

Concepts such as targeting can be used to support the idea that it is possible to identify bodies that are marked as 'poor', to 'see' them as 'identities', as 'recognisable' entities. In a politics of recognition, such marked identities could claim a strategic essence for political purposes in much the same way that 'black' bodies, 'gendered' bodies, or migrant bodies make claims for recognition. This does not seem to be the case, however. Targeting is more closely tied to a politics of redistribution than a politics of recognition and, in the present environment of the late twentieth century, unwork(able) 'poor bodies' are appearing to be excluded from the 'politics of exclusion' in European policy debates. Arguably these 'remaindered' 'poor bodies' also need[3] not to be excluded. There is a significant argument, which I do not have the space to engage with here, that suggests that there is a link between exclusion, consumption and the production of identity through practices of consumption (see Edgell, Heatherington and Warde 1996, Shatzki and Natter 1996, Shilling 1993 for a range of different starting points on this issue). In

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[2] There are no 'real' bodies in this text – nor is there explicit reference to named 'poor bodies'. It is part of my argument that 'the poor' have no name by which to be interpellated into texts (see Laqueur 1996).

[3] "Need", in this sense is not intended to be prescriptive. I particularly want to avoid the notion that Clewell (1997) has pointed to – that there is a tendency for current theory to side with a romantic view of marginalised in order to appear uncontaminated and more innocent than current policy making.

thinking about this idea and drafting some arguments for a conference paper, I have coined this metaphor of the 'remaindered' poor to signify 'the stock that is left over'.

Nancy Fraser (1997) appositely identifies a tension, in the liberal democratic states of the West, between a politics of redistribution and a politics of recognition. I suggest that shifts in welfare debates over the categorisation of 'poor bodies' has occurred in relation to this tension. The new social movements[4] may have had a significant role to play in bringing pressure to bear on the older argument of a politics of redistribution by arguing for the recognition of particular subjects. The feminist debates about women's equality are a useful example. Fraser is one of a number of political philosophers who is increasingly arguing for a reconsideration of the politics of redistribution in the light of the contemporary valorisation of a politics of recognition (see also Giroux and McLaren 1994). These philosophers argue that recognition can only go so far in establishing a basis for claims to social justice.

In the context of the European Union, the category of 'employable – work(able) – poor' is much more likely to be a recognisable category for universal, redistributive policy. Bodies that fail the 'employability' test cease to be visible to the 'redistributers' and drop out of view on the social policy horizon (though they may reappear in disciplinary policies that focus on incarceration and punitive action).

9.1: A contemporary policy paradox – redistribution or recognition?

In 1990, the publication of Iris Young's book, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, signalled the beginning of a sustained and serious feminist engagement with a philosophical inquisition of the idea of 'justice' in relation to identity politics. Young's (1990, 3) proposition that "a conception of justice should begin with the concepts of oppression and domination" made it possible for social and cultural issues to be

[4] 'New social movements' is a term used to refer to organised, politicised groups that have come together in the post–war era in order to collectively promote a common purpose. It is a term particularly used to refer to ecological, feminist, anti–war and black movements (Abercrombie *et al* 1994, 284).

understood as central to the idea of justice. Young's book argues for a shift away from the focus on distributive justice that has characterised many debates about justice in the last fifty years. She notes (1990, 16) that:

> A distributive paradigm runs through contemporary discourse about justice, spanning diverse ideological positions ... [This] paradigm defines social justice as the morally proper distribution of social benefits and burdens among society's members. Paramount among these are wealth, income, and other material resources. The distributive definition of justice often includes, however, nonmaterial social goods such as rights, opportunity, power and self–respect. What tends to mark the distributive paradigm is a tendency to conceive social justice and distribution as coextensive concepts.

In the original conceptualisation of my research I was much taken with the efficacy of Young's (1990, 39) claims with respect to the "Five Faces of Oppression". Her ideas made sense at an experiential level, in terms of my personalised appreciation of 'ugly bodies' along the axes of feminism, homosexuality and anti–racism as well as my anxieties in relation to ideas about the distribution of social goods. Young gave effective voice to theories of cultural recognition and cultural deprecation, which at a visceral as well as an intellectual level, made sense (see Figure 9.1).

This typology of oppressions is richly evocative of the bitter parameters of group and individual suffering. As demonstrated in Figure 9.2, they also have immediate relevance for disassembling and reassembling the axes of social exclusion identified in European policy documents. As Figure 9.2 suggests it is possible to integrate European Union categories of 'excluded' bodies into this typology with quite devastating effect. In my version of Young's typology, as applied to categories of 'poor bodies' identified in European Union discourse, the shaded (grey shading – bold italic text) cells represent the multiple manifestations of oppressed faces appearing and reappearing like specular images.

- **Exploitation:** The injustice of **exploitation** consists in social processes that bring about a transfer of energies from one group to another to produce unequal distributions, and in the way in which social institutions enable a few to accumulate while they constrain many more (53) …
- **Marginalization: Marginalization** is perhaps the most dangerous form of oppression. A whole category of people is expelled from useful participation in social life … it also involves the deprivation of cultural, practical and institutionalized conditions for exercising capacities in a context of recognition and interaction (53 and 55) …
- **Powerlessness:** Nonprofessionals suffer a form of oppression in addition to exploitation, which I call **powerlessness** ... The powerless have little or no work autonomy, exercise little creativity or judgement in their work, have no technical expertise or authority, express themselves awkwardly, especially in public or bureaucratic settings, and do not command respect (56-57) ...
- **Cultural imperialism:** To suffer **cultural imperialism** means to experience how the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as the Other (58-59) …
- **Violence:** Finally, many groups suffer the oppression of systematic **violence.** Members of some groups live with the knowledge that they must fear random, unprovoked attacks on their persons or property, which have no motive but to damage, humiliate or destroy the person (61) (emphasis added).

Figure 9. 1: Iris Young's (1990) five faces of oppression

Source: Adapted from a text description in Young (1990, 53–61).

exploitation	marginalisation	powerlessness	cultural imperialism	violence
long–term unemployment	***refugees***	***the unskilled***	racial minorities	abused children
precarious employment	***foreigners***	the illiterate	ethnic minorities	minorities
low paid work	***immigrants***	school dropouts	religious minorities	***refugees***
youth with no work experience	physically mentally handicapped	the recipients of social welfare	***women***	***foreigners***
child labourers	physically mentally disabled	the politically disenfranchised	***refugees***	***immigrants***
racialised exploitation	the hungry, the homeless	prison inmates	***foreigners***	***women***
single parents	social isolates	residents of poor housing	***immigrants***	***social isolates***
foreigners	***the unskilled***	***child labourers***	***rural dwellers***	***prison inmates***
women	the landless ***(in rural communities)***	***youth with no work experience***	***physically mentally handicapped***	***physically mentally handicapped***
	the illiterate	***social isolates***	***prison inmates***	***child labourers***
	delinquents	***women***		

Figure 9.2: Europe's excluded mapped on to "five faces of oppression"

Young's analysis is not without its critics, however. [5] In order to give some form to the idea of oppressive economies, Fraser calls up an already articulated (and arguably

[5] The extent to which any 'upstairs' (northern hemisphere) text is 'well circulated' is often hard to ascertain in Aotearoa / New Zealand. Certainly Young's work has been picked up by geographers in the United States and the United Kingdom (see Rose 1997, Sibley 1995, Smith 1994, Watson and Gibson 1995). Young is also cited extensively in David Harvey's (1996) *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference.* Harvey discusses her work in relation to 'the dialectics of commonality' (201 – 203), 'place as the locus of community' (311–312), 'the resurrection of social justice … breaking out of the local' (348 – 350), and 'situating knowledges' (354 – 355).

well–circulated debate) that centres around Young's identification of the 'five faces of oppression'.

Fraser's critique

Fraser (1997, 189) frames her critique of Young (1990) in the following way: what is the relationship between redistribution and recognition? Do they constitute two distinct conceptions of justice, belonging to two distinct theoretical paradigms? Or can both be accommodated within a single comprehensive theory? On the practical–political plane, moreover, do claims for recognition work against claims for distribution? Or can both be pursued simultaneously without mutual interference?

Fraser challenges the notion that economies of identity oppression are sufficient grounds for dispensing with 'redistribution' as a means to attain 'justice' or fair treatment for individuals. According to Fraser, a politics of recognition will not do – will not answer to the extensive human pain produced by the currency of politicised market economies. The market is never free of political consequence despite the liberal rhetoric of market autonomy. Fraser picks up the theoretical baton of the universal 'we' embedded in the liberal regimes of the West and asks how and in what ways this 'we' can be put to use in the practical amelioration of conditions of injustice.

Fraser, however, presents a conceptual challenge to the 'categorical dualism' that is embedded in Young's argument. Fraser identifies the juxtaposition of recognition and redistribution by interrogating Young's 'five faces' argument closely. She suggests that this argument in fact glides over a significant (and necessary) distinction between the cultural and economic bases of oppression. While acknowledging that Young clearly *sees* the distinction, Fraser suggests that Young does not fully identify its significance. In Fraser's (1997, 190) interpretation, "Young's account of oppression encompasses both injustices rooted in political economy, such as exploitation, and also injustices rooted in culture, such as cultural imperialism". The dualism, clearly present, becomes

subsequently disguised in a number of manoeuvres that appear subtle and convincing on first reading but do not stand up to the critique to which Fraser subjects them.[6]

My own interrogation of the ideas of a politics of difference (a politics based most strongly on the principle of recognition) was, simply: what happens if the difference to which you have succumbed is the difference of poverty? Where does the **poor**, ugly body – the body that is not more black than poor, more female than poor, more queer than poor, fit into a schema that privileges the difference of blackness and 'girlness' and queerness but not necessarily poorness? What if being poor is not a difference that justly deserves celebratory recognition? What is there to celebrate about poverty? I believe this to be the core of Fraser's concern and I follow the track of her critique a little further before paying attention to the 'poor bodies' of the Poverty Programme categories.

Fraser identifies a key contradiction in Young's method of assembling 'the oppressed' under one organising idea. She (1997, 193–4) suggests that Young:

> has sought to yoke culture and political economy together under a single, albeit bipartite definition of oppression ... [in which] the cultural dimension of the definition suggests that the capacities and abilities of oppressed people are essentially undamaged and intact; they suffer chiefly from misrecognition and undervaluation of their group–specific modes of cultural expression. The political economy face, in contrast, suggests that certain skill–developing capacities and abilities of the oppressed are stunted or unrealized; the oppressed suffer from lack of opportunity to grow, learn and enhance their skills in socially valued work. The cultural face of the definition, then, is undervaluation; the political–economic face, in contrast, is a problem of underdevelopment.

This would suggest, for example, that mentally or physically handicapped or disabled persons could constitute what Fraser (1997, 193) terms "culturally oppressed groups" – undervalued on the basis of their "group–specific modes of cultural expression",[7]

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[6] The passionate debate between Young and Fraser is ongoing and reappears in the 1998 edition of the *New Left Review* (March-April 1998 (228), 140-149).

[7] I am not suggesting that 'disabled' or 'handicapped' persons are not culturally undervalued, for indeed they are. I am just suggesting that their 'oppressions are not *only* culturally based.' See Wade (1994) for a

whereas abused children, it could be argued "suffer from a lack of opportunity to grow, learn and enhance their skills in socially valued work". To suggest that disabled people are *only* undervalued on the basis of their misrecognised cultural experience, or that abused children do not represent *any* group culture affinities is, of course, a dangerous absurdity. The materiality of disablement is as fundamental as the cultural ramifications of child abuse. Migrant groups, who might so readily be categorised as culturally oppressed in the hegemonic nationalisms of European states, are surely also susceptible to unemployment or inappropriate employment. These are precisely the difficult issues that are embedded in poverty discourse and are issues that, following Fraser's logic, are not amenable to glib categorisations on the basis of either / or in a phantom dichotomy.

A second critique of Fraser's pertinent to my own argument is in relation to Young's definition of social groups. Once again, Fraser (1997, 195) has cunningly observed the repressed dichotomy in Young's conflation of cultural and political–economic phenomena:

> Thus, [Young's] conception of a social group, too, is bipartite. It encompasses both those modes of collectivity, such as ethnicity, that are rooted in culture alone, and also those modes of collectivity, such as class, that are rooted in political economy.

It may be debateable whether ethnicity is 'just' rooted in culture but Fraser's concern with this ubiquitous model of 'social groups' elicits the same anxiety as the previous example: how can the affirmation of identity in the case of ethnic groups – a politics of recognition – serve the same end as the affirmation of the identity of poorness? What does it serve an individual human being to have no means of support, no money, no job, no status, no ready access to the services of health, education, transport, and leisure? Fraser (1997, 196) is quick to suggest that:

> Where, in contrast, cultural differences are linked to differentially desirable locations in the political economy, a politics of difference may

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specific account of the 'physicality' of oppressions experienced by 'disabled' bodies; and Wendell (1996) for a comprehensive overview of feminist theories of disability and embodiment.

be misplaced. There justice may require precisely undermining group differentiation by, for example, restructuring the division of labour.

In the further elaboration of her critique, Fraser explicitly addresses Young's "five faces of oppression" – which have already served as such an evocative academic call to refigure understandings and visualisations of oppressions. Rather than dismiss their veracity, however, Fraser once again identifies the lurking dualism. She agrees with Young in identifying *exploitation, marginalisation*, and *powerlessness* as belonging to a political economy categorisation, and *cultural imperialism*, and *violence* as belonging to a category of "culturally rooted oppressions" (see Young 1990, 58 and Fraser 1997, 190 and 198–200). But Fraser insists that, in the real world, the very claims of some groups against cultural oppressions may stand to jeopardise the claims of other groups who may be economically oppressed.

Establishing the categories

I believe that the logic of this argument is well borne out in the European policy arena and that, in fact, Fraser's analysis is singularly useful for identifying the paradoxical space in which poverty policy seems to be produced under the aegis of social exclusion. In this next section I return briefly to NUD.IST data retrieval and analysis to find evidence of a paradoxical configuration. In this configuring space, it might appear that those groups which have had the capacity, or the recognized 'right', to make claims for their constituencies on the basis of 'identity', have come to occupy the available social policy space.

Those 'residual' groups, whose only claim might be that society owed them, at the very least, an 'ethic of care'[8], no longer find space on the platform. In a sense, they fall

[8] The idea of 'ethics of care' is a well formulated feminist position which is notably articulated in the work of Carol Gilligan (1982). Joan Tronto expresses its broad ideology thus: "The simple fact that care is a fundamental aspect of human life has profound implications ... humans are not fully autonomous, but must always be understood in a condition of interdependence ... our autonomy only occurs after a long period of dependence, and that in many regards we remain dependent on others throughout our lives. At the same time, we are often called on to help others, and to care, as well" (Tronto, 1993, 162).

outside the parameters of any face of oppression. The politics of redistribution that ensured there was at least some kind of space for these kinds of bodies may have been dismantled.

As I have already pointed out in Chapter 6, there is little consensus on the meaning or appropriate usage of the term 'social exclusion'. The confusion, already alluded to earlier in this chapter, is made explicit in one of the assessment papers on *Poverty 3* (Andersen *et al.* 1994). The writers are at pains to disclose the extent to which exclusion is not the same as poverty even though many of the European Union documents frequently conflate the terms.

Before examining the categories that I have identified (outlined in Figure 9.3) the following two provisos should be noted. First, there is no clear way to establish whether these same categories would have been present in a 'poverty'–identified set of policies to the same extent[9]. Prior to the Poverty Programmes, there were no poverty–specific policies developed at the supranational scale in the European Union, and although *Poverty 1* did not really use the term 'social exclusion' neither did it clearly identify 'the poor'. Second, it is inevitable that conflation occurs between the concepts of poverty and social exclusion as they are frequently used interchangeably in the policy corpus. I also slip into this conflation at times.

What I believe is the important distinction to bear in mind throughout this analysis is not so much whether the term being used is one of 'exclusion' or of 'poverty' but whether or not the referent in question is 'economic' or 'social'. This is also complicated because it is extremely difficult to attribute aspects of 'poorness' to purely 'economic' or purely 'social' causes. In the mindset I adopted during this research, I identified as 'economic' all the attributes, factors and causes that were explicitly and immediately connected to participation in the paid workforce. All references to employment, unemployment, labour markets, work relations, precarious or unskilled work, workers, labourers, peasants, work experience, restructuring, and even informal economy were understood

[9] Partly because it was not possible to use the *Poverty 1* text as an online document.

to be references to 'economic' factors. Other factors, whether they referred to social marginalisation, personal 'lifestyle choice', or categories related to sex, gender, age, etc. I considered to be social.

I readily admit that this is a very arbitrary boundary in one sense, but my argument is that if it is the 'paid work' relationships that are talked up in policy discourse, then it will be 'worker' categories that become the focus of anti–poverty / anti–exclusion policies. Where the broad concept of 'social exclusion' may have held emancipatory promise, because it was so all encompassing and ambiguous, that promise may be lost if the term 'social' becomes misrecognized as 'economic'. Not only would this misrecognition ensure that the focus of policy was narrowed to a focus on 'finding people employment' or 'improving their qualifications' but it would also cause a deeper confusion.

'Economic' policies enacted under the auspices of employment policies would still be understood as 'social' policy because they would still be called 'social'. The idea that governments, local authorities or even the European Union was 'abandoning' some of the constituent groups of social need (the drug addicts, for example, the homeless, the dropouts, but also the sole parents, the unemployable disabled[10], the mentally and physically handicapped, the politically disenfranchised, the illegal immigrants), would continue to be disguised by the 'social' exclusion umbrella.

In order to establish the field of use for the concept of 'social exclusion', I not only looked for all references to exclusion but also searched for marginalisation, exploitation, and powerlessness. As NUD.IST identified paragraphs in which these key terms appeared, I was able to extract an array of subsidiary descriptions. For example in Voris (1997, online), the following list is provided:

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[10] I certainly recognise that many disabled people are in paid work. Many of the categories of the 'excluded' relate to people who can and do work. My concern is with that much smaller fraction who can not (and sometimes, will not).

> The way forward is a targeted attack on the causes of unemployment with a radical, political solution. Above all our immediate objective is for all the **unemployed,** those on **low incomes,** and the **disdvantaged** to be allowed a dignified life–style and for **smallholders** to live off their land.

In *Towards A Europe of Solidarity* (COM (92) 542), a different list was available:

> The debate centres around different aspects. Sometimes the emphasis is on **migrants** and **refugees** ... sometimes on **long–term** or **extremely long–term unemployment** and **exclusion from the labour market** ... or on the problem of **low income**. Discussion is sometimes directly linked to specific policy making, ... It is sometimes fuelled by association or media campaigns focusing on particularly visible problems or those which in any case catch the public's attention, such as the **homeless, drugs [users], child labour**, and inner city crises.

From these searches, I compiled an extensive diagram of the ways in which exclusion is deployed (see Figures 9.3 – 9.8 but also see Figure 9.9) for the full version of this diagram). Each of the constituent parts of the diagram is dealt with separately here in order to establish the grounds for the semantic confusion that the term social exclusion engenders. I also endeavour to establish the grounds for the argument that I make with respect to the shift from a politics of redistribution to a politics of recognition wherein target categories proliferate while debilitating the redistributive capacity of policies.

Identifying the socially excluded

Effectively, the search established that there are, according to the European Union social policy documents in my corpus, at least 51 ways that a person can qualify as belonging to a **category**[11] of the 'socially excluded' (see Figure 9.3). These range from being landless to being unemployed to being a dropout or a prostitute. This categorisation is far more extensive than any previous accounts of 'poor bodies' in European Union social policy (cf Silver 1994 for example). By paying attention to the occurrence of

[11] I regard these as 'categories' in the sense that the terms listed could be used to describe individuals. A 'landless peasant', for example, is understood to be a person. All of the terms, as listed in the respective diagrams, appear in the corpus but my group names (categories, kinds, accentuating factors etc.) do not.

descriptive terms for the poor, it is possible to identify the wide array of names for the poor and aspects of poorness that have become conflated with social exclusion. I suggest that such a wide ranging analysis of 'poverty' and exclusion categories could be useful in policy planning.

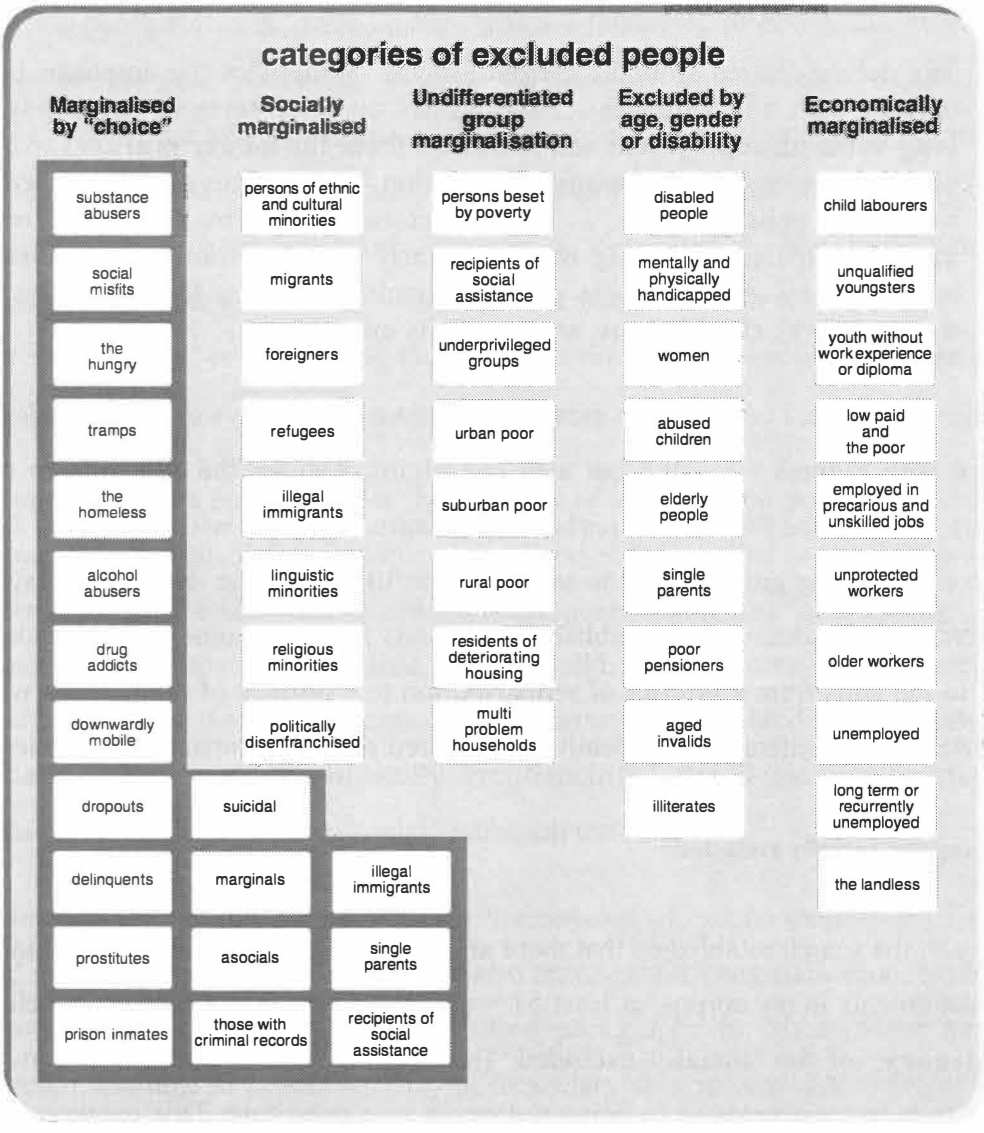


Figure 9. 3: Categories of social exclusion

Source: NUD.IST search of European Union corpus documents.

In addition to these terms which I have designated as 'categories' of excluded people, there are at least 15 **kinds of exclusion** identified in the corpus (see Figure 9.4) ranging from economic exclusion to non–material disadvantage. Once again, I have provided the

group designation. In my thinking, these are 'kinds' of exclusion in the sense that they facilitate some possibilities for talking about different 'sorts' of exclusion or the overlapping 'forms' of exclusion. The terms on the right hand side of Figure 9.4 primarily identify aspects of economic exclusion whereas the terms on the left identify other factors that are part of the exclusion rhetoric. In this case too, there is evidence that exclusion is a multi–faceted phenomenon.

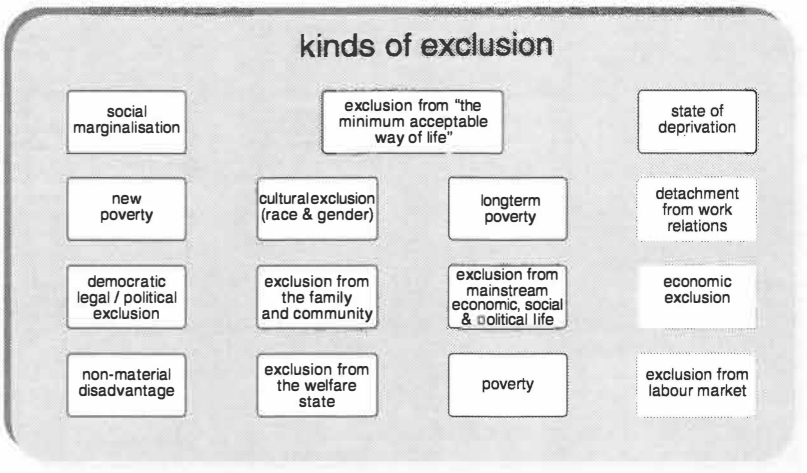


Figure 9. 4: Kinds of social exclusion

Source: Research document corpus.

These 'kinds' of exclusion not only encapsulate a wide range of different kinds of exclusionary circumstances but they also identify a range of contemporary expressions and euphemisms for poverty. In talking about kinds of exclusion, the slippage between 'exclusion' and 'poverty' is quite marked.

Perhaps the greatest sense of the mobility and potential ambiguity of the concept of exclusion comes under the heading of what I have called in Figure 9.5, 'accentuating factors'. There are at least 41 factors that may be directly identified from the corpus as factors that contribute to, or **accentuate,** the conditions of exclusion in which people live. The factors have been subdivided into those which are based on a 'lack' of access to some critical resource and those which might be regarded as 'spatial', 'personal' or 'economic' intensifiers. This typology tends to confirm my assessment that not only is

social exclusion a mobile concept, but it has a wide reach and can capture images from beyond the accustomed spectrum of 'poverty' discourse.

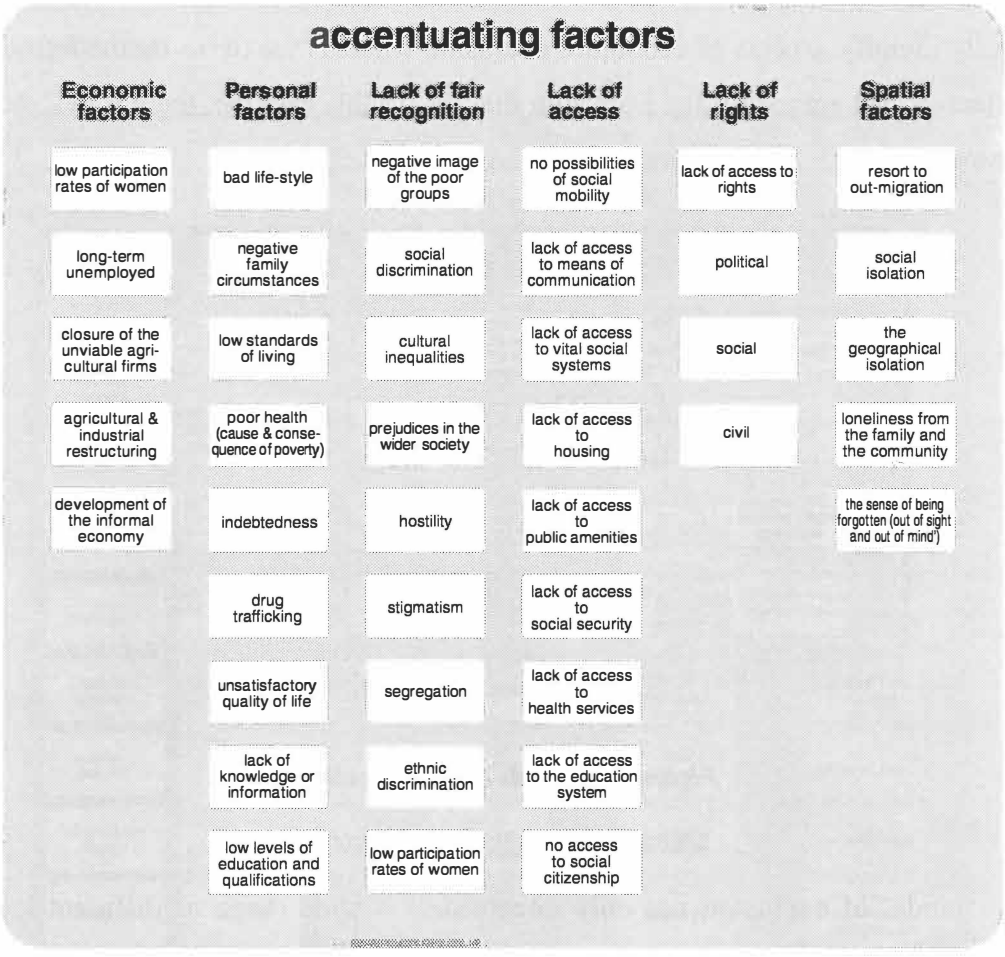


Figure 9. 5: Factors that accentuate social exclusion

Source: Research document corpus.

Having established typologies of 'categories', 'kinds' and 'accentuating factors', I had not exhausted the references to exclusion in the document corpus. The final three diagrams, all once again derived from terms in the corpus, identify 'metaphors', 'structural causes' and 'pyscho–social effects'.

There are a number of distinctive **metaphors** associated with social exclusion discourse, at least some of which express the spatiality of exclusion as has already been noted in Chapter 8. Following Lakoff and Johnston's (1980) approach to metaphor interpretation, it is worth noting not only the number of non–spatial metaphors that rely on a sense of

downward direction (decline, least, and below), but also those that rely on the sense of circularity and entrapment (trap, cycles, web, cumulative, life–cycle, which in Bachelard's (1992) terms, are all spatial metaphors too) (see Figure 9.6).

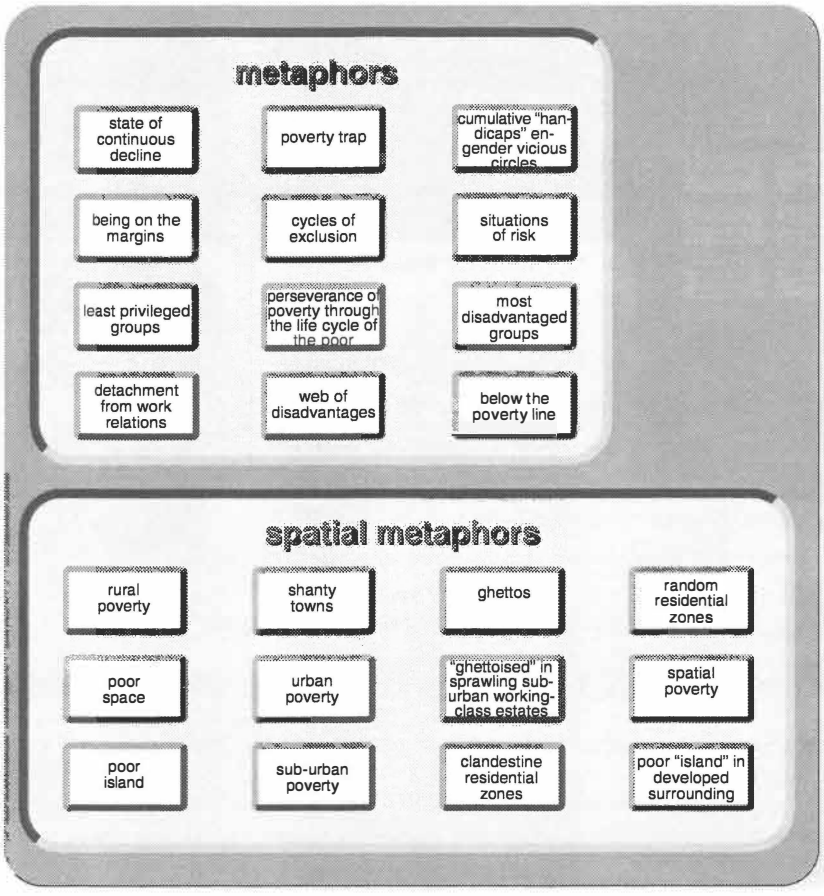


Figure 9. 6: Metaphors of exclusion

Source: Research document corpus.

References are also made to the **structural causes** of social exclusion (see Figure 9.7). This is a hard grouping to either assemble or justify in any simple way, but as the full diagram (Figure 9.9) illustrates best, I tried to position exclusion in the wider economic / political policy environment of the European Union in order to stress the commitment to economic rationalism in that policy environment. The intense black shading in the summary diagram (Figure 9.9) draws attention to those elements which I have decided indicate a deeper affiliation to economic justifications and policy directions. Arguably, many of the elements in Figure 9.7 could have been reconstituted in a different form to a

different end. I have designated the causes as 'structural' following the way in which this term is used in the policy corpus to identify elements over which individuals have limited control.

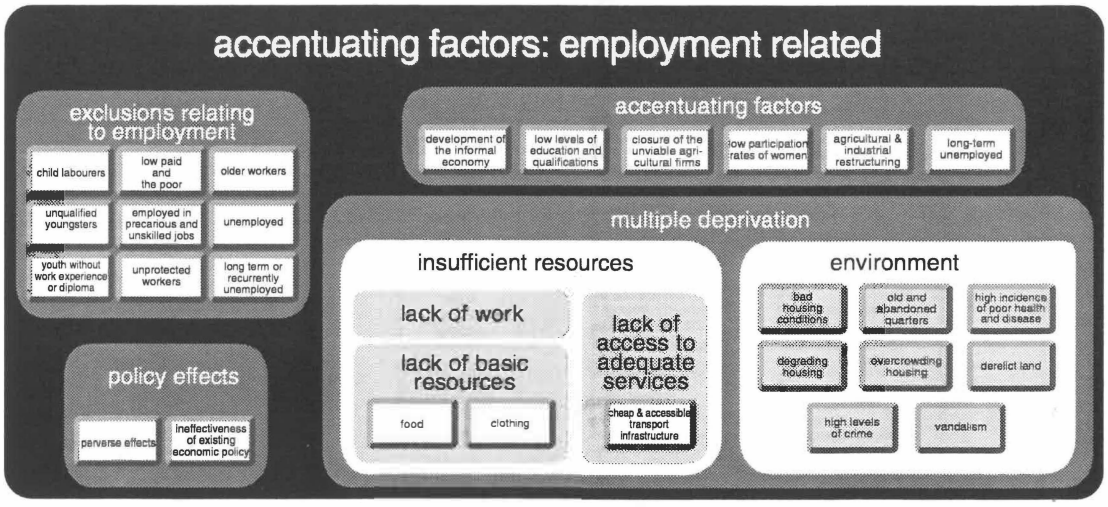


Figure 9. 7: Categories of structural causes

Source: Research document corpus.

Finally, in this panoply of visual and descriptive representations of the meaning potential of the concept of exclusion, there is one last grouping: the categories of **psycho–social effects** of exclusion. These are identified in Figure 9.8.

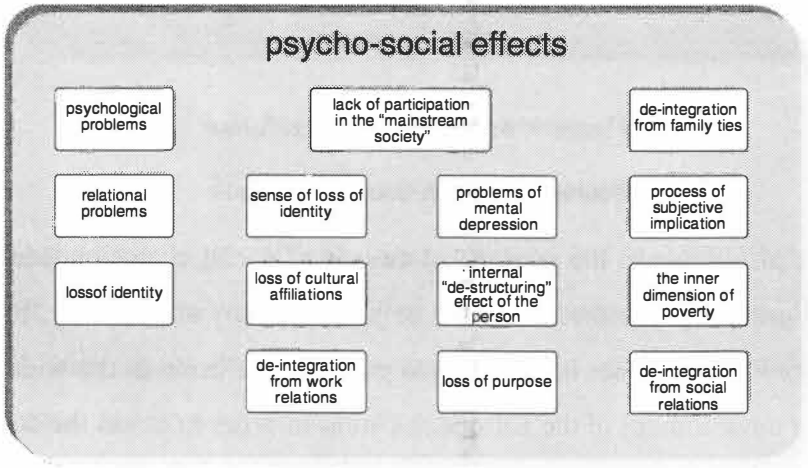


Figure 9. 8: Categories of psycho–social effects

Source: Research document corpus.

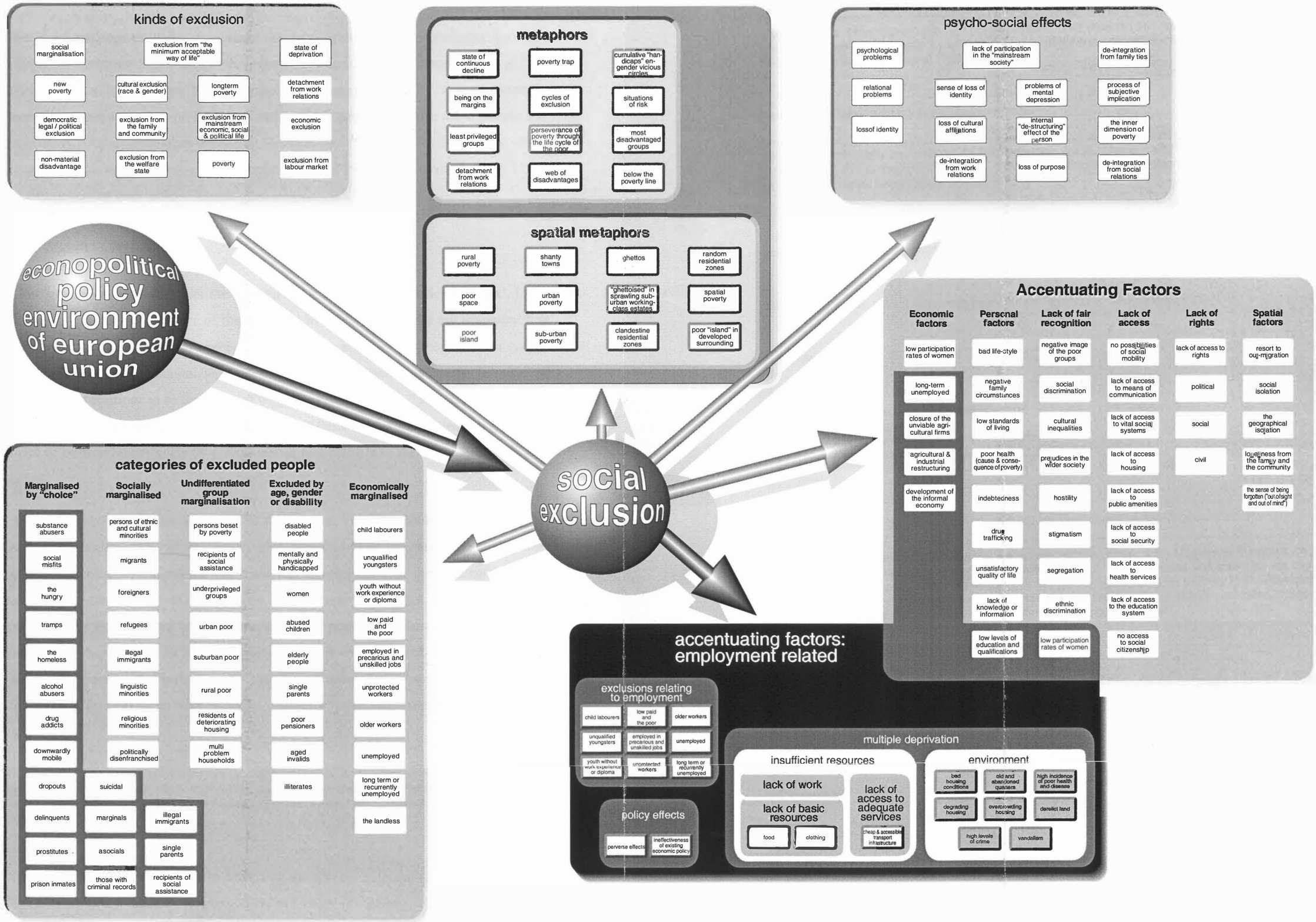


Figure 9.9: Matrices of exclusion

This is a small but powerful grouping. The categories of people produced by these 'effects' of exclusion are those for whom the discourse of social exclusion is less potent. Most of the excluded bodies that experience 'relational problems', 'loss of identity', 'mental depression' and so on that are identified in Figure 9.8 are also those people that the Poverty Programmes were beginning to target successfully in the 1980s, but which the consequent, employment–oriented policies of the 1990s are leaving behind. I take this discussion up later in this chapter.

A continuum of exclusion

In this subsection, and still under the heading of 'A contemporary policy paradox', I take a different cut at the categories of the excluded in order to reinforce my argument that employment–related policies are coming to dominate the European Union policy agenda. In more conventional welfare–state models of 'need' categories a range of groups would continue to be the focus of welfare–related policies.[12] Arguably, in the new supranational policy milieu of the Union, many of these non–work related categories are at risk of being elbowed aside by groups whose first claim is to the work(ability) of their bodies.

I trace the contours of this argument in two stages. First, I examine those groups of work(able) bodies most at risk under employment–related criteria of redistributive policies. Second, by examining the historical development of the concept of social exclusion in the context of the Poverty Programmes, I demonstrate ways in which unwork(able) bodies have been recuperated into policy discourse. I consider those groups for whom access to 'employability' status is compromised by some additional 'domestic' (personal) privation or by their being subsumed in some other 'marginal economy'. Concepts of exclusion, social insurance, pragmatic category rationalisation

[12] There is an extensive body of literature on 'welfare', 'needs' and 'social policy' which I do not have space to attend to here but which underwrites many of these claims. Some useful summaries include: Bryson (1992), Burden (1998), Esping-Andersen (1996), Jordan (1987), Mishra (1984), Spicker (1988), Titmuss 1976.

and the links between 'domestic' and 'structural' exclusion are all considered. This two–stage argument leads to my shift in focus to the 'politics of recognition'.

In Figure 9.10, I have reorganised the array of categories of the socially excluded to suggest a continuum that runs between a politics of recognition, at one end, and a politics of redistribution at the other. I chose five subheadings to summarise the core categories of the socially excluded, their interrelationship to each other and to the continuum extremes. I developed this 'continuum' as one way of representing what I see to be part of the outcomes of the discursive shift from 'poverty' to 'social exclusion'. In particular, the 'politics of categorisation' has been called into question.

Under traditional social policy discourse (Titmuss 1976, for example) social welfare categories were understood to be necessary to facilitate the disbursement of assistance to particular groups who were deemed to be in need. These 'welfare' disbursements were understood to be redistributive because the tax take provided the necessary money for some social disbursement. In Figure 9.10, specific constituencies, women, ethnic minorities, the elderly, the very young, and the 'disabled' (see group 1) are grouped at the 'politics of identity' end of the continuum even though these were often the very categories that tended to benefit under the conventional welfare typologies. There is a paradox here. Under European Union social policy many of these 'identity' categories now have particular policies that target them specifically (see my later discussion).

At the other end of the continuum in my diagram (Group 5), I have grouped 'categories of employment related poverty' (or exclusion). Under my earlier rationale, the groups under this heading would be those susceptible to 'economic' exclusion. They include the unemployed, the jobless, vulnerable workers and unpaid workers. There is nothing in any of these groupings that distinguishes amongst these 'economically' disadvantaged workers. Facts of their identity other than their employment status are not visible. So the [un]employed cannot be caught up in the rhetoric of 'identity politics' on the basis of their valorised capacities of blackness or femaleness or age or [dis]ability. They appear to deserve palliative policies in European Union terms, however, because they fit the 'economic' criteria for European Union policy intervention.

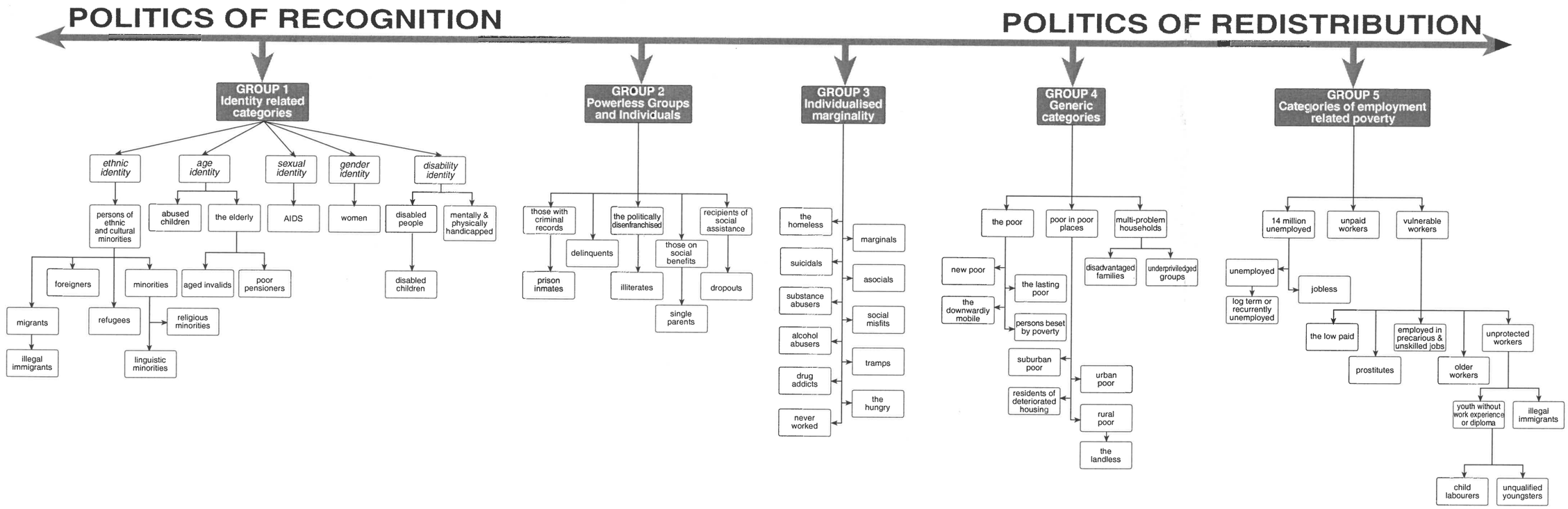


Figure 9.10: A continuum of exclusion - from recognition to redistribution

This is also in a sense paradoxical. Economic wealth, at least at the European scale, can be sanctioned for redistribution if it entails employment, retraining, education for the job market and so on. It can no longer be redistributed in terms of the older welfare paradigm. Between the two extremes represented on the diagram are three other groups (Groups 2, 3, 4) who are neither in a place to benefit from the new 'politics of identity' nor in a position to benefit from the new discourse of 'redistribution'. It is the 'poor bodies' in these categories whom I would argue are most vulnerable to 'real' social exclusion. They are also the groups for whom there are fewest policies.

Bodies most at risk

A closer examination of those groups and individuals who are discussed as 'categories' within this continuum analysis suggests that there are also significant sub–groupings, both inside and outside of the two extreme positions, who are at risk in any shift towards more employment–related policies. There are those in Group 3, (Figure 9.10) whose exclusion is specifically related to some 'marginal' status.

There are those in Group 1 (Figure 9.10) who lack employment on account of their age – either too old or too young – or their disability, or their status as undocumented immigrants. There are also those in Group 2 (Figure 9.10) who have had their personal or social power compromised by disciplinary or juridical actions of the state, or by extreme socio–cultural disability – those on social assistance, criminals, illiterates[13].

In order to inflect this debate with a further insight from feminist theory, I propose to examine these categories in terms of their attachment to two well–established spheres of contemporary life, the market economy and the domestic economy. I use 'market' rather than 'public', and 'domestic' rather than 'private'. This signals my agreement with Fraser's suggestion that the binary 'public / private' is confusing and needs to be more

[13] I am not in any way implying that individuals in any of these categories 'cannot' work. The obstacle to 'finding work' may be the least of their worries compared to the trials of overcoming exclusionary practices, personal motivations, and desired 'outsider' status.

clearly conceptualised. Fraser challenges feminists' use of the concepts of 'public' and 'private' on the grounds that its use, in too many contexts, "conflates at least three analytically distinct things: the state, the official economy of paid employment, and arenas of public discourse" (Fraser 1997, 70).[14]

The market economy sphere includes those categories associated with employment. The domestic economy sphere includes those categories associated with 'domesticated' individualism – with the aspects of a person that are most familiar, and in the 'safety'[15] of their own home: their gender, ethnicity, age, physiognomy. In the 'marginal economy', in this context, I refer to those groups and categories who are scheduled to exist at the margins – of habitability (the homeless in particular), of social acceptability (the substance abusers, the 'misfits'), and of economic security (those in 'sheltered' work, and illegal status as workers). These are the most troubling categories in my research. In the European Union documents, 'marginalisation' is used as a key term to identify whole households and specific individuals. I return to these categories shortly but now examine some aspects of the excluded in the market sphere.

The discursive production of those who 'lack' employment – but are necessarily seen as potential employees – in the European Union is quite dense, quite thickly referenced. The terms, phrases, labels and categories used in my corpus for this group include: **employed in precarious and unskilled jobs, long term or recurrently unemployed,**

---

[14] In a second essay in her book *Justice Interruptus*, Fraser particularly takes issue with Joan Landes' (1988) revisioning of the role of gender in revolutionary France, in *Women in the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*. But her more general criticism of sloppy use is borne out by a quick scan of feminist texts used for other purposes in this thesis. Some authors refer to the official paid work/home dichotomy as the public / private (see, for example: Hanson and Pratt 1995, 94–5; Parvikko 1991, 45; and Williams 1989, 42); others refer to the state / home dichotomy (Elshtain 1986, 78, and James 1992, 49) while still others follow Fraser into the distinction of the arenas of public discourse (see, for example: Benhabib and Cornell 1987, 5–9, and Phillips 1991, 28–31). Carole Pateman (1988), arguably one of the most familiar feminist theorists of civil society, produces her own unique binary in social / sexual contract theory.

[15] And, no, I am not suggesting that 'homes' are naturally 'safe' places but they are, by and large, relatively secluded, intimate and private, and there is something about the way in which identity anxiety can be expressed in the domestic environment which is different from the levels of 'performativity' demanded in the world outside the home. The public / private, market / domestic dichotomy is problematic and is only used here as an organising framework.

older workers, unprotected workers, child labourers, youth without work experience or diploma, vulnerable workers, the low paid, 14 million unemployed, jobless, unemployed, and unqualified youngsters. In the documents, these appear as phrases scattered across the corpus. They are particularly well summarised in a speech made by the Director General of the International Labour Organisation, Michel Hansenne (1996):

> A number of European countries are today once again having to cope with increasing poverty and marginalization. These phenomena are very often a reflection of **exclusion from the world of work** (long–term unemployment, termination of unemployment benefits, poor level of training of young people and single women, etc.) or **precarious employment on the labour market** (involuntary part–time work, fixed–term employment, "odd–jobbing"). Very often the social security schemes cannot cope with such situations, especially since their total or partial exclusion from the labour market bring to the fore or accentuate other weaknesses of these high–risk groups of people. **Economic marginalization condemns more and more people to social exclusion**.

This sentiment is also apparent in an earlier speech delivered by Jean Paul Belorgy (1993, 10) to the 1993 Copenhagen Conference on social exclusion. Here, precarious employment is identified with changes in industrialisation:

> At the very least, it would be appropriate to improve protection of the more **precarious activities** and to initiate regular negotiations concerning these groups of **workers.** They are those whose social position or qualifications expose them most openly to the **vagaries of production transformations** …
>
> … The Commission itself notes that flexible **laws for flexible working conditions compromise the security of precarious workers** and expose them to greater risks of exclusion …
>
> … in several southern countries, the laws on the conditions under which **workers on unlimited contracts** may be laid off need to be made more flexible; this will help to **limit precarious work** (Commission of the European Communities 1993e).

Other Commission publications recognise the links between exclusion, the labour market and job skills and suggest that unskilled workers are often most at risk:

> It is important to ensure that, as well as supporting high–productivity jobs, the Union maximizes its ability to **generate and sustain jobs** at other levels, particularly in the **unskilled, semi–skilled and personal and local services fields** (Commission of the European Communities 1994b).

> With the large number of **jobs lost** throughout the member States of the European Community which have not been counterbalanced by the creation of new ones (in the service sector in particular), **widespread, long–term unemployment has emerged**. This development has resulted in the **exclusion from the labour market of large numbers of partially skilled or unskilled workers**, as well as more **difficulty generally in finding work** from the labour market of large numbers of partially skilled or unskilled workers (Commission of the European Communities 1994b).

Abou Sada, (1994) writing for the *Poverty 3* research projects, sums it up well:

> The phenomenon of exclusion has come on top of an increasing tendency towards a **segmentation of the labour market** and the **fragmentation of job categories**, causing instability for more and more people. Today, there are **an increasing number of temporary, badly–paid and unstable jobs. Women, young people and ethnic minorities are the worst affected.** Any analysis of exclusion and its effects, therefore, cannot be dissociated from the wider trends which characterize today's labour markets, and from the way in which the labour force is managed by employers.

Both young and old are identified in the categories of the excluded unemployed and geographical distinctions suggest that the issues surrounding employment are different in different places:

> Long–term unemployment has become endemic in the Community. Over half the unemployed have been unemployed for more than one year. It is a particular **problem for young people in the South** – where they account for 50% of the long–term unemployed. **In the North, for men in particular, it is often more concentrated among unskilled middle–aged workers**, who have lost their jobs through firm closures. In

> these areas, youth unemployment accounts for only 15–25% of the total (Commission of the European Communities 1993e).

Although the documents systematically identify the relationships between exclusion and employment they also provide evidence that unemployment is understood to be a structural cause of social exclusion as much as an end result. Padraig Flynn (1997), Commissioner for DG V, suggests, for example, that "that's why we need new approaches to skills, work organisation and integration of those hit by **structural upheaval** into the labour market".

The Commission policy documents consistently identify structural causes:

> To return to unskilled and semi–skilled labour, which is very closely linked to long–term unemployment, it should be noted that, **in eight out of the twelve** countries of the European Union, **social security contributions are relatively more onerous on low incomes. These countries suffer the most from what is one of the most severe structural causes of unemployment and undeclared employment** in the Community (Commission of the European Communities 1994c).

The Commission suggests that strategies for employment should identify that:

> Macroeconomic policies geared towards producing strong and sustained growth must therefore be accompanied by **structural measures and other changes to make the labour market function more efficiently** (Commission of the European Communities 1995b).

More explicitly, the relationship between social and economic integration appears to be cemented through the key idea of employment. Social integration implies the absence of social exclusion and, by extension, the disappearance of the excluded.

> The resources transfer now has to be gradually supplemented and substituted by **a better distribution of opportunities**. The two objectives are closely linked, but the accent has to be shifted to the second if the human and social costs of the structural changes are to be reduced, and a shift from a passive to a more active approach achieved. **The accent has to be shifted from the objective of assistance to the objective of employment generation**. The principles and objectives which should inspire the action of the Union in achieving this are: **social and economic**

integration: employment is the key (Commission of the European Communities 1994b).

If Fraser is right in her analysis of the repressed terms in Young's 'five faces of oppression' – and I am persuaded by her argument – then I believe that this discourse of (un)employment in the European Union bears out that exploitation, marginalisation and powerlessness fit a political economy categorisation. In the European Union's terms, such people are not so much 'oppressed' as excluded from opportunities to work and earn. A "give 'em the opportunities, then and they too can participate in the cohesive, integrated utopia of the New Europe" approach applies here.

The differences, in the market sphere, between an employed 'us' and an unemployed 'them', is constructed simply as a difference of access and opportunity (Strobel 1996, 181). If the 'oppression' were to be merely rooted in such a lack of opportunity, then some remediation might indeed be possible through just such initiatives as Directorates General V, XIV and XXII have been brokering since the demise of the Poverty Programmes through programmes such as ADAPT, NOW, and HORIZON. The Commission has supported the development of a very extensive network of programmes and initiatives designed to support upskilling and retraining. These are discussed further in the fourth section.

If I were to turn my attention, however, to any of the other categories of exclusion, the way forward to some outcome of remediation or palliation for the bodies at stake seems less straightforward. There are more difficult issues at hand than providing employment programmes. In Fraser's (1997, 204) words, there are "different kinds of difference" to which attention needs to be paid. It is to these differently constituted differences that a "critical theory of recognition" (Fraser 1997, 204) may usefully be brought to bear. Fraser (1997, 204) suggests that 'we', the privileged others who occupy the spaces of decision making – the public spheres of discourse – may need to take the risk of making some "... normative judgments about the relative value of alternative norms, practices, and interpretations, judgements which could lead to conclusions of inferiority, superiority and equivalent value". 'We' may need, in other words, to consider the value

of policy making for 'poor bodies' that is not solely driven by 'market forces' and paradigmatic arguments that a 'good body' is an 'employed body'.

Arguably, the most significant 'structural causes' of social exclusion are unemployment and under employment. What is evident in Figures 9.3 – 9.9, for example, is that many of the factors that intensify multiple deprivation are related to insufficient material resources. This, in turn, is directly related to insufficient income to purchase adequate material resources. As Sophie Bessis (1995, 22 citing Figueiredo, Lachaud and Rodgers), suggests:

> It is the consequence of insufficient income that prevents the poor from satisfying their basic needs and deprives them of access to a certain number of services ... Poverty is intimately linked to the condition of the labour market ... Poverty is one of the factors contributing to social exclusion but does not necessarily bring it about.

The evidence that I have tracked in the Poverty Programme documents suggests that the policy makers in the Commission of the European Communities are giving attention to those groups whose social exclusion is related to unemployment. Those groups whose exclusion seems to be related to factors of ethnicity, gender or age are also being given attention through newly established policy initiatives that appear to be responsive to a politics of identity / difference / recognition. Those whose exclusion is related to 'other factors', particularly those factors which could be construed as individual shortcomings, do not appear to be faring as well.

In one sense this could be seen to be a quite intelligent response to the dilemmas posed by the contradictory commitments of universal and particularist claims. The universal claims might apply to all 'work(able)' bodies and the particular claims might apply to all the 'other' bodies. But it seems that some bodies fall through the space that the tension between redistribution and recognition creates.

To some extent, my argument here is speculative. It is too soon to claim that European Union politics have definitely gone in any one direction in social policy in preference to any other. If this speculation is linked back to my argument in Chapter 6 about the

power of the principle of subsidiarity, however, it may have more weight. As Snyder (1993) has so persuasively argued in his account of Community law and queer bodies, negotiating new competencies for the 'social' around the principle of subsidiarity is extremely difficult. Snyder (1993, 244) suggests that:

> The sudden prominence of 'subsidiarity' in the European debate stems primarily from one concern: that of the unfettered expansion of the EC's exercise of its legal competence (especially based on Article 235[16]), frequently at the expense of national, regional or local power.

He goes on to say (Snyder 1993, 245) that:

> Due to its roots in social and moral theory, the concept (now principle) of subsidiarity has proved a much more persuasive argument against the expansion of EC competence ... the kind of measures that the Commission has proposed successfully in the past with the prime objective of establishing a precedent for future action in a new policy fields are likely to be the first victims of the principle of subsidiarity ... [which] may be expected to hamper considerably any prospects for the incremental development of general EC policy aimed specifically at lesbians and gays.

Snyder (1993, 238) draws attention to the fact that the development of policy for disabled persons required innovation in the 'social policy' arena. The intervention was negotiated with recourse to Article 235 where it was decided that "special measures are needed at Community and national levels" (Com (87) 544, cited in Snyder 1993, 239). The 1989 action programme associated with the new policy was also reinforced by a more direct link to the traditional objectives of the Treaty where the Commission claimed:

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[16] Article 235 is, according to Snyder (1993, 238), the EEC Treaty's residual power clause. "This article provides that, if action by the Community should prove necessary to attain, in the course of the operation of the common market, one of the objectives of the Community, and the Treaty has failed to provide the necessary powers, the Council, acting unanimously on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the European Parliament, may take appropriate measures".

> The social and economic integration of disabled people is an important element of the social dimension of the single market ... It is not only a question of social justice. It is also an *economic* issue in so far as their occupational integration in a regular working environment may often represent an asset to the Community (Com (89) 568, cited in Snyder 1993, 239, emphasis added by Snyder).

Even in 1989 the principle of subsidiarity, the role of 'economic' discourse and the problems of the inclusion of social policy at the Community scale were being made explicit.

In both of the examples that Snyder uses – gays and the disabled – there appear to be ambiguities in the ways in which policy is produced and for whom. In the next section I examine some of the specific ambiguities and contradictions relating to my speculative continuum and the poverty Programmes.

Poverty Programmes: a history of unwork(able) bodies

The particular policy initiatives of the Poverty Programmes, though small, under funded and experimental, appear to have contributed in a not insignificant way to the development and dissemination of a broader concept of contemporary European poverty tied to the notion of social exclusion. This claim can be tracked by following the targeting protocols that evolved with the development and demise of the Poverty Programmes. I use the term 'targeting protocols' for the various sets of categories which were identified in the three Poverty Programmes and subsequent separate European Union initiatives.

I compiled various lists of 'target categories' from a range of sources in order to produce succinct records of the shifts in terms and concepts. I represent these categorisations as a 'chronological development' beginning with a French typology[17] and moving from the

[17] Hartley Dean (1993, 84–86) is more specific and suggests that there are, perhaps, eight broad understandings of the concept 'poor'. See also Thomas McStay Adams (1990) for an account of the development of French social policy in the age of the enlightenment which identifies the political and social events influencing the discourse of mendicity.

second to the third Poverty Programme through to the recent European Union initiatives that fall outside the scope of Poverty Programmes. I discuss the ways in which those identified in the various categories have been defined in terms of lack and deprivation, and the ways in which some of the target categories have been re–identified and some not.

Excluded bodies

As has already been suggested, social exclusion was a concept that was borrowed fairly directly from the French term '*exclusion sociale*'. Not surprisingly, perhaps, one of the earliest sets of categories of the 'socially excluded' may be traced back to a French categorisation of those who were unprotected by social insurance. In keeping with the visual representation of categories that I have already undertaken, these can also be 'tabulated' for comparative purposes (see Figure 9.11).



Figure 9. 11: Those unprotected by social insurance: France 1974

Source: René Lenoir (1974) as represented by Hilary Silver (1995).

> René Lenoir ... in 1974 ... estimated that 'the excluded' made up one tenth of the French population: mentally and physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, substance abusers,

delinquents, single parents, multi–problem households, marginal, asocial persons, and other social 'misfits' (Silver 1995, 63).

Note that there are no references to employment or unemployment in this list; any 'citizen' who was employed was automatically eligible for social insurance. Also note that some of the categories in this list refer to groups who were perceived to be extremely marginal. In the supranational context, different political histories and domestic imperatives had resulted in different welfare provisions being in place in all of the then member states. A different kind of compromise, therefore, one which could identify the status of the employed in relation to existing social provision, as well as all the 'others', was required. It can be surmised, from what follows, that some significant discursive shifts took place between the 1970s and the late 1980s and between the French policy milieu in which the term *exclusion sociale* was formulated and the English language environment into which it has arrived.

Bodies excluded from *Poverty 2*

Poverty 2 also clearly stipulated target categories.[18] The key difference between these and the French social insurance categories is the presence of explicit references to employment. The French list above may be directly compared with the list of target categories for the "Action Research Projects", established under the second European Community Poverty Programme 1985 –1988, in which only single parents and marginals are directly compatible categories (see Figure 9.12). In Figure 9.12, so–called 'integrated actions' in urban and rural areas are identified as target categories under *Poverty 2*. 'Integrated actions' included projects that targeted any of the listed groups in particularly depressed urban or rural areas. Thus it was possible for long–term unemployed migrant youth to be targeted for action in one project, and elderly street alcoholics in another.

[18] I imagine that the *Poverty 1* established similar target categories but at no time was I able to get access to the documents from this first programme. *Poverty 2* appears to have followed the format of the first.

This list is much more restricted in its coverage, and suggests a very precise understanding of 'poor bodies'. In part, this succinctness might be read as a pragmatic response to impossible policy demands. Reducing the number of target categories is at least one way of reducing the numbers of people to whom the policies could apply. Jordan (1996, 4) suggests that debates about 'poverty' tend to fall in with "the liberal tradition [which] analyses poverty in terms of competitive interactions under scarcity." Conditions of scarcity (in welfare provision) always ensure that policy will seek to recuperate some but not all of the bodies who are potential targets.

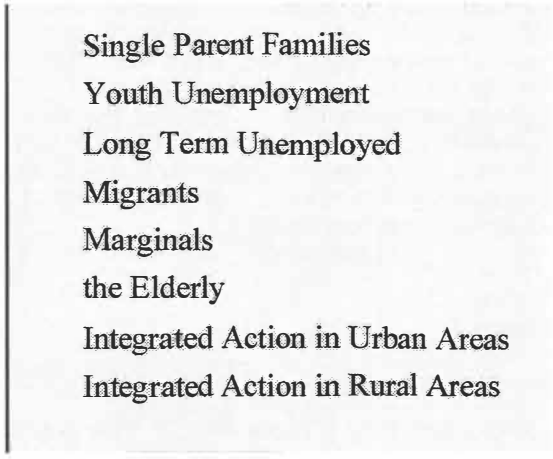


Figure 9. 12: Target categories for Action Research: Poverty 2, 1985 – 1988

Source: COM 1988, COM 1991.

Semiotically speaking, in both of these lists (Figures 9.11 and 9.12), the target categories are identified by what they lack. Both lists identify groups of individuals whose existence could be said to be categorised by some feature or aspect that indicates they do not belong in the narrative of the liberal subject as a settled, family–based, worker–consumer. As Silverman (1983, 153 reading Lacan) suggests, "The subject is defined as lacking because it is believed to be a fragment of something larger and more primordial".

'Single parents', for example, are constituted in reference to 'families' – an oxymoronic reminder that 'singles' need to be parts of larger 'wholes', or that parents ordinarily need to come in twos. The two groups identified as lacking employment are specified in terms of their 'youth' (they lack, perhaps, the skills and maturity to find or hold employment),

or in terms of their status as 'long term' (suggesting a persistent delinquency in addressing their unemployment).

Migrants, marginals and the elderly are curiously particular categories of lack. Migrants, for example, are identified by their absence of, or distance from, a national 'home'. Marginals, those who live on the margins of society, are identified on the basis of their distance from the 'centre' where the 'centre' is understood as a metaphor for normatively prescribed parameters for 'right living' – decency and the practice of hygiene, a regularly washed body that does not smell or have weeping sores, clean and settled housing, clear and confident speech and good teeth. The elderly are those who can be identified by their lack of 'youth'. It may be indicative that there is also an absence of the 'handicapped', the 'suicidal', the 'abused', those who 'abuse substances', 'delinquents', and 'social misfits'. Furthermore, the categories of 'women', 'child labourers', the 'precariously employed', the 'low paid', the 'landless', the 'unskilled', the 'politically disenfranchised', the 'disabled' and 'ethnic minorities', are also all absent and all of these categories appear, or reappear, in more recent configurations.

In its refinement, the *Poverty 2* list arguably approximates an early agenda of 'new social movements', of identity politics according to my continuum, rather than the 'politics of redistribution' (in its traditional guise) signalled in the French alternative. This cannot be claimed in any rigorous sense, however, as the *Poverty 2* list contains reference to marginals and to the unemployed who, by my reckoning, would belong more in categories 3 and 5 respectively (see Figure 9.10).

Fraser (1997) has made a persuasive argument about the need to return to strategic universalism for the purposes of ensuring some redistributive justice. Turning to the arguments of a politics of recognition can further highlight her position. In order to understand the extent to which the target categories in *Poverty 3* and subsequent initiatives are arguably part of a 'politics of recognition', I discuss this politic in some depth first.

9.2: The politics of recognition

Wendy Brown, a North American feminist political philosopher, suggests that there has been a shift from a humanist (liberal) privileging of the 'universal' subject – presumed male, white, middle class, and heterosexual – to a (post)modern[19] notion of privileging alterity as an instrument for the critique of this universal subject. Brown (1995, 53) also notes the irony that, even as the critique via difference was gathering strength, the presumptions of liberal humanism were weakening. In Brown's terms:

> ... in the very moment when modern liberal states fully recognize their secularism ..., just as the mantle of abstract personhood is formally tendered to a whole panoply of those historically excluded from it by humanism's privileging of a single **race**, **gender**, and organisation of **sexuality**, the marginalised reject the rubric of humanist inclusion and turn, at least in part, against its very premises. Refusing to be neutralized, to render the differences inconsequential, to be depoliticized as "lifestyles," "diversity," or "persons like any other," we have lately reformulated our historical exclusion as a matter of historically produced and politically rich *alterity*.

The exclusion of any signifier of class[20] (or in my argument, of poverty) from Brown's configurations of alterity is significant. In the universe of 'lifestyles', 'diversity' and 'persons like any other', Brown claims that '*we*' refuse to be depoliticized or neutralised. This is arguably an intellectual '*we*' speaking here and a '*we*' from which 'poor bodies' are always already[21] excluded. Never mind being "dykes, faggots, colored girls, or natives", as Brown (1995, 53) goes on to enumerate, just do not try to develop an emancipatory politic from the back foot of the [economic] underclass.

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[19] I bracket this because Brown most explicitly locates herself in a modernist discourse but much of the discussion of alterity and difference does stem from avowedly postmodern positionings.

[20] *Class* is a difficult term but in this sense I am using it only as a marker of 'economically inflected' social issues in the sense of 'class' as opposed to 'gender' or 'race'.

[21] I am using 'always already' in a Derridean sense - "toujours déjà" is one of Derrida's leitmotivs.

Brown (1995, 54) goes on to discuss "selected contradictory operations of politicised identity *within* late modern democracy" as a way of contextualising her argument about the production and contestation of identity. She suggests (1995, 54) that powerful political forces are shaping the ways in which identity comes into being and that it is:

> ... both a production *and* a contestation of the political terms of liberalism, disciplinary–bureaucratic regimes, certain forces of global capitalism, and the democratic flows of postcoloniality that together might be taken as constitutive of the contemporary North American political condition.

The production and contestation of discourse and identity are not only mutually constitutive, but apply at the level of the individual as well as in the area of discursive spaces. This is a Foucauldian[22] position in the sense that the constitution of an identity requires a degree of human agency, which in turn requires a degree of power. Agentive power may be deployed either to produce and valorise a particular identity formation or to contest and denigrate it. As Foucault (1975, 194) suggests:

> We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him [sic] belong to this production.

In the European Union social policy context such a perspective on production and contestation provides an innovative slant on the development of the discourse of social exclusion.

On the one hand, I have argued (in Chapter 8) that particular metaphorical deployments are producing particular kinds of understanding about exclusion. Thus, on one level, the **productive** discourse renders the excluded as 'those who are excluded from the paid workforce'. On the other hand, as I have argued in Chapter 7, the spatial spectrum across

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[22] Foucault, as a contemporary 'authority' on the constitutive–productive nature of power, is not without his critics. See, for example, Toby Miller's (1996, 171) resume of negative reactions to Foucault on power and identity.

which policy is put into effect enables **contestatory** spaces to materialise. In the former situation, the identity of the poor is metaphorically deformed through a perspectival representation – a kind of perverse keeking–glass – that makes all 'poor bodies' either potentially employable or not visible at all. In the latter, the identity of the poor becomes something that may be understood as only appearing in highly specified and localised positions.

Brown's (1995, 54) useful and complex constellation of factors that are "constitutive of the contemporary … political condition" can be analysed still further. "[T]he political terms of liberalism", the existence of "disciplinary–bureaucratic regimes", "certain forces of global capitalism", and "the demographic flows of postcoloniality", all play important roles and to some extent I have already attended to these in Chapter 6. I turn now to consider some other key issues of identity formation that appear to be critical to the debates about differences and recognition, and consider the extent to which they do, or do not, apply to the debates about social exclusion.

Identity formation

William Connolly (1992, 64) discusses identity formation in terms that suggest that:

> An identity is established in relation to a series of differences that have come to be socially recognised. These differences are essential to its being. If they did not coexist as differences, it would not exist in its distinctness and solidity … Identity requires difference in order to be, and it converts differences into otherness in order to secure its own self certainty.

Connolly fixes our attention at this point on the crux of identity production. Noting that 'identity' requires difference in order to 'be', he identifies the ontological investment in the question of identity. It is a reminder that 'identity' may be an abstract concept at one level, but it is also a concept with very real material ramifications.

Brown (1995) frames her discussion of identity in a two–fold way that also identifies material causes and consequences. She considers both the structural forces that impact on identity formation and the unanticipated outcomes of identity politics. First, she poses

a highly convoluted question about the terms of subversion to which identity might be subject. In posing this question she acknowledges the complex structural forces that appear to be at odds with the political project of giving voice to individualised identity claims. Specifically, Brown (1995, 55) asks:

> First, given the subjectivizing conditions of identity production in a late modern capitalist, liberal, and bureaucratic disciplinary social order, how can reiteration of these production conditions be averted in identity's purportedly emancipatory project? In the specific context of contemporary liberal and bureaucratic disciplinary discourse, **what kind of political recognition can identity–based claims seek** ...?

If the 'poor' identities produced by the bureaucratic disciplinary orders of European social policy (as in the policy of the Poverty Programmes) are also understood to be politicised bodies, what follows from this?

A target category of 'sole parents', for example, is idealised as part of an emancipatory project (equality for women / parents) but is also, and in a somewhat contradictory way, a product of the bureaucratic disciplinary orders of policy discourse. These target categories frequently identify the negative characteristics of groups: **sole** parents, the **unemployed** youth. If these groups are to become part of some explicit politics of recognition, then these target categories need to be unstitched, disassembled. They need to be deconstructed to reveal the differently able capacities of 'the poor' – not as victims or pawns, imbued with a politics of recrimination, say, or beneficiaries, self–absorbed in a personal politics of rancour, but as a group of highly innovative and resourceful individuals who 'know how to make a bob or two' despite overwhelming odds, and who demonstrate the capacity to engage in the political processes of their own liberation.

Brown (1995, 65) suggests that:

> ... politicized identities generated out of liberal, disciplinary societies, insofar as they are premised on exclusion from a universal ideal, require that ideal, as well as their exclusion from it, for their own continuing existence as identities.

It would seem that 'poor bodies' that resist the pressure to conform to employment set themselves outside the ideals of self–sufficiency, autonomy, and responsibility, that are so central to the ethic of western 'civilisation'. In doing so they evacuate their own potential to be taken seriously, to be seen in any positive light or to have any recognisable identity.

Brown's second frame focuses on the key unanticipated outcome of emancipatory politics: rancour and recrimination. From what might arguably be an unpopular position, because it calls in to question both the vexed position of women's 'equality' and the claims of ethnic nationalism, Brown (1995, 65) poignantly asks:

> Second, given the widely averred **interest of politicized identity in achieving emancipatory political recognition** in a posthumanist discourse**, what are the logics of pain** in the subject formation processes of late modern polities that might contain or subvert this aim? What are the particular constituents – particular to our time yet roughly generic for a diverse spectrum of identities – of identity's desire for recognition that seem often to breed a politics of recrimination and rancor, of **culturally dispersed paralysis and suffering, a tendency to reproach power rather than aspire to it, to distain freedom rather than practice it**?.

Here, I believe Brown asks a question that has particular salience for the excluded. The politics of rancour and recrimination undoubtedly exist in the context of the European Union. Particular policies have been produced to identify and 'contain' the outbursts of xenophobia and racism that characterise extreme responses to certain racialized groups claiming emancipatory political recognition. Neofascism (Cowell 1995 online, Dunkwu 1993) is well documented in the European Union and outbursts against 'foreigners' can be readily understood as outbursts against identities that seek recognition for, or protection of, their visible difference.

This is more difficult to sustain in terms of 'poverty's' desire for recognition. 'Poverty', in the abstract, respects neither race, nor age, gender, nor sexuality. Poor bodies are almost always marked in terms of age, ethnicity, gender, ability and so on, but poverty *per se* may not always constitute the 'visible' difference that makes claims for recognition somehow more secure. The politics of rancour are certainly often

constructed around and about 'the poor' but whether or not this represents a "culturally dispersed paralysis" (Brown 1995, 65), is not at all clear. To argue that rancour and paralysis are related through the bodies of the poor would be to subscribe to something dangerously close to the idea of a 'culture of poverty'.[23]

Certain pain, certain logics of painful impoverishment, may be recognized by the economies of exclusion. Those who did not deserve to lose their jobs during restructuring, or who did not intend to lose an arm in an industrial accident, or who work hard even though they only speak 'refugee' language, may all deserve political recognition for their present poverty. These categories come to the surface in the debates about "new poverty" (Room 1990). (Room 1990, 4) suggests that:

> During the 1980s, social researchers, political leaders, and the mass media, have pointed to signs that new forms of poverty are developing ... high levels of long–term unemployment, economic restructuring and recent social and demographic trends are exposing new weaknesses in the post–war systems of welfare provision and social security ...

In discussions about targeting, recognition and difference, these questions about the socially excluded need to be addressed.

Difficulties with identity politics

Brown (1995, 55) is not concerned, as such, with the general worth of identity politics but is rather concerned with the ways in which "... certain aspects of the particular genealogy of politicized identity are carried in the structure of its political articulation and demands, with consequences that might include self–subversion".

In other words, ethnic claims on behalf the 'nation' may (as in the case of Yugoslavia) end up destroying one representation of that 'nation' in order to replace it with a

[23] The 'culture of poverty' argument is complex and controversial and deserves to be teased out along with arguments about identity and consumption in a subsequent project. Classic references in support of the 'culture of poverty' idea can be found in the work of Edward Banfield (1970), Oscar Lewis (1965), and Susan Mayer (1997).

particular, ethnically cleansed representation that may then be vulnerable to destruction on the grounds that it fails to represent all the members of that 'nation'. Or, in the case of 'poor bodies' created by industrial restructuring, claims to the identity of 'labourer' may involve the loss of work when there are only 'service' jobs left to do.

Perhaps, like 'diseased' genes – hidden codes carried in DNA strands that predispose individuals to particular kinds of mortality – identity's desire for its self preservation, as identity, is the Achilles' heel. Such a biological analogy is perhaps not so far removed from Brown's intent. She goes on to explain the "wounded character of politicized identity's desire" (Brown 1995, 58) in the context both of a Nietzschean politics of *ressentiment* – where the wounding is most likely to be metaphorical – and of the emergence of identity politics in the contemporary west – where the wounding is likely to be both literal and metaphorical:

> In a reading that links the new identity claims to a relegitimation of capitalism, identity politics concerned with race, sexuality, and gender will appear not as a supplement to class politics, not as an expansion of left categories of oppression and emancipation, not as an enriching augmentation of progressive formulations of power and persons – all of which they also are – but as tethered to a formulation of justice that reinscribes a bourgeois (masculinist) ideal as its measure ...
>
> If it is this ideal that signifies educational and vocational opportunity, upward mobility, relative protection against arbitrary violence, and reward in proportion to effort, and if this is the ideal against which many of the exclusions and privations of people of color, gays and lesbians and women are articulated, then the purchase of contemporary ... identity politics would seem to be achieved in part *through* a certain renaturalization of capitalism ... (Brown 1995, 59).

If Brown's assessment of the predicament of identity politics is accurate – and I am inclined to agree with her reading – then the position of class–based identity, particularly the identities of the 'poor', comes under real pressure. As Brown (1995, 60) sums it up, the other markers of identity – those other than the markers of economic stratification – also represent the effects of capitalism:

> Yet, when not only economic stratification but other injuries to the human body and psyche enacted by capitalism – alienation, commodification, exploitation, displacement, disintegration of sustaining albeit contradictory social forms such as families or neighbourhoods – when these are discursively normalized and thus depoliticized, other markers of social difference may come to bear inordinate weight …

This, Brown suggests, is the predicament of the middle classes in the contemporary 'west' who desire to shape a world where it is possible to claim some of the outcomes of justice that they no longer receive because they are no longer the poor. The politics of recognition is a politics, first and foremost, of the middle class. It is inevitable, in this situation, that a politics of recognition allows arguments for workfare but not for welfare.

In a metonymic shift, therefore, the back street visions of 'poor bodies' as the subject of almonry or charity gives way to a darker picture in which 'poor bodies' that refuse to work are seen as a threat, a potential source of violence, a social disease. Perhaps this imagery conjures the Karposi's sarcoma – the identity in the diseased flesh that is not the dis–ease. The sarcoma comes, not in its 'acceptable', well established medical form as a 'classic' disease that affects "older men of Jewish, Italian, or Mediterranean heritage" (*Hypermedia PDQ*, online), but as the disease that marks the queer or black flesh of the newly hybridised HIV body with "epidemic Kaposi's sarcoma" (*Hypermedia PDQ*, online). The disease comes to stand in place of the individuated black or queer identity that previously occupied a chronic but not malignant identity position.

Politics of *ressentiment*

I pause briefly here to recognise the appeal of Brown's evocation of Nietzsche. First, Nietzsche is pre–eminently a European philosopher and it is fitting in some sense that he is called to bear witness to a curiously European construction of poverty. Second, his voice is passionate and rhetorical and the issues of poverty seem to elicit the passionate and rhetorical voice on the one hand, and the dense bureaucratic voice on the other. It may be that the politics of *ressentiment* have something passionate and rhetorical to say to the discourse of social exclusion that has not yet been articulated. There has yet to be

extensive discussion in the social policy world of the European Union about the politics of *ressentiment* in the equation of 'poor bodies' and identity claims.

Overall, Brown's deployment of Nietzsche is persuasive in this critique of identity politics but for my final purpose in this section I merely wish to highlight her schematic listing of the conditions in the contemporary West which intensify the production of the "pathos of *ressentiment*". There are, Brown (1995, 68–69) suggests, three factors. First, people are confronted by an increased perception of "unparalleled individual powerlessness" in the face of increasingly complex (global) capitalism and bureaucratisation. Second, there are observable "desacralizing tendencies of late modernity", which swerve individuals away from the self expiation of the confessional and turn them to blame an 'other', external to the self. Third, "the increased fragmentation, if not disintegration, of all forms of association not organized until recently by the commodities market – communities, churches, families" – means that traditional structures of support are no longer available to individuals and 'atomism' is increasingly likely to result in anomie rather than fulfillment. "All of these things", Brown (1995, 69) suggests: "combine to produce an utterly *unrelieved* individual, one without insulation from the inevitable failure entailed in liberalism's individualistic construction".

There is evidence of all of these attributes of the contemporary 'west' in the European Union. Under the next three subheadings, and while still arguing for the shift towards a politics of recognition in European Union policy, I use Brown's analysis to point directly to material and cultural shifts in Europe that affirm the potential for a "pathos of *ressentiment*" (Brown 1995, 68). It could be argued that it is this potential, perhaps more than any other, that underwrites the neo–liberal disavowal of a politics of redistribution and embrace of a politics of recognition. I note, first, some material evidence that confirms the notion of "unparalleled individual powerlessness". I suggest next that the "desacralizing tendencies of late modernity" are in evidence and, finally, that "fragmentation of all forms of association" is occurring, although perhaps is also being reconfirmed. In focusing Brown's claims on the European circumstance for a moment, the relevance of her claims for my argument becomes more clear.

Unparalleled powerlessness

The development of the 'Community' of the Union has undeniably increased the complexity of capitalist and bureaucratic life in Europe. The three–tier system of governance (local, national and supranational), also implies a three tier system of access and provision. There are contradictory accounts of the extent to which the Union works for, with, or against national and local interest on issues of welfare. Irish based organisations such as the European Anti–Poverty Network (EAPNS), and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (EFILWC), as well as the Belgian based Comparative Research Programme on Poverty (CROP) would argue that the European Union works for both the national and local interests.

The British–based Single Parent Action Network (SPAN) sees itself as an organisation which was able to mobilise support at the supranational level when national initiatives failed. Individual European citizens may also take cases to the European Court of Justice if nations are negligent of rights in areas where the supranational judiciary has competence to act (Arnull 1989). Overall, however, increased taxation, increased migration and subsequent job competition and decreased state funded service provision in areas of health, education and welfare, all produce conditions in which individuals feel powerless to change their circumstances or even to prevent their circumstances from getting worse. The argument for the principle of 'subsidiarity' is a state–based response to this sense of powerlessness. By refusing to give up its investments in policy production, the state can continue to develop the rhetoric of looking after its (own) citizens in the face of various (external) threats. A classic example of this was the British government's claim that it needed to opt out of the social charter in order to ensure the protection of its workers from unfair European competition.

Desacralizing tendencies

The tendencies for states and individuals to have shifting relationships with the 'church' produces complex ramifications in European countries – especially those with a strong Roman Catholic tradition. In places like France, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, there

is an intensification of reliance on the Church, at an institutional level, for welfare provision and this is endorsed by the notion of 'solidarity'. There are increasing numbers of 'secular' alliances between the Church, left–wing political parties and the trade unions (Room 1990). Declining participation by individuals in everyday Church rituals – especially among the more affluent and materialistic – may indeed give tacit support to the ethos of individualism that drives the neo–liberal reforms. Such reforms depend on the absence of an ethic of community to which 'the Church' once gave shape and texture (Lukes 1974, Friedmann 1992, Strobel 1996).

Forms of association

Finally, the debates about the disintegration of social forms other than marketing provide not only evidence of Brown's claims in relation to the fragmentation of civic life but also evidence of the ambiguous place in which anti–poverty initiatives stand – caught in an epistemological and ontological shift between liberalism and capitalism, partnership and subsidiarity, the church and the state. These debates are teased out in extensive discussions on civic republicanism and communitarianism but they are enacted in the European Union through the dual principles of 'partnership' and 'participation', both of which became highly developed during the Poverty Programmes.[24] 'Partnership' and 'participation' arguably both rely on 'forms of association' for their success. They could, in a sense, be understood to be principles which reconfirm rather than disintegrate 'forms of association'. They could be understood to represent a return to a quest for civic bonds that have the capacity to hold communities together at the local level.

On some level this is perhaps so, but on another level the deliberate construction of a framework for 'compulsory' association does little to endorse the community or affiliative basis of association. Partnership, in the European Union context, has its provenance in the original pact between government, business and labour that still forms

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[24] There is a series of booklets under the title *The Lessons of the Poverty 3 Programme* which includes "Partnership and the Fight Against Exclusion" by Ursel Becher, Jordi Estivill, Antonios Papantoniou and

the core of the Economic and Social Committee (ESC) of the European Union. As has already been discussed in Chapter 5, the basis of the ESC in the principle of partnership is evident in its own promotional rhetoric:

> The ESC is the European institution **where all of you, employers, workers, small businessmen, farmers, consumers, professionals and other economic and social players, are represented**. The associations, trade unions and other economic and social organizations represented on the ESC are the **pillars of organized civil society** in Europe. ESC activity is the necessary complement to the work of the political authorities. The purpose is to meet the economic and social challenges facing Europe (European Economic and Social Committee, online).

According to Commission definitions, 'partnership' has the following characteristics:

> ... some partnerships act as forums for exchanges between people and organisations and facilitate co–ordination and co–operation ... are often informal and open. **Other partnerships are formally constituted and aim to define common objectives and establish a strategic framework** ... **partnerships are set up to perform an executive function** and have sufficient human and financial resources, as well as effective decision–making structures, allowing them to directly implement actions or administer a programme or project ... **established as a legal entity with their own articles of association and well–defined rules and procedures** ... partnership may be created as a means of drawing up and implementing a new strategy or development plan ... may be in response to a local crisis, such as the decline or closure of a major local industry involving job losses ...[or] **it is funding requirements which play the decisive role in deciding to form a partnership**.

Forms of association based on legal instruments, with funding requirements, strategic frameworks and executive functions are not perhaps the forms of association that have much in common with 'community, church or family–based' associations as we know them. Partnership has increasingly become the cornerstone of all European social initiatives. As explained in the *Development and Achievements in Poverty 3* (1993):

Leonardo Zanier (1994), and "Participation in Third Poverty Programme" by William van Rees and Fernandez Rodrigues (1994).

> **Partnership** was to be the key principle and a **contractual obligation** for Model Actions ... in a multidimensional approach, partnership **constitutes an institutional obligation**.

Pauline Conroy (1994) suggests that the concept of partnership has developed in scope through the Poverty Programmes and:

> Today, it is integral to the reform of the Structural Funds and designates the kind of reciprocal relationship which might evolve between different levels of public and private authority and actor in achieving social goals. **Partnership** is cited in the Green Paper on European Social policy as **a concept with a new function.**

I would argue that the 'new function' of partnership is to endorse a politics of recognition in social policy whereby those groups, associations, and claimant organisations that can effectively argue a case which secures 'partners' will be those groups that can promote a social policy agenda. It is arguably more likely that 'respectable' groups with clearly identified internal cohesion (such as place–based Community trusts or groups of ethnic entrepreneurs) are going to be able to call for partners. 'Rag–tag and bobtail' groups (such as homeless youth, psychiatrically disturbed street dwellers, or even politically active solo mothers) may have a harder job either constituting themselves as a group in the first place or constructing themselves in a way which is appealing to 'partners'.

Social policy agendas that might hold some promise of basic sustenance or political purchase for these highly marginalised groups, who are already more vulnerable since the demise of more 'traditional' forms of association such as 'family', 'church' and 'community', are increasingly compromised under the 'partnership' model. The "logics of pain in subject formation processes" that Brown (1995, 65) alludes to are arguably found in bodies that have little or no capacity to achieve 'emancipatory political recognition' and that are closed of claiming even 'compassionate regard' by the more moralistic tenor of identity politics.

In this chapter, so far, I have suggested that the debate between a politics of redistribution and a politics of recognition provides a number of useful insights into the

existing tensions in social policy development, particularly over the axes of inclusion / exclusion, public / private, universal / particular and visible / marginal. I have mapped some of the configurations through which concepts such as social exclusion have been subject to shifts and changes in political philosophy. My analysis thus far has identified a number of productive avenues for research in the area of categorisation and identity. In one further analytical move, I propose to gather up three contradictory threads identified in Brown's (1995) argument and lay them out in the same field as the European Union's policies.

9.3: Three contradictions

Brown (1995, 56) suggests three contradictions in the liberal discourse of identity politics that have relevance to, in this case, the "character of … [social exclusion's] problematic investments". These are: the theoretical and practical tension between the discourse of universalism and the discourse of particularism, the shifting terms of liberal subjectivity, and the elision of class politics in the current milieu of identity politics. Brown (1995, 56–60) suggests that there is a "tension between particularistic 'I's' and a universal 'we' in liberalism", a latent conflict "between universal representation and individualism".

This conflict is certainly at the heart of the contradictory impulses in social policy. In order to 'work', policy must be able to be mobilised and must, to some extent at least, assume that all 'beneficiaries' of policy outcomes have the same requirements. Individual need, however, is just that – individual. No universal policy will ever be able to address the individual complexity of those human needs. The sole parent, perhaps, must subordinate her intellectual capacity to be, say, a university student, in order to find some state support for being an 'unwed mother'.

Conversely, liberal values of 'we–ness' embedded in identity politics might produce similarly confusing outcomes. A young Islamic woman migrant in the United Kingdom, who is raped and becomes pregnant, might suppress the knowledge of her violation in order to continue to be part of her community of difference rather than risk becoming a

'beneficiary' of the (non–Islamic) British state on the grounds of being an un–wed mother.

As Ernesto Laclau so pithily states, "if democracy *is* possible, it is because the universal does not have any necessary body"[25] (cited in Brown 1995, 57). The universal policy body is precisely problematic because there is no 'real material body' to whom the policy has the capacity to really attend. Whether or not the poor have a 'necessary body' is not moot: the irony of the 'poor body' is that its corporeality is least disguised by consumptive excess – it hungers, lacks shelter, needs to slake its thirst in a very literal, very basic, sense.

As a second point in Brown's critique of liberalism, she claims a set of issues attached more directly to the "liberal subject" and these are also relevant to a discussion about social exclusion but more particularly to a discussion of the identity of 'poor bodies'. In the following extended quotation, Brown (1995, 58) is stating a broad set of presumptions about the effects of modernity on the liberal subject:

> ... the liberal subject is increasingly disinterred from substantive nation–state identification,[26] not only by the individuating effects of liberal discourse itself but through the social effects of late–twentieth–century economic and political life: **deterritorializing demographic flows**; **the disintegration from within** and **invasion from without** of family and community as (relatively) autonomous sites of social production and identification; **consumer capitalism's marketing discourse** in which individual (and subindividual) desires are produced, commodified, and mobilized as identities; and **disciplinary productions**

[25] Note that Laclau comes in for particularly trenchant critique from Brown in her chapter so this quotation, though apposite for my case as it stands, is only a part of Brown's unravelling of liberalism's "volatile conceits" (Brown 1995, 59).

[26] But note how this presumption is immediately more complex in the European Union frame where the juxtaposition of the state with the Union (of states) serves to intensify nationalism, regionalism and nation state identification.

of a fantastic array of behaviour–based identities ranging from recovering alcoholic professionals to unrepentant 'crack mothers'.[27]

The third and final contradiction Brown observes with respect to the production of politicised identities is that there is a curious elision of class politics in the contemporary production of identity politics.

European Union social policies reflect 'evidence' of all of these aspects. As Figure 9.13 suggests, it has been possible for me to take the target categories identified in *Poverty 3* and map them against four of Brown's presumptions: deterritorializing demographic flows, the disintegration of family and community from 'within', the disintegration of family and community from 'without', and disciplinary productions.

As has already been noted, there are specific policies that attend to the demographic flows and contradictions of migration, and there are also policies that focus specifically on the family.[28] I return later to the positions and effects of consumer desires and behaviour–based identities, though it is worth noting here the irony that consumption, and its concomitant production, are the most legitimised functions of European level policy making.

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[27] There is possibly an unexamined conflation in this argument between a 'fantastic array' of behaviour –based identities and a 'necessary expression' of behaviours that may not claim to be identities at all. The 'unrepentant crack mother' may have arrived at her unrepentant state voluntarily, but may equally have arrived there fully repentant but deeply and compulsively addicted to substances that momentarily appear to alleviate conditions of existence that are not otherwise possible to bear. The 'recovering alcoholic professional' may or may not have the same intersecting parameters of nightmares as those who are all cracked up with no where to go, but is unlikely to be produced by the same discursively pejorative regimes that are bought to bear on the users of society's illegitimate drugs. Although in both cases the disciplinary productions work to produce the identities, in the former case the identity is made necessary through a need to produce a well–publicised scapegoat while in the latter the identity hardly comes to circulate at all as the behaviours, rather than being in the ghetto of the public eye, are in secluded clinics on / in well–medicalised grounds.

[28] Family policy falls under the Directorate–General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs – DG V.

Groups in *Poverty 3* whose 'exclusion' reflects deterritorializing demographic flows:

The landless
Foreigners
Refugees
Migrants
The homeless

Groups in *Poverty 3* whose 'exclusion' reflects a disintegration from within (of family and community):

Single parents
Child labourers
Abused children
Women
Social isolates
Marginals

Groups in *Poverty 3* whose 'exclusion' reflects a disintegration from without (of family and community):

The unemployed
Those in precarious employment
Those on social assistance

Groups in *Poverty 3* whose 'exclusion' reflects a disciplinary production

Illiterates
Dropouts
Delinquents
Criminals
Deviants
Drug abusers
The downwardly mobile
Minorities
The politically disenfranchised

Figure 9.13: Groups affected by the exigency of late twentieth century life

Source: Brown (1995) and COM 1994b, 1993b, 1993c, and 1992.

No social policy initiative could have the capacity to palliate the human expressions of this diverse set of abstractions let alone get close to the bodies who condition these particular predilections. As I suggest shortly, the categorisations that are associated with

policy formulations in response to excluded bodies, do reflect the normative presumptions of the liberal subject as a settled, family based, worker–consumer.

Brown's contradictions give rise to a number of questions. What is the 'frame of subjectivity' for those who are identified as the target categories under the Poverty Programmes? And to which 'historical political moment' do they belong? And what new frames are being erected for the 'socially excluded' and do they or do they not displace the 'discourse of injustice' and therefore 'retain the imagined holdings of its reviled subjects'? And to what extent do the categorisations being assembled under the conceptual umbrella of 'social exclusion' reflect the normative presumptions, the bourgeois ideals, of liberal subjectivity? And are 'poor bodies' being depoliticized by the shift to categories that sit more comfortably in a 'politics of identity' frame?

The specific Commission proposals and policies on poverty and social exclusion represent the historical political moment in which the transition from the welfare state to various forms of welfare pluralism has taken is taking place. The turn from 'poverty' has been protracted over three decades and, I would argue, the representations of 'poor bodies' have condensed and been attenuated with successive recategorisation. Now that the politics of identity have been explored more fully, this trajectory can be followed by tracing the targeting policies of social exclusion further.

Poverty 3 – *further shifts with social exclusion*

By the time of *Poverty 3* (1989 – 1994) the terms of policy development on poverty and social exclusion had clearly shifted, as I have already noted (see Chapters 5 and 6). Exclusion was the new refrain of the policy documents. For my purpose here, I begin with a focus on the retrospective typology of social exclusion presented by Hilary Silver. Silver (1995, 58) suggests that some twenty–three categories (see Figure 9.13) of 'poor bodies' have been variously accommodated in social exclusion research over the last five or so years.

By studying Silver's category list and comparing it with several other category lists which collate other sectoral affinities amongst 'the poor', it is possible to begin to map

the contours of deprivation and lack that they represent. In this list, the italicised material is my commentary on Silver's listed items. As with the Lenoir list earlier, I have taken the liberty of turning continuous text into a discreet list.

What is significant, in terms of my argument, is that all of these categories are constituted by what they lack – the underlying normative presumptions of Brown's quintessential, white, masculine, middle class liberal subject, are very strong – so strong, in fact, that it is worth returning to Brown's litany of effects of late twentieth century life: 'the deterritorializing demographic flows', the 'disintegration from within' of family and community, 'the invasion from without' of family and community (by arguably 'structural' forces) and the impacts of commodification, marketing discourses and 'disciplinary productions' (Brown 1995, 58). These ideas could also be 'retextualized' in a new list (see Figure 9.14).

What characterises these social exclusion groups, overall, is their representation as negative capacity. As negative signs, there is little capacity for participation in the particular practices of consumption which are normalised and valorised by late twentieth century life: lifestyle purchasing, practices of material accumulation that conform to middle class ideals and status display activities. The unexamined contradiction that persists in such negative representations is that many individuals in these groups – identified by Silver as 'socially excluded' – may not experience material deprivation.

This contradictory space – between 'lack' and (material) deprivation – produces an opportunity for policy redefinition. If material deprivation is not the sole marker of exclusion, then is 'anti–poverty' policy the answer? Is it not possible to deal with at least some of these 'attributes' of exclusion in less pejorative situations? Could the category 'youth', for example, be attended to by policies that focus on job training, job opportunities and job skills? Could the category 'women', for example, be attended to by policies that offer child care to working mothers, maternity leave and equal opportunity in a milieu that is less stigmatised than the domestic purposes benefit or the dole queue?

The long term or recurrently unemployed - *lack jobs;*

Those employed in precarious and unskilled jobs, especially older workers, or those unprotected by labour regulations - *lack secure, well protected jobs;*

The low paid and the poor - *lack money* - NB: these are the monetarily poor only;

Youth, especially with no work experience or diploma - *lack the age and maturity to find and keep work;*

Child labourers - *are deprived of their childhood;*

The landless - *lack land or other such capital asset;*

The unskilled, illiterate, school dropouts - *lack skills, training, or adequate schooling;*

The mentally and physically handicapped and disabled - *lack autonomy and independence*; *lack mental and physical capacity;**

Delinquents, prison inmates and those with criminal records - *lack 'moral' sensibilities, capacities or training (or perhaps a fair trial?);*

Single parents - *lack a partner, lack appropriate status as a nuclear family;*

Abused children (- those who grew up in problem households or were abused) - *lack a sense of safety, lack confidence, lack appropriate social skills;*

Women - *lack the capacity to be the universal masculine subject, lack the phallus* Specifically a Lacanian 'symbolic phallus' but arguably perhaps also a penis.

Foreigners, refugees and immigrants - *lack a sense of belonging, are deprived of their sense of home, lack citizenship rights where they are domiciled;*

Racial, religious, linguistic and ethnic minorities; *lack sameness in relation to the wider community;*

The politically disenfranchised - *lack political rights;*

Recipients of social assistance - *lack the capacity to survive on their own resources*

Those needing, but ineligible for, social assistance - *are deprived of resources to which they have a legitimate claim;*

Residents of deteriorated housing or disreputable neighbourhoods - *lack safe and adequate shelter;*

Those with consumption levels below subsistence - the hungry, the homeless, the Fourth World - *are deprived of the most basic resources;*

Those whose consumption, leisure, or other practices (drug or alcohol abuse, delinquency, dress, speech, mannerisms) are stigmatised or labelled as deviant - *lack social acceptability;*

The downwardly mobile - *lack appropriate levels of motivation and drive for material success;*

The socially isolated without friends or family - *lack access to social networks.*

Figure 9. 14: Categories at risk of social exclusion and what they lack[29]

Source: Adapted from an original list in Silver (1995) – all italicised material added.

[29] Note '*' in the text of the diagram aims to draw attention to the normative definitions of these 'lacks' – the 'lack of capacity' alluded to here is a 'lack of capacity' to participate as a normatively able–bodied and 'IQ'ed body.

To some extent, the European Union policy machine has taken these opportunities. They have opted for special policies for women (NOW), special policies for the disabled (HORIZON), special policies for youth (YOUTH START) and so on, all of which have a clear (economic) mandate to facilitate participation in the workplace. However, the persistent conflation of 'social exclusion' with 'poverty', although it is seldom made explicit, creates some difficult anomalies in the discursive representations, and subsequent policy outcomes of, 'social exclusion'. In order to draw the 'exclusion' policies that do still deal with 'poor bodies' closer to those that deal with economic exclusion, 'social exclusion' policy is increasingly connected to the idea of unemployment. Therefore, the space in the discursive domain for people whose exclusion is not primarily economic, becomes smaller.

Curiously there are no categories in Silver's analysis of the *Poverty 3* categories that would appear to conform to categories that Brown would identify as being produced by marketing discourse, and only the first four, in Silver's list, are categories which explicitly state a connection with discourses of employment. I would argue that marketing discourse is only likely to appear in a milieu of consumption and then only as a positive sign.[30] The woman who is a university professor may still experience the unpleasant effects of exclusionary politics but she is hardly at the same axis of exclusionary practice as the woman crack user. This is the awkwardness with which issues of 'class' (economic exclusion) cross–cut issues of 'social' exclusion. In my argument, it is this tension between the 'social' and 'economic' investments in 'social exclusion' that is played out in the subsequent responses of the Commission to the Poverty Programmes.

[30] Marketing, of necessity, privileges the act of consumption. It would be contradictory for marketing discourse to focus on those situations where there was no potential for buying and selling.

Conclusion

Thus far, I have woven theoretical arguments with practical exemplars to suggest that the targeting and recategorisation of the socially excluded bodies of the European Union in terms of either a politics of recognition or a politics of redistribution is problematic. I have discursively answered my research question "How and in what ways are 'poor bodies' being differently targeted and differently constituted through the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion?" I have suggested that these two powerful philosophical theories are influential in the policy making and implementation context in the European Union and that they may to some extent explain a number of contradictory effects in policy direction. I have identified a range of ways in which 'social exclusion', as a new discourse, has facilitated new responses to old policy dilemmas and have suggested that the new target categories identified in the three poverty programmes over the years reflect this.

I have drawn on arguments put forward by Nancy Fraser (1997) and Wendy Brown (1995), in order to explain some of the complex issues at stake in the politics of redistribution on the one hand and identity politics on the other. I have found both useful. In summary, I take from Fraser (1997, 204), her suggestion that we attend carefully to the different kinds of difference and defend "only those versions of the politics of difference that coherently synergise with the politics of redistribution". She suggests, in other words, that we monitor the decision making 'I's' in the public sphere and demand a normative account of human welfare so that the vacillating good intentions of individual philanthropists are not the only recourse of the poor and disadvantaged. This, I have suggested, would allow clearer cognisance to be given, not only to those who occupy the market sphere, not only to those who can call up a politics of identity to secure their status in a rapidly diminishing world of welfare possibilities, but also to those who increasingly occupy the margins of the social and discursive worlds. The socially excluded would not need to 'prove' their workability in order to be recognised.

From Wendy Brown, I have taken a summary suggestion that there is an idealistic mode for the recuperation (through language) of the 'other' who is failed by identity politics. This route involves reframing 'our' speech to say "**I** want this for **us**" (Brown 1995, 75). What such an idealism abjures, however, is the question of who brokers the power of the 'I' in the public sphere, in the discursive sphere of governance, decision making and policy formulation. But if that 'I' were to be a policy maker, for example, it would be possible to claim that social exclusion affects 'us' all and the homeless, the marginals, the drug addicts, the sole parents would be as eligible for palliative care as the Eurocrat needing triple by–pass heart operation.

Jacques Rancière (1992, 60) suggests, from another perspective again, that there is more yet to trouble the lively waters of identity politics. His evocative question stands thus:

> Do we, or do we not, belong to the category of men [sic] or citizens or human beings, and what follows from this? The universality is not enclosed in *citizen* or *human being*; it is involved in the "what follows," in its discursive and practical enactment.

As Rancière suggests, it is the discursive and practical 'what follows' in relationship to our humanness or our claim to citizenship that matters. This painful question is one which stands as a signal to further research. My final manoeuvre in this research is to move into my conclusions by way of a substantive detour. In doing this I wittingly break the tradition of not introducing new material into my conclusion. But this detour is important in that it maps out where I wish to extend my research on social exclusion in the future.

Chapter 10

Conclusions

I make a detour here, my only blatantly deconstructive manoeuvre, to polemically question the status of the 'remaindered poor', to speculate that what may well follow 'poor bodies' into the irresolute space between the politics of redistribution and the politics of recognition is a politics of abjection. The detour takes me briefly to Julia Kristeva's (1982) notion of abjection, to Herbert Gans' (1972) analysis of the functional utility of the poor, and Jacques Derrida's (1981) invocation of Plato's pharmacy. I take this detour in order to mark out an area for future research that might attend to the issues of exclusion, embodiment, citizenship and consumption.

In order to think about the potential enactment of the inbetween (the borderline surface) with respect to the 'poor bodies' in the European Union I return to the background of this research – both personalised, both polemic. What makes it hard for me to think 'clearly', to think 'rationally', to think 'objectively' about the implications of the discursive shift in social policy towards a constrained and marketable notion of exclusion, is that I find it hard to 'see', to not be 'emotional', and to stand back from my own 'subjective' investment.

What follows for me, in this immediate text, is a space to expose my own anxieties about the 'what follows', my own anxieties that, in the end, it may be impossible to articulate the 'what follows' in any 'meaningful' way. Bear with me while I expose my three–fold, paradoxical "kettle logics"[1] that have sat on the stove since I began this project.

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[1] Kettle logic was so named by Freud to explain the behaviour of a person who articulates "wildly contradictory claims" to defend or excuse some [indefensible] action (cited in Norris 1987, 39–40). In this case there are two indefensible actions at stake: on the one hand I want to break out of the frame of carefully reasoned argument to get to the base of my own dis–ease with the subject, and on the other I want to articulate at least some of the potentially contradictory positions I hold in relation to the subject.

From the outset of this project, I have held to a sense, a 'gut belief', that there are extremes of poverty and deprivation in Europe that are hard for the European civic public to talk about. I have walked, in the way that only ill–informed and vaguely adventurous tourists walk, in places in European Union cities that are 'inhabited' by these extremes. I have wondered how the policies produced by the Commission might address these extremities and I have found that the policies have become increasingly coded and less relevant to the 'poor bodies' on the streets, under the stars.



Figure 10. 1: "Poor bodies on the streets ..."

Source: original photograph

I do not know how European–level policy can or should approach this issue. It has not been a goal of my research to produce any alternative strategies – just to strategically map the contingent paths that are already being followed. So in responding to Rancière's injunction to think about 'what follows', I suggest that 'what follows', in the economies

of exclusion that are being reified in the policy discourses of the European Union in the late 1990s, has some potentially sinister aspects. Coming out of left field, on the blind side of articulative capacities, is the spectre of the abject, of the irrecuperable body.

Abjection is a powerful concept, made less abstract, perhaps, through its evocation, via the writing of Julia Kristeva (1982, 2) as the "gagging sensation" induced "when the eyes see or the lips touch that skin on the surface of the milk". It is a word that exists in French and is translated into English as "base, vile, despicable" (Baker 1926, 3) and rendered in English as "brought low, miserable, craven, degraded, despicable ... a person of meanest condition" (Fowler and Fowler 1964, 3): a word which carries a burden of horror so insupportable, that it must ab–ject – throw out, throw off – all memory and all desire.

Kristeva's (1982, 9) extended essay on abjection, *Powers of Horror*, incomparably enunciates the ultimate indeterminacy of the abject: neither subject nor object, the improper/unclean, beyond the subconscious, outside of the sacred:

> ... we may call it a border; abjection is above all ambiguity. Because, while releasing its hold, it does not radically cut off the subject from what threatens it – on the contrary, abjection acknowledges it to be in perpetual danger.

The liberal, autonomous subject (the possessive individual) is always already in perpetual danger from the wants and desires of those who do not have; always already in danger from the dribbling dreams of the 'maddies' on the streets; always already in danger from the contamination of sores, filth, disease on the supplicant palms of the poor. It cannot be spoken of otherwise.

If, in this last moment, taking a self–given licence to step outside the distracted prose of 'argument' and carry the metaphors of impoverishment, destitution, exclusion into the spaces of abjection, I could speak unspeakable things, I would want my words to have the clammy, nauseating texture of the skin on milk. I would want them, the suddenly unlicensed words, to call out that poverty, in these extremities, is unendurable,

unconscionable. That exclusion, in whatever form, is a geography of solitude the human sound of which cannot be borne.

But I cannot. Kristeva (1984, 8) suggests that:

> … the space that engrosses the deject [the one by whom the abject exists], the excluded, is never *one,* nor *homogenous*, nor *totalizable*, but essentially divisible, foldable, and catastrophic. A deviser of territories, languages, works, the *deject* never stops demarcating his [sic] universe … the more he strays, the more he is saved.

But this is not so. It may be that the terms 'divisible, foldable, and catastrophic' can be applied to the spaces that are occupied by the 'poorest of the poor', the 'marginals, the 'misfits' the 'asocials'.

There may indeed be no spaces that are whole, uncreased, unafflicted, to which these bodies might have access. It may be that the vertiginous tracks of homelessness are a ceaseless demarcation of territory that is without containment, without decency, unbounded by care. But 'he/she' is also 'me/us'. The more 'he/she' strays, the more 'we' are burdened by 'their' distance from the logic which makes 'us' the policy makers – us the policy makers who divide, fold and catastrophise the world in just such ways as to make it uninhabitable, unlivable, untenable for people like 'them'.

This is the first paradox at the heart of faring well in the world – the paradox that no philosophy can answer to, the paradox that makes articulate, politicized, individuals like Wendy Brown suggest that perhaps all we need to do is say "I want this for us".

The second paradox involves the unspeakable[2] 'utility' of the poor. Cynically, and basing myself on a reading of Gans (1972), I could make another list: the fifteen functions performed by the [American] poor (see Figure 10.2 with apologies to Gans from whom I took an interesting list and tabulated it in a form that is more restrictive than he may have liked).

The existence of the poor ensures that 'dirty work' is done

The low wages of the poor subsidize the affluent

The poor provide the 'clients' for penal systems, welfare agencies, and gambling

The poor extend the life of old food and old professionals

The poor legitimize (by deviance) the norms of thrift, hard work, honesty and monogamy

The deserving poor evoke compassion and feelings of good fortune in the affluent

The poor provide vicarious pleasures to the rich through imagined debauchery

The poor guarantee the status of the not poor

The poor assist the upward mobility of the non-poor

The poor provide practice for public-mindedness and aristocratic philanthropy

The poor provide the construction labour for monumental architecture

The poor provide culture for appropriation by the rich (especially music)

The poor serve as symbolic constituencies for oppositional political parties

The poor can be made to absorb the costs of economic change and depression

The absence of political participation by the poor enables centrist government to thrive.

Figure 10. 2: A fifteen point typology of the functional utility of the poor

Source: After Gans (1972).

This is bleak. The functionalist frame of reference within which Gans has formulated this typology does little to ameliorate its bite. How far is it from the [equally functionalist] rationale of the European Union policy makers who have struggled to make social policy fit the frames of 'lowest common denominator', subsidiarity, devolution, partnership, participation, solidarity and social cohesion? Paradoxically, 'poor bodies' are most useful to 'us' when they are poor. If the utility of poor bodies could be articulated in this mean form, they would have to be made visible.

Policies that tend to make the poor visible are those that target them for costly palliative care – for generous 'benefits' – rather than for employment–related policies that remove them from the register of the poor. In the European Union context, then, if social

[2] Unspeakable in the sense that it must not be spoken about – that it is politically incorrect to remember Marx's axioms about 'reserve armies of labour', or to suggest that the poor have some social use as the poor.

exclusion policy facilitates removing the poor from the register of poverty that same collection of 'poor bodies' may prove less valuable in the maintenance of public order, the provision of jobs for professional carers, and in the absorption of the costs of economic change.

The final kettle, before I return to the 'text' proper, is a discussion of Derrida's famous 'pharmaceutical'.[3] In Derrida's (1981) essay on Plato's pharmacy he introduces the idea of the necessity of the scapegoat in the *polis* in the form of the *pharmakos*: the wizard, magician, poisoner. Derrida (1981, 130–131) writes:

> The character of the *pharmakos* has been compared to a scapegoat. The *evil* and the *outside*, the expulsion of the evil, its exclusion of the body (and out) of the city – these are the two major senses of the character and of the ritual.

Derrida hastens to distance himself from 'psychoanalytic' readings of the role of the *pharmakos* but does cite the following from an essay by Vernant[4] (1978, 491–492):

> In the person of the ostracized, the city expels what in it is too elevated, what incarnates the evil which can come to it from above. In the evil of the *pharmakos*, it expels what is vilest in itself, what incarnates the evil that menaces it from below. By this double and complementary rejection it delimits itself in relation to what is not yet known: it takes the proper measure of the human in opposition on the one side to the divine and heroic, on the other to the bestial and monstrous.

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[3] I say 'famous' because Derrida's idea of the *pharmakon* as both poison and cure is central to many of his ideas about writing, phonocentrism and translation, and about 'undecidability' and ambiguity. In Collins and Mayblin's (1996, 29) pithy *Derrida for Beginners* it is explained thus: "*Pharmakon* is a Greek word which could be translated as 'magic potion'. Other English translations have used 'recipe', 'receipt', 'specific', 'cure' and 'remedy'. But as Derrida notes, *pharmakon* is an especially ambiguous word. In Greek, *pharmakon* means both cure and poison. Like the English word 'drug', it has good and bad aspects. Some translations resolve the word, cutting out one of its poles. But *pharmakon* is UNDECIDABLE, inhabiting both the curative and the poisonous" (emphasis in the original).

[4] The publication in dates of these texts in translation is confusing. Derrida's French original *La Dissémination* was published in 1972 in Paris. Vernant's original, also in French, was published in 1970. It is unclear from Derrida's footnote, whether his interpretation of *pharmakos* was in part informed by Vernant or vice versa.

What is unmistakable in these texts is the idea of using the person of the *pharmakos* to purify the city. This sentiment is made even more explicit in the following extended quotation. Derrida (1981, 133) writes:

> The city's body *proper* thus reconstitutes its unity, closes around the security of its inner courts, gives back to itself the word which links it with itself within the confines of the agora, by violently excluding from its territory the representative of an external threat or aggression. That representative represents the otherness of evil that comes to affect or infect the inside by unpredictably breaking in to it. Yet the representative of the outside is nonetheless *constituted*, regularly granted its place by the community, chosen, kept, fed, etc., in the very heart of the inside. These parasites were as a matter of course domesticated by the living organism that housed them at its expense. "The Athenians regularly maintained a number of degraded and useless beings at the public expense; and when any calamity, such as plague, drought or famine, befell the city, they sacrificed two of these outcasts as scapegoats". (The citation within the quotation is from J. G. Frazer (1959) in *The Golden Bough,* Phillips, New York).

There are two things that fascinate me here. The first is the potential genealogy for the outcast poor as social scapegoat, and I return to this in a moment, but the second is the curious undecidability in Derrida's own position.

When he identifies the *pharmakos*, the scapegoats, as "parasites [which] were as a matter of course domesticated", does this imply that 'domestication' was not the 'natural' condition of the 'parasite'? Does he intend contemporary readers to believe that the 'matter of course' domestication of parasitic human beings somehow makes them (legitimately) dispensable? And what is a 'parasite' in this sense? And what constitutes an 'undomesticated' human being given that, with very rare exception, humans are 'brought up' in the *domus*, in the house or home? Certainly, in Plato's time, the role of the 'slave' as a sub–human category was relatively unambiguous and perhaps the *pharmakos* were always slaves – but also perhaps not.

I understand that the purpose of *Plato's Pharmacy* is not to contemplate the exigencies of real human lives but to trouble the relationship between speech and writing, but I would be very surprised indeed to discover that the rituals of purification in Athens,

carried out annually on the "sixth day of the Thargelia" (Derrida 1981, 134), were purely metaphorical events. No, they were literal events involving the literal rituals of torture, sacrifice and death and the *pharmakos* were the magicians[5] and the outcasts, were the abject dejects of the Greek city states.

Is there then, also in Derridean[6] terms, any 'trace'[7] of this 'outcast' in the contemporary policy environment of the European Union? And how do all of these philosophical 'kettles' (Kristeva's abject, Gans' typology of functional utility, and Derrida's *pharmakos*), offer anything to the questionable exclusion of some 'poor bodies' from the discursive spaces of European Union social policy?

10.1: Finding the abject in the text

A text search for the terms 'abject, vile, despicable, degraded, miserable, craven, outcast' found only one 'relevant'[8] reference:

> Urban poverty is usually a poor "island" in a developed surrounding. Often characterised by **degraded** housing, whether in old and abandoned quarters (sometimes historic centres of towns) or in precarious barracks. It is mostly in urban centres that poverty takes the extreme forms of exclusion not only from the labour market but also from family ties and social relationships. The homeless are an example of one of the most serious (if not the most serious) forms of exclusion, that may attain the loss of identity, aspirations and purpose (Andersen *et al.* 1994).

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[5] Derrida (1981, 134) makes a fascinating play for the idea that Socrates, born on the sixth day of the Thargelia, was a *pharmakos*.

[6] I am aware of the irony of Proper naming here (see Norris 1987, 46, 130–1).

[7] The 'trace' is another leit–motiv in Derrida's work and is a term for which the meaning has been intensified in the translation into English from the original French. From the French, the word is offered in translation into English words that mean: "trace, track, footprint, spoor, trail, slot, mark, impression, vestige, outline, sketch" (Baker 1926, 544). All of these meanings help to convey Derrida's idea of the absent–presence of meaning, of "language [which] is premised on an interweaving movement between what is there and not there" (Collins and Mayblin 1996, 70).

[8] Even this reference is not strictly 'relevant'. It belongs with an earlier discussion about marginalised households. But perhaps it also belongs here, with the abject.

It is the documentation from the special research group that was set up to support *Poverty 3* (E.E.I.G Animation and Research), that makes the most of the concept of 'underprivilege'. All of the occurrences found in the word search come from the 1994 publications *The Lessons of the Poverty 3 Programme.*[9] In a sense this is not surprising as this was a group of committed researchers who had a high investment, not only in the operation of the Poverty Programmes because they provided them with work (*pace,* Gans), but because their perception of the issues of the poor was rooted in welfarist traditions.[10] The ways in which the term is used, however, are also not very surprising. Although these 'underprivileged' are being identified as the most 'needy' people in society, their needs are still relentlessly being equated with their capacities to participate in the paid workforce:

> Integration through economic means of the **underprivileged** has been a major preoccupation of the Third European Programme, whose objective, as defined by the Council Decision, is '**the economic and social integration of the least privileged groups'...**
>
> It would, however, be useful to begin by outlining the overall context within which the projects have been operating, which we now know to be critical to the ability of the projects to create an environment which, **in economic and political terms**, is conducive to **promoting the insertion of the least privileged** groups...
>
> Indeed, it is the diversity of and interaction between the different measures, policies and institutional practices which make the **expression "integration through economic means"** so rich, requiring in depth, thoughtful analysis of the political and cultural dimensions of an activity which seeks to **secure the integration of the least privileged into the labour market** ...
>
> The idea is that this will make the **least privileged more competitive** in relation to other groups, thus **increasing their chances of finding a job** ...

---

9 This 'book' is in fact a ring binder containing ten separate 'booklets'. Each of the 'booklets' is a stand alone publication and has been listed as such in the bibliography. I only chose to enter 4 of the booklets on line. The full listing of all the publications is also in the references under *Lessons* ... (1994).

10 I claim this with some degree of confidence on the basis of having met and interviewed Pauline Conroy, University of Dublin, who also collated the synthesis for the research team.

> In this perspective, the **integration of the under–privileged** is not taken as being the integration of a pre–defined group: the responsibility for integration falls upon the territory itself; **which must integrate it into a scenario of regional, national and even international development**. along with its various component parts (Abou Sada, 1994).

There is nothing here, then, that warrants a perception of Europe's poor as the excluded abject. What does get close, though, is the following description drawn from the Durham University S*tudy on Local Level Initiatives to Combat Social Exclusion in Europe* (online). In this excerpt the upright bold highlighting identifies those groups who are considered a potential focus for this university study, but which are no longer the pre–eminent focus of European Union social policy initiatives.

> In the UK ... social exclusion covers a number of disparate groups whose marginalisation and disempowerment stems from several related sources. For convenience these can be divided in the following way:
>
> ***Traditionally marginal groups*** ... historically the focus of anti–poverty legislation ... includes the urban poor, the unemployed, deprived children and the **impoverished elderly**.
>
> ***Recently politicised groups*** ... on the margins of UK society ... who have been largely left out of a social welfare debate that focused on the effects of poverty ... includes ... women, the mentally and physically disabled, the **gay community**, **ethnic and racial minorities**, disadvantaged young people and, again, the elderly ... the growing militancy of their demands for equal rights and opportunities, have been instrumental in the creation of the wider concept of social exclusion.
>
> ***New groups*** ... new forms of exclusion ... for example, **people with AIDS** ... **gay men, prostitutes and intravenous drug users** ... **different ethnic groups** ... [which is not a] simple matter of racism–versus–integration ... since unemployment is disproportionately high among members of Britain's minority populations, those aspects of exclusion derived from poverty, poor housing, and so on, are also greater for many of these people.

The groups highlighted in this series of quotations are groups that have been the subject of attention in academic work that has considered the notion of abjection.

David Sibley (1995, 14), identifies "colour, disease, animals, sexuality and nature" as things which provoke "the imperative of distancing from disgust". Not only does the Durham study's description have the benefit of hindsight (it was written in the early 1990s long after the initial arguments about what was or was not social exclusion), but also it is not subject to the same internal censorship as European Union policy documents. The 'Durham list' comes closest to calling the spade by its proper name. Even here, however, there is no suggestion that these are abject bodies, nor any suggestion that they are to assume the burden of purification for society at large. But still I have this nagging sense that there are groups – perhaps the very groups identified by the Durham team – who stand outside the discourse of exclusion in terms of whether or not the Community is offering any policies at all that are directed at embracing them within the *polis*.

Social policy categorically recognises 'poor bodies' contingently. It does this both through the standard terms of redistributive liberalism at a national scale, which allows some individual bodies to be singled out by particular governments as beneficiaries of redistributive largesse, and also through the less standard terms of identity politics by permitting only certain categories to be discursively instantiated in policy texts at the European level. At the European scale, it seems increasingly that the identifiable condition of possibility for the category 'poor body', is to be an employed or, at least, work[able] body. No amount of a politics of recognition has the capacity to recuperate 'poor bodies' who are caught in an economy of disregard.

A recognition of corporeal constructions of poverty, outside of any targeting or category discourse, might ultimately be the kind of identifying mark that could be useful for social policy. The individualistic characteristics of 'richness' and 'poorness' are as much a part of the 'European identity' as are the United Colours of Benetton. People who have access to good dental care, adequate housing and transport, smart clothes and self confidence are more likely to meet the material requirements for good citizenship than those with rotten teeth, matted hair, staring eyes, scrofulous clothes and shank's pony.

The border–line surface between such an inside and outside, between being included and excluded, exists and, as Bachelard (1992, 218) notes, the surface that lies between the inside and the outside is painful on both sides. The surfaces in this research are many, and place, poverty and policy are caught in ineluctable tensions. The lives of those who are touched by those surfaces, those tensions, bear witness to them. The effects of places and policies are etched on the bodies of the 'poor' and of the 'rich' and become present through corporeal and cultural expression.

This research began with a focus on the contours and design of European Community Poverty Programmes. It has ended, not just with a richer understanding of the complexities of the supranational social policy environment, but also reflexively. I have developed a capacity to reflect on the implications of language both for as well as in a social policy environment. As the research got underway, in 1994, it quickly became obvious that the notion of social exclusion was an increasingly important concept in the European Union social policy environment. I moved the focus of my research to accommodate a wider concern with the discursive shift from the language of poverty to the language of social exclusion. I have left much of the historical and descriptive record of the discursive shift to the authors who produced that work during the period of my study.

As a geographer, whose focus might more properly have been on the materialities of place and space, I found myself extended into metaphorical territories and semantic domains for which I needed to both reposition and re–equip myself. I needed to take my surface knowledge of language and increase its tensile qualities so that I could realistically articulate an argument about place, poverty and policy. In a sense, the concept of social exclusion has provided a vessel in which this initially thin–skinned argument could form a visible meniscus.

There is no single conclusion from this research. In what follows I touch on a range of both empirically based and speculative conclusions that have been generated during the research process. Although the findings have changed as the research has progressed, I identify both broad and more specific conclusions that I have been able to draw

10.2: Documenting discursive shifts

I have intimated that the deployment of the term social exclusion as a new policy instrument has ramifications for the 'poor bodies' for whom such welfare and poverty policies are designed. I have suggested that the term, social exclusion, now occupies linguistic space in the production of written and spoken discourses about poverty and welfare in the European Union. This has already been extensively documented. I have also suggested that the discourse occupies paradoxical spaces in the European Union and these spaces are governed – often in contradictory ways – by the powerful tropes of subsidiarity and solidarity. I have argued that there is a complex, co–productive relationship between place, poverty and policy, and that the discourse of 'exclusion' – as it is being used in Community anti–poverty policy – has strengthened the relationship between notions of 'unemployment and exclusion' and between notions of 'employment and inclusion'.

I have suggested that bodies which can be 'put to work' – those which I have called 'work[able] bodies' – continue to appear in Community policies. Bodies which, for many different reasons, cannot easily be 'put to work' – those which I have called 'unwork[able] bodies' – increasingly disappear from the policies. I have used the neologism of 'work–able' and 'unwork–able' in a deliberate attempt to highlight the direction of the discursive shift and its potential, albeit ambiguous, implications. Some of these unwork–able bodies are recuperated in specific 'other' policy discourses but they are no longer constructed as belonging to the discourses of inclusion, solidarity and integration. Ironically, and paradoxically, it would seem that exclusion from the discourse of exclusion is a defining moment of exclusion from the discourse of inclusion.

My research argues that there have been metaphorical and discursive shifts in European Community policy discourse. I have cited evidence of the intrusion of the term social exclusion in European policy documents and have identified research, by other social scientists, which confirms both the provenance and presence of the term. I have alluded to the subsequent movement of the concept into the international literature outside the

European Union and have argued that this has enhanced and entrenched the term in academic and policy discourse. The term social exclusion is now a concept in the policy milieu that has its own signification. As the concept is uplifted in a wider international arena, in places like New Zealand and Australia where it is not yet commonly used,[11] it will come to affect future policy direction in those places.

Findings and future research

I have argued that social exclusion is not an innocent alternative to poverty discourse. Policy makers and 'poverty agencies' would do well to be informed, not only of the provenance of the term, but also of its reach. I must conclude, from the empirical and secondary analysis of my research, that there is a wide and confusing range of current meaning for the term social exclusion. The next three, more specific conclusions relate to the detailed readings of the reconstitution and redeployment of the concept of social exclusion in the European Union social policy context and are drawn from the discourse analysis.

First, I conclude that the discursive shift from poverty to social exclusion is ongoing and therefore I can only make an assessment at this (arbitrary) point in time. It is possible to begin to make an argument that the discursive shift appears to have facilitated the intensification of economic and political links at the expense of social concerns. Policy makers appear to have shifted their sights to economic objectives that are designed to increase participation in the workforce. I suggest that this is partly in response to the constraints of the principle of subsidiarity. There are also political objectives that condition the production of social policy and these increasingly appear to involve attempts to sustain the balance of subsidiarity while at the same time increasing solidarity and social cohesion. I have suggested that, to some extent, these are contradictory impulses. The discourse of social exclusion appears to have invoked metaphors which have served to intensify a process in which poverty policy at the supranational scale is being re–presented as employment policy. As an unanticipated

[11] Paul Callister is one New Zealand researcher looking at the concept of social exclusion in New Zealand.

consequence of this reorientation, the Community's capacity to initiate palliative social policy for extreme marginal groups appears to have been dissipated or devolved to the national level.

Second, I conclude that the concept of social exclusion has developed currency in the discursive spaces of Anglo–European welfare and poverty policy. I have suggested that some of the values of the term have been established through its deployment in European Union discourses generated in relation to the Poverty Programmes that ran from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. The term is now used in policy domains other than poverty policy. It appears in regional policy, information technology policy, migration policy and youth policy, among others.[12] It has become part of the taken–for–granted, in–house vocabulary of at least five of the key Commissions: DG V Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs; DG X Information, Communication, Culture, Audiovisual; DG XII Science, Research and Development; DG XVI Regional Policies and Cohesion; DG XXII Education, Training and Youth; and is regularly published in the *Official Journals*, in *Eurostat, I'm Europe,* and *EUR–OP News.*

As I have suggested earlier, the concept of social exclusion has also come to circulate in international arenas and is part of the taken–for–granted vocabulary of United Nations agencies such as UNESCO, and the UNDP. The ILO uses it and it is increasingly common in academic discourse, particularly in the fields of 'development' and 'migration' and in sociological texts focusing on issues of race, gender and class. In this sense it is no longer a term that can be overlooked or relegated to the back page because it is of no significance. It appears to have become a central organising category for discourse and appears to have acquired rhetorical force. In as much as this is the case it is important that social exclusion continues to be a focus of social science research in the European Union but it is also important that it continues to be the subject of discourse analysis. This research has barely tipped the potential.

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[12]A final *Europa* search from 1st January 1999, for example, returned the following: "Your search for 'exclusion' matched 4497 of 381909 documents. Your [refined] search for 'social' matched 2545 of 4497 documents" (*Search Results* http://europa.eu.int/search97cgi/s97_cgi).

I have proposed that the specific interplay of local, national and international agencies, fostered by the Poverty Programme policies and these diverse approaches to social exclusion, has enabled the term to become reified in poverty discourses and to have particular purchase at different scales and in different spaces. Although I have not developed the spatial analysis extensively in this project I believe this is one particularly fruitful area for both further research and policy development. As the poor increasingly become ghettoised in communities of exclusion, those who are not part of those communities (the policy makers, the researchers, the privileged power elite), become increasingly divorced from the realities of excluded lives. The spatial elements of social policy outcomes need to be considered at the supranational, regional, national and local scales in the European union context.

My third conclusion is that there has been a significant shift in policy direction at the European level that has been coterminous with the discursive shift from 'poverty', as a key policy term, to social exclusion as a key term. Although I have not found any explicit correlation between the rise of employment–related policy initiatives and the rise of the concept of exclusion, I believe that the detailed analysis of metaphorical relationships undertaken in this research implicitly points in this direction. I do not claim that this is 'proof' of any kind but suggest this is an area for further and more extensive and precise research.

As part of an exercise to clarify the applications of the term, I developed a series of category typologies, based on the research corpus, that identified key associations of the term. These typologies identified particular 'kinds' of exclusion, 'metaphors' of exclusion, 'psycho–social effects' of exclusion, 'structural causes' of exclusion, 'factors which accentuate' exclusion and 'categories of people' who are identified as excluded. The development of these typologies constitutes a significant contribution of my research. The typologies, although constraining in some ways, enabled me to understand the *extent* to which the term 'exclusion' had no clear fixed meaning. This insight then allowed me to extrapolate and to consider the ways in which the term could be (and was) put to different uses in different contexts.

Apart from these most readily identifiable outcomes from this research, I believe there are other conclusions that may be drawn. These are speculative in so much as there is not so much clear evidence in this research to support them but I believe that further research in these areas would constitute interesting lines of inquiry.

Poverty, exclusion / inclusion, integration and cohesion also sit close to the discourses of citizenship that are being increasingly elaborated and contested in the supranational European Union context. I have raised concerns about the policy discourse of social exclusion and the extent to which there is a link between the idea of social exclusion and the idea of the worker–consumer citizen. Arguments that address consumption, embodiment and citizenship deserve particularly close scrutiny and extensive further research.

I have entertained, but not committed myself to, an indicative argument that 'residual' poor identity is caught up in a relationship between citizenship and consumption in which abjection – the reviled othering of difference – comes to coalesce around the bodies of those who cannot afford 'to be like us': where 'us' is defined as all those who are included, on the basis of their capacity to purchase political, material, cultural or psycho–social comfort, in an unspoken idea of material community and belonging.

I have touched on arguments that identify the extent to which citizenship and embodiment are mutually imbricated in the production of 'poor bodies' in the European Union discourses of exclusion. I have suggested that there is evidence, in my policy corpus that can be used to support the claim that only certain work–able embodiments qualify for 'Euro–citizenship' in as much as only certain bodies are produced as work–able subjects. More research is needed in this area.

Future research might also consider issues of embodiment and citizenship in relation to a corporeal construction of poverty. The concept of social exclusion is more amenable to new right socio–economic agendas than concepts of 'new poverty', the 'underclass', the 'disadvantaged' or even 'the poor', because it produces a counter–discourse of 'social inclusion' premised on particular libertarian notions of citizenship and belonging. Use of the concept of 'social exclusion', however, also opens up opportunities for

reconceptualising the corporealities of 'poor bodies'. The poor can be understood to be excluded from consumption because they have no income or purchasing power, from material embodiment because they are not 'proper bodies', and from having 'permanent presence' as a 'community' because their exclusion is both ephemeral and individualised.

If social exclusion is increasingly understood as a liberal, economic discourse about 'exclusion from the workforce', then a concept, which held much theoretical and empirical promise in terms of expanding and shifting the grounds of debate about 'poverty', has been seriously compromised. There is little room, within economic discourse about exclusion and employment, to debate more politically inflected issues of social inclusion with respect to citizenship, rights and entitlements. There is neither space to identify ways in which difference constructs embodiment and subjectivity, nor space to challenge notions that the excluded might be those whose access to citizenship is compromised by the conflation of the status of consumer with the status of citizen.

In other words, the concept of social exclusion has the potential for effective deployment in the policy agendas of both the right and the left – it can be seen to occupy both the libertarian and the liberal / socialist social justice terrains. It is perhaps more important that the interpellative power – the productive discursive capacity – of the phrase continue to be examined as it translates across and is translated between different national and international constituencies. The kinds of 'poor bodies' that become visible to the policy eye as the discursive frameworks shift from one conceptualisation to another are not immaterial. As this research has demonstrated, the 'poor body' that fails the interpellative test – that fails to be called in to the discursive and productive realm of poverty policy – does not simply remain invisible and safe in that invisibility.

The discursive power of policy is not sand for ostriches. As Marilyn Frye has said, in a different context: 'to be real is to be visible to the king' (Frye 1983). To 'be real' is an important project for secular humans and not one that can be left entirely to the definitional devices of those who suppose themselves to constitute all that 'is' [real]. By exposing the rational, ontological project of 'social exclusion', – the project in which

exclusion and inclusion are set up as mutually exclusive terms – and by exposing the rational, epistemological project of the separation of temporal and spatial policy outcomes, this research may have gone some way towards the necessary definition of frangible realities.

10.3: Returning 'home'

My final reflection is on my geographical positionality and my positioning as a geographer. On the one hand I was geographically 'misplaced' to conduct any 'insider' research into the workings of any particular European Union policies. The distance between my mind / body and the mind / bodies of either the European policy makers or the European poor would have been risible if the project had had any intention of 'representing the truth' about European Union poverty policies. The distance served, rather, to produce the possibility for different kinds of reflection. I was able to be selective about the material I chose for analysis and to work outside the cultural and political boundaries of Europe. Not a view from 'nowhere', but a view from the Antipodes which made no assumptions about the new Europe or its policy objectives.

For a geographer, ostensibly more concerned with the literal spatial distribution of programmes and initiatives derived from European Union policy, the opportunity for reassessing meaning through metaphorical terrain was seductive. It also fits with the linguistic turn in the social sciences more generally and confirms geographical interest in issues of representation. Similar research could be undertaken with other areas of European Union policy. Unpicking and unpacking metaphors in relation to nation building, citizenship, regional autonomy, and city sovereignty would all constitute rich areas for future research.

As a geographer, I was also engaged by the provocative absence of social policy debate from 'my' disciplinary 'home'. I was interested both in the consequences of spatialisation for social policy initiatives, and with the specific productions of social policy space. Social exclusion, with its predication on boundaries, seemed an eminently geographical subject but one with which few geographers were concerned. I was also

keen to extend the use of discourse analysis in geography and to explore the use of qualitative data analysis using computers. Geographers are also concerned with 'scale' and scale plays an important role in the material and discursive mediations between supranational, national, regional and local policy development and enactment.

I found no admissible evidence that the term 'social exclusion' was introduced to deliberately confound or subvert the direction of poverty policy in the European Union. Odd inferences from a handful of interviews did confirm my suspicions that it was useful – for the European policy makers – to have a term to use other than 'poverty'. Some of the suggestions indicated that 'poverty' did not work well in a multi–lingual context because its pejorative connotations were differently intense in different languages. Other suggestions implied that there had been something of a deliberate search for a new term that would not be so coloured by Anglophone interpretations. Still others were inclined to my own view that some linguistic sleight was necessary to retain a corner for poverty policy at a supranational level. At this scale, the policy makers seemed to be ambivalent about the concept – ready to make use of it to expedite at least some European level response – but not convinced that the language shift had necessarily facilitated a cultural shift.

At the local scale – at least in the few case study areas that I had contact with and in the documents assessing the Poverty Programmes – the response to the shift to social exclusion appeared much more positive. SPAN, for example, felt that a window of opportunity had been opened for their particular vision for an information network. They could argue effectively, and at the European scale, that single parents were 'excluded' from access to socialising networks with other single parents and that mutual support was a very positive response to difficult single parenting circumstances. They did not have to mark the single parents as 'poverty–stricken' or exclude single parents whose circumstances did not meet poverty criteria. Nor did they have to target their initiative to a single geographical area or propose a programme for a specific 'island of poverty'.

The initiatives at Craigarvon, in Northern Ireland, also identified opportunities made available by the use of the term 'social exclusion'. In particular, I noted the opportunity

to pay attention to the multiple bases of exclusion and the extent to which exclusion could be argued to be prior to poverty. The set of structural causes, which were deeply imbricated in the production of poverty in that particular geographical area where location and access to services comprised significant axes of exclusion, highlighted the discourses of participation and partnership and so shifted the responsibility off the shoulders of the individual poor.

In Dublin, research into itinerant 'travellers'[13] also made positive use of the term to identify the dichotomies of outside and inside, included and excluded that were bought to bear by the wider society against the 'travelling' communities. In this instance the significance of language in the production of social realities was especially noted. In these three cases at least, the cultural implications of the shift to social exclusion did not go unnoticed.

The interstitial levels between 'European' and 'local' cannot be simply identified as either 'national' or 'regional' although both of these do exist. One unanticipated set of findings from my research lies in this ambiguous territory – in the tension between the supranational and the national, the supranational and the regional. At the 'national' scale, I identified and was surprised by the power of the principle 'subsidiarity'. I was not prepared for the extent to which individual member states' governments constrain and condition the operation of the European Union in the area of social policy. I conclude, through my research, that 'subsidiary space' – the space in which European social initiatives are sanctioned – is a pernicious space for 'poor bodies'. In order to circumvent the hostilities towards European scale 'social' policies, 'poor bodies' are re–articulated in this subsidiary space as unemployed bodies. In the European economic order, policies for work–able bodies can be determined under the pillars promulgated from the founding treaties but the pillar supporting the European social order seems not yet substantive.

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[13] The term 'traveller' is used in Irish social policy text to identify the 'traditional travelling communities' who used to be referred to as 'gypsies'.

At the regional scale, social exclusion has been caught up in discourses of displacement and disadvantage. Regional policy, which seeks to identify and rectify the regional economic disparities within the Union, also redesignates social exclusion as economic exclusion. There is regional policy participation in initiatives which seek to maximise employment opportunities in disadvantaged areas or which seek to minimise the employment obstacles for displaced rural or marginal area dwellers moving to the cities. Ironically, although it appears that regional policy also provides an avenue for side–stepping the principle of subsidiarity, this particular side step has not been put to strong effect with respect to the poor. I believe there is an interesting line of research to be undertaken in more fully documenting and analysing the tensions between supranational, national, regional and local social policy in the European Union.

In reflecting on these 'scaly' tensions with respect to social exclusion, I was forced to consider ways to identify which policy objects were subject to reconstruction at different scales. I chose to analyse policy documents using a focused form of discourse analysis and from this exegesis came to this final set of unanticipated conclusions.

First, I have concluded that the concept of social exclusion operates as a very powerful metaphor as well as a marker of a quite distinct social reality. Second, I have concluded that the European Union uses the term 'social' exclusion to refer very specifically to a kind of 'economic' exclusion that is produced by the absence of participation in the paid work force. Third, I have concluded that this misrecognition of social exclusion has its most severe consequences for an already highly marginalized set of groups in the wider community – those who are not 'available' for paid employment – whose bodies are not 'work–able'. Under the current policy regimes, this group stands to become increasingly excluded (both socio–culturally and economically) and arguably stands to undermine the principle of social cohesion that underwrites the political logic of the European Union.

At present, this is seen perhaps as a surface tension – something affecting a certain fraction in a larger and more complex picture that is being redrawn by careful and attentive policy initiatives. As Kristeva (1982) has so aptly identified, however, the abject skin forms on the surface of the milk – not so much an innocent meniscus but a

deeply perturbing boundary that must be negotiated before any sweet liquid success can be savoured. To ignore the skin, to ignore the surface, to ignore the boundary is to misunderstand the metaphorical geographies that condition the poverty of policy in the human place.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Research funding and support

Developing skills in obtaining research funding for qualitative projects has not been a high priority in the departments I have worked in but such skills are becoming necessary as the research ethos changes. The ethos is shifting both in response to a greater acceptance of qualitative methods and in response to greater demands for external funding for social science research

There is an extensive literature on research funding (see Hedrick, Bickman, and Rog 1993 Krathwohl 1988) and there are international Internet sites directing researchers to grant opportunities.

Most of the grants opportunities pages are for researchers in the USA: for example, *The Welfare Information Network*; *Welfare Related Funding Opportunities*; *Grant and Grant Writing Resources*; *Mickey's Place in the Sun*; *Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research – University of Chicago – The Grant Getting Page*.

The European Union supports an extensive research grant programme in the social policy area, especially through the *Targeted Social and Economic Research* (TSER) programme (*TSER* online). European Union funding is not available to non–European Union citizens other than those from African–Caribbean–Pacific [not New Zealand] countries tied to the European Union through the Lomé Conventions

I applied for ten different research scholarships that appeared to be available for New Zealand social science doctoral researchers. The scholarships applied for included:

General Accident/NZI Insurance Waitangi Scholarship

L. B. Wood Travelling Scholarship

New Zealand Federation of University Women Postgraduate Fellowship

Shirtcliffe Fellowship

The Altrusa Club – Vision for Women scholarship

The Hodge Fellowship; *Gordon Watson Scholarship*

University of Edinburgh Postgraduate Research studentship

University of Waikato Postgraduate Scholarship.

Winston Churchill Travelling Fellowship

I was successful in two of these applications. In most instances my research was deemed to be either not relevant enough to New Zealand; not focused enough on women; or not clearly enough 'economic' in its orientation to warrant an award. In a world where specification and niche marketing of research is increasingly taken–for–granted, this is not surprising.

The time consuming nature of grants proposals and the gruelling experience of a grant's interview were instructive. The Department of Geography, University of Waikato made some funding available. I took out a student loan and drew on personal savings. I became aware that Social Science research entailed costs akin to so–called 'hard' scientific research, but that these costs are seldom recognised as 'legitimate' calls on funding resources. The assessment of costs and commitments is part of the research process.

Appendix 2

Key Questions for Interviews

Questions to Directorate General V: Commission of the Community

Discussion of the term "social exclusion".

The Commission initiatives with respect to the problems of "poverty" or the "less–advantaged" increasingly use the term "social exclusion".

Could you talk a little about the evolution of and rationale for the use of this term:

- **was there any particular reason why this term was chosen?**
- **were there debates about whether the term should be adopted or not?**
- **is the term used (or its direct equivalent) in all the Community languages?**
- **does the term have a particular force and competence that other terms lack?**
- **do the terms "poverty" and "social exclusion" mean the same thing – how could they be defined?**

The term "social exclusion" is often coupled in the documents with the idea of "promoting solidarity".

- **Could you talk about the implications of "solidarity" for the development of social policy in relation to poverty policy?**

Overall, the idea of mitigating "social exclusion" appears to be linked to the idea of the inclusion of individuals in the workforce through paid employment.

- **Could you talk about the ways in which the policies provide for those people who are poor but who are not part of the potential workforce at any given moment? For example:**

  Lone parents

  The elderly

  Migrants and refugees

  Mentally ill

Policies to combat social exclusion have had to be negotiated around the principle of subsidiarity – particularly with respect to the UK.

- **Could you talk about the ways in which the principle of subsidiarity constrains the development of supranational poverty policy?**

Appendix 2a

Supplementary Interview Questions

Questions for DG XII: Science, Research and Development.

The 1994 official journal (C52/4) notes that research activities under the Fourth Framework programme for Community RTD actions provides for research on problems related to social integration. As I understand it this is a new initiative.

- Could you explain a 'little about how this initiative came about

  who promoted it?

  how different is it from work currently undertaken under RTD?

- In what ways will this research be connected to the work done in DG V on poverty and social exclusion

  what formal liaison will be set in place

  will there be cross–funding between the two doctorates or will this initiative represent an additional source of funding for poverty research?

- What research has been proposed or undertaken in the area of social integration so far

  what aspects does it cover

  who is engaged in the research

  what external 'expert' services are included

  how and where are the results of this research published?

- Is there any specific research proposed for

  issues of social exclusion

  women and poverty

  the political and security implications of exclusion?

Appendix 2b

Consent form

The title of this research project is "Poverty Programmes and social exclusion in the European Community 1973 – 1999".

The project author is Robin Peace, a doctoral student from the Department of Geography, University of Waikato, New Zealand.

The objective of the project is to find out about the European Community policies in relation to social exclusion: their history, development and constraints.

This interview is informal and "off the record" unless you agree that the interview may be recorded on tape.

Your identity will be strictly confidential unless you specifically give permission for your statements to be sourced to your name or position.

You have the right not to participate in the interview, to terminate the interview at any stage and to decline to answer specific questions.

You have the right to stipulate specific comments as "off the record", to turn the tape–recorder off at any stage or to request the recall of the recorded tape after the interview is concluded.

"I agree to participate in this interview and acknowledge receipt of a copy of this consent form".

Signature

Date:

Appendix 3a

NUD.IST – a technical discussion

In this appendix I identify some of the practical difficulties encountered during use of the NUD.IST application.

Problems in identifying the ideal software:

- There is now a wide range of qualitative software that will perform different functions with different degrees of efficiency. The relative merits of these different systems and critiques and appraisals of these systems are available on a number of Internet sites including: University of Surrey's quarterly publication *Social Research Update* (online); the *ESRC Data Archive Bulletin* from the University of Essex (online); the *Sociological Research Online* (online) and *Qualitative Research Resources on the Internet* (online).

- These software systems can largely be categorised on the basis of their capacity to handle the following functions: data entry / storage, coding, memoing / annotation, data linking, and search and retrieval (Fielding 1995). Most word processing packages – such as Microsoft Word – can not only perform the necessary data entry and storage functions, but they are often an essential conduit for material that must be formatted in a particular way before it can be imported into the specific analytic package.

- It is usual to assign software packages to one of the following three categories: text retrievers/text based managers, code and retrieve packages and theory building software (Fielding 1994). NUD.IST belongs to the latter. The emphasis, in the acronym, CAQDA system, on computer assisted qualitative research is important. There is no task that the computer performs that the human researcher can not. NUD.IST, though not as fast as some other software packages, such as AskSAM or ZYINDEX, allows a great deal of flexibility in terms of what is searchable.

Conceptual problems in working with NUD.IST:

- My experimental method of using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software for discourse analysis constituted a larger and more time–consuming part of this project than I had originally anticipated. Not only did I need to find a model for the discourse analysis, and learn what such analysis entailed; I also had to decide on a particular software system that might be compatible with this method. Fairclough's (1992) work on textually oriented discourse analysis was a boon in the sense that I did not need to create my own model from scratch. Relying on someone whose knowledge of discourse was infinitely more extensive than my own removed the anxiety of missing crucial variables or overlooking key components. There are, inevitably, constraints entailed in working with ready–made frameworks – especially those which have been made for a different order of discourse. The challenges of working with and manipulating those constraints also constitute a highlight of the research process.

- Tracking these metaphorical and discursive shifts across a series of hardcopy and Internet documents required a capacity to manage a large data base of text and to search for and cross reference key terms. The method of using NUD.IST and textually oriented discourse analysis in tandem, which I developed for this research, has been successful for identifying key text elements and for tracking changes in vocabulary, especially wording, word meaning, and metaphor. It has also provided a useful framework for identifying elements of text cohesion, particularly intertextuality. Fairclough's framework provided an incentive for considering aspects of text production, distribution and consumption and for paying attention to aspects of social practice and ideology. Some of these elements were more difficult to translate to the NUD.IST environment but I was certainly able to draft them into the conceptual tree structure and to index material to particular nodes to make use of NUD.IST's more sophisticated search operators and system closure.

- One of the key advantages I identified in the process was that the NUD.IST system never required a 'finished' indexing system before it could be used. Once I had appreciated the importance of having all the key documents online in a single paragraphed project I was able to proceed at my

own pace – following up a hunch here and searching for key terms there. This flexibility is reassuring in a computer–based system. Although I would acknowledge that I did not use the NUD.IST capacity to the full extent, I did find it a useful enough tool to want to pursue further elements of the analysis outside of this project. I believe that working with a smaller corpus – maybe one or two policy documents as a beginning – could lead to a degree of sophistication in the discourse analysis NUD.IST/TODA system. The index tree I created for potential nodes and cross correlation was huge and much of its potential has not been realised in this project. I believe there is a very productive capacity in a 'memory–management–indexing' tool like NUD.IST to develop discourse analysis techniques further and I am looking forward to the next stage.

- My project involved an extensive descriptive section on the workings of the European Union. I set up nodes to record references to 'structural funds', the 'European Parliament', 'regional policy', and so on, and then cross–referenced this empirical data with particular metaphors, or particular places, or particular grammatical effects. The capacity of the NUD.IST system to index different kinds of information seemed a real strength of the software/user interface and one that I would wish to pursue. I am also interested in pursuing the extent to which NUD.IST/TODA can be interactively linked with other software – such as quantitative and graphical representation systems and to Internet–based research. I am not committed to the computer–assisted approach to qualitative analysis but I am interested in further reflexive research on the subject.

Problems in introducing scanned documents:

- When the scanned documents were being introduced into NUD.IST. The software continually crashed my system and it took some international networking to resolve the problem, which was apparently being caused by tildes. The tilde [~] character is used by OCR systems to indicate any unreadable text in the document being scanned.

- Given the poor quality of many of my photocopied document, the tilde appeared frequently in the scanned documents. The tilde, however, is also used as a Programming Language marker in the LISP language system on which NUD.IST software is based. Note: LISP is said to stand for "Lots of Irritating and Silly Parentheses ... It is one of the oldest functional programming languages, invented in 1960 by John McCarthy in order to write programs for Artificial Intelligence easily" (Meyer online).

- Unless all tildes are edited out of the scanned documents prior to introduction into NUD.IST, system failure occurs at the point where the software tries to read non–existent programming language cued by the tilde in the text.

Problems of formatting and layout of each document

- 'Text' to be searched may be anything from single words to full paragraphs or whole documents. You may search for all instances of a particular term in a huge body of text, and have a pre–existing coded space to which to assign that term so that it can be related to other items in other coded spaces.

- NUD.IST performs this function with the aid of a conceptual tree structure and allows the researcher to work both deductively – following the hunch that a particular term or word string may have particular significance – and inductively – following a different kind of untested hunch that there may be either logical relations between or among concepts (Cuneo, online). Coded spaces may be annotated, and memos can be attached to specific instances of terms. These researcher observations can, in turn, be incorporated into the analytic process.

- There is an important stage in the editing process, prior to the introduction of documents to NUD.IST. It is a two–stage process that requires identifying *text units* and incorporating *headers* and *subheaders*. These are NUD.IST specific technical terms, which require some explanation.

  Text units identify the size of text that the user determines will be most useful for the project at hand. They may be whole documents, sections of documents, paragraphs in existing text, or individual lines of text. In my case, I ran two parallel programmes – one based on *text units as lines* and one based on *text units as paragraphs*. Ultimately I worked with the 'paragraphs' project the most, as the standard *text unit as paragraph* gave me manageable chunks of text

with their immediate context. The *text units as lines* provided a succinct résumé of the occurrence of key words in the text without the bulk of their contextual paragraphs. They were, therefore, a useful starting point. Each text unit, regardless of size, is identified by a single carriage return. Most word processor software allows documents to be saved with automatic insertion of line or paragraph carriage returns.

Headers is a term used to refer to user–edited insertions at the beginning of each document which provides such information as author / interviewee, date, topic, publisher and any explanatory comments. An asterisk at the beginning of the header and a double carriage return at the end identify these headers. They appear in the working text as integral to, but separate from the main body of the document and become the means of identification for online documents. In my project, the *headers* became an invaluable navigation tool, telling me which documents I had searched or what key words were found in which documents. I also used the *headers* to record the complex code names I gave each of the documents and they are a record of the organisational strategies developed for the project provided in the print–out of "base data" supplied as Appendix 4.

Sub–headers perform a different function in that they break up the body of the text into smaller chunks. They are used to mark editing points (or sections) where the user has supplied additional information such as speakers in an interview, interview questions, time records and so on. I did not use *sub–headers* extensively other than for my interview transcripts as I had little need to add editorial comment to my documents.

Appendix 3b

Q.S.R. NUD.IST Data base details

Q.S.R. NUD.IST Power version, revision 4.0.

Licensee: Robin Peace.

PROJECT: paragram, User Robin, 8:28 am, Sept 2, 1998.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: apa94h2.txt +++ Document Header: *Document 13: Category 4, POLICY ANALYSIS, Code: PA94HL2. House of Lords session 1993–94 9th report: Select Committee on the European Communities: The Poverty Programme with evidence. HMSO London HL paper 51. Document is 79pages including cover. This section includes pages 19 20 which are two appendices of the members of the subcommittee of the house and the list of witnesses who were called to give evidence ++ Coded at 13 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: citchart.txt +++ Document Header: http://www.eurplace.org/orga/forumsoc/cartaen.html * PERMANENT FORUM OF CIVIL SOCIETY * European Citizens' Charter (Draft) * 18 May 1997 ++ Coded at 42 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: citforum.txt http://www.eurplace.org/federal/croco/citixue.html * down loaded 14 11 97 *The Citizen and the European Union n. 5/6 – 1995, page 6

We publish hereunder three articles on 1996 which focus on the indispensable role of the citizens in the construction of the European Union. Well beyond the increasing and confusing range of official propositions, the increasing interest of civil society towards the European project seems the real new element within the European Union. ++ Coded at 29 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: comwk97.txt +++ Document Header: * http://europa.eu.int/en/comm/co98pr/en/sec1854.html * REPORT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMMISSION'S PROGRAMME FOR 1997 *(Presented by the Commission) * excerpts only – downloaded 15 11 1997 ++ Coded at 41 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: crop.txt +++ Document Header: * http://www.svf.uib.no/helsos/crop/medoc.htm * downloaded 14 11 97 * CROP poverty and social exclusion * NEWSLETTER poverty and social exclusion In October a CROP/University of Crete conference on "Poverty and Social Exclusion in the Mediterranean Area" was organised in Rethymno, Crete. ++ Coded at 16 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: ecoigc2.txt +++ Document Header: * /ECOIGC2 * code:ECOIGC2 (edited) * Document 79 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * title: Plea for a social Europe *author: Speech by Mr Derycke, Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Egmont Palace, 23 January 1996 * pub: EUROPA * net site: http://europa.eu.int/en/agenda/igc–home/msspeech/state–be/derycke.html * info: Matched line: body # ECOFIN Council under Italian Presidency, Mr Jacques Santer, ++ Coded at 34 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: flynn97.txt +++ * Social Policy and the Economy * British Chambers of Commerce * Lunch address by Mr Padraig Flynn, * Brussels, 11 February 1997 * http://europa.eu.int/en/comm/dg05/speeches/970211pf.htm * downloaded 14 11 97++ Coded at 18 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: idcom.txt +++ Document Header: *61/IDCOM * code:IDCOM1 (edited) *Document 61 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * Code IDCOM1 Internet Commission document 1 * title: The European Commission1995–2000 * author: Commission of the European Communities * net site: http://europa.eu.int/en/comm/c9500/intro.html *contains a number of different texts ++ Coded at 49 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: idecof1.txt +++ Document Header: * 63/IDEC0F1 * code: IDEC0F1 (edited) * Document 63 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * title: Florence European Council 21 and 22 June 1996: Presidency Conclusions *author: "On The Record" Official Documents from the Union * pub: EUROPA * netsite ++ Coded at 36 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: idecpo1.txt +++ Document Header: *70/IDECPO1 * code:IDECPO1 (edited) * Document 70 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * title: Poverty in Europe *author: EUR–OP News Issue 2/95 * pub: EUROPA European Communities' Publications Office * net site: http://www.cec.lu/en/comm/opoce/r2614.html ++ Coded at 35 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: idecpo3.txt C *71/IDECPO3 * code:IDECPO3 (edited) * Document 71 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * title: Social policy: Social protection / Social exclusion *author: EUR–OP News Issue 2/96 * pub: EUROPA European Communities' Publications Office * net site: http://www.cec.lu/en/comm/opoce/r2614.html EUR–OP News Issue 2/96 ++ Coded at 20 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: ideucec1.txt +++ Document Header: *64/IDEUCEC1 * code:IDEUCEC1 (edited) * Document 64 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * title: Presidential address to the European Parliament Strasbourg, France, 17 January 1995 * author: President Santer. (Pres of Commission of the European Communities) * pub: EUROPA * net site: http://www.cec.lu/en/comm/js/ep–f.html ++ Coded at 55 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: ideucri.txt +++ Document Header: *64/IDEUCR1 * code:IDEUCR1 (edited) * Document 64 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * title: The opinions adopted by the Committee of the Regions Plenary sessions of 1995 *author: Commission of the European Communities * pub: EUROPA Europa Homepage The Committee of the Regions * net site: http://europa.eu.int/comreg/ps1996.html ++ Coded at 39 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: ideuep1.txt +++ Document Header: *65/IDEUEP1 * code:IDEUEP1 (edited) * Document 65 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * title: ++ Coded at 20 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: ideuesc1.txt +++ Document Header: *81/IDEUESC1 * code:IDEUESC1 (edited) * Document: 81 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * title: OPINION of the Economic and Social Committee on Local development initiatives and regional policy . REG/106. CES 1163–95 Brussels, 25 October 1995 *author: The President of the Economic and Social Committee Carlos FERRER, The Secretary–General of the Economic and Social Committee Simon–Pierre NOTHOMB * pub: ©ECSC–EC–EAEC, Brussels–Luxembourg, 1996 EUROPA * net site: ++ Coded at 55 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: ideungo.txt +++ Document Header: *80/IDEUNGO1 * code:IDEUNGO1 (edited) * Document 80 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * title: Permanent Forum of the Civilian Society: A Warning to Governments *author: Civil Society Forum * pub: EUROPA. 21 June 1996 * net site: ++ Coded at 37 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: ideuuk1.txt +++ Document Header: *62/IDEUUK1 * code:IDEUUK1 (edited) * Document 62 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * title: FCO A Partnership of Nations:

the British Approach to the European Union Intergovernmental Conference 1996 * author: Foreign and Commonwealth Office * net site: Http://www.fco.gov.uk/europe/igc/justhome.html ++ Coded at 19 nodes.
++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: idmch.txt +++ Document Header: *idmch *13 Aug 1996 From: LabourNet Forum on Labor in the Global Economy *For an all Europe march against unemployment! ++ Coded at 40 nodes.
++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: idoj.txt +++ Document Header: *71/IDOJ1 http://www.cec.lu/en/comm/dg22/decey.html Official Journal of the European Communities No L256/10, 23/10/95 *DECISION No 2493/95/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 23 October 1995 ++ Coded at 37 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: ilo.txt +++ Document Header: *ILO Home INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION DIRECTOR–GENERAL'S SPEECHES * STATEMENT BY MR. MICHEL HANSENNE DIRECTOR–GENERAL INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL POLICY AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE * (Amsterdam, 23 January 1997) ++ Coded at 47 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: jobs PROJECT: paragram, User Robin, 9:28 am, Feb 17, 1998.++ System closure summary – all documents using jobs Coded at 22 nodes.
++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: paidccp3.txt +++ Document Header: *68IDCECSP2 * code: IDCECSP2 (edited) * Document 68 * Category 6: ID Internet document. * title: 1st Report on the Consideration of Cultural Aspects in European Community Action * author: Commission of the European Communities * pub: Directorate General 10 DG X – Information, Communication, Culture, Audiovisual * net site: http://www.cec.lu/en/comm/dg10/culture/cult– ++ Coded at 52 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: paiddg1a.txt +++ Document Header: *69/IDDG12A http://www.cec.lu/en/comm/dg12/tser2.html Targeted Socio–Economic Research (TSER) ++ Coded at 15 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: paiddg2b.txt +++ Document Header: *69/IDDG12B http://www.cec.lu/en/comm/opoce/395/r3523.html Research policy * SIX R&D TASK FORCES FOCUS ON PRESSING CHALLENGES ++ Coded at 32 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: paiddgv1.txt +++ Document Header: *72/IDDGV1 http://www.cec.lu/en/comm/dg05/soc_prog/intro_2.htm *The Medium Term Social Action Programme ++ Coded at 62 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: paiddgv2.txt +++ Document Header: *IDDGV2 http://www.cec.lu/en/eupol/socdim.html Employment and Social Policy Detailed information: DG V ++ Coded at 21 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: paim94wp.txt +++ * code: IM94WPSP (edited * Document 12 * category: 2 INHOUSE MEMORANDA * Title: European Social Policy: a way forward for the Union. A white paper COM (94) 333 27 July 1994: * author: Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs * Pub: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg COM (94) 333 27 July 1994 * Doc info: 69 pages * scan info pages 9–22 Introduction and Jobs – the top priority; pages 47–52 Social Policy and Social Protection * document 12 * category 2 * 92/442/EEC OJ L 245. 26.8.1992 INTRODUCTION PRESERVING AND DEVELOPING THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL MODEL ++ Coded at 55 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: paimdgv.txt +++
http://europa.eu.int/en/comm/dg05/general/docs/staffgui/cover.htm A Guide Introduction Directorate Generals DGV ++ Coded at 61 nodes.
++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: paimespf.txt +++ Document Header: *code:aIM96espf *document 13 *Category 2: INHOUSE MEMORANUM *title: Working on European Social Policy : A report on the Forum *author *Pub: europa
cat:http://europa.eu.int/en/comm/dg05/general/forum96/rep_en/cover_en.htm *doc downloaded March 1997 ++ Coded at 61 nodes.
++

+ ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pap94ev.txt +++ Document Header: *Document 5: Category 4: POLICY ANALYSIS, Code PA94EVP3 Evaluation of the Achievements of Poverty 3 Synthesis, Conroy, P., EC DG V/E/2, EEIG A&R, blue stapled Poverty 3 booklet, 24 pages – including cover, 20 pages scanned. ++ Coded at 67 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: papa94co.txt +++ Document Header: *Document 7: Category 4: POLICY ANALYSIS, CODE: PA94COP3 Contribution of Poverty 3 to the understanding of poverty, exclusion and integration, Andersen, J., Bruto da Costa, A., Chigot, C., Duffy, K., Mancho, S. and Mernagh, M., EC DG V/E/2, EEIG A&R, blue stapled official document, 16 pages – including cover, 12 pages scanned. ++ Coded at 68 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: papa94h1.txt +++ Document Header: *Document 12: Category 4, POLICY ANALYSIS, Code: PA94HLP3. House of Lords session 1993–94 9th report: Select Committee on the European Communities: The Poverty Programme with evidence. HMSO London HL paper 51. Document is 79 pages including cover. This section pages 5 – 18 which is the introduction of 77 principles why the report should be accepted on the table ++ Coded at 62 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: papa94h3.txt +++ Document Header: *Document 14: Category 4, POLICY ANALYSIS, Code: PA94HL3. House of Lords session 1993–94 9th report: Select Committee on the European Communities: The Poverty Programme with evidence. HMSO London HL paper 51. Document is 79pages including cover. This section includes pages 78 79 which is appendix 5: Letter of invitation to submit Written Evidence. ++ Coded at 26 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: papa94h4.txt +++ Document Header: *Document 25a: Category 4, *POLICY ANALYSIS, *Code: PA94HL4. House of Lords session 1993–94 9th report: Select Committee on the European Communities: The Poverty Programme with evidence. *HMSO London HL paper 51. Document is 79 pages including cover. This section pages 49–76 which is the report on the implementation of the Community Programme for the Social and economic integration of the least privileged groups – table of data on page 77 not scanned. ++ Coded at 61 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: papa94i3.txt +++ Document Header: *Document 4: Category 4:POLICY ANALYSIS, Code: PA94INP3 Integration through economic means within the framework of Poverty 3, Abou Sada, G., Andersen, J., Estivill, J., Henriques J.M., and Swiergiel, C., EC DG V/E/2, EEIG A&R, blue stapled Poverty 3 booklet, 12 pages – including cover, 8 pages scanned. ++ Coded at 62 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: papa94m3.txt +++ Document Header: *Document 6 Category 4: POLICY ANALYSIS, Code: PA94MDP3 The Multidimensional approach as a principle of the programme , Georis, P., Simonin, B. Coordination Bernard Simonin. EC DG V/E/2, EEIG A&R, blue stapled Poverty 3 booklet, 21 pages – including cover, all pages scanned from page 3. ++ Coded at 70 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: papa94p3.txt +++ Document Header: *Document 5 Category 4:POLICY ANALYSIS, code:PA94PAP3: Partnership and the fight against exclusion, Becher, U., Estivill, J., Papantoniou, A. and Zanier, L., EC DG V/E/2, EEIG A&R, blue stapled Poverty 3 booklet, 24 pages including cover, 20 pages scanned. ++ Coded at 66 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: papa94uk.txt +++ Document Header: *Document 15:Category 4: POLICY ANALYSIS, Code: PA94UKSN Submission to Sub–Committee C (Environment and Social Affairs) House of Lords regarding the UK Dimension of the Third European programme to Foster the Economic and Social integration of the Least Privileged Groups (Poverty 3): Submission of written evidence by the UK Research and Development Unit. Duffy, Katherine February 16, 1994, UK Research and Development Unit, bound official document, 32 pages, 30 pages scanned, one full–page diagram missed. ++ Coded at 69 nodes.
++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pfp92com.txt +++ * Title: Communication from the Commission of the European Communities: Towards a Europe of Solidarity: Intensifying the fight against social exclusion, fostering integration, COM (92) 542 final, ISSN 0254–1475, ISBN 92–77–50862–0, Catalogue number CB–CO–92–597–EN–C, white stapled booklet, 47 pages, 37 pages scanned. ++ Coded at 69 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pfp93cp4.txt +++ Document Header: * Document 7: Category 1: FORMAL POLICY, Code FP93CDP4: Part ONLY of: Medium–term Programme to combat exclusion and promote solidarity: a new programme to support and stimulate innovation (1994–1999) and Report on the implementation of the Community Programme for the social and economic integration of the least privileged groups (1989–1994) (presented by the Commission). Commission of the European Communities COM (93) 435 final. Brussels 22 September 1993: This is part only of Com(93) 435 and includes pages 23–27. This is the draft proposal for Poverty 4 which has never been implemented. ++ Coded at 26 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pfp93ep4.txt +++ Document Header: *Document 7: Category 1: FORMAL POLICY, Code FP93ESP4: Medium–term Programme to combat exclusion and promote solidarity: a new programme to support and stimulate innovation (1994–1999) and Report on the implementation of the Community Programme for the social and economic integration of the least privileged groups (1989–1994) (presented by the Commission). Commission of the European Communities COM (93) 435 final. Brussels 22 September 1993:Executive Summary: This is part only of this document and includes pages 4–21: Executive Summary, Commission Communication to the Council and Explanatory Memoranda it precedes FP93CDP4 ++ Coded at 56 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr53bull.txt +++ * Bulletin EU 10–1996 (en): 1.3.172 /abc/doc/off/bull/en/9610/p103172.htm *1.3.172. Parliament resolution on the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty. Conclusions of the Essen European Council: Bull. World Summit for Social Development: Bull. ... *http://europa.eu.int/ *Bulletin EU 10–1996 Employment and social policy (4/4) ++ Coded at 26 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr55euro.txt +++ Document Header: */comm/sg/*SCADplus*/leg/en/cha/c10610a.htm *To produce an overall assessment of the nature of poverty in the Community and of the innovatory measures carried out as part of 91 action–research projects centred on eight priority subjects. It also launched a parallel series of studies and statistical ++ Coded at 40 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93ccaa.txt

* 44/AA * code PR93CCAA * Document 44 (edited) * category 4: public relations * title: Combating Social Exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s * author: Commission of the European Commission DG V Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs. Copenhagen 3–4 June 1993 * doc info:

Public relations document 1993 Copenhagen Conference June 3–4 * scan info: part only from Copenhagen Conference . Speech of Anthony Atkinson: on relationship between structural funds and social exclusion. 1 page. ++ Coded at 30 nodes.

++

ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93ccjb.txt Document 46 (edited) * code PR93CCJB * category 4 : public relations * title : Combating Social Exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s * author: Commission of the European Commission DG V Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs. Copenhagen 3–4 June 1993 * doc info: Public relations document 1993 Copenhagen Conference June 3„4 * scan info: page 6 from Copenhagen Conference .Reported speech of Jean Paul Belorgey on relationship of business and employment to new development model. 1 page scanned ++ Coded at 29 nodes.

++

ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93ccjd.txt +++ Document Header: * 52/JD * code PR93CCJD * Document 52 (edited) * category 4: public relations * title: Combating Social Exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s * author: Commission of the EC DG V Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs. Copenhagen 3–4 June 1993 * doc info: Public relations document 1993 Copenhagen Conference June 3–4 * scan info: Report of closing speech of Jacques Delors "The threat of social exclusion in today's society" with 6 proposals. pages 15, 16 2 page. 2 page scanned ++ Coded at 44 nodes.

++

ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93cckj.txt 51/KJ * code: PR93CCKJ (edited) * Document 51 * category 4: public relations * title: Combating Social Exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s * author: Commission of the EC DG V Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs. Copenhagen 3–4 June 1993 * doc info: Public relations document 1993 Copenhagen Conference June 3–4 * scan info: Report of the comments by Karen Jespersen – Danish Minister of Social Affairs "Fighting social exclusion is a priority" (page 5) and Jorn Henrik Petersen – Prof at Odense University "Stemming exclusion, reinforcing integration" (page 4). *Karen Jespersen ++ Coded at 26 nodes.

++

ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93ccoq.txt +++ Document Header: *pr93ccoq (edited) *document 41 *category 4 *Title; combating social exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s *author Commission *Copenhagen conference June 3–4 1993 Report of the opening of the conference Odile Quintin Scan info – 3 pages ++ Coded at 46 nodes.

++

ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93ccpc.txt +++ Document Header: * 47/PC * code PR93CCPC * Document 47 (edited) * category 4: public relations * title: Combating Social Exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s * author: Commission of the EC DG V Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs. Copenhagen 3–4 June 1993 * doc info: Public relations document 1993 Copenhagen Conference June 3–4 * scan info: part only from Copenhagen Conference . Speech of Pierre Calames (Fondation pour le progres de l'homme) charter for the very poor and stigmatisation and basic rights. 1 page. ++ Coded at 21 nodes.

++

ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93ccpf.txt +++ Document Header: * Document 45 (edited) * category 3 * code PR93ccPF*Combating Social Exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s * Copenhagen 3–4 June 1993 * Commission of the E C DG V Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs. * part only from Copenhagen Conference *.reported speech Padraig Flynn on "unacceptable poverty" * ++ Coded at 36 nodes.

++

ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93ccrt.txt +++ Document Header: * 48/RT * code PR93CCRT * Document 48 (edited) * category 4: public relations * title: Combating Social Exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s * author: Commission of the European Commission DG V Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs. Copenhagen 3–4 June 1993 * doc info: Public relations document 1993 Copenhagen Conference June 3–4 * scan info: page 13 from

Copenhagen Conference. Report of the Roundtable discussion on partnership in poverty four. 1 page. ++ Coded at 38 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93cctq.txt +++ 43/TQ * code: PR93CCTQ * Document 43 (edited) * category 4 public relations * title: Combating Social Exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s * author: Commission of the European Communities Directorate–General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs Copenhagen 3–4 June 1993 * doc info: Public relations document 1993 Copenhagen Conference June 3–4 * scan info: part only from Copenhagen Conference . Speech of Jean Paul Tricart and Odile Quintin on improving communications in new poverty programme. page. 1 page scanned ++ Coded at 37 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93ccw1.txt +++ Document Header: * 49/W1 * code PR93CCW1 * Document 49 (edited) * category 4: public relations * title: Combating Social Exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s * author: Commission of the EC DG V Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs. Copenhagen 3–4 June 1993 * doc info: Public relations document 1993 Copenhagen Conference June 3–4 * scan info: page 8 Copenhagen Conference. Report from Workshop 1 of the Copenhagen Conference theme: employment and social exclusion/ structural and general policies.1page. ++ Coded at 42 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93ccw2.txt +++ Document Header: 50/W2 * code PR93CCW2 * Document 50 (edited) * category 4: public relations * title: Combating Social Exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s * author: Commission of the EC DG V Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs. Copenhagen 3–4 June 1993 * doc info: Public relations document 1993 Copenhagen Conference June 3–4 * scan info: page 9 Copenhagen Conference report of speech of workshop 2 (chair Dr Stephen Articus) main theme "solidarity".1 page. ++ Coded at 43 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: pr93ccw3.txt +++ 42/CW * code: PR93CCW3 (edited) * document. 42 * category 4 PUBLIC RELATIONS * title: Combating Social Exclusion: a challenge for the 1990s * author: Commission of the European Communities Directorate–General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs * pub: Directorate–General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs * cat: none * doc info: Public relations document 1993 Copenhagen Conference June 3–4 * scan info: Report of the workshop 3 led by Menelaos Hadjigeorgiou "Consensus on a new Community programme to fight against social exclusion" 1 page. ++ Coded at 45 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: tser.txt +++ Document Header:
http://apollo.cordis.lu/cordis–cgi/srchidadb?ACTION=D&SESSION=258841997–11– 13&DOC=2 * downloaded 14 11 97 * "social exclusion" search on CORDIS database @ * http://www.cordis.lu/cordis/cord_db.html ++ Coded at 54 nodes.

++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: uklocal.txt +++ Document Header:
*http://www.dur.ac.uk/~dgg0www6/posit.htm *Study of Local Level Initiatives to Combat Social Exclusion in Europe Introduction Political Economies of Geographical Change * Contact: Dr Joe Painter Department of Geography, University of Durham, Durham DH1 3LE, UK Coded at 58 nodes. ++
ON–LINE DOCUMENT: white93.txt +++ Document Header: *White Paper on growth, competitiveness, and employment The challenges and ways forward into the 21st century * COM(93) 700 final * Brussels, 5 December 1993 * http://europa.eu.int/en/record/white/c93700/contents.html * includes 'preamble', 'why this paper' & III. Employment Chapter 7. ++ Coded at 63 nodes.

Appendix 3c

NUD.IST data base index search record

Q.S.R. NUD.IST Power version, revision 4.0.

Licensee: Robin Peace.

PROJECT: paragram, User Robin, 9:24 am, Sept 2, 1998.

(I 6) //Index Searches/OP2fightexclusion

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:idcom.txt 5:idecof1.txt 6:idecpo1.txt 7:idecpo3.txt
8:ideucec1.txt 9:ideucri.txt 10:ideuep1.txt 11:ideungo.txt 12:idmch.txt 13:idoj.txt 14:ilo.txt
15:paidccp3.txt 16:paiddg1a.txt 17:paiddg2b.txt 18:paiddgv1.txt 19:paim94wp.txt 20:paimdgv.txt
21:paimespf.txt 22:pap94ev.txt 23:papa94co.txt 24:papa94h1.txt 25:papa94h3.txt 26:papa94h4.txt
27:papa94i3.txt 28:papa94m3.txt 29:papa94p3.txt 30:papa94uk.txt 31:pfp92com.txt 32:pfp93cp4.txt
33:pfp93ep4.txt 34:pr53bull.txt 35:pr55euro.txt 36:pr93ccaa.txt 37:pr93ccjb.txt 38:pr93ccjd.txt
39:pr93cckj.txt 40:pr93ccoq.txt 41:pr93ccpc.txt 42:pr93ccpf.txt 43:pr93ccrt.txt 44:pr93cctq.txt
45:pr93ccw1.txt 46:pr93ccw2.txt 47:pr93ccw3.txt 48:tser.txt 49:uklocal.txt 50:white93.txt

(I 1) //Index Searches/OVERLAP (1 6 1) (1 6 2)

1:citchart.txt 2:comwk97.txt 3:ecoigc2.txt 4:idcom.txt 5:idecof1.txt 6:idecpo1.txt 7:ideucec1.txt
8:ideucri.txt 9:ideuesc1.txt 10:ideungo.txt 11:idmch.txt 12:ilo.txt 13:paidccp3.txt 14:paiddg2b.txt
15:paiddgv1.txt 16:paim94wp.txt 17:paimdgv.txt 18:paimespf.txt 19:pap94ev.txt 20:papa94co.txt
21:papa94h1.txt 22:papa94h4.txt 23:papa94i3.txt 24:papa94m3.txt 25:papa94p3.txt 26:papa94uk.txt
27:pfp92com.txt 28:pfp93ep4.txt 29:pr55euro.txt 30:pr93ccaa.txt 31:pr93ccjb.txt 32:pr93ccjd.txt
33:pr93cckj.txt 34:pr93ccoq.txt 35:pr93ccpf.txt 36:pr93ccrt.txt 37:pr93cctq.txt 38:pr93ccw1.txt
39:pr93ccw2.txt 40:pr93ccw3.txt 41:tser.txt 42:uklocal.txt 43:white93.txt

(T 16) //Text Searches/ social fabric

1:ideuesc1.txt 2:paiddgv1.txt 3:paimdgv.txt 4:paimespf.txt 5:papa94co.txt 6:papa94p3.txt 7:pfp92com.txt

(T 10) //Text Searches/attack &

1:ecoigc2.txt 2:ideucec1.txt 3:idmch.txt 4:paiddgv1.txt 5:paimdgv.txt 6:papa94i3.txt 7:papa94m3.txt

(T 63) //Text Searches/Brownlow

1:apa94h2.txt 2:papa94h1.txt 3:papa94m3.txt 4:papa94uk.txt

(T 27) //Text Searches/centre

1:idcom.txt 2:ideucec1.txt 3:ideuesc1.txt 4:paidccp3.txt 5:paiddgv1.txt 6:paimdgv.txt 7:pap94ev.txt
8:papa94h1.txt 9:papa94i3.txt 10:papa94m3.txt 11:papa94p3.txt 12:papa94uk.txt 13:tser.txt
14:white93.txt

(T 44) //Text Searches/child

1:apa94h2.txt 2:citchart.txt 3:ideuesc1.txt 4:jobs 5:paimespf.txt 6:papa94h1.txt 7:papa94m3.txt
8:papa94uk.txt 9:pfp92com.txt 10:pr93ccw3.txt 11:tser.txt

(T 59) //Text Searches/citizen &

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:ecoigc2.txt 5:flynn97.txt 6:idcom.txt 7:idecof1.txt
8:idecpo1.txt 9:ideucec1.txt 10:ideucri.txt 11:ideuesc1.txt 12:ideungo.txt 13:ideuuk1.txt 14:idoj.txt
15:jobs 16:paidccp3.txt 17:paiddg2b.txt 18:paiddgv1.txt 19:paiddgv2.txt 20:paim94wp.txt 21:paimdgv.txt
22:paimespf.txt 23:pap94ev.txt 24:papa94co.txt 25:papa94h1.txt 26:papa94h3.txt 27:papa94h4.txt
28:papa94i3.txt 29:papa94m3.txt 30:papa94p3.txt 31:papa94uk.txt 32:pfp92com.txt 33:pfp93cp4.txt
34:pfp93ep4.txt 35:pr53bull.txt 36:pr55euro.txt 37:pr93ccjd.txt 38:pr93ccoq.txt 39:pr93ccw1.txt
40:pr93ccw2.txt 41:pr93ccw3.txt 42:tser.txt 43:uklocal.txt 44:white93.txt

(T 60) //Text Searches/citizen *et al.*

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:ecoigc2.txt 5:idcom.txt 6:idecpo3.txt 7:ideucec1.txt
8:ideuep1.txt 9:ideungo.txt 10:ideuuk1.txt 11:idoj.txt 12:ilo.txt 13:jobs 14:paiddg2b.txt 15:paiddgv1.txt
16:paiddgv2.txt 17:paim94wp.txt 18:paimdgv.txt 19:paimespf.txt 20:pap94ev.txt 21:papa94co.txt
22:papa94h1.txt 23:papa94m3.txt 24:papa94p3.txt 25:pfp92com.txt 26:pfp93ep4.txt 27:pr93ccoq.txt
28:pr93ccpf.txt 29:tser.txt 30:white93.txt

(T 25) //Text Searches/cohere

1:ideuesc1.txt

(T 26) //Text Searches/cohesion

1:citchart.txt 2:comwk97.txt 3:idcom.txt 4:ideucec1.txt 5:ideucri.txt 6:ideuesc1.txt 7:ilo.txt 8:paidccp3.txt
9:paiddgv1.txt 10:paim94wp.txt 11:paimdgv.txt 12:paimespf.txt 13:pap94ev.txt 14:papa94co.txt
15:papa94h4.txt 16:papa94m3.txt 17:pfp92com.txt 18:pfp93cp4.txt 19:pfp93ep4.txt 20:pr93ccjd.txt
21:pr93cctq.txt 22:tser.txt 23:white93.txt

(T 11) //Text Searches/cohesion &

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:ecoigc2.txt 5:flynn97.txt 6:idcom.txt 7:idecof1.txt
8:idecpo1.txt 9:ideucec1.txt 10:ideucri.txt 11:ideuesc1.txt 12:ideungo.txt 13:ideuuk1.txt 14:idmch.txt
15:idoj.txt 16:ilo.txt 17:paidccp3.txt 18:paiddg1a.txt 19:paiddg2b.txt 20:paiddgv1.txt 21:paiddgv2.txt
22:paim94wp.txt 23:paimdgv.txt 24:paimespf.txt 25:pap94ev.txt 26:papa94co.txt 27:papa94h1.txt
28:papa94h3.txt 29:papa94h4.txt 30:papa94i3.txt 31:papa94m3.txt 32:papa94p3.txt 33:papa94uk.txt
34:pfp92com.txt 35:pfp93cp4.txt 36:pfp93ep4.txt 37:pr53bull.txt 38:pr55euro.txt 39:pr93ccjb.txt
40:pr93ccjd.txt 41:pr93cckj.txt 42:pr93ccoq.txt 43:pr93ccpc.txt 44:pr93ccpf.txt 45:pr93ccrt.txt
46:pr93cctq.txt 47:pr93ccw1.txt 48:pr93ccw2.txt 49:pr93ccw3.txt 50:tser.txt 51:uklocal.txt 52:white93.txt

(T 46) //Text Searches/costa

1:pap94ev.txt

(T 32) //Text Searches/decline &

1:ideucri.txt 2:paiddgv2.txt 3:paimdgv.txt 4:pap94ev.txt 5:papa94co.txt 6:papa94h1.txt 7:papa94h4.txt
8:papa94m3.txt 9:papa94uk.txt 10:pfp92com.txt 11:pfp93ep4.txt 12:uklocal.txt 13:white93.txt

(T 52) //Text Searches/degraded

1:jobs 2:papa94co.txt 3:papa94uk.txt

(T 33) //Text Searches/deprivation

1:ideucec1.txt 2:pap94ev.txt 3:papa94co.txt 4:papa94i3.txt 5:papa94uk.txt 6:pfp93ep4.txt 7:pr93ccoq.txt
8:uklocal.txt

(T 71) //Text Searches/deprived

1:jobs 2:pap94ev.txt 3:papa94co.txt 4:papa94h1.txt 5:papa94h4.txt 6:papa94m3.txt 7:papa94p3.txt
8:papa94uk.txt 9:pfp92com.txt 10:pr93ccoq.txt 11:pr93ccw2.txt 12:uklocal.txt

(T 23) //Text Searches/employ

1:paimespf.txt 2:papa94i3.txt 3:papa94m3.txt 4:papa94p3.txt 5:pr93ccw3.txt 6:white93.txt

(T 24) //Text Searches/employment

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:ecoigc2.txt 5:flynn97.txt 6:idcom.txt 7:idecof1.txt
8:idecpo3.txt 9:ideucec1.txt 10:ideucri.txt 11:ideuep1.txt 12:ideuesc1.txt 13:ideungo.txt 14:ideuuk1.txt
15:idmch.txt 16:idoj.txt 17:ilo.txt 18:paidccp3.txt 19:paiddg2b.txt 20:paiddgv1.txt 21:paiddgv2.txt
22:paim94wp.txt 23:paimdgv.txt 24:paimespf.txt 25:pap94ev.txt 26:papa94h1.txt 27:papa94h4.txt
28:papa94i3.txt 29:papa94m3.txt 30:papa94p3.txt 31:papa94uk.txt 32:pfp92com.txt 33:pfp93ep4.txt
34:pr53bull.txt 35:pr55euro.txt 36:pr93ccaa.txt 37:pr93ccjb.txt 38:pr93ccjd.txt 39:pr93cckj.txt
40:pr93ccoq.txt 41:pr93ccpf.txt 42:pr93ccrt.txt 43:pr93cctq.txt 44:pr93ccw1.txt 45:pr93ccw2.txt
46:pr93ccw3.txt 47:tser.txt 48:uklocal.txt 49:white93.txt

(T 2) //Text Searches/employment &

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:ecoigc2.txt 5:flynn97.txt 6:idcom.txt 7:idecof1.txt
8:idecpo1.txt 9:idecpo3.txt 10:ideucec1.txt 11:ideucri.txt 12:ideuep1.txt 13:ideuesc1.txt 14:ideungo.txt
15:ideuuk1.txt 16:idmch.txt 17:idoj.txt 18:ilo.txt 19:paidccp3.txt 20:paiddg2b.txt 21:paiddgv1.txt
22:paiddgv2.txt 23:paim94wp.txt 24:paimdgv.txt 25:paimespf.txt 26:pap94ev.txt 27:papa94co.txt
28:papa94h1.txt 29:papa94h4.txt 30:papa94i3.txt 31:papa94m3.txt 32:papa94p3.txt 33:papa94uk.txt
34:pfp92com.txt 35:pfp93ep4.txt 36:pr53bull.txt 37:pr55euro.txt 38:pr93ccaa.txt 39:pr93ccjb.txt
40:pr93ccjd.txt 41:pr93cckj.txt 42:pr93ccoq.txt 43:pr93ccpf.txt 44:pr93ccrt.txt 45:pr93cctq.txt
46:pr93ccw1.txt 47:pr93ccw2.txt 48:pr93ccw3.txt 49:tser.txt 50:uklocal.txt 51:white93.txt

(T 57) //Text Searches/ethnic

1:citchart.txt 2:idcom.txt 3:jobs 4:paidccp3.txt 5:paiddgv1.txt 6:paimdgv.txt 7:paimespf.txt 8:pap94ev.txt
9:papa94co.txt 10:papa94h1.txt 11:papa94h4.txt 12:papa94i3.txt 13:papa94m3.txt 14:papa94p3.txt
15:papa94uk.txt 16:pfp92com.txt 17:pfp93ep4.txt 18:pr93ccw3.txt 19:tser.txt 20:uklocal.txt

(T 58) //Text Searches/ethnic &

1:citchart.txt 2:idcom.txt 3:ideuuk1.txt 4:jobs 5:paidccp3.txt 6:paiddgv1.txt 7:paiddgv2.txt 8:paim94wp.txt
9:paimdgv.txt 10:paimespf.txt 11:pap94ev.txt 12:papa94co.txt 13:papa94h1.txt 14:papa94h4.txt
15:papa94i3.txt 16:papa94m3.txt 17:papa94p3.txt 18:papa94uk.txt 19:pfp92com.txt 20:pfp93ep4.txt
21:pr93ccw3.txt 22:tser.txt 23:uklocal.txt 24:white93.txt

(T 47) //Text Searches/ethnic minorities

1:citchart.txt 2:idcom.txt 3:jobs 4:paiddgv1.txt 5:paimdgv.txt 6:pap94ev.txt 7:papa94h1.txt
8:papa94h4.txt 9:papa94i3.txt 10:papa94p3.txt 11:pfp92com.txt 12:pr93ccw3.txt 13:uklocal.txt

(T 1) //Text Searches/exclusion &

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:crop.txt 5:ecoigc2.txt 6:idcom.txt 7:idecof1.txt 8:idecpo1.txt
9:idecpo3.txt 10:ideucec1.txt 11:ideucri.txt 12:ideuep1.txt 13:ideuesc1.txt 14:ideungo.txt 15:idmch.txt
16:idoj.txt 17:ilo.txt 18:paidccp3.txt 19:paiddg1a.txt 20:paiddg2b.txt 21:paiddgv1.txt 22:paim94wp.txt
23:paimdgv.txt 24:paimespf.txt 25:pap94ev.txt 26:papa94co.txt 27:papa94h1.txt 28:papa94h3.txt
29:papa94h4.txt 30:papa94i3.txt 31:papa94m3.txt 32:papa94p3.txt 33:papa94uk.txt 34:pfp92com.txt
35:pfp93cp4.txt 36:pfp93ep4.txt 37:pr53bull.txt 38:pr55euro.txt 39:pr93ccaa.txt 40:pr93ccjb.txt
41:pr93ccjd.txt 42:pr93cckj.txt 43:pr93ccoq.txt 44:pr93ccpc.txt 45:pr93ccpf.txt 46:pr93ccrt.txt
47:pr93cctq.txt 48:pr93ccw1.txt 49:pr93ccw2.txt 50:pr93ccw3.txt 51:tser.txt 52:uklocal.txt 53:white93.txt

(T 18) //Text Searches/exclusion 1 6 2

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:idcom.txt 5:idecof1.txt 6:idecpo1.txt 7:idecpo3.txt
8:ideucec1.txt 9:ideucri.txt 10:ideuep1.txt 11:ideuesc1.txt 12:ideungo.txt 13:idmch.txt 14:idoj.txt 15:ilo.txt
16:paidccp3.txt 17:paiddg2b.txt 18:paiddgv1.txt 19:paim94wp.txt 20:paimdgv.txt 21:paimespf.txt
22:pap94ev.txt 23:papa94co.txt 24:papa94h1.txt 25:papa94h4.txt 26:papa94i3.txt 27:papa94m3.txt
28:papa94p3.txt 29:papa94uk.txt 30:pfp92com.txt 31:pfp93ep4.txt 32:pr53bull.txt 33:pr55euro.txt
34:pr93ccaa.txt 35:pr93ccjb.txt 36:pr93ccjd.txt 37:pr93cckj.txt 38:pr93ccoq.txt 39:pr93ccpf.txt
40:pr93ccrt.txt 41:pr93cctq.txt 42:pr93ccw1.txt 43:pr93ccw2.txt 44:pr93ccw3.txt 45:tser.txt 46:uklocal.txt
47:white93.txt

(T 68) //Text Searches/Granby

1:apa94h2.txt 2:papa94uk.txt

(T 12) //Text Searches/guardian &

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:ecoigc2.txt 5:flynn97.txt 6:idcom.txt 7:idecof1.txt
8:idecpo1.txt 9:ideucec1.txt 10:ideucri.txt 11:ideuesc1.txt 12:ideungo.txt 13:ideuuk1.txt 14:idmch.txt
15:idoj.txt 16:ilo.txt 17:paidccp3.txt 18:paiddg1a.txt 19:paiddgv1.txt 20:paiddgv2.txt 21:paim94wp.txt
22:paimdgv.txt 23:paimespf.txt 24:pap94ev.txt 25:papa94co.txt 26:papa94h1.txt 27:papa94h3.txt
28:papa94h4.txt 29:papa94i3.txt 30:papa94m3.txt 31:papa94p3.txt 32:papa94uk.txt 33:pfp92com.txt
34:pfp93ep4.txt 35:pr55euro.txt 36:pr93ccjb.txt 37:pr93ccjd.txt 38:pr93ccoq.txt 39:pr93ccpf.txt
40:pr93ccrt.txt 41:pr93cctq.txt 42:pr93ccw1.txt 43:pr93ccw2.txt 44:pr93ccw3.txt 45:tser.txt 46:uklocal.txt
47:white93.txt

(T 31) //Text Searches/inclusion

1:ecoigc2.txt 2:ideuesc1.txt 3:paiddgv1.txt 4:paimdgv.txt 5:paimespf.txt 6:papa94p3.txt 7:pr93ccaa.txt
8:tser.txt

(T 22) //Text Searches/integrate

1:paidccp3.txt 2:paim94wp.txt 3:paimespf.txt 4:papa94i3.txt 5:papa94m3.txt 6:pfp92com.txt
7:pfp93cp4.txt 8:pfp93ep4.txt 9:pr93ccoq.txt 10:tser.txt 11:white93.txt

(T 21) //Text Searches/Integration 1 7 6

1:citchart.txt 2:comwk97.txt 3:ecoigc2.txt 4:flynn97.txt 5:idcom.txt 6:idecof1.txt 7:idecpo1.txt
8:ideucec1.txt 9:ideuesc1.txt 10:ideungo.txt 11:idoj.txt 12:paidccp3.txt 13:paiddg1a.txt 14:paiddgv1.txt
15:paiddgv2.txt 16:paim94wp.txt 17:paimdgv.txt 18:paimespf.txt 19:pap94ev.txt 20:papa94co.txt
21:papa94h1.txt 22:papa94h3.txt 23:papa94h4.txt 24:papa94i3.txt 25:papa94m3.txt 26:papa94p3.txt
27:papa94uk.txt 28:pfp92com.txt 29:pfp93ep4.txt 30:pr55euro.txt 31:pr93ccoq.txt 32:pr93ccrt.txt
33:pr93cctq.txt 34:pr93ccw1.txt 35:tser.txt 36:uklocal.txt 37:white93.txt

(T 38) //Text Searches/island

1:ideuuk1.txt 2:pap94ev.txt 3:papa94co.txt 4:uklocal.txt

(T 15) //Text Searches/like as

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:crop.txt 5:ecoigc2.txt 6:flynn97.txt 7:idcom.txt 8:idecof1.txt
9:idecpo1.txt 10:idecpo3.txt 11:ideucec1.txt 12:ideucri.txt 13:ideuep1.txt 14:ideuesc1.txt 15:ideungo.txt
16:ideuuk1.txt 17:idmch.txt 18:idoj.txt 19:ilo.txt 20:paidccp3.txt 21:paiddg2b.txt 22:paiddgv1.txt
23:paiddgv2.txt 24:paim94wp.txt 25:paimdgv.txt 26:paimespf.txt 27:pap94ev.txt 28:papa94co.txt
29:papa94h1.txt 30:papa94h3.txt 31:papa94h4.txt 32:papa94i3.txt 33:papa94m3.txt 34:papa94p3.txt

35:papa94uk.txt 36:pfp92com.txt 37:pfp93cp4.txt 38:pfp93ep4.txt 39:pr53bull.txt 40:pr55euro.txt 41:pr93ccaa.txt 42:pr93ccjb.txt 43:pr93ccjd.txt 44:pr93cckj.txt 45:pr93ccoq.txt 46:pr93ccpc.txt 47:pr93ccpf.txt 48:pr93ccrt.txt 49:pr93cctq.txt 50:pr93ccw1.txt 51:pr93ccw2.txt 52:pr93ccw3.txt 53:tser.txt 54:uklocal.txt 55:white93.txt

(T 65) //Text Searches/local authority

1:papa94uk.txt

(T 53) //Text Searches/marginal

1:jobs 2:pap94ev.txt 3:papa94p3.txt 4:papa94uk.txt 5:pr93ccjd.txt 6:pr93ccw1.txt 7:uklocal.txt

(T 54) //Text Searches/marginal &

1:pr55euro.txt

(T 30) //Text Searches/marginalisation

1:paidccp3.txt 2:pap94ev.txt 3:papa94co.txt 4:papa94uk.txt 5:pfp92com.txt 6:pr93cckj.txt 7:uklocal.txt 8:white93.txt

(T 49) //Text Searches/migrant

1:crop.txt 2:idcom.txt 3:ideungo.txt 4:ideuuk1.txt 5:idmch.txt 6:jobs 7:paidccp3.txt 8:paiddgv1.txt 9:paiddgv2.txt 10:paimdgv.txt 11:paimespf.txt 12:papa94h4.txt 13:papa94p3.txt 14:papa94uk.txt 15:pfp92com.txt 16:pfp93ep4.txt 17:pr55euro.txt 18:pr93ccw3.txt 19:tser.txt

(T 61) //Text Searches/national

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:crop.txt 5:ecoigc2.txt 6:flynn97.txt 7:idcom.txt 8:idecof1.txt 9:idecpo3.txt 10:ideucec1.txt 11:ideucri.txt 12:ideuep1.txt 13:ideuesc1.txt 14:ideungo.txt 15:ideuuk1.txt 16:idmch.txt 17:idoj.txt 18:ilo.txt 19:jobs 20:paidccp3.txt 21:paiddgv1.txt 22:paiddgv2.txt 23:paim94wp.txt 24:paimdgv.txt 25:paimespf.txt 26:pap94ev.txt 27:papa94co.txt 28:papa94h1.txt 29:papa94h3.txt 30:papa94h4.txt 31:papa94i3.txt 32:papa94m3.txt 33:papa94p3.txt 34:papa94uk.txt 35:pfp92com.txt 36:pfp93cp4.txt 37:pfp93ep4.txt 38:pr53bull.txt 39:pr55euro.txt 40:pr93ccjd.txt 41:pr93ccoq.txt 42:pr93ccpc.txt 43:pr93cctq.txt 44:pr93ccw1.txt 45:pr93ccw3.txt 46:tser.txt 47:uklocal.txt 48:white93.txt

(T 17) //Text Searches/nominalisations &ion

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:crop.txt 5:ecoigc2.txt 6:flynn97.txt 7:idcom.txt 8:idecof1.txt 9:idecpo1.txt 10:idecpo3.txt 11:ideucec1.txt 12:ideucri.txt 13:ideuep1.txt 14:ideuesc1.txt 15:ideungo.txt 16:idmch.txt 17:idoj.txt 18:ilo.txt 19:paidccp3.txt 20:paiddg1a.txt 21:paiddg2b.txt 22:paiddgv1.txt 23:paiddgv2.txt 24:paim94wp.txt 25:paimdgv.txt 26:paimespf.txt 27:pap94ev.txt 28:papa94co.txt 29:papa94h1.txt 30:papa94h3.txt 31:papa94h4.txt 32:papa94i3.txt 33:papa94m3.txt 34:papa94p3.txt 35:papa94uk.txt 36:pfp92com.txt 37:pfp93cp4.txt 38:pfp93ep4.txt 39:pr53bull.txt 40:pr55euro.txt 41:pr93ccaa.txt 42:pr93ccjb.txt 43:pr93ccjd.txt 44:pr93cckj.txt 45:pr93ccoq.txt 46:pr93ccpc.txt 47:pr93ccpf.txt 48:pr93ccrt.txt 49:pr93cctq.txt 50:pr93ccw1.txt 51:pr93ccw2.txt 52:pr93ccw3.txt 53:tser.txt 54:uklocal.txt 55:white93.txt

(T 67) //Text Searches/Objective

1:white93.txt

(T 56) //Text Searches/old &

1:ecoigc2.txt 2:idcom.txt 3:ideucec1.txt 4:ideuesc1.txt 5:jobs 6:paidccp3.txt 7:paiddgv1.txt 8:paim94wp.txt 9:paimdgv.txt 10:paimespf.txt 11:pap94ev.txt 12:papa94co.txt 13:papa94h1.txt 14:papa94h4.txt 15:papa94i3.txt 16:papa94m3.txt 17:papa94p3.txt 18:papa94uk.txt 19:pfp92com.txt 20:pr53bull.txt 21:pr55euro.txt 22:pr93ccoq.txt 23:tser.txt 24:uklocal.txt 25:white93.txt

(T 19) //Text Searches/participation 1 7 6

1:citchart.txt 2:comwk97.txt 3:ideuesc1.txt 4:idmch.txt 5:idoj.txt 6:ilo.txt 7:paidccp3.txt 8:paiddgv1.txt 9:paiddgv2.txt 10:paim94wp.txt 11:paimdgv.txt 12:paimespf.txt 13:pap94ev.txt 14:papa94co.txt 15:papa94h1.txt 16:papa94h3.txt 17:papa94h4.txt 18:papa94i3.txt 19:papa94m3.txt 20:papa94p3.txt 21:papa94uk.txt 22:pfp92com.txt 23:pfp93ep4.txt 24:pr93ccoq.txt 25:pr93cctq.txt 26:pr93ccw3.txt 27:tser.txt 28:white93.txt

(T 40) //Text Searches/partnership

1:apa94h2.txt 2:citchart.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:flynn97.txt 5:idcom.txt 6:idecof1.txt 7:ideucec1.txt 8:ideucri.txt 9:ideuesc1.txt 10:idoj.txt 11:ilo.txt 12:paidccp3.txt 13:paiddgv1.txt 14:paim94wp.txt 15:paimdgv.txt 16:paimespf.txt 17:pap94ev.txt 18:papa94co.txt 19:papa94h1.txt 20:papa94h3.txt 21:papa94h4.txt 22:papa94i3.txt 23:papa94m3.txt 24:papa94p3.txt 25:papa94uk.txt 26:pfp92com.txt 27:pfp93cp4.txt 28:pfp93ep4.txt 29:pr93ccoq.txt 30:pr93ccrt.txt 31:pr93cctq.txt 32:pr93ccw3.txt 33:white93.txt

(T 28) //Text Searches/periphery

1:ideuesc1.txt 2:pap94ev.txt 3:papa94p3.txt 4:pr93ccw3.txt

(T 64) //Text Searches/Pilton

1:apa94h2.txt 2:papa94co.txt 3:papa94h1.txt 4:papa94m3.txt 5:papa94uk.txt

(T 62) //Text Searches/planning

1:idcom.txt 2:ideucec1.txt 3:ideucri.txt 4:ideuesc1.txt 5:paiddgv1.txt 6:paimdgv.txt 7:pap94ev.txt 8:papa94h1.txt 9:papa94h4.txt 10:papa94m3.txt 11:papa94uk.txt 12:pfp92com.txt 13:pfp93ep4.txt 14:tser.txt 15:white93.txt

(T 35) //Text Searches/poor space

1:citforum.txt 2:crop.txt 3:ecoigc2.txt 4:idecpo1.txt 5:ideucec1.txt 6:ideuesc1.txt 7:ilo.txt 8:paidccp3.txt 9:paim94wp.txt 10:paimespf.txt 11:pap94ev.txt 12:papa94co.txt 13:papa94h1.txt 14:papa94h4.txt 15:papa94i3.txt 16:papa94m3.txt 17:papa94uk.txt 18:pfp92com.txt 19:pfp93ep4.txt 20:pr55euro.txt 21:pr93ccjd.txt 22:pr93ccpc.txt 23:pr93ccw2.txt 24:tser.txt 25:uklocal.txt 26:white93.txt

(T 9) //Text Searches/pov & soc ex

1:apa94h2.txt 2:citchart.txt 3:citforum.txt 4:comwk97.txt 5:crop.txt 6:idcom.txt 7:idecof1.txt 8:idecpo1.txt 9:idecpo3.txt 10:ideucec1.txt 11:ideucri.txt 12:ideuep1.txt 13:ideuesc1.txt 14:ideungo.txt 15:idmch.txt 16:idoj.txt 17:ilo.txt 18:paidccp3.txt 19:paiddg1a.txt 20:paiddg2b.txt 21:paiddgv1.txt 22:paim94wp.txt 23:paimdgv.txt 24:paimespf.txt 25:pap94ev.txt 26:papa94co.txt 27:papa94h1.txt 28:papa94h3.txt 29:papa94h4.txt 30:papa94i3.txt 31:papa94m3.txt 32:papa94p3.txt 33:papa94uk.txt 34:pfp92com.txt 35:pfp93cp4.txt 36:pfp93ep4.txt 37:pr53bull.txt 38:pr55euro.txt 39:pr93ccaa.txt 40:pr93ccjb.txt 41:pr93ccjd.txt 42:pr93cckj.txt 43:pr93ccoq.txt 44:pr93ccpc.txt 45:pr93ccpf.txt 46:pr93ccrt.txt 47:pr93cctq.txt 48:pr93ccw1.txt 49:pr93ccw2.txt 50:pr93ccw3.txt 51:tser.txt 52:uklocal.txt 53:white93.txt

(T 14) //Text Searches/pov,excl

1:apa94h2.txt 2:citchart.txt 3:citforum.txt 4:comwk97.txt 5:crop.txt 6:idcom.txt 7:idecof1.txt 8:idecpo1.txt 9:idecpo3.txt 10:ideucec1.txt 11:ideucri.txt 12:ideuep1.txt 13:ideuesc1.txt 14:ideungo.txt 15:idmch.txt 16:idoj.txt 17:ilo.txt 18:paidccp3.txt 19:paiddg1a.txt 20:paiddg2b.txt 21:paiddgv1.txt 22:paim94wp.txt 23:paimdgv.txt 24:paimespf.txt 25:pap94ev.txt 26:papa94co.txt 27:papa94h1.txt 28:papa94h3.txt 29:papa94h4.txt 30:papa94i3.txt 31:papa94m3.txt 32:papa94p3.txt 33:papa94uk.txt 34:pfp92com.txt 35:pfp93cp4.txt 36:pfp93ep4.txt 37:pr53bull.txt 38:pr55euro.txt 39:pr93ccaa.txt 40:pr93ccjb.txt 41:pr93ccjd.txt 42:pr93cckj.txt 43:pr93ccoq.txt 44:pr93ccpc.txt 45:pr93ccpf.txt 46:pr93ccrt.txt 47:pr93cctq.txt 48:pr93ccw1.txt 49:pr93ccw2.txt 50:pr93ccw3.txt 51:tser.txt 52:uklocal.txt 53:white93.txt

(T 8) //Text Searches/poverty &

1:apa94h2.txt 2:citchart.txt 3:citforum.txt 4:crop.txt 5:idcom.txt 6:idecpo1.txt 7:ideucec1.txt 8:ideuesc1.txt 9:ideungo.txt 10:idmch.txt 11:ilo.txt 12:paidccp3.txt 13:paiddgv1.txt 14:paim94wp.txt 15:paimdgv.txt 16:paimespf.txt 17:pap94ev.txt 18:papa94co.txt 19:papa94h1.txt 20:papa94h3.txt 21:papa94h4.txt 22:papa94i3.txt 23:papa94m3.txt 24:papa94p3.txt 25:papa94uk.txt 26:pfp92com.txt 27:pfp93ep4.txt 28:pr53bull.txt 29:pr55euro.txt 30:pr93ccaa.txt 31:pr93ccjd.txt 32:pr93ccoq.txt 33:pr93ccpf.txt 34:pr93cctq.txt 35:pr93ccw1.txt 36:pr93ccw2.txt 37:pr93ccw3.txt 38:tser.txt 39:uklocal.txt 40:white93.txt

(T 41) //Text Searches/precarious & jobs

1:comwk97.txt 2:ecoigc2.txt 3:idcom.txt 4:idecof1.txt 5:ideucec1.txt 6:ideuesc1.txt 7:ideuuk1.txt 8:idmch.txt 9:idoj.txt 10:ilo.txt 11:paidccp3.txt 12:paiddgv1.txt 13:paim94wp.txt 14:paimdgv.txt 15:paimespf.txt 16:pap94ev.txt 17:papa94co.txt 18:papa94h1.txt 19:papa94h4.txt 20:papa94i3.txt 21:papa94m3.txt 22:papa94p3.txt 23:papa94uk.txt 24:pfp92com.txt 25:pr93ccjb.txt 26:pr93ccjd.txt 27:pr93ccpf.txt 28:pr93ccrt.txt 29:pr93ccw1.txt 30:pr93ccw2.txt 31:tser.txt 32:uklocal.txt 33:white93.txt

(T 42) //Text Searches/precarious 1 6 7 1

1:ilo.txt 2:papa94co.txt 3:papa94i3.txt 4:papa94m3.txt 5:papa94p3.txt 6:pfp92com.txt 7:pr93ccjb.txt 8:white93.txt

(T 7) //Text Searches/progress &

1:idmch.txt 2:paiddgv1.txt 3:paimespf.txt 4:papa94h4.txt

(T 69) //Text Searches/projects

1:ecoigc2.txt 2:idcom.txt 3:idecof1.txt 4:idecpo1.txt 5:ideucec1.txt 6:ideucri.txt 7:ideuesc1.txt 8:idoj.txt 9:jobs 10:paidccp3.txt 11:paiddg2b.txt 12:paiddgv1.txt 13:paim94wp.txt 14:paimdgv.txt 15:paimespf.txt 16:pap94ev.txt 17:papa94co.txt 18:papa94h1.txt 19:papa94h3.txt 20:papa94h4.txt 21:papa94i3.txt 22:papa94m3.txt 23:papa94p3.txt 24:papa94uk.txt 25:pfp92com.txt 26:pfp93cp4.txt 27:pfp93ep4.txt

28:pr55euro.txt 29:pr93ccrt.txt 30:pr93cctq.txt 31:pr93ccw1.txt 32:pr93ccw2.txt 33:pr93ccw3.txt
34:tser.txt 35:uklocal.txt 36:white93.txt

(T 48) //Text Searches/region

1:ideuesc1.txt 2:jobs 3:paiddgv1.txt 4:paimdgv.txt 5:papa94co.txt 6:papa94h4.txt 7:papa94m3.txt
8:papa94p3.txt 9:papa94uk.txt 10:pfp92com.txt 11:pfp93ep4.txt 12:uklocal.txt 13:white93.txt

(T 50) //Text Searches/regional

1:apa94h2.txt 2:citchart.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:idcom.txt 5:idecof1.txt 6:ideucec1.txt 7:ideucri.txt
8:ideuesc1.txt 9:idoj.txt 10:jobs 11:paidccp3.txt 12:paiddgv1.txt 13:paim94wp.txt 14:paimdgv.txt
15:paimespf.txt 16:pap94ev.txt 17:papa94h1.txt 18:papa94h4.txt 19:papa94i3.txt 20:papa94m3.txt
21:papa94p3.txt 22:papa94uk.txt 23:pfp92com.txt 24:pfp93cp4.txt 25:pfp93ep4.txt 26:pr93ccoq.txt
27:pr93ccpc.txt 28:pr93ccrt.txt 29:pr93cctq.txt 30:tser.txt 31:uklocal.txt 32:white93.txt

(T 20) //Text Searches/Social Fund 1 7 6

1:ideuesc1.txt 2:idoj.txt 3:paidccp3.txt 4:paiddgv1.txt 5:paiddgv2.txt 6:paim94wp.txt 7:paimdgv.txt
8:papa94h4.txt 9:papa94i3.txt 10:papa94uk.txt 11:pfp92com.txt 12:pfp93ep4.txt 13:pr93ccoq.txt
14:white93.txt

(T 39) //Text Searches/solidarity

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:idcom.txt 4:ideucec1.txt 5:ideungo.txt 6:idoj.txt 7:ilo.txt 8:paiddgv1.txt
9:paim94wp.txt 10:paimdgv.txt 11:paimespf.txt 12:pap94ev.txt 13:papa94co.txt 14:papa94h1.txt
15:papa94h3.txt 16:papa94h4.txt 17:papa94i3.txt 18:papa94m3.txt 19:papa94p3.txt 20:pfp92com.txt
21:pfp93cp4.txt 22:pfp93ep4.txt 23:pr53bull.txt 24:pr55euro.txt 25:pr93ccjb.txt 26:pr93ccjd.txt
27:pr93cckj.txt 28:pr93ccoq.txt 29:pr93ccpc.txt 30:pr93ccpf.txt 31:pr93cctq.txt 32:pr93ccw2.txt
33:white93.txt

(T 37) //Text Searches/space

1:ecoigc2.txt 2:pap94ev.txt 3:papa94co.txt 4:papa94m3.txt 5:papa94uk.txt 6:uklocal.txt

(T 36) //Text Searches/space 2 1

1:ecoigc2.txt 2:pap94ev.txt 3:papa94co.txt 4:papa94m3.txt 5:papa94uk.txt 6:uklocal.txt

(T 34) //Text Searches/spatial

1:ideuesc1.txt 2:papa94co.txt 3:papa94i3.txt 4:papa94p3.txt 5:papa94uk.txt 6:pfp93ep4.txt 7:tser.txt

(T 45) //Text Searches/structural

1:comwk97.txt 2:flynn97.txt 3:idcom.txt 4:idecof1.txt 5:ideucec1.txt 6:ideucri.txt 7:ideuesc1.txt 8:idoj.txt
9:ilo.txt 10:jobs 11:paidccp3.txt 12:paiddgv1.txt 13:paim94wp.txt 14:paimdgv.txt 15:paimespf.txt
16:pap94ev.txt 17:papa94co.txt 18:papa94h1.txt 19:papa94h4.txt 20:papa94i3.txt 21:papa94m3.txt
22:papa94p3.txt 23:papa94uk.txt 24:pfp92com.txt 25:pfp93cp4.txt 26:pfp93ep4.txt 27:pr55euro.txt
28:pr93ccaa.txt 29:pr93ccjd.txt 30:pr93ccoq.txt 31:pr93ccpf.txt 32:pr93ccrt.txt 33:pr93cctq.txt
34:pr93ccw1.txt 35:pr93ccw3.txt 36:tser.txt 37:uklocal.txt 38:white93.txt

(T 29) //Text Searches/subsidiarity

1:citchart.txt 2:ecoigc2.txt 3:idcom.txt 4:ideucec1.txt 5:ideucri.txt 6:ideuesc1.txt 7:idoj.txt 8:paiddgv1.txt
9:paim94wp.txt 10:paimdgv.txt 11:paimespf.txt 12:papa94h1.txt 13:papa94i3.txt 14:papa94p3.txt
15:papa94uk.txt 16:pfp92com.txt 17:pfp93cp4.txt 18:pfp93ep4.txt 19:pr93ccpc.txt 20:pr93ccw2.txt
21:white93.txt

(T 6) //Text Searches/temporals then &

1:comwk97.txt 2:ideucec1.txt 3:ideungo.txt 4:ilo.txt 5:paiddg2b.txt 6:paiddgv1.txt 7:paimdgv.txt
8:pap94ev.txt 9:papa94co.txt 10:papa94h1.txt 11:papa94h4.txt 12:papa94m3.txt 13:papa94p3.txt
14:pfp92com.txt 15:pr93ccaa.txt 16:pr93ccjd.txt 17:pr93ccpf.txt 18:pr93ccw1.txt 19:white93.txt

(T 66) //Text Searches/TextSearch200

1:apa94h2.txt 2:citchart.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:idcom.txt 5:idecof1.txt 6:ideucec1.txt 7:ideucri.txt
8:ideuesc1.txt 9:idoj.txt 10:jobs 11:paidccp3.txt 12:paiddgv1.txt 13:paim94wp.txt 14:paimdgv.txt
15:paimespf.txt 16:pap94ev.txt 17:papa94h1.txt 18:papa94h4.txt 19:papa94i3.txt 20:papa94m3.txt
21:papa94p3.txt 22:papa94uk.txt 23:pfp92com.txt 24:pfp93cp4.txt 25:pfp93ep4.txt 26:pr93ccoq.txt
27:pr93ccpc.txt 28:pr93ccrt.txt 29:pr93cctq.txt 30:uklocal.txt 31:white93.txt

(T 70) //Text Searches/the poor

1:crop.txt 2:ideucec1.txt 3:jobs 4:paim94wp.txt 5:pap94ev.txt 6:papa94co.txt 7:papa94h1.txt
8:papa94i3.txt 9:papa94m3.txt 10:papa94uk.txt 11:pr55euro.txt 12:pr93ccjd.txt 13:pr93ccw2.txt
14:tser.txt 15:uklocal.txt 16:white93.txt

(T 43) //Text Searches/unskilled

1:jobs 2:paim94wp.txt 3:papa94co.txt 4:papa94i3.txt 5:white93.txt

(T 51) //Text Searches/vile &

1:idecpo1.txt 2:jobs 3:paidccp3.txt 4:pap94ev.txt 5:papa94co.txt 6:papa94h1.txt 7:papa94h3.txt
8:papa94h4.txt 9:papa94i3.txt 10:papa94m3.txt 11:papa94p3.txt 12:papa94uk.txt 13:pfp92com.txt
14:pfp93cp4.txt 15:pfp93ep4.txt 16:pr93ccw1.txt 17:pr93ccw2.txt 18:pr93ccw3.txt

(T 13) //Text Searches/violation &

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:ecoigc2.txt 5:flynn97.txt 6:idcom.txt 7:idecof1.txt
8:idecpo1.txt 9:idecpo3.txt 10:ideucec1.txt 11:ideucri.txt 12:ideuep1.txt 13:ideuesc1.txt 14:ideungo.txt
15:ideuuk1.txt 16:idmch.txt 17:idoj.txt 18:ilo.txt 19:paidccp3.txt 20:paiddg1a.txt 21:paiddg2b.txt
22:paiddgv1.txt 23:paiddgv2.txt 24:paim94wp.txt 25:paimdgv.txt 26:paimespf.txt 27:pap94ev.txt
28:papa94co.txt 29:papa94h1.txt 30:papa94h3.txt 31:papa94h4.txt 32:papa94i3.txt 33:papa94m3.txt
34:papa94p3.txt 35:papa94uk.txt 36:pfp92com.txt 37:pfp93cp4.txt 38:pfp93ep4.txt 39:pr53bull.txt
40:pr55euro.txt 41:pr93ccaa.txt 42:pr93ccjb.txt 43:pr93ccjd.txt 44:pr93cckj.txt 45:pr93ccoq.txt
46:pr93ccpc.txt 47:pr93ccpf.txt 48:pr93ccrt.txt 49:pr93cctq.txt 50:pr93ccw1.txt 51:pr93ccw2.txt
52:pr93ccw3.txt 53:tser.txt 54:uklocal.txt 55:white93.txt

(C) //Node Clipboard – 'TextSearch195'

1:jobs 2:pap94ev.txt 3:papa94co.txt 4:papa94h1.txt 5:papa94h4.txt 6:papa94m3.txt 7:papa94p3.txt
8:papa94uk.txt 9:pfp92com.txt 10:pr93ccoq.txt 11:pr93ccw2.txt 12:uklocal.txt

(2 1) /space/poor

1:citforum.txt 2:crop.txt 3:ecoigc2.txt 4:idecpo1.txt 5:ideucec1.txt 6:ideuesc1.txt 7:ilo.txt 8:paidccp3.txt
9:paim94wp.txt 10:paimespf.txt 11:pap94ev.txt 12:papa94co.txt 13:papa94h1.txt 14:papa94h4.txt
15:papa94i3.txt 16:papa94m3.txt 17:papa94uk.txt 18:pfp92com.txt 19:pfp93ep4.txt 20:pr55euro.txt
21:pr93ccjd.txt 22:pr93ccpc.txt 23:pr93ccw2.txt 24:tser.txt 25:uklocal.txt 26:white93.txt

(1 2 5) /text/cohesion/additives

1:citchart.txt 2:comwk97.txt 3:ecoigc2.txt 4:idcom.txt 5:idecof1.txt 6:idecpo1.txt 7:ideucri.txt
8:ideuesc1.txt 9:ideungo.txt 10:idmch.txt 11:ilo.txt 12:paidccp3.txt 13:paiddg2b.txt 14:paiddgv1.txt
15:paim94wp.txt 16:paimdgv.txt 17:paimespf.txt 18:pap94ev.txt 19:papa94co.txt 20:papa94h1.txt
21:papa94h4.txt 22:papa94i3.txt 23:papa94m3.txt 24:papa94p3.txt 25:papa94uk.txt 26:pfp92com.txt
27:pfp93ep4.txt 28:pr55euro.txt 29:pr93ccaa.txt 30:pr93ccjb.txt 31:pr93ccjd.txt 32:pr93cckj.txt
33:pr93ccoq.txt 34:pr93ccpf.txt 35:pr93ccrt.txt 36:pr93cctq.txt 37:pr93ccw1.txt 38:pr93ccw2.txt
39:pr93ccw3.txt 40:tser.txt 41:uklocal.txt 42:white93.txt

(1 2 6) /text/cohesion/adversatives

1:idecpo1.txt 2:ideucec1.txt 3:ideuesc1.txt 4:idmch.txt 5:ilo.txt 6:paim94wp.txt 7:paimespf.txt
8:pap94ev.txt 9:papa94co.txt 10:papa94h1.txt 11:papa94h4.txt 12:papa94i3.txt 13:papa94m3.txt
14:papa94p3.txt 15:papa94uk.txt 16:pfp92com.txt 17:pfp93ep4.txt 18:pr93ccaa.txt 19:pr93ccjd.txt
20:pr93ccoq.txt 21:pr93ccrt.txt 22:pr93ccw1.txt 23:pr93ccw2.txt 24:pr93ccw3.txt 25:uklocal.txt
26:white93.txt

(1 2 4) /text/cohesion/causals

1:ideucec1.txt 2:ideucri.txt 3:ideungo.txt 4:idmch.txt 5:ilo.txt 6:paiddg2b.txt 7:paiddgv1.txt
8:paim94wp.txt 9:paimdgv.txt 10:paimespf.txt 11:papa94co.txt 12:papa94i3.txt 13:papa94m3.txt
14:papa94p3.txt 15:pfp92com.txt 16:pr93ccjd.txt 17:pr93ccpf.txt 18:pr93ccrt.txt 19:pr93ccw1.txt
20:pr93ccw2.txt 21:pr93ccw3.txt 22:tser.txt 23:uklocal.txt

(1 2 7) /text/cohesion/temporals

1:comwk97.txt 2:ideucec1.txt 3:ideungo.txt 4:ilo.txt 5:paiddg2b.txt 6:paiddgv1.txt 7:paimdgv.txt
8:pap94ev.txt 9:papa94co.txt 10:papa94h1.txt 11:papa94h4.txt 12:papa94m3.txt 13:papa94p3.txt
14:pfp92com.txt 15:pr93ccaa.txt 16:pr93ccjd.txt 17:pr93ccpf.txt 18:pr93ccw1.txt 19:white93.txt

(1 7 1 3 1) /text/metaphor/markers/grammaticals/nominalisations

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:crop.txt 5:ecoigc2.txt 6:flynn97.txt 7:idcom.txt 8:idecof1.txt
9:idecpo1.txt 10:idecpo3.txt 11:ideucec1.txt 12:ideucri.txt 13:ideuep1.txt 14:ideuesc1.txt 15:ideungo.txt
16:idmch.txt 17:idoj.txt 18:ilo.txt 19:paidccp3.txt 20:paiddg1a.txt 21:paiddg2b.txt 22:paiddgv1.txt
23:paiddgv2.txt 24:paim94wp.txt 25:paimdgv.txt 26:paimespf.txt 27:pap94ev.txt 28:papa94co.txt
29:papa94h1.txt 30:papa94h3.txt 31:papa94h4.txt 32:papa94i3.txt 33:papa94m3.txt 34:papa94p3.txt
35:papa94uk.txt 36:pfp92com.txt 37:pfp93cp4.txt 38:pfp93ep4.txt 39:pr53bull.txt 40:pr55euro.txt
41:pr93ccaa.txt 42:pr93ccjb.txt 43:pr93ccjd.txt 44:pr93cckj.txt 45:pr93ccoq.txt 46:pr93ccpc.txt
47:pr93ccpf.txt 48:pr93ccrt.txt 49:pr93cctq.txt 50:pr93ccw1.txt 51:pr93ccw2.txt 52:pr93ccw3.txt 53:tser.txt
54:uklocal.txt 55:white93.txt

(1 7 1 1) /text/metaphor/markers/like as

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:crop.txt 5:ecoigc2.txt 6:flynn97.txt 7:idcom.txt 8:idecof1.txt 9:idecpo1.txt 10:idecpo3.txt 11:ideucec1.txt 12:ideucri.txt 13:ideuep1.txt 14:ideuesc1.txt 15:ideungo.txt 16:ideuuk1.txt 17:idmch.txt 18:idoj.txt 19:ilo.txt 20:paidccp3.txt 21:paiddg2b.txt 22:paiddgv1.txt 23:paiddgv2.txt 24:paim94wp.txt 25:paimdgv.txt 26:paimespf.txt 27:pap94ev.txt 28:papa94co.txt 29:papa94h1.txt 30:papa94h3.txt 31:papa94h4.txt 32:papa94i3.txt 33:papa94m3.txt 34:papa94p3.txt 35:papa94uk.txt 36:pfp92com.txt 37:pfp93cp4.txt 38:pfp93ep4.txt 39:pr53bull.txt 40:pr55euro.txt 41:pr93ccaa.txt 42:pr93ccjb.txt 43:pr93ccjd.txt 44:pr93cckj.txt 45:pr93ccoq.txt 46:pr93ccpc.txt 47:pr93ccpf.txt 48:pr93ccrt.txt 49:pr93cctq.txt 50:pr93ccw1.txt 51:pr93ccw2.txt 52:pr93ccw3.txt 53:tser.txt 54:uklocal.txt 55:white93.txt

(1 7 1 2 1) /text/metaphor/markers/referents/fabric

1:ideuesc1.txt 2:paiddgv1.txt 3:paimdgv.txt 4:paimespf.txt 5:papa94co.txt 6:papa94p3.txt 7:pfp92com.txt

(1 7 7) /text/metaphor/military

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:ecoigc2.txt 5:flynn97.txt 6:idcom.txt 7:idecof1.txt 8:idecpo1.txt 9:idecpo3.txt 10:ideucec1.txt 11:ideucri.txt 12:ideuep1.txt 13:ideuesc1.txt 14:ideungo.txt 15:ideuuk1.txt 16:idmch.txt 17:idoj.txt 18:ilo.txt 19:paidccp3.txt 20:paiddg1a.txt 21:paiddg2b.txt 22:paiddgv1.txt 23:paiddgv2.txt 24:paim94wp.txt 25:paimdgv.txt 26:paimespf.txt 27:pap94ev.txt 28:papa94co.txt 29:papa94h1.txt 30:papa94h3.txt 31:papa94h4.txt 32:papa94i3.txt 33:papa94m3.txt 34:papa94p3.txt 35:papa94uk.txt 36:pfp92com.txt 37:pfp93cp4.txt 38:pfp93ep4.txt 39:pr53bull.txt 40:pr55euro.txt 41:pr93ccaa.txt 42:pr93ccjb.txt 43:pr93ccjd.txt 44:pr93cckj.txt 45:pr93ccoq.txt 46:pr93ccpc.txt 47:pr93ccpf.txt 48:pr93ccrt.txt 49:pr93cctq.txt 50:pr93ccw1.txt 51:pr93ccw2.txt 52:pr93ccw3.txt 53:tser.txt 54:uklocal.txt 55:white93.txt

(1 7 8) /text/metaphor/OP2fightexc

1:citchart.txt 2:citforum.txt 3:comwk97.txt 4:idcom.txt 5:idecof1.txt 6:idecpo1.txt 7:idecpo3.txt 8:ideucec1.txt 9:ideucri.txt 10:ideuep1.txt 11:ideungo.txt 12:idmch.txt 13:idoj.txt 14:ilo.txt 15:paidccp3.txt 16:paiddg1a.txt 17:paiddg2b.txt 18:paiddgv1.txt 19:paim94wp.txt 20:paimdgv.txt 21:paimespf.txt 22:pap94ev.txt 23:papa94co.txt 24:papa94h1.txt 25:papa94h3.txt 26:papa94h4.txt 27:papa94i3.txt 28:papa94m3.txt 29:papa94p3.txt 30:papa94uk.txt 31:pfp92com.txt 32:pfp93cp4.txt 33:pfp93ep4.txt 34:pr53bull.txt 35:pr55euro.txt 36:pr93ccaa.txt 37:pr93ccjb.txt 38:pr93ccjd.txt 39:pr93cckj.txt 40:pr93ccoq.txt 41:pr93ccpc.txt 42:pr93ccpf.txt 43:pr93ccrt.txt 44:pr93cctq.txt 45:pr93ccw1.txt 46:pr93ccw2.txt 47:pr93ccw3.txt 48:tser.txt 49:uklocal.txt 50:white93.txt

(1 7 8 1) /text/metaphor/OP2fightexc/medical

1:comwk97.txt 2:idecpo1.txt 3:ideucec1.txt 4:ilo.txt 5:paidccp3.txt 6:paiddg2b.txt

(1 7 6) /text/metaphor/positive

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Appendix 4

Bibliographic Bookmarks www.

A range of online bibliographies I found useful Note: this is a working document illustrating the format for the bookmarks file I have begun to compile during this research. It is a partial record only..

Bibliography on: CLASS, compiled by Albert Benschop, Department of Sociology, University of Amsterdam: http://www.pscw.uva.nl/sociosite/CLASS/bibA.html

Bibliography: Consumer culture and leisure, maintained by Don Slater, inclined towards history, social theory and economics. http ://www.gold.ac.uk/~soa01ds/bibcon.htm

Bibliography on the European Union, compiled by Osvaldo Croci, gopher: //csf.Colorado.EDU:70/00/ipe/Thematic_Archive/bibliography/european_union.Croci94

Bibliography on Fordism and Postfordism: a short item http://inet.crp.cornell.edu/courses/CRP679_22/fordism.html

Bibliography of Linguistics, http://www.sil.org/humanities/linguist/biblio.htm

Colonialism and Postcolonialism: Selected Bibliography http://www.stg.brown.edu/projects/hypertext/landow/post/poldiscourse/bibl.html

Communitarian Network: Communitarian Bibliography is a useful on–line resource http://www.gwu.edu/~ccps/biblio.html

Criticism: A Bibliography, prepared by Malcolm Hayward, http://www.iup.edu/en/lit/fac/mh/theorybib.html

Europe on the Eve of the Year 2000, Session 333 Bibliography The Salzburg Seminar, http://www.salsem.ac.at/libarch/biblios/bib333.htm

Gender in Geography Bibliography, January 1, 1996 – September 15, 1996, L bis Z, Compiled and Maintained by: Kate Davis, http://www.geo.unizh.ch/~buehler/infos/litoct96,2.html

Guide to European Union Legal Research, Bibliography, http://www.law.harvard.edu/library/ils/eu–guide/eu–bib.html

In Other Words: A Lexicon of the Humanities, compiled by Randy Radney and LiChien Hung, http://www.sil.org/humanities/

*Online Bibliography Of Geography And Gender, compiled by members of the Discussion List for Feminism in Geography, h*ttp://www.inform.umd.edu:8080/EdRes/Topic/WomensStudies/

Bibliographies/geography+gender–bibliography

Policy Networks Bibliography, VPAC–Internationale, compiled by Mark MacDonald, http://www.carleton.ca/~schwartz/vpaci/networkbib.html

Qualitative Research Text Resources, compiled by Ron Chenail, for The Qualitative Report of Nova Southeastern University, http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/text.html#top

Select Bibliography of the Historical Orientation of the Philosophy of Science, compiled by Peter Barker & Xiang Chen (1989), http://www.cis.vt.edu/biblios/phil_hist_bib.html

Stuart Hall Bibliography, compiled by Nick Chapman, http://www–personal.umich.edu/~nwc/aca/chronolog.html

Appendix 5

TSER research programme for the European Union

This extensive list provides some idea of the kinds of 'anti'–exclusion' research which is now being undertaken under the auspices of DG X II – arguably in lieu of the action projects which would have been undertaken under *Poverty 4.*

Area 3 – Research into Social Integration and Social Exclusion in Europe

List of Research Projects and Thematic Networks

Last updated 20 February 1998

Source: http://www.cordis.lu/tser/src/rp_home3.htm (17 September 1998)

Research Project CT95–3001 The evaluation of social policies against social exclusion at the local urban level.

Research Project CT95–3002 Emergency and transitory housing for homeless people : needs and best practices EUROHOME

Research Project CT95–3003 Employment precarity, unemployment and social exclusion Thematic Network CT95–3004 European research network on low–wage employment – lower

Research Project CT95–3005 Migrant insertion in the informal economy deviant behaviour and the impact on receiving societies. Thematic Network CT95–3006 Gender and citizenship: social integration and social exclusion

Research Project CT95–3007 Social integration by transitional labour markets : new pathways for labour market policy : translam Thematic Network CT95–3008 EMES : L'emergence des entreprises sociales, reponse novatrice a l'exclusion sociale en europe. Thematic Network CT95–3009 A European benefit–tax model and social integration: a preparatory study – EUROMOD.

Research Project CT95–3010 Social strategies in risk society Thematic Network CT95–3011 Migrants and minorities in European cities: the interaction of economic, spatial and social factors in generating pathways to social exclusion

Research Project CT96–3023 European panel analysis

Research Project CT96–3022 Family structure, labour market participation and the dynamics of social exclusion

Research Project CT96–3024 Muslim voices' in the European Union: the stranger within

Research Project CT96–3025 Youth unemployment and processes of marginalization on the northern European periphery

Research Project CT97–3036 The Policies of Social Integration in Europe

Research Project CT97–3037 Urban Development and Social Polarisation in the City

Research Project CT97–3038 New Local Policies against Social Exclusion In European Cities. Ecosocial Approach and Social Impact Assessment in Social Work

Research Project CT97–3039 Social Integration through Obligations to Work? Current European "Workfare" Initiatives and Future Directions

Research Project CT97–3041 La Construction Sociale de l'Emploi

Research Project CT97–3042 Self–Employment Activities concerning Women and Minorities: Their Success or Failure in Relation to Social Citizenship Policies

Research Project CT97–3043 Inclusion through Participation

Research Project CT97–3044 Causes and Mechanisms of Social Exclusion Smallholders

Research Project CT97–3045 Full Employment in Europe

Research Project CT97–3046 New Employment Opportunities in the Third Sector. An Evaluation of Innovative Policies for Social Integration in Europe

Research Project CT97–3047 Evaluation of Local Socio–Economic Strategies and Disadvantaged Urban Areas

Research Project CT97–3048 Border Cities and Towns: Causes of Social Exclusion in Peripheral Europe

Research Project CT97–3050 Trade, Inequality and European Unemployment

Research Project CT97–3051 Youth Unemployment and Social Exclusion

Research Project CT97–3052 Labour Demand, Education and the Dynamics of Social Exclusion

Research Project CT97–3053 Réseau Thématique Européen sur: le Travail, les Jeunes et le syndicalisme

Research Project CT97–3054 Redundancy as a Factor of Social Exclusion

Research Project CT97–3055 Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies Towards Second Generation Migrant Youth in a Comparative European Perspective

Research Project CT97–3056 European Citizenship and the Social and Political Integration of the European Union

Research Project CT97–3057 Social Exclusion in European Neighbourhoods – Processes, Experiences and Responses.

Research Project CT97–3059 Comparative Social Inclusion Policies & Citizenship in Europe : Towards a New European Social Model

Research Project CT97–3060 EUROMOD: an Integrated European Benefit –Tax Model

Research Project CT97–3061 Towards a European System of Social Reporting and Welfare Measurement

Research Project CT98–3062 Globalization and Social Exclusion

Research Project CT98–3063 Misleading Trajectories – Evaluation of Employment Polices for Young Adults in Europe Regarding Non–Intended Effects of Social Exclusion

Appendix 6

Time–line for the Development of the Poverty Programmes

Poverty One

1957 Schuman memorandum

1968 May unrest

1969 Brandt's memorandum on European Social Space

1972 Council of Ministers decided to establish the Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the Community Social Action Programme (SAP)

1973 UK, Denmark and Ireland joined the Community

1974 January 1974: Social Action Programme adopted by Council (of EEC)

1975– 1980 First European Programme to Combat Poverty (*Poverty 1*). Budget: 20 mecu

1975 European Center for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) set up

1976 European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

1977 Pilot schemes in first project[1] – NGOs applied to the Community for funding

- 18 NGO / Commission supported projects in 7 countries
- 7 specialised studies on: social policy development, unemployment, perceptions of poverty, 'subjective poverty', 'persistent poverty', gypsies, the role of voluntary organisations in Northern Ireland

1980 First European Programme ended. The final report to the Council of Ministers identified several types of people at the greatest risk of poverty as: the elderly, women, single–person households, families of more than three children, the unemployed, the low–paid, homeless people, drifters, alcoholics and drug addicts, people living in rural areas. The report suggested that poverty was multidimensional, needed to be focused on these groups and had a regional dimension (COM 1981: *Final Report of the Commission on the First Program of Pilot Schemes to Combat Poverty*).

1981 Report from Commission to Council on *Poverty 1*

1982 Interim report from Committee on Social Affairs and Employment presented to European Parliament

1983 European Parliament insists on budget line for new poverty proposals

1984 Decision of Council to initiate *the second anti–poverty action programme –Poverty 2*

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[1] This information sourced from Brian Harvey's (1990) *Poverty in the European Community: Final Interim Report of the European Provisional Working Group against Poverty.*

Poverty Two

1985 Second European Poverty Programme 1985–1989 (*Poverty 2*). Budget: 29mecu[2] Surveys and statistical studies on poverty – its spread and perception

Poverty 2 provided:

- financial support for model action projects91 local projects in 12 countries[3]
- financial support for the dissemination and exchange of knowledge
- financial support for the collection of comparable poverty data

1986 Single European Act signed – promotion of 'social cohesion' a key concern

1988 Structural Funds for disadvantaged regions doubled from 7 becus to 14 becus under the principle of 'additionality' (i.e. was additional to the amount originally agreed).

Other financial support for 'social' initiatives came from:

- ERDF allocations of 2.9 mecus
- ESF allocations 2.5 mecus
- FEOGA allocations 1.1 mecus

1988 Commission's Interim report on *Poverty 2* and December proposal for *Poverty 3*

1988 Council Decision to adopt *Poverty 3*

1989 Council Resolution 29 September on the fight against social exclusion

1989 Commission adopts implementation of the Charter of Fundamental Social Rights for Workers and calls for a direct instrument on the fight against exclusion in the form of a recommendation on common criteria for guaranteeing resources and benefits (Nov.1989)[4]

1990 *Horizon Initiative* established by the Commission to "improve access to the labour market for disabled and socially and economically disadvantaged people and to facilitate their inclusion in society and working life" (OJEC 1990 no C327/9 29–12–90), *NOW* programme to further the participation of women in the workforce established, *HELIOS II* aimed at the integration of people with disabilities established

1991 Establishment of the Observatory on anti–exclusion policies

Other parallel initiatives established by the end of 1991 included:

- large scale activities supported by the Structural Funds for employment and training,

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[2] Source: COM 1989: *Second Program of the European Communities to Combat Poverty – Short Description of the Projects*, ISG, Köln.

[3] Details of the programmes can be found in the *Interim Report on a Specific Community Action Programme to Combat Poverty* (COM (88) 621/2 final).

[4] Source: *Final Report on the Second European Poverty Programme 1985–1989* (COM (91) 29 13 February), 30.

- draft directives in relation to the Fundamental Charter especially: Articles 100, 100a, 118a on atypical work, protection of youth , social protection convergence, guarantee of sufficient resources,

- additional programmes in employment related areas such as LEDA, ERGO and PETRA,

- strengthening of action programmes in other areas – NOW and HELIOS II,

- establishment of Observatories in other fields including: Employment Observatory, MISSOC – Social Protection Observatory, Family Policy Observatory.

- Other additional programs included the Commission's promotion for integrated operations in less favoured regions including, Naples (1979), Belfast (1981), Western Isles of Scotland, Lorzere (France), South east Belgium, Mediterranean regions (1985)

Post 1985 actions for disadvantaged groups in the areas of migrant education, housing and language (some 15 mecus 1989–90), the disabled pilot housing, local projects, and data base compilation (some 19 mecus 1989–93), women IRIS programme, networks, equal opportunities directives. Special projects were also initiated with respect to the family (COFACE), and the homeless (FEANTSA) and illiteracy (17 pilot projects established) (Harvey (1990).

Poverty Three

1989 Third European Poverty Programme 1989–1993 (*Poverty 3*). Budget: 55 mecu

- 39 projects divided into: 27 model actions including, integrated urban projects, integrated rural projects in 11 countries (not Luxembourg)

- 12 innovative initiatives –small scale innovative projects in 12 countries

- Organised through a Central Unit with nine national Research and Development Units

1989 Council's affirmative decision on Poverty 3 (OJ L 244/89)

1989 Resolution of the Council and Ministers for Social Affairs on combating social exclusion (OJ C 277/89)

1989 The European Observatory established at the University of Bath (under Graham Room)

1989 Commission concurrently established five international networks to share models of policy and practice and to bring together those working in the fields of: women, elderly persons, homeless, rural, universités populaires,

1990 Seminar to Launch Poverty 3 – Commissioner for Social Affairs, Vasso Papandreou – 29 March 1990

1991 Final Report on the Second European Poverty Programme (see above)

1992 *Towards a Europe of Solidarity: Intensifying the fight against Social Exclusion, Fostering Integration* (COM (92) 542 final 23 December 1992) published.

1992 Council Recommendation on common criteria concerning sufficient resources and social assistance in social protection systems (OJ L 245/92) and on the convergence of social protection objectives and policies (OJ L 245/92).

1992 Chareloi Declaration – Europe 1992–2000 European Municipalities and Democracy – the Exclusion of Poverty through Citizenship (COLL/CHAR (92) 4).

1993 European Parliament resolution on Human Rights in the Community (OJ C 115/93)

1993 Proposal for the *Medium Term Action Programme to Combat Social exclusion and Promote Solidarity: a New Programme to Support and Stimulate Innovation (1994–199)* brought before the Commission by DG V.

1994 Working papers published on *Main Positions taken on the question of Poverty: Social Affairs Series W–3* by the Commission and made available internationally.

Poverty 4

1993 Fourth European Poverty Programme 1994–1999 (*Poverty 4*).[5]

- Budget (proposed) 110 mecu
- Proposed 44 local model action projects (urban and rural),
- 19 national model actions,
- 7 transnational networks,
- actions proposed in the fields of income, education, training, employment, accommodation, social and consumer protection, health, transport, local development, freedom of movement, personal security, access to justice, access to public services, culture and leisure
- to be modelled o partnership, multidimensionality and participation as in *Poverty 3*
- new potential participants to be identified from NGOs, employers, small businesses, friendly societies, charitable trusts, trade unions and public and private agencies
- transnationals would work in areas of debt, trade unions and local development, children at risk and residents involved in environmental improvements
- a Management and Coordination Unit would replace the Central Unit and 'national correspondents' would replace the R&D Units of *Poverty 3*

1994–1998 Objections in principle by Germany to *Poverty 4*

1998 *Poverty 4* stalled indefinitely.

Appendix 7

Abbreviations

ANZCERTA	Australia and New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Treaty Agreement
BERL	Business Enterprise Research Limited
CAQDA	Computer assisted qualitative data analysis
CE	The Council of Europe
CEC	Commission of the European Communities
CER	Closer Economic Relations
CIE	Committee of Independent Experts
CROP	Comparative Research on Poverty
CSCFRS	The Community Social Charter on Fundamental Social Rights.
DG	Directorate General [of the European Commission]
DG–V	Directorate General 5: Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs
DG XII	Directorate General 12: Science, Research and Development
DG XIII	Directorate General 13: Telecommunications, Information Market and Exploitation of Research
DG–XVI	Directorate General 16: Regional Policies and Cohesion
DG–XXII	Directorate General 22: Education, Training and Youth
EAPN	The European Anti–Poverty Network
EC	European Community
ECA	European Court of Auditors
ECHR	The European Court of Human Rights.
ECJ	European Court of Justice
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
ESC	The European Social Charter.
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation.
EU	European Union
ExMem	Explanatory Memorandum

GSC of CE	Governmental Social Committee of the Council of Europe.
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MEP	Member of European Parliament
MOST	Management of Social Transformation [UNESCO initiative]
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NUD.IST	Nonnumerical Unstructured Data. Indexing, Searching, Theorizing8
OJ	Official Journal of the European Commission
OOP	Official [legal] Opinion of the Council of Ministers of the EC
PACSHFA	Parliamentary Assembly Committee on Social, Health and Family Affairs.
PACOE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.
QSR	Qualitative Systems Research – software producers who produce NUD.IST
SAP	Social Action Programme of the European Commission.
SEA	The Single European Act.
SME	Small and Medium–sized Enterprise
SPA	Social Policy Agency
SPAN	Single Parent Action Network
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICE	Union of the Confederations of Industry and the Employers of Europe
URBAN	Commission Programme in support of depressed urban areas

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