The Biopolitics of Community: An analysis of the recovery processes and school social work practices in the wake of the 2010 and 2011 Christchurch earthquakes

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Abstract

This thesis analyses community discourses in the wake of two significant disaster events, the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes, that took place in Christchurch, Aotearoa New Zealand. The aim is to understand the 'self-evidence' of community discourse as a disaster recovery response and a school-based social work approach. This study adopts a post-structuralist perspective and draws on the work of Foucault and his conceptualisation of biopolitics that explores the relationship between politics and life. Esposito's concepts of community, a communal relation of obligation, and immunity, a state of exemption from service, are also used, as he considers these to be particularly influential within the current biopolitical arrangements of modernity in undermining and disrupting communal life. The first objective of this study is to analyse the biopolitical configurations of community in the recovery policies and school social work practices after the earthquakes in Christchurch. The second objective is to critically reflect on the implications of these conceptualisations for school social work.

Using a Foucauldian methodology suggests that the role of research is to make visible the contingent discursive conditions that make the emergence of 'truths' such as the self-evidence of community possible. Two sets of data were used to inform the findings of this study, five New Zealand recovery policies and interviews with twelve social workers working in Christchurch schools in the aftermath of the 2011 earthquake. A discourse analysis strategy informed by some of Foucault's methodological concepts was used to engage with these selected texts.

Two kinds of community discourse emerged from the analysis; community as recovery and the community hub discourse. The community as recovery discourse, found within the recovery policies, centres on the notion that an individual's natural recovery responses are a progressive process in which, over time, they make connections and develop a shared sense of purpose with their own community. Vulnerable populations within this context are represented as a risk to this restorative, developmental trajectory for communities and offered specialised, individual assistance. The community hub discourse, found in the transcripts from the interviews with the school social workers, establishes schools as social service sites where children and parents can readily access therapeutic support. The corresponding social work approach of relational practice is formed in relation to knowledge from the psychodynamic perspective, developmental psychology, systems theory and feminist relational ethics. This mode of practice was also brought into play by the school social workers' implementation of surveillance, consent and confessional techniques. The findings provide

an understanding of the location of school social workers as the therapeutic 'significant other' in schools, and the ways in which this positioning can enable alternate spaces for community in schools in relation to notions of difference, communal relations and shared personal growth.

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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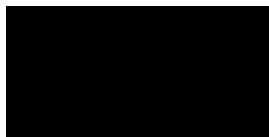
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ANZASW   Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers

CERA   Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority

CDEM   Civil Defence Emergency Management

MCDEM   Ministry of Civil Defence & Emergency Management

MOE   Ministry of Education

MSD   Ministry of Social Development

NZRC   New Zealand Red Cross organisation

NZPPTA   New Zealand Post Primary Teachers' Association

OECD   Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PTSD   Post-traumatic stress disorder

SWiS   Social Workers in Schools programme

RCSW   `   Red Cross funded school social worker

Apparatus: An assemblage of contingent, multifaceted, dispersed force relations, political mechanisms, techniques and systems of thinking. Provides a 'grid of intelligibility' from which to establish a set of flexible relationships and isolate a specific historical problem.

Archaeology: A methodological process developed by Foucault in his earlier work that involves exploring the key concepts, categories and strategies of what is taken to be true.

Authority: The position of experts and notions of expertise.

Biopolitics: The knowledge of life and a field of political practices that addresses populational problems such as birth rate, longevity, public health, housing and migration.

Biopower: A power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death.

Communitas: What is not one's own and belongs to the many or to everyone.

Descent: The methodological process of historically tracing a self-evident event as a dispersed series and set of limits.

Disciplinary power: The technology of power that centres on individual bodies. It includes the mechanisms and techniques that separate, align and monitor individuals and the ways in which institutions and organisations form and operationalise systems of visibility.

Discourse: Knowledge and practices that are generally taken to be true.

Ethics: Practices involved in the formation of the self.

Eventalisation: The methodological process of disrupting the self-evident and any notion of there being a singular cause for the current situation.

Genealogy: A methodological process developed by Foucault in his later work that involves exploring the way in which power shapes what is taken to be true and false at a specific time and place.

Governmentality: An arrangement of political rationalities and techniques for the direction and reform of conduct.

Immunity: A protective response in the face of risk. Tends to work in opposition to community. In contemporary times an apparatus of negative biopolitics.

Mechanism: A way in which power is exercised.

Pastoral power: The technology of power involved in the guidance of the conduct of individuals and collectives who are members of a population. It includes the mechanisms and techniques that enable individuals to 'know themselves' such as self-examination and the confession.

Security: A pervasive form of regulation that addresses human beings as a population.

Social contract: Political model articulated by Thomas Hobbes, an Enlightenment thinker, to denote the voluntary agreement of individuals that brought the State into being for the purpose of ensuring the protection and welfare of all members of society.

Sovereign power: A form of power characteristic of societies in which a sovereign exercises rule over a country and over his/her subjects mainly through appropriation of wealth, tax, labour and with the capacity to let subjects die or live.

Subjectivity: The understanding of what constitutes an individual.

Subjectification: The processes and practices through which human beings come to relate to themselves and others as a certain type of identity.

Technology: Political techniques that act on the constitution of the self – the micro relations of power.

Telos: Greek term for purpose or overall objective.

In this thesis, I seek to understand the focus on community discourse in the aftermath of two significant earthquakes in Christchurch, New Zealand. The primary objective is to make sense of the production of community as a knowledge-practice formation and its influence on the greater Christchurch recovery management policies and the interventions of school social workers. Specifically this involves examining the processes by which collective ways of acting and being were constituted as restorative and re-vitalising in the recovery context. There is not, however, one clear, overarching way of thinking about or practising community. I discuss two prevalent discourses of community, which were evident in the post-earthquake context at the level of the population and in relation to individual children, parents and families within schools. I consider how these discourses facilitated different power relations and diverse interventions for securing the rebuild of greater Christchurch and the lives of its inhabitants.

Context of this study

The context of this study is that of Christchurch, New Zealand in the aftermath of two earthquakes that struck the Canterbury region in 2010 and 2011. Not since 1936, when the last major earthquake occurred in the North Island, had a comparable level of loss and destruction been experienced on such a scale in New Zealand. The first Christchurch earthquake occurred on 4 September 2010 and was measured as 7.1 on the Richter scale. It was centred in the Selwyn district, an area just outside Christchurch city. There was significant damage to roads and public facilities as well as property damage estimated at a cost of $4 billion but no lives were lost and there were few significant injuries. The second major earthquake occurred on 22 February 2011, and whilst smaller, measuring at 6.5 on the Richter scale, it was situated directly below the city centre at a depth of six kilometres, impacting significantly on the population and the city. It resulted in the loss of 185 lives and some 7000 injuries. Much of the Central Business District in the city was destroyed with 1200 buildings needing to be demolished. There was wide scale disruption to the city's water, power and sewage systems and half the road network had to be replaced. An estimated 10,000 homes were damaged and 7000 were left uninhabitable. (Paton, Mamula-Seaton, & Selway, 2013).

The 2011 earthquake had a significant impact on communities and neighbourhoods. Whole suburbs were abandoned whilst others had to be substantially rebuilt and 12 schools had to be relocated (Paton et al., 2013). In the first days and weeks that followed the second earthquake, many community members in the eastern inner city and seaside suburbs, those neighbourhoods most hard hit, assisted each other to respond to the problems they faced. They worked together to remove rubble and liquefaction and access food and water for each other (Paton et al., 2013, p. 4). Over the ensuing weeks, welfare hubs were set up in these neighbourhoods by Civil Defence and volunteer support was established by the Red Cross to check in on individuals considered vulnerable such as the elderly and those with disabilities. Voluntary groups such as the 'Farmy Army' and the 'Student Army', were formed and provided coordinated assistance to dig silt and liquefaction from homes and schools, and provide meals and material aid.

Consistent with recovery management responses to other recent disasters such as those in New Orleans (see Pyles & Cross, 2008), and in the context of the Victorian bushfires in Australia (see Clarke, Wahl, & Ryan, 2010), the focus on community was a clear theme in the formal recovery management policies and programmes that followed both of the earthquakes. In 2012 Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA), the government department set up to manage the recovery, set out its strategic intent and identified its role. A key objectives was enable communities to participate in planning the recovery and the restoration of their social, economic, cultural and environmental wellbeing (CERA, 2012, p. 8). Alongside the government's recovery programme, the New Zealand Red Cross (NZRC) developed its own strategies, which as a long-term objective sought a complimentary focus on building the capacity of communities to lead their own recovery processes. In 2011 it identified its mission to "meet immediate needs as required but to place an emphasis on working with communities to reinforce preparedness activities, to support recovery and to reduce reliance on relief" (NZRC, 2011, p. 4).

It is interesting to note that whilst the notion of community was a significant characteristic of government and non-government responses to the earthquakes and the perceived recovery needs for greater Christchurch, it was not clearly defined as a concept in the recovery policies examined in this thesis. There is, however, some indication of community configured as a geographical locality where the focus is on building the capacity of local community members to respond to the effects of the disaster event. Notions of bonding and self-sufficiency are also themes within the objectives of the recovery approaches such that community was positioned as a means to establish and facilitate social cohesion and community self-help. As a number of community development academics (see Aimers

& Walker, 2011; McGhee, 2003; Mendes, 2008) note, this has become a fairly standard way to conceive of community in New Zealand, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Community school models are likewise propose this kind of arrangement for creating connections between individuals and families (Cummings, Dyson, & Todd, 2011; Haig, 2014). In the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquakes Mutch (2015) claims that schools were "sites of community rebonding and havens of calm and security" (p. 290). Community is espoused as a kind of sanctuary where individuals work seamlessly together to create a sense of collective identity. It aligns with the communitarian perspective of community that generally proposes togetherness and unity as a means to address social concerns (Aimers & Walker, 2011; Stepney & Popple, 2008).

Within critical social work, communitarianism is criticised for advocating idealised and non-political forms of community practice (Aimers & Walker, 2011; Lynch & Forde, 2015; Mendes, 2008; Stepney & Popple, 2008). Stepney and Popple (2008) argue that communitarian-informed community work seeks to create social consensus through mutual responsibility but pays little attention to addressing disparities which perpetuate inequalities within and between communities. Contemporary communitarian programmes such as those which focus on neighbourhood revitalisation are identified as working within existing socio-political systems rather than challenging social structures (Mendes, 2008). Aimers and Walker (2011) claim that in New Zealand since the 1990s government policy has increasingly emphasised 'Third Way-style', communitarian principles. They argue that the focus has been on building the capacity of voluntary organisations to provide community services that align with government priorities rather than 'bottom-up' community development approaches (Aimers & Walker, 2011, p. 41). Similarly in Australia where, since the 1980s, community work has become a feature of policy objectives and arrangements, these approaches have advocated a low cost 'management from afar' state role (Mowbray, 2005; Mowbray & Bryson, 1981).

In contrast, the critical community development approach within social work is promoted as a 'grassroots' approach. Drawing on Marxist and Feminist theory it represents community as a collective identity and advocates "solidarity through the collective struggle against oppression" (Stepney & Popple, 2008, p. 94). Ife and Fiske (2006) identify that a key strength of critical community development is its commitment to recognising and addressing the conditions of structural oppression specifically in relation to class, race and gender divisions. For critical community social workers, taking a bottom-up approach to community work involves critiquing the impact of how specific groups are privileged by economic, cultural and patriarchal structures and proactively working to address these inequalities with oppressed communities. In contrast, a top-down approach is denoted as "the

imposition of development programmes designed by the powerful and privileged on the powerless and unprivileged" (Ife & Fiske, 2006, p. 305). Lynch and Forde (2015) claim that the communitarian approach has exploited grassroots community development, actively harnessing the practices of collective action to encourage community self-help and service provision in a context of growing social problems and minimal State intervention (p. 9). Overall, critical community social work challenges the communitarian focus on community as a depoliticised, conservative conception of social problems and change. It favours a focus on collective actions to address the structural causes of inequality.

Clearly, the communitarian and critical theory or structural proposals for community diverge in terms of the kinds of collective objectives and practices each promotes. There is nonetheless some commonality between the two positions, in that both challenge individualised approaches to resolving social problems. The communitarian perspective critiques the individualism promoted by neoliberal thought for favouring the individual over communal bonds (Bird & Short, 2013). Likewise the critical community development perspective within social work promotes a move away from individualised models because of the tendency to position individuals, as the problem and the object of their own solutions. Ife (2013) laments individualised interventions, arguing that at best, they "only prevent things from becoming worse" (p. 127). However many advocates of community social work are not adverse to practitioners working at an individual level when it is connected to a broader framework of collective action and social change (Aimers & Walker, 2011; Filliponi, 2011; Goldsworthy, 2002). Nonetheless there is a sense of the self-evident regarding the notion of community; it is clearly positioned as the preferred approach to addressing social problems such as natural disasters.

A process of self-interrogation

As a resident of Christchurch, my own experience of the earthquakes is connected to community and was the impetus for starting this thesis. I live in a neighbourhood that was significantly impacted by the 2011 earthquake; in fact, my own home had to be demolished and rebuilt. My son's school was made structurally unsafe by this same disaster event resulting in three relocations over two years for him, his classmates and teachers. In the initial aftermath of the 2011 earthquake, my family and I were involved in supporting our neighbours and we valued the assistance from others who provided water, meals and other acts of kindness. This neighbourly support whilst simple and informal nonetheless enabled me to experience a greater sense of closeness in my own community at a time that was emotionally and psychologically tumultuous, such that I was drawn to conducting this study.

In beginning this research, I sought to champion the ways in which school social workers could encourage these kinds of community relations in their recovery work in schools.

However, during the course of engaging with the academic literature in the fields of disaster recovery, education and social work I became increasingly unsettled by the notion of uncritically taking up the proposals for community. There was a sense that community was understood in idealised terms, as like a 'cure-all' for managing the complex and multi-faceted social and political impacts of disasters and the needs of survivors. This conceptualisation did not completely align with my own professional experiences. I had previously worked in a community development role within a large social housing complex in Vancouver, Canada. The main thrust of my role was to facilitate processes which would enable residents to run events and projects that could bring the whole community together. This work was fraught with long-standing tensions and factions within the community and there was often little sense of a shared purpose or a collective identity for residents. I know first-hand how communities are often made up of individuals and groups with diverse interests, who are not easily placed together within a framework of unity and shared purpose. Like Mowbray and Bryson (1981), I became aware of the predominant pluralist agenda of the community approaches, which tend to promote "community cohesiveness rather than division" and preference aligning with the needs of the whole community, over sub-groups and individuals (p. 261). Mowbray and Bryson (1981) caution this approach can function to direct attention away from diversity and conflicts of interests within communities.

Another rupture to my presumed allegiance to community occurred when I began to analyse the data for this study. The recovery policy documents showed a link to the community as it is configured within communitarianism specifically in terms of the concepts of social capital and collective unity. However the school social workers I interviewed did not describe an alignment with either the communitarian or critical community approaches. Although they did articulate clear notions of community that were influential in their practice approaches, in the main they represented schools as 'hubs', as social service centres. Their practices centred on children, parents and families being able to access professional, individualised, therapeutic place-based assistance. I became concerned like Ife (2016) that this kind of community-based service approach may have supported a conservative agenda that favoured interventions for enhancing individual coping skills over facilitating experiences of communal belonging in post-earthquake schools. But then I did not want to merely dismiss the school social workers' practices, on the basis of assertions from critical social work, as inadequate or as undermining of community. As Hyslop (2013) notes this kind of academic distancing contributes

to a gap between research and the everyday practice experiences within the discipline of social work. This thesis, therefore, seeks critically examine, but not condemn, the predominant community-based recovery practices carried out by social workers. In doing so the aim is to gain an appreciation from *within* the school social workers' experiences, in relation to the socio-political context of the recovery, as to what influenced and drew them to practice in these ways in post-earthquake Christchurch schools.

Having distanced this inquiry from the prevalent conceptions of community as the optimal recovery approaches or as forms of best practice for school social workers, I found myself in uncharted territory without much sense of a conceptual anchor to which I could attach this investigation. Thankfully, I was aided by reading Foucault's works, which alerted me to the opportunity I had in this study to critique the taken-for-granted character of predominant forms of community knowledge and modes of practice. Later Esposito's writing on community provided a means to deepen my analysis of the mainstream renditions of community as well as consider his conceptualisation of 'communitas' as an alternative community discourse. This alternative theoretical stance has enabled me to critically engage with the recovery policies' objectives and the school social workers' accounts of their community-based approaches, to understand the forms of knowledge and socio-political imperatives that informed and shaped these prevalent recovery practices. It has also assisted to attend to spaces for alternative modes of community practice; actions and relations not readily available within the predominant disaster recovery and social work literature.

Drawing on these Foucault's and Esposito's works aligns with a post-structural stance. As an epistemology post-structuralism negates those philosophies that strive for epistemic certainty and foundational knowledge, the notion of reason as objective and disinterested, and the dividing practices that create arbitrary boundaries between classes of persons (Furman, 1998). Taking a post-structural stance means resisting and working against settled truths and oppositions, overturning assumptions about the purity of knowledges, values and morals and as such is opposed to universal absolutes (Williams, 2005). It also rejects the humanistic focus on the self (Fawcett, 1998), preferring an emphasis on how knowledge and power are able to influence subjects' available actions and choices. Furthermore, within this frame, power is not considered as something that is imposed by the State from above over people in an oppressive manner; rather power works in a relation with the prevalent forms of knowledge located within particular contexts.

The post-structural theoretical position taken in this study means I do not strive to undermine and dispute *any* basis for community. Rather I seek to examine the predominant ways of thinking and practising community as a phenomena, aiming to make visible other collective practices and techniques taken up by school social workers which may have previously gone unnoticed. Whilst not a dominant perspective in the community social work literature, this post-structural stance is not unheard of (see for example Lane, 1999; Lynch & Forde, 2015; Stepney & Popple, 2008). As an alternative to critical theory, Lane (1999) identifies the post-structural perspective "calls into question structural analyses and blueprints for change based on universal truth and value claims" such as prescribed visions for how society should be (p. 138). In this thesis, I seek to move away from the mainstream community development positions, while pursuing a conceptualisation and practice of community that may be useful for school social workers. I seek to make visible alternative political modes of thinking about and practising community, and to promote community action alongside a commitment to valuing difference and diversity within social work as a form of political practice.

Biopolitics as a recovery rationality and socio-political arrangement

In taking up the post-structural theories of Foucault and Esposito I draw on another overlapping feature of the two philosophers' thinking, that of the concept of biopolitics. The term biopolitics was first used by Foucault (1978) in volume one of his book *History of Sexuality* where he posited it as a modern form of power that became prominent in the nineteenth century. Biopolitics emerged as a response to populational phenomena contributing to various political practices which sought to improve, maximise and optimise human life. Writing more recently Esposito (2012) emphasises that within biopolitics each and every life has to be "cared for, stimulated and multiplied…as the absolute good" (p. 137). These considerations are important in this study given that the context is post-earthquake life and social work practice in schools, settings within which notions of care and protection, and the maximisation of life are emphasised. Taking up a biopolitical lens in this inquiry enables me to consider questions such as: How was post-earthquake life understood by policy-makers and school social workers? How were the survivors encouraged to manage their recovery? And for what purpose? I also seek to examine how the discourse of community found within the recovery policies and school social workers' accounts may have become infused with biopolitical forms of knowledge, enabling it to be activated as a life-enhancing mode of governance in post-earthquake Christchurch.

In the last fifteen years or so years, biopolitics has inspired studies in a range of fields including biomedicine (Rabinow & Rose, 2006; Rose, 2001), climate change (Cavanagh, 2014; Pugh, 2014), humanitarianism (Dillon, 2007; Duffield, 2001; Fassin, 2007; Pupavac, 2001; Reid, 2010; Shani, 2012) and disaster recovery (Collier & Lakoff, 2015; Frerks, Warner, & Weijs, 2011; Grove, 2014). However, despite the implications for understanding welfarist approaches and the role of social services, biopolitics has not really been taken up by social work scholars until recently (see Bay, 2016; Powell, 2013). This study seeks to add to this body of literature by taking up the conceptual considerations that Foucault and Esposito offer in their studies of life, politics, community and subjectivity for the analysis of this specific contemporary, biopolitical arrangement of the recovery processes and practices in post-earthquake Christchurch, in particular those of school social workers.

Statement of intent

This thesis seeks to unmask the constructs of community as transcendental, life-affirming formations of knowledge within the earthquake recovery policies and school social work practices. The inquiry involved examining the ways in which notions of community had been formed and operated within two distinct sets of texts: key recovery policy documents that set out the responses to the earthquakes and transcripts of interviews with school social workers based in Christchurch schools. These texts were interpreted according to their concepts, categories and theories as well as the objectives and strategies that administered them, and the programmes of political action proposed (Foucault, 2007, p. 59). The school social workers' accounts were also analysed for any unexpected actions or the unintended consequences of their prevalent interventions as possibilities for alternative ways of conceptualising and practising community in schools.

In chapter one I explore what Foucault's concept of biopolitics has to offer in thinking about contemporary notions of life, modern ways of living and current political arrangements. Foucault (1978) refers to biopolitics as the field of political practices that addresses populational problems such as "birthrate, longevity, public health, housing, and migration" (p. 140). He elaborates that biopolitics is both a form of knowledge and mode of power that takes life and living beings as its objects. In this thesis biopolitics offers a means to make sense of how the taken-for-granted ways of thinking and acting community in the earthquake recovery processes aligned with notions of vitality and wellbeing to enable the 'betterment of all' in Christchurch. This involves considering a number of Foucault's other notions of power, which he discussed throughout his various projects, including disciplinary,

sovereign and pastoral power relations. Specifically I articulate how biopolitics is framed in this study as the governance of life, for life itself.

In taking a post-structural stance, I seek to differentiate my position from the communitarian and critical theory conceptualisations of community, which tend to situate it as a kind of substance that connects individuals or considers it as a form of shared identity. In chapter two, I outline these prevalent proposals for community action in the disaster recovery and social work research literature. Then I turn to explore what Esposito's (2010) work offers this inquiry as an alternative way of understanding community as a discourse and an affirmative biopolitical practice. I discuss his description of community as a collective relation of persons who are joined together by an obligation to provide a service or duty to each other. This notion of collective obligation is clearly differentiated from any conception of individual or collective subjectivity found in the research literature. Esposito (2011) also provides a basis to understand how community tends to be undermined within biopolitical modernity. To do this he draws on the concept of immunity, which, in contrast to community, is an exception to the obligation of service, something that makes someone immune from their duty to others. This means immunity works against community in that it interrupts the duty or service between community members. In this thesis bringing these concepts of community and immunity together offers a means to explore the ways in which the different formations of community have been positioned within the recovery policy and school social work practice as a 'remedy' to the risk to human lives that the earthquakes exposed. However, it also provides a basis to rethink community, making visible alternative or marginalised ethical-political practices with which school social workers could further engage.

Chapter three sets out the methodological approach of this thesis and the methods used to select and interpret the policy and interview texts. Blencowe's (2011) concept of positive critique is discussed; a process of interpretation centred on examining knowledges, practices and techniques in terms of their positivity. As an interpretative method it is closely aligned with Foucault's conceptualisation of biopolitics, in that it appeals to the notions of knowledge and power as productive, attending to the ways in which forms of knowledge and power relations are appealing and enabling, rather than solely constraining and destructive. Positive critique is central to this inquiry's processes as the lens for examining the knowledge, practices and techniques constitutive of community, as it is promoted in the earthquake recovery policy and school social work practice.

In chapter four, I examine how community is presented in the policies as a recovery discourse, to enable the Christchurch population to effectively prepare for the uncertain futures they find themselves within and to make greater Christchurch strong. I explore the relations between this community as recovery-discourse and conceptualisations of individual and collective subjectivity espoused in the recovery policy texts. I note the relation between these community understandings and the positions of populations such as those living in poverty, Māori, older people, children and those with disabilities considered to be at risk of unsuccessfully navigating the 'natural' recovery trajectory. Central to this focus is exploring the functions of statistical measurement in establishing populational recovery norms and the implementation of interventions that sought to target those populations considered in need of specialised support. Overall, the interpretation of the recovery policies aims to show how the markers of community and vulnerability on populations are co-constructed and sets the scene for investigating the biopolitical implications for the recovery work of school social workers in Christchurch schools.

In chapter five, I turn to examine the interview transcripts and investigate community as a concept and practice approach in the earthquake recovery-focused work of school-based social workers. I find the predominant conceptualisation is that of the 'community hub' which bears some resemblance to the extended school model that is predominant in the United Kingdom. I examine the concepts and theories that underpin the community hub ways of thinking and acting in schools, also noting older and newer forms of psychological knowledge emerging in the recovery practices. I indicate a range of subject positions for children and parents, which this normative knowledge promotes, and examine the particular disciplinary techniques for screening, assessment and monitoring the perceived vulnerability and risk of children it makes possible. Overall, in investigating the community hub model in schools I seek to make sense of the securitising imperatives for the school social workers' recovery practices within the context of the earthquake recovery response at the population level in Christchurch.

Chapter six maintains a focus on the interview texts but more closely examines the specific recovery interventions of school social workers as they sought to restore stability in schools and enhance the coping of the children and parents considered to be in need. Key to this is exploring the significance of the relational practice approach and its functioning within a caring pastoral rationality, which as Ojakangas (2005a) argues, is intricately connected to biopolitical governmentality. I investigate relationship-based social work as an individualising practice, indicating its links to re-vitalised forms of the psychodynamic social work perspective and feminist ethics theory. I also focus on the techniques of consent and the confession taken up by school social workers, attending to their effects on the

notion of community offered by Esposito (2010). This exploration also considers the children's and parents' self-practices through which they seek to develop themselves in line with their own recovery objectives. The aim of examining these ethical practices is also to offer new insights into possible alternative community practices which school social workers could and do affirm in their work in schools.

In concluding this thesis I synthesise the main findings of this inquiry. I highlight how Foucault's concept of biopolitics, and Esposito's notions of community and immunity, offer unique insights into the ways in which community was configured as a central mode for securing and enhancing individuals' and populations' recoveries in the wake of the earthquakes. I focus on the implications for school social workers, making the case for increased recognition of how biopolitical power relations operate and advocating positive critique as a lens to support this process of critical reflection. I also encourage school social workers to consider how they may use their therapeutic expertise differently to limit those practices that function to close off difference in schools and facilitate actions that enable diversity. Overall, my hope is that this study will open spaces for the communal forms of belonging and ways of relating in schools not otherwise apparent within the earthquake recovery context, given the predominant influence of pastoral care and disciplinary power relations.

…the couplet of life and politics seems to reappear as the innermost interior of every fresh crisis (Campbell & Sitze, 2013, p. 6)

An analytics of biopolitics should investigate the network of relations among power processes, knowledge practices, and modes of subjectivation (Lemke, 2011a, p. 119)

Introduction

In this chapter and the next, I set out the theoretical framework that informs this study, the conceptual lens for interpreting the specific representations and practices of life, politics and community within the recovery policies and school social workers' practices in post-earthquake Christchurch. This chapter focuses on Foucault's elaborations of biopolitics, both as a form of knowledge and a mode of political power that takes life and living beings as its objects. Using biopolitics as a conceptual frame helps to make sense of the raft of restorative and wellbeing-focused interventions implemented by the New Zealand government, non-government organisations such as the Red Cross and school social workers, which took as their aims the health and wellbeing of individuals, groups and populations in post-earthquake Christchurch.

Foucault (1978) traces the historical emergence of biopolitics, and proposes that since the nineteenth century, modern science and politics have been bound up with the development of technologies of power that take life as their object and objective (p. 152). He claims that biopolitics developed at this time when there was growing attention to birth and death rates, public health and housing at the population level. Concerns with these populational phenomena contributed to an explosion of diverse techniques in the nineteenth century aimed at the management of populations, which endeavoured "to administer, optimize, and multiply (life), subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations (sic)" (p. 137). This shift in political techniques was a historic moment, according to Foucault (1978), who noted it was the first time "biological existence was reflected in political existence" (p. 142). As Hyslop (2012) observes, social work's own history is intimately connected to

these processes as an important response to the populational problems associated with "urban poverty of the industrializing Western world in the 19th century (sic)" (p. 412).

The eugenics of the early twentieth century is a significant example of biopolitical programming (Blencowe, 2011, p. 36). As a science of 'race improvement' eugenics was very much focused on problems with specific populations that needed to be managed (Ball, 2013). In New Zealand, Wanhalla (2001) notes that the eugenic history fits more with the positive variant of population management. Positive eugenics was "designed through state intervention, to encourage the reproduction of the best, or 'fittest', stock while negative eugenics devised strategies to identify the 'unfit' and to prevent their reproduction" (Wanhalla, 2001). The objectives of New Zealand's eugenic welfarist approach were centred on ensuring a healthy, functioning society, which involved ensuring all facets of society were able to contribute to the common good (Belgrave, 2012, p. 6).

Whilst some forms of eugenics have clearly gone out of favour, notions of improving populations remain. As Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982) outline, over time biopolitics has spread and intensified, at the same point in time as the professionalisation of social welfare programmes occurred (p. 141). In contemporary biopolitical arrangements, as Powell (2013) notes, the profession of social work has been an essential element in the management of populations. He outlines that in the last twenty years in Westernised countries biopolitical imperatives have permeated current social policy, simultaneously acting on the wellbeing of the whole population, promoting social cohesion, and on the conduct of individuals – influencing the decisions they make in their day-to-day lives. These objectives are enacted in a variety of social institutions including schools, social services, and charitable agencies, forming the contemporary context for social workers' actions, converging on their conduct and those they seek to support (Powell, 2013).

Biopolitics, however, is not just a set of political practices that aim to sustain and improve life. It is also made up of biological knowledges from contemporary natural and social sciences and the normative concepts and principles they propose (Lemke, 2011a). These forms of knowledge are considered to "structure political action and determine its goals" (Lemke, 2011a, p. 33). Therefore, in this inquiry, taking up biopolitics as an interpretative lens involves elaborating on the conception of life that informs the recovery management objectives, programmes of actions and social work interventions. Biological knowledge is not usually associated with social work; it is more likely to be considered the domain of fields such as genetics and medicine. However, social work has a long history association with biological forms of knowledge. Certainly its lineage with systems theory and human

development theory makes clear connections to ecological theory (see Ungar, 2002). Newer versions of systems theory contribute to the development of resiliency theory (see Berkes, Colding, & Folke, 2008), which is also widely used in current social work practice (see Gitterman, 2014; Grant & Kinman, 2014; Norman, 2000). Other contemporary theories from biological science have found their way into social work in recent years, such as neuro-psychological theories (see Farmer, 2008; Matto, Strolin-Gollzman, & Ballan, 2013), which understand a child's brain development to be subject to neuro-pathway structures developed in response to the quality of their primary relationships and social context. Further as Blencowe (2011) argues, biological knowledge pertains to non-biological understandings and practices that are more clearly aligned with social and cultural domains. Characterised by its emphasis on the evolutionary and progressive nature of life, biological knowledge is also reflected in humanistic and social developmental perspectives, which social work counts as a core component of its knowledge base (see Gibson & Gibson, 2015; Thyer, Dulmus, & Sowers, 2012; Walker & Crawford, 2014).

This chapter firstly provides an outline of some key concepts from Foucault's work to establish the parameters of the theoretical framework within which this investigation is located. The focus is on Foucault's proposal of the interplay of knowledge, power relations and subjectivity, which I consider relevant to social work practice in schools and for Christchurch's disaster recovery programmes. These concepts provide an interpretative frame for examining how specific discursive processes have been able to shape the meaning attributed to peoples' experiences of the earthquakes. Further the concepts assist to understand the ways in which the recovery was formulated and the effects on the lives of various sub-populations, specifically the children and parents that school social workers hoped to assist. This initial discussion sets the scene for a more in-depth account of Foucault's treatment of biopolitics and what it offers this inquiry. In the second section I seek to explicate the 'bio' of biopolitics, the fundamental concepts underpinning a vitalist, transorganic conception of life. I propose a social and cultural schema for the analysis of the contemporary life discourses shaping thought and actions that respond to the implications of the disaster events in Christchurch. The third section of this chapter focuses on the politics of life and living beings and I consider Foucault (2013a, 2013b) examination of a historical shift from sovereign power to biopolitics and his treatment of normalisation and State racism. Some critiques of this work and Foucault's later re-development of biopolitics in relation to the concepts of security and governmentality help to develop a nuanced analytical frame for this study. The final part of the chapter takes up Foucault's concern with the technologies of self and pastoral power as a means to understand the constitution of affected individuals such as the children and their parents in Christchurch schools. My primary intention in this

chapter is to clarify how biopolitics informs the conceptual and analytical frame taken up in this study for exploring the political recovery processes in Christchurch and the work of social workers in schools, where the care for post-earthquake life was a primary concern.

1.   Knowledge, power relations and subjectivity

Knowledge, power relations and subjectivity are the major themes of Foucault (1978, 2003d, 2003e) work. He used the term discourse to describe knowledge that is 'within the true' (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014). Foucault sought to challenge 'the transcendental status of knowledge' by presenting how it is formed, effectively unmasking it's taken-for-granted character. As Bacchi and Bonham (2014) describe, he considered discourses to be formations of knowledge *and* practices, as both thought and action.   The authors add that discursive practices are "the operation of a whole package of relationships" that enable predominant thought and actions to be "legitimate and meaningful" (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014, p. 178). Any understanding of an event enables specific social practices to emerge; certain ways of acting that close off or marginalise other kinds of actions (Burr, 2006, p. 64). Furthermore, knowledge of any given event is considered to make it possible for one person to act in particular ways towards another, "to claim resources, to control or be controlled" (Burr, 2006, p. 64). In this study, discourse is understood as a historically contingent form of social action that constructs all aspects of the social world including specific social patterns (Burr, 2006). Discursive processes are considered as significant in determining 'what is known' and 'what is to be done' in relation to the recovery objectives, programmes of action and school social work practices in post-earthquake Christchurch.

The link between knowledge and power relations is another fundamental aspect of Foucault's work. Throughout much of his career Foucault was "concerned with how knowledge was put to work through discursive practices, in specific institutional settings, to regulate the conduct of others" (Hall, 2001, p. 77). He elaborated that power is a relation, not a thing or something that can be possessed. He considered there to be different modes of power that are able to produce what becomes 'self-evident', what is known about people and how they should respond to an event or phenomenon. He was interested in how these modes of power operated in relation to its technologies, which he described as "any apparatus or mechanisms of power structured by a practical rationality governed by a more or less conscious goal" (Rose, 1996, p. 131).

Thus, the notion of power relations being effected through discourses rather than residing in specific people or institutions demarcates a central position of Foucault's work. As Lemke (2007) notes, this position contrasts markedly to that of those who propose State theories of power or seek to devise a model for State authority and activity. Foucault argued for the centrality of dominant forms of political knowledge in the constitution of the State and its activities (Lemke, 2011a, p. 43). Essentially this de-centres the State, configuring it as an instrument and effect of political strategies that define the external borders between the public and the private, and the state and civil society (Lemke, 2011a, p. 43). Further, in using the concept of technology he includes within his framework of power those techniques that act on the constitution of the self – the micro relations of power rather than just a top-down model of state power. For Foucault (as cited by Golder, 2007) the state is not the centre or origin of power; he emphasises that relations of power extend beyond the boundaries the state (p. 171). He considers the emergence of the state to be situated historically in the field of political practices, thus eschewing any notions of the state as a "transcendent reality" (Golder, 2007, p. 171). This perspective is useful in recognising the operation of multiple modes of power that shape the Christchurch earthquake recovery processes and school social workers' practices. It also highlights the ways that State mechanisms can be enacted by non-government aid agencies, such as the NZRC and local Christchurch social services, in which social workers are involved, in the governing of those individuals and collectives considered to be in need of assistance. Each of these recovery authorities functions as a node or an intersection point within a network of power relations – as they are both subject to power and subject others to power relations (Foucault, 1972a).

Foucault (1972b) was clear that disciplines such as social work are part of the mechanism of power – a force that produces knowledge. By disciplines Foucault (1972b) refers to "groups of objects, methods, their corpus of propositions considered to be true, the interplay of rules and definitions, of techniques and tools…" (p. 60). He adds that for a proposition to belong to a discipline it must meet certain conditions, it must refer to a specific range of objects and must fit within the theoretical field. Thus, social work as a discipline is one way in which power relations are enacted to establish what is taken as 'true'. For example, for a proposition to be 'known' within social work arguably it must be concerned with the state of human lives. As the current definition of social work articulates, "Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people" (International Federation of Social Workers, 2014). Therefore, whilst a broad field of knowledge and methods, a discipline such as social work "recognises true and false propositions" (Foucault, 1972b, p. 60).

The discipline of social work functions to order the production of discourse and also is part of discourses that function to govern it. This can also be an enabling process. For example, global concerns on the environmental have extended the profession's focus on the human world to that of the natural environment, highlighting climate change as a cause that social workers ought to take up (for example Dominelli, 2012). Foucault (1972b) stressed that as disciplines develop, more resources become available in the production of its discourses. This is a useful consideration in this study which not only seeks to examine the discursive formations that shaped school social work in the post-earthquake context but also to explore alternative conceptualisations and practices that may have been less visible in this setting. The hope is that emergent practices may be further explored by social workers as alternative approaches to their work in schools.

Foucault placed emphasis on how certain discourses are induced by power relations to become 'truths' and how these representations position subjects, influencing the actions and choices available to them (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 9). Foucault (1997c) also attends to the ways individuals act upon themselves. He considers this to be the process whereby they "effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and ways of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality" (Foucault, 1997c, p. 225). Rose (1996) refers to these processes as subjectification, describing them as the heterogeneous processes and practices through which "human beings come to relate to themselves and others as a certain type" (pp. 130 - 131). He explicates that any sense of ourselves as having freedom or liberty or being self-aware is conditioned by a range of technologies of power that centre on the "modes of being human as their object" (Rose, 1996, p. 131). Rose (1996) considers that the various technologies are interconnected although they have different effects and involve specific modes of the education so that individuals are able to acquire certain skills and specific attitudes. Foucault (as cited by Golder, 2007) also considered the practices of self-formation as a site of contestation to the political forms of self, emphasising that an individual's self-practices can involve questioning the foundational basis of what is taken to be true about the self and the ways he or she is daily constituted (p. 175). Foucault's attention to the "governing of the self" (Lemke, 2007, p. 43) aids an analysis of how those individuals and collectives deemed to have specific needs in the aftermath of the earthquakes may have been incited to take up specific self-development practices. In this study, the involvement of school social workers is investigated for their roles within these processes of subjectification.

Embedding these considerations within a biopolitical lens enables me to examine some of the effects of the prevalent knowledge of life and governance strategies aimed at securing, restoring and revitalising life in the aftermath of the earthquakes. To do this I was guided by Rabinow and Rose (2006) and Lemke (2011a) who advocate for the dimensions of biopolitical knowledge, power and subjectivity to be analysed according to some minimum standards. Firstly, they advise that examining the 'knowledge of life' necessitates making visible those knowledge systems that are active in constituting biopolitical spaces and defining subjects as living beings and objects of intervention (Lemke, 2011a, p. 119). These discourses are considered to have vitalistic characteristics and connect with biological, naturalistic and sociological perspectives (Rabinow & Rose, 2006, p. 197). Examining these knowledges also involves attending to the work of school social workers who are conceived of as being discursively located in schools as 'experts of the truth' related to the human sciences. Secondly, it is recommended that the life-affirming interventions that are directed at individual and collective existence are interrogated, according to Rabinow and Rose (2006). This means investigating the network of political techniques and mechanisms that relate together within a wellbeing-enhancing and community-focused recovery strategy and in relation to school social workers' caring, pastoral objectives. Lastly, it requires examining those mechanisms through which individuals are encouraged "to work on themselves, under certain forms of authority, in relation to the truth discourses, by means of practices of the self, in the name of individual or collective life or health" (Rabinow & Rose, 2006, p. 197). Whilst presented separately, these three elements are understood as intimately connected as discursive and political arrangements that "take living beings as their objects" (Lemke, 2011a, p. 215) and as such they form the primary biopolitical analytics used in this study.

2. The 'bio' of biopolitics

In his early work in the book The *Order of Things* Foucault (2002) analysed the emergence of modern biology in the nineteenth century as a science of life. Mader (2011) and Blencowe (2011) argue that understanding what Foucault means in his proposal for biopolitics as the deployment of the knowledge of life requires attention to this account of biological knowledge. In this section I outline Mader's (2011) and Blencowe's (2011) close readings of *The Order of Things* and also Mader's (2011) analysis of Foucault's paper titled *La situation de Cuvier dans l'histoire de la biologie* to identify three normative features of biological life, namely its vitalistic, transorganic and individualising/collectivising characteristics. I link these features to Foucault's (1978) first outline of biopolitics in *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* and discuss the implications of this biological perspective for exploring the

knowledge of post-earthquake life and the modes of recovering promoted within the selected policies and also the interviews with school social workers.

Life as vital and progressive

In *The Order of Things* (2002) Foucault details a discursive shift within biological science in the late eighteenth century that he considered to have transitioned "from a natural continuum in the classical period to a biological continuum in the modern epoch" (Mader, 2011, p. 100). Key to this shift was the work of Cuvier (1817, as cited by Foucault, 2002), who proposed the principle of relationality for explaining the notion of progress in evolutionary processes. Cuvier claimed an organism is a holistic, integrated system with a sole purpose: to stay alive (Blencowe, 2011). He set out a new biology based on a functionalist conception of life where the various organs and systems of an organism are considered to operate as integral parts of a unified system. Foucault considered Cuvier's functionalist account of species to be a marked contrast with understandings within the natural history discipline, prevalent in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, which tended to focus on the visible differences between species (Blencowe, 2011, p. 46). Within this newer way of understanding life Foucault notes the biological classification of living beings is no longer found in a comprehensive system of physiological order but rather it emerges from its functions; those elements not immediately visible (Blencowe, 2011, pp. 46-47). Modern biology imbues life with a transorganic quality that functions in order to protect life over time. Life becomes something that pre-exists and extends beyond the individual bodies of organisms, it exceeds their life span and as such cannot be controlled (Blencowe, 2011, p. 34). In these terms life is "comprised of self-generating and self-regulating, self-assessing/justifying, auto-normative, autonomous forces" (Blencowe, 2011, p. 34). To be clear, this is an 'anti-reductive' perspective, which posits life as evolutionary, maximising and developmental. As a 'true discourse' that constitutes the creative and progressive nature of life as self-evident, bio discourse actively promotes humans living in ways that celebrate or promote the vitality of life.

Foucault (1978) discusses how the vitalistic, progressive features of life are infused within modern biopolitical action. He claims "the mechanisms of power are addressed to the body, to life, to what causes it to proliferate, to what reinforces the species, its stamina, its ability to dominate, or its capacity for being used" (Foucault, 1978, p. 147). Biopolitics operates through notions of wellbeing, health, reproduction and the strength of the social body and as a modern technology of power. It seeks to make life its object, a politics of life, seeking to invest in these most vital aspects of humans as living beings. Thus, the earthquake recovery models, interventions and actions can be considered in relation to such dynamic notions of species development and biological adaptation. It also

highlights the significance in this study for questioning the relations between the vitalistic notions of knowledge of human life and the optimal forms of living, promoted and enacted in the practices of school social workers.

Situating life at the species level

Another major aspect of the bio, which Foucault (2002) found in the work of Cuvier, is the concern of life at the species level. There had been a tradition within natural history to focus on individual differences as a way of ordering organisms and thereby understanding life. For Cuvier however, life could not be understood at the level of individual difference (Blencowe, 2011). The differentiations between living organisms are not arbitrary classification points, rather they are fundamental divisions between "distinct, integral, life systems" (Blencowe, 2011, p. 47). From this perspective functioning at the species level becomes the new object of study; a transcendent character of life that lies beyond surface differences (Blencowe, 2011, p. 47). Where there is commonality between the different forms of life, it is in relation to these functions, which provides connections between the species and the ultimate objectives to sustain life. Consequently, the representations of living organisms made significant in natural history collapse and no longer are these biological forms of life brought together within a system of gradated order. Organisms are differentiated at the species level, where they are understood to operate as holistic systems (Blencowe, 2011).

This attention to the collective life of the species and function shows itself in Foucault (1978) work in relation to the general theme of the population. He emphasised the emergence of the population in relation to modern statistical measurements of birth and death, reproduction, life expectancy, and health rates. He noted that collectives began to be "treated as social bodies that must be managed, made useful, regulated for the general welfare, and optimized (sic)" (Mader, 2011, p. 9). Consistent with Cuvier's view that the general purpose of organisms at the species level is to achieve life (Blencowe, 2011, p. 37), biopolitics, as a contemporary political discourse, is imbued with vitalistic and biological values that seek to activate people's capacities as a population or social body. Importantly for this inquiry these considerations are useful in exploring the ways in which the recovery strategies sought to enhance human life and the health and security of the Christchurch population.

Connecting the individual and the collective

Foucault (1978) provides a link between the life at the collective level and that of the individual body. In doing so he makes connections between the works of Cuvier and renown nineteenth century biologist Darwin which at first glance seems unlikely, given there appears to be little commonality

between the two perspectives. Cuvier was concerned with the life of the species whereas Darwin, as Blencowe (2011) discusses, tended to focus more on the individual organism and its struggle to extend its life. Blencowe (2011) however argues that Foucault's work provides the basis for understanding how "Cuvier's speciesism … made Darwin's … individualism possible" (p. 48). Mader (2011) makes a similar argument, noting a prominent account of hereditary transmission in the nineteenth century connected the survival of the individual organism with the continuity of the whole species (p. 103). She adds that it was thought a species could only survive through the growth and development of individual organisms (p. 103). From this perspective, the individual and its species are co-dependent on each other for their continued existence. What an individual does has repercussions for the collective existence of the species and vice versa. Everyday individual actions thus become important within contemporary notions of biological species life, such that the division between individual and collective life is collapsed. The objectives of sustaining collective life become the standards for individual existence and a basis for all forms of regulations (Foucault, 1978, p. 146). This is a worthy consideration for this analysis, highlighting the potential connections between individual and collective modes of recovery espoused in the recovery objectives of the selected policies. Further, it is useful in shedding light on how school social workers' practices with individuals may be complementary to the recovery policy objectives for specific populations and in relation to the overall wellbeing of school communities and the Christchurch population.

In summary, outlining the features of biological discourse found in Foucault's early work enables the life affirming and positivity of his elaboration of biopolitics to be brought to light. From this perspective, as Revel (2014) advises, life is not reduced to biology by biopolitics; it is essentially a politics of life which is centred on "a working out, a creation of being" (p. 123). It is through this lens that I examine the knowledge informing post-earthquake recovery policies and school social work practices in Christchurch. This means that I seek to elaborate on the association between the positivity and vitality of post-earthquake life and the progressive, developmental and empowering characteristics of the recovery discourses used by the policy makers and school social workers. For example, I strive to understand how life at the level of the population is understood and regulated in ways that attempt to make Christchurch stronger for the benefit of all. Further I am interested in the ways that the divisions between individual and collective life are brought together within the proposed recovery processes and which individual and collective actions are conceived as important for the security of the broader population and which are not. These considerations serve as the socio-political context within which I examine the practices of school social workers in post-earthquake schools. Overall, my aim is to explore the types of knowledge informing the recovery objectives and

processes and the social workers' practices that were aimed at enhancing the wellbeing and vitality of the Christchurch population along with that of individuals and collectives within schools.

I now turn to more closely examine biopolitics to consider it more as a specific field of political actions. In line with the knowledge-power analytics of this study, I am cognisant of attending to how the technologies of power "mobilize knowledge of life and how processes of power generate and disseminate forms of knowledge (sic)" (Lemke, 2011a, p. 119). This is a significant for considering the connection between the Christchurch recovery processes and school social work practice requires attention to the modes of living that are deemed problematic and as priorities for intervention in the post-earthquake context.

3. The 'politics' of biopolitics

Around the time *The History of Sexuality* was published in 1976, Foucault provided two sets of lectures titled *The Right to Die* and *Society Must Be Defended*, in which he provided in-depth discussion of his formulation of biopolitics. He elaborated on some key features of biopolitics as a productive form of power, its relation with the processes of normalisation, and its role in State racism. In the following section, I outline these characteristics, which I consider relevant within the Christchurch earthquake recovery context.

Biopower and biopolitics: The production and politics of life

In his initial formulation of biopower Foucault defines it as "a power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death" (Foucault, 1978, p. 138). Foucault (2013a) traces the emergence of biopower to the mid-eighteenth century and differentiates it from an earlier form of power, that of sovereign power which he describes as the "right to decide life and death" (p. 41). He identifies this older form of power as characteristic of societies in which a sovereign exercised rule over a country and was bestowed with the right to "take life or let live" (Foucault, 2013a, p. 42). The sovereign right tended to be exercised as a "means of deduction (prélèvement), a subtraction mechanism, a right to appropriate a portion of the wealth, a tax of products, goods and services, labor and blood, levied on the subjects (sic)" (Foucault, 2013a, p. 42). Sovereign power was fundamentally "a right of seizure: of things, time, bodies, and ultimately life itself; it culminated in the privilege to seize hold of life in order to suppress it (sic)" (Foucault, 2013a, p. 42). Whilst death was the right of the sovereign, this was rarely exercised as more often sovereign power was applied as the right to 'let live' and to seizure of

property. Whereas sovereign power worked to repress the forces under its control, biopower, according to Foucault (2013b), emerged as the "power to make live" (p. 67). It worked to "incite, reinforce, control, monitor, optimize, and organize the forces under it: a power bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them, rather than one dedicated to impeding them, making them submit, or destroying them (sic)" (Foucault, 2013a, p. 42). Where the sovereign model of power was signified by the right of death, biopower is a positive, life-affirming, vitalist power exemplifying "the right of the social body to ensure, maintain, or develop its life" (Foucault, 2013a, p. 42). Thus biopower is not conceived as a benign mode of power; it seeks to expand, rather than limit, the forces of life (Campbell & Sitze, 2013, p. 39).

In Foucault's initial formulation of biopower he considered it to operate as a two-pole configuration of power, that of disciplinary power and biopolitics. Disciplinary power, the focus of Foucault's (1975) earlier writing in *Discipline and Punish*, is understood as the techniques of power essentially centred on the individual body. Foucault (2013b) traces the emergence of disciplinary power to the seventeenth century at a time when there was increasing focus on the "administration of bodies", which he associated with the development of various disciplines and institutions, including schools (p. 44). Disciplinary power includes all those devices that seek to "ensure the spatial distribution of individual bodies (their separation, their alignment, their serialization, and their surveillance) and the organization, around those individuals, of a whole field of visibility (sic)" (Foucault, 2013b, p. 63). It also includes as those techniques that are used to take control over bodies and increase their productivity through exercise, drills, and so on (p. 63). To ensure cost effectiveness, techniques for rationalising and economising are employed within this system of power relations which includes a "whole system of surveillance, hierarchies, inspections, bookkeeping, and reports" (Foucault, 2013b, p. 63). However despite its integration into systems of efficiency and economic controls the procedures of disciplinary power should not be viewed as primarily extortive or constraining; the techniques also seek to optimise the capabilities of individual bodies (Foucault, 2013a, p. 44). As Harwood (2012) explains, these individuals are not at the total mercy of sovereign power (p. 19), reminding us that Foucault's view of modern power is of a relational, rather than possessive, force. Disciplinary power is a set of relations that works "via individuals disciplining themselves, it is a form of surveillance internalised…not a power that forces by sheer violence" (Harwood, 2012, p. 19). Thus, the emergence of disciplinary power also marked the shift to the emphasis on 'life' whereas sovereign power was the 'right to let live'; this new form of power focused on the development and optimisation of individual bodies.

Biopolitics, the second pole of biopower, first emerged in the mid-eighteenth century. According to Foucault (2013b) was set in motion by disciplinary mechanisms, serving as a basis for a whole set of "biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary" (p. 44). However, unlike disciplinary power, which is an individualising mode of power, these techniques addressed humans at their "multiplicity" (Foucault, 2013b, p. 64). As noted the emergence of biopolitics was brought about by the field of demography and its development of statistics. Thus, biopolitical mechanisms are considered to operate at the level of the population. Through the use of statistics and forecasting tools, populational phenomena are considered to show consistency and regularity. These characteristics also make such phenomena amenable to intervention but only at their collective existence, as Foucault (2013b) emphasises "at the level of their generality" (p. 67).

Foucault was careful to reinforce that the historical appearance of the mechanisms of biopolitics did not exclude those of disciplinary power. This is an important insight for this study, which seeks to bring together the broader biopolitical arrangements for the recovery of the Christchurch population with those disciplinary techniques employed in schools, and by social workers, for the benefit and development of children and their parents. Foucault (2013a) proposed the two forms of power should not be considered "antithetical" and although they constituted two different poles of development, "a whole intermediary cluster of relations" linked them together (p. 45). Biopolitics, as a form of regulatory power integrates, modifies and infiltrates disciplinary power by embedding itself within existing techniques (Foucault, 2013b, p. 63). Foucault (2013b) illustrates how the two poles of biopower work together, which he claims on one hand gives "rise to infinitesimal surveillances, permanent controls, extremely meticulous orderings of space, indeterminate medical or psychological examinations, to an entire micro-power concerned with the body" (p. 49). And on the other it establishes "comprehensive measures, statistical assessments, and interventions aimed at the entire social body or at groups taken as a whole" (Foucault, 2013b, p. 49). In this study the relation between biopolitics and disciplinary power allows for the exploration of the social workers' therapeutic interventions with individual children, parents and families in schools, alongside a focus on the recovery policies' objectives for enhancing the wellbeing of whole Christchurch populations in the wake of the earthquakes.

The normalising society

Another feature of biopower is the way it functions in relation to social, political and economic norms. Stoler (1995) argues that this is a key area of interest for Foucault– the norm that circulates between

disciplinary and regulatory processes (p. 72). She notes normalisation is a theme in Foucault's (1975) work, where he emphasised how the carceral system of the nineteenth century produced a 'graduation' that enabled the criminal to be defined "by irregularities, departures from the norm, anomaly and criminal deviations" (Stoler, 1995, p. 34). Further, in *Madness and Civilization*, Foucault (as cited by Stoler, 1995) set out "to write a history of boundaries … by which a culture rejects something that it will designate for itself as Exterior" (p. 34). Foucault (2013b) outlines that it is the norm that will become applied to both the individual body and population alike, making it possible to control both the disciplinary order of the body and the random events that occur at the general level of human life (p. 72). To do this, regulatory mechanisms such as statistical measurement function in the development of norms that serve as reference points to establish equilibrium or homeostasis and the means to target variations within the general population (Foucault, 2013b, p. 67). This raises the question in this study of how does the knowledge of a 'normal' recovery become applied to individuals and collectives in schools by social workers? In addition, how do these individualising normative processes relate to populational level mechanisms developed to regulate the overall recovery in greater Christchurch?

Race and State racism

The focus on norms in Foucault's work and his attention to the shift in the nineteenth century to a normalising society are fundamental to his examination of another modern phenomena, that of State racism. Essentially Foucault (2013b) examines how the State operates to separate out the various groups that exist within a population.   He considers that this process draws on biological understandings of the human species, enabling distinctions between certain races to be made, where some are described as good and others as bad or inferior (Foucault, 2013b, p. 74). It should be noted that race is not represented as an ethnically defined category; Foucault (2013b) observes how the division of the population occurs according to a range of norms including mental illness, degeneracy and social class distinctions, enacting a kind of culturalist racism. In this study State racism offers a way to consider how constituting a normal recovery may have enabled the recovery policies' programmes of action to target those individuals and collectives deemed as 'abnormal' or lacking in the abilities to cope sufficiently with the demands of the earthquakes. For Foucault (2013b) this is the hallmark of State racism – the differentiation of the 'abnormal' and 'normal', enacted by a normalising power resolved to protect and secure life. He adds that creating divisions within life in this way functions so as to bring it under power's control (Foucault, 2013b, p. 74).

Modern racism for Foucault (2013a, 2013b) operates via functions. Firstly, as outlined, it operates to fragment the population along a biological continuum to produce the subspecies understood as races (Foucault, 2013b, p. 74). This division of the social body is the precondition for the second function that allows the death of the inferior, the degenerate or the abnormal to facilitate the vitality of the species. This points to a deadly function within biopower where killing or the right to kill is acceptable if it is premised on "the elimination of the biological threat to and the improvement of the species or race" (Foucault, 2013b, p. 75). By killing, Foucault (2013b) also refers to 'social death' such as those acts that result in the exclusion and rejection of subpopulations. Therefore, biopower can reinforce current inequalities, racism and continue those structural barriers that limit life for some, in order to secure the whole population. It highlights the importance of attending to the potential exclusionary practices of the recovery arrangements and processes.

In summary, Foucault's initial discussions of biopower and biopolitics offers some important parameters for the theoretical lens employed in this study. Biopower is formulated as a positive mode of power, which assists to frame the earthquake recovery practices, including those of school social workers, as productive techniques for preserving and enhancing the lives of individuals, collectives and populations. From this perspective, biopower enables an examination of how the people of Christchurch were taught or encouraged to look after themselves in such a way that they might return to a state of 'normality' and participate fully in the rebuild processes. Further, through taking up this theorising offered by Foucault (2013a, 2013b), enables the recovery processes to be located at the levels of individual bodies and the social body of the Christchurch population; within the broad recovery policy context of the recovery and the school locales within which school social workers were situated. Within these political arrangements, appreciating the extent to which normative knowledge delineated what was considered to be a 'normal' recovery state becomes important. As is recognising how these representations were enacted to manage those individuals and collectives deemed 'abnormal' and in need of special assistance. Because although the ethos of biopower is preserving life it is, also the basis of justifications for practices of exclusion, against those individuals and collectives considered to weaken the vitality of the population.

It is also important to consider what Foucault (2013) offers in his later writing on biopolitics, in which he connects the concepts of security and governmentality to his model of modern power relations. Indeed, whilst there are continuities between his initial and later work, the addition of these concepts enables Foucault to formulate a more nuanced framework of power. However, to make sense of these

revisions, it is useful to first consider some of the main critiques of the initial work, those that Foucault seemed to anticipate.

Some critiques of Foucault's approach

Foucault's initial formulation of biopower has been considerably critiqued. One of the main claims is that it offers a functionalist, large scale epochal account of the shift in power relations (Collier, 2009; Patton, 2016). For instance, as Collier (2009) outlines, Foucault's discussion of the shift to biopower occurs when sovereign power, as an existing form of power, runs into limits or contradictions in the face of changes. These conditions were associated with industrial capitalism and include shifting demographics, expanding markets and urbanisation, making the emergence of the new modes of disciplinary and regulatory power necessary to resolve these tensions and address the demands of capitalist society (Collier, 2009, pp. 84-85). Collier (2009) argues this formulation is verging on a totalising analysis. He claims that whilst Foucault identified the two forms of power as distinct and intimately connected, he provided little elaboration as to the "character of this integration, infiltration and embedding" (Collier, 2009, p. 84).

Another concern is put forward by Esposito (2013c) who critiques Foucault's work for not effectively bridging the semantics of the productive and negative characteristics of biopolitics. He argues these considerations are crucial for making sense of the particularly violent expression of biopolitics in contemporary times. Events such as the post-9/11 bombing of Afghanistan, the Russian police force's use of lethal gas to overcome Chechen kidnappers, resulting in 128 fatalities of hostages and insurgents, and the 2003 drawing of blood (for pay) from Chinese peasants (Levinson, 2010, pp. 239-240). He questions whether biopower is to be understood as primarily positive, innovative and productive process or as something that is negative – "a lethal retreat from life?" (Campbell, 2006, p. 50). For Esposito there is a disjoint between the two 'drivers' of biopower which is the result of a breach between the two meanings of life and politics he considers to be never satisfactorily integrated in Foucault's initial formulation (Esposito, 2013b, p. 85). He argues that the consequence of this missing connection is that the two components are incompatible or only compatible when one is overlaid over the other. Either "life holds politics back" or life is "captured and prey to a politics that strains to imprison its innovative potential" (Esposito, 2011, p. 369). Esposito (2013b, p. 86) claims either biopower is completely freed from the sovereign regime, losing all links with its historical emergence, or it appears as an internal fold of sovereign power.

Finally, Lemke (2011a) contends Foucault's early formulation of biopower and biopolitics was "one-dimensional and reductive", in the sense that it failed to adequately address the ways in which liberalism as a contemporary governing rationality and arrangement of political practices was infused in the politics of life (p. 7). He argues that biopolitics cannot be examined without due attention to the "economization of life (sic)" (Lemke, 2011a, p. 7) alongside the life of a population. In Foucault's later work Lemke (2011a) finds a more dynamic version of biopolitics; one that functions within the liberal constellation of governmental practices. It is to Foucault's later development of biopolitics, including his notions of security and governmentality, where he addresses many of these perceived limitations, to which I now turn.

Biopolitics, security and governmentality

In 1977-78 Foucault (2007) provided a series of lectures titled *Security, Territory, and Population* in which he shifted his previous elaborations of biopower from a kind of dominant force of power to biopolitics, an ensemble of various heterogeneous political techniques and mechanisms. He also linked biopolitics to the concept of governmentality, known as an "art of government that historically emerges with liberal forms of social regulation and individual self-governance" (Lemke, 2011a, p. 34). The emergence of governmentality in Foucault's (2007) work also denotes a shift in his conception of power relations from a "struggle from contending forces" to that of "action on the action of others" (p. 226). These revisions to biopolitics enabled it to be located within a more complex theoretical and technical framework.

In his newer formulation Foucault (2007) posits biopolitics as a technology of power enacted as mechanisms, and what he initially referred to as regulatory power is revised as the technology of security. According to Foucault (2007) security has three main characteristics. First it is conceives of phenomena such as crime, food scarcity and so on, in terms of its statistical probability. Second it evaluates the possible political responses to the phenomena in terms of cost. Third it establishes an "average considered as optimal on the one hand, and, on the other, a bandwidth of the acceptable that must not be exceeded" (p. 20). Whilst these could be considered subtle distinctions from the initial outline of regulatory power, according to Collier (2009) they actually denote a significant modification in Foucault's analysis. Power which was initially conceived of as "an extension of control over new domains: the population, productive processes, biological life" is reformulated to a distinct arrangement of techniques and interventions (Collier, 2009, p. 86).

The shift to security also involves a more detailed account of the specific differences between Foucault's previous formulations of the two poles of biopower. Rather than positing disciplinary and biopolitics as the two complementary components of a coherent logic of power, Foucault (2007) proposes that they operate as different mechanisms of power in a number of ways. Firstly, he describes the character of discipline in terms of how it "concentrates, focuses, and encloses" (p. 67). In contrast, he describes the mechanisms of security as having a "constant tendency to expand" to integrate new elements such as behaviour, psychology, the ways of doing things, and so on (p. 67). Security, from this perspective, "involves organizing, or … allowing the development of ever-wider circuits (sic)" of power/ knowledge (Foucault, 2007, p. 67). Further, where disciplinary power relations aim to manage everything, security relations try to work with phenomena as they occur. Security is applied only to the management of phenomena at the level of the population (Foucault, 2007, p. 87). The concept of the population employed here should not be confused with notions of a collection of individual sovereign subjects nor is it defined in terms of local territorial domains. Foucault (2007) stipulates the population encompasses notions of humans as biological forms at the species level. He adds that it also acts as "a set of elements in which we can note constants and regularities even in accidents" (Foucault, 2007, p. 74). The concept of the population offers political authorities a surface on which "calculated transformations" can get a hold (Foucault, 2007, p. 74).

As Golder (2007) explains, drawing on the example of disease management that Foucault (2007) provides in the *Security, Territory, and Population* lecture series, security arrangements differ markedly to those taken up within disciplinary mechanisms. Disciplinary approaches would likely "involve treating the sick and preventing contagion among the wider population by forcibly isolating cases of infection" (Golder, 2007, p. 163). In contrast a strategy that employed securitising interventions would firstly employ statistics "to calculate the normal expectation, among the population as a whole, of being affected by the disease or of dying from it" (Golder, 2007, p. 163). Making use of statistical techniques, such as birth and death rates, as Jaeger (2010) elaborates, operationalises life, producing "the very reality of the population that is subject to regulatory interventions, whose security is considered to depend on statistical probabilities or averages" (p. 69). Golder (2007) emphasises that a securitising approach would attempt to separate the various forms of normality within the different groupings of the broader population in order to manage the "interplay of the different normalities in order to achieve an optimum result." (p. 163). He adds that this could involve "specific, tailored interventions to arrest the spread of disease in certain areas" (Golder, 2007, p. 163), or it could involve a laissez-faire response where certain groups are left untreated.

Any sense of the former epochal histories of societies in relation to the transformations of power relations are dismissed in this newer formulation of biopolitics. Foucault (2007) clearly articulates that the emergence of the modes of power should not be considered "a series of successive elements" where one form of power became redundant, necessitating the need for a replacement (p. 22). Thus Foucault (2007) revises his initial stance stating "there is not the legal age, the disciplinary age, and then the age of security, proposing instead a "system of correlation between juridico-legal mechanisms, disciplinary mechanisms, and mechanisms of security" (p. 22). No longer are power relations in a given age considered to originate from a single logic, be it sovereignty, disciplinary or regulatory rationalities; rather, multiple logics apply. The focus is on the principles that enable new 'arts of governance' to be constituted without implying their occurrence on the basis of societal necessity (Collier, 2009, p. 80).

Foucault (2007) considers that there is no totalising logic of power or one rationality excluding all others in conceptualising the diverse range of mechanisms and techniques active in responding to any given phenomena. Although, as Collier (2009) argues, he does make provision for conceptualising that one mode of power can provide the guiding norms and the overall objectives in addressing phenomena without dominating all power relations (p. 89). In such a way biopolitical security can provide a principle that constitutes and conditions how a range of diverse techniques, institutional processes and other modes of power function and work together (Collier, 2009, p. 89). This configurative principle is useful in considering how the imperatives to 'restore life' may have acted as an orientating characteristic to the recovery responses to manage the Christchurch earthquakes and how it may have positioned notions of community recovery as a key political and social objective. It is also helpful in bringing together the diverse programme of actions, different techniques and practices that were activated as part of the Christchurch recovery processes, including those that saw the increased involvement of social workers in schools.

A shift to include sovereign power, albeit in its contemporary form as juridico-legal power, within the biopolitical security marks another important revision of Foucault's former articulation of biopower. Rather than the epochal transformation of sovereignty to biopower in this new formulation there is what Jaeger (2010) refers to as the "biopolitical reprogramming of sovereignty" (p. 56). Foucault (2007) traces this shift to an 'art of government', which he considered to have emerged in the late eighteenth century when the population became an object of concern. It is also referred to as governmentality, which is defined as:

The ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument (Foucault, 2007, p. 144).

Governmentality also broadly refers to a particular arrangement of political rationalities and techniques for the guidance and transformation of conduct (Jaeger, 2010, p. 56). According to Foucault (as cited by Jaeger, 2010) biopolitical governance emerged in a context when the sovereign model of power based on control and authority became ineffective: "too many things were escaping the power of sovereignty, both at the top and at the bottom … at the level of detail and at the mass level" (p. 56). However, with the development of governmentality, sovereignty is not eliminated; rather it is assigned a 'copresence', recognised as a more discrete, contemporary force operating in relation to individual rights and the law. As Cisney and Morar (2016) claim, sovereign power continues to exist but in democratised forms. The sovereign individual is considered as "rational, reasonable, responsible, and capable of making good decisions, of exercising one's own 'sovereignty', so long as she (or he) does not impose her (or his) will on another 'sovereign' individual within the system" (Cisney & Morar, 2016, p. 41). Further, in relation to the law, as Jaeger (2010) argues, "legal norms are deduced from the (statistically) normal and operate within a continuum of security apparatuses … with regulatory (rather than judicial) functions (p. 56). Put simply, this means that the law in contemporary times is constituted by normative concepts and emphasises the expertise of public health and medical knowledge and authorities, which includes social workers.

It is worth noting that for Esposito (2013c) Foucault's (2007) re-working of biopolitics is still problematic because of its overly affirmative character, in that it seeks to expand and maximise life (p. 374). Specifically what makes it troublesome for Esposito (2013c) is that it fails to account for the multitude of situations in modernity that result in the mass production of death. He asks, "How do we explain that the culmination of a politics of life generated a lethal power that contradicts the productive impulse?" (p. 376). There is however much commonality of Esposito's understanding of biopolitics with Foucault's in that he outlines that its purpose is to save life, to protect it and develop it as a whole (Esposito, 2013b, p. 44). Where he differs is in his argument that despite its life affirming objective, biopolitics makes use of an instrument that is inherently bound to the negative and internally contradicts its objectives (Esposito, 2013b, p. 44). He refers to this mechanism as immunity, which he positions as the instrument through which both the life-affirming and negating aspects of biopolitics can be understood and brought together. I take up Esposito's formulation of the immunity paradigm in this study and provide a fuller discussion of it in the next chapter. The immunity paradigm

is valuable in examining exclusionary practices through which, for example, as I explore in chapter four, vulnerable individuals and populations are deemed in need of specialised therapeutic assistance before they can be part of the community. Immunity is of additional value in this study because Esposito locates it as an important political practice, which attempts to institute community as a form of collective belonging, but, paradoxically, at the same time operates in such a way that it undermines any real basis for communal bonds. This is important in this inquiry for examining how the programmes of action and school social work practices, which have sought to establish community as part of the recovery, in some ways may have undermined their own objectives.

Nonetheless, despite Esposito's (2013c) critique, the concept of governmentality is valuable in this analysis of biopolitics, making visible both the liberal and neo-liberal forms of governance that are active in the recovery management processes. Foucault traced the development of classic liberalism in the nineteenth century to German liberalism in the post-World War II context and to the Chicago School liberalism that became prominent in the United States in the 1970s (Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde, 2009, p. 3). He articulated liberalism essentially as "an art of governing that arises as a critique of excessive government---a search for a technology of government that can address the recurrent complaint that authorities are governing too much" (Rose et al., 2009, p. 3). For Foucault (2007), the non-interference characteristic of biopolitical security is linked to this form of liberalism – which is premised on "allowing free movement, letting things follow their course; … acting so that reality develops, goes its way, and follows its own course according to the laws, principles, and mechanisms of reality itself" (p. 70). From this perspective the population is not so much a target of State control but rather is a 'principle of limitation' on State activity (Collier, 2009, p. 87). Liberalism also considers that the "organisation and maintenance of markets is among the most influential ways in which … to regulate the behaviour of those whom they govern" (Patton, 2016, p. 226). The liberal economy acts to ensure the management of life and populations is aligned with calculations of efficiency or utility (Jaeger, 2010, p. 55).

Neo-liberalism, as Jaeger (2010) outlines, emerged in reaction to the welfarist forms of liberal governance in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries (p. 58). Generally, it developed at a time when the Keynesian Welfare State was being challenged for excessively interfering in the market and it sought to extend the market principles into all matter of societal domains including the activities of the State itself (Jaeger, 2010, p. 58). Essentially the neoliberal model seeks to promote competition. It is also premised on a principle of freedom in the form of individuals exercising free choice. In contrast to welfarist liberalism, which had governed more in

relation to the dangers to the population, neoliberalism tends to govern individuals so that they relate to themselves as at risk and in relation to individual responsibility (Jaeger, 2010, p. 58). To be clear however, one form of liberal governance is not understood as replacing the other as a dominant framework of State power. This study seeks to examine the diverse forms of governance to understand how the techniques for the efficient management of the population and the concerns for post-earthquake lives connect to the ways in which individual's and collectives' recoveries may have been understood and conducted as self-development projects. Thus, the concepts and practices associated with both forms of liberal governance are considered to be available discourses in the contemporary political arrangements and processes that this study seeks to understand.

Using governmentality in this study enables a focus beyond just that of the regulation of the population to the ways that children and parents in schools worked to constitute themselves as subjects (Lemke, 2011a, p. 11) – a process within which the role of the school social worker was potentially significant. Alongside the rise of liberalism Foucault (2007) connected the emergence of governmentality to a form of power he referred to as pastoral power, which essentially is a relation of care (p. 172). Recognising the emergence of biopolitical governance with pastoral power enables it to be more clearly articulated as a power that acts on the actions of people and thus is not confused with more narrowly defined processes of subjugation. These considerations are instructive for examining how life-affirming biopolitical objectives may have been evident in the caring, governing actions of school social workers, which aimed to support and protect the lives of children and parents. I turn to these modes of subjectivation in the next section.

In summary, I have outlined some key features of biopolitics and the ways in which Foucault developed the concept during the mid to late 1970s. This re-formulation helps to make visible the ways in which advanced liberal forms of governance focus on the capacities and actions of individuals and collectives as living beings and self-managing subjects. Notably, biopolitics shifts from being an overarching logic of power to a configurative arrangement, providing a valuable means to examine the interactive and contingent relations operating in the post-earthquake context of this study. Thus discipline and biopolitics are understood as two different forms of power relations that have different objects, the individual body and the collective body of the population. These power relations are also considered to have different aims – the establishment of order and the regulation and optimisation of life processes (Blencowe, 2011, p. 62). In this inquiry the complex, multifaceted framework of modern power relations is taken up to examine the interactions between disciplinary, biopolitical, sovereign and pastoral forms of power, their techniques and the ways in which they operate within a recovery

strategy that has sought to maximise, extend and strengthen individual and collective lives. I also seek to explore the ways in which the population is separated into sub-groups, the norms that serve these dividing practices and how they relate to the aims of restoring and protecting post-earthquake life.

4. Biopolitical subjectivities

In this study, I aim to trace some of the ways in which biopolitics, as a political rationality, shaped the constitution of post-earthquake subjectivities of individuals and collectives. Of particular interest are those practices that enable a basis for community, a theoretical focus I take up in more detail in the next chapter. In this section, I discuss the three main modes of subject formation that I draw on in this inquiry. The two modes of political subjectification and governmental self-formation are outlined before I turn to discuss pastoral relations, which are located as an essential analytic in exploring the practices of school social workers as they strive to care for the children and parents in post-earthquake schools. Pastoral relations are also useful in examining Foucault's analysis of a historical shift from practices that emphasised the 'care of the self' to those more aligned with 'knowing the self', from which he proposed a third mode of subjectification taken up in this study, that of ethical self-formation, which I outline in the final part of this section.

Governmental subjectification

Dean (1994) draws on the model of governmentality to propose an analytics of the political formation of the self, within which he distinguishes two modes of governmental subjectification. Firstly is political subjectification to denote the government of the State, by which he means the forms of knowledge and practices that treat individuals as if they were "political subjects in their diverse forms" (Dean, 1994, p. 155). This includes political processes that act on individuals as sovereign citizens within the self-governing political community of liberal democracy (Dean, 1994, p. 155). The second form of subjectification is governmental self-formation, which he refers to as the ways in which various experts, agencies and authorities, including non-government organisations, strive to influence the "conduct, aspirations, needs, desires, and capacities of specified categories of individuals"(Dean, 1994, p. 156). As well as the actions that seek to enlist these individuals to act in accordance with particular strategies and goals.

Dean (1994) outlines the modes of subjectification align well with the lens of biopolitics, taken up in this study, in that whilst the governing actions are recognisable in their refined application in sites

such as schools, they fit within broader securitising objectives including the whole social body (p. 156). As Blencowe (2011) notes, the securitisation of society is enacted "through the production of autonomous individuality" (p. 72). Liberalism, as discussed in the previous section, likewise emphasises this notion of self-formation "with its naturalistic ideas about social and economic behaviour and … vital, natural processes of self-regulation that must be both respected (left alone) and protected (secured)" (Blencowe, 2011, p. 72). In this way biopolitical governance, which addresses subjects by their autonomy, produces a space of self-formation (Blencowe, 2011, p. 72). The same can be said for disciplinary power which Dean (1994) discusses in relation to the simultaneous processes of political subjectification and governmental self-formation:

> Political subjectification works by the establishment of forms of self-relation
> through disciplinary practices and techniques of surveillance, and through the
> material organization of conduct in time-space. Thus the citizen - the self-
> governing subject of rights - and the "docile and useful" individual sought by
> disciplinary practices are reciprocal conditions (sic) (p. 157).

From this perspective biopolitical governance is intimately connected to the political and self-governmental techniques of subjectification, and thus is useful in examining the constitution of self-managing subjectivities of children and their parents in schools within a broad strategy for the rebuild of post-earthquake Christchurch.

In this study I seek to investigate the authority of school social workers enabled by the biopolitical mechanisms of power and modes of subjectification. Rose (1996) refers to authority as both the position of experts and notions of expertise enabled by the relations of governmental subjectification. Specifically this means "all the diverse persons, things, devices, associations, modes of thought, types of judgement that seek, claim, acquire or are accorded authority" (Rose, 1996, p. 131). However, in attending to these processes of subjectification that shape the social worker and client relationship I recognise I need to attend to another technology of subjectification, that of pastoral power, which is active in the relation of the subject to itself (Rose, 1996, p. 132). Pastoral power is a logic of care and salvation, complementary to biopolitical governmentality, and like disciplinary power is an individualising technology, also notable for its influence within modern institutions such as schools (Foucault, 2003e).

Pastoral power

In the *Security, Territory and Population* lectures, Foucault (2003d) attends to what he refers to as the precursor of biopolitical governmentality, that is, the history of the pastorate. He suggests that the

contemporary arts of government can be traced back to this configuration of a caring, welfare-focused authority (Golder, 2007, p. 165). Foucault (2003d) claims that pastoral power initially developed in Hebrew society and he uses the metaphor of the "shepherd watching over the sheep" (p. 259) to characterise it. The shepherd as a relation of power has a number of traits:

> It is exercised … over a multitude in movement toward a goal; it has the role of providing the flock with its sustenance, watching over it on a daily basis, and ensuring its salvation; lastly, it is a matter of a power that individualizes by granting, through an essential paradox, as much value to a single one sheep of the sheep as to the entire flock (sic) (p. 259-260).

Thus in its early emergence pastoral power is a relation in which one and all must be cared for and monitored so as to ensure the survival of the collective. Also, the flock does not exist without the activity of the shepherd, thus attributing power to the shepherd as a superior type who does not need approval for his/her activities (Prozorov, 2007a, p. 53).

Pastoral power was introduced into the West by Christianity, through which it took on ecclesiastical notions centring on "the government of souls as a central, knowledge-based activity indispensable for the salvation of each and every one" (Foucault, 2003d, p. 260). There are a number of continuities between the model of the shepherd and the emergence of Western Christian pastoral power in terms of how the pastor must look after the collective as a whole whilst simultaneously providing for each individual (Golder, 2007, p. 165). As a church-based form of power, the pastorate was to serve as an influential mode of power in the West until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At the end of feudalism, its influence declined when other modes of governance became prominent. These arrangements were denoted as "new forms of economic and social relations and new political structurations" (Foucault, 2003d, p. 260). Nonetheless, Foucault (2007) is clear that pastoral power which operates as a model for the governance of individuals began with Christianity.

Pastoral power as a contemporary mode of governance relates specifically to the procedures of individualisation and subjectification. Thus, it is useful for examining the individualising forms of power, which were enacted in the post-earthquake schools by and upon children and parents. Foucault (2003e) emphasises that welfare societies, charities and health agencies have been mobilised to take on pastoral functions and that this also increased the numbers of officials with pastoral authority (p. 133). Rose (1996) highlights that the contemporary pastoral form is articulated in relationships such as the social worker- client relation whereby the social worker takes on the role of an authoritative guide. Thus pastoral technologies of subjectification offer a lens to examine the

'caring' recovery-focused work of social workers and their therapeutic relationships with children and parents in post-earthquake schools.

Central to the modern formulation of pastoral power is the notion of truth and practices of the confession. Even in its contemporary form the relationship between the pastor and a member of the flock is articulated through confessional practices that occur within a power relationship (Foucault, 1997c, p. 62). Foucault (2003e) proposes that pastoral power cannot be enacted without knowing how individuals think and without them revealing their innermost secrets. He emphasises that the confession "implies a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it" (Foucault, 2003e, p. 162). The work of the confession is a significant technique employed within pastoral power to find and develop the truth of the self. He notes that within

> the most ordinary affairs of everyday life, and in the most solemn rites; one confesses one's crimes, one's sins, one's thoughts and desires, one's illnesses and troubles; one goes about telling, with the greatest precision, whatever is most difficult to tell. One confesses in public and in private, to one's parents, one's educators, one's doctor, to those one loves; one admits to oneself, in pleasure and in pain, things it would be impossible to tell to anyone else, the things people write books about (Foucault, 1997c, p. 59).

The modern technique of the confession still bears some resemblance to Christian notions of truth-telling but has spread beyond the confines of the Church to a multitude of pastoral relations. Rose (1996) adds that the confession has been joined by other therapeutic practices such as "role-modelling, coaching and mentoring" which become "enfolded into the person through a variety of schemas of self-inspection, self-suspicion, self-disclosure, self-decipherment and self-nurturing" (p. 132). In this study, confessional practices and other therapeutic actions facilitated by school social workers, such as self-disclosure, role modelling, coaching, guiding, educating and mentoring, are examined as pastoral modes of subjectification.

The relational characteristic of the confession can function to hide or mask the mechanisms of subjectification in action. As Foucault (1978) elaborates, what makes confessional practices effective is that they are positively constituted as a liberating experience – "confession frees, but power reduces one to silence; truth does not belong to the order of power, but shares an original affinity with freedom" (p. 60). Telling the truth of one's self, as opposed to remaining silent or being silenced tends to be prized as a means to free oneself from the hold of power. In this analysis, inquiring into technologies of the self, encouraged by school social workers, also attends to how these practices may

mask the relations of power, enabling the practitioners to situate their work as somehow outside power relations.

The modern manifestation of pastoral power is intimately connected to biopolitics in that the developmental aims of various and multiple agents of authority focus on the evolution of humans to individualised governance practices (Foucault, 2003e, p. 132). Within this schema, the Christian notion of salvation is re-worked within the contemporary pastoral form. No longer is the objective to lead "people to their salvation in the next world but, rather, ensuring it in this world" (Foucault, 2003e, p. 132). The notion of salvation within this world is also been linked with the objectives of biopolitics in relation to the health, wellbeing and security of the population. As Ojakangas (2005b) outlines a logic of care underpins the objectives of biopolitics, making its bond to the pastoral shepherd-flock relation clear. It highlights the potential continuities between a rationality of care and the biopolitical concerns for post-earthquake lives, enabling a consideration of the connections between the pastoral power relations of school social workers within the securitising mechanisms of the recovery of post-earthquake Christchurch.

Ethical self-formation

During the latter part of his work, Foucault was concerned with opening up and disrupting modern pastoral governance practices. He observed how pastoral power had been significant in establishing the notion of the self in relation to 'knowledge of the self' (Foucault, 1997c, p. 228). To do this he conducted a detailed analysis over two historical periods: Greek-Roman philosophy in the first two centuries A.D. and Christian principles, which emerged in the fourth and fifth centuries (Foucault, 1997c, pp. 225-226). This analysis led Foucault (1997c) to draw a number of conclusions including that among the Greeks, self-formation practices mainly centred on activities that focused on caring for the self (p. 226). Foucault (1997c) discusses how this principle of the 'care of the self' was reflected in different forms and denoted different sets of practices in the various traditions that over time gradually became secondary to the modern day principle of 'know yourself'. He notes several reasons for this shift. Firstly, the Christian basis of the contemporary notions of morality make "self-renunciation the condition for salvation" (Foucault, 1997c, p. 228), whereas 'Care of the self' does not align with this notion of self-rejection. Secondly, Western society has positioned external law as an important basis for morality. As Foucault (1997c, p. 228) claims "we are the inheritors of a social morality that seeks the rules for acceptable behavior in relations with others (sic)" (Foucault, 1997c, p. 228). Thirdly, in 'the age of reason' when logic and reason are held as paramount, the development of the 'thinking subject' through practices of 'know yourself' take on "an ever-increasing importance

as the first step in the theory of knowledge" (Foucault, 1997c, p. 228). Thus, technologies of the modern self have evolved to centre on the pastoral principle of 'know yourself'.

In undertaking this work, Foucault's intention was not to promote a return to the Greek way of life but to sketch a history of how the practices of self-formation had developed over time. The results of this investigation led him to conclude that the predominant mode of self-constitution in modernity is the code-based hierarchy of conduct entrenched in specific self-practices of morality (Foucault, 1997b, p. 261). However, Foucault (1997b) himself does not recognise that any specific code or principles for morality can effectively instruct or reveal the formation of the modern self. He proposes an analytical frame for examining the processes of self-constitution by the self as an ethical process. This mode of subjectification is referred to as "ethical self-formation". It is an analytical method which "concerns practices, techniques, and discourses of the government of the self by the self, by means of which individuals seek to know, decipher, and act on themselves (Dean, 1994, p. 156). In using the term 'ethics' Foucault makes a conscious distinction from any code-based understanding of the process of developing the 'moral self', by emphasising the "multiplicity of practices" that can be examined as distinct events in the formation of the self (Dean, 1994, p. 161).

Foucault (1997b) outlines four aspects of the process of ethical self-formation. Firstly is the aspect of ethical substance, or the ontology of existence that responds to such a question as "Which is the aspect or the part of myself or my behaviour which is concerned with moral conduct? (sic)" (Foucault, 1997b, p. 263). For example, focusing on one's feelings or thoughts is relevant for morality in modernity (Foucault, 1997b, p. 263). The second aspect is in relation to the rule or code that informs the practice; referred to as deontology, it is framed as "the way in which people are invited or incited to recognize their moral obligations (sic)" (Foucault, 1997b, p. 264). For example, it could be outlined in the Bible, the law or a code of conduct (Foucault, 1997b, p. 264). The third aspect is referred to as self-practices or aesthetics, which is described as the activities with which one works on one's self: "What are the means by which we can change ourselves in order to become ethical subjects? … What are we to do, either to moderate our acts, or to decipher what we are, or to eradicate our desires … in order to behave ethically?" (Foucault, 1997b, p. 265). The final aspect is "telos" or the ultimate goals for the self: "Which is the kind of being to which we aspire when we behave in a moral way? For instance, shall we become pure, or immortal, or free, or masters of ourselves, and so on?" (Foucault, 1997b, p. 265). Thus, Foucault offers a set of processes through which to analyse the kind of relationship to oneself in relation to four aspects of ethical formation. Dean (1994) considers these processes to be instructive in examining the various forms of governance of self and self-to-self

formation "between the minutiae of individual self-examination, self-care, and self-reflection and the techniques and rationalities concerned with the governance of the state" (p. 161). He recommends the ethical mode of analysis for both the practices of self-to-self-formation and governmental practices characterised by the 'conduct of conduct'. I take up this suggestion in this study to examine the social worker-client relation in schools and analyse them as practices of self-formation.

Ultimately, given the focus on community in this study, I am interested in how these ethical practices may be productive in forming collective or communal ways of relating in schools. However I note Hoyfmeyer (2006)'s critique of Foucault's ethics as essentially an individualised task. In the main these concerns centre on Foucault's emphasis on individual self-practices which Hoyfmeyer (2006) considers to be "a feat of individual heroism that does not reconcile with a notion of community" (p. 228). Foucault (2007) himself acknowledges the "individualizing tendency (sic)" (p. 75) of his formulation of ethics. White (as cited by Hoyfmeyer, 2006) argues Foucault does not promote formative practices that constitute the self as capable of collaborative, political action as that would necessitate "the validity of consensually and rationally chosen rules and norms" (p. 228). In the next chapter I turn to a more in-depth and contemporary elaboration of community within the biopolitical frame. Specifically, this involves examining Esposito's work to consider what he offers in understanding the processes through which communal bonds can be formed in post-earthquake schools. There is some commonality between Esposito's and Foucault's positions however, in that Esposito situates community, as a political self-practice within the horizon of subjectivity, proposing that communal belonging involves a gradual shift from the self to the other (Esposito, 2013b, p. 84).

In summary, Foucault's writing on the mechanisms of biopolitical governance alerts me to the ways in which these relations may be active in the regulation of populations and the administration of individuals' self-management of their recoveries. It also helps to make sense of those processes, within which social workers may be enabled as authorities to take on important roles in identifying and helping children and parents considered to be adversely affected by the earthquakes in schools. I seek to explore these social work practices as subjectifying processes that encourage children and their parents to learn how to cope in the new situation within which they find themselves. Further, I consider how the pastoral governance practices interact with the ethical self-practices that the children and parents use to know and act on themselves. As will be discussed in the following chapter, Foucault's model of ethical self-formation is augmented with Esposito's theorising, to examine the dimensions of these ethical practices in the formation of communal bonds.

Conclusion

The framework of biopolitics outlined in this chapter offers this inquiry a means to examine aspects of the specific configuration of knowledge, power and subjectivity that were active in the regulation and administration of the earthquake recovery processes in Christchurch. The notion of bio discourse highlights the importance of attending to the ways in which the knowledge of post-earthquake life is constituted in relation to life-affirming, holistic and positive characteristics. For example, in chapters four and five, I examine how the concepts of progress and development function as 'bio' knowledge in the recovery processes (articulated in the recovery policies and interviews with the social workers) and how that informed what was taken to be 'true', and the imperative to recover in purposeful and adaptive ways.

Connecting the bio with the politics of life helps to makes visible the productive, revitalising aspects of the recovery objectives, which sought to rebuild the social, political, economic and environmental milieu of Christchurch. Foucault's detailed historical elaborations of the emergence of biopower assists to make sense of biopolitics' interactions with disciplinary techniques and normalisation processes, which can function to secure life through continuous corrective techniques. The use of statistical data is significant within these processes as it effectively establishes an empirical norm that specifies an optimal level for the recovery. As a set of security mechanisms biopolitics also interacts with sovereign and pastoral mechanisms within a historically specific series of heterogeneous political processes and institutional forms. Finally, linking governmentality to biopolitics, as a condition of its historical emergence, is useful in showing the significance of examining current liberal and neoliberal forms of governance intersecting the objectives of the recovery strategy and social work practices.

Foucault's work also sheds light on the ways that social workers may be centrally located within a series of power relations that takes the recovery of post-earthquake lives in schools as its primary objective. Social work's linkage to social welfare programmes and institutions makes clear its historical link to the biopolitical mechanisms that have targeted certain groups and populations as in need of specialised attention. It also highlights a connection between social work's professional knowledge base — its ways of thinking about people — and bio discourse. Further, the caring objectives of biopower also necessitate considering social workers' roles within mechanisms of pastoral power. Evaluating the implications of these processes for the formation of communal bonds in schools is also an important consideration. To do this, theorising the concept of community becomes imperative. Foucault's work does not adequately attend to community as a discursive

formation, as a programme of political action or as a process of collective ethics. In the next chapter, I turn to Esposito to explore his notion of community as 'shared obligation'. As discussed, Esposito has challenged aspects of Foucault's formulation for not adequately attending to the negative effects of biopolitics. Ultimately, however, he seeks to augment Foucault's work by inserting community, as a form of political practice, effectively locating it as an affirmative form of biopolitics.

Chapter two: Biopolitics, community and immunity

> Because community is not … something to which we must return, nor is it … something to which we must aspire. Nor is it … something to destroy, something destructible. Community is neither an origin nor *telos*. Community is neither a goal nor an end, neither a presupposition nor destination, but the condition, both singular and plural, of our complete existence (Esposito, 2012, p. 36).

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss key facets of the work of Roberto Esposito, an Italian political theorist and philosopher, who for the last twenty years or so has been involved in deconstructing the semantic representations and origins of a number of contemporary political and philosophical categories. Of particular significance is his critique of the mainstream approaches to community, which he claims emerged historically from classical liberalism and existential philosophy. The work of Esposito (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c) makes a very useful addition to Foucault's theorising in terms of recognising the ways community functions discursively and as part of a biopolitical strategy for the optimisation of post-earthquake life. Furthermore, I take up Esposito's conceptualisation of communal life within the modern biopolitical age as an alternate community discourse, as one that is the condition of our existence.

A number of authors (Campbell & Sitze, 2013; Grove, 2014; Mills, 2015) use Esposito's work to complement, contrast or extend on Foucault's theorising of biopolitics. Certainly, there is much commonality in the concerns and approaches of the two philosophers. They both recognise modernity as a reflection of biopolitical relations that aim to preserve and optimise life at the level of populations. In fact Esposito (2011) states that he sees his work as starting from where Foucault left off, in his attention to biopolitics. This also denotes a point of departure between the two philosophers, where Esposito actively attempts to provide a better link between the juncture of life and politics in Foucault's elaboration of biopolitics. To do this he introduces the paradigm of immunity, an arrangement of mechanisms that he considers seek to protect and negate the experience of risk in

modern life. This opens up a complementary relation between sovereign power and biopolitics, something that, as I discussed in the previous chapter, Foucault sought to displace, refusing to overlay the two modes of power with each other. Although he parts ways with Foucault in this respect, Esposito (2011, 2012) does not intend to dispute the life affirming characteristics of biopolitics, nor is it to bring the sovereign back as a fold within biopolitics. Rather his proposal attempts to rescue life from the negation found in its immunity systems. I attend to these important commonalities and differences in this chapter to elucidate the arguments made in this thesis.

The discussion in this chapter is based on Esposito's own writing, set out in his papers, interviews and his books: *Communitas: The Origin and Destiny of Community* (2010), *Immunitas: The Protection and Negation of Life* (2011) and *The Terms of the political: Community, Immunity and Biopolitics* (2013). I also draw on the work of other writers (Bird & Short, 2013; Campbell, 2007; Donà, Comparone, & Righi, 2006; Oliva & Campbell, 2006) who have interpreted and taken up Esposito's theorising. In the first section of this chapter I provide a review of the research literature in disaster recovery and social work practice (Chan, Sha, Leung, & Gilbert, 2011; Hawkins & Maurer, 2010; Marlowe, 2015; Mathbor, 2007; Pyles, 2007; Pyles & Cross, 2008; Rowlands, 2013; Ting, 2013; van Heugten, 2014; Winkworth, Healy, Woodward, & Camilleri, 2009; Zakour, 1997; Zakour & Harrell, 2003) as it is important to establish how community is conceived within these fields. I then focus specifically on Esposito (2010) formulation of community and his critique of the mainstream perspectives of community. From this follows a discussion of Esposito's (2011) immunity paradigm, its semantic and historical opposition to community and its prevalence in the contemporary interventions of the modern State which seeks to protect itself from social, environmental, cultural and political risk. Finally, Esposito's community-immunity paradigm is explored for its links with the protective and negating functions of biopolitics and for its usefulness in this inquiry in configuring community as a possible mode of political practice for school social workers.

1. Community, disaster recovery and social work practice

Community approaches to disaster recovery are discussed within the research literature as a counter-point and progressive development from the predominant, previous emphasis on individualistic, trauma-focused models. In this section I discuss the basis for this shift to community as a primary mode for disaster recovery interventions and the implications for social workers working within this

field. Then I outline the two main community-focused models for disaster recovery found in the research literature.

The shift in disaster thinking and recovery practices from a mental health focus to community approaches is based on a number of assertions. Firstly, the notion that following a disaster all survivors experience trauma, tension or undue anxiety is challenged. Greene and Greene (2009) contend that many survivors display strong community identification and undertake cooperative and unselfish efforts aimed at rescue, relief, and repair. Individuals and communities are believed to adapt to large scale disasters, and are not seen as helpless victims, but as survivors, who in the initial aftermath help themselves and one another (Greene & Greene, 2009; Winkworth et al., 2009). For those who do require support there is evidence that they prefer help from people like themselves (Zakour & Harrell, 2003). Secondly as Bourassa (2009) identifies, the nature of disasters means that they impact on large groups, significant parts of the population, and that providing individual level interventions is not an efficient use of resources nor particularly effective in meeting need.

Thirdly, reactions from the less wealthy countries in the southern hemisphere to the work of international aid agencies have also played a part in the emergence of community-level approaches. International aid organisations have been criticised for the Westernised mental health ideologies underpinning their practices, which has led for calls for disaster work to be aligned with dominant cultural values, norms and practices of specific countries. For example, following the 2008 Sichuan earthquake the response of focusing on psychological symptoms was found to be unhelpful. Chan et al. (2011) found that more communal intervention approaches, consistent with collectivist Chinese culture, were preferred, such as "collective problem solving, mutual help, resource mobilisation, traditional practices or community actions" (p. 53). Likewise, Park, Miller, and Van (2010) challenge the dominant Western conceptualisations of disasters which they consider to focus on the individual as the primary target of analysis, with counselling its main mode of intervention (p. 82). Non-Western ethnic cultures are presented as essentially collective and thus not appropriate for interventions or ways of thinking that emphasise individual subjectivities (Chan et al., 2011; Park et al., 2010).

The disaster recovery literature also stresses that certain characteristics of existing communities increase their vulnerability to the effects of natural disasters and present greater challenges for recovery (Hossain & Kuti, 2010; Mathbor, 2007; Pyles, 2007; Zakour, 1997). Disadvantaged and vulnerable members of the population, such as older people, children, people who are disabled and those who are less educated and/or on a low income, are more susceptible to the effects of disasters,

and less able to respond and recover in disasters (Hossain & Kuti, 2010; Mathbor, 2007; Pyles, 2007; Zakour, 1997). Zakour (1997) identifies that these individuals represent a high percentage of the victims suffering from the long term effects of a disaster. Low-income people are identified as increasingly living in less expensive, marginal areas that are at risk of disaster and in housing less able to endure the effects of disasters (Hossain & Kuti, 2010; Zakour & Harrell, 2003). Communities that prior to a disaster were already disadvantaged are considered more at risk from the long-term deterioration caused by disasters (Pyles, 2007; Zakour, 1997; Zakour & Harrell, 2003). Those communities deemed vulnerable or disadvantaged in relation to social inequalities are constructed as being made up of alienated individuals who are predisposed to marginalisation following a disaster. Thus, some population groups are positioned as vulnerable and in need of protection from risk both before and after a disaster.

According to Pittaway, Bartolomei, and Rees (2007) recovery efforts must address the primary concerns of local communities and need the support and direction of locals, which has implications for social work's role within this field. Pyles (2007) conducted a literature review of the disaster literature and noted that social workers have tended to be predominantly focused on "psychological functioning or increasing access to services", which whilst worthwhile activities, have not adequately addressed social change (p. 331). Pyles (2007) suggests that prioritising this therapeutic role is neglecting the "professional ideals of social and economic justice" (p. 331). Likewise Alipour et al. (2015) argue that social work is overly involved in traumatic stress interventions and is falling short of its social justice mission. Social workers are challenged by these authors to move beyond their individualistic practices and to focus on the opportunities for collective change processes.

Two main approaches to community development in disaster recovery processes are found in the literature. First is the asset-based approach to community development, which generally focuses on building the capacity of communities to support themselves (Kretzman and McKnight, as cited by Yoon, 2009). Second is critical community development, shaped by critical and feminist theory, which denotes those approaches that aim to address the perceived causes of inequality or the structural conditions that disadvantage communities (Marlowe, 2015; Pyles, 2007; Pyles & Cross, 2008; Zakour & Harrell, 2003). In what follows I provide a summary of these two main approaches, noting the different ways in which community is constituted and the proposals these configurations make for disaster recovery actions and social work practices. I have selected recent research literature (Chan et al., 2011; Hawkins & Maurer, 2010; Marlowe, 2015; Mathbor, 2007; Pyles, 2007; Pyles & Cross, 2008; Rowlands, 2013; Ting, 2013; van Heugten, 2014; Winkworth et al., 2009; Zakour, 1997; Zakour

& Harrell, 2003) that has a focus on community recovery approaches and social work practice, as this focus aligns with the topic of this study.

Asset-based community development

The community asset perspective was developed in the 1990s by Kretzman and McKnight following analyses of thousands of successful community organisation stories in the United States (American Community Service Network, 1996, as cited by Yoon, 2009, p. 20). They concluded that what brought significant changes in the communities were not professionals or experts but "members within the communities and the inner strengths of the communities" (Yoon, 2009, p. 20). This led Kretzman and McKnight (as cited by Yoon, 2009) to recommend that in any community approach the strengths and internal asset within a community need to be the primary focus rather than seeking to address the perceived weaknesses (p. 20). The internal assets of a community include the presence of leadership, cohesion, levels of trust, family and community networks and skills and expertise, with a focus is on how they can be used to resolve challenges in the communities (Yoon, 2009, p. 20). Using community resources in such an instrumental way reflects the functionalist principles of the assets approach.

Related to the asset-building approach is the concept of social capital found within the communitarian perspective. Communitarianism is a diverse form of thought where the general position is that the community is only possible through a weaker State government and a stronger local democracy enabling "an active, self-governing, and relatively independent civil society" (Bird, 2013, p. 5). One of the key developers of contemporary communitarian thought is Robert Putnam (2001), who emphasises volunteer associations as a basis for the creation of a strong and independent civil society in the United States. He refers to these associations as social capital, which is effectively the "social connections between people occupying homogeneous networks, across heterogeneous networks and organizations, and with those of higher status and power (sic)" (Putnam, 2001, as cited by Alipour et al., 2015, p. 699). Three forms of social capital are identified: bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding denotes those relations amongst members of a network, for example, a family, who are similar in some way (Putnam, 2000, as cited by Hawkins & Maurer, 2010, p. 1779). Bridging social capital is the relations between "people who are dissimilar in a demonstrable fashion, such as age, socio-economic status, race/ethnicity and education" (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004, as cited by Hawkins & Maurer, 2010, pp. 1779-1780). Linking social capital is those relationships between individuals and powerful individuals and institutions that provide access to services, jobs and resources, often connecting individuals to needed resources outside the local community (Hawkins & Maurer, 2010, p. 1780).

In the last fifteen years or so, the notions of social capital building and asset-focused community approaches in the aftermath of a disaster have gained prominence in English speaking countries. For instance in the United States this kind of approach was significant in the response to Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. Hawkins and Maurer (2010) investigated the functioning of social capital in this disaster context and came to the conclusion that those with low incomes relied on all types of social capital at the individual, family, and community level for their survival and community recovery. The authors noted that bonding in the form of close ties was significant as immediate support. However it was through bridging and linking social capital that the survivors were able to develop pathways for longer-term survival and rebuilding the wider neighbourhood and community. Similarly in Australia, where a range of natural disasters such as bush fires and floods have occurred in the last 20 years, community capacity-building responses have been a central focus of the disaster recovery efforts. Rowlands (2013) examined the approaches to recovery management taken with two significant events, the Hunter Central Coast Storms in New South Wales in 2007 and the 'Black Saturday' bushfires in Victoria in 2009. She emphasises how the responses to these significant disasters illustrate an approach that supported the community to build its own assets and enact successful and long-lasting recovery outcomes. Following an initial phase of emergency relief and evacuation when meals, emergency accommodation, financial assistance and grants for household contents and structural repairs were provided, the focus shifted to re-building community. The longer-term responses focused on "community consultation and mapping process to inform a recovery plan for the region" and to guide the allocation of further recovery funds (Rowlands, 2013, p. 31). Mapping is a process by which a community's assets are identified so that the community may access them for its recovery processes. The establishment of recovery committees, made up of representatives from the local community, government officials and non-government service providers, served to oversee local initiatives such as community service hubs, sport and arts projects funding, community information and education sessions to provide advice, provide information, and explain common reactions to emergencies (Rowlands, 2013, p. 34). In the disaster management approach taken in the aftermath of the 2009 Victorian bushfires, community service hubs were established as a means to provide important information and services to communities as well as serving as a base for local projects (Clarke, Wahl & Ryan, 2010). (Winkworth et al.)'s (2009) study of the recovery processes following the 2003 bushfires in Canberra, Australia, identifies positive community building activities as those that focus on the provision of information about the recovery, bringing people together, using volunteers for support and holding commemorative events (p. 11). Enabling people to take up their 'natural' roles and support each other as family members, friends and neighbours is a key facet of the asset-building approach to disaster management.

There is also a focus on cultural identity as the basis of asset building in the disaster recovery literature. Ting (2013) discusses the community participatory recovery approaches taken up in Qingping County within the Sichuan Province in China that had been adversely affected by the 2008 earthquake and mudslides in 2010. She claims that the social capital-building approach works within the Chinese context due to its fit within its collectivist culture. One example of an asset-building activity was an oral history project in which elderly villagers told local cultural stories to other villagers, including the younger generation. The project aimed to reclaim cultural and traditional stories that had been lost and build cross-generational relationships. Similarly Ku and Ma (2015) drew on the asset-building approach to guide their action research project that aimed "to rebuild the social and cultural fabric" of a village in Wenchu, a province affected by the Sichuan earthquake. Part of the project focused on the women of the community and assisted them to establish an embroidery group, to not only provide them with income but also as a means of increased support for the women as they adjusted to the losses that they faced (Ku & Ma, 2015, p. 747). Ku and Ma (2015) outline that this project and others encouraged the villagers to work together to create businesses and sell their products and developed their capacity to help themselves and "generate income rather than relying on government assistance" (p. 755). In Jialan village in Taiwan following Typhoon Morakot in 2009, Wang , Chen, and Chen (2013) identify that the community recovery was effectively managed by investigating and classifying community resources and taking steps to use these strengths to enhance the community's adaptive capacity. A central strength of these actions is identified as its alignment with traditional tribal culture whereby decision-making was undertaken using a consensus-based approach. The recovery approach was considered to connect with this cultural norm through providing opportunities for community members to talk about and record their disaster experiences, the learning from which was then used to formulate a disaster response mechanism. Finally, a platform to communicate the mechanism was established (Wang et al. 2013 p. 98). In the case of ethnic communities, social capital is positioned as a kind of substance that binds people to their cultural identity. Thus, community is constituted as a protective mechanism that shields against the threat of fragmentation that a disaster is considered to impose.

Asset-building approaches compel social workers to take roles as community facilitators, rather than clinicians, focusing on rebuilding and sustaining social capital (Aghabakhshi & Gregor, 2007), particularly in those communities considered vulnerable or disadvantaged. Consistent with this view social workers are encouraged to draw on their extensive community networks and familiarity with community resources and leadership potential (Mathbor, 2007) and mobilise volunteer emergency

relief (Zakour, 1997). Social workers are advised to work with local individuals who appear to be acceptable and helpful to the survivors (Chan et al., 2011). Zakour and Harrell (2003) recommend that social workers be involved in training volunteers so that they are better able to respond to community members' needs, including their mental health concerns (p.50). Further, they are encouraged to coordinate or participate in the mapping of internal and external community assets (Hawkins & Maurer, 2010; Ku & Ma, 2015). The social work role is located as central in facilitating the development of multiple types of assets (Ting, 2013). Working with communities rather than 'doing for them' is emphasised and social workers working in disaster-affected communities are encouraged to act as catalysts for community members participating in projects and making collective decisions (Ku & Ma, 2015, p. 755). An example of this kind of action is setting up co-operative committees made up of community members to focus on projects which will enhance the efficacy of communities (Ting, 2013).

The communitarian approach to disaster recovery has been challenged for placing too much emphasis on communities helping themselves. Vulnerable communities are also considered to be further marginalised following a disaster. These critiques are underpinned by beliefs that pre-existing structural inequalities within communities uncovered by disasters limit the recovery process for these groups. According to Greene and Greene (2009) individual and collective resilience is embedded in the larger social systems and therefore recovery responses need to address macro-level issues of sustainable services and infrastructure, including legal codes and political conditions. In the case of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, United States in 2005, Bliss and Meehan (2008) identified inadequate governmental responses to the needs of predominantly African-American families and negative media portrayals served to cast these families as being unworthy of assistance. Bliss and Meehan (2008) add that the overall political view was that people needed to be able to help themselves, rather than the government being the primary provider of relief, which from a paternalistic perspective would have the potential to foster dependency (p.84). Following the earthquake in Taiwan in 1999 the most serious problem noted was the lack of government response and delays in the provision of material resources and aid (Jang & LaMendola, 2007). Zakour and Harrell (2003) note a number of factors that can create post-disaster access restrictions, including fewer and more disconnected organisations serving disadvantaged areas compared to more well-resourced areas, and geographic barriers slowing the distribution of resources. It is also argued that input from disadvantaged populations into the recovery and mitigation work is not often solicited by formal organisations (Pyles, 2007; Zakour & Harrell, 2003).

Critical community development

In contrast to the asset-building approach, the critical approach emphasises the need to address the perceived causes of structural disadvantage perpetuated by a disaster event. Pyles (2014), a key social work proponent of this approach, refers to this position as "inquiring into the winners and losers of social arrangements" (Pyles, 2014, p. 13). This critical approach is grounded in Marxist thought, which essentially examines power differentials in society on the basis of class struggles (Pyles, 2014, p. 13). More recently, the critical analysis of community inequality has been extended to other forms of structural power reflected in additional categories of difference including race, gender, age, disability and sexual orientation. This understanding is supported by intersectionality theory, which considers the different forms of oppression to be interlocked and to result in cumulative disadvantage (Pyles, 2014, p. 13).

There are two main approaches to critical community development work; a reformist approach that tends to focus on advocacy and lobbying, and the radical approach, which is more oriented towards involving community members in challenging the oppression and disadvantage made visible and triggered by a disaster (Shevellar & Westoby, 2014, p. 24). In a study of community organising efforts following Hurricane Katrina, Pyles and Harding (2012) examine these two forms of community organising. They note the reformist community work was informed by understandings that the hurricane revealed race and class discrimination that needed to be responded to through improved access to services, enhanced social policies and programmes (Pyles & Harding, 2012, p. 343). The purpose of this kind of work according to Pyles and Harding (2012) is to improve disadvantaged communities through increased access and opportunities, especially for low-income individuals, ethnic minorities, women, and other vulnerable groups (p. 343). Examples of these reformist interventions included enhancing job opportunities for women, helping homeowners fix their houses, increasing the rental housing stock, improving access to information and resources and advocating and monitoring the re-development strategy and arrangements in the city (Pyles & Harding, 2012, p. 344). The radical social change work, rather than seeking to facilitate equal access to existing institutional entitlements and resources, sought to recognise and address the structural injustices made visible by the disaster, in relation to race, class and gender (Pyles & Harding, 2012, p. 345). The focus was on human rights and the transformation of social institutional issues such as accountability for levee failures, the need for new economic development models and different approaches to social welfare (Pyles & Harding, 2012, p. 344).

To address the inequalities in disadvantaged communities a bottom-up community development approach to disaster recovery is advocated as a means for communities themselves to take action to influence social policy and be part of the revitalisation and recovery efforts (Chan et al., 2011; Jang & LaMendola, 2007; Pittaway et al., 2007; Pyles, 2007; Zakour & Harrell, 2003). This type of practice is referred to as community organisation. The approach focusses on mobilising and organising communities "with the aim of influencing the socioeconomic development process as well as the ongoing recovery efforts" (Pyles, 2007, p. 322). The specific goals of community organising differ depending on the specific social developmental needs of a community. Generally organising involves "forming groups; bringing about social justice; obtaining, maintaining or restructuring power; developing alternative institutions; and maintaining or revitalizing neighbourhoods (sic)" (Fisher, 1994, as cited by Pyles, 2007, pp. 322-323). In the context of re-occurring floods in Cambodia a Community-Based Flood Mitigation and Preparedness Project was implemented jointly in 1998 that centred on a community organising model (MacLeod, as cited by Victoria, 2001). The project involved a network of Red Cross volunteers and the committees, organised in each of seven villages, to lead communities in identifying and activating flood mitigation measures and resources. Risk assessment and risk mapping workshops, consultations at community gatherings and special events or traditional ceremonies were conducted in communities, during which the villagers jointly decided on the priority mitigation solutions (MacLeod, as cited by Victoria, 2001, p. 293). The mitigation solutions focused on water control structures such as repairing dams and dykes, cleaning of irrigation ditches, culverts and water gates; and enhancing the access to roads and constructing bridges (MacLeod, as cited by Victoria, 2001, p. 294). The overall focus of the project was on reducing flood vulnerability of those communities considered the most at risk through a process that actively sought to engage those communities. As another example, Pyles and Lewis (2007) researched the work of a group of women in the post-Katrina context, referred to as the 'Women of the Storm", who banded together to lobby the American Congress to "heighten awareness and garner support for rebuilding New Orleans" (p. 385). Recognising that the rebuild of communities was reliant on United States law changes the women self-funded a visit to Washington to meet with members of Congress and held a press conference that resulted in increased political and media attention to the situation in New Orleans (Pyles & Lewis, 2007, p. 386).

From a critical community development perspective social workers are challenged to act as catalysts for social change and to promote collective action that addresses pre-disaster structural inequalities for disadvantaged communities. In the context of post-earthquake Christchurch, Marlowe (2015) researched the experiences of refugee residents of Christchurch, and advocates for social workers to

assist refugees to gain access to services and employment as well as training opportunities. Additionally he advocates for social workers to work with employers to facilitate greater job opportunities for refugees and provide information to employers as well as other social institutions so that they are responsive to the needs of refugee communities. Likewise van Heugten (2014) conducted research in the Christchurch post-earthquake context, focussing specifically on the roles of human service workers as part of the recovery management processes. She claims that the networks that these practitioners had were resources for community action. Their relationships with the variety of different stakeholders, including government, private businesses, non-government organisations and community members, were able to be used to negotiate and advocate for vulnerable individuals and communities as well enable participative and collaborative community building practices. Similarly Zakour and Harrell (2003) argue that social workers ought to work in ways that increase access to disaster services such as advocating for organisations to extend their services to vulnerable populations, but also that include informal organisations, such as locally based resident groups and self-help groups, in the formal planning process for disaster response. Overall, social workers are encouraged to take on roles as community organisers, extending their interventions beyond the management and coordination of the disaster response, to seeking to build the collective strength of disadvantaged people for their empowerment (Alipour et al., 2015; Pyles, 2007; van Heugten, 2014).

In concluding this review of the literature, it seems that in different ways and for different purposes, the asset-building and critical approaches to disaster recovery both position community as a vehicle for the recovery and change processes. The asset-building perspective considers social capital as a glue that binds community members. Social capital is presented as the substance of community, creating a sense of commonality and connection for individuals who would be otherwise isolated following a disaster. Within this frame, social workers are positioned as facilitators of these 'natural' collective processes that take individuals away from focusing on their own needs to attending to those of the whole community. The critical community development perspective likewise considers the community as a means for collective recovery, but the focus is on addressing the conditions of alienation and oppression that mark the identities and experiences of affected community members. Within this perspective, social workers take up roles as organisers, where the primary objective is to empower disadvantaged communities to collectively recognise and address their oppression. Community is conceptualised as a form of a collective alienated identity, which when taken up by individuals becomes something through which they are able to understand themselves, and as a collective means to address the political problems made visible by a disaster.

For Esposito (2010) these prevalent representations of community are problematic on the basis that they share an ignored assumption that constitutes community as a form of property that belongs to subjects and joins them together (p. 2). In the case of the critical perspective, he notes that community is an attribute or predicament that serves to qualify individuals as belonging to the collective. Whilst in communitarianism the emphasis is on community as a kind of substance that is produced by the union of individuals. In both cases Esposito (2010) critiques the renditions of community for constituting it as a quality that is joined to the nature of subjects as a greater form of subjectivity, highlighting that it is based on an individualistic paradigm "from which it originates and in the end reflects" (p. 2). In the next section, I examine Esposito's own formulation of community as an alternative proposal for conceiving communal bonds before exploring further his critique of the mainstream renditions of community.

2. Esposito's formulation of community

In *Communitas: The Origin and Destiny of Community* Esposito (2010) formulates his own proposal for community, which he derives from a linguistic analysis of early Latin meanings of the term. In this section I provide an outline of Esposito's (2010) community as shared obligation and then sketch out some aspects of his analysis of classical liberal philosophy and existentialism to consider the main themes of community found in his writing. I then discuss the implications of Esposito's (2010) analysis for examining the contemporary models of community found in the disaster recovery and social work research literature (Chan et al., 2011; Hawkins & Maurer, 2010; Marlowe, 2015; Mathbor, 2007; Pyles, 2007; Pyles & Cross, 2008; Rowlands, 2013; Ting, 2013; van Heugten, 2014; Winkworth et al., 2009; Zakour, 1997; Zakour & Harrell, 2003).

Community as shared obligation

Esposito (2010) sought to separate himself from the prevalent understandings of community as property. He proposes a radically different meaning of community by entering into a linguistic analysis of the word community that emerges from its origins. In Latin he finds community is referenced as 'communitas' and its adjective 'communis' and notes that they mean 'common', which is the opposition of 'proper' (one's own). Specifically it means what is not one's own and what belongs to the many or to everyone – not private but public (Esposito, 2010, p. 3). To this he adds another meaning, that of 'munus' a term itself made up of three meanings. 'Onus' and 'officium' refer to obligation, office, official, position and post while 'donum' refers to a gift (Esposito, 2010, p. 3). These

meanings limit the notion of community as being a juxtaposition of private and public property. Taken together and as a communal term donum means not just simply a gift but a category of gift that requires, even demands, an exchange in return (Campbell, 2007, p. 5). Thus once someone has accepted the obligation, they must exchange it in terms of goods or service (Campbell, 2007, p. 4). However Esposito (2010) is clear that munus specifies the service or duty one provides for the other, not what is received, which means the emphasis is not on ownership or appropriation of something earned (p. 4). Bringing together the meaning of munus with the collective term communitas enables Esposito (2010) to argue that community "is the totality of persons united not by a 'property' but … by an obligation or a debt" (p. 6). This means community is not defined by an "'addition' but by a 'subtraction' … by a lack, a limit" which is the obligation" (Esposito, 2010, p. 6). Thus the result of Esposito's (2010) analysis is that he offers a meaning of community that directly opposed any notion of it being a possession or shared identity; it "cannot be thought of as a body, as a corporation … in which individuals are founded in a larger individual" (p. 6). He disputes any basis for community being positioned as a mode of being the same. He argues it is not a "mutual, intersubjective 'recognition' in which individuals are reflected in each other so as to confirm their initial identity; as a collective bond that comes at a certain point to connect individuals that before were separate (Esposito, 2010, p. 6). His central argument is that what unites the members of a community is an obligation, in the sense of "I owe you something" not "you owe me something" (p. 6). Esposito's (2010) formulation of community provides a basis to think differently about community and to critique its location within public-private dimensions and as a thing or substance to own. His critique is accomplished through an in-depth analysis of early liberal thought and existential philosophy.

Community and the social contract model

After outlining his own understanding of community in the introduction of *Communitas* Esposito (2010) undertakes an analysis of the predominant philosophical formulations of community that he considers to undermine the basis for shared obligation and communal bonds. He conducts an analysis of the early origins of the social contract models found in the works of the Enlightenment thinkers Hobbes, Rousseau and Kant who generally but in different ways, established models for legitimating State authority over individuals.

Firstly the writing of Hobbes (1651, as cited by Esposito, 2010), who is considered the first philosopher to offer a detailed theory of the social contract, is examined. Generally, the term social contract is used to describe the voluntary agreement of individuals that brought the State into being for the purpose of ensuring the protection and welfare of all members of society. In Hobbes' work Esposito

(2010) finds a meaning for community based on violence, that is, the assumption that all humans have in common a shared ability to kill, hurt and/or to take property from each other. Thus Hobbes (1651, as cited by Esposito, 2010) conceived of social relations as a source of fear based on humans' natural capacity to commit violence towards each other. And his solution to this was to create an artificial institution of the sovereign authority to protect individuals from each other. As Esposito (2010) explains, "the only way to save oneself is by breaking cleanly from it (community); by limiting it in a 'before' that cannot be joined to what comes 'after' (p. 13). It is important to note that the emphasis is on limiting the risk of violence, which as Oliva and Campbell (2006) argue, means that the Hobbesian State does not seek to eliminate fear. Rather it seeks to activate community as an object where "the strategy … [is] of … liberating everyone from the fear of reciprocal aggression" (p. 72). To do this the law is instituted as a "communal pact" (Oliva & Campbell, 2006, p. 72) that seeks to resolve the fault in humans' nature – to protect them from each other. The result of this pact, according to Esposito (2010), is that it introduces vertical relations of "protection-obedience" where individuals give up their rights to the sovereign State in the understanding that they will be protected (p. 13). The social contract is essentially a property arrangement whereby "everything is divided between "mine" and "yours"" which, as Esposito (2010) comments, is "division without sharing" (p. 13). He adds that it offers little basis for horizontal, communal relations grounded in shared obligations. Esposito (2010) considers that in the Hobbesian model individuals gave over their authority to the State and in doing so they sacrificed for their survival their communal relations with each other.

In *Communitas* Hobbes' theory is considered not so different to that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762, as cited by Esposito, 2010), who likewise sought to re-institute the community by regulating it. However Esposito (2010) observes that numerous aspects of Rousseau's work directly challenge Hobbes' authoritarian formulation of the contract. According to Rousseau (1762, as cited by Esposito, 2010), Hobbes' model of joining together individuals who are considered naturally in conflict with each other within the realm of the sovereign State resulted in master-slave arrangements, providing no basis for public property or State politics and an absence of community (p. 49). For Rousseau, the nature of humans is to be understood more in terms of "lack of respect" which is the result, not of civil society, but of the non-State *and* non-society (Esposito, 2010, p. 45). Hence, as Esposito (2010) claims, through Rousseau humans can be understood as not inherently evil or violent, but it is more a case of not knowing how to be good (p. 45). Community is reliant on the development and improvement of the individual (Esposito, 2010, p. 51). Thus the community is understood through the lens of the self-sufficient, independent and developmentally-focused individual. From Esposito's (2010) perspective this means Rousseau bases his proposal on a similarly individualistic paradigm to

Hobbes, in which community is a necessary aspiration that can only be achieved through the development of humans, through reason. Esposito (2010) critiques this model, arguing community cannot be resolved within this individual character of the modern human. He asks "how can this kind of (individual) unity enter into contact with the other? How is it possible to derive a philosophy of community from a metaphysics of solitude? Can the absoluteness of the individual closed in on his [or her] own existence be "placed in common," and what kind of community would result?" (Esposito, 2010, p. 51). Further as a political formulation of community is "the presupposed identity of every one with everyone else and all with every one" is proposed by Rousseau, Esposito (2010) finds the community inevitably exacts the mechanism "in which the many are reduced into the one" (p. 52). He identifies this as a mythical kind of community "in which everyone communicates with the other one's own communitarian essence, without mediation, filter, or sign to interrupt the reciprocal fusion of consciousnesses" (Esposito, 2010, p. 53). Thus there is no division between the individual and community; they are synthesised and absorbed into each other (Esposito, 2010, p. 53). It is on this basis that Esposito (2010) claims that Rousseau's community is not possible and like Hobbes', is individualistic (p. 50).

Kant (1785, as cited by Esposito, 2010) provides another individualistic paradigm of the contract from which his formulation of moral law is entrenched. Kant's (1785, as cited by Esposito, 2010) central thesis is that evil is the basis for all relations between humans and because humans can never be separated from the possibility of doing evil then the law is required (p.65). Interestingly Esposito (2010) claims that for Kant the law cannot remedy the evil of humans "because it is so intimately connected to our nature" (p. 65). Kant's position here, as Esposito (2010) notes, is a direct contrast to Rousseau's in that he does not believe the law enacts a return to the original perfection "because human nature contains within it a seed that is the exact opposite of the law" (p. 65). For Kant, the law enables the freedom of humans by emancipating them from their natural deficiencies (Esposito, 2010, p. 73). Further in relation to community as Esposito (2010) notes, in Kant's thought the law structures existence in the sense that it " holds humans together creating a 'common space of humanity'" (p. 64). Kant's law of community also denotes "the withdrawal of the subject" (Esposito, 2010, p. 74) which is not to say that the law excludes the subject, but on the contrary the subject is placed at the centre of the system ensuring that the law can be imposed. These exclusionary processes are not enacted through complete submission but through "harming, damaging and shaming that inviolable nucleus of subjectivity" (Esposito, 2010, pp. 75-76). This is the limit of Kant's model according to Esposito (2010) in which he finds the position that community can only be experienced by subjects if they accept its law and in doing so they must accept their own subjection.

Whilst Esposito's (2010) analysis of the enlightenment thinkers' work is by far more involved than my brief discussion, there is some basis to consider some of the important points in relation to the prevalent representations of community. The nineteenth century social contract thinkers share a common concern with negating a lack that is assumed to be found within people. The Hobbesian authoritarian position as well as the liberty and freedom-focused formulations of Rousseau and Kant, according to Esposito (2010), share a heritage that effectively negates the possibility for community. The social contract renditions of community contain a 'first fault' in that they contain a core presumption that the group is oppressive and individuals need to become autonomous agents to determine their own identity (Bird & Short, 2013, p. 3). These assumptions can still be found in contemporary politics of community. Fundamentally, as Bird and Short (2013) claim, liberalism seeks to remove the external conditions that would limit the autonomy of individuals to make free choices and take actions. Thus it is not hard to find the Enlightenment heritage in liberal beliefs of "individual autonomy and the equal value of the autonomy of each person" and that in "conditions of freedom, the truth will be attained" (Bird & Short, 2013, p. 4). The general liberal position is that ensuring individual freedom will lead to progress, truth, and the common good (Bird & Short, 2013, p. 4).

The communitarians usually represent themselves as a mainstream critique of the liberal defence of individualism in that they "contend that liberals privilege the individual to such an extent that communal bonds are lost" (Bird & Short, 2013, p. 5). Certainly the asset-based community development approach (Clarke et al., 2010; Hawkins & Maurer, 2010; Rowlands, 2013; Winkworth et al., 2009), as discussed in the previous section, emphasises community-led responses as the optimal recovery approaches in the aftermath of a disaster more so than individualised interventions. However, there is a clear objective underpinning this approach in terms of survivors helping themselves rather than being reliant on government relief. Communitarianism generally seeks to enable community autonomy as the highest expression of individual life, highlighting its lineage to liberal thought. The liberal and communitarian approaches share a commitment to the discourse of property such that the "communitarian attempt to foreground the public sphere thus becomes the mirror-image of the traditional liberal commitment to the priority of the private sphere" (Bird & Short, 2013, p. 8). Rose (2000) has also made note of the liberal tendencies in communitarian thought, proposing that the "language of community … is used to identify a territory between the authority of the state, the free and amoral exchange of the market, and the liberty of the rights-bearing individual (sic)" (p. 1400). He claims that community is brought into existence so that it "can be mobilized, enrolled, deployed in novel programmes and techniques which encourage and harness active

practices of self-management and identity construction, of personal ethics and collective allegiances (sic)" (Rose, 1999, p. 176). Thus despite its critique of the modern, liberal privileging of the private, communitarianism can nonetheless still be traced to the successive developments of Sate sovereignty and individual rights (Rose, 2000).

Esposito's (2010) analysis also provides a basis for recognising the property emphasis in critical community development found in the research literature (Marlowe, 2015; Pyles, 2007; Pyles & Cross, 2008; Zakour & Harrell, 2003). Generally the critical approach organises community "through the act of negating, overcoming, and appropriating previously alienating conditions" (Bird, 2013, p. 34). As Bird (2013) outlines, community can only be constituted when individual subjects transform themselves into a "collective state of being" (p. 34). This emancipatory process is essentially one that makes communal bonds property, whether in the form of "personal identity (rights discourse), ideas (self-determination, autonomy, or patents), bodies (abortion, euthanasia, or aesthetic freedom), even collective identities (strategic essentialism, national identities, or cultural patents)" (Bird, 2013, p. 34). As discussed in the previous section, a key premise of the critical community development approach to disaster recovery is to build the collective strength of oppressed people as a basis for their own empowerment (Marlowe, 2015; Pyles, 2007; Pyles & Cross, 2008; Zakour & Harrell, 2003). For Bird (2013) this process inevitably nullifies the basis for community in two phases. First, each member of a movement must participate in taking up the alienated identity, which Bird (2013) argues is in itself not conducive to community in that it is primarily carried out for private purposes. Second, every member of a collective must participate in the shared activities and relationships; little can be achieved by the collective without this step. Without this process, the appropriation of an identity remains an individual process. However, this process also constitutes relationships as a kind of property through which individuals enter into a collective 'we' that simultaneously negates the difference or exteriority that established the relationship with another in the first place (Bird, 2013, p. 35). Bird (2013) refers to this process as the 'zero-sum' formulation of emancipatory politics emphasising how appropriating a collective identity nullifies commonality, dismantling any basis for difference (p. 35). Within the critical rendition of community, the members of a disadvantaged community become defined by their initial marker of difference, which is their primary basis for membership and continued belonging. As a result, the community and its members are effectively closed off to difference. Thus, like the liberal and communitarian traditions, the critical perspective can be located within a propriety formulation of community, constituting it as a form of collective ownership and as a basis for sameness.

Community, totalitarianism and exclusion

Having deconstructed the proprietary basis for understanding the classical liberal renditions of community Esposito (2010) turns to an elaboration of being, which he finds is not premised on a collection of individual destinies or rights, but is, rather, an originary form of collective being. The work of Heidegger (1927, as cited by Esposito, 2010)'s community is a state of being in the present because the subject is born as a being-in-the-world, or more precisely the "being of community" (p. 92). Esposito (2010) argues this position is markedly different from the nineteenth century social contract formulations. Heidegger (1927, as cited by Esposito, 2010) makes possible the view that:

> Community cannot be destroyed because even its destruction would be a modality of interhuman relation. Yet it cannot even be presupposed or destined as something that is outside and that precedes its actual placement
> *…* It doesn't belong to either our past or to our future but to that which we *are* now (p. 92).

Thus in contrast to social contract theories that always begin with "preconstituted individuals", the position is that the community is not something added externally to one's nature, it is that which makes being possible (Esposito, 2010, p. 93). So instead of community being the property of the law or of the common will, Heidegger (1927, as cited by Esposito, 2010) understood that community belongs to people in their natural collective state. Esposito (2010) stresses there can be no notion for Heidegger of beginning with the individual self: "We are together with others not as elements *…* that at a certain point come together, nor in the mode of a totality that is subdivided" (p. 94), but as beings who are at one with others.

Heidegger (as cited by Esposito, 2010) clearly positioned the 'being with others' (Mitsein) as within his concept of 'being' as an individual self (Dasein). However, in his later work he proposed an analytic of existence that according to Esposito (2010) shifts the difference between the two terms such that it provides a "dialectic of loss and discovery, of alienation and its removal, of having lost and then reappropriating that will make some speak of a jargon of authenticity" (p. 99). The results of this shift are well documented in terms of Heidegger's involvement with the Nazi regime. Essentially, at this point in his work, the community becomes "a part of our destiny" rather than being something that precedes our condition and, for that reason, is redesigned and reconstructed according to its originary essence (Esposito, 2010, p. 99). As Devisch (2013) elaborates, by aligning community with destination, Heidegger transforms it into a type of originary position that in political terms facilitates "the striving of one particular community to realize its destiny, which is to recapture it's very origin (sic)" (p. 74). 'Being with' in this form is enacted as a category of property to be appropriated and as the destiny of

a people (Devisch, 2013, p. 74). According to Esposito (2010), what Heidegger does is reinstate the community as the property of a single people and set a course for future action to rediscover "its own purest origin" (p. 100).

Heidegger's philosophy lends itself to notions of the lost community that can be found in contemporary communitarianism which, as Esposito (2010) notes, positions community as a progressive form of life. This tendency is reflected in the asset-based community development literature (Clarke et al., 2010; Hawkins & Maurer, 2010; Rowlands, 2013; Winkworth et al., 2009) in which collective modes of recovery are positioned as progressive and as the means to protect against trauma and loss experienced by individual survivors. It is also related to "the crises of the paradigm of the state and … the spread of multicultural conflict (sic)" (Esposito, 2010, p. 136). Civil society in the communitarian frame is positioned as a solution to the sources of disruption in social life, such that community is a kind of promise or value that demarcates and defends against the advance of destruction that dooms the individualistic paradigm of modern life. Asset-based community development emphasises local knowledge and seeks to establish the involvement of community leaders in the recovery processes. However, arguably this civil society solution has exclusionary ramifications for those positioned as the other. As Young (1999, cited by McGhee, 2003) argues, whilst civil society is presented as celebrating diversity and difference it "absorbs and sanitizes … [as] what it cannot abide is difficult people and dangerous classes which it seeks to build the most elaborate defences against, not just in terms of insiders and outsiders, but throughout the population" (sic) (p. 379). Esposito (2010) discusses this kind of action as 'inclusive exclusion' and in doing so he draws upon another one of his formulations, that of immunity, which I turn to in the next section.

In summary, we have seen how community has been historically formulated by some Enlightenment philosophers as an addition to individual subjectivities. Community in this form is made of members who are identical to each other, or identify with each other. Community is also linked to notions of identity, belonging and ownership while the figure of the other is perceived as a risk to the collective. Essentially, for Esposito (2010), regardless of whether it be the critical or the communitarian conceptions, "community is always interpreted as what resists, contains, and opposes" the loss of individual identity or collective belonging. These understandings are consistent with the aforementioned asset-based community development literature (Clarke et al., 2010; Hawkins & Maurer, 2010; Rowlands, 2013; Winkworth et al., 2009) that positions the community in disaster recovery as a basis for collective self-help and the social worker as a key facilitator in these processes. Further, they also shed light on the ways in which the critical approaches seek to build community and

to address shared vulnerability and on how social workers' roles in actively organising collectivities on the basis of their alienation, can close off difference within communities. Esposito (2010) argues these formulations need to be problematised and any notion of community as a form of property, as a thing to possess, to create and to restore, ought to be resisted. Thus, Esposito's critique of the mainstream approaches to community is important in recognising the potentially negative effects of the recovery approaches and school social workers' practices. It assists to attend to the ways in which these actions may inadvertently perpetuate notions of sameness, identity and property within their efforts to build community.

This inquiry also aims to rethink community as an affirmative mode of practice and in this regard, Esposito's work is also instructive. Clearly Esposito (2010) seeks to break with any perspective of continuity between commonality and property and he proposes, rather, that collective unity is linked to a loss of personal identity or subjectivity. Community is not a collection of individual identities nor is it an originary form; it is a relation based on obligation. As such, in this sense it is a loss that is "felt as a risk, a threat to the individual identity of the subject precisely because it loosens, or breaks, the boundaries that ensure the stability and subsistence of individual identity" (Esposito, 2012). Essentially Esposito considers that to belong to community involves giving up "one's most precious substance, namely, one's individual identity, in a process of gradual opening from self to the other" (Esposito, 2013b, p. 84). He adds that individuals cannot fully respond to this kind of community, for if they do they risk themselves and as such, they need to be protected from this potential loss of self. Esposito (2011) refers to this protective process as immunity, which he defines as a "response in the face of risk" (p. 1). He warns though if taken too far, immunity shuts off existence "into non-communicating circles or enclosures" (Esposito, 2013b, p. 85).

3. Esposito on Immunity

In the beginning of *Immunitas: The protection and negation of life* Esposito (2011) identifies a whole range of contemporary risk situations in which immunitary processes have been active, such as the outbreak of infectious diseases, terrorist attacks, increased migration and interference with technological communication systems. He notes that all of these risk instances have two characteristics in common. First, the cases are perceived as breaches of the previous equilibrium and as a consequence, there is a need for its restitution. Second, there is commonality in the instances of

risk that centre on the "trespassing or violating of borders" (Esposito, 2011, p. 2). Esposito (2011) emphasises:

> Whether the danger that lies in wait is a disease threatening the individual body, a violent intrusion into the body politic, or a deviant message entering the body electronic, what remains constant is the place where the threat is located, always on the border between the inside and outside, between the self and the other, the individual and the common. Someone or something penetrates a body —individual or collective —and alters it, transforms it, corrupts it ... what was healthy, secure, identical to itself, is now exposed to a form of contamination that risks its devastation (p. 2).

The centrality of these concepts to understanding the collective experience of natural disasters is clearly evident. Disasters are described in the research literature as "collective stress situations occurring at a community level as a result of major unwanted consequences" (Winkworth et al., 2009, p. 5). They are also defined by the extent to which they overwhelm "the capacity of a community to contain and control its consequences" (Gist & Lubin, 1999, p. 352).

The characteristics of immunity assist in this study to consider how the Christchurch earthquakes may have been perceived of as a kind of contagion that introduced threats to life. Esposito (2011) claims, the more communal life is plagued by danger, the more immunity as a response is called upon. As I discuss Esposito (2011) identifies the historical emergence of the meaning and practices of immunity in the legal and medical fields. Two main functions of Esposito's (2011) immunity paradigm are discussed in this section: firstly, its function in protecting individuals from obligation and loss of self-identity and secondly in its role in defending individuals and communities from the risk within. What should be clear from this discussion is that his conceptualisations of community and immunity are inextricably connected where one is "not only the contrasting background for the other, but also the object and content of the other" (Esposito, 2011, p. 9).

Immunity as exemption

According to Esposito (2011) the meaning of immunity cannot be understood outside its oppositional relation to that of community. Through undertaking a linguistic analysis of the noun 'immunitas' and its corresponding adjective 'immunis' within Latin dictionaries, he notes that the terms derive their meaning in negating munus (Esposito, 2011, p. 5). As discussed in section one, munus means "an office – a task, obligation, duty (also in the sense of a gift to be repaid)" (Esposito, 2011, p. 5). In contrast immunis "refers to someone who performs no office"; someone who is immune is

"disencumbered, exempted, exonerated … from the paying of tributes or performing services for others" (Esposito, 2011, p. 5). Be it personal, financial or civil, those who are immune are exempt, whether in terms of an originary autonomy or later release, from munus and thus owe nothing to anyone (Esposito, 2011, p. 5). Immunity occurs as "an exception to the rule that everyone else must follow", configured on the basis of a perceived lack or incapacity or as a privilege due to wealth or special status (Esposito, 2011, p. 6). Where community is a condition of generality, immunity is one of particularity and whilst it can refer to an individual or collective, "it is always 'proper', in the specific sense of 'belonging to someone' and therefore 'uncommon' or 'non-communal'" (Esposito, 2011, p. 6). Thus immunity is not just exemption from office, it also works against community in that it "interrupts the social circuit of reciprocal gift-giving" (Esposito, 2011, p. 6). In releasing community members from the obligation to give back the munus that defines them, they are therefore placed outside the community (Esposito, 2011, p. 6).

Defending from outside demands

As discussed in the previous section of this chapter, one of the first models of immunity was the legalist form found in the work of Hobbes, who introduced a process of immunisation that favoured "order based on the vertical relation between every individual subject and the sovereign" (Esposito, 2012, p. 128). In the first section of *Immunitas: The Protection and Negation of Life*, Esposito (2011) provides a detailed outline of this early model of the immunising mechanism, which from the beginning of its emergence was "prescribed to preserve peaceful cohabitation among people naturally exposed to the risk of destructive conflict" (p. 21). The law establishes the path between the subject and rights such that it cuts off obligation so that rather than the notion of "I have obligations then others must have rights," it is "I have rights, others must have obligations" (Esposito, 2011, p. 23). This relation works against Esposito's own rendition of community in that it fundamentally opposes communal obligation in favour of the "purely negative right of each individual to exclude all others from using what is proper to him or her" (Esposito, 2011, p. 25). It is significant to note the contradiction within Hobbesian model of immunity in that it does not seek to protect the community from risk external to it, rather the threat is perceived to be within the community itself. As Esposito (2011) explains, immunity has a paradoxical relation to community where the communal bond is simultaneously perceived as a threat and as something that needs to be reconstituted. He emphasises that whilst immunity is essential for survival and protection it actually relates to the community in an inverse manner, whereby to protect individuals from each other, it tears them away from their duty to the other (Esposito, 2011, p. 22). Essentially, immunitary mechanisms seek to remedy the inherent flaw of the community by safeguarding and reconstituting it in ways that effectively negate it. This occurs

irrespective of whether privately, in the sense that a right that belongs to the individual, or publicly, when the law becomes generalised to the collective. From this perspective, critical community development practices can be considered to set up vertical relations between the State and disadvantaged communities, which is constituted in relation to their collective human rights. It conflates what is proper to individuals in the form of rights and privileges, to what is proper to everyone such that it makes it hard for communal relations to sustain difference and diversity.

One of the main objectives of this early formulation of immunisation, according to Esposito (2011) is that it strives to internalise violence within order. In legislating something that is outside its control the law is able to prevent an accident that can go beyond it (Esposito, 2011, p. 32). In general Esposito (2011) considers this process to be one of the main objectives of immunisation, whereby it seeks to normalise life, which by definition is the situation or event that "tends to escape its own confines" (p. 31). This way of thinking about immunity highlights how communities can be constituted through a process of excluding individuals and collectives deemed to be a risk. This is similar to Foucault's (2013a) description of State racism as a key mechanism of the modern biopolitical arrangements. Immunity functions to divide and segment the 'normal' from the 'abnormal' within the population. Like Esposito's (2010) communitas, immunity offers a significantly different take on the notions of human rights and shared purpose to those of the predominant critical community and communitarian perspectives and approaches found in the disaster recovery and social work research literature (Chan et al., 2011; Hawkins & Maurer, 2010; Marlowe, 2015; Mathbor, 2007; Pyles, 2007; Pyles & Cross, 2008; Rowlands, 2013; Ting, 2013; van Heugten, 2014; Winkworth et al., 2009; Zakour, 1997; Zakour & Harrell, 2003). Further, given the positioning of social workers variously as facilitators of social bonds and as organisers for attaining collective rights, immunity has implications for considering their recovery practices as immunitary. Social workers are represented as at the forefront in responding to collective trauma and disadvantage (Alipour et al., 2015; Pyles, 2007) which alerts to the need in this study to attend to the roles they may play in protecting communities from risk and how they may have supported or promoted sameness, more than facilitating diversity and difference.

Immunity tends to confuse community with that which is personal to everyone and in seeking to protect this form of community it makes it destitute from its most intense meaning (Esposito, 2011, p. 26). However Esposito's (2011) immunity paradigm also helps to make sense of how the process of separation and isolation is simultaneously a basis for inclusion, such that the 'at risk other' is brought into the norm, through inclusive types of interventions and processes of assimilation.

Incorporating the risk from within

Esposito (2011) considers the logic of immunisation to have extended from the legal institution to all other spheres of social, economic and political life. In doing so he draws on the work of Luhmann (1995, as cited by Esposito, 2011) as a sophisticated theorisation of this development. Luhmann's (1995, as cited by Esposito, 2011) theoretical position, which is located between functional theory and cybernetic systems theory. What makes this perspective distinct for Esposito (2012) is how it "shifts the lens from the defensive level of the systemic government of the environment to an internal self-regulation of systems that is completely independent and autonomous with regard to environmental pressures" (p. 41). In order to deal with the environmental difference an immunity process is activated that can include or eliminate the difference within the system. It produces a circular arrangement to the extent that there is no sense of there being an 'outside'. This means that when an immunity reaction is instigated against perceived threats they are internal: "They are nothing but the outside of the inside, merely one of its folds" (Esposito, 2011, p. 42). Notably this way of thinking provides little space for negotiations of struggles between groups as on-going political dialogue. It makes visible how the asset-based disaster recovery approaches, which in seeking to create communal relationships by joining up individual experiences, can be considered to reproduce a kind of sanitised version of community that provides little basis for diversity and the reality of on-going struggles. Considering this aspect of Esposito's (2011) analysis of immunity highlights the need to investigate the ways in which the community-building practices enacted as part of the earthquake recovery arrangements and processes may have functioned to eradicate individual's or at-risk groups' differences in a paradoxically inclusive manner.

According to Esposito (2011) these immunising characteristics are as recognisable in the medical field as they are in the law. His key premise is that modern immunitary practices reflect medicine's ongoing alignment with the principle of cure through the introduction of disease. Esposito (2012) notes that:

> "to vaccinate a patient against a disease, one introduces into the organism a controlled and sustainable portion of the disease … meaning that in this case medicine consists of the same poison that it is must protect itself from, such that in order to keep someone alive it's necessary to give them a taste of death (sic)" (p. 61).

Importantly, he recognises the benefit of immune systems for protection such that no individual body cannot survive without them. However he considers where the system becomes problematic is when instead of protecting life, it destroys it, such as in the case of autoimmune disorders. The medical immunological practices are metaphorically related by Esposito (2012) to the functioning of the

individual and social body on which he considers it to exhibit the same kind of paradox between the protection and negation of life. He emphasises that if any external element is considered to break down the barriers of an individual's or collective's identity then immunity is the mechanism to rebuild those defences (Esposito, 2013b, p. 85). Esposito (2013b) argues that past a certain point immunity no longer functions for the preservation of life but becomes a system of negation that "forces life into a sort of cage where not only our freedom gets lost but also the very meaning of our existence – that opening of existence outside itself that takes the name of communitas" (p. 83). Taken too far this protective mechanism becomes negative and winds up opposing community (Esposito, 2012, p. 62).

Thus Esposito (2011) argues that immunity seeks to protect the body, whether it be the individual, collective or social body, whilst at the same time it potentially hinders its development. He adds it is not difficult to find the evidence for this phenomenon in security-focused modern society.   He observes that the threshold of attention to risk has been continually raised through "blocking the growth or even having run backwards towards an earlier state … rather than adjusting the level of protection to the effective nature of the risk" (Esposito, 2011, p. 85). He links the workings of the immunity mechanisms directly to biopolitical modernity, which he emphasises is recognisable by its underlying assumption that vulnerability is a state of risk from which it needs to protect itself. To be clear however Esposito (2011) does not completely oppose the role of immunity; he considers it as necessary for the preservation of life. However he does critique its negative securitising function that subjects life to control and order and is likely to destroy any basis for his conception of community (Esposito, 2011, p. 85).

Esposito (2011) resists a singular interpretation of the immunity system as closure and offers an additional, complementary account of the immunitary impulse that takes it in the direction of the acceptance of difference. For this he turns to another biological example, the case of pregnancy, and questions: "How can the fetus, encoded as 'other' based on normal immunological criteria, be tolerated by maternal antibodies? What is the protective mechanism which, except in rare cases, allows or encourages its development as an exception to … rejection? (sic)" (Esposito, 2011, p. 169). What is impressive to Esposito (2011) is that the reproductive process is performed as part of immunity functions such that the foetus is not blocked as a foreign element, and that its success actually depends on a certain degree of genetic foreignness of the foetus (p. 170). The child is created by virtue of its difference, which is genetically transmitted from the father (Esposito, 2011, p. 170). In linking this phenomenon to the opposition between immunity and community, Esposito (2011) proposes that the difference of the other (individual or collective) is precisely the basis for its survival.

There is no incompatibility between the self and other (Esposito, 2011, p. 171). As a metaphor, this example indicates a basis for understanding the potential of difference within community to be enabled by protective immunity mechanisms as "a passage that cuts through … boundary lines and mixes up the human experience, freeing it from its obsession with security (Esposito, 2013b, p. 85). This too is an important insight to enable this analysis to examine spaces within the earthquake recovery arrangements and processes that potentially allow for and enable difference. Examining school social workers' practices in enabling these kinds of spaces which celebrate diversity is a worthy imperative for this study.

This idea of the recovery management processes centred on community building and school social work practices possibly being undermined by the very techniques they employ, offers a compelling reason to explore the concept of immunity in this study. The immunity paradigm assists in examining how the politically prized community recovery practices could function to target those individuals and collectives perceived as adversely affected in an effort to protect them and communities from risk. Esposito's (2011) theorising alerts to the need to examine school social workers' protective practices that, as efforts to care for and support children and their parents, could have also closed off individual and collective lives from each other. Finally, the immunity paradigm is useful in identifying the complexity and contradictory nature of biopolitics, as I discuss in more detail in the next section, rather than constraining it to a choice between the affirmative or negative representations of this modern relation of power.

4. Esposito on Biopolitics

Esposito acknowledges Foucault as a major influence in his theorising of the immunity paradigm, which he links directly to biopolitics. In fact, for Esposito (2013b) the emergence of biopolitics in modernity, which as discussed in the previous chapter is a central thesis in Foucault's writing in the mid-1970s, is due to an intensification of the immunity mechanisms. In this section I explore the links between Esposito's formulation of biopolitics and that of Foucault's, specifically in terms of the understanding they share between the historical shift from sovereign to biopolitical forms of power that was initiated in the nineteenth century. However, where Esposito departs from Foucault is in his interpretation of the link between life and politics, which he considers Foucault did not attend to sufficiently in his work. I outline the way that Esposito situates his immunity paradigm within this juncture and note the way he proposes it as a way to elaborate both the negative and positive forms

of contemporary biopolitics. This discussion leads into the final piece of Esposito's conceptual puzzle whereby in providing a basis to understand the dual character of immunisation that biopolitics establishes it becomes possible to establish an affirmative biopolitics, one where community is more enabled than displaced. To do this he returns to the dialectic between immunity and community, positioning it as a means to re-establish communal spaces within biopolitical modernity. I consider that Esposito's thinking on biopolitics has obvious associations with the aims of this study in exploring the way that community has been positioned within the recovery policy and social work practice as a 'remedy' to the risk to human lives that the earthquakes exposed. As well as also providing a basis to look beyond the negating tendencies and outcomes of protective, immunitary mechanisms, which school social workers themselves are inevitably part of, making visible and activating some potentially marginalised practices of community.

From sovereignty to biopolitics

In a chapter in *Immunitas* titled Biopolitics, Esposito (2011, pp. 136 -141) traces the logic of immunity to biopolitical practices that operate at the juncture between the spheres of the individual and the species and the politics of protecting life and securing order. He makes a number of important points that align his thinking to that of Foucault in relation to the difference between sovereign power and biopolitics. First, he acknowledges that when Foucault refers to the object of biopolitics he is not referring to individual rights-bearing subjects or the collective subjects of a nation, rather to living beings who are grouped together in terms of their biological essence. Similarly Esposito (2011) biopolitics addresses living beings as bodies, as individuals who each possess their own bodily form and also as a general body that relates to the whole species with the aim to protect, strengthen and reproduce them. He argues that this function inevitably "concerns the very existence of the State in its economic, legal, and political 'interest'" (Esposito, 2011, p. 137) where individual bodies united as a populational entity legitimise the State. For Esposito (2011) this explains the growing importance in the political sphere of medical knowledge from the beginning of the middle of the eighteenth century onwards. He observes in this context in which "the issue of public health —understood in its widest and most general sense as the 'welfare' of the nation —clearly became the pivot around which the entire economic, administrative, and political affairs of the state revolved (sic)" (Esposito, 2011, p. 137). This function marks a shift from the juridico-political sovereign State found in the Hobbesian model, which tended to operate via appropriative and subtractive power. However Esposito (2011) does not consider this change to be a displacement of sovereign logic in favour of an "organismic metaphor" (p. 137). Rather he considers this shift as a realisation of the body-politic or social body

metaphor found in the juridical-politics at this time, which was transformed into "a biological reality and field for medical intervention" (Esposito, 2011, p. 137).

Esposito (2011) identifies a second characteristic of biopolitics, which also accords with Foucault's view, in terms of the way that the "whole sphere of politics, law and economics becomes a function of the qualitative welfare and quantitative increase of the population" (p. 138). He notes that the health care system has been instrumental in this expansive process. The infiltration of medicalisation and its related health care practices into all areas of the public sector is well represented in the justice system, evidenced by a shift from the sovereign language of the law to the biopolitical language of norms. For Esposito (2011) the process of general and undefined medicalisation also provides the basis to understand how therapeutic practices intersect with those that seek to install political order. He discusses how, starting in the eighteenth century, individuals were placed in specific institutional segments in relation to their family, school, army, factory and hospital designations to control their circulation in the name of public safety (pp. 139-140). The inclusionary/exclusionary measures set up networks of "fences between places, zones and territories" that were intimately connected to sanitary measures (Esposito, 2011, p. 140). For example, Esposito (2011) identifies how the separation between rich and poor neighbourhoods carried out in England in the nineteenth century was a result of the cholera epidemic of 1832. However Esposito (2011) does not consider the co-relationship between public hygiene and social order as evidence of biopolitics operating within the folds of a sovereign form of power. Rather he situates this health and order connection to the immunity framework, highlighting how in becoming "the object of political 'care', life had to be separated off and closed up inside progressively desocialized spaces that were meant to immunize it against anything arising from community (sic)" (Esposito, 2011, p. 140). This conceptualisation makes visible that focusing on the needs of disadvantaged communities, as discussed in the disaster recovery and social work research literature (Pyles & Cross, 2008; Zakour & Harrell, 2003), positions them as an object of biopolitical security and care, within a strategy to protect the wider population from risk.

Connecting life and politics

Esposito (2013c) critiques Foucault for not sufficiently addressing the link between life and politics in his theoretical and genealogical formulations of biopolitics. He argues that bringing the two concepts together cannot be done without juxtaposing one over the other. He proposes that either "life holds politics back, pinning it to its impassable natural limit, or, on the contrary, it is life that is captured and prey to a politics that strains to imprison its innovative potential" (Esposito, 2013c, p. 369). Overall Esposito (2011) argues that in situating biopolitics as a conceptual opposition and also as a subsequent

historical epoch to sovereign power Foucault provides little space to understand the negating effects of biopolitics, without it being subsumed into the sovereign fold. Further, whilst Esposito does note some later shifts in Foucault (2007) formulation of biopolitics as a 'copresence' to the sovereign form of the law nonetheless he emphasises that Foucault has a tendency to align with the affirmative formulation of biopolitics as a politics *for* life. He argues that this does not adequately account for modernity's most recent history as it has been plagued by biopolitical events of its most negative form – the politics *over* life.

To be clear, Esposito (2011) does not consider the purpose of biopolitics to be anything other than to save, protect and develop life as a whole but importantly he argues that it uses immunity as an instrument and in doing so it inevitably winds up contradicting its life affirming intent. Where Foucault sought to displace the sovereign from the politics of life Esposito brings it back. He highlights how the sovereign mode shifted within the biopolitical age, enacted in the "contradictory way that life itself tries to defend itself from the dangers that threaten it, contradicting its other equally prominent needs" (Esposito, 2013b, p. 86). The central thesis of Esposito (2011) position on the relationship between immunity and biopolitics is that politics enters the immune paradigm at the point when politics is called on to make life safe by immunising it from "the dangers of extinction that threaten it" (p. 317). He argues that within biopolitics, "the protection of the biological wellness of the subject (even and especially if collective) hinges on the sanctioned extermination of the Other: the Other posited as a source of pandemics … not of a particular body but of 'human being', of the species (sic)" (Esposito, 2011, p. 239). He adds that biopolitics justifies the use of "brutal and/or absurd countermeasures" to protect human life (Esposito, 2011, p. 239). On this basis he considers that immunity provides the in-between or intermediary concept that articulates the complex paradigm of biopolitics without losing the specific meaning of its elements of life and politics and is able to grasp their connection or common purpose (Esposito, 2013c, p. 369).

As Lemke (2011a) discusses, Esposito's immunity paradigm enables the two dimensions of biopolitics, as "advancement and development of life, on the one hand, and its destruction and elimination, on the other" to be brought together (p. 90). Taken too far, practices, techniques and mechanisms that seek to promote life end up negating it. This proposal is helpful in this study because, as I discuss in chapter four, the recovery practices in Christchurch did seem to take exclusionary forms whereby individuals and populations deemed vulnerable were exempted from communal responsibilities and targeted for the provision of special care. I consider these actions as a form of inclusive exclusion. Esposito's work provides a basis to understand and explore how these protective and caring practices

included within them a negating element that simultaneously excluded and aimed to re-mediate those forms of life seen to undermine the wellness of individuals and populations. Importantly for this study, with its primary focus on community, these considerations enable an exploration of how those very actions that seek to vitalise and maximise life in both its individual and collective forms can work against community relations.

In summary, as I have discussed, Esposito seeks to better account for the 'join' or relationship between life and politics that he considers to be inadequate in Foucault's biopolitics. Specifically he focuses on connecting the two interpretations of biopolitics –its negating and vitalistic forms. In doing so Esposito offers a 'counter-model' to negative biopolitics, which he presents as an 'affirmative biopolitics, that which "opposes the external domination of life processes" (Lemke, 2011, p. 91).

Affirmative biopolitics

Whilst Esposito is clear about the menace that contemporary biopolitics holds for life due to its inherent immunitary flaw, he accepts that it has securely established itself as the only source of political legitimacy today (Esposito, 2013b, p. 87). For him, there seems no other way to think politics other than for the "preservation and implementation of life" (Esposito, 2013b, p. 87). But he does not see this as necessarily bad, rather he proposes the potential for biopolitics to be inverted into an affirmative version through the lens of immunity (Campbell, 2007, p. 12). Esposito's proposal positions his notion of community to advocate for an affirmative biopolitics that actively limits the negating function of immunity. Essentially this means restoring the balance between community and immunity in order "to separate the immunitary protection of life from its destruction by means of the common" (Esposito, 2013b, p. 87).

According to Campbell (2007) it is Esposito's elaborations of positive immunity, as in the case of the mother and foetus, that provides evidence that immunity does not necessarily degenerate the heart of community (p. 12). Thus he does not "collapse the process of immunization into a full blown (auto) immune suicidal tendency at the heart of community (sic)" (Campbell, 2007, p. 12). Immunity also works as "relational filters between the inside and outside (of community) instead of exclusionary barriers" (Esposito, 2013b, p. 88). Tied to this formulation is a conception of individual identity that is not closed and inflexible but rather is understood as "open to continuous change in its environment" (Esposito, 2011, p. 17). Individual bodies are able to "defend themselves against attempts at identification, unification, and closure" (Lemke, 2011, p. 91). Campbell (2007) notes this process is crucial for Esposito in locating community within affirmative biopolitics, a process through which the

individuals are placed outside themselves (p. 25). It also means creating conditions whereby difference, as a form of contagion, can be enabled without invoking a full-blown immunity response (Campbell, 2007, p. 12). Immunity within this positive configuration, instead of the antithesis of community that rejects anything that is foreign, it functions to enable and stimulate difference – "an affirmative biopolitics which is no longer the power over life but *of* life" (Esposito 2008, as cited by Lemke, 2011, p. 91).

Affirmative biopolitics is a worthy focus in this study and I am interested in how school social workers' practices may be enacted in such ways that they enable difference in schools and open up connections between individuals rather than closing them off. In opening up this form of common immunity Esposito outlines a process that begins with recognising and disabling the apparatuses of negative immunity (Esposito, 2013b). As Campbell (2007) elaborates, only once we recognise "the extent to which our political categories operate to immunize the collective political body from a different set of categories associated with community can we reorient ourselves to the affirmative biopolitical opening presented by the current crises in immunity (sic)" (p. 14). This also involves recognising and disrupting security mechanisms set up to protect life in forms such as surveillance techniques and dividing practices that effectively devitalise collective bonds (Esposito, 2013b). The second stage in establishing community within an affirmative biopolitics is to reconstitute the spaces, spheres and dimensions of community that were previously blocked. This is tricky given that this notion of community does not fit with the usual types of categories: "neither the public — which is dialectically opposed to the private — nor the global, to which the local corresponds" (Esposito, 2012, p. 89). Community as a life affirming entity is a largely unknown category in contemporary politics yet for Esposito (2012) this challenge does not lessen the need for a new horizon of the affirmative biopolitics *of* life that rests on our capacity to think from within community (pp. 89-90). This new concept replaces the self-destructive logic of immunity, which recognises instead of repels "the constitutive vulnerability, openness, and finitude of individual bodies and the collective body as the essential foundation of community" (Lemke, 2011, p. 91). In a similar vein Butler (2004), writing in the aftermath of 9/11 in the United States, considers how in contexts of loss and grief there is a commonality between individuals' experiences such that "loss has made a tenuous "we" of us all" (p. 23). Butler (2004) describes how the attachments that an individual has to others 'makes up' who the individual is, such that relational ties are self-constitutive and that "(w)hen we lose some of these ties by which we are constituted, we do not know who we are or what to do" (p. 23). She adds that grief and loss rather than an individual or private process can be considered shared, shedding a different light on notions of dependency and ethical responsibility (Butler, 2004, p. 23). Butler (2004)

emphasises the political potential of this shared basis of vulnerability, making the point that when a major loss occurs it provides a basis for revealing the ties that we hold to others.

In this analysis of biopolitics and community, I seek to explore the dimensions of the recovery practices and ask: How do the immunitary mechanisms enacted in policy and social work practice, despite their protective and caring intentions, effectively close off individuals from their relations with each other? How do they order life in such a way that it undermines the very vitality of life that they seek to institute? And what evidence is there of social workers and their clients withdrawing from, resisting, re-framing or disrupting those practices that create sameness and restrict horizontal, communal relations? And finally, what basis is there for configuring these ethical-political actions as alternate community practices?

Conclusion

Esposito's extensive elaborations on community, immunity and biopolitics highlight the contingent and multifaceted make-up of modern politics, which takes life as its primary concern. He challenges any notions of the community understood as a shared identity and as a form of property that is one's own. He also provides insight into how the prevalent conceptions and approaches to community, which seek to protect lives and eliminate risk inherently, tend towards alienation and exclusion. However, instead of disregarding community as a lost cause, Esposito resurrects it and rethinks it as a political form of communal life. Thus for social workers, in contrast to the communitarian proposals for social capital building and the identity politics of the critical emancipatory approaches, Esposito offers a different way of thinking and practising community, centred on difference and openness to the other.

Significantly, for this study Esposito's theorising offers important insights about the biopolitical governance strategies that shape and are enabled by the recovery management objectives and school social work practice. He augments Foucault's theorising of biopolitics with the immunity paradigm, which I consider a valuable interpretative tool for identifying the defensive and inclusive characteristics of the earthquake recovery processes and school social work practice. Esposito's thought also provides a lens with which to examine the practices of social workers and their clients that seem to resist, oppose, disrupt and/or redeploy the negating mechanisms of immunity and those actions that enable the inclusion of diversity and difference. In this way, community is reaffirmed as

a political practice making possible those collective bonds seemingly unthinkable within the contemporary community configurations of individual and public interests centred on managing risk and wellbeing.

In the following chapter, I outline the general approach taken to conducting this research, that is, the principles, concepts and practical steps that formed the research design, data collection, participant selection and analysis processes. These practical considerations were informed by the archaeological and genealogical tools proposed by Foucault (1972a, 1978, 1997b, 2003a, 2003c) and the writing of other authors (Bacchi, 2009; Bacchi & Bonham, 2014; Blencowe, 2011; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Garrity, 2010; Kendall & Wickham, 1999; Lemke, 2011b; Scott, 1992; Tamboukou, 1999), who have taken a post-structural approach in their work.

Chapter three: Methods in exploring the biopolitics of community

I write precisely because I don't know yet what to think about a subject that attracts my interest. In so doing, the book transforms me, changes what I think. .… When I write, I do it above all to change myself and not to think the same thing as before (Foucault & Trombadori, 1991, p. 27).

Introduction

This chapter marks a shift from the previous chapters' theoretical foci to the use of post-structuralism for the research approach. I have sought to conduct this research so to open up the relationship between the ways in which individuals, collectives and populations aim to cope and adjust to the circumstances of the earthquakes as well as attend to the life affirming values of the recovery processes in which community was a privileged discourse. This focus lent itself to the following central research question:

How do the 'biopolitics of community' interact with both the recovery policies and school social work practices in post-earthquake Christchurch?

This question is supplemented by others, which ask:

- What were the conditions that shaped the emergence of community discourses in relation to post-earthquake life and the recovery processes?

- What truths about the vital character of the recovery and post-earthquake life do the community discourses make possible? How do these truths define the subject positions of individuals and populations? What practices and actions do they enable school social workers to enact, perform and consider relevant as useful interventions?

- How do the biopolitical recovery mechanisms and techniques seek to optimise and protect post-earthquake life? What effects do the techniques have on the conduct of individuals, collectives and populations? What effects do they have on communal bonds? What specific school social work practices do these techniques legitimise?

In order to explore these questions, this study drew on two data collection methods, documents and interviews, and was influenced by some of Foucault's methodological concepts including eventalisation, critique, apparatus and discourse analysis.

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis I have a background and allegiance with community practice. I was drawn to conducting this research in order to champion the community approaches taken up by school social workers in their recovery work. However, taking a post-structural stance with this research has challenged me to think differently about community. I did not dismiss a focus on community, but shifted my perspective to explore the effects of the dominant community discourse on the recovery strategy and processes, and on the school social workers' practices and interventions. I also sought to understand how these political arrangements and social work practices interacted with the way children in schools and their parents were encouraged to care for themselves in the wake of the earthquakes. No longer did I assume community as an optimal recovery approach or mode for social work practice. Rather I sought to examine the way of thinking about and practising community as a phenomena and constituted event. I actively questioned what I once took as self-evident about the notion of community and this enabled me to explore the various discursive and political functions of community discourse. It also enabled me to recognise alternative, less visible collective practices and techniques used by school social workers and consider their value for communal relations in schools.

Engaging with post-structuralism has also assisted me to reflect on the ways in which I am, as the researcher, shaped by the normative discourse and political strategies that inform this study. This encouraged me to try to think 'beyond myself' so as to loosen the hold of these representations of truth, by opening myself up to other possible forms of knowledge and practices (St Pierre, in Richardson, 1994, p. 969). This meant making myself the object of reflection. I found the process of writing, alongside reading, to be valuable in this respect. The process has been iterative in that I continually retraced my steps to reformulate a new rendition. This method involved making visible and interrogating the ways I interacted with assumed 'true' discourse and the self-evidence of community. Taking a reflective stance, however, has not meant that I have sought to establish myself as an objective observer somehow separate from this inquiry. I recognise even my self-distancing relies on my connecting, even momentarily, to other available discursive practices or ways of being (Macias, 2012, p. 15). I actively sought to configure myself in relation to specific normative discourses as a basis to open up different ways of thinking and acting.

This chapter provides the consequences of working through these tangles and conundrums; it outlines the principles, concepts, strategies, tools and steps that have formed the methodological framework of this study. The overall research approach has been influenced by Foucault's own analytical methods, specifically that of archaeology and genealogy. In his early work Foucault (as cited by Bacchi

& Bonham, 2014) proposed the archaeological method for the analysis of discourse (p. 179). Archaeology is a process of exploring "the networks of what is said, and what can be seen in a set of social arrangements" (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 25). The genealogical approach was developed in the 1970s to assist Foucault in his analysis of knowledge-power relations within specific historical phenomena (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 29). Generally, genealogy involves the analysis of how discourses are used and the role they play in society (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. XXV). It focuses on the 'history of the present' and works to expose the political origins of 'settled truths' and their ongoing character (Kendall & Wickham, 1999). Genealogy recognises that history is a "story of error and arbitrariness" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 108) and takes up the task to disrupt the perceived objectivity of truth.

Foucault did not, however, establish a clear set of methodological objectives and steps that could be applied systematically to different topics of study. His methods were developed via a kind of reflective process whereby once a work was completed he would "more or less through hindsight, deduce a methodology from the completed experience" (Foucault & Trombadori, 1991, p. 28). As Tamboukou (1999) clarifies, although Focuault's approach was purposeful he eschewed any closed type of methodology and was "continually slipping away from being committed to any of them" (p. 201). He encouraged others to make use of his books as a kind of toolbox from which to find their own methods to employ in their own inquiries. I have taken up this invitation but I do not propose this study as an archaeology or genealogy. It did not seek, as a primary objective, to trace the present formation of community discourse to its historical conditions of emergence. Rather the focus was on understanding the contemporary practices of community – how they were taken as self-evident, how they were able to take hold and what made them appealing in their current form (Blencowe, 2011, p. 6). In doing so, this study took up a number of Foucault's methodological concepts to form the research approach and analytical parameters. It also drew on the work of other post-structural writers including Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982), Blencowe (2011) Bacchi and Bonham (2014), Scott (1992), Lemke (2011b), Owen (2002) and Jay (1995).

The structure to the chapter is as follows. Firstly, I discuss the principles, which guided the interrogation of 'the self-evidence of community' and the contingent, and multifaceted character of the biopolitical arrangements in which community was deployed. In the second part of this chapter, I discuss the rationale for the two data collection methods of the recovery policy documents and interviews with school social workers. In discussing the selection of the interview as a key method, I consider the contentious notion of experience in post-structural research and how this study

responded to these concerns. I also outline the ethical approval processes taken. Thirdly, I outline the discourse analysis approach that was employed and in doing so demarcate the analytics of this inquiry from those found in the fields of linguistic and discursive psychology. The specific analytical steps that were taken to examine the policy documents and interview transcripts are also identified. Throughout the discussion, I provide illustrations as to how I implemented the methodological decisions that were made and how they informed the analyses, the results of which are outlined in chapters four, five and six.

1. Interrogating the self-evident community

In interpreting community as discourse, I sought to disrupt any notions of it being a settled account. To do this I engaged in a process of analysing the self-evident 'nature' of community as a dominant discourse following the earthquakes and its multiple historical and political conditions of emergence. In opening up the 'truth' of community I did not seek to denounce the power relations or the assumptions that made it 'knowable'. Rather my focus was to consider how the objectives for the recovery that sought to secure the population and the vital future of Christchurch were presented as enabling and protective. This section provides an outline of Foucault's notions of eventalisation, apparatus and his approach to critique, which made this interrogation of the self-evident community discourse possible.

Eventalising the community

In seeking to examine the 'naturalness' of community building as a response to the Christchurch earthquakes I found Foucault (2003c) concept of eventalisation useful. Eventalisation refers to the process of disrupting the self-evident truth claims and the notion of there being a root cause for the current situation. Foucault (2003c) notes there is often a temptation to present events as "a historical constant … an obviousness that imposes itself uniformly on all" (p. 249). For example, in the aftermath of the earthquakes community, belonging and participation were presented as the optimal ways to recover and rebuild. Taking up eventalisation as a methodological approach in this study meant showing that certain community ways of thinking and acting introduced in the aftermath of the earthquakes were not the only ways to respond to the situation. It invited me to rediscover "the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies and so on, that at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal, and necessary" (Foucault, 2003c, p. 249). Thus this study focused on the processes that functioned to make the

community recovery practices intelligible. It began with an examination of the current, contemporary situation of the community discourse located in the aftermath of two earthquakes as a discursive event "to see where it arose, took shape, gained importance, and so on" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 119). As Foucault (2003c) stresses, "the further one breaks down the processes under analysis, the more one is enabled and indeed obliged to construct their external relations of intelligibility" (pp. 249-250). The internal analysis of the community practices multiplies the analysis of the external relations, which function to make the event 'knowable' and unquestionable. This means that the more I analysed the concepts and categories that constitute the discourse of community the more I needed to relate them to wider political processes.

Foucault (2003a) sets out two features of eventalisation, making links to Nietzsche (an influential German philosopher)'s concepts of descent and emergence, which give different meanings to the concept of origin or the source of a discourse. Firstly, as an analytical concept, descent refers to the process of examining aspects of a concept or trait and their basis in history. In this study descent meant considering the history of the characteristics of community discourse being examined. The aim was not to locate the source of present community practices in the past, for example, as a historical problem that made the community an obvious and inevitable solution. Descent is not about finding a profound or ideal truth in the past. Nor does it propose an evolutionary process where the present is considered to be the result of the gradual improvement of the human species or ways of living (Foucault, 2003a, p. 355). Rather, utilising the concept of descent encouraged me to recognise that history is a "story of error and arbitrariness" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 108) and to involve myself in the task of disrupting the perceived objectivity and continuity of the 'truth' of community. Further, recognising history as a contingent event means that not only is there no one discoverable origin of the notion of community, but that it is constituted to function in a particular way in this context. This meant I resisted the notion of presenting community as a progressive form of practice which historically emerged to replace the ineffective individualised trauma-focused practices, as presented in chapter two's discussion of the disaster recovery and social work research literature (Alipour et al., 2015; Bourassa, 2009; Pittaway et al., 2007; Pyles, 2007). Interestingly, as I discuss in chapter four, I found clear links between individualised psychological notions of recovery and those presented as community recovery practices within the policies. So too did the school social workers' accounts of their community practices draw on psychological theories, which, as I discuss in chapters five and six, draw on developmental representations of children as in need of protection. Protection is understood as a relation of power which can be vitalistic, aiming to maximise opportunities for individuals or it can limit agency and promote conformity. Throughout this analysis, I examined how the community

discourse shared an affinity with the concepts and themes associated with bio discourse, and how they could be understood in relation to the systems of knowledge that promulgate vitalistic understandings of life and modes of living in the post-earthquake context. Overall, these analytical manoeuvres enabled me to engage in a process of unsettling the foundations of any notion of the 'true discourse' of community. The aim being to disturb the notions of objectivity and fragmenting them, showing "the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent" (Foucault, 2003a, p. 356).

Descent for Foucault also involves conducting a 'general history' and tracing the event as dispersed "series, divisions, limits, differences of level, shifts, chronological specificities, particular forms of rehandling, possible types of relation" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 59). It involves identifying " the accidents, the minute deviations — or conversely, the complex reversals — the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover the truth of being lies not at the root of what we know and what we are but the exteriority of accidents" (Foucault, 2003c, p. 355). I recognise there is a whole, discontinuous and contingent history to the present practices of community. However, in this study the objective was to examine the influence of the contemporary discursive practices of community in the current context of the earthquake recovery processes. Whilst I do note some historical links between some community concepts and categories, including the development of systems of thought such as developmental psychology and the eugenic political arrangements of the early nineteenth century education system, I did not attempt to trace the 'birth' of community nor did I solely engage with historical material. Therefore, this study does not seek to provide an exhaustive link to the history of the appearance, spread and articulation of the components of community practice. Rather the focus is on the conditions of possibility that made the contemporary practices of community in the recovery context seem inevitable and comprehensible.

In maintaining the analytical focus on the present practices of community another of Foucault's concepts that of emergence, was valuable. Defined as "the moment of uprising" (Foucault, 2003a, p. 357) emergence denotes the way in which there is no end point to history. In this study, this meant there could be no notion of uncovering an ultimate purpose to the recovery arrangements or positioning the community as the most progressive form of practice for social workers to take up in their work. Rather it meant pursuing discontinuities and recurrences, disputing any notions of continuous development and progress (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 106). I understood that there would be multiple processes constituting community as a recovery objective and set of practices and that they could not be entirely anticipated. Thus, emergence involved a process of opening up the

discursivity of community in its present configurations and recognising there can be no singular version of it. The consequence of this opening up is what Foucault referred to as "increasing polymorphism" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 106), whereby the singular event is shown in different intelligible forms but cannot reach completion. The analysis becomes an endless process for which there can be no sense of completion and in this sense, it can only ever be a partial explanation.

Emergence also locates the 'truth' as a product of the effects of power and it denounces any notion of hidden meanings to be anticipated. This also means de-centring the subject as the originator of truth, which meant not seeking to establish any sense of explicit intentionality of the school social workers, whose practices I examined in this study. For Foucault (as cited by Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982), the stable possession of truth or of power is considered the results of "the dispositions, manoeuvers, tactics, techniques, functionings; that one should decipher in it a network of relations, constantly in tension, in activity (sic)" (p. 109). This meant I did not seek to discover 'powerful individuals' or reveal significant relationships between individuals, nor was I focused on the ways that individuals manoeuvre knowledge for their own ends. In this study, I sought to investigate the relationship between the relations of power and the modes of subjectification. There could be no basis for uncovering an original, hidden meaning or covert individual intentions that gave rise to the emergence of the community approaches under investigation. Rather I sought to examine the power relations that were working themselves out in the recovery arrangements and the school sites. These relations were considered to guide governance techniques; discursive practices which made knowable the actions of individuals such as children and parents as well as those of school social workers.

Eventalisation therefore seeks to "breach the self-evidence … making visible a singularity at places where there is a temptation to invoke a historical constant, an immediate anthropological trait, or an obviousness that imposes itself uniformly on all" (Foucault, 2003c, p. 249). Taking the event of the emergence of community discourses in the wake of the Christchurch earthquakes in 2010 and 2011, I traced the history of these ways of thinking and acting by investigating the conditions that made their emergence possible. The community recovery practices are thus not considered the result of a singular cause. Rather, their constitution is analysed on the basis of multiple processes including their connections to other social actions such as international humanitarian responses to disasters. This includes a focus on the 'welfarist' practices of education whereby assistance for children and their families living in poverty is addressed in schools and the 'caring', relational basis for social work practice. The discourses of community are not considered to take the same forms within the political objectives of the Christchurch recovery programmes and the school sites of social work practice. In

this study, two community discourses became evident and were examined in relation to their distinct characteristics, their conditions of emergence and their social and political effects.

Positive critique

Foucault outlines biopolitics, as discussed in chapter one, as a productive and positive form of power that works to extend, optimise and maximise life. Interpreting the productive effects of biopolitics meant examining the positivity of bio discourse as it is imbued in social science knowledge. In undertaking this kind of analysis I found Blencowe (2011) discussion of 'positive critique' useful. She describes this form of critique as a process of interpretation that centres on describing discourse and political techniques in terms of "their positivity and actual intelligibility rather than denouncing them on the grounds of their destructiveness, irrationality or fallacy" (Blencowe, 2011, p. 7). Positive critique is a critical attitude that "interprets events in terms of the expansion of forces, capacities and experiences of empowerment" rather than the "badness or fallacy of a given political discourse or institution" (Blencowe, 2011, p. 5). Therefore, in this study opening up and pluralising the discourse of community did not mean that I then sought to condemn or dismiss these truth claims and taken-for-granted practices. Certainly I pursued a space for critical judgement but in a way that was denaturalising and detaching without being denouncing (Blencowe, 2011, p. 7).

This critical position also recognises that biopolitics cannot be separated from its effects; it is not transcendent or an exterior form of power (Prozorov, 2007b, p. 64). It is quite a different stance to that of critical theory which generally takes the view that "truth is intrinsically opposed to power" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 127) and that power works to repress and dominate. Owen (2002) argues critical theory is a form of ideological critique that draws on the concept of false consciousness as a primary feature of repressive power. False consciousness describes "the condition of holding beliefs that are both false and compose a whole-picture which legitimises certain oppressive social institutions" (Guess, as cited by Owen, 2002, p. 217). Generally, critical theory holds that false consciousness results in a self-imposed condition of oppression whereby individuals do not recognise their own coercion and thus participate in it. The critical theory tradition essentially locates power in opposition to truth, as a repressive instrument that prevents or distorts the formation of knowledge (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 129). Through fostering false consciousness, power is perceived to be able to promote ignorance; it "fears the truth... [and] must suppress it" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 129). Therefore it follows that the most effective way of transgressing power is through the power of the truth. The 'true knowledge' of reality is positioned as a force of liberation and resistance for the greater good. Foucault, however, challenges this wholly singular conceptualisation of power as

repressive and situates the critical tradition as fundamentally located within the logic of sovereign power (Owen, 2002, p. 223). He also argues that the notion of the truth opposing negative power is appealing to 'the speaker', the one who speaks for the good of humanity, and in doing so locates themselves in the privileged position of raising consciousness (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 129). The appeal of speaking 'the real truth' assisted by the representation of truth and power as external to each other also highlights how this liberatory practice is an effective ploy of modern power relations. The effect of propagating this perspective that there is a hidden truth of reality that is able to oppose oppression and overthrow institutional domination conceivably enables other forms of power to gain acceptance. For Foucault (as cited by Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982) "modern power is tolerable on the condition that it mask itself" through "producing a discourse, seemingly opposed to it but really part of a larger deployment of … [it]" (p. 130).

In this study, the view of power relations as productive engendered a focus on the appeal of biopolitical discourses and techniques. From this perspective, the school social workers were not considered to be blinded by negative discourses and political strategies that constrained them to work in ways that disempowered their clients. No steps were taken to critique their accounts from the vantage of oppressive modes of power. Nor did I seek to represent the accounts of the research participants in terms of the truth or falsity of their beliefs. Nor were the policy and interview texts analysed for the hidden truth of reality that would free social workers to practise in liberatory or emancipatory terms. Instead, the community discourses were investigated for their enabling effects; for the authority and expertise they provided the social workers in the school sites, in their collegial relations and in their relationships with the children and parents with whom they worked.

Assembling the apparatus of security

In this study, I have sought to examine a range of concepts, categories, ways of thinking, political objectives, programme actions and practices to understand how they have interacted together to position community, in its different forms, for protecting, restoring and revitalising post-earthquake life. As discussed in chapter one, Foucault's later theorising on biopolitical security mechanisms and governmentality challenges any notion of an over-arching logic and singular configuration of power. Instead, he offers a contingent, multifaceted, dispersed conception of force relations, techniques and systems of thinking, which he referred to as dispositif, often translated in English as apparatus. As a concept, apparatus denotes a heterogeneous assemblage of "discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophic propositions, morality, philanthropy, etc (sic)" (Foucault, 1978, p. 121). Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982) refer to apparatus as a grid of intelligibility from which the researcher can draw "to establish a set of

flexible relationships, and merge them into a single apparatus in order to isolate a specific historical problem" (p. 120). In this study I have sought to bring together some of the various elements of the knowledge-power relations that make up the recovery arrangements within an apparatus of security.

In isolating and then bringing together these heterogeneous elements as a single apparatus I followed some analytical rules provided by Foucault (1978) in *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* as follows. Firstly, he advises that any investigation needs to focus on the 'local centres' of knowledge-power rather than concern itself with any notion of an object which is somehow separated from the mechanisms of power. He illustrates that in constituting sexuality as a topic of investigation "this was only because relations of power had established it as a possible object; and conversely, if power was able to take it as a target, this was because techniques of knowledge and procedures of discourse were capable of investing it" (Foucault, 1978, p. 98). In this study I recognised that social workers' practices including their consent processes, engagement skills and group work could be considered as "vehicles for the incessant back and forth movement" between specific forms of power and frameworks of knowledge (Foucault, 1978, p. 98). Secondly, Foucault (1978) cautions that in analysing the multiplicity of power relations the investigation should not look for who has power and who does not (p. 99). The focus is on the implications of the modifying effects of the power relations at hand and they are not considered to be fixed or static. This meant that I considered the subject positions available to children, parents and social workers and the relationships between them to have changed post-earthquake and to be subject to further change. Thirdly, the local, shifting relations could not function unless within an overall strategy (Foucault, 1978, p. 99). Nor could any strategy achieve its purpose and objectives unless it was supported by the intricate functioning of shifting micro power relations. In this study, this meant looking at social work as an important part of the biopolitical mechanisms and techniques that helped achieve the overall purpose of the recovery strategy in Christchurch. However this did not mean that social work practice in schools was examined as merely a micro-version of the larger recovery project. As a discipline, social work is organised around its own forms of knowledge and practice and it operates in relation to other mechanisms of power, for example, the history of practices aimed at securing the welfare of schoolchildren living in poverty. These relations were analysed for how they showed some connections with the recovery policies' aims, functioning as a support for objectives that sought to secure the wellbeing and recovery of the Christchurch population. Fourthly, within any institutional context there are multiple discursive practices in play and, as discussed in the previous section, there can be no notion of divisions between "accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one" (Foucault, 1978, p. 100). I sought to examine and map this multiplicity by focusing on what was

able to be said, and what was not in the policy and interview texts, for example, what was taken as 'true' and what was absent. I also focused on what authority social workers had and did not have in relation to working with children in schools. Finally, Foucault (1978) advised that the complicated and shifting configuration of apparatus could be considered as "a starting point for an opposing strategy" (p. 100). The notion of discourse creating space for unexpected practices is clearly emphasised by Foucault (1978) when he claims "discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (p. 100). Thus, the functioning of the relations of power are never completely stable and strategies are subject to change. I examined the accounts provided by the research participants for marginalised practices and for those practices that potentially destabilised, disrupted, shifted or weakened existing power relations. I also considered the implications of these practices as affirmative biopolitical community actions.

2. Working with policy and interviews

The overall research aim was to examine the influence of the contemporary discursive and political practices of community within the recovery arrangements, processes and practices. This aim served to establish the types of data accessed and the analytical steps undertaken. In this study, New Zealand recovery policy texts and interviews with school social workers were selected as relevant sources of data because they were considered points of access for exploring the knowledge and practices of community in this setting in the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquakes.

In selecting texts Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2011) advise to consider those that constitute a 'discursive object' relevant to one's research and its 'conditions of possibility' and those that provide contemporary and historical variability statements (p. 102). They add that a Foucauldian analysis can be applied to any kind of text as long as it is conducted in alignment with the genealogical concepts employed in the study (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2011, p. 105). Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2011) outline a range of types of texts that are suitable for analysis, including political discourse, such as policy documents, expert discourses found in academic texts such as research and empirical findings and a variety of speech activities such as semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (p. 105). In this study, I examined some discursive practices of the recovery processes and school social workers, using both policy documents and semi-structured interviews. The aim was to explore the relations between the texts with the discourse of community, as it was constituted in the aftermath of the earthquakes. Secondary texts in the form of intellectual papers and research were

also used as part of the interpretative analysis. Analysing the policy texts and interview transcripts also offered a basis for comparison between the more general arrangements and actions of the recovery and the localised practices within the institutional sites of schools. It helped to make sense of the different community concepts and strategies within both sets of texts and the ways in which they conflicted and complemented each other. Both policies and interviews were analysed with the aim of articulating biopolitical power relations of caring for individuals and populations at the broader societal and the local school level.

Working with recovery policies

Policy documents are used in this study to examine the discursive and political context of the Christchurch earthquake recovery and specifically to investigate the biopolitical constitution of community and the functions it served. I understand the aim of policy is to address a perceived need. According to Dunne, Pryor, and Yates (2005), policy is generally conceived of as seeking an improvement in relation to a specific concern or problem. As I discuss in chapter four, specific Christchurch earthquake recovery policies sought to enhance the coping skills of 'vulnerable populations' through the provision of specialised psychological services. However, as Bacchi (2000) outlines, it is a mistake to see policy as merely "a means of responding to 'problems' that exist 'out there' in the community" (p. 48). Rather she stresses that the needs and problems that policy seeks to address or solve are created or shaped by the policy proposals themselves. Likewise Watts (1992) notes policy should not be conceived of as a settled account of needs and their solutions; rather, he characterises it as a struggle to control meaning. As a discursive practice, policy selectively "asserts that a certain state of affairs is 'this' way and not 'that' way" (Watts, 1992, p. 39) and is active in guiding political thought and action in specific directions. Watts (1992) adds that subjects are also conceived of as located within these multiple and conflicting discourses (p. 54). Bacchi (2000) recognises policy as discourse and advocates for the need to examine the absences or silences in the text – What is not said? What fails to be an object or subject of concern? In this inquiry, I sought to recognise the silences within the policy texts as a means to identify the power relations within the recovery arrangements. For example in chapter four I describe the way that the collectivising and resilience-focused practices of community discourse promulgate processes that exclude 'vulnerable populations' and target them for therapeutic support. I examined these representations of need for the ways they close off other types of political thought and action. As such, the recovery policies were considered to be located within social practice, in terms of the ways the representations of need or the proposals for social good enable biopolitical ways of thinking and wellbeing-focused actions.

I selected and examined five recovery policies and associated documents in which community ways of living and recovering were constituted discursively and deployed as part of the political strategy to address the presumed needs of the Christchurch population. The policies were examined as discourse with "a set of shifting, diverse, and contradictory responses to a spectrum of political interests" (Edelman, as cited by Bacchi, 2000, p. 48).

The selection of the policies were those texts that were considered likely to serve as important sources of recovery programmes and processes. Table one provides the list of policies selected as data for this study. No attempt was made to only access those policies that referred to community but rather key policy documents that set out the aims and objectives for the recovery of Christchurch were sought. However, such is the prevalence of community discourse in the recovery context that it was a central theme in all the policies selected. New Zealand government policy was accessed, including the recovery policy, titled "Focus on Recovery" (Ministry of Civil Defence & Emergency Management, 2005) (detailed in table 1) that was produced in 2005 and thus prior to the Christchurch earthquakes. This policy was selected because a number of the earthquake recovery policies referred to this text. In this study, policy is not just considered the domain of the State. NZRC (2011) policy was included in the selection as this organisation was also active in the Christchurch recovery interventions and a number of the government policies referenced the policy (discussed in chapter 4). Further, given that a number of the school social workers who participated in this research were contracted by the NZRC to work in schools following the 2011 earthquake, including this policy was important. I also examined an article written by a group of disaster experts, titled "Psychosocial Recovery from Disasters: A Framework Informed by Evidence" (Mooney et al., 2011). This document provides useful background and theoretical information underpinning key aspects of the recovery strategy as many of the authors were part of a panel of experts who helped to develop the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) recovery framework (MSD, 2011). Appendix one provides a summary of each of the policies, their background and stated objectives. It should be noted that none of these documents specifically refers to the provision of social work services or the roles of social workers. Nonetheless, in line with the conceptual and analytical framework for this study school social workers are considered nodes of power, understood to operate within the general social milieu informed by such discourses, but not necessarily be directly drawing on these policies for their own school social work practices.

Table one. The policy documents selected and analysed

Name of policy	Department/Organisation	Policy identifier/citation
Focus on Recovery: A holistic framework for recovery in New Zealand	Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management (MCDEM)	MCDEM, (2005)
Strategic Planning Framework: To support individual recovery and community wellbeing, and to build community resilience	Ministry of Social Development (MSD)	MSD (2011)
Community in Mind: Strategy for rebuilding health and wellbeing in greater Christchurch	Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA)	CERA (2014b)
Community in Mind: Shared Programme of Action	Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA)	CERA (2015)
New Zealand Red Cross Recovery Framework	New Zealand Red Cross (NZRC)	NZRC (2011)

Using interviews in post-structural ways

In this study, I sought to draw on the experiences of school social workers following the earthquakes and selected interviews as a central method to examine these accounts. As a social worker, my work has always directed me to engage with people and encourage them to share their experiences so it is not surprising that I was keen to talk to social workers themselves. However, the use of interviews as a means of interpreting experience within a Foucauldian approach is somewhat contentious and not without challenges. Within the tradition of interpretative research, the interview is emphasised as a means to recognise the research participant's 'voice' of their experiences as something that is unquestionable. However, there can be no notion of foundational truth or a conception of the subject as the central holder and author of truth when drawing on Foucault's work. The use of interviews is not untenable within a post-structural study, although it does necessitate an approach that recognises the interactions between the interviewee and the discursive practices under investigation.

A notable post-structural critique of the notion of experience and its capacity to explain, is provided by Scott (1992) who when argues experience is offered as evidence "the claim for referentiality is further buttressed –what could be truer, after all, than a subject's own account of what he or she has lived through?" (p. 24). She argues however "it is not individuals who have experience, but subjects who are constituted through experience" (Scott, 1992, p. 24). This argument aligns with the perspective of Foucault, who throughout his work sought to decentre the subject as the originator of meaning. Although he did not seek to erase the subject from history but recognised its location and constitution within the historical conditions of emergence. Foucault (2003f) aims to "to grasp the subject's points of insertion, modes of functioning, and system of dependencies" (p. 390). Doing so means asking the following kinds of questions: "How, under what conditions, and in what forms can

something like a subject appear in the order of discourse? What place can it occupy in each type of discourse, what functions can it assume, and by obeying what rules?" (Foucault, 2003f, p. 390). In short, "it is a matter of depriving the subject … of its role as originator, and of analysing the subject as a variable and complex function of discourse (sic)" (Foucault, 2003f, p. 390).

In this study experience is not considered to be located outside discourse and thus cannot be reified. It is only recognisable within discourse and as such, the accounts of the research participants in this study were not considered self-evident explanations that offered indisputable meanings. According to Foucault (2003f) the subject, rather than an originator of discourse, is considered "a variable and complex function of discourse" (p. 390). In line with this perspective, I recognised the research participants' accounts as located within the knowledge-power relations that I sought to understand. The interview texts are examples of how social workers have made sense of their experience and illustrated what kinds of discourses they drew on to explain their actions and knowledge in working with children, parents, families and other professionals in schools.

This approach to interpreting the interview texts in this study is differentiated from that within the critical tradition, which can often focus on the 'true voice' of the research participant or on exploring their ideological captivity. Scott (1992) considers that feminism has tended to attend to and validate women's experiences on the basis that they provide a foundational ground to experience. She claims that, generally, radical feminism seeks to provide an "indisputable authenticity to women's experience" as a means "to establish incontrovertibly women's identity as people with agency" (Scott, 1992, p. 31). She adds, "the lived experience of women is seen as leading directly to resistance from oppression" (p. 31). This "possibility of politics" is said to rest on and to follow from women's experience (Scott, 1992, p. 31). Scott (1992) argues that the collectivising of women's experiences as a massified, foundational, incontestable truth weakens feminist politics by not attending to a range of discursive processes including the production of female subjectivity, the conditions of possibility for agency and how knowledge and politics make experience itself possible. Owen (2002) likewise critiques the view of the subject as under the spell of coercion from which they need to be freed. He refers to this formulation as ideological captivity, which denotes the subject as holding false beliefs, legitimised by oppressive social institutions that they are blocked from recognising (Owen, 2002, p. 220). Owen (2002) considers that in general, critical research seeks to facilitate a form of self-reflection within subjects that assists them to recognise the falsity of their beliefs, to become aware as to how they came to be held by these beliefs and to involve themselves in challenging the institutions that have oppressed them. In contrast, the post-structural approach taken up in this study

examined the accounts articulated by the school social workers in the interview texts in relation to the processes that informed them. That is, "the discursive processes which position subjects and are productive in forming their experiences" (Scott, 1992, p. 24).

Whilst there was no notion of examining the interview texts for aspects of truth that I could seize as an example of emancipatory practice, one of the objectives of this study is that it provides a basis for critical reflection. In presenting this research, I seek to offer school social workers opportunities to reflect on their experiences in ways that enable them to question the self-evident basis of the work they do, including exploring the allure of biopolitical discourses and the related institutional and ethical practices. The work of Lemke (2011b) Owen (2002) and Jay (1995) was useful in thinking about how I could facilitate these processes. Jay (1995) critiques what he considers to be overly discursive formulations of experience, such as Scott's (1992), for subverting any basis for subjectivity (p. 159). Whilst he does not argue for experience to be understood on a self-referential basis, he argues it cannot be "effortlessly dissolved in a network of discursive relations" (Jay, 1995, p. 168). He seeks to augment the connection between knowledge-power relations and experience with the relations to the self. Lemke (2011b) observes that in his later work in the 1980s, Foucault considered experience to be "a dynamic interplay between games of truth, forms of power and relations to the self" (p. 29). In this light, Lemke (2011b) defines experience as "dominant structure and transformative force, as existing background of practices and transcending event, as the object of theoretical inquiry and the objective of moving beyond historical limits" (p. 29). He connects Foucault's later focus on experience to his approach to critique, which, it should be noted, directly opposes the kind of negative critique offered within critical theory. As Lemke (2011b) discusses, Foucault's critical approach centres on the processes of ethical self formation in which experience is located as a transformative force (p. 30). The aim is to "elucidate a disjuncture between the ways in which we are intelligible to ourselves with respect to some dimension of our subjectivity … on the one hand and our cares and commitments on the other" (Owen, 2002, p. 222). Put simply, it is the process of enabling the subject to see that the perspective they are captivated by is just one among many possible perspectives (Owen, 2002, p. 219). It provides a basis to evaluate the value of the privileged perspective relative to the others (Owen, 2002, p. 219). This kind of critique is a principal aim of this study in that I hope that opening up and interrogating the research participants' experiences of community discourse, those taken as self-evident, would enable social workers to consider how what they take to be true and necessary, has taken 'hold' and with what effects. I consider that enabling social workers to perceive these aspects of their experience differently could facilitate a kind of detachment process whereby they could evaluate the common ways of thinking and acting in community-enhancing ways. My intention is that

opening up and reviewing these prevalent practices could open space for other forms of communal governing relations to become more visible – those that support more than negate diversity *and* commonality in schools.

Selecting the research participants

The objective of the interviews was to seek the accounts of school social workers about their work in schools, particularly what they considered to be their community practices, in the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquakes. Purposive sampling was the chosen method for the selection or sampling of interview participants, with a central aim to select information-rich cases for in-depth study (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005, p. 45). The research participants for this study were twelve school social workers who had been working in Christchurch schools following the 2011 earthquake.

The process of selecting, choosing, inviting and recruiting the interviewees was shaped by the nature of the study's research questions and the theoretical considerations (Vogt, Gardner, & Haeffele, 2012, p. 143). According to Vogt et al. (2012), purposive sampling involves specifying a target population, identifying a pool of potential interviewees and then inviting specific members of that pool to participate (p. 141). Table 2 provides details of each of the research participant's characteristics including their age and qualifications. The sample for the research participants was chosen to include those who had been working in a social work position in schools in Christchurch for a minimum of six months. Two types of school social work positions were in operation at the time of recruitment, namely the Social Workers in Schools-funded positions (SWiS) and the NZRC-funded social workers (referred to as RCSW). The position titles for these roles varied and included Community Response Social Workers. Three main non-government organisations had contracts to provide these social work services in Christchurch schools and each of these organisations was approached to access workers from both these programmes to participate in this study. Table 3 provides detail of the agency make-up of the research participant sample. The rationale for this variation sampling strategy (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005) was that including research participants from the two different types of school social work positions would provide an interesting basis for comparison, especially since the RCSW worked predominantly in schools in middle to high socio-economic areas, a new field of practice for school social workers in New Zealand. No real names of participants or anyone that they identified were used. All interviewees and the schools themselves were de-identified and given pseudonyms.

Table two. The research participants' characteristics

Pseudonym	Position title	Acronym	Age	Gender	Experience	Qualification
Vivienne	Social Worker in Schools	SWiS	48	Woman	5 years	Bachelor of Education, Diploma of Counselling
Peter	Social Worker in Schools	SWiS	38	Man	3 years	Bachelor of Social Work
Angela	Service Manager/ Community Response Social Worker	RCSW	40	Woman	12 years	Post-graduate Diploma of Social Work, Masters in Child and Family Psychology
Erin	Community Response Social Worker	RCSW	30	Woman	3 years	Bachelor of Social Work
Lynne	Team Leader/ Community Response Social Worker	RCSW	45	Woman	6 years	Bachelor of Social Work
Scott	Community Response Social Worker	RCSW	25	Man	3 years	Bachelor of Education
Amy	Community Response social worker	RCSW	27	Woman		Bachelor of Social Work
Sophie	Community Response social worker/ Group Coordinator	RCSW	24	Woman	3 years	Diploma of Social Work
William	Social Worker in Schools (SWiS)	SWiS	38	Man	5.5 years	Masters of Social Work, Post-graduate Diploma in Teaching
Darren	Social Worker in Schools (SWiS)	SWiS	47	Man	10 years	Bachelor of Education
Nicole	Social Worker in Schools (SWiS)	SWiS	37	Woman	6 years	Bachelor of Social Work
Susan	Community Response Social Worker	RCSW	44	Woman	6 years	Bachelor of Education

Table three. Organisational breakdown of research participant sample

Agency identifier	Number of participants	RCSW/SWiS distribution
NGO1	4	2 SWiS 2 RCSW
NGO2	4	4 RCSW
NGO3	4	3 SWiS 1 RCSW

Ethics approval

The proposal for this research project was submitted and approved by both the Monash University Human Ethics Committee and the Ethics Committee of the Christchurch Polytechnic Institute Technology (CPIT), (renamed in 2016 as Ara Institute of Canterbury), the researcher's employing organisation, at the beginning of 2012. The ethics proposal included the research participant information letters and consent forms (see Appendix three).

As per the ethics requirements of Monash and CPIT, steps were taken to ensure informed consent was gained from the prospective research participants. Presentations about the research and my background were provided in September 2012 at the team meetings of the three Christchurch organisations that employed school social workers. The individuals present were each given an explanatory letter, consent form and a self-addressed envelope at this point. Those school social workers who were interested in being interviewed as part of the research were asked to return the signed consent form to me by mail. On receipt of the signed consent form, I e-mailed each interested individual to set up a time for an interview. During the interviews, the research participants were also reminded that they were free to withdraw from the research at any stage until the final data analysis had occurred. None chose to do this.

Attention was also paid to the potential to distress the research participants. Asking questions about participant's views and experiences of major earthquake events and the influence of these events on their work is considered a sensitive area for discussion. However, given the focus was on the research participants' professional experiences, drawing on their recollections of the Christchurch earthquakes in relation to their practice experiences in schools, the risk of distress was considered low. Nonetheless, the explanatory statement provided to all the research participants outlined that they could contact the Christchurch Psychiatric Emergency Service, a 24-hour urgent and emergency psychiatric assessment service, in the event of adverse or unforeseen psychological distress arising from participating in the research. At the beginning of each interview the research participant was informed that if they felt uncomfortable answering any of the questions they should refrain from doing so. In addition, they were reminded that at any point during the interview they could withdraw. They were also verbally reminded of the availability of support should they experience distress after the interview was completed.

Efforts were made to ensure there was little risk of participants being identified in the written thesis or any written papers or reports relating to the study. There are approximately one hundred schools in the greater Christchurch area so there is a low risk of specifically identifying the schools or social

workers. Three non-government agencies provide social work services in schools in the greater Christchurch area in approximately thirty schools so there is not a significant risk of the individual practitioners being identified. Pseudonyms were also assigned to the research participants' employing agencies where they were identified in the transcripts. Further, I agreed to ensure that none of the names of the participants, their employing organisation or the schools in which they worked would be identified in any material published from this study. All of the research participants were e-mailed a copy of the transcript of their interview to provide them with an opportunity to review the text and have specific details deleted if they were not satisfied with the material.

Conducting the interviews

Semi-structured interviews were utilised to enable the collection of similar information using broad, open-ended questions whilst still giving flexibility to construct more specific questions to ask during the interviews (Vogt et al., 2012, p. 40). The research aims informed the development of the interview schedules (see Appendix two). Jupp (2006) makes some useful points for structuring schedules, which informed the sequence of the interview questions, in which general questions about the respondent's experiences of working in schools were asked at the beginning and more specific questions at the latter part of the interview. The research participants were all asked questions about what they considered the primary purpose and functions of community practices in schools, how they experienced their work in schools and their perceptions of working in schools following the earthquakes. The social workers were also asked questions about how they perceived their positions in schools in relation to other professionals and their accounts for the practices they utilised. The interviews enabled a focus on exploratory and descriptive questions in which the context of the study could be examined and detailed elaborations from the participants could be captured (Vogt et al., 2012). Overall, the questions served as discussion prompts to enable the participants to recount their experiences of their work within a three-year timeframe since the first earthquake. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed, with these texts serving as the second set of data, alongside the policy documents.

3. Using discourse analysis

There is a range of approaches to analysis within the field of discourse analysis (see Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2011; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Fairclough, 1992; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Kendall & Wickham, 1999; Tamboukou, 2008; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Whilst there is common commitment

to analysing 'truths' that are constructed through texts there is conflict within the field that relates to the epistemological foundations, the role of the researcher and the research question. In this section, I outline and provide the rationale for the Foucauldian discourse analytical approach used in this study as well as the archaeological and genealogical concepts that inform it. Finally, I detail the specific analytical steps taken to examine both the policy and interview texts.

Discourse analysis can be undertaken in a number of ways, Morgan (2010, pp. 2-3) usefully provides an outline of the main discourse analysis approaches used in research. Several were informed by conversation analysis, a method that defines and analyses discourse as "a communal exchange, a social and cultural resource people may draw upon to explain their activities, a linguistic system with rules" (Morgan, 2010, p. 2). Conversation analysis fits within a realist epistemology that defines discourse as language and is used to analyse the performative or functional aspects of speech (Morgan, 2010, p. 2). For instance, it focuses on what speech is doing and why; it is a systematic account of the organisation of interactive talk (Potter, Wetherell, Gill, & Edwards, 1990, p. 206). Other traditions used to analyse interview data have a similar focus on language. Interactional sociolinguistics, like conversation analysis, focuses on the analysis of patterns within language as a system and is distinct in that it seeks to interpret forms of language that are methods of dominance (Morgan, 2010, p. 2). The focus is on the analysis of power within linguistic practices. Critical discursive psychology posits a "hybrid of discourse analysis traditions" (Morgan, 2010, p. 3), combining influences from conversation analysis as well as Bakhtinian and Foucauldian principles. The emphasis is on studying 'talk', which contrasts with traditional psychological approaches that place concepts such as identity, personality, roles and attitudes as essential entities. Critical discursive psychology treats such categories as constituted through language. Critical discourse analysis brings together the disciplines of linguistics, semiotics and discourse analysis to focus on theorising and researching social processes and social change. The use of this method involves analysing an interactional episode in relation to the relevant macro societal context and prioritises the desire for positive political change. Bakhtinian research considers that language is active and fluid, conflicting between authoritative, fixed, inflexible discourse and forces from different genres, professions, cohorts and history. This method of analysis draws on specific concepts and seeks to evidence social conflict and ideology in words that convey evaluative judgements (Morgan, 2010, p. 3). Finally, Morgan (2010) outlines that Foucauldian analysis views discourse as "a group of statements, objects or events that represent knowledge about, or construct, a particular topic" (p. 2). The form that the actual analysis takes is to analyse the ways in which a topic has been constructed within a society; its development as a specific form of knowledge (Morgan, 2010, p. 2).

In relation to the range of aforementioned language-focused approaches and those of this study, a line of distinction can be drawn. In this inquiry, recognising discourse as knowledge and practice dispels any notion of it as merely a speech act or the analysis as a language-focused method. As Bacchi and Bonham (2014) empathetically claim, discourse is practice, and as such they advise the analytical process needs to dismiss "language and logical propositions to concentrate on mechanisms of refinement–practices that "work upon or shape what is said" (p. 179). The analytical method taken in this research study focused on tracing the emergence and functioning of the contemporary ways of understanding and acting in relation to community in the disaster recovery space and social work practice in schools in Christchurch. The aim is to show how the 'truth claims' and practices of community had been produced, how they were maintained and the power relations that carried them (Burr, 2006, p. 166).

An archaeological and genealogical toolkit

For the purposes of the analysis of the policy texts and interview transcripts, I have selectively taken up some aspects of Foucault's archaeology to examine the way in which the discourse of community has been formed and operates within the two sets of texts. However, it is important to note that the use of the archaeological method to analyse interview texts is not without critique. Potter et al. (1990) have challenged the archaeological analysis for taking a "reified view of discourses as independently existing entities" (p. 209). They argue for an analytical method, developed within the tradition of discursive psychology, which seeks to situate discourse within its interactional settings, arguing "discourses … are always versions organised in particular contexts, their study should be based around the performance of procedures or actions (Potter et al., 1990, p. 209).

Discursive psychology focuses on the analysis of everyday discourses or interpretative repertoires to account for the ways of talking that people use when constructing their accounts of events. Interpretative repertoires are defined as "broadly discernible clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images" (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 90). They are identified as "the building blocks used for manufacturing versions of actions, self and social structures in talk" and the "resources for making evaluations, constructing factual versions and performing particular actions" (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 90). As the primary analytical unit of the discursive psychology approach to analysis, interpretative repertoires are considered to be made available through the wider social world. As Edley (2001) outlines, they are part of a culture's common sense as the available ways of talking about different objects and events (p. 204). In this model, discourse is seen as a form of practice that is used to do things. To analyse discourse means to ask

what is achieved by that use and the nature of the repertoires that allow that achievement (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 90). Burr (2006) outlines how the use of interpretative repertoires imbues a particular model of the subject whereby they are actively involved in the process of constitution, by selecting from a range of linguistic resources from the interpretative repertoires available as material to build up an account of an event. This approach also holds that subjects act to locate themselves within a local moral order to position themselves as credible, which serves to negotiate a viable position for themselves. Linguistically this moral positioning involves "offering explanations and excuses, making justifications, apportioning blame and making accusations" (Burr, 2006, p. 120). Within this subjects are considered to construct accounts of events for their own purposes and are motivated by a desire to have a 'voice' and have their account of an event taken as accurate or truthful (Burr, 2006, p. 120).

Foucault, however, did not focus on the relation between words and things or on everyday language systems used to constitute objects in their various forms (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. xxiv). His method of discourse analysis is clearly concerned with those statements that are 'serious speech acts', or what Bacchi and Bonham (2014) refer to as "serious knowledge acts", to analyse "what must be taken-for-granted for statements to do their work" (p. 187). The term statement was referred to by Foucault (1972a) as the building block or "the atom of discourse" and as key unit of analysis (p. 80). According to Deleuze (1988), statements are "the words, phrases and propositions which revolve round different focal points of power … set in play by a particular problem" (p. 17). For example in chapter five I note the way that the research participants identify the schools by their decile number. Deciles are an income-based statistical measurement system employed in the New Zealand education system to rank schools from one to ten (one represents the lowest level of socio-economic status) for the purpose of allocating specialised funding to schools with high levels of children in need. All of the research participants referred to the decile number of the schools they worked in to describe them. A number of the participants referred to children, parents and families in relation to high or low decile number as a proxy description for them. Thus, as a statement, deciles denote a particular association with schools and had effects on the research participants and their thinking (Mills, 2015, p. 64). Grouped together, statements such as the decile are recognisable in that they relate to the same topic, were produced for a related purpose and had similar effects. Foucault was interested in those statements that exhibited these kinds of regularities through their relations with similar kinds of statements, known as discursive formations, and "in the gradual and sometimes sudden but always regular transformations such discursive formations undergo" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 49). Thus

whilst statements relate in terms of their function they are subject to change and can contain conflicting concepts.

Foucault distances himself from any consideration of the sense or use that the subject makes of the statement, identifying that in the task of discourse analysis one must suspend not only the point of view of the "'signified' … but also that of the 'signifier'" (Foucault, as cited by Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 50). Thus archaeology does not focus on everyday actions, nor does it seek to understand how subjects use discourse; rather it concentrates on discursive formations that emerge within what is said and done (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014). In this inquiry I trace 'statements' as things said within the texts to describe the function and purpose of community whether it refers to it as a space or a site, a form of political or social action, an identity or a way of acting or behaving.

In the process of examining the policy and interview texts, the archaeological method involved examining the statements to determine what is taken to be true and false at a given point in time. To do this I took up Foucault (1972a) four rules of formation for analysing statements. First, he identifies the perceived "unity of a discourse is based … on the space in which various objects emerge and are continuously transformed" (Foucault, 1972a, p. 32). In this study the discursive object is not community per se; the object is the forms of post-earthquake life and as the primary unit of analysis, the discursive formation of community is examined for how it articulates the 'true' versions of post-earthquake life and the preferable ways for carrying out one's recovery. This involved focusing on the "surfaces of emergence" (Foucault, 1972a, p. 45) through which specific forms of post-earthquake life and the ways of recovering appeared, what status these categories seemed to have, and how these forms of life were specified, divided, and classified. Second, Foucault (1972a) advises to attend to the formation of the enunciative modalities of discourse, which as Garrity (2010) elaborates, is the process through which "statements referring to objects are made" (p. 204). This means attending to "Who is speaking? Where is it being spoken from? What is the relation between the speaker and what is being spoken of?" (Brown and Cousins, as cited by Garrity, 2010, p. 204). Statements are considered to provide various positions or places for subjects to take up and there are limits to the types of subject positions available within any given time. Some statements are more authorised than others, in that they are associated with those in positions of power or linked to institutions. Attending to the enunciative modality in this study was a useful way to examine the subject positions made available for individuals, groups and population within the recovery context including those for children and parents in school sites. It also helped to make sense of the authority that discourses provided the school social workers. Attention was paid to the ways in which the community statements within the

texts enabled the school social workers to be taken seriously in schools and gain status in their work with children and parents. Third, Foucault (1972a) notes that discursive formations are made up of groups of concepts that whilst disparate nonetheless also relate to each other. These relations occur through "the ordering of descriptions or accounts … the forms of hierarchy and subordination that govern the statements of a text, the way in which … the statements are linked to the modes of criticism, commentary and interpretation of previously formulated statements and so on" (Foucault, 1972a, pp. 59-60). This rule informed this analysis to focus on the ways in which the discursive practices of community were connected to concepts and themes about post-earthquake life, which also shared an affinity with bio discourse. Fourth, the analysis of discursive formations is that of the formation of strategies or theories. Foucault (1972a) considers that discursive formations constitute "certain organizations of concepts, certain regroupings of objects, certain types of enunciation, which form, according to their degree of coherence, rigour, and stability, themes or theories (sic)" (p. 64). In this analysis, I connected the concepts found in the texts to theories and systems of thought and found specific uses of ecological, developmental, humanistic and psychological perspectives.

In his later work Foucault connected archaeology to genealogy, as a basis to connect the work of distancing and defamiliarising the serious discourse of the human sciences to the contemporary focus on how the discourses are used and the role they play in society (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. xxiv). In this study I take up this analytical approach by recognising the community discourse as "embodied in practices, or systems of practices" (Foucault, as cited by Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 133). This meant that I did not just approach the texts according to the rules of formation but in terms of its technologies of power; "its objectives, the strategies that govern it, and the program of political action it proposes (sic)" (Foucault, 2007, p. 59). In this study this meant paying attention to the techniques that made the production and circulation of community discourse in the texts possible (Rose, 1999, p. 30). Key to this is attending to what Rose (1999) refers to as power's technical conditions, by which he means the range of devices, methods and techniques such as social workers' diagnostic procedures, the assessment, the interview, and such like. In particular, the focus was on those technologies of power through which individuals, collectives and populations came to know themselves and act as certain kinds of subjects.

The analytical steps

I have chosen to explicitly link the prevailing discourses that form community with the political recovery objectives and school social workers' expertise and practices. This approach encompassed both what is produced and reproduced by discourse to the extent that it appears self-evident and the articulations and actions that are less likely or not as self-evident within current discourse (Fadyl,

Nicholls, & McPherson, 2013).   These principles directly informed the analysis of the policy and interview texts. The steps to this process are outlined as follows:

Step 1: Organising the data

The first step of analysis was to convert the audio taped interviews into written form. Whilst the policy documents were already in written form, the interview data needed to be transcribed. All the texts were then uploaded onto Nvivo so as to access the material easily. Nvivo is qualitative research data analysis software that can be used to code and categorise themes within data sets. However, in accordance with Willig (2013) advice, no attempt was made to analyse the transcripts at this point so I could experience, as a 'reader', some of the discursive effects of the texts.

Step 2: Attending to the references of community

Initially all references to community that appeared in the policy documents and interview transcripts were selected. Nvivo was useful in this regard, as community was submitted as a key word and all references to this term were highlighted in the texts. I also examined all of the texts for 'implicit constructions' (Macnaghten, 1993). Those references to community as 'it' and 'there' and wider references were also selected for analysis. I paid attention to what could be said and what was taken for granted within a discursive formation of community. I listed the different ways of speaking about community that appeared in the texts and using the Nvivo software identified a descriptor for each reference. For example, in examining the policy texts I noted that one policy referred to community as like a method of recovery. I referenced this as 'community recovery'.

I also analysed the emerging discourse for what it did by examining the action orientation of the community discourses. Of interest here was what practices and actions the discourse of community enabled within the policy and within social workers' accounts. The documents and transcripts were analysed for the ways in which the discursive formations of community were deployed in the text, informed by a number of key questions: What do the different discourses of community achieve? What are their functions? What is gained from constructing the post-earthquake life in this particular way in the surrounding text? What is achieved from deploying community in this way here? (Willig, 2013). Finally, I paid attention to aspects of Esposito's critique of mainstream community approaches to consider the property characteristics of the community statements within the policy and interview texts, which was informed by questions such as: What are the conditions for community belonging? What expectations does community belonging hold for its members?

Step 3: Connecting the community discourse with the knowledge of life

In order to examine the community discourses that construct post-earthquake life and the modes of recovering I needed to link the various discursive formations of community to the knowledge of life. To do this key statements were connected with bio knowledge, through asking questions such as: How do the community discourses represent the vital character of the individualities and collectives in Christchurch? What self-evident knowledge of life provides the "cognitive and normative maps" (Lemke, 2011a, p. 119) for these understandings It should be noted, as discussed in chapter one, that bio discourse is not just constituted by biological knowledge in its contemporary scientific forms; it also aligns with sociological and psychological forms of thought and practices that are merged with the concepts of evolution, development, progress and maximisation (Blencowe, 2011). Furthermore, I examined: What instructions are being given for how to recover in community ways? How do these instructions link in both complementary and conflicting ways between the political recovery context and in the institutional sites of schools? I also attended to the absences and silences in the texts, asking questions such as: What is not said within these post-earthquake-life constructions? What fails to be an object or a subject of concern?

Step 4: Locating the subject positions offered within the community discourses

This stage of analysis involved examining the subject positions offered to and taken up by subjects within the community discourse. Both sets of texts were systematically itemised according to the references to individuals, groups and populations to specify the types of subjects who are 'made known' within the community discourse. I then questioned: How are individuals, collectives and populations positioned or "made up" (Hacking, 2006)?

This stage of the analysis also involved examining the subject positions offered to social workers by the various community discourses. Key to this was asking questions of the texts such as: How does the community discourse legitimate the authority of school social workers? What types of social work actions are made possible within the community discourse? What types of actions are constrained? Of interest here was how particular community discourse legitimated certain social work actions within schools, according to the school social workers interviewed.

Step 5: Examining the political techniques that make the community discourse possible

At this stage, I was focused on examining how the regulatory and disciplinary techniques worked to disseminate and generate notions of wellbeing and care at the levels of populational and individual existence. Specifically this meant examining both sets of texts for the particular techniques of ranking,

numbering, listing and writing that render life as "knowable, calculable and an administrable object" (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 5). The effects of these techniques were examined through asking questions such as: Which forms of life are valued and which are seen as problematic? I also examined the immunising effects of these techniques, by asking: Who is considered in need of protection and what form do these protective mechanisms take? What effects do these techniques have on community? How do the techniques reproduce "structures of inequality, hierarchies of value, and asymmetries" (Lemke, 2011a, p. 119)?

Step 6: Examining ethical self-practices within the social worker-client relation

In this step, I examined only the interview transcripts. The focus was on the use of the pastoral technologies of the self through which the children and parents were brought to work on themselves. The analytical questions included: How does the pastoral social worker-client relation enable children and their parents to develop and enhance their competencies? This step also involved using Foucault's model of ethical self-formation, outlined in chapter one. I questioned: By what means are the practices of the self, in the name of their care of their own lives, their family and their community, brought into play? (Rabinow & Rose, 2006, p. 197) What effects do these pastoral techniques and self-practices have on communality? And finally I examined the occasions in which the techniques of pastoral care seemed to be resisted, disrupted or refused in the texts and asked: On what basis do these refusals to be cared for occur? (Prozorov, 2007a) What alternate practices of the self do these refusals enable? What do these forms of resistances offer for alternative or reconfigured forms of community practice?

In using these data analysis steps I have sought to map the discursive formations that shape community within the recovery processes. This meant that, in keeping with a post-structural frame, I have avoided any effort to provide a causal account and taken heed of Kendall and Wickham (1999) advice:

> We must see every contingency in a contingent relationship with every other
> contingency. There is no necessary pattern to their relating. Indeed there is
> nothing necessary about their relating at all –they may or may not relate in any
> way, and if they do, the form of their relationships to one another is not dictated
> by any pattern or any outside force; to attribute the status of cause and/or effect
> to any one of them or to any outside force would be to falsely impose some
> necessity of relating onto them. (p.40)

Thus, I have looked for contingencies not causes. Given the multifaceted, dispersed and historical context within which this inquiry is located, it is important to recognise that this analysis will only ever be a partial interpretation of a particular context of practice; it can never be exhaustive or finalised. As Tamboukou (1999) emphasises, undertaking a Foucauldian inquiry opens up further unexplored questions and unthought-of areas for investigation, inspiring "new genealogies to interrogate the truths of our world" (p. 15).

Conclusion

The methodological and analytical approach proposed in this chapter provided the basis for a unique examination of the community practices that cover the recovery domain of recovery policy and school social work practice. The framework set out in this chapter helped to make sense of the life-affirming positioning of community with recovery actions, those that have made specific subject positions available and enabled individuals, collectives and population to actively take care of themselves in particular ways in post-earthquake Christchurch. The results of this analysis are outlined in the following three chapters. In chapter four, I discuss the investigation of the recovery policy within a securitising discourse of community. Chapters five and six discuss the analysis of the ways that social workers took up community practice in schools and how their actions and expertise were located within the intersecting and overlapping dynamics of biopolitical, disciplinary, sovereign and pastoral power relations.

The couplet of life and politics seems to reappear as the innermost interior of every fresh crisis (Campbell & Sitze, 2013, p. 6).

Introduction

In this chapter, I seek to interrogate the self-evidence of community in the Christchurch recovery policies to understand how and for what purpose it was considered pivotal in addressing the problems for human life created by the earthquakes. As a political discourse however community did not just appear in the wake of the earthquakes. Mowbray (2005) observed the proliferation of community in Australian social policy in recent years. So too has its influence been apparent in New Zealand. Over the last ten years, the concept of community has been at the centre of a range of diverse projects in New Zealand, mobilised by policy makers within health, welfare, justice and educational departments. These projects have sought to ameliorate social, economic, cultural and environmental concerns, including addressing the needs of vulnerable children, and helping adults to have positive and productive lives. In international humanitarian and development policy that seeks to address the wide reaching effects of disasters, war, conflict and environmental change, the turn to community has been likewise apparent. Despite the diversity of these projects, one thing they share is the unwavering belief in the importance of community in addressing a range of social, economic and political problems.

In the discussion that follows, I set out some of the shifts and continuities in the community-focused objectives and actions identified within the recovery policies. To do this I utilise Esposito's concepts of community and immunity to examine the constitution of community as a greater form of subjectivity and as a protective mechanism in allaying the risks that the earthquakes exposed. Foucault's theorising of biopolitics provides a basis to consider the ways that community is discursively formed in relation to life-affirming and progressive notions of life and the connections to contemporary disaster and humanitarian knowledge. These interpretations help to make sense of a number of regulatory interventions that sought to assist the people of Christchurch at the population level in the aftermath of the earthquakes.

This analysis of the policy texts did not occur in isolation but alongside reading a variety of other sources such as published articles in the fields of humanitarian aid and disaster recovery. Generally, humanitarian action is described as that which seeks to "save lives at risk" whether that be from natural disasters in the forms of earthquakes, floods, tsunami, drought, hurricanes and tornadoes, or from human-caused events such as war, genocide and ethnic conflict (Barnett & Weiss, 2008, p. 11). As Rysaback-Smith (2015) discusses, humanitarian actions of providing material aid to people in need in the aftermath of famine, drought or natural disaster have had a long history in human civilisations. However, humanitarian aid was once only related to military conflict in terms of ensuring proper treatment of wounded soldiers in war zones (p.5). This changed post-World War 2 when there was a growth in non-government organisations such as the International Red Cross, which began to shift their attention from Europe to other parts of the world that were deemed 'undeveloped' and in need of humanitarian aid, including Africa, Latin America and Asia (Rysaback-Smith, 2015, p. 5). There was a further intensification of humanitarian aid from the 1980s to the early 2000s at a time when there was unprecedented media coverage and public outcry over the impact of natural disasters such as famines on people, particularly children (Rysaback-Smith, 2015, p. 6). These connections provide a basis for understanding the commonality between the deployment of the recovery policies and the field of humanitarianism. Furthermore, the Red Cross, which was active in the Christchurch recovery policy development and programmes implementation, as noted, has a long history as a humanitarian organisation, having been established in 1863 as one of the first international aid organisations (Rysaback-Smith, 2015, p. 5). In this study, as outlined in the previous chapter, a number of the research participants' positions in schools were contracted and resourced by NZRC funding. It is also worth noting that humanitarianism and social work share some common ground. Zakour (1997) claims that historically social work has always played a central role in wartime, disaster and crisis situations (p. 8). He adds that in contemporary times social workers are employed by and associated with the Red Cross and other non-government aid organisations, which have a focus on providing humanitarian relief services.

In the first section of this chapter, I explore the positioning of community as pivotal in addressing and responding to the problems for human life created by the earthquakes. Firstly, I examine the discursive formation of 'community as recovery', noting its reliance on the notion of maximised collective subjectivity. This understanding encourages individuals to take up collective identities and actively participate in community relationships and activities to support their own and other's best recoveries. The discussion also outlines some limits of this community recovery discourse. The recovery policies emphasise vulnerability, such that specific sub-populations are marked as 'at risk',

and for them individualised interventions are considered the means to promote their recovery. This discussion informs the second section of this chapter, where the focus is on constitution of 'the vulnerable other'. Finally, the third section brings together the discourses of 'community as recovery' and that of 'the vulnerable other', enabling an examination of their relation to CERA's Canterbury Wellbeing Index (referenced as the Wellbeing Index). I consider this Index to be a biopolitical securitising tool, developed and implemented to identify those populations in need of further assistance in their recovery processes within an overall strategy to revitalise Christchurch and secure the wellbeing of the population as a whole.

1. Constructing the community *as* recovery

Community features in all of the five selected policies for this study as a central facet of the recovery. As a term, community is referenced approximately 400 times in these combined texts. In comparison, the terms individuals and families are referenced 60 and 71 times respectively. Despite the numerous references, only the Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management policy (MCDEM, 2005) provides a clear definition of community, as follows:

> Community: A collective of people unified by a common interest (p.24)

The emphasis on unification and shared concerns highlights a specific conceptualisation of community that is bound up in a shared purpose between people. It does not provide a sense of community as contingent, conflictual and connected. This relational understanding of community is apparent in the policies' articulation of the greater Christchurch recovery project in two main ways. Firstly, community operates as a centre to bring together a range of environmental and structural components of society affected by a disaster:

> Community recovery involves regeneration of a community's functions, social
>
> structures and systems following a disaster. The ability of a community to
>
> achieve this will involve the holistic interaction between the community and
>
> the social, economic, natural and built environments (MCDEM, 2005, p. 6).

The Ministry of Social Development (MSD, 2011) and New Zealand Red Cross (NZRC, 2011) policies refer to the MCDEM (2005) model for conceptualising disaster recovery and likewise present an environmentally and community-focused framework. Positioning community as the holistic centre of all of the components of the environment that must be remediated after the earthquakes enables the community to become a central object within a broader political project to:

> Support and encourage communities to shape and lead their own recovery
>
> (CERA, 2014b, p. 15).

Here we see the way that community is positioned as significant in providing people with the means to autonomously direct their own recovery pathway. At first glance, this arrangement seems consistent with Mowbray and Bryson's (1981) contention that community is like a 'spray on solution' in contemporary politics because of the way it is overlaid as the remedy to the problem of deteriorating systems. It also signals a 'governance from afar' strategy whereby community is promoted as a means for people to self-manage their own recovery (Rose, 1999).

Secondly, not only is the community considered instrumental in the rebuild of the greater environment, but community is also described as an antidote to the stress and trauma experienced by individuals in the aftermath of the earthquakes. The panel of experts who developed the MSD (2011) recovery policy emphasised individuals' recoveries within a community context:

> Seeing individual recovery not as isolated persons, but as individuals within
>
> families/whanau and communities has strengthened recovery interventions.
>
> Thus, psychosocial recovery is linked to community and overall recovery
>
> (Mooney et al., 2011, pp. 31-32).

Locating individuals within community is considered better than just focusing on the needs of individuals. Collective recovery is positioned as an important imperative for restoring wellbeing for greater Christchurch.

There are a number of themes evident in this community recovery discourse, which I examine in this section. First is the concept of psychosocial, which is significant in enabling individuals to be connected to their collectivity as a kind of staged development process. Second is the notion of resilience as a key strategy for an optimal future emphasising that Christchurch populations collectively evolve and change *with* complexity in the post-earthquake context. Third I examine the preferred kinds of engagement practices the community recovery discourse promulgates for community members to use to secure their collective recovery.

Psychosocial support

In examining the policy texts, I find the concept of 'psychosocial' as pivotal in the synthesis of individual and community lives and the development of notions of collective agency. It is influential in enabling groups of individuals to be recognised as collective subjectivities. Psychosocial is variously defined as:

> The psychological and social needs of individuals as part of wider communities
>
> (MSD, 2011, p. 20).
>
> Psychosocial effects are defined as how individuals feel and how they relate to
>
> each other (CERA, 2014b, p. 4).

The concept of psychosocial provides a basis to link an individual's psychological and emotional affect to their social relations. It also facilitates individuals' and communities' experiences being understood as intricately connected and as central concerns in recovery policy and actions, as the following excerpt highlights:

> Welfare or Psychosocial Support ensures an individual's emotional, spiritual,
>
> cultural, psychological and social needs are addressed in the immediate,
>
> medium and long term recovery following a disaster. These needs are
>
> addressed through the provision of feeding, housing, financial assistance,
>
> counselling and other services. It also addresses the wider community social
>
> structure and mechanisms for supporting the community as a whole, such as
>
> the culture and heritage, sports and leisure, education and spiritual groups
>
> within the community (sic) (MCDEM, 2005, p. 9).

The policy's psychosocial recovery presents a version of sociality that enables the emotional and psychological effects of the earthquakes on an individual to be seamlessly linked to the processes influencing them as a part of a community. Thus we can see how this configuration enables community to be positioned in the recovery policies as within the 'social' aspect of psycho-social.

It is interesting to note that the community is also endowed with a sense of agency and competencies, as the following excerpt highlights:

> 1.2 Communities have skills to build psychosocial resiliency and wellbeing.
>
> 2.1 Communities are listened to for their needs, their ideas, and mobilised to
>
> take action to build their local community recovery as well as their psychosocial
>
> resiliency and wellbeing (MSD, 2011, p. 8).

Esposito (2010) claims that predominant modern renditions of community configure it as something that joins individuals, or is something created by their coming together. The psychosocial understandings articulated in the policies facilitate both these discursive functions. Community operates to add a collective quality to the character of individuals, enabling them to achieve their recovery. Furthermore, through individuals uniting and sharing experiences, their recovery is constituted as a substance produced by their union. There are strong links between this psychosocial configuration of collective recovery and communitarian thought. For communitarians, community is

a kind of 'supra-individual interactional entity' where individuals are determined by their collective identity, that is, their very being is embedded in their social milieu (McGhee, 2003, p. 380). Community, or more specifically civil society, is the forms of relationships and institutions that enable individuals to grow together into entities that can take care of their own needs (McGhee, 2003, p. 380). This kind of community-focused approach is seen to cultivate collective relationships such as support networks, self-help groups and so on. These arrangements encourage community members to come together and help each other with problems, establishing a sense of belonging and responsibility and duty to others (Rose, 1999).

Esposito's analysis also helps to understand the inherently individualistic paradigm imposed upon the recovery objectives for community. The focus on community does not oppose or displace an individual's experiences of the earthquakes or their recovery responses, but rather their collectivity is understood as an extension of their subjectivity. The constitution of community enables individuals to improve themselves and to make successful recoveries. It is positioned as a natural kind of cure for the trauma suffered by individuals as a result of the earthquakes. Individuals are placed in positions where their recovery is beyond themselves, only achievable through collective interactions which effectively locates them as subjects *of* community.

In the context of disasters where suffering is considered to occur en masse, the "future development and well-being of the society as a whole" (Pupavac, 2004, p. 498) becomes a concern. Community practices are positively connected to the successful recovery of the greater Christchurch region as a population whole, as the following excepts make clear:

> Psychosocial support … is a process of facilitating resilience within individuals, families and communities. Through respecting the independence, dignity and coping mechanisms of individuals and communities, psychosocial support promotes the restoration of social cohesion and infrastructure (NZRC, 2011, p. 21).
> For Christchurch City, the event on the 22 February 2011, on top of the experience of the Canterbury earthquake in September 2010, means that the impact of the Christchurch earthquake on its population may be significantly higher than in September 2010 and subsequent months. Alternately, the solidarity and coping that has come to the fore in the months after the September quake may counterbalance this effect (MSD, 2011, p. 5).

The notion that community through solidarity and coping can operate to rebalance and regain homeostasis aligns with systems thinking, which proposes a return to the pre-disaster situation (Frerks et al., 2011). This understanding provides clarity as to what is valued by those government and NGO agencies authorised to lead the recovery initiatives and informs how the Christchurch population is to be mobilised to achieve this. According to Mowbray (2005), an implication of ascribing the community as a restorative response to social disorder enables it to be a wholesome endeavour and its proponents caring, responsive and progressive (p. 257). In this sense, a lack of social bonds is understood as the problem, rather than any notion of economic or social inequality, making the community more a technical, less a political, solution within the recovery policies (Mowbray & Bryson, 1981).

Furthermore community in relation to psychosocial understandings of the recovery operates as a biopolitical construct in that it "addresses people as they constitute the life of the species (or population)" (Blencowe, 2011, p. 34). The people of the greater Christchurch region are seen as naturally social creatures whose future wellbeing in the wake of the earthquakes depends on their capacities to cope as a collective. The implication is that to separate the understanding of human needs from its collective context is to miss the accepted way in which recovery occurs:

> Over time, most residents are expected to be able to cope with event-related
> stress through their own personal and social resources (MSD, 2011, p. 23).

Individual recovery practices are not displaced by community programmes. Rather, successful psychosocial outcomes are positioned as a natural progression for individuals as they move through the recovery process and develop their greater community selves, ready to participate in the rebuild. The need for facilitating community-focused recovery is therefore justified with the government and NZRC policies in terms of assisting people to behave in *natural* ways with more efficacy over the longer term. Thus, the policy understandings that conflate individual and community recovery also align with a kind of progressive adaptive, biological evolutionary process:

> These actions are supported by knowledge of the disaster recovery services as
> needing to align their efforts with four progressive stages:
> i. Interagency and community planning before a disaster (readiness)
> ii. The immediate aftermath of a disaster where rescuing people who have
> been injured and making sure people are safe is of paramount concern
> (response).
> iii. Helping people deal with stress and the causes of stress in the aftermath of
> disaster (acute recovery).

iv. Supporting communities to rebuild and strengthen their resilience and to use any learnings from the earthquake to face any future adversity (medium to long-term recovery). These learnings will be cycled back into stage one and will lead to efforts to reduce vulnerabilities and mitigate future events (MSD, 2011, p. 21).

This staged development process presents the recovery as a growth process and as a kind of evolutionary experience for individuals that enables them to transform themselves to become more of a collective over time. Within this model, coping through the provision of material relief is premised as an important first response in the initial aftermath of the earthquakes, while enhancing community recovery is considered the longer term, optimal progression of post-earthquake life. Thus, the policies emphasise that for recovery of the greater Christchurch region to be successful the work of recovery agencies and programmes needs to enable individuals to transition from a relief focus to a focus on developing community connections. Aid in the form of assistance with loss of income and shelter is emphasised as an acute response within broader development strategies that promote communities leading their longer-term recovery and developing the capacities to prevent future disaster events. The recovery from the earthquakes is posited by the MSD to have its own evolutionary progression that must be joined and augmented by recovery practices for the wellbeing and security of the population.

These progressive, developmental understandings of the recovery articulated in the recovery texts echo the rhetoric of international humanitarian policy and actions that have sought to respond to natural disasters, famines, war and such like over the past thirty years. Duffield (2001) traces the development of a dual focus on relief and development in contemporary humanitarian thinking to the 1990s, where it emerged in response to a former primary emphasis on providing material aid. In the mid-1980s the African famines brought international attention to the inequalities in global wealth and affluence and also the seeming indifference of governments and international aid agencies to offer real assistance to save the lives of the sufferers (Duffield, 2001, p. 76). An effect of the pressure to save lives was that the work of international humanitarian agencies shifted to a focus on securing lives through the provision of material aid, underpinned by the belief that relief was a "universal and unconditional right" (Duffield, 2001, p. 76). By the latter part of the 1980s, through the support of international public opinion and financing, international NGOs were at the forefront of a humanitarian movement that was premised on the notion of saving lives "above any political consideration or bureaucratic constraint" (Duffield, 2001, p. 76). Backed by popular opinion the humanitarian agencies sought to locate themselves as almost beyond politics in their mission to secure lives. However, by the mid-1990s the claim to impartiality was challenged as aid agencies became increasingly criticised

for actively entrenching conflict and worsening the impact of disaster events. For example, as Duffield (2001) discusses, in rural communities, free food aid lowered agricultural prices, deterring farmers from planting and reinforced the need for ongoing aid (p. 78), thus creating dependency on externally funded aid. Humanitarianism's premise of neutrality was disputed amongst growing concern that the nature of the work carried out by aid organisations and workers inevitably interfered in the lives of people experiencing adversity and in the affairs of disaster-affected regions and countries. Recognition of the inherently political nature of aid led to the emergence of a new form of humanitarianism based on the belief that "relief activities should be short-term, and should support or complement rehabilitation measures" (Duffield, 2001, p. 99). The pretence of neutrality was removed and humanitarian aid shifted its focus to the consequences of its efforts for the development of sustainable communities. This shift in humanitarian policy is useful in examining the staged process of intervention outlined in the MSD policy which sought to enable communities to have the capacity to adapt to whatever the future holds. In doing so it also precludes the need for state intervention and responsibility for securing lives.

Rose (1999) notes how community as a space "appears as a kind of natural, extrapolitical zone of human relations, and this 'naturalness' is not merely an ontological claim but implies affirmation, a positive evaluation" (p. 167). Rose (1999) also emphasises how community is "a crucial element in particular styles of political government, for it is on its properties and on activities within it that the success of such political aspirations and programmes depends" (p. 168). The focus on self-help and coping highlights the recovery policies' lineage to neoliberal rationalities where self-responsibility forms the norm and ultimately the aim is for communities to take responsibility for themselves. Linking the individual to the community where the wellbeing and recovery of the population is related to levels of community participation makes it imperative that recovery programmes focus on developing these collective capacities.

It is important to emphasise that the recovery policies do not seek to minimise or trivialise individual experiences of the earthquakes. Certainly, there are numerous references to psychological understandings of how individuals manage stressful events as the following excerpt states:

> Individuals are personally supported to reduce psychological stress and distress
> while promoting coping strategies, and their sense of control, self-efficacy,
> ownership and empowerment are enhanced (MSD, 2011, p. 6).

The focus on community does not appear to oppose psychological terms; rather the two seem to co-exist in the policies without conflict. This finding contrasts somewhat with the themes within the

research literature, discussed in chapter two, which emphasise community approaches displacing trauma-focused interventions in disaster recovery (Alipour et al., 2015; Bourassa, 2009; Pittaway et al., 2007)

Pupavac (2004) notes that the complementarity between psychological thinking and community approaches mark another shift within humanitarian thought. Observing that this change sought to "bring back the human in the face of the bureaucratization of aid, foregrounding how people and communities personally experience disaster or conflict (sic)" (Pupavac, 2004, p. 497). Pupavac (2004) notes that the historical representations of a fragile Western psyche have contributed to this understanding culminating in the phenomenon of the Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) classification – "the archetypal syndrome of the emotionally vulnerable individual of post-traditional societies" (p. 492). Through the PTSD lens individuals are considered to be generally susceptible to trauma because of the lack of meaning and a sense of community in their modern lives. This perceived disconnection is "an exaggerated form of the pervasive cultural anxiety over meaningfulness and personal identity" (Pupavac, 2004, pp. 492-493). Community developed as a solution to this phenomenon within the context of international humanitarian aid. Pupavac (2004) identifies the cultural norms of Western countries, those at the fore of international aid responses, were influenced by a commonly held belief that individuals who have "firm convictions, whether religious, moral or political" (p. 492) have enhanced emotional stability in times of distress and change. In a similar way proponents of positive psychology propose that if people attribute positive meaning to stressful encounters they will have more resilience (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2004). Modern Western individuals are understood as having "a fragile sense of purpose and community in their lives and are vulnerable to anything that disturbs the precarious sense of purpose and identity they have achieved" (Pupavac, 2004, p. 492). Esposito (2010) notes that this positions community as something that has been lost in modernity and as such needs to be regained to protect the fragility of individuals, but he questions the potential for such a singular configuration to any basis for community. Rose (1999) adds that this notion of "the loss of community" found in the work of communitarian writers such as Putnam and Etzioni, is a hallmark of contemporary commentaries where community is located as a 'fix' for a range of social problems affecting nineteenth century Western societies (p. 172). Echoing Marx's notion of alienation, Etzioni (1996) claims the "authentic community" in its idealised form offers a promise for a better, more connected life where the "true needs of all of its members" can be met (p. 1). For Mowbray (2005) however this is neoliberalism in action, a "frugal means to legitimate the state's continuing commitment to economic fundamentalism (sic)" (p. 255).

Examining the international humanitarian emphasis on psychosocial outcomes helps to see the Christchurch earthquake recovery policies within a wider frame. The values of progressivism and community that have been historically constituted by international aid agencies reflect a shift in humanitarian aid that accepts the political nature of development work. These prioritises facilitate actions that enable people individually and collectively to develop their own capacity to cope. It also enables the emphasis on the dual transitions from relief to development and from individual psychological affects to collective belonging to be recognised as mechanisms that effectively create community for the purpose of governing (Rose, 1999). The recovery policies effectively synthesise individual and community understandings, enabling the perceived risks of dependency and abnormal stress responses to be dealt with. Although, this is not as a process of repressive social control, rather the earthquake survivor is recognised in their natural recovery process as responsible for themselves and the other members of their community.

<div align="center">**Resilient recoveries**</div>

Another concept espoused in the recovery polices is that of resilience, which is referenced as the optimal outcome for the recovery process and work of social service agencies as follows:

> Resilience comes from the Latin resilire – to spring back. In this context, resilience is the sustained ability of an individual or community to withstand, adapt and effectively function post-earthquakes – to spring back and move forward, building on strengths (CERA, 2014b, p. 5).

This way of constituting resilience in terms of pliability and flexibility highlights its lineage to the field of engineering. Resilience became prominent in this field in the early 2000s when it emerged as a central focus in safety science and practices (Grøtan & Paltrinieri, 2016). As such, it is a technical model and is questionable in its application to human beings.

Resilience also draws on knowledge from complex systems theory, which is "principally concerned with complex adaptation amidst conditions of disequilibrium and contingency" (Cadman, as cited by Cavanagh, 2014, p. 280). The MSD policy draws on the International Federation of Red Cross Psychosocial Framework of 2005-2007 to define psychosocial support as:

> Enabling families to bounce back from the impact of crisis and helping them to deal with such events in the future (MSD, 2011, p. 20).

Like psychosocial recovery, the development of resilience is understood as a progressive process as the CERA (2014b) policy emphasises:

> According to research, there are three 'generations' of resilience:

• first generation resilience – the ability to cope well with events and their immediate aftermath

• second generation resilience – the ability to recover from events

• third generation resilience – the ability to become adaptable in the light of lessons learnt from events.

While the psychosocial recovery activities delivered straight after the earthquakes focused on first generation resilience, the activities in this programme focus more on second and third generation resilience (p. 5)

Clearly, resilience is considered more than a process of returning to a state of coping in these documents. It is described as a productive process whereby ultimately individuals and communities are able to learn from their experiences and become more able to cope with natural disasters. In a similar way the United Nations (as cited by Pugh, 2014) identifies resilience as "the capacity of a system, community or society to resist or change in order that it may obtain an acceptable level of functioning and structure" (p. 313). Consistent with developmental, systems knowledge the notion of adaptation attends to the ways communities can adapt to unpredictable change. Pugh (2014) identifies that prior to the emergence of complexity thinking in disaster recovery policy, life was considered to be a problem due to its inherent uncontrollability and consequently a barrier for contemporary intervention frameworks (p. 316). However, resilience thinking critiques this position, identifying complexity as an opportunity. It has "emerged as an active response to complex life and as a framework for understanding how to enhance adaptive capacities" (Pugh, 2014, p. 316).

The concept of resilience provides clarity as to the type of psychosocial recovery that is desired in the recovery policies and perceptions of the best outcomes for individuals and communities:

Community and individual resilience provides a useful lens for psychosocial recovery after a disaster as this is a key determinant that aids psychosocial recovery (CERA, 2015, p. 8).

Resilience is positioned as the basis for ensuring individuals and collectives are able to recover well and the preferred kind of resilience is that which continues to develop over a longer time frame and can face or adapt to new shocks. Consistent with current humanitarian thinking, which links relief to development and progress, the CERA (2015) policy presents that for any recovery work to be effective it needs to change over time and in relation to resilience thinking, interventions need to enhance the adaptive responses of individuals and communities. Aid is only useful when it leads to increased coping. However, this is only the short-term strategy in the policy texts; adaptation to the new post-disaster reality is the crucial aim.

The multifaceted and complex nature of the post-earthquake environment is not presented as something to be addressed or changed but rather it is more or less accepted as an inevitable aspect of life. The Greater Christchurch Earthquake Advisory Committee's paper on disaster recovery in a section titled "Supporting adaptation to a changed reality" (Mooney et al., 2011, p.30) stresses the complex effects of the Christchurch earthquakes:

> Although the post-disaster recovery has been described within the advisory group as community (re)development under extraordinary pressures, it is anticipated that recovery in the Canterbury region will be a complex process and will occur over many years. At the time of writing, due to on-going major aftershocks, the recovery process is taking place within the context of a chronic stressor that continues to affect the population (p. 30).

Likewise, the NZRC (2011) emphasises an unstable recovery context:

> There are numerous issues facing people affected by the Canterbury earthquake that may come under the objectives identified in this framework. The working group will work to prioritise activities, recognising that these will change in this fluid and dynamic environment (p. 8).

The use of the terms 'fluid' and 'dynamic' imbues the recovery process with a kind of creative energy. In the context of post-earthquake Christchurch, resilience rested on presumptions that life could not be contained and made stable, but individuals and communities could actively secure their futures through a dynamic and fluid process of coping and adaptation:

> Recognising complexity: Recovery management arrangements are successful when they recognise the dynamic nature of emergencies and communities and how their needs change over time (NZRC, 2011, p. 9).

Being prepared for an uncertain future is an important concern:

> We will actively capture the lessons from Christchurch to help prepare our people and our communities for future disasters (NZRC, 2011, p. 2).

Lessons from the past can be learned, enabling future life to be safeguarded. As Reid (2010) argues, resilience as a biopolitical rationality centres on securing life through interventions to ensure survivors continue to successfully adapt to unpredictable future events amidst uncertainty.

In connecting resilience to psychological dimensions, the recovery policies are able to advocate a self-help agenda where psychosocial support:

> … is a process of facilitating resilience within individuals, families and communities. Through respecting the independence, dignity and coping

mechanisms of individuals and communities, psychosocial support promotes

the restoration of social cohesion and infrastructure (MSD, 2011, p. 20).

Peoples' capacity to adapt is considered to come from within themselves and within their community context.   Recovery is not contingent on notions of external structural constraint and societal inequalities. Resilience is deployed to position disaster subjects within adversity as "active agents with inherent self-help capacities that can be strengthened through proper resilience programming, rather than passive victims who require external aid to overcome structural constraints" (Grove, 2014, pp. 243-244).   Thus a binary between active agents and passive victims is promulgated that reflects neoliberal governance in the sense that people have to be activated in their own interests and also that dependency on government is to be strongly discouraged (Peters & Fitzsimons, 2001).

The greater Christchurch recovery policies place little emphasis on the State provision of material aid to enhance community recovery. It denotes an 'all care- no responsibility' approach. The mode of governance articulated in the texts focusses on the ways of relating and interacting with communities to enable them to lead their own recovery:

> Essential foundations for community resilience building are an in-depth
>
> knowledge of local communities and meaningful community engagement …
>
> local communities, including those which emerge as a result of the
>
> earthquake(s) and may not be formally recognised as such, play a critical role
>
> here (MSD, 2011, p. 16).

From this perspective, resilient communities are capable of transforming their environments and ensuring the social and physical environment can be rebuilt. Resilience "backgrounds the political, the imagining of alternatives, and foregrounds adaptivity" (Frerks et al., 2011, p. 116). The community practices emphasised in the recovery policies stress collective self-reliance. The optimal recovery interventions are considered those that promote these self-help capacities rather than addressing "the political and economic processes that generate such phenomena" (Rose, 2000, p. 1406). Addressing adverse environmental conditions are also absenced within the policy texts. Whilst two suburbs were relocated in the immediate aftermath of the 2011 earthquake there is no mention of any necessity to relocate other remaining affected residential areas in Christchurch. This is despite the fact that Christchurch is largely located on swampland which, in the aftermath of the earthquakes when the water table was significantly lowered, made the occurrence of widespread flooding a major issue in those remaining residential areas in the Eastern parts of the city, those suburbs close to the coast and city's waterways (Hughes et al., 2015).

Community is presented as a life-affirming resource enabling people to live the lives they want in an uncertain world – to recover and flourish. Resilience is a contemporary ecological construct which, as Cadman (as cited by Cavanagh, 2014) asserts, is "concerned with complex adaptation amidst conditions of disequilibrium and contingency" (p. 280). In a context where these processes are considered to have their own validity and to be already occurring, resilience operates to support them. Community is considered an important source of wellbeing and the means for promoting purposeful lives and the recovery policy documents endorse it as a priority in stimulating and enabling the vitality for population wellbeing. Sobe (2007) argues, "community serves vitality" (p. 49), as the following excerpt highlights:

> People in greater Christchurch belong to positive and inclusive communities
>
> and actively lead the life they want (CERA, 2014b, p. 8).

Fostering community resilience in Blencowe (2011) terms "enables processes to become what they already, really, were … the autonormative, autogenetic, processes of biological life" (p. 40). Vital life processes are not to be interfered with even when disrupted by earthquakes, but steered at a distance by policy makers for recovery and resilience, strengthening the biopolitical rationality in operation.

Recovery through community engagement

There is a positive quality attributed to community life and correspondingly the most effective engagement practices with communities are considered to be those where:

> Community members are actively engaged in all aspects of the project or
>
> program; skills and knowledge are appreciated and maximised. Empowering
>
> the community is a key outcome (sic) (MSD, 2011, p. 29).

Best practice is that which enables community members to be actively involved in the recovery programmes. In contrast, poor engagement practices are those where there is merely:

> Information dissemination: passive learning and no physical interaction from
>
> agency to community (MSD, 2011, p. 29).

This hierarchy of participatory engagement reflects a preference for specific 'civic virtues' prioritising those interactions that enhance mutual support and interdependence. It positions specific community practices as a means to secure social cohesion. This understanding denotes another connection to communitarian thought specifically in relation to the concept of social capital. Putman (as cited by McGhee, 2003) developed the concept of social capital, describing it as "the connections among individuals, the social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them (p. 380). In positioning the community as a means of social cohesion — a kind of glue that binds individuals together — he displaces attention to notions of conflict between community

members or between communities and the agencies working with them. Young (1986) argues that discursively the concept of community entails a denial of difference and an attempt to bring multiplicity and heterogeneity into order. The kind of community proposed within the engagement strategy is presented as unified and cohesive with no prior history, no conflict, no inequalities and no divisions. The negation of conflict within communities evidences how disagreement is conceived as disruptive to social cohesion and the population's recovery.

Community passivity is also considered detrimental to the greater recovery in Christchurch. A clear focus of the policies' recovery programmes is to activate community members to be involved in collectively enhancing post-earthquake life. Within the recovery policies, community encourages individuals to take up collective identities articulated through notions of belonging and shared experience. It simultaneously facilitates self-responsibility and the overall wellbeing of the population, as the following excerpt emphasises:

> A significant part of psychosocial recovery is achieved when people are once again interested and engaged in life, when they live with purpose and meaning and when they feel positive most of the time following the disaster. Without healthy, well- functioning people who are engaged with and participate in life, the population overall will suffer and recovery will be compromised (CERA, 2014b, p. 15).

Within the recovery policy, individual self-reliance and community participation are co-constituted as categories of 'being' and aspects of life that are in need of shaping and developing for the future of all:

> Just as psychosocial recovery is a problem for individuals and for communities it is emphasised as a significant problem for the greater Christchurch region (CERA, 2014b, p. 15).

Conflating the individual with the community, when the wellbeing and recovery of the population is related to levels of community participation, makes it imperative that recovery programmes focus on developing these collective capacities. In this context, governing means encouraging and enabling communities to adapt to the complexity they face. To do this, communities must actively participate in maximising their recovery:

> The strategy highlights the need to regularly engage with affected communities, listen to them, hear and integrate their suggestions, organise with them, advocate on their behalf and fully support them in their psychosocial recovery (MSD, 2011, p. 9).

> The manner in which the community is consulted, engaged and included in the rebuilding/recovery will be important in mitigating the impact of the two events on psychosocial functioning and the subsequent level of demand for psychosocial support (MSD, 2011, p. 5).

> To build on capacity, knowledge and skills within the community to build resilience (CERA, 2014b, p. 15).

These policies emphasise a facilitative role for the recovery agencies involved in working with communities. The actions that the policies prioritise are those that support communities to put their views forward and to organise themselves in ways that support their psychological and social recovery. Individuals are said to become self-sufficient within resilient communities and their environmental relations are the key determinants of their individual and collective recovery. According to Pugh (2014) this is the hallmark of contemporary biopolitics in which the complex and unpredictable nature and effects of disasters present new opportunities for engagement. Biopolitical governance creates a participatory space that sets "in motion an 'adaptation machine', the resilient community that automatically responds to environmental insecurities without external intervention" (Grove, 2014, p. 250). The participatory community programmes developed and implemented by recovery policy makers for Christchurch sought to activate people to adapt through using the existing resources available to them.

In summary, in this section I have sketched out the parameters of community as it is understood in the recovery policies and have found a number of characteristics of the collective construct that were significant in the recovery space of Christchurch. Community is positioned in the texts at the interface of the individual and their surroundings. It integrates the social, physical and economic facets of the greater environment with psychological notions of well-being. Individuals are considered to be their 'best selves' when they are actively engaged in community life. Moreover, presenting recovery in both psychological and relational forms serves the purpose of making the recovery alterable. Therefore recovery becomes a process open to human control and intervention, a space where people can be activated to build their own and their community's resilience. People's responses to the earthquakes are understood as progressing through normal, natural, self-determining and progressive processes, which must be enabled through collective self-help practices, reducing the responsibility for the State to provide material relief beyond the initial aftermath of the earthquakes. In the next section I examine the construction and deployment of vulnerability as a limit within community and the ways it was deployed to secure communities and respond to the needs of 'at risk' populations.

2. The vulnerable other

Alongside community, vulnerability, both in psychological and structural terms, is a significant concept in the recovery policies. In this section, I consider the key concepts associated with vulnerability, noting the subject positions it makes available for individuals and populations. I also examine its relation to community, as a kind of outer limit and threat to the positivity of the predominant collective recovery processes espoused in the polices, and its co-construction with resilience.

Within the recovery policy, the concept of vulnerability is referenced in relation to understandings of risk:

> Vulnerability is defined as being prone to or susceptible to damage or injury (MCDEM, 2005, p. 7).

Vulnerability is described as a hindrance to effective recovery. Specific groups are implicated as more susceptible to problematic recovery responses in the aftermath of a disaster:

> Vulnerability relates to the characteristics of a person or group in terms of their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a hazard (MCDEM, 2005, p. 7).
>
> Individuals and families who, due to pre-existing conditions, are at a greater risk of developing stress-related responses following the earthquakes.
>
> or
>
> Individuals and families who, due to a pre-existing condition, or as a result of the earthquake, have more barriers to accessing support to help deal with stress (MSD, 2011, p. 26).

Vulnerability emphasises that certain pre-existing factors make people susceptible to increased distress following a disaster and/or less able to recover in 'normal' ways. There is an emphasis on the societal factors that create vulnerable groups:

> Some groups in society are more prone than others to damage, loss and suffering in the context of hazards. Such groups may be characterised by class, ethnicity, gender, disability, or age (MCDEM, 2005, p. 7).

Likewise, the MSD (2011) policy describes vulnerability in relation to social divisions:

> The population groups listed below may be considered more at risk of experiencing stress-related responses to the Canterbury or Christchurch earthquakes. However responses to stress will not be uniform amongst these

population groups as some individuals will cope well while others who are more isolated may show more stress and distress.

Pre-existing conditions: children and youth, older people, disabled people, single parents with dependants, people with pre-existing / concurrent psychiatric illness, people who have experienced previous traumatic events or stress (e.g. family violence victims), lower socioeconomic status, Māori, who are over-represented in most of the vulnerable groups · Pacifica refugees and migrants – including temporary residents from overseas (p. 27).

Significant for this study is the identification of all these groups but especially children who are seen as a vulnerable population group. The notion of the 'vulnerable child' has been influential in disaster recovery literature, where vulnerability is represented as a defining feature of children's identities. Frankenberg, Robinson, and Delahooke (2000) outline that in most published literature on the emergence of vulnerable children, the concept is treated as a self-evident, taken-for-granted understanding, requiring little explanation. They add that "children are considered vulnerable as individuals by definition, through both their physical and other perceived immaturities" (Frankenberg et al., 2000, p. 588).

The way of describing populations as vulnerable is consistent with structural theories of vulnerability. Frerks et al. (2011) trace the emergence of the concept of vulnerability since the 1980s in disaster development studies. They note its association with a shift from a disaster being conceived of as a externally created event to a "more sociologically oriented interpretation of disaster as a complex, socially (as well as politically, environmentally and economically) constructed process" (Frerks et al., 2011, p. 107). Rather than understanding a disaster as a disruption to a linear path of progression, vulnerability thinking introduced the belief that it was as much a pre-existing condition and that a crisis merely exposes "the hidden vulnerabilities of a society, community or group" (Frerks et al., 2011, p. 108). Hewitt, 1983 (as cited by Frerks et al., 2011) led the development of the vulnerability paradigm, and considered that whilst physical phenomena are necessary in the occurrence of disasters, the internal state of society is what results in vulnerability. Within this perspective, specific groups are considered 'at risk' to the severe impacts of a disaster event and less able to recover, making them more vulnerable to further events. The emergence of vulnerability theory enabled a range of practices to be developed that aimed to predict what may happen to particular groups exposed to a particular hazard. It also sought to uncover the structural drivers and situational factors that make specific groups vulnerable, and prioritise these for remedial action and help (Frerks et al., 2011, p. 108).

The recovery policies position vulnerable populations as in need of special attention:

> International research suggests that severe disaster events tend to increase any existing inequalities. This means that certain population groups may be more likely to need support and services. This is backed up by local post-earthquake research that shows some specific population groups are experiencing disproportionate recovery struggles and poor quality of life – including some groups who were already most vulnerable before the earthquakes (CERA, 2014b, p. 9).

> The needs of priority populations, including vulnerable populations, must be addressed (MSD, 2011, p. 12).

The above excerpts also highlight how vulnerability is constituted as a risk for vulnerable populations to not be able to adapt sufficiently to the effects of the earthquakes. The policies present a need for vulnerable populations to be supported to adequately prepare and develop the necessary skills for collective participation in the recovery. For if "the affected population participates, without the capacity or knowledge of how to actively take part in recovery that population will be set up for an additional negative experience (Mooney et al., 2011, p. 31). Community engagement practices are not presented as sufficient to meet the recovery needs of these people:

> A small minority of those directly affected by the earthquake (e.g. via the actual experience or as a result of anxieties created by their post-quake experiences such as loss of homes or livelihoods) will experience distress that may require specialist support (sic) (MSD, 2011, p. 23).

Also included in this category are those people who were injured or suffered "the death of a family member" (MSD, 2011, p. 25). Within this frame, the vulnerable are those people who are unable to follow the preferred trajectory of coping and adaptation, and as such are deemed in need of a more specialised form of support.

Consistent with Foucault's (2013b) theorising of biopolitics the Christchurch population is categorised along a continuum that distinguishes between those possessing 'good' recovery characteristics and those who possess few of these favourable attributes. The MSD (2011) policy promotes targeting any fragmentation that could adversely impact on the cohesive community:

> Some individuals and groups are more vulnerable to these impacts and/or have fewer resources, lower levels of resilience and fewer coping skills. Often they were generally more vulnerable before the earthquake events. The

vulnerability faced by a family or individual can increase in relation to the multiplicity of risk groups to which the individual/family belongs. While the psychosocial response should have a focus on the whole community, these more vulnerable groups can be seen to be in need of particular attention in the provision of psychosocial support (p.23).

Much like a biological continuum, which produces hierarchies of races, 'the vulnerable' are distinguished from 'the normal' in terms of their perceived psychological and social inferiority.

The policies emphasise the need to respond to vulnerability and enhance resilience simultaneously. For example, the NZRC (2011) makes this two-pronged focus on resilience and vulnerability clear:

The measures are aimed not just at helping vulnerable groups and individuals to achieve a better quality of life, but also at strengthening communities and building resilience to enhance their preparedness for future events (p.10).

Communities are vulnerable if not all of their members have the capacity to adapt, which demonstrates how resilience is co-constructed in relation to the concept of vulnerability. McGreavy (2015) notes that while resilience emphasises "resisting and adapting to change, and returning to a desirable situation as quickly as possible" (p.6), vulnerability is characterised as a loss of control. Vulnerability is positioned as weakness, an indication of a survivors' inherent affectability, which is a threat to the resilience of communities. McGreavy (2015) argues this relation reinforces the need for control, setting in motion a range of strategies which seek to reduce survivors' susceptibility to vulnerability.

Further, due to specific needs of vulnerable groups, they are considered at risk of exclusion from their own communities:

Priority groups are sectors in the population that have the potential to become marginalised during the community revitalisation process (MSD, 2011, p. 26).

Not only is vulnerability presented as a populational concern, it is understood to adversely impact on a community's capacity to recover from disaster:

Vulnerability is the result of a number of factors that increase the chance that a community will be unable to deal with a disaster (MCDEM, 2005, p. 7).

However, there is some concern that providing targeted support to vulnerable groups could create unrest and adversely impact on the functioning of communities and their revitalisation processes:

A psychosocial plan needs to address the requirements of vulnerable population groups while noting that prioritising these groups may cause anger

and resentment among non-priority population groups if the rationales for the prioritisation are not known, understood, or generally accepted (MSD, 2011, p. 12).

While priority groups are defined, it is important that all people, not only those defined as vulnerable, receive some attention. This prevents the build-up of opposing groups or the creation of divisions within the same community which in turn can lead to a break-down in community identity or solidarity (MSD, 2011, p. 26).

Communities are presented as intolerant of the needs of vulnerable groups and critical of any actions that aim to provide additional support to these groups, considering them as unfair and biased. This is consistent with Esposito's (2011) notion of immunity, which highlights that these kinds of political practices seek to structure social life so to preserve those individuals deemed in need from the threat of community.

Difference in the form of abnormal or prolonged stress responses to the earthquakes is considered problematic not only for the affected groups of people but also for their community. In communitarian terms any circumstances or actions that reinforce exclusive identities and the development of homogeneous groups runs the risk of undermining the 'glue' that holds communities together (McGhee, 2003, p. 385). Rose (1999) outlines that communitarian understandings recognise diversity within communities, but seek to respond to these differences by setting up a kind of common framework that different groups can embrace and work within. The MSD policy constitutes a well-functioning community as one where there is a shared purpose and experiences. Vulnerability in this context is a concern that needs to be managed in ways that secure the collective recovery of communities. In the aftermath of the earthquake, vulnerable groups were targeted for additional support to facilitate self-care practices and activate their engagement with their communities:

The activities in this programme are designed to help address these issues: to improve resilience, help people to regain a sense of control over their lives, help them with their psychosocial recovery journey and help connect them with their communities (CERA, 2014b, p. 10).

To reduce the risk that vulnerability and difference pose to community cohesion, vulnerable groups were effectively 'separated out' from the collective so that they could receive special attention to meet their specific needs without causing resentment, as the following excerpt highlights:

Some individuals and groups are more vulnerable to these impacts and/or have fewer resources, lower levels of resilience and fewer coping skills. Often they

were generally more vulnerable before the earthquake events. The vulnerability faced by a family or individual can increase in relation to the multiplicity of risk groups to which the individual/family belongs. While the psychosocial response should have a focus on the whole community, these more vulnerable groups can be seen to be in need of particular attention in the provision of psychosocial support (MSD, 2011, p. 26).

According to Foucault (2013b), establishing these kinds of categories and divisions is a means for "fragmenting the field of the biological that power controls" (p.74), enabling State racist practices that divide the vulnerable from the general population to ready them for individualised interventions. This is a similar position to that of Esposito (2011), who claims immunising practices seek self-preservation but this does not invoke direct negation of the other. In Grove (2014) terms immunisation "introjects the other into the self, making the other more like the self in order to negate its otherness" (p. 204). These inclusive practices are premised on providing the vulnerable with the means to enhance their coping capacities so that they can better participate in communal life, making it difficult to think of them as anything other than progressive and positive.

There is also little mention of addressing the structural factors that are cited as the causal factors for pre-existing vulnerabilities. Rather the responses proposed for the vulnerable are in the main individualised interventions. The NZRC (2011) mission statement does, however, provide some reference point for addressing structural concerns, stating its aim as to:

Improve the lives of vulnerable people by mobilising the power of humanity and enhancing community resilience (p.3).

The NZRC (2011) does not seek to address disadvantage for example through increased funding. It proposes advocacy objectives to give 'voice' to vulnerable people, as the following excerpt emphasises:

To give a voice to the most vulnerable to ensure their needs and capacities are considered in the recovery of Canterbury (NZRC, 2011, p. 13).

The rights, needs and welfare of people more vulnerable to the impact of the Earthquake are taken into account by decision makers and opinion leaders (sic) (NZRC, 2011, p. 23).

In implementing these actions, the NZRC (2011) situates its own employees as the people who would mobilise humanity:

> Leveraging our auxiliary status and special relationship with government, New
> Zealand Red Cross approaches will always be based on our own knowledge,
> research and experience and that of the wider Red Cross Movement (p. 24).
> The most effective way of persuading decision makers to change a policy, or
> act in the best interests of a certain group is through private conversation and
> contact. Confidential diplomacy includes high level direct representation to
> government ministers and senior bureaucrats. This form of advocacy will
> mostly always be used by New Zealand Red Cross in the first instance (NZRC,
> 2011, p. 24).

Whilst accepting the political nature of its work the NZRC (2011) seeks to build an alliance with government on behalf of vulnerable populations in ways that avoid any criticism of government actions:

> Public advocacy will always focus on the humanitarian impact on vulnerable
> people and avoid partisan criticism of government positions (p. 23).

The NZRC (2011) positions itself as a 'political confidante' to government where its primary emphasis is on identifying the special needs of vulnerable people in private, non-disruptive ways. The NZRC (2011) does not seek to enable a space for collective action that conceivably could upset the fragile harmony of post-earthquake life. As Rose (2001) describes, "political authorities, in alliance with many others, have taken on the task of the management of life in the name of the well-being of the population as a vital order and of each of its living subjects (sic)" (p. 1).

Overall, the recovery policies emphasise that the provision of individualised services was the most effective means for managing vulnerable people, as the MSD (2011) policy emphasises:

> Some individuals, families and whānau [Māori term for family] have high and
> complex needs. These needs may be around bereavement, homelessness, loss
> of income and severe health issues as well as mental health and other social
> issues, for example, alcohol and drug abuse and an escalation of violence
> within the family. For some these will be pre-existing conditions while for
> others the behaviours have emerged as a response to the earthquake(s). These
> individuals, families and whānau may require a case management approach
> and intensive wrap around services (p. 11).

Community engagement practices are not considered the best course of action in these cases. Rather the provision of individualised services are the most suitable interventions for vulnerable and affected populations. Despite the structural understandings of the cause of vulnerability, the MSD (2011)

policy focuses on the internal capacities of individuals rather than seeking to address their position within the social system. Long (as cited by Frerks et al., 2011) proposes that these kinds of actions are indicative of a newer social constructivist version of vulnerability thinking where the transformation of society can be enacted through "the actions and

perceptions of a diverse and interlocked world of actors" (p. 109). Blencowe (2011) proposes biopolitics is a politics of difference. She argues that the current value system 'leans towards' social constructivist understandings where certain groups are turned into concerns for the security and wellbeing of the greater population in ways that places the locus of, and solutions for, dysfunction on the disadvantaged groups themselves. The recovery policy positions the earthquake-affected populations not as passive recipients of trauma, but rather as active in their own recovery. Despite their susceptibilities they are perceived as capable of developing coping skills through specialised assistance, to be able to help themselves, in turn enabling them to better participate in the recovery of their communities.

The MSD (2011, pp. 30-31) and CERA (2014b, p. 7) policies outline an "intervention pyramid" for mental health and psychosocial support in emergencies, as illustrated in diagram 1.
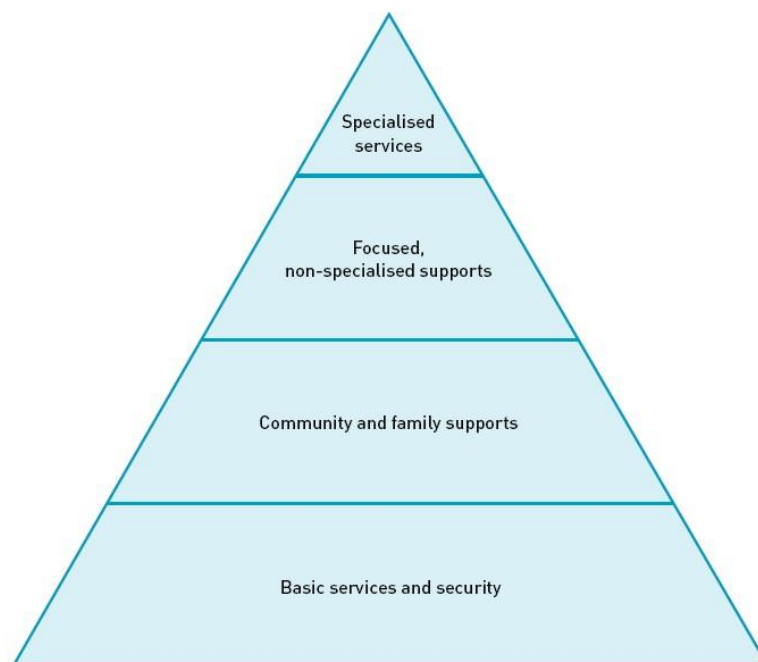

Diagram one. The intervention pyramid

In the bottom two tiers basic relief services and generic community and family supports such as the provision of information, community events and volunteer services such as door knocking and phone calls are emphasised. However, the top two tiers highlight that for those who are not able to follow the expected trajectory of recovery, focused and specialised, expert-led services are the primary interventions:

> Those at high risk in an emergency event can be identified and offered follow-up services provided by trained and approved community-level providers (MSD, 2011, p. 21)
>
> A continuum of services from self-help to more specialised services needs to be provided within a clear referral and assessment framework (MSD, 2011, p. 11).

The MSD (2011) policy positions vulnerable people as in need of individual, specialised attention. Foucault (2013b) described these kinds of techniques as disciplinary mechanisms of power where governing takes the form of "individualizing and specifying, directed toward the performances of the body (sic)" (p. 44). As discussed in chapter one, he proposes that both biopolitics and disciplinary technologies of power can work alongside each other and act as a means in which life is regulated and managed for the betterment of society. The intervention pyramid enabled individualising interventions aimed at reducing vulnerability and administering to affected people to be situated within a framework that proposed stability and security of life of the whole Christchurch population, denoting a link between biopolitics and disciplinary technologies.

Despite a concern with the exclusion of vulnerable groups from their communities, the provision of individualised psychosocial interventions effectively separates these vulnerable groups from their community. From Esposito's (2011) immunity perspective the vulnerable population presents a double risk to their communities. In a context where community is constituted on the basis of self-reliance the vulnerable other runs the risk of exposing the whole community to a kind of contamination that could destabilise it, affecting its ability to adapt and learn from the earthquakes. Further the vulnerable other constitutes a state of difference that in the context of a desire for a shared sense of purpose presents itself as a basis for their exemption from the duty or service to their community. Communities are understood as intolerant of difference and likely to turn on the vulnerable unless defensive actions are taken by the State and non-government agencies. In such a way, immunity operates at the 'edge' of community, protecting those individuals and collectives who would be excluded. The paradox however is that it functions to exclude the vulnerable from community in such a way that they are placed in a therapeutic 'holding pen' until they are sufficiently

independent. Thus securing against risk in the recovery policies operates as a strategy of exclusion, positioning the vulnerable outside their community so that they may be protected. Esposito (2012) refers to this process as therapeutic inclusion, where vulnerability is repackaged as distress, and affected people are provided with guidance and support that enables them to negate their otherness and re-engage with their communities at a later point.

From a critical perspective, Grove (2014) connects the use of these individualising techniques to resiliency knowledge that recognises that people have the capacity to live together and adjust in surprising and unpredictable ways. He argues resiliency opens up unexpected spaces for adaptations that "may not heed established norms and values" (Grove, 2014, pp. 251-252). It follows then that vulnerable people conceivably represent the other of "the self-sufficient agency of the resilient subject" (Grove, 2014, p. 252) and thus hold the potential to disrupt neoliberal life. In this sense, individualising psychosocial techniques target the potential that vulnerable groups possess for 'non-authorised' forms of agency. However, this is not the negation of life in the form of disciplining unruly individuals. In Grove's (2014) view, psychosocial interventions aim to protect neoliberal order through positioning vulnerable populations as not yet capable of participating in community life and in need of remediation that effectively prevents unchecked adaptations. He argues that life is divided against itself when the psychological effect of vulnerable populations is targeted. He claims that targeting the vulnerable for individualised support creates barriers for the ability of these people to activate their internal resources and engage in their community in productive ways. Instead, an engineered and artificial form of subjectivity is promoted, that of the "responsible, risk-bearing, resilient citizens empowered to make acceptable adaptation decisions in an emergent and socioecological milieu" (Grove, 2014, p. 252).

In summary, the recovery policies promote harmonious community relations between members and in their interactions with recovery services and government authorities. Those represented as not able to participate in such ways are considered psychologically and socially disadvantaged and pose a risk to the wellbeing of communities. The effects of this way of thinking and the provision of individualised psychosocial interventions positions vulnerable populations as 'maladaptive' in attending to their own recovery and in their ability to participate and contribute to their own community's recovery. Vulnerable populations are excluded from their collective contexts albeit in therapeutic ways that nonetheless situate them as a potential or perceived cause of disruptions to preferred community recovery process.

In this chapter thus far I have considered the positioning of community as a collective form of subjectivity and a homogenous, life-affirming and responsive construct in the recovery policies. Vulnerability is also constituted as a population matter in these policies, as a form of risk to community life and the optimal recovery of Christchurch. Foucault (2003e) made the link between knowledge and power relations clear: "'Truth' is linked in a circular relation with systems of power that produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it – a 'regime' of truth" (p. 317). The parameters set for the notion of community, as it is presented in these policies, identify what is valued and what is problematic in the recovery project and also serves to establish those actions that are important for maximising the recovery of Christchurch. It is to this link between discourse and political action that I turn next in my examination of how knowledge of community and vulnerable populations were strategically deployed as securitising techniques in the recovery management work in Christchurch.

3. The Canterbury Wellbeing Index

The preceding discussion evidences the work of humanitarian, ecological, psychological and communitarian knowledge in the Christchurch recovery policies across two interconnected domains of community and vulnerable populations. Both of these domains propose a governmental vision for the forms of psychosocial life in Christchurch that are enacted by mechanisms of biopower "a power bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them (sic)" (Foucault, 2013b, p. 42). Biopolitics focuses on populations, on collective bodies that serve as "the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary" (Foucault, 2013b, p. 44). Thus in the politics of life, populations are not just an object of knowledge, they are the targets it seeks to manage. In the post-earthquake context of Christchurch, I now turn to an examination of how the forms of population life, specifically vulnerable collectivities, are targeted and addressed as social and political problems. To do this I examine the Wellbeing Index as a key biopolitical tool and discuss the ways that it facilitates the regulation and management of the community and vulnerable populations to optimise the recovery of life in Christchurch.

The Canterbury Wellbeing Index was developed in 2011 by CERA to inform decisions and target funding to respond to perceived recovery concerns. The Index has been a key mechanism in measuring and securing the recovery of the greater Christchurch region. The data and analysis produced by the

Index were published on CERA's website since 2013 to 2016. As discussed in chapter one, Foucault (2013b) considers that biopolitics introduces mechanisms such as statistical estimates that aim to intervene, not at an individual level, but "at the level at which these general phenomena are determined, to intervene at the level of their generality" (p. 68). The purpose of these mechanisms is regulatory, "to establish an equilibrium, maintain an average, establish a sort of homeostasis, and compensate for variations within this general population and its aleatory (random) field" (Foucault, 2013b, p. 67) Normalisation is a crucial tool of biopolitics, which as Mader (2007) articulates, lends significance to the role of statistical measurement in that it "qualifies bodies with quantifiable qualities" (p. 6), installing the basis for management and regulation. In the management of earthquake recovery, CERA gathered population knowledge via the Canterbury Wellbeing Index to target interventions where they were most needed. In this section, I consider the Wellbeing Index as a statistical measurement that enabled normalisation processes, which simultaneously qualified certain kinds of post-earthquake life and enacted corrective strategies for the maximisation of life.

In 2011 the development of the Canterbury Wellbeing Index was initiated by CERA and its government partner agencies including the MSD, the Ministry of Health and the Christchurch City Council, following the identified need for a robust monitoring framework to "track the progress of the social recovery in greater Christchurch" (CERA, 2013, p. 2). Specifically the Index is identified as a means to:

- enable Canterbury communities to access accurate and comprehensive information about the social recovery.
- provide early warning of emerging social trends and issues to enable CERA and partner agencies to respond in a timely way.
- inform decisions about the most efficient targeting of funds and resourcing through the recovery.
- meet the monitoring and reporting requirements of the Recovery Strategy

(CERA, 2013, p. 2).

In this context the term wellbeing is defined as "the dynamic process that gives people a sense of how their lives are going, through the interaction between their circumstances, activities and psychological resources or 'mental capital'"(Morgan et al., 2015, p. 98). This positive and maximising principle is a key tenet of the Wellbeing Index, in which health is measured in the presence of physical, emotional and social wellbeing as opposed to the absence of impairments and illness (Morgan et al., 2015, p. 98).

To identify the indicators that would make up the framework a series of workshops were held with central and local government agencies and academics from the fields of health science, natural hazards and disaster research (Morgan et al., 2015, p. 99). Existing data sources collected by government departments were analysed in relation to a set of criteria drawn from current recovery research. An example of the research used is that of resiliency-based recovery research from which the expected phases of response to a disaster over time were understood (Morgan et al., 2015). Notably the CERA (2014b) policy drew on this information as part of its research to develop the key objectives for the recovery management programme for the greater Christchurch population. This material includes diagram 2, which depicts the recovery process of communities following a disaster. The diagram was accessed from the Californian Department of Mental Health (2012, as cited by CERA, 2014a, p. 98), which outlines the expected recovery trajectory and timeline, which is thought to take five-ten years.

Diagram two. Trajectory of community recovery following a natural disaster

It is interesting to note that the graph presents 'emotional' data and looks much like a kind of psychologically defined process of grief and loss applied to a community as a whole. Much like Kübler-Ross' stage model of grief (see Kübler-Ross, Kessler, & Shriver, 2014), the emotional recovery of the whole of communities is considered to follow a predictable pattern along a time-line. This expectable pattern of grief processes has been effectively disputed by several authors (see Hart, Sainsbury, & Short, 1998). In the documents collective recovery is normatively presented as a psychological process. The triggers or precursors to the community's affective responses are presented as inner

emotional processes that need to be anticipated and managed. Further, the representation also enables a kind of baseline measurement for intervention for those individuals and collectives who do not follow the expected trajectory of grief and recovery. The Wellbeing Index sought to augment this broad knowledge of the usual trajectory of a community's recovery with specific indicators of what wellbeing looked like at a populational level in Christchurch.

CERA and the other government authorities that developed the Index considered an important part of targeting resources to assist people's recovery was setting a baseline for what was understood as a 'normal recovery' (Morgan et al., 2015). These normative criteria of disaster recovery informed the development of specific wellbeing indicators including knowledge and skills, economic wellbeing, housing, health, mental wellbeing, safety and social connectedness. Information gained from resident surveys and government agency reporting was translated into percentages and means scores were established for each indicator, enabling general variations in the population to be discovered and linked to psychosocial recovery knowledge:

> This research also found that only a third of people are feeling connected to their neighbours in greater Christchurch, another factor critical to successful recovery (CERA, 2014b, p. 10).

The Wellbeing Index was perceived as a valid measurement of the level of recovery and wellbeing across the greater Christchurch region over time and as enabling specific areas of concern to be targeted with recovery interventions.

The Index also enabled the wellbeing and levels of recovery of different groups of people and different geographical suburbs and areas within the greater Christchurch region to be compared:

> The eastern suburbs of Christchurch suffered the greatest housing and land damage in the earthquakes. Additional analysis of the CERA Wellbeing Survey suggests that people of these areas are more likely to report lower levels of wellbeing than elsewhere in the city and many had pre-existing vulnerabilities such as low incomes and/or a disability. They are now experiencing disproportionate rebuild and insurance complexities and transport-related pressures that continue to have a moderate or major impact on day-to-day life (CERA, 2014b, p. 9).

The CERA Wellbeing Index enabled an analysis of the impact of the earthquakes on poorer suburbs in the eastern parts of Christchurch. The Index identifies and differentiates different vulnerable populations. Despite the diversity of these groups, the use of numbers and percentages enabled each

of these sub-groups to be connected and calculated as at risk groups. This relation effectively positioning them as a sub-population or as a more generalised other in the recovery space. The people in the Eastern suburbs, a predominantly lower socio-economic area, are conceived of as vulnerable, and as a population group are understood as having inadequate wellbeing and higher stress levels than the general population. These statistics provide the basis for targeting individual psychosocial support for members of vulnerable populations and as a means to secure the future of the greater population. The Wellbeing Index produces 'objective' data that enables the markers of the 'vulnerable' to be applied to groups of people. In Foucault's (2013b) terms biopower "has to qualify, measure, appraise, and hierarchize ... it effects distributions around the norm (sic)" (p.48). Processes of normalisation are enacted, whereby with statistical measurement, a standard is established and used as a basis to compare sub-populations and to direct regulatory interventions. As populational representations, these categories formed a "plane of intervention" (Willse, 2002, p. 244) for the regulation and management of the recovery of Greater Christchurch.

The Wellbeing Index produces normative populational data, providing the basis to 'transform' the lives of vulnerable populations who do not demonstrate actions reflective of the dominant recovery discourses. As Blencowe (2011) argues, biopolitics establishes security mechanisms around those random elements characteristic in a population of living beings and to secure the life of the whole population from internal risk. Thus in clustering statistics around the mean the Wellbeing Index functions to "makes some kinds of living possible, while foreclosing others" (Willse, 2002, p. 244). Foucault (2013b) as discussed in chapter one, outlines biopower's task is to take charge of life and to do so requires "continuous regulatory and corrective mechanisms" (p.48). The population is changeable and gathering statistics over time brings the future into focus. As Willse (2002) argues, biopolitics is not oriented to the past but to the future. The recovery policies seek to secure resilient futures for the population where people are enabled to develop their coping capacities and become active community members as the following excerpt emphasises:

> The activities in this programme are designed to help address these issues: to improve resilience, help people to regain a sense of control over their lives, help them with their psychosocial recovery journey and help connect them with their communities. As more is learnt as a result of this experience and from new evidence and emerging issues, additional activities will be planned and delivered (CERA, 2014b, p. 10).

The recovery policies make use of the norms of individual and community self-reliance produced by the Wellbeing Index. Bringing life into play in the field of biopolitics, as Foucault (2013b) emphasises,

is "distributing the living in the domain of value and utility" (p.48). New and emerging data determines what kinds of recovery programmes will become available to enhance these individual and community self-care capacities. For example, the actions of the CERA (2014b) policy were directly informed by this statistical data:

> The Government's Budget 2014 decision to allocate on-going funding for the provision of psychosocial services. In addition Canterbury Wellbeing Index data is used across agencies to plan the delivery of the psychosocial services under the Community in Mind psychosocial strategy for greater Christchurch (p. 8).

This is not just a government imperative, given that the NZRC (2011) likewise promotes community self-reliance, as the following excerpt highlights:

> To effectively work in this environment the Red Cross philosophy is to meet immediate needs as required but to place an emphasis on working with communities to reinforce preparedness activities, to support recovery and to reduce reliance on relief (p. 4).

Blencowe (2011) highlights the way current biopolitical practices seek to "activate newer possibilities of progressive action and valorise newer sets of activities as 'caring for life' with … a focus upon … educating, encouraging cultural change, capacity building and eliminating problematic culture" (p. 21). Collective transformation is emphasised in the recovery policies but it is a specific, pre-determined kind of change. Despite the emphasis on responding to emergent issues as they arise the recovery policies are 'embedded' within understandings of the optimal recovery processes that actively encourage individuals and communities to take care of themselves. The Wellbeing Index produced statistical data that guided both government and the NZRC's priorities and decisions as to where funding would be directed. Promoting and funding those programmes and services that enable self-reliance presumably reduces the need for people to access additional material resources in the future.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this analysis has highlighted how community as a concept and strategy was mobilised to present a safety net and a securitisation mechanism within the political earthquake recovery arrangements. Two sets of problems and solutions are set out in the recovery policies underpinned by both community as recovery and vulnerability discourses that centre on individuals functioning as their 'greater community selves' and making collective decisions to adapt in self-responsible and self-managing ways. This chapter has shown that the community is also presented in the policies as a

means to enable the Christchurch population to effectively prepare for an uncertain future. In this context, affected populations that were considered to be at risk of unsuccessfully navigating this recovery trajectory due to their inherent vulnerability were to be the targets of individualised, specific and personalised psychological interventions. Material aid was considered useful as a short-term measure to increase the coping of individuals, but there was no provision of such resources to address community-identified needs. Statistical biopolitical techniques in the form of the Wellbeing Index were seen as a key tool in the establishment of populational recovery norms and the implementation of disciplinary practices that targeted those individuals and groups in need of specialised support. In this way, the Wellbeing Index imposed the markers of vulnerability on populations. In such a way the Index was a principal strategy in operationalising inclusive divisions within the population, enabling a biopolitics of difference in the disaster recovery space. For those not able to become part of the community a therapeutic strategy of remediation was proposed, making it possible for 'vulnerable people' to learn self-managing techniques. These competencies are premised in the policy texts as a means of the vulnerable to re-join and participate in their community in the future, once they were no longer considered at risk.

An important effect of these modes of power and the notions of progress is the role of the expert, discursively and politically recruited into the empowerment of communities and regulation of vulnerability. It is with these functions in mind that in the next chapter I examine school social workers' practices with children and parents. The recovery policies make some mention of children, but not as community members; where they are discussed they are recognised as vulnerable and in need of protection. I am interested in how biopolitical discursive practices operate in school sites and how they may be drawn on by school social workers. My goal is to examine the social workers' accounts and open up the taken-for-granted 'truths' of communal bonds and vulnerable lives whilst being mindful of the potential to notice "new options for thought and new possibilities for action" (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, p. xi).

How could we have avoided recognizing the political consequences of the fact

that we humans have to understand ourselves as living beings whose very

longevity, morbidity, and mortality can be managed, administered, reformed,

improved, transformed, and has a political value? (sic)

(Rabinow & Rose, 2003, pp. xi – xii).

Introduction

This chapter examines the school social workers' recovery practices with a particular emphasis on their own experiences of community. The focus is on what the notion of community meant for their professional identities, interventions and practices in post-earthquake schools. It draws on the transcripts from the interviews undertaken with twelve school social workers who had been, and were still currently working in Christchurch schools following the 2011 earthquake. A central discourse within these accounts is the community hub, which essentially configures schools as localised social service sites. This arrangement prioritised the provision of support and assistance for the most needy children, parents and families. Further, as I discuss, the community hub discourse tends to rely on school social workers taking up expert, therapeutic roles and individualising practices, rather than community-focused practices.

This chapter also seeks to understand school social work within the context of the biopolitical earthquake recovery arrangements in greater Christchurch. The previous chapter explored the pivotal role community played in the recovery policies' objectives to stabilise the greater Christchurch population and prepare for the uncertainty of post-earthquake life. Populations such as those people living in poverty and children, were considered less likely to be able to take up collective identities or to involve themselves in community self-help activities. This perceived vulnerability positioned these populations as in need of individualised attention in the Christchurch recovery arrangements. In this chapter, I examine the ways in which the arrangements for managing the recovery interface with the objectives and practices of social workers in post-earthquake schools. This means attending to both biopolitical and disciplinary relations of power that operate at the levels of the population and individual bodies that seek to optimise the recovery of children and their parents. Foucault (1975) saw the disciplinary techniques as intricately related to the emergence of concerns for society as a

whole and the associated focus on public health and collective welfare. However, this should not conceived of as a top-down configuration whereby social workers are assumed to impose the recovery policies' objectives and population-based statistical norms on individuals and collectives in schools as a means to assist those in need. In this chapter, I do not seek to align the statistical population norms of the recovery with the knowledge and practices which the school social workers employ in their work with children and parents. That being said, taking up a biopolitical lens in this study means I do explore some complementarity between the two. Consistent with Foucault (2007) position in his later work, I consider how these distinct mechanisms can function within a series of power relations that work at the level of individual bodies and at the population level within an overall strategy of vitalistic politics. So whilst the school social workers' micro-practices are recognised as specific and independent from the recovery policies, they are examined for how they correspond, albeit not in a deliberate manner, with biopolitical recovery objectives to optimise and develop the wellbeing of all.

In centralising biopolitical governance in this study, a power that takes life as its object and target, I seek to examine the interplay between the 'truths' of post-earthquake life and the mechanisms of power that circulate around and through social work in schools. Ultimately, my aim is to understand how these biopolitical arrangements were able to constrain or displace school social workers from being able to take up community practices in post-earthquake schools. Esposito's (2011) formulation of immunity usefully aides this analysis. Immunity provides a lens to make sense of how social workers' practices, which focus on the protection and optimisation of their clients' lives, work to exonerate children and parents from their obligations to each other creating conditions within which alienation and exclusion can arise.

To understand school social work only within the post-earthquake recovery context would absence a long-standing history of a welfarist education agenda in New Zealand, within which the discipline emerged. The involvement of social workers in schools and the development of their practices did not just appear as a consequence of the Christchurch earthquakes. Social workers have been based in schools since the 1990s, an initiative which was tied to a progressive agenda, which has prevailed in New Zealand education policy since the 1930s. This chapter begins with a discussion of this historical and contemporary context of social work in schools. In the second section, the community hub discourse is examined. I note how it is underpinned by developmental, systems and humanistic theories and objective notions of human needs. I observe the links between these truth formations to biological and evolutionary conceptions of life, examining the ways they have enabled protection-focused and individualistic school social work practices. In the third section I examine the ways in

which statistical mechanisms and the taken-for-granted knowledge of the earthquakes functioned as processes of normalisation, through which a range of new and old 'vulnerable subject positions' were instituted with children and parents. Finally, I consider the ways in which these subject positions have been 'put to work' through surveillance mechanisms in post-earthquake schools, in the form of pastoral care meetings. These disciplinary techniques are also examined for their significance in the expansion and augmentation of social workers' roles in post-earthquake schools.

1. The context of school-based social work

Examining social work in schools cannot be done without some understanding of the political and historical context within which institutional school sites are located. Whilst the emergence of social work in schools in 1999 is relatively recent, it fits within a long history of a welfarist approach in the New Zealand education system. Dating back to the 1930s the New Zealand education system was positioned, as in other Western countries, as the 'flagship' of the progressive liberal agenda. Improving children through education and encouraging good parental practices became the cornerstone of a family-based welfare State in New Zealand (Belgrave, 2012, p. 8). Children were variously described as a "'valuable national asset', 'the capital of the country', 'the future of the country and the Empire', 'Empire builders of the future' and 'citizens of tomorrow'" and education was celebrated as the "stabilising force of the future" (Wanhalla, 2001, p. 90). The progressive education agenda was heavily influenced by social justice discourse, according to Abiss (1998), who comments that in New Zealand until the 1980s "it was a time when a sense of collective responsibility for reducing socio-economic inequalities" was exercised through the process of education (p.92). New Zealand education was concerned with the care and "'rescue (of) poor children … and improving the homes the children came from" (May, 1997, p. 67).

As a version of population management in relation to the "well-being of the state (sic)", Ball (2013) observes the progressive education agenda articulates a form of disciplinary/governmental power "exercised through the institutions of education and welfare interventions into the lives of "poor" families" (p. 116). Heredity was also stressed in this eugenic "race-based approach to welfare", whereby characteristics such as disability, criminality, intelligence and respectability were considered pre-determined by inheritance (Belgrave, 2012, p. 6). In New Zealand it was also the means by which the lives of Māori and their families could be improved (May, 1997, p. 67). Genetic accounts of normality and difference alongside new forms of social heredity such as "forms of culture, life style

and relationships within the family" were identified by policy makers as potential problems for educational success (Ball, 2013, p. 116). Foucault (as cited by Ball, 2013) notes this relation developed in the nineteenth century and centred on "the solidification and intensification of father-mother-children relationships" (p. 116). The failure of the abnormal family and their poor parenting became the new "cultural iteration of degeneracy" – and a form of social heredity (Ball, 2013, p. 116).

With the emergence of neo-liberalism in the New Zealand political arena in the late 1980s, there was a transformation of the education system. These reforms, set out in the 'Tomorrow's School' policy of 1988, were also facilitated by the 1989 Education Act. The new education system aimed for devolved decision-making at the level of schools (New Zealand Post Primary School Teachers' Association [NZPPTA], 2008, p. 2). David Lange (1988, as cited by Wylie, 2009), the then Prime Minister of New Zealand and Minister of Education, promised the reforms would result in "more immediate delivery of resources to schools, more parental and community involvement, and greater teacher responsibility, leading to improved learning opportunities for the children of this country" (p. 7). Further, the changes were to enable schools to be "freed from bureaucratic constraints" (NZPPTA, 2008, p. 4), to be more responsive to their communities and better able to meet the needs of their students, leading to improved educational opportunity and achievement for disadvantaged groups including Māori, Pacific Islanders, working class children, girls and those students with disabilities.

The establishment of SWiS in 1999 also emerged as a means to address social inequalities. As a programme of action, its objectives are to:

> Provide early assistance and intervention to children and families/whānau
> [Māori word for family], to prevent social problems becoming more serious and
> creating a barrier to learning and social outcomes for children … SWiS came out
> of a growing understanding of the relationship between the social, economic
> and life circumstances of families/whānau and the wellbeing of their children
> and young people (MSD, 2015, p. 3).

Overall, SWiS is positioned as a 'protective' mechanism "to provide early assistance and intervention to children and families/whānau, to prevent social problems becoming more serious and creating a barrier to learning and social outcomes for children" (MSD, 2015, p. 3). Thus, a targeted approach to populations of concern is significant in the implementation and functioning of SWiS. Ball (2013) considers this kind of arrangement to be a contemporary form of welfarist population management in which the family as a collective body is linked in a causal relation to social problems such as literacy, crime, unemployment and housing. The contextual needs of children as a result of their families

struggling with social, economic or parenting issues, including current involvement or potential future need for the involvement of child protection services, are targeted within the SWiS programme.

In the aftermath of the earthquakes, the NZRC for the first time also funded the placement of social workers in schools. It implemented a Social Workers in Schools Grant to three local Christchurch social service agencies to work with "earthquake-affected primary and intermediate school students and their families who are considered high need, high risk and high priority, to develop support plans" (NZRC, 2014, p. 14). Like the SWiS programme the initiative sought to address the personal concerns and problematic home background of those children "experiencing earthquake-related anxiety or behavioural problems, and those whose access to activities and resources has been limited by earthquake-related financial hardship" (NZRC, 2014, p. 14).

The New Zealand education system has developed over time and its history reveals the development of various mechanisms and techniques that are biopolitical in their intent and effects. Further, it is not hard to see how school social work is located as a node within these power relations. As Hyslop (2012) argues, "social work has shouldered the contradictory brief of empowering 'failing people' while also containing the social threat and economic cost created by 'problem families'" (p. 416). School social work as a discipline is directly involved in the management of problematic populations, aiming to resolve social problems and achieve positive outcomes for children. Further, the historical and contemporary efforts within education to govern for the prosperity of all are not considered as in opposition to the NZRC recovery objectives. Indeed, there is continuity in the ways the organisation's objectives have sought to manage children as a vulnerable post-earthquake population and its aims in implementing more social workers in Christchurch schools. The next section provides an in-depth examination of the school social workers' experiences and practices and in particular their experiences of community in the post-earthquake context.

2. The discourse of community hubs

When asked about their community experiences of schools in the aftermath of the earthquake, a number of the school social worker participants in this study described schools in the sense that they were places of belonging. Angela, RCSW, acknowledges the NZRC's focus on schools:

> I think that the focus on schools since the earthquakes makes sense because …
> even prior to the earthquakes, schools are natural communities which most
> families have a connection with.

Schools in this way were understood as a kind of natural place for families to be, providing them with consistency and security. Alongside this notion of natural communities, the concept of the 'hub' was prevalent, as the following excerpts highlight:

> From being in schools … especially after the earthquakes, I think it's become
> like a … hub or a community … like quite a strong point in a family or a child's
> life. It's always a place that didn't … change. It was quite consistent. Cos school
> was always there where a family might move away or homes changed or …
> locations and stuff like that. But I think schools or teachers especially … [are]
> like a foundation … for a lot of families and children (Sophie, RCSW).
> It's kind of a community, it's a hub – it is a focus of this community (Vivienne,
> SWiS).
> I feel like the school needs to be a community hub more than just, where they
> send their kids every day to learn (Amy, RCSW).

The research participants' references to the term 'hub' denote schools as a central place, like an anchor for children and parents in tough or unpredictable times. It not only highlights the significance of schools in their day-to-day lives, but also positions them as a centre for their relations with others. The earthquakes were considered to have strengthened the notion of schools as significant places of belonging. This was clear particularly those schools that were not required to relocate following the earthquakes; they were represented as places that connected individuals and families as a wider collective entity. Similar to the community recovery discourse, discussed in the previous chapter, there is a sense that within the community hub, individuals and families were part of a greater collective. There is little sense of difference or divergence in this community configuration, indicating at first glance an alignment with communitarian principles, which centre on relationships between people as the basis for unity and togetherness.

The notion of schools as community hubs can be traced within the community school movement internationally, especially in countries like the United Kingdom and the United States. Haig (2014) notes the emergence of community schools in the 1920s in both the United Kingdom and United States. At this time in Cambridgeshire, England, Henry Morris set up Village Colleges, which were conceptualised as the centre for neighbourhoods in rural communities. The establishment of these 'school centres' was in response to concerns "for rural communities that were rapidly urbanising and

losing their traditional ways of life" (Haig, 2014, p. 1023). At a similar time in the United States, John Dewey introduced the idea of schools being a "social centre" as a response to urban concerns of growing poor and migrant populations in cities (Haig, 2014, p. 1023). A number of public schools in cities including Flint and Michigan, were established to become the "social, educational and recreational anchors of their communities" (Blank, Melaville, & Shah, as cited by Haig, 2014, p. 1023).

More recently in the United Kingdom, where there has been a longstanding commitment to the provision of social care at the local level, community schools have developed to offer a wider range of services to students, parents and the local community (see Cummings et al., 2011). Known as extended schools, these initiatives led to the formation of the 2003 Every Child Matters policy that located schools within a broad framework of extended outcomes for children, related to their health, safety, quality of life, and economic wellbeing. Extended schools aims to offer all children access to social services through their schools, in partnership with local child and family services (Cummings et al., 2011, pp. 8-9).

New Zealand's educational history also reflects an emphasis on the community role of schools with the perception that building up families and the school community has positive and long lasting results (Stuart, 2010). Victory Primary School in Nelson is put forward as an example of such a community hub model. Referred to as the Victory Village model, the school has a partnership with the Victory Community Health Centre Trust, which is physically located on the school grounds. The school has a culture of enrolling 'whole families' rather than students, and central to the Village model is a focus on providing therapeutic services and community programmes aimed at enhancing family resilience and wellbeing, as well as building community (Stuart, 2010, p. 6).

The community hub model has also been recently proposed as a school-based disaster recovery approach. For example, Mutch (2015), an academic from the education field, conducted research into five schools in the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquakes and noted that the schools were significant as a place of belonging. She found that through the school contexts children and families were able to access to emotional and psychological support as well as get involved in activities and routines that provided distraction. In Japan, Matsuura and Shaw (2015) conducted research on an initiative that was developed following the East Japan earthquake and tsunami of 2011 in which some schools became part of multifunctional, welfare facilities that aimed to address the social, educational and cultural needs of the wider community. The authors concluded that the extended school model

supported both the short and long-term recovery of the community including encouraging people to return to their communities in the aftermath of the disaster.

Whilst there are clearly different configurations of the community hub model within the community school literature generally, it is configured as a school-based community service centre with three key features. Firstly, it seeks to address the specific needs of individual children and their parents, providing welfare and therapeutic services within the school grounds. Secondly, it is promoted as a basis for communal belonging, providing activities and services for the wider community to access. Thirdly, the hub is positioned as a means to address social problems such as increasing urbanisation, poverty and more recently the impact of natural disasters. In this section, I discuss the key features of the community hub discourse referred to by the research participants, how their practices were shaped within these sites of community belonging and the effects these practices had on communal bonds. As the following discussion reveals, in relation to the community hub discourse the research participants' focus was largely on direct work with children and parents.

Holistic versus academic understandings

The community hub representation contrasts with notions of schools as primarily providing academic teaching. The view of schools as places where the needs of the 'whole child' should be addressed was discussed by some of the research participants as follows:

> But I also think like school's definitely a place where kids learn social skills,
>
> like not just education, learning … ways to interact with others and what's
>
> seen right in the world and not right (Sophie, RCSW).
>
> I mean, I do notice like some schools its all Mrs this and Mrs that and … they
>
> get taught more about academic achievement. Whereas at Tekau it's more
>
> kind of holistic (Amy, RCSW).

Schools focusing on more than academic teaching is a key theme of the community hub discourse. The above excerpts place significance on the social needs of children and in contrast are more dismissive of school practices, which merely focused on academic achievement. Children being understood as social beings was justified in terms of providing them with various skills for life. This proposition indicates some alignment with human capital theory, which as Bacchi (2009) discusses, conceives of knowledge as a kind of product which is "expandable and self-generating, transportable and tradeable" (p. 218). Within human capital theory, education is considered to be a form of investment of the self, similar to investments in the physical means of production such as machinery and technology (Bacchi, 2009, p. 217), which highlights its alignment with economic rationalism and

neoliberalism. Attending to the development of children as social beings is considered to provide a better investment than merely focusing on their academic development.

For those children who were considered problematic in schools, the notion that their issues needed to be related to the social dimensions of their development was emphasised, as Angela, RCSW discusses:

> There's a lot of emphasis from some parents on academic achievement and sport opportunities compared with some of the schools … that I visit for work where there's a lot … more thought goes into probably the holistic picture for children who are presenting with some risk factors, but also about how build their school culture around … things like social skills. So the school might take some more responsibility for some of that cultural stuff, instead of just the traditional educational.

The child was recognised as a holistic entity, whose needs were to be addressed in more than one way. This social representation of children privileges school practices that prioritise children's socialisation processes and seek to address any barriers to their development.

The earthquake event made the need for a holistic approach even more apparent, as the following research participants discuss:

> Whereas before I think schools were like let's just teach them … But I think they also know that they can't do everything, and their core job is to teach and if there's something going on for a kid or if they refer out – cos they notice if there's changes in kids' behaviours. And I mean the majority of teachers will say, "oh she just seems a bit teary" or "she's a bit withdrawn" or you know, and just report it to the DP [Deputy Principal] and she'll refer out to us (Lynne, RCSW).
>
> But it's probably safer to assume in Christchurch that the child … may have experienced the earthquake and it may have meant something for them (Peter, SWiS).

The experience of the earthquakes meant that teachers were less likely to focus solely on teaching academics and achievement; they were likely to be more receptive to addressing the social needs of children within the recovery context. There is also evidence of a tendency by school staff to consider a range of presenting issues that may not have been noticed, given recognition or responded to before. Indeed, it seems any issue presented by a child could be considered earthquake-related,

highlighting how holistic thinking was strengthened within this context.

The holistic understanding of children can be connected to the ecological theoretical perspective, which is premised on the principle that "a child's development occurs within a system of relationships that forms his or her social relationships" (Krishnan, 2010, p. 5). Ecological understandings of the development of the 'whole child' have a close affinity to biological knowledge. The term 'ecology' in biological science refers to the "interdependencies among organisms in the natural world" (Ungar, 2002, p. 481). Ecology as a discipline involves "the interdisciplinary scientific study of the living conditions of organisms in interaction with each other and with the surroundings, organic as well as inorganic" (as cited by Ungar, 2002, p. 481). Ecological knowledge of children as living beings is premised on the notion that they are in a process of development or flourishing, which is a natural, inbuilt process requiring support and nurturing from their environment.

The ecological notion of the person in their environment historically has been a key tenet of the knowledge base of social work. O'Donoghue and Maidment (2005) note that ecological systems theory is "widely accepted as a metaphor that assists social workers to maintain this dual focus" (p. 32). Ungar (2002) likewise emphasises an alignment between the science of ecology and social work, both aiming to foster "healthy and interdependent transactions between persons and their environments" (p. 481). He adds that in the early and middle twentieth century in the United States, the ecological approach shifted social work's primary mode of practice away from individual casework to approaches that involved families, groups, communities and organisations, premised on the need to also intervene in clients' environments. In Australia and New Zealand ecological theory was particularly influential in social work in the 1970s and was based on "an evolutionary adaptive view of human beings (and all organisms) in continuous transactions with the environment" (Gitterman, as cited by O'Donoghue & Maidment, 2005, p. 34). Of particular influence in New Zealand social work has been Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory, especially in the fields of mental health, NGO welfare work, supervision and social work in schools (O'Donoghue & Maidment, 2005, p. 38).

An important feature of ecological theory is the notion of reciprocity. For Bronfenbrenner (1979, as cited by Krishnan, 2010) humans as living beings do not develop in isolation but within relationships including family and societal systems (p. 6). His conceptualisation of the relationship between a child and their environment is of a reciprocal process whereby not only does the environment influence the child but the child influences the environment (Krishnan, 2010, p. 6). In practice the ecological perspective has instructed social workers to attend to the person, their environment and the

interaction between the two (O'Donoghue & Maidment, 2005, p. 34). The aim is to facilitate an adaptive process that restores balance between a person and their environment through reducing stress, enhancing stability or increasing coping mechanisms (O'Donoghue & Maidment, 2005, p. 35). In the context of post-earthquake, schools focusing on the social context as the cause of the children's issues meant bringing their family and home life into view in new ways. The children's parents were likewise considered to be adversely influenced by the earthquake, as Scott, RCSW, discusses:

> So instead of always focusing on it being central around the earthquake … sort
>
> of a more holistic approach around [the] coping [of] the family, and a
>
> wraparound service with mum and that sort of stuff.

Interestingly, the reciprocal feature of the holistic discourse is not strongly evident in the research participants' accounts whereby they drew attention to the impact of the family on the child, but not the child's role in influencing their family system. Similarly, children in the main were not attributed with having a direct role in establishing practices or conditions within the school environment to enable it to better suit their needs. Rather the emphasis was on what the schools needed to do to children to address their social and academic needs. As Bay and Macfarlane (2011) observe, it is not uncommon for social workers to consider power relations to operate in unilateral ways. The holistic practices discussed by the research participants tended to focus on addressing the external, environmental conditions that are considered to impact on the children's functioning. Children were presented as having very little agency in effecting their own circumstances.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) concept of the developing child like other developmental theories converges around the belief that children's development is a progressive process in which maturity is the ultimate goal. Baker (2010), an academic within the education field, cites Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory along with the works of Piaget (1936) and Erikson (1951), within an in-depth account of the emergence of developmental psychological knowledge and its significant influence in education. She notes that since the late nineteenth century developmental understandings have been actively guiding the understanding of children, the school curriculum, teacher training and the perceived effectiveness of educational outcomes (Baker, 2010, p. 245). Baker (2010) adds that although it takes different theoretical forms, developmentalism shares a common belief that a child's development is an 'inbuilt', progressive and evolutionary process that is scientifically verifiable and factual (p. 248). Whilst it was not a completely new way of thinking of children in the nineteenth century, what made it significant was a much more widespread belief in its scientific and evolutionary basis (Baker, 2010, p. 248).

During the early twentieth century developmentalism's influence extended, providing a basis for radical changes that occurred in public schooling simultaneously in Europe, United States and the United Kingdom (Baker, 2010). These changes were premised on the principle that schooling should be built around children's developmental needs rather than the organisation of academic content. Thus developmentalism not only brought about a change in the knowledge of the 'nature' of the child from a scientific basis but also in relation to how children should be treated. Within developmentalism, children were considered to have an internal nature and will that needed to be nurtured and managed. Generally, developmental theory tends to construct an understanding of children as 'incomplete' and in need of appropriate socialisation so that they may attain "a superior adult end state" (Kiersey, 2011, p. 53). They are conceived of as living beings that need to be protected and nourished so that their potentiality can be secured. These understandings effectively inscribe the child as a biological life form and as a site for various interventions by experts in human development (Baker, 2010, p. 252).

Next I turn to another concept that converges and overlaps with the holistic construction of the child and the community-hub discourse, that of 'unmet need', which essentially addresses children as though they are made deficit by their home environment in this context.

Configuring home-life as unmet need

As noted, the research participants promoted schools as not only sites for academic education but also as places where the children's social needs should be met, particularly those living in poverty. This understanding occurred primarily in the context of schools in low socio-economic areas. As Darren, SWiS discusses:

> I see people being transient. I see, you know, people not having enough money
> or … there's not enough housing or they'll struggle to access and sustain the
> housing, often within Housing New Zealand situations, meaning they've got to
> kinda constantly change or are just simply over-crowded. And so there's lots
> of pressure on the relationships within those situations, meaning they come
> and they go and finances are stretched and relationships within that are very
> stretched. The kids' needs are often not being focused on or really consistently
> met.

Darren problematised the living conditions of families and their impact on relationships. He claimed the cause of children's needs not being met was a result of the unstable housing, unsafe and run-down

neighbourhoods. These kinds of situations were considered to create problems for school staff to manage, as Nicole, SWiS, emphasises:

> Because I know in these schools the teachers become social workers
>
> sometimes, the principals have parents in with social issues. They're dealing
>
> with health stuff, they're sometimes taking kids to the doctors, there's the
>
> education, all of that, so it's huge, you know.

The research participants' experiences of children living in poverty positions their home life as the objective, primary cause of their material and social need. Thus the conditions of poverty as a prevalent deterrent to the developing child were a primary focus of attention within the research participants' accounts of the needs discourse. Further, they indicate their role as central in assessing and addressing the family's needs that are adversely impacting on the underprivileged child's personal and academic development.

This way of understanding children in relation to their external social or economic needs is linked to humanistic knowledge, another psychological theory that also emphasises an individual's 'natural' tendency for growth and development. Both Scott, RCSW, and Nicole, SWiS, draw on this humanistic way of thinking about children's needs:

> Say for example like a Charlesworth school … they have to deal with kids that
>
> are coming with … no breakfast, not a lotta lunch, they've seen some … thing,
>
> that the night before, Dad's come home drunk or something like that. You
>
> know, those fundamental needs aren't being met, and so you can't expect, if
>
> you think about it in that, that triangle thing … if those fundamental needs
>
> aren't being met, you can't expect much learning to happen (Scott, RCSW).
>
> It's like that hierarchy of needs, isn't it, that if you haven't got your home and
>
> your things (Nicole, SWiS).

Scott and Nicole's references to 'basic needs' and 'fundamental needs' reflect understandings consistent with the principles of the Hierarchy of Needs theory developed by Maslow (1943, as cited by Zalenski & Raspa, 2006), one of the main pioneers of humanistic psychology, in the early 1940s. Maslow (1943, as cited by Zalenski & Raspa, 2006) considered human needs to be hierarchical and identified five levels. The first level of need is physiological, where humans have to seek food, air and water. The second level involves safety needs, which focus on security, stability, protection including freedom from threat. The third level of need encompasses belonging and love and involves the "giving and receiving of affection" (Zalenski & Raspa, 2006, p. 1121). The fourth level is the need for esteem and social status, which is satisfied through mastery of the environment and societal recognition. The

fifth and final level is the need for self-actualisation, which involves reaching one's unique potential in life. Maslow (1943, as cited by Zalenski & Raspa, 2006) postulated that if unfulfilled, the lower needs will dominate an individual's thinking until they are satisfied. Further, only once all of an individual's lower or basic needs are satisfied are they then able to pursue the higher needs of self-actualisation. However, in his later work in 1968, Maslow (as cited by Neher, 1991) claimed that a "complete absence of … pain or danger is dangerous" (p. 100), seeming to make space for the notion that the frustration of not having one's basic needs met may enable the process of self-actualisation.

The notion of linear, hierarchical progression has been heavily critiqued in the field of psychology, as Neher (1991) outlines, for failing to fully account for the role of the environment in forming the self (p. 92). The Hierarchy of Needs theory shares an affinity with biological knowledge in that it conceives the individual as "an integrated and organic whole" (Zalenski & Raspa, 2006, p. 1121) that has a natural, innate tendency towards growth and self- actualisation (McDonald & Wearing, 2013, p. 42). This concept of the development of human consciousness is also evident in the deep ecology theories proposed by social work authors like Besthorn (2001) and Coates (2004). Maslow (1943, as cited by Zalenski & Raspa, 2006) made a distinction between two forms of 'self': actual self and self-concept. Self-concept is "a person's understanding or perception of who they are, which is informed by conceptual schemes imposed by society and enforced by significant others" (McDonald & Wearing, 2013, p. 42). In contrast, the actual self is unaffected by societal and cultural expectations and has the power to change and grow in ways consistent with its core values (McDonald & Wearing, 2013, p. 42). Maslow (1943, as cited by Zalenski & Raspa, 2006) considered that all human beings have the same fundamental needs irrespective of "geographic, racial, gender, social, ethnic, and religious boundaries" (p. 1121). Foucault did not agree that such an inner core self existed (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 212). He proposed that the notion of intrinsic human nature reflects the subjectivising process, which applies itself to immediate everyday life. He adds that these processes categorise individuals, marking them by their own individuality, attaching them to their own identity and imposing a "law of truth" on them, that they recognise and which others have to recognise in them (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 212).

Robertson (1998) makes the point that the humanistic way of thinking of human nature as biologically pre-determined has been pervasive throughout history and has served to position human needs as "incontestable, factual, inescapable" (p. 1420). Understanding individuals as fully determined makes their subjective experience irrelevant in understanding their predicament and addressing their own needs. Social work academic Ife (2009) laments how the pervasive "discourse of human needs, within

modernity, has been characterised by a positivist construction of "need", as something that exists in an objectively identifiable and measurable way" (p. 40). He criticises the influence of this needs model in social work practice, for the ways in which practitioners take it upon themselves to complete assessments to ascertain how their clients' needs can be met. He describes this kind of process as a top-down, problem-solving approach in which a need is described in such a way that it can be solved. Ife (2009) provides the following example:

> To talk about a need (e.g. I need food), rather than a problem (I am hungry),
> defines the problem in terms of its solution. The emphasis is on the provision
> of what is needed (how can I get food) rather than the subjective experience
> (what is it like to be hungry) or the cause of the problem (why am I hungry) (sic)
> (p.40).

For Ife (2012) this approach depoliticises problems, drawing attention away from the structural or discursive causes and subjective experiences. He argues needs discourse encourages social workers to run around being busy so as to provide the "needed solution" (Ife, 2012, p. 41). Ife (2012) advocates an alternate approach –a more democratic, subjective process in which needs are understood as:

> defined or constructed, rather than as "existing", and thereby drawing
> attention to the act of definition, seeing this as a political act, and recognising
> that the important questions are: who is doing the need-defining, what are
> their interests reflected in that definition, on what information do they make
> that determination, has there been a process of negotiation leading to the
> need definition, what has been the role, if any, of the people who are seen as
> "having" the need, what is the apparent "problem" which the "need" is
> supposed to resolve, what other "needs" might address that problem, and so
> on (p. 42).

Ife's approach locates social workers' clients as active agents in the processes of identifying and addressing the problems they face. His critique of the problem-solving approach is consistent with Foucault's (2003b) concept of problematisation, which is to question the political positions and responses taken to address perceived problems and the rationale for these actions (p. 21). As Bacchi (2009) elaborates, problematisation involves interpreting "how something is put forward (or represented) as a 'problem'". She notes that problematisations tend to reduce complexity in that by representing a problem in a certain way as a particular type of issue, a range of factors must be simplified and other factors must be left out. Like Ife (2012), Bacchi (2009) notes the problem-solving approach is essentially conservative, belying a position that society is generally well-functioning with just a few problems to be addressed. She advocates for a "'problem-questioning' rather than

'problem-solving'" approach to shift the focus to the ways in which problems are understood politically so to open up new forms of understanding and new ways of governing (Bacchi, 2009, p. xvii).

The research participants' knowledge of unmet need aligns with humanistic psychological knowledge such that all children were considered to be in need if they did not have adequate shelter and/or sufficient food and warmth. Thus, their practices are underpinned by essentialised, objective notions of need that from a biopolitical perspective were influenced by imperatives to preserve and maximise the lives of children. Maslow's (1943, as cited by Zalenski & Raspa, 2006) early Hierarchy of Needs theory reinforces this life-affirming intent, such that assisting families to attain the basic necessities of life enables them to reach higher, more vital modes of living. This psychological, growth-oriented understanding enabled the research participants to locate their actions as a positive influence on the lives of children and their work as protective and empowering. Furthermore, 'knowing' children on the basis of their objectively understood 'hierarchy of needs' requires little attention to how the children themselves experience their needs. The primary focus for the research participants was the bottom tier of needs, highlighting the way in which addressing basic needs can be understood as a means to assure children's access to the necessities of life. Achieving this purpose reveals governing practices where the focus was on the difficulties for parents in meeting these basic needs, such that they were encouraged to work on themselves in order for their children's potential to be protected and maximised. McDonald and Wearing (2013) argue that as a technology of the self, humanistic psychology enables individuals to work 'freely' on themselves whilst simultaneously ensuring that they are efficient "rational, enterprising, and productive members of society" (p. 43). This understanding sheds light on how the school social workers' needs-based interventions may have enabled parents and their childrearing practices to be brought into the domain of social productivity and utility.

Responding to collective vulnerability

Many of the research participants' accounts of the effects of the earthquakes reflected representations of generalised vulnerability throughout the whole school, in the sense that everyone had social needs, as Nicole, SWiS, describes:

> But I think in the earthquake time there's a lot of families in this school that
> were affected by [earthquake land effects] … because there's a certain amount
> of people I think that may have been renting or were just moved quite quickly.
> And I think there was probably some other people, that lost their homes and
> were displaced.

The understanding that all of the schools' families had similar experiences of loss and hardship was emphasised. However, despite this understanding of collective vulnerability in schools, there is little evidence from the research participants' accounts that the notions of shared grief and loss experienced by families were a basis for community-focused social work practice in schools. A key characteristic noted in the discussion of the community hub model was the intensification of social service delivery, provided as a place-based set of individualised interventions and programmes, as the following excerpts highlight:

> It's definitely seemed like a lot schools have kind of become a lot more of a hub. Obviously it was the earthquake welfare response funding … the SWiS contract increasing, but also … the Salvation Army and, and other agencies really wanting to be quite connected and integrated into schools and provide their services through schools (Peter, SWiS).

> They've linked in with pretty much all the agencies out here: Barnardos, they've got mental health, the public health nurses. They seem to be like a one-stop- hub of having agencies and having everyone in the community on board (Erin, RCSW).

In the aftermath of the earthquakes, the emphasis was on whole school provision of individualised therapeutic support and welfare assistance. In such a way, the school itself became a site of protection and security, a place where children and parents could access the expert assistance of social workers and other professionals, as the following research participants discuss:

> I think schools should be a community hub. So I feel like parents should be able to go there to get support … and they get directed to the right people. So they need help with parenting, then they get directed to somebody who knows about parenting. Or if they need financial support they could come to me and I can get them a food parcel or a place that they can get support from other parents (Amy, RCSW).

> Where there's a consistent presence of that person or a worker who's in the school, people get to know them, they go to events, they participate in the sports day, whatever –people develop a strong sense of trust, and so you've got a lot more sort of added value people, and it's place-based. There's someone there who can help that family, give them support to implement strategies or to cope with an issue (Angela, RCSW).

Amy and Angela described their practices as informal, accessible and collaborative, enabling them to effectively care and support those individual children and families in need. The inference is that this

familial basis for service delivery is better than an external agency-based social service, not located on school sites, where clients have no prior knowledge of their assigned worker. In locating themselves within community hubs, the research participants emphasised how they were able to help and support anyone and everyone in the school community, irrespective of the form those needs took. Within the community hub model, the school social worker was positioned as one of the 'trusted experts' to whom the children, parents, families and teaching staff were able to turn for help.

Some of the research participants discussed some involvement in facilitating community events in schools in the immediate aftermath of the 2011 earthquake. It seems initially after the earthquakes there was a focus on school-wide activities such as community get-togethers for families and games for large groups of children. This work changed over time to focus more on individualised support for children and parents as well group education programmes. Scott, RCSW, discusses this shift in his work:

> We didn't really know what we were in for. We were responding to the needs
> of the school which could be anything, like I said. So we're really going in there
> blind and just trying our best and over those three years I think we've all
> understood our roles a little bit better … and especially with this new contract
> … we're specifically there just for the kids now. So it's not going down to the
> Mad Butcher [name of small goods retailer] and stuff like that [laughs] and
> getting sausages. It's, going there for the kids and mentoring really and just
> running groups and that's really the boundaries of our role.

Scott described this change to more focused work, positively aligning it with being able to more purposefully meet the needs of the children. Similarly, Sophie, RCSW, from the same social service agency, described her experience of the community development work in the aftermath of the earthquake where she described mainly playing games with children:

> Sometimes I think with community development it can [laughs] seem a little
> bit pointless.

Scott and Sophie described community development practice as doing activities with children or with families that were not very meaningful or purposeful. There is also a sense that this phase of their involvement in schools provided little sense of professional recognition or significance for them.

Clearly, there is little evidence of the research participants taking what would commonly be considered a community approach to practice. So whilst the concept of belonging is described as an important facet of the community hub model, there is little emphasis on the 'active' involvement of

children and their parents in the establishment of community processes and structures. The hub discourse positions community as a site or a place, rather than a mode of acting in collective ways. Schools are conceived of as places of belonging irrespective of how community members act. Little weighting was placed on community members needing to do anything, such as helping each other, as a basis for their belonging to schools. As Campbell (2007) argues, drawing on Esposito's immunity paradigm, recognising collectives as socially interdependent and vulnerable can actually "augment action calls for protection" (p. 6). As the findings in this section have shown, the notion of the vulnerable community provided an impetus for the provision of generalised and accessible interventions focused on restoring the capacities of individuals to cope. At the same time these restorative, immunising practices, in a context where individuals were understood as holistic entities, effectively disrupted much basis for communal relationality centred on notions of shared vulnerability and dependency. In Esposito's (2012) terms vulnerability is the external risk of contagion must be brought into the interior. Through a process of therapeutic immunisation individuals are brought back within themselves, essentially cutting off their contact with the outside community.

In comparing the community hub model with that of the community as recovery discourse, discussed in the previous chapter, a point of difference is worth noting. The earthquake recovery policies are shaped by the notion of community as a kind of greater collective subjectivity, which sought to enable individuals and groups to engage in participative community level self-help activities. In contrast, the community hub model illustrates a reversal in the processes of subject formation whereby children and their parents were identified as collectively vulnerable and effectively individualised in terms of their psychological and social needs. From this perspective, we can see how the community hub approach has much in common with the 'vulnerable other' discourse, discussed in chapter four, especially in terms of the ways in which children are marked as 'at risk' and identified as in need of specialised interventions in schools.

Arguably then, the social workers' individualising practices are made possible by the norm of vulnerability. As Mills (2011) notes, this understanding is consistent with Foucault's view of normalisation. She proposes these processes function for the "identification and measurement of divergences from the norm" enabling various programmes, techniques, interventions and practices to be implemented (Mills, 2011, p. 24). She adds that they are directed towards "the correction and regularisation of an individual in relation to the norm" (p. 24). Although Mills (2011) notes normalisation processes work to "bring the divergent body back into coherence with the abstraction of the norm" she warns it is not merely a process of homogenising the population or eliminating

difference (p. 29).   Standardisation is more a by-product or secondary outcome from the normalisation process, which is primarily concerned with "the way in which a standard is established as a norm or principle of comparison … for the identification of deviations through the designation of normal or abnormal" (Mills, 2011, p. 29). Further Mills (2011) argues therapeutic norms are more concerned with how an individual diverges from its own normal state of wellbeing, within its own lifespan (p. 33). The discussion thus far aligns with this theoretical stance, highlighting the ways in which the developmental, therapeutic norms shaping school social work practices were inclined towards comparisons based on understanding the individual child within his/her own environment.

In conclusion, the specific rendition of communal life found with the research participants' accounts of the community hub discourse informed and shaped passive versions of personhood. For children this conceptualisation is consistent with developmental representations of them as socially dependent and subordinate to adults. Representing children as 'not yet mature' supported school social workers interventions to address the perceived barriers to children's development on their behalf. In such a way the community hub discourse seems to align with Esposito's formulation of immunity, favouring school social workers taking direct professionalised, expert-led interventions.   This approach functioned to exonerate children, parents and families from obligations to provide a service for another.

3. Therapeutic normalisation

In representing children as developmental entities, the hub discourse functions to imbue a sense of potentiality about children that must be protected. In this section, I examine the interaction between the protective objectives and school social workers' assessment processes, which designated them as vulnerable and in need of intervention. In doing so, I note the research participants' references to the concept of the decile, a contemporary statistical measurement system employed in the New Zealand education system for the regulation of low socio-economic populations.

The decile system was introduced in New Zealand in 1995 following widespread criticism about the widening socio-economic disparities and restricted access to resources by schools in low socio-economic areas. The system of measurement was considered to provide an efficient means of allocating 'equity' funding to schools (Thrupp & Alcorn, 2011, p. 55). The decile rating operates to classify schools, their surrounding communities and student populations on the basis of socio-

economic categories. The process of working out a geographical group or area's decile rating starts with a measurement of an individual's socio-economic factors (data available from the general census) that is then aggregated to a group of individuals living within the same area. This reductionist number is then used as a basis for comparison and generalisation related to the total societal population. The statistical census information is used to establish each school's decile rating and it is based on five factors in relation to a specific geographical zone of 100 homes/houses:

1. Household income – the percentage of household incomes within the equivalent lowest 20% of national incomes.

2. Occupation – the percentage of employed parents in 'low skill' occupations, such as labourers, machine operators and assemblers.

3. Household crowding – percentage of houses with three or more persons per bedroom.

4. Educational qualifications – the percentage of parents with no secondary or tertiary educational qualifications.

5. Income support – the percentage of parents who directly received a benefit in the last year, excluding Family Support.

(NZPPTA, 2013, p. 3)

The decile rating system provides a basis for the government to differentiate schools and to provide special funding and institutional responses to those schools in low socio-economic areas to address the educational needs of individual children living in poverty. Rose (1998) refers to the function of statistical measurement as an "essentially neutral means for the demonstration of truth deriving from a universe of numerical phenomena" (p. 58). The decile number supposedly operates to provide an objective measure of schools along a continuum of need, making problematic or poorly performing populations visible, comparable and readying them for corrective interventions. As a process of normalisation, deciles are central tools within the mechanisms of security because they allow for the management of risk at the populational level. Jaeger (2010) refers to this configuration as biopolitical security. He denotes this as a multi-dimensional mechanism through which statistical techniques effectively operationalise life by producing the 'truth' of the population, making it "subject to regulatory interventions" (Jaeger, 2010, p. 55). He adds that the problem populations of security are visible by their measurement of efficiency or utility in economic terms. Therefore, the decile rating, a calculation using economic data to identify low economic and social geographical locations, is not a neutral tool; it reinforces regulatory power relations, despite the neutrality attributed to its numbers.

The Social Workers in Schools (SWiS) programme was established initially in selected primary, intermediate and secondary schools in low socio-economic areas (MSD, 2015, p. 5). The choice of schools where SWiS were allocated initially were those that had a low decile rating. This practice continues. Schools' decile ratings function normatively to provide the rationale and technical means by which social workers are assigned to schools. The decile system was also a means by which 'vulnerable children' could be targeted as part of the NZRC's recovery response to the Christchurch earthquakes. The NZRC sought to assist Christchurch children "whose access to activities and resources has been limited by earthquake-related financial hardship" (NZRC, 2013, p. 1). In doing so, the NZRC employed the Ministry of Education (MOE)'s decile rating system as a means to identify the types of school with the most need and targeted the interventions accordingly. A tiered funding system was employed whereby students at decile 1,2 and 3 schools were eligible for a grant of up to $240 per student, students at decile 4,5,6 and 7 schools were eligible for up to $120 and students at decile 8, 9 and 10 schools were eligible for up to $60 per student (NZRC, 2013, pp. 1-2). However, unlike the SWiS programme the schools who were provided with RCSW were higher decile schools – those schools who did not have access to SWiS but were considered to have needs. The decile rating system has been productive in the post-earthquake context, enabling the NZRC through its earthquake assistance fund and its own social work programme to manage the needs of a wider range of children deemed vulnerable as a result of the earthquakes.

In what follows I examine the ways in which the decile measurement informed the research participants' understandings of and practices with children and parents and its connection to their perceived authority in schools. I discuss how the research participants constituted decile-based need and the recovery-focused practices this supported. The analysis makes explicit the synchronicity between the co-existent mechanisms of biopolitics and disciplinary power relations in schools. However, to be clear neither of these mechanisms are considered to determine the other such that, for example, the statistical norm provided a direct guide for social workers' assessment techniques. On the contrary, I provide an outline of the shifts and discontinuities in the understandings of decile in the wake of the earthquakes and the subsequent recovery processes by examining how the measure found new meaning and utility in this context.

Ewald (1992) stresses that Foucault's conception of normalisation is based on the principle of production not repression, through "producing, raising value, intensifying rather than constraining forbidding, stopping" (p. 171). The function of the norm is in "ordering multiple elements, linking the whole with its parts, placing them in relationship with one another" (Ewald, 1992, p. 171). This

analytical process made visible the subject positions of children and parents described by the research participants and how in the context of the earthquake events exceptional cases of 'behavioural' and 'anxious' children were brought into the norm of vulnerability.

The low decile family

At the beginning of the interviews, the research participants were asked to describe the schools in which they were based and all of the participants used the term 'decile', as follows:

> Okay, I work in Stonerise and … I think that's a decile seven or something like that (Amy, RCSW).
>
> So I'm at here – Greenwood and Hudson … this is decile three, Hudson's decile two I think (Vivienne, SWiS).
>
> Well, they're a decile eight, I think (Lynne, RCSW).

The research participants reference the statistical decile number as a proxy description of individual schools, and as a basis for comparing them. Interestingly the low decile number was also discussed as a defining characteristic of the families with whom many of the research participants worked, as William, SWiS, discusses:

> So I work in three primary schools as part of my cluster: Charlesworth School, Paeroa School and Mornington Primary School. Decile 1 and 2 schools currently.
>
> In terms of the schools that I work in and the client population, it's pretty consistent across the three schools that I work in, the same presenting issues and the same families, similar families' issues appear across the three schools.

In this way, the decile rating provides something meaningful, more than a number; it implies a rationale for understanding low decile families as very much the same with similar issues. Likewise, specific generalised characteristics were also used by some of the research participants to describe the geographical area in which these families were located:

> So what is it that's special about that area? Well, it's decile 1, low socio-economic area (Darren, SWiS).
>
> They both draw from a kind of middle range of housing but they've also got a big pocket of Housing New Zealand and that's usually where my clients come from…I call them ghettos, because they're surrounded by main roads – they're ringed off by four main roads. And the original intention was that they would be traffic-less suburbs for children to be safe, but what's happened is I think is that they're isolated suburbs, they're isolated areas of housing. No-one goes

in them or through them.   You only go in there if you need to go there

(Vivienne, SWiS).

Darren and Vivienne represent low decile communities as run-down areas where there is little sense of community relationships between people living in the area or with those living in the surrounding neighbourhoods. Where commonality is discussed, it is referenced in relation to the sameness of the needs that low decile families present, as Peter, SWiS, discusses:

So there's that kind of flavour to the … presentations … lots of accommodation

issues and people struggling financially and those kinds of things.

Low decile families are understood in relation to the conditions of poverty, highlighting the consistency with the decile rating measurement system in terms of the focus on low socio-economic status, housing and income. However, in this context the low-decile norm is understood in more personal terms; families' experiences of poverty are characterised more as subjective experiences of isolation, transience and financial hardship. This finding lends weight to Mills (2011) claim that at the level of the individual, statistical norms do not impose population-level standards of normality, rather health and wellbeing are understood as a relation between the individual and their own environment. Mills (2011) adds, "to attain a normal state for an individual is not to regularise that individual in relation to others or in reference to an abstract 'empirical ideal', but to attain a condition under which the individual itself can flourish, even if that condition appears as statistically anomalous or atypical" (p. 33).

An effect of this personalisation of poverty is that it displaces the impetus to address basic needs at a collective level.   In the aftermath of the 2011 earthquake, some schools and social services sought to provide relief through the provision of goods to parents. These actions were not described favourably by some of the research participants, who criticised the provision of material relief without any consideration of who it was allocated to and for what purpose, as follows:

I think that's a legacy too, because straight after the earthquake you didn't

need to analyse why people didn't have essential resources or didn't have their

basic needs met … everyone knew … a reason which could explain that

situation. And so … there was a period of need, and I think … all of the big

agencies like the Salvation Army, the City Mission the Red Cross, all operated

from that foundation of 'we just meet need, it doesn't matter'. It's never a

sustainable [mild laugh] framework to work through, and I think a lot of the

agencies that did that, if they reflected on some of the stuff they did, probably

could have targeted that slightly better (William, SWiS).

William laments those approaches that sought to address parents' basic needs through the provision of material resources. Likewise, Scott, RCSW, criticises a 'hand-out' approach:

> I mean, if you think about the food baskets from the City Mission, they're not given out willy-nilly … You know, they're given out on a strategy model, compared to a charity model, so they're not just handed out to anyone. And so that's really good, because … it's sustainability, you know. It's not … potentially giving someone the ability to spend their money on something else. So it's sort of working with the problem there (Scott, RCSW).

These accounts do not dispute the low decile family as a normative subject category but they oppose the provision of universal assistance to all families, favouring those interventions considered to have longer-term developmental benefits, as follows:

> We actually do need to stop this consciously and work out how we create some sustainability around what we can do for families … not just give, give, give. Because … we're not actually helping them in the long term. [Mild laugh]… so that was healthier because it had to be a process of it coming back with a goal … [of] not returning to normal, but returning to something sustainable (William, SWiS).

Both Scott and William reference the concept of sustainability and describe it as a long-term developmental objective, which when activated could ensure a better kind of adaptation for families following the earthquake. Instead of returning to normal, these families could be supported to be stronger. This understanding connects with that of the aims of the recovery policies discussed in the previous chapter, which emphasises individuals taking up communal forms of self-help to enhance the adaptive capacities of the whole community within a developmentally staged recovery model. Relief within this model is a short-term intervention that is best if it is only provided in the immediate aftermath of the earthquakes. However, in the school context the developmental objectives of the research participants' work with low decile families does not seem to have been aimed at building community capacities or capabilities. As the following excerpt highlights, relief as a solution to need is criticised because it is considered to undermine the individual self-help abilities of parents and their responsibility to care for their children:

> So they can take that from an angle of educating and supporting the parents, to educate and support the kids. … But, ultimately it drips down to best supporting the kid depending on the resources you have (William, SWiS).

William prioritises those actions that focus on supporting parents to be child-focused. From this perspective it is apparent that the need-based normative category of the low decile family does not

align with strategy for enhancing the adaptive capacities of whole communities. However, it does not interfere with it either. Whilst normalised in terms of the individual conditions of families it is a complementary practice, the concept of the low decile family enables social workers to focus on activating the coping skills of parents. These practices are premised as child-centred, in that they aim to protect and enhance the developmental potential of children.

The behavioural child

Another type of subjectivity that seems to have been brought into the norm of low decile need after the earthquake is the 'behavioural child'. Generally responding to behavioural issues as an area of practice was described as not within the social workers' brief, as follows:

> They sometimes refer behaviour stuff to me and I'm like, well, it's not really
> [laughs] social work (Amy, RCSW).
>
> I had an example at Castleton [school] and got a referral from the teacher and
> she said that the wee girl was swearing and she didn't want to do what she was
> told and she was just all over the place. And I mean, that's behavioural, and I
> would've thought that would be an RTLB [Resource Teacher of Learning and
> Behaviour] (Lynne, RCSW).
>
> Like there was a big behavioural thing … I'd just refer that on because it wasn't
> my thing (Peter, SWiS).
>
> If it's behavioural, it's not really our job. Like that's more of an RTLB [laughs]
> or a teacher aide type thing for in-class stuff (Sophie, RCSW).

The research participants described behavioural issues as the cut-off point for social work involvement. Harold (2012) notes that the predominant understanding of children's problem behaviours is shaped by behaviourism, which focuses attention on the "observable stimulus-response connection" (p. 11). Harold (2012) outlines that behavioural discourse "supports the presumption that the cause of the difficult behaviour lies within the individual" (p. 12). He adds that "a within-child focus highlights only the personal attributes of the child, laying blame for certain behaviours squarely at their feet" (Harold, 2012, p. 15). This understanding conflicts with that of the holistic representation of the child, which locates the child within their socialisation processes and understands the cause of their problems as primarily from their external environment. Furthermore, as I discuss further in the final section of this chapter, authoritarian responses to children conflict with the research participants' preference for a caring, relational approach. Whilst the research participants did not dispute or seek to challenge the category of the behavioural child, they separated themselves out from addressing behavioural problems as a site of intervention. Thus, the internalised behavioural view of children

enabled the research participants to demarcate their role in schools as that of addressing children's social needs, which as discussed, primarily focuses them to work with parents.

However, some of the other research participants do identify these children as cases for social work intervention and in doing so described the behavioural child as a product of low decile need:

> But the fact is there are obvious behavioural elements in that school that are often … that's the nature of –it's often connected to the work I'm trying to do … So what I'm talking about is the most behavioural children … the neediest … So I'm trying to assess and reassess that behavioural, what those behaviours mean –.what they mean, and what that represents as a need (Darren, SWiS)
>
> So if a child is having some behaviours, for whatever reason, and you would normally expect them to be possibly something that's happening at home or something that's affecting them in a way (Erin, RCSW).

Erin and Darren's accounts highlight that when the 'behavioural child' was understood within a social needs lens they were more likely to meet the criteria for social work intervention. Thus the low decile norm was productive in making the 'behavioural child' visible to school social workers. In such a way, the low decile norm can be considered to have folded in and incorporated another form of vulnerable subjectivity.

In the aftermath of the earthquake, behavioural problems were considered to become even more of a concern and directly related to the impact of the earthquakes, as Lynne, RCSW, describes:

> That's the kind of the aggressive behaviours that were in the playgrounds after the earthquakes. So that's kinda why they wanted social services in the schools, more social services in the schools at that time, because children weren't able to deal with their feelings, they weren't able to problem-solve. They were more lashing out and so those were the kinds of things that we were seeing across the city really.

Behavioural children were considered to have deficient coping skills as a result of the trauma they had experienced – an emotional, psychological understanding of their issues. Thus, the earthquake recovery processes and trauma-based knowledge enabled some of the research participants to re-assess the behavioural child in relation to an emotional account. Significantly this shift to recognise the behavioural child seemed to open up more direct practices with vulnerable children themselves. However, the research participants tended only to work directly with children when their home life

was not a primary concern and when their needs were related to problems with their emotional and social functioning within the school context, as Nicole, SWiS, elaborates:

> I think, with a lot of interventions, is that lots of things are more effective for
>
> kids that don't have as much challenging stuff happening.

Nicole infers that interventions that involve children directly are only considered effective if their home life is stable. When family life was perceived to be placing the child at risk then interventions tended to be taken on their behalf, with their parents, to ensure the child was protected from harm. Thus, alongside direct work with the parents, another form of social work practice emerged that involved the child more specifically in the developmentally-focused work. Nonetheless, as an individualising practice it supports the presumption that the cause of the difficulty lies within the individual and their ability to adapt and thus is consistent with a rationality of self-responsibility.

Low decile families as 'the other' in affluent schools

As discussed, as a result of the NZRC's funding some social workers were placed in schools that did not ordinarily have social workers. These schools were primarily higher decile schools (above a rating of three) and were new practice territories for social workers. The RCSW research participants' accounts of their work in higher decile schools highlights how discursive understandings of low decile norms still informed social work practices in these schools, as follows:

> So Stonerise's got quite a lot of need. They've got a lot of different families …
>
> they've got some actually who are quite well off, but then … they draw from …
>
> Paeroa [suburb] as well so they've got a lot of families who are in a lot of need
>
> (Amy, RCSW).
>
> Each one's different, with different sort of little pockets of what's in there as
>
> well. Because … there are parts of Christchurch that … each suburb might have
>
> a lot of well-to-do, but there's also pockets of lesser … well-to-do families in
>
> there as well (Susan, RCSW).

Unlike low decile schools, high decile schools were described by the research participants as more heterogeneous, as having diverse neighbourhoods where there are some parts that were made up of families in need, that is, low decile families. Thus, the construct of need is productive in shaping the participants' experiences of high decile schools, enabling these school populations to be considered a priority or of 'real' concern.

The type of low decile family discussed in these accounts was presented as difficult for school staff to know what to do with:

> It's probably the area they're in, … I mean they have their affluent families, but they also have their real pocket of hard-core families which I didn't realise … But they've got about five or six hard-core families that are a lot of work (Lynne, RCSW).

In the context of high decile schools, the low decile norm acted like a kind of filtering tool whereby those children and parents who presented as different were understood by their low decile based characteristics, as Susan, RCSW, discusses:

> So one that had come from another school and … wasn't fitting in very well and needed. They just didn't know … what had hit them when this girl arrived … with her behaviours.

> You know, it was described … I said, "oh you know, I want to catch up with a mum after school". Oh … you'll be able to find her, because … she's the one that'll stand out from everybody else. She just won't look the same as everybody else. And, there's those sorts of inequalities I suppose as much as anything, that … come in as well, and … perceptions – and different lenses.

The low decile family is perceived as a category of difference in higher decile schools. The decile norm also served as a basis for social workers' involvement in these schools in terms of helping teaching staff to deal with these problematic families. Taking up this work seems to have enabled the social workers to establish themselves as authorities and demonstrate their expertise in the high decile schools. Clearly, though, this was not a form of community practice. Providing individualised assistance to those considered to be different, according to Esposito (2011) is negating and neutralises any basis for community. Understanding and responding to the needs of low decile families as a personal concern, rather than a collective issue, effectively immunises or exonerates them from the wider school community and establishes them as 'the other'. The state of 'not belonging' attributed to the low decile family is also constitutive of the community. That is, the low decile family being regarded as 'the other' signifies something about the collective with which they are contrasted. The high decile school community is presented as a collective of families who are similarly well off and functional. The sense of sameness of the high decile school community highlights how there is little basis for difference at this collective level. Thus, the school community is re-constituted without or by not including the low-decile family, and as such is effectively limited or possibly deprived in its composition. This kind of practice evidences how intricately connected immunity and community are, where one is "not only the contrasting background for the other, but also the object and content of the other" (Esposito, 2011, p. 9).

The earthquake family in need

Another construct that was influential in defining need and informing the necessity for social work in high decile schools was the notion of the 'equalising' effects of the earthquake. Some of the research participants expressed concerns about the negative effects of the earthquakes on a wide range of families, as Angela, RCSW outlines:

> So the families that need help aren't just families who are on benefits –or people who are managing on low incomes before the earthquakes … I think … some issues are happening because of financial pressures, relationship pressures, even the pressure that most people are having whether they're in rental housing or in their own homes, about having to move in and out of your house, having to have your house re-built, having to know your way around your insurance policy in a way that you never did before. [Laughs.] They're all stressful things and they're all really distracting from what you're wanting to deliver as a parent.

In the context of the earthquake, Angela extends the conceptualisation of socio-economic need to incorporate the experiences of families not usually considered disadvantaged. The individualised normative understanding of low decile need enabled the earthquake-induced issues for families not living in poverty to be made visible as 'real' issues. Thus, the characteristics of the low decile-based norm came to define the common experiences in high decile schools, in terms of the 'equalising' effects of the earthquake. The division between the normal and abnormal was shifted resulting in a further de-politicisation of poverty-based need. Equalising difference, which is central to the functioning of biopolitical programming, had consequences for the ways in which the school community was understood as well as for school social work practice. It maintained a psychological understanding of need and provided justification for social workers' involvement in affluent schools and their roles in providing individualised support to an ever-expanding population of so-called vulnerable families and children.

The high decile child

The RCSW research participants discussed another kind of vulnerability, that of the 'high decile child', as follows:

> So one's like Castleton [school] when I went in there, like before I was even in there I had just about two pages full of children that they thought … needed to see me, but then it's always funny cos when you've got a higher decile school, if you pick out the highest need child from that school, potentially is probably

one of the kids, if it was in a lower decile school, that would never even get

picked up, you know? [Laughs.] (Sophie, RCSW)

Probably the beauty of being in some of those schools I suppose [is that] in

some [low decile] schools … the children wouldn't stand out necessarily. But

they do more in a high decile school (Susan, RCSW).

The high decile child was generally described as a kind of 'abandoned personhood', whose needs only became visible within an earthquake trauma lens and who would have been otherwise neglected if it was not for the involvement of the social workers in high decile schools.

To establish the 'truth claim' of these children as excluded and worthy of special assistance, some of the research participants compared them to the low decile child, as Sophie, RCSW, articulates:

I think a lot of the children that I get at Castleton School, like say a child will

come about like friendships, it's just the fact that they've maybe only got one

or two friends instead [laughs] of you get the whole class is their friend.

It can be funny and then you're talking to a teacher and they're like, oh you

know, ''this, this and this,' and I'm thinking, oh, if you were at Paeroa [school],

you wouldn't even care [laughs].

She adds that the needs of these children are nonetheless still valid:

It's not the same things they're getting referred for, but they're still − [the]

children have problems but it's different.

Likewise, Amy, RCSW, emphasises the importance of these children's needs but struggles to be specific in describing the nature of their problems in normative terms:

But they're still relevant. To them that might seem like a big deal, but to us I

don't know, it might not. I don't know, everyone's got different −it's hard to

explain.

She adds:

Cos how I see it is somebody who might have plenty of money and stuff, like

their worries might look to us like nothing, but to them it's still a big deal.

In the context of high decile schools in the post-earthquake context, the construction of need was extended to incorporate subjective experiences of emotional distress that contrast to the economically defined 'unmet need' understanding. Further, those children who would have been the exception in low decile schools became understood as excluded and in need of special attention. However, it is worth noting that despite proposing the case of a high decile child as in need of assistance, there is a degree of ambivalence evident in the above accounts. Potentially this is an

indication that the research participants do not fully take their work with these children seriously, when they compare it with their other practices in low decile schools, which focused more heavily on addressing poverty-based need.

In the main, the high decile child was problematised in relation to anxiety, which whilst considered a pre-existing condition, was understood as made worse by the earthquakes, as Susan, RCSW, discusses:

> There's a lot of anxiety from the children. A lot of performance anxiety from the children, from the teachers and from the parents. So just this thrust to do well... And the anxiety levels of the kids … it's a different level of anxiety children that just might be anxious with earthquakes. But that's also on top of it. So it's overlaid on top of some of that in some of these kids as well (Susan, RCSW).

Susan emphasises that these children were already 'known' as anxiety-prone as a result of the expectations the adults in their lives placed on them to achieve academically. The earthquake effects were configured as another stressor for these children to endure, which was thought to place their future lives at risk, as Lynne, RCSW, outlines:

> If it's not fixed, well … that they haven't got strategies to deal with it when they're kids … as they get to adults they're not gonna succeed in what they need to be succeeding in.

This concern about the impact of anxiety on children's future lives was also discussed in relation to children who were preschool-aged at the time of the earthquake, as the following participants emphasise:

> They're coming you know, the ones that have maybe been in pre-school when the earthquakes happened and then they're coming to school and they're just – there's so many behaviour things and … anxieties and just such … high-strung kids that just don't know how to cope (Sophie, RCSW).
>
> Anxiety is a big one … especially now with the young five-year-olds that have come through and they were born … around the earthquake time, and especially in the next year's gonna be a huge one with kids coming in that were in their mum's womb when the earthquake was –happened, and have had to deal with all that stress … So it's around those five and six-year-old levels, a lot of anxiety (Scott, RCSW).
>
> There has been effect on the young, these pre-verbal kids that are just starting to start school now and [I] don't know how that's gonna be responded to from

government. But there's certainly a kind of a cohort there with some

significant trauma symptoms … that kind of a wee bubble there of kids that

may develop more issues than the normal. There's … something like 20% [that]

had post-trauma symptoms … it's … your classic post traumatic symptoms of

your avoidance, sleep issues, and hyperarousal or whatever (Peter, SWiS).

The research participants referred to specific research that was conducted by Christchurch-based educational researchers who purported that 'pre-verbal' children, who experienced the earthquake, were more likely to develop anxiety and developmental delays.

The research, initiated in 2013 by Liberty and her colleagues, followed a group of 110 five-year-old children who experienced the September 2010 earthquake aged between 12 and 42 months and was premised on developmental assumptions that these children were at "sensitive periods for cognitive, language and emotional development and thus likely to be particularly vulnerable to the effects of disasters" (Liberty, Macfarlane, Basu, Gage, & Allan, 2013, p. 157). The study was interested in whether the children would show symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). New diagnostic criteria was developed for young children to measure their coping during the initial years at primary school. The research also draws on notions from neuroscience that connect the adverse social processes produced by the earthquakes to the potential negative long-term impacts on the biological brain development of children. Whilst Liberty et al. (2013) research did not specifically examine the brain functioning of the children participating in the study it nonetheless drew on research from neurodevelopmental theory to make the claim that the earthquakes produced lasting damage as a result of fear and trauma. In the preliminary findings Liberty et al. (2013) found that there may be as many as one in three children displaying symptoms of PTSD following the earthquakes, with many children displaying behaviour such as irritability, aggression or separation anxiety (p. 157). Liberty (as cited by Smart, 2014) claims that "young children can't explain what is happening in their brain [the intrusive thought] and can't separate what they are thinking from what they are feeling and they don't have the language to explain it" (p.43).

Connecting PTSD to neuroscience arguably gives the research added prominence as a 'truth claim'. Within social work, as Healy (2015) outlines, practitioners are increasingly being challenged to acquire and apply neuro-biomedical understandings in their work. This includes paying greater attention to assessing neuro-biological functioning and providing scientific data about the impact of their interventions on the functioning of clients' brains (Healy, 2015, p. 1453). However, there are also calls for cautionary and critical responses to neuroscience's claims. One of the central assertions of

neuroscientific research is that the first three years of a child's life are critical. However Wastell and White (2012) argue this claim is over-simplified and misinterpreted and cite research that has shown that the brain has extensive plasticity and resilience. They claim that children from even the most deprived circumstances demonstrate substantial cognitive recovery throughout their childhood which still continued in their adolescence. Further, as Healy (2015) argues, within social work the prominence of neuro-discourse has enabled social concerns to be reconceptualised as biomedical concerns, such that there is a primary focus on neurological damage associated with difficult early childhood experiences. Healy (2015) notes these terms of reference tend to locate the "causes and consequences of social problems within the individual" (p. 1457). Further, consistent with Foucault's position on biopolitics, neuro discourse supports "the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species become the object of a political strategy" (Shani, 2012). The 'neurologically vulnerable child' becomes the object of biopolitical security. An arrangement which, as Esposito (2011) emphasises, sheds light on the connection between the immunising function of individualising, therapeutic practices and objectives to create social order, which essentially seeks to ameliorate the risk the vulnerable pose to their community.

Recognition of the anxious child in high decile schools seemed to provide justification for social workers being based in these schools after the earthquakes. As Susan, RCSW, discusses, in initiating a new relationship with a high decile school, anxious children were her 'entry point':

> "Well, what is the first need that you've got?" And they said, "Oh, we've got
>
> these kids who are worried about the earthquake.

In this way, it can be argued that the RCSWs had a vested interest in maintaining the normative parameters of the anxiety-based category of the high decile child. So despite some uncertainty from the RCSW research participants in terms of the perceived need for this kind of work, there was a tendency to accept the roles as it provided a 'foot-hold' for them to establish themselves in these schools. They were able to respond to those children considered by school staff as having 'unmet needs'.

Similar to the low decile population, high decile children had issues that were linked to parental responsibility but there were different in characteristics. The perceived responsibility of parents was understood, not in relation to the difficulties in meeting the basic, material needs of their children, but in terms of meeting their emotional needs, as the following research participants emphasise:

> There's a lot of emphasis from some parents on academic achievement and
>
> sport opportunities (Angela, RCSW).

> For some kids, because it's higher decile, parents are so busy and just don't
> have time. So that can … create those anxieties or fears … that sense of not
> feeling good enough and … can lead into so many other things. So it's that
> social kind of side of things can be lacking at a higher decile school (Sophie,
> RCSW).

Affluent parents were seen to be 'time poor' or too focused on the achievement of their children rather than their emotional needs, which is correlated with these children being anxious. Interestingly, despite this focus on neglectful parenting, the predominant practice for addressing the anxiety issues was direct therapeutic work with the children themselves, as Amy and Lynne, RCSWs, discuss:

> And I think they don't feel safe or comfortable telling maybe mum or dad about
> what's going on. And quite often it just takes somebody out of the situation
> for them to just blah blah blah blah. (Amy, RCSW)

> They had lots of kids with anxiety, so we put a group together with the school
> counsellor … So we had about nine kids in that group (Lynne, RCSW)

Amy and Lynne stated that providing a 'listening ear' or running a group with children with similar issues were their preferred practices. Where parents were involved it was more often about ensuring that they were informed, as highlighted by Lynne, RCSW, who describes contacting the parents of 'anxious children', as follows:

> If it's anxiety, just tell them a little bit about how the sessions will go and what
> we will do with the kids.

In contrast to the low decile family, high decile parents were less likely to be made subject to intervention. This arrangement highlights the way in which the social work practices in high decile schools may have aligned with predominant understandings of families living in poverty as problematic. It also sheds light on how these practices connected with population management objectives that sought to increase these families' value and utility and recovery objectives that aimed to protect the rest of the community from disruption. Further, it is worth noting that the anxious child was worked with in ways that are similar to the behavioural child through techniques that sought to increase their coping skills and the management of their emotions. These newer subject positions were constituted by psychological and neurological knowledge and a growth in trauma-informed mental health understandings, which like human developmental theory, assisted to represent children as in need of specialised intervention (Liberty et al., 2013).

In summary, this analysis has shown that the operating norm in this post-earthquake institutional practice of school social work was low decile need. As a construct, it made poverty visible as a set of personal experiences for families that were also considered to make children vulnerable. This examination has also shed light on other forms of vulnerability, newer normative categories that became an active focus within school social work recovery practices. Behavioural and anxious representations of children were enabled through extensions to the discursive parameters of low decile need and the introduction of neuro-developmental psychological knowledge. Not only were the kinds of subject positions expanded and multiplied but so were the forms of interventions implemented by the school social workers. Direct work with children themselves, aimed at developing fostering and enhancing children's life skills, became a newer mode of practice alongside the traditional emphasis on working with parents to care for their children competently. In biopolitical terms this expansion of the forms and modes of life worked to elide much basis for difference, such that more and more forms of vulnerability were brought into the norm. This expansion was associated with an intensification of the provision of therapeutic interventions, whereby in accordance with life-affirming objectives, school social workers were instrumental in providing the necessary education and training to enable individuals, families and groups to recover well and participate fully in life.

4. Therapeutic surveillance through the pastoral care processes

Not only does normative psychological knowledge influence the formation of individualising ways of thinking and acting in relation to vulnerable subjects, according to Rose (1991), but it enables "a technology of spaces and relations" (p.94). In this section I examine the pastoral care meeting as a surveillance technique that functioned to bring together a range of school-based staff and professionals such as social workers, specialist teachers, deputy principals, principals, truancy officers, community police constables and so on, for the purpose of identifying and responding to children in need. Foucault emphasised that surveillance techniques enable an authoritative gaze for monitoring behaviours and a means of disciplining and managing bodies (Danaher, Schirato, & Webb, 2000, p. 53). In describing this disciplinary technology, he drew on the analogy of the 'panoptican', a design for prisons in which a tower was placed in a central position in which guards could be based and from which they could observe the prisoners within every cell (Danaher et al., 2000, p. 53). The prisoners were encouraged to self-regulate their behaviour as they would never know when they were observed and when not. In clinical settings, May (1997) describes this kind of process as "the product of a clinical gaze, in which the condition of the individual body is defined in relation to general categories of

knowledge about bodies" (p.6). The other significant facet of surveillance is its subjectifying effects such that it enables self-surveillance. Foucault stressed that the individual, who is made visible in the system of surveillance, assumes responsibility for their own subjection by acting upon themselves in ways that are compliant with the rules and values of power (Danaher et al., 2000, p. 53).

The objectifying and subjectifying characteristics of surveillance have resulted in the prevalent conceptualisation of the technique as an oppressive disciplinary technique (Moore, 2011, p. 256). For example, in social work Beddoe (2014) characterises surveillance as a controlling technique where 'at risk' individuals and 'problem families' are scrutinised and targeted for intervention. She indicates surveillance has become popular and routine in social and health care systems as a form of monitoring and screening, enabling service provision to be targeted to those at risk. The implications of such normalising techniques for social workers is that they become co-opted into taking responsibility for managing risky behaviour. Beddoe (2014) considers the focus on risk has resulted in a kind of defensive practice, to the point of compromising social workers abilities to maintain quality relationships with their clients, adding that this focus has shifted from the needs of individuals to the assessment and management of risk, paternalistic practices which impinge on the rights of those individuals deemed vulnerable (Beddoe, 2014, p. 8).

In the following section, I examine the research participants' discussion of a specific surveillance system, the pastoral care meeting, considering its objectifying and subjectifying characteristics as a technique of disciplinary power and a tool in the processes of normalisation. Significantly, in contrast to the predominant repressive understanding of surveillance techniques, in undertaking this analysis it became apparent that the research participants experienced these meetings as positive and protective of children. They described them as an important process for enhancing the wellbeing, care and development of their lives. Further, they outlined how they found the meetings useful in establishing their therapeutic expertise and ability to create a culture of care within post-earthquake schools.

Analysing and distributing 'the vulnerable other'

The concept of pastoral care is used within the New Zealand schooling system and utilised by the MOE to broadly mean "care, support and guidance for students outside academic matters" (Fraser, 2014, p. 2). However, there are no specific pastoral care policy and guidelines provided by the MOE. Whilst there is an expectation that schools take increasing responsibility for student well-being and safety "there is no requirement under statute for schools to prioritise pastoral care" (Fraser, 2014, p. 9).

Schools are encouraged to develop their own structures and processes for supporting the wellbeing and safety of all of their students.

The pastoral care meeting was variously discussed by the research participants as a means for schools to address 'children in need'. The meetings were considered to function as an overt demonstration of the school's commitment and accountability to the wellbeing of specific kinds of children, as Susan, RCSW, discusses:

> It's part of that overall pastoral sort of thing that they've got as part of the … curriculum that's actually … expected of them these days as well, that they take that … oversight and … for children –particularly if they're children with … special needs or behavioural things – that there are certain things that have to happen for those children (Susan, RCSW).

The pastoral care system was a key process through which vulnerable children become visible as a concern to be dealt with by the professional experts in schools.

In terms of the structure of the meetings, they seemed to follow a kind of sorting, assessing and intake procedure:

> In each school we have a pastoral care register or the equivalent. And there are the gifted and talented kids. The kids that present with challenging behaviour and the kids that probably present with either mental illness or health issues in anything. And so the kids that, on any — positive and negative —require, extra analysis of their needs (William, SWiS).
>
> So what most of them do is bring the families that they're concerned about or anything that's … a concern about a child … a staff member will put them forward and then they'll put it on the list and we'll just go through the list (Lynne, RCSW).
>
> So through the pastoral system … we hear and discuss the needs of this particular group. So that's clear and explicit (Darren, SWiS).
>
> And we'll just talk about kids who kind of … are showing their heads a wee bit … who might be in a bit of a trouble or families who are struggling a wee bit (Amy, RCSW).

Holistic discourse, which emphasises seeing the child as a 'whole being', demands 'knowing' all of them. The pastoral meetings also functioned as a dividing practice, separating 'problematic children' from others. As Chambon (1999) outlines, Foucault's concept of dividing practices is that they function

to "constitute polarities between the self and other, between the good and the bad, normal and pathological"; they create classes of features and categories of people (p. 67). The pastoral care meeting functioned to divide problematic or abnormal children from other children in the school population in relation to specific categories of need. It operated in relation to a system of difference where individual children were placed within a series of internal graduations in preparation for appropriate social work interventions. Ewald (1992) stresses this disciplining process should not be understood as a process of segregation, rather it is a process of intensification where the purpose is not to punish but to exercise power through "redoubled insistence" (p.171). The pastoral care meetings involve practices that constituted individual children as having specific types of problems so that they might be developed and their potential optimised and maximised. For Esposito (2013b), the effect of such systems of organisation and subjectification are immunising –they close off difference in their pursuit to eliminate risk through the protection of the self.

The growth of the caring school social worker

Foucault, (as cited by Chambon, 1999), noted that in the nineteenth century the development of health experts in institutions was directly related to new systems of disease classification and ways of treating 'the ill' (pp. 67-68). Likewise Esposito (2011) identifies that the infiltration of medicalisation and its related health care practices into all areas of the public sector has been instrumental in this expansive process. A similar correlation between the ways of understanding vulnerable children and families, new ways of responding to their needs and the growth of the authority of caring professionals in schools is evident, as the following research participants discuss:

> Well, I think it's a great time actually for me to catch up with the DP where we're actually just sitting down and this is the purpose – we're gonna talk about the children that I'm working with, the concerns that they have, the concerns I have, and the kind of what we can do to *help them*, you know, plan where we can go from there. And also if the public health nurse is there, maybe we can get advice from her, where to refer, or she can, you know (Lynn, RCSW, emphasis added).
>
> We have pastoral care meetings, … all these kids are having this issue, can we do something about it? So it's a conversation with the person that knows, really (Lynne, RCSW)

> And I guess, you know, not only other agencies, but teachers, staff, everyone
> being aware of what services are actually out there for kids, for families.
> Because I think quite often, you know, it will be panic mode (Erin, RCSW).

Knowing all of the diverse social, behavioural, psychological and emotional facets of children and addressing their needs requires a range of experts with different knowledge and skills. Effective surveillance was enacted by amassing information about children of concern, their characteristics and circumstances and ensuring the experts are made aware of these details as well as what resources are available so that they can respond proactively. The 'combined watching' of the experts involved in the functioning of the pastoral care meeting was experienced positively by the research participants who described it as a key facet of a collaborative approach. It was considered to allow diverse expert knowledge to be shared and a range of intervention options for children in need to be implemented.

Central to the collaborative surveillance approach of the pastoral care meeting was the notion of its being caring and protective. Keeping children safe was ensured through the collective watching of experts as the following excerpts highlight:

> And I mean, and the more information we have about kids, the better, cos
> there's more eyes on kids ... It's like, what's this kid involved in? How many
> eyes can we have on this child? And I think that's a really good way of looking
> at it (Lynne, RCSW).
>
> There's this growing thing in the curriculum about … kids learning values and …
> that, I really like. So I think there's been probably more … agreement across
> the professions or across the different groups in schools, than disagreement.
> But certainly … you could focus on the fact that there [are] different
> approaches or different views about what school is for and … perhaps if you
> talked to a police officer … their focus would be just that the kid goes to school,
> and that they're not truant ... and the school is teaching them…to behave you
> know? You kind of get that sometimes. But actually when you talk…with the
> good youth aid officer or something there, they've still got that heart for the
> kid (Peter, SWiS).

There was an emphasis on care such that even in the case of truancy, the professionals did not just seek to make children compliant but also seek to demonstrate their care for them. The pastoral care meeting was not just focused on safety and addressing risk but aimed to maintain and improve the life of each individual child.

A culture of caring seems to be directly related to the development of the pastoral care meetings and the increase of a range of 'caring professionals' in schools. Further, the schools demonstration of care was perceived to be directly connected to their level of commitment to pastoral practices. In the post-earthquake context, schools perceived as closed to multi-professional collaboration and shared expertise were experienced negatively, as Peter, SWiS, discusses:

> They had some earthquake money for counselling, maybe half a day a week or something. You know, this is for a school of 200 kids or something, and so there wasn't that same sense of the school being a pastoral care hub. The school was probably … just a place of education, you know?

Thus, we see another dividing practice in that school cultures themselves were separated from others on the basis of their demonstration of pastoral attitudes and behaviours. The research participants also seemed to consider the pastoral care meeting as instrumental in creating a caring culture in schools. Further, school staff who were directly involved in pastoral care processes were considered to be more understanding of children and easier to work with, as the following research participants outline:

> So I guess some schools don't really view the importance of it, and that's … tied into the pastoral care thing, … that same school like they just are a bit odd, and this is the same teacher who says "dysfunctional" all the time and … it's just, schools like that are really difficult to manage (Amy, RCSW).
>
> Often pastoral care persons are either DPs [deputy principals] who aren't … working in a class for 30 hours a week and although they're really busy often with behaviour management, they have more of an understanding of kids and how they react one-on-one, compared to a teacher where … their job is actually to teach the curriculum … and they have 30 kids to do that to and they have planning and assessment around that. So it's … fair enough actually teachers don't sometimes have that ability to gain rapport with all the kids really well. So it's … really crucial to … get that understanding with the pastoral care person (Scott, RCSW).

A central tenet of Foucault's conception of surveillance is that it instils in individuals a relation with themselves entailed by self-monitoring. The practice of self-surveillance he outlines is one where the targets of surveillance act upon themselves. It is not clear from the research participants' accounts if the children themselves knew they were the subject of the pastoral meetings. However, the above examples provide evidence that the pastoral care meetings and processes placed the teaching staff and social workers themselves within the techniques of caring surveillance. This arrangement seemed

to have effects on the teaching staff's own professional identities whereby they were brought into, or may have felt more obliged to take up, caring demeanours and practices. From this point of view, the concept of self-surveillance can be enlarged to the 'watchers' themselves, highlighting an additional productive dimension to this disciplinary technique in constituting the caring subjectivities of the experts.

In the aftermath of the earthquake, the newer ways of understanding children as traumatised and anxious, particularly in high decile schools, were associated with the addition of social workers, who positioned themselves as having the specialised expertise for responding to these 'children in need'. Some of the RCSW research participants described developing and implementing pastoral care meetings in these schools as important outcomes for this work, as follows:

> I found at Whitehill [school], we were only just touching the iceberg with the
> kids with anxiety, and because of all the changes there, so they haven't got a
> pastoral care team. So we'll work on that (Lynne, RCSW).
> I'm surprised that … at schools, that there's not a lot more pastoral care
> meetings and if there are, I don't know about them. [Mild laugh.] And that's
> probably something within my role that I would almost like to take on as well,
> is set up [pastoral care meetings] (Erin, RCSW).
> Whether it's attending pastoral care meetings as well or whether it's trying to
> get some of those up and running, which sometimes needs to be done (Susan,
> RCSW).

The implementation and development of pastoral care meetings in more schools also seemed to be linked to research participants' own experience of expertise and utility. They described the pastoral care meetings as significant and positive for their work in schools. The meetings also appeared to provide them with a clear role in the positive development of school practices, a means for them to effect change in schools, as follows:

> I just used to sit back and they would say, "Lynne can you do this?" and
> normally, it was something within my range and I could do it. Now that I know
> them quite well, I can actually say, "Well, actually we could go down this road"
> or "No, I don't think that that will work." (Lynne, RCSW).
> You're … giving advice to the principal about pastoral care stuff, about what
> they should do about this (Nicole, SWiS).

I'm a non-threatening person that comes in, and has been coming in, prepared

to work in where I can in their school, to enhance the school perhaps (Susan,

RCSW).

Establishing and facilitating pastoral relations in schools enabled the research participants to draw on their expertise in understanding and caring for children and families, to educate school staff and have a positive influence on the school culture overall. Being involved in and establishing pastoral care processes also seemed to provide school authorities with an efficient, targeted and therapeutically based means for "deliberating about, judging, organizing and simplifying the multitude of decisions that confront them (sic)" (Rose, 1991, p. 95).

The functioning of the pastoral care meetings is in some ways complementary with the statistical norm of vulnerability found in the Wellbeing Index, discussed in chapter four. Firstly, this was because the meetings operated within schools where there was a tendency to consider all the children and their parents within school communities, irrespective of their material resources, as in need. In this way, the school was a context in which school families were already configured as a vulnerable population, divided from the wider population. Secondly, the meetings could be conceived of as a securitising technique in that they contributed to the management of vulnerable populations, a clear objective of both the political recovery management processes as well as the welfarist approaches to education. Esposito (2011) elaborates that techniques like this can be understood as quarantine responses where 'the unwell' are isolated and become the object of immunising measures. As a political and social process, whole school populations were marked as 'other' through the decile identification process and through the workings of the pastoral care meeting, some individual children were further analysed. These processes make visible how within the post-disaster political context where life is to be restored and strengthened, it must also be protected through practices which separate and manage 'the risk from within' (Esposito, 2011). Esposito's (2011) theorising of immunity also sheds light on how these protective practices that seek to address the urgent and unmet needs of 'vulnerable children', works to strengthen them as holistic beings whilst simultaneously individualising and dividing them off from others.

This analysis into the functioning of the pastoral care meeting and processes in schools also challenges the notion of surveillance techniques solely as mechanisms of control and the association with defensive social work practice (Beddoe, 2014). The pastoral surveillance processes provided the research participants with an intelligible grid for therapeutic assessments and a framework for growth and self-development to utilise with those individual children and parents deemed in need. The

notion of care was a primary objective for these school social workers and they sought, through the pastoral care system, to establish therapeutic and professional relationships infused with cooperation, openness and an ethos of support. However, these caring relations should not be considered as outside governing relations. Ojakangas (2005a) position is that the "origin of bio-political rationality can be found in … pastoral power", such that in terms of ensuring and sustaining individual life, care is the primary means through which this occurs within biopolitics (p. 19). The school social workers' caring practices, enabled within the pastoral care system, functioned to guide and lead the actions of children and parents (as well as other school staff), structuring the ways of behaving within a "field of possibilities" (Foucault, 2003e). As Foucault (2003e) emphasises, power relations are "less a confrontation between two adversaries"; they are often governing techniques, made visible in terms of their effects on the conduct of individuals or of groups. The school social workers, however, did not seem to be cognisant of their caring, surveillance practices as governing relations. Their predominant understanding of power dynamics seemed to enable them to locate themselves as egalitarian practitioners. The concern with this position however is that it potentially masked the social workers' awareness of their own involvement in the governance of children, parents and families in schools. In the next chapter, I further examine the constitution of this caring, pastoral art of governance and its effects on the social workers' practices and the actions of children and parents themselves.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that within the disaster recovery context, the school social workers who participated in this study mobilised an array of life-affirming, caring rationalities and techniques. There are some continuities between these technologies and the education system's biopolitical strategies for the regulation of 'productive' lives as well as the norm of the vulnerable population found in the recovery policies. However, to be clear the school social workers did not blindly apply statistical standards of normality and seek to eradicate the differences between 'vulnerable children' and their peers within the school population. The school social workers' preferred understandings and modes of working with children and parents addressed variation in relation to the individual contexts. Holistic and developmental discourse and notions of low decile-based need worked together in constituting children as vulnerable and encouraging school social workers to focus their work with parents in predominantly individualising and therapeutic ways in order to address their personal experiences of poverty. Other practices also emerged in the post-earthquake context such

that decile need, characterised by isolation, stress, transience and financial hardship, was generalised to all families affected by the earthquakes, irrespective of their material living conditions. In addition, different forms of psychological categories of children such as the anxious and behavioural became prominent, facilitating social workers to take up more direct, individualised therapeutic interventions with these children.

The discussion in this chapter also highlighted some ways in which school social workers were actively involved in caring surveillance processes that sought to identify, assess and address individual children understood as particularly vulnerable in the post-earthquake school context. Esposito (2011) indicates separating individuals from the collective in this way is anti-community. Social workers' roles in schools were more aligned with immunity processes, reflected in their predominant focus on strengthening individuals and families. The contextual understandings of children's needs meant social work practices were focused on children attaining normal states, not for the purpose of regularising them in relation to others or in reference to an ideal image of childhood, but in relation to conditions which allowed them to flourish (Mills, 2011, p. 29). The next chapter further explores these imperatives within an affirmative biopolitical schema, attending more directly to the notion of caring and the social workers' preferences for therapeutic relationships and practices.

Chapter six: School social workers' relational approaches

And in this context the word 'salvation' takes on different meanings

(Foucault, 2003e, p. 132)

Introduction

In the last chapter I discussed the historical positioning of schools within social and education policy. School have been located as key sites in enabling the management of problematic populations, such as those living in poverty, in relation to broad aims for the wellbeing and development of New Zealand society. There was some continuity with these kinds of objectives in the recovery context. In post-earthquake Christchurch schools were positioned as access points for the provision of therapeutic assessment and interventions for 'vulnerable children' and their families. School social work has also been bound historically to the progressive education project. In the post-earthquake context, social workers' involvement in schools was extended and linked to the aims of restoring the wellbeing of children, parents and families. Within these political and institutional arrangements, various processes of normalisation have been implemented by school professionals to enable children and parents to be evaluated and regularised in relation to old and newer normative standards. In this chapter, I continue down this line of inquiry to examine the corrective or transformative function of school social work, which, as I discuss, enabled the research participants to take up caring identities of expertise in schools. I examine a specific practice approach, referred to as 'relational practice', which was a consistent theme within the research participants' accounts of their work. The implications of this therapeutically inclined practice approach are examined for its intersection with children's and parents' own self-practices. Further, in keeping with the overall focus of this study on community I explore the school social workers' use of the relational approach for both displacing and facilitating communal relations.

In examining the research participants' relational practice approach, I have a number of objectives. Firstly, I aim to make sense of their preferences for it, a process that involves identifying, and interpreting the concepts, categories and theories, which underpin it. Secondly, I seek to understand relational practice as a mode of governance within biopolitics. To do this I draw on the proposal of the pastoral power relation described by Foucault (2003e, 2007), as discussed in chapter one, as the

guidance of individuals and collectives, who are incited to be accountable for their actions through their relationship to the pastor and to themselves. Ojakangas (2005a) refers to the pastoral relation as the foundational rationality of biopolitical welfarist objectives, necessitating arrangements that enable the protection and enhancement of individual lives. This is consistent with Foucault's (2003e) position that, as a modern form of power, pastoral power emphasises health, wellbeing, security and protection not just for "the whole community, but each individual in particular, during his (her) entire life" (p. 133). I consider relational practice as a dominant discursive practice that enabled the research participants to establish themselves as contemporary pastors in post-earthquake schools. I note how this relation allowed them to provide guidance and establish conditions for children, parents and families to be able to flourish. In keeping with the focus on community in this study, I consider the implications of this caring governance practice approach for communal bonds in schools; in doing so I observe its alignment with Esposito's (2011) concept of immunity. Esposito (2011) indicates that immunity is a process of progressively interiorising that which is exterior or outside individuals and collectives. As Lemm (2013) elaborates, "immunization is what brings us back within ourselves by cutting off all contact with the outside ... [it is] a frontier, a dividing line, a term or limit [of the political] that protects individual life from the demands of community (sic)" (p. 4).

In the first section of this chapter, I examine the relational approach, considering its connection with relationship-based practice – a prevalent practice approach within contemporary social work. I note its association with psychodynamic theory, family systems theory and attachment theory, which direct social workers to address the perceived limitations of children's early relationships. I also consider the influence of feminist ethics specifically in terms of how relational practice was discussed as a just and empowering practice approach by the research participants. In the second section I consider the link between the social workers' relational practices and the children and parents becoming ethically self-concerned as 'subjects of their own recovery'. I outline two relational techniques as significant in these self-governing practices, namely informed consent and the confession. These two techniques come together within a dynamic of care in post-earthquake schools, enabling the school social workers to guide, but not determine, certain subjectivities to be taken up by children and parents in post-earthquake schools. Foucault's (1997b) genealogy of ethics is instructive in this interpretative process. As a model of an individual's self-constructing process it helps to make sense of the processes of ethical self-formation through which the children and parents, with whom the school social workers worked, sought " to know, decipher, and [encourage them to] act on themselves" (Dean, 1994, p. 156). These modes of subjectification locate parents and schoolchildren as active participants in the processes of becoming 'recovered individuals'.

I'm also mindful of Foucault's (2003e) view that resistance is a constant part of the relations of power and subjectivity, emphasising that "nowadays, the struggle against the forms of subjection — against the submission of subjectivity —is becoming more and more important" (p. 130). Harwood (2012) advises to examine ethical practices for the ways in which they open up opportunities for less visible accounts and practices of the 'truth'. In the final section of this chapter I examine some self-practices of children and parents where they were able to refuse care, which, according to Prozorov (2007a) constitutes resistance to biopower. Another moment is also examined when vulnerability may have been resignified as commonality between individual's experiences of loss, consistent with Butler's (2004) notion of the 'community of the vulnerable'. I seek to trace how these moments connect with the school social workers' relational practices, constituting them as immunising practices that allow more difference and commonality to infiltrate schools. For as Esposito (2012) proposes community can be reconfigured as political action within affirmative biopolitics. Ultimately my aim is to shed light on how school social work practice in its pastoral, immunising configuration enabled children, parents, families and teaching staff in Christchurch schools to be open to what was held in common in the aftermath of the earthquakes.

1. Facilitating the therapeutic relationship

The focus on building and sustaining individual relationships with children and family members was a significant facet of school social work practice in the aftermath of the earthquakes. In fact, all of the research participants emphasised the concept of 'relationship' when discussing their practices. The word relationship is referenced 232 times in the 12 interview transcripts. The kinds of statements made are as follows:

> Basically it's all about the relationships that I do establish (Darren, SWiS).
>
> It's also *really* relationship-based … in terms of helping professions that … I think that obviously 90% of the worth that you have is potentially to *just* your relationship. It doesn't matter what you do with them, it's the relationship. So the vehicle through which we *do* an intervention or *have* an intervention with the family is secondary to the relationship that we have (William, SWiS).

William emphasises that the single most important aspect of his practice in schools for creating positive change is based on the strength of the relationship he has with clients. Quoting the percentage can be considered a linguistic device that he utilises to strengthen his point. Essentially,

he emphasises that the therapeutic relationship does most of the work and that the different practice techniques merely provide the means for this to happen. Similarly, social work academics Coady and Lehmann (2016), who locate the therapeutic relationship as a key factor in positive client outcomes, advocate warm, supportive, empathic and collaborative client-social worker relationships (p. 5).

Relationship-based practice as a contemporary theoretical model and framework for practice has been actively promoted and developed by a range of social work academics, particularly those based in the United Kingdom (see Howe, 1998; Rogowski, 2012; Ruch, 2005; Ruch, Turney, & Ward, 2010; Trevithick, 2003, 2014). However, it is not a new approach within social work. As Howe (1998, pp. 47-48) outlines, it harks back to the psychodynamic perspective in social work that was prevalent from the 1930s until the 1970s. He adds that the psychosocial approach, as it was known in its former constellation, contributed a great deal to the development of social work as a profession. However, from the late 1960s and early 1970s the model came under attack from two major theoretical strands emerging within social work at this time, empirical behaviourism and Marxist sociology. Academics within the behavioural social work strand critiqued the lack of research evidence for the psychosocial model's effectiveness (Howe, 1998, p. 47). While the Marxists challenged its propensity for "pathologising individuals, blaming families and labelling deviants" (Howe, 1998, p. 47). Essentially it was challenged for complicitly supporting the capitalist agenda of exploitation by obscuring the wider social and political conditions of people's problems, preferring an individualised frame that limited understandings of problems to an individual and their own specific context (Howe, 1998, p. 47). Further, in directing support to individuals and families, the psychodynamic psychosocial model was criticised for undermining a basis for collective action and privileging an overly expert-led model of social work practice.

Another challenge to psychosocial and relationship-focused social work practice also cited in the literature is that of managerialism. Since the 1980s and 1990s this system of administration and organisation has become the dominant mode of service provision in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. Managerialism's introduction into the public and social service sectors was espoused as a means to improve practice and reduce the cost of service provision (Trevithick, 2014, p. 299). Its emergence is also associated with a number of public inquiries into child deaths that scrutinised the involvement of social workers and associated them with the systemic failures attributed to be the cause of the tragedies (Beddoe, 2014, p. 11). As a consequence, professional social workers have become increasingly subject to top-down performance monitoring and systems of targets to assess the effectiveness of their decision-making and service provision (Munro, 2011, as

cited by Trevithick, 2014, p. 299). Social work practice is considered to have become dominated by "technicist approaches where risk-assessment systems and check-lists are put in place to minimize the practitioner risk of 'missing something important' (sic)" (Beddoe, 2014, p. 12). Such defensive modes of practice are criticised for compromising a core tenet of social work, to protect human dignity (Beddoe, 2014, p. 12).

Proponents of the contemporary renditions of relationship-based practice argue for social workers to reject risk management-focused practices in favour of more caring approaches through which "the dignity, worth, self-determination and human agency" of clients can be preserved (Beddoe, 2014, p. 12). This professional value is also aligned with the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Work (ANZASW)'s Code of Ethics (Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 2008) which proposes self-determination as an ethical standard for all social work practitioners. As a revitalised form of psychodynamic practice, relationship-based practice has emerged as a 'counter discourse' to negate defensive managerialist, risk avoidance practice (Beddoe, 2014), and enable direct relationships with clients to return as one of the fundamental aspects of social work practice.

In this section, I explore the concepts, categories and theories identified by the research participants as they describe their relational approaches in the post-earthquake period, noting some commonality with the themes found in the relationship-based practice as well as feminist ethics literature (Gilligan, 1982, 1989; Noddings, 1984; Noddings, 1999). The pastoral power lens assists in considering how relational practice principles encouraged the research participants to take up therapeutic professional identities and particular kinds of caring practices with children and parents in schools. It also helps to make sense of the connection between pastoral governmentality and the vitalising objectives of biopolitics.

The psychodynamics of relational practice

The research participants described their relationships with the children and parents as key to the work they do in schools. Overall, they discussed their relational work as a guiding and supporting process. In the following excerpt Peter, SWiS, identifies the case of a young boy, who had a difficult home life, as an example of this approach:

> My personal work with him has just been around meeting each week. Usually
> we just play a game, and I just chat and see how it's going. What's happening?
> Any concerns? Anything you want to talk about? And every now and then
> there's the odd thing that he would talk about. And so it's a supportive type

position that I've tried … and give him the opportunity, to not drive it too much one way or the other … with him it's more, just what's going on. Oh there's not much going on. That's fine, let's just hang out for a bit, building a relationship, that kind of thing.

Building and maintaining the relationship with the boy was a central focus of Peter's practice, which involved being careful to not lead the interactions too much, and encouraging, but not pressuring, the boy to share his thoughts. Peter added that establishing this kind of relationship made a big difference for the boy, as follows:

He had quite a difficulty building trust, quite a difficulty building honest relationships. And he would save face and do things to sabotage the relationship. And he would be really intent on winning, like if you're playing a game, he'd always have to win and he would cheat … to do that. But he seems to be doing that less, you know? So there's little things that show me he's kinda turning a corner. So yeah, that's one of the good stories.

The child's interactions and behaviours were a basis for Peter to assess his social and emotional competence. The sabotaging, face saving, competitive and cheating behaviours were identified as symptoms of poor psycho-social functioning and trust issues that led Peter to take steps to 'quietly sit' with the child. In describing the boy as "turning the corner", he indicates it was not just his relationship with the child that improved but that the boy's overall social competence was enhanced. The professional, therapeutic relationship was positioned as the 'platform' to address problems impacting on client functioning.

Two features of Peter's account of his relational practice approaches are consistent with the social work academic literature on relationship-based practice (Howe, 1998; Ruch, 2005; Ruch et al., 2010; Trevithick, 2003; Ward, 2010). Firstly, as Howe (1998) outlines, drawing on the work from developmental psychology, children's future functioning is dependent on the responses they receive from others. Howe (1998) adds that adverse relationships "upset children's ability to develop useful and effective social and emotional understanding" (p. 49). Howe (1998) considers that these early relationship experiences have a self-confirming quality in that "we tend to bring about responses in other people that were present in our first close relationships, and so our convictions about the way we view ourselves, others and relationships are confirmed and further consolidated" (p.52). This contextual understanding of children's needs aligns with the community-hub discourse, discussed in chapter five, which understands schoolchildren as adversely impacted by a range of material, social and/or psychological deficits in their immediate environment. Bacchi (2009) emphasises this kind of

approach as a problematisation process in which the answer or solution to a problem is directly aligned to the way in which the problem is represented. In this case, the context of the child's primary relationships is singled out as the frame for social workers, instructing them to conduct their relational work in ways that address those missing aspects.

Secondly, another important feature of Peter's relational approach apparent in relationship-based practice literature is the understanding that an individual's psychosocial problems 'play out' in their current relationships, including those with social workers. Drawing from the psychoanalytic perspective, the relationship-based practice literature recognises that prior experiences affect current attitudes and actions and that these connections are not always consciously understood by individuals (Stephenson, 2005, as cited by Ruch, 2010a, p. 19). This notion of the unconscious mind driving an individual's actions was a key feature of Florence Hollis' psychosocial casework model for social work practice, which was developed in the 1960s and 1970s (Ruch, 2010a, p. 19). Drawing on key concepts from psychodynamic theory enabled Hollis (1970, as cited by Frost, 2015) to guide social workers to understand the instinctual causes of a client's inner stress. In the current renditions of relationship-based practice, systems thinking has been added to extend the focus of the approach to the wider environment. Ruch (2010a) proposes the systems concept of isomorphism as a key facet of relationship-based practice. Isomorphism in family systems theory involves recognising that the dynamics of one situation are often replicated in another. Adding systems thinking to the conceptual frame of relationship-based practice enables an emphasis on the "internal and external worlds of individuals as inseparable" (Ruch, 2010a, p. 21). Ruch (2010a) considers this integrated approach as a means to enables social workers to work with "the broad societal context which shapes individuals" (p.20). It seeks to rectify the overly individualising tendency of the casework model whilst still recognising the internal psychological dimensions of an individual's attitudes and behaviours. Relationship-based practice places primary attention on how these conditions impact on individuals and families and how they can be remedied; it centralises relationships as the origin and cure for internal, psychological problems.

Relationship-based practice promotes the social worker as significant in creating a safe relationship to enable the client to express their feelings and work through the unconscious conflicts impacting on their functioning. In a similar vein, some of the research participants described the client-social worker relationship as a collaborative experience that promoted growth, as Amy, RCSW, emphasises:

> Just some movement. [Laughs.] It's just like you know, with the boy from
>
> Thistledown, like he worked really hard and we had a really good relationship
>
> that meant that he did really well and it was a huge change.

In this way, Amy emphasises the professional relationship as a basis for change in the client's life. Likewise, William, SWiS, discusses how a strong relationship positively set the children up for significant, personal change, as follows:

> And so for me, the relationship comes through shared experience. So where
>
> you're able to relate or share an experience with someone, it's quite
>
> meaningful and then potentially it's powerful to create change.

A strong, supportive and collaborative worker-client relationship was premised as a significant factor in empowering clients to transfer what they have learned in the therapeutic connection to other relationships and aspects of their lives. This approach is consistent with developmental theory, which positions children as incomplete beings, in need of guidance and instruction. Relationship-based practice inscribes the individual as vulnerable as a result of their past and current external relationships so as to assist them to achieve their potential. Through the therapeutic relationship, the social workers' clients are understood to be able to master their own instincts and the influence of environmental conditions that inhibit their psychological and social functioning. Esposito (2012) considers this a process of immunisation through which the individual is supported to 'fill in' their initial void, a defensive process that enables them to reclaim what is not naturally their own (p. 40). As a consequence, the individual is able to self-regulate and relate to their environment, including their familial and social relationships in independent and autonomous ways. However, in working to enable their clients to separate themselves from the influence of their external environmental contingencies the research participants' relational practices arguably compelled their clients to close themselves off from their outside. This process tends to close off community for, as Esposito (2012) emphasises, what is external is the space where the experiences of commonality with others are rooted.

Relationship-based practice positions the social worker as the 'pro-social other', the one who can reconfigure their client's 'faulty wiring' through establishing a secure working relationship where they are experienced by their client as "responsive, psychologically available, emotionally corrective and positively regarding" (Howe, 1998, p. 52). In the following excerpt Erin, RCSW, describes the importance of establishing a sound relationship with her clients:

> You know, taking groups and thinking gosh they're just not getting the content
>
> and feeling quite anxious about that and then kind of reflecting on it and

> thinking well, actually, they're seeing me who is treating them with respect and
> when their behaviours aren't so great, dealing with that in an appropriate way
> and listening. So I think although obviously the work that you do with them is
> really important, I think for me the relationship is the most important thing,
> and being a good role model.

Erin identified that even when there is not much evidence of change, her way of 'being' in the relationship is still a significant source of learning for the children with whom she works. Therefore, relational practice is not only a way of understanding individual needs but also is also an intervention that promotes the social worker taking on the role of the significant other. This practice aligns with attachment theory, which in recent years has gained interest in social work, particularly in the field of child welfare (Haight, Kagle, & Black, 2003; Howe, 2012).

Attachment theory was developed by John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Essentially attachment theory premises that an individual's ways of responding in a relationship is directly related to the quality of their early relationship with their primary caregiver or parent (Ruch, 2010b). An infant is considered to be born with a predetermined need for close relationships with others, which functions as an innate survival mechanism urging them to search out a secure base through attachment seeking behaviours (Ruch, 2010b, p. 33). These behaviours, such as crying, when responded to appropriately through 'good parenting', enable the infant to develop an internal working model to meet a range of physical, social, emotional, cognitive and moral developmental milestones (Ruch, 2010b, p. 33). However, when their attachment needs are not met then infants are considered to be at risk of insecure attachment and developmental delays. Relationship-based practice is premised on the notion that when an individual experiences a relationship in which the other is consistently "responsive, interested and available" this has the potential to provide a "corrective emotional experience" (Howe, 1998, p. 52). It is proposed that through understanding the internal working model within which their clients are operating the social worker can respond to them in affirming and restorative ways (Ward, 2010, p. 40). In such a way, the social worker responds to a perceived lack of self-control exhibited by the children and promotes norms of self-management and social competence, which are desirable outcomes for society.

There are a number of themes within the relational practice approach that connect with a pastoral rationality. As a secular framework for individual change, relationship-based practice is salvational. This does not mean that the approach seeks to lead people to their redemption in the next world, but rather that it aims to develop an individual's innate, as well as environmentally constituted,

psychological and personal capacities. Rose (1989) advises that within neoliberal democracies, salvation takes the form of specific 'identity projects' through which contemporary individuals are incited to live as if making a project of themselves. Psychodynamic, systems and attachment theories facilitate particular ways for social workers to think and act. Specifically these understandings provide a basis for them to work for the wellbeing of their clients, gained through actions of self-improvement and development. Relational practice aligns with the pastoral principles of constant kindness and patience as well as the commitment "to ensure, improve and sustain … the lives of each and every one" (Foucault, 1988, as cited by Ojakangas, 2005a, p. 20). Kaylor (2011) notes, whereas the role of the shepherd is to protect, direct, and nurture the people under their authority and the people are expected to fully rely on the shepherd's guidance because only the shepherd leader can truly lead them to salvation (p. 154). There is an intensive quality to the relational approach such that it establishes the school worker as the expert in developing the resourcefulness and adaptability of his/her clients. Their prosocial and responsive ways of relating as well as their understanding the internal and external world of individuals are considered effective in correcting the influence of problematic early relationships and the adverse effects of the earthquakes.

The pastoral relational practice taken up by the research participants seems to centre on notions of responsiveness and care and the processes of individualisation. Blencowe (2011) argues that it was Foucault's view that these characteristics show the continuity between pastoral power and contemporary biopolitics where the care and optimisation of individual life has come to be a primary government model. Relational practice also shows alignment with vitalistic biopolitics, in terms of how it targets an individual's ability to manage their emotional and psychological affect and their relationships. This focus on process is a key feature of biopolitics (Braun, 2007, p. 11). At the level of the individual, the pastoral work of the school social worker can be seen as an important aspect in supporting, developing and enhancing their clients' vital and natural processes of self-regulation.

Enacting negative freedom

In many of the interviews, the research participants discussed their practices as supportive and sympathetic to the wider context of children's experiences, and in contrast to school practices that involved punishment. Overall, interacting with children in an authoritarian manner or not understanding their contextual needs was described in less favourable terms. To make this contrast a number of the research participants' discussed different approaches taken by teaching staff in their interactions with children. In the following excerpt Nicole, SWiS, discusses a therapeutic focus that some teachers demonstrated:

> Maybe they recognise about more things that they are actually having to deal
> with now and that training about, you know, we're trained for understanding
> how some of these kids work and what they're bringing with them … punitive
> versus therapeutic, values, relationships, things like that.

She contrasted this therapeutic attitude to the punitive approaches of other teachers, who were "quite confrontational", establishing a binary between the two modes of interacting with children and parents. Nicole, SWiS, again discussed the caring relational approach, in relation to a school principal of whom she had an ambivalent view, as follows:

> The one we've got now is a bit Jekyll and Hyde almost. There's some really
> great stuff around being passionate about the community and the kids and
> things. He's been really good to work with in ways of allowing me access to
> Red Cross funds that the school's got to help families, but in the other way [he]
> can be really quick to ring Child, Youth and Family [statutory child protection
> service] and disrupt relationships with families .. or … not so keen to take … my
> advice; I sometimes think that maybe he might know better about this, that
> and the next thing. … there's some punitive stuff there too that – or sort of
> telling off of parents … [saying] … your child's got problems so you must be a
> bad parent and you need to do this and you need to do that.

On the one hand Nicole finds the principal to be caring when he approves of and enables practices which support individual families, but uncaring when he involves statutory agencies, is blaming of parents or authoritarian in his approach. Thus, not only is relational practice premised on psychodynamic needs based understandings but it is also positioned as a just approach – a more caring and fairer way of treating children.

Positioning the relational approach in opposition to an authoritarian focus on behaviour in schools enabled the research participants to advocate for children to be cared for and supported, rather than punished. They seemed to regard power relations as having a top-down quality. Further, they described the teachers and principals as possessing and exercising this power at times as a coercive force. Foucault (as cited by Mayes, 2009) acknowledged that the dominant understanding of power relations is such that "when one speaks of power, people immediately think of a political structure, a government, a dominant social class, the master and the slave, and so on" (p. 291). Mayes (2009) observes that in contemporary times, this model of power relations locates the individual as a subject with inherent rights and powers. He adds that "if these rights and powers are impinged upon, dominated or controlled by an external source such as the State or another individual, then the State

or individual is exercising its power illegitimately" Mayes (2009, p. 5). Seen through this lens, power was conceivably understood by the research participants as something that was possessed by teachers and a force that was repressive when used to discipline and dominate children. In contrast, relational practice was premised as a kind of emancipatory set of actions that sought to free children from coercive power and ensure their freedom.

Relational knowledge and practices can therefore be understood as reactive to notions of repressive power relations in schools. This understanding enabled the research participants to experience their caring approach as empowering and liberating. Erich Fromm (1994, as cited by Okulicz-Kozaryn, 2014) refers to this form of freedom as 'freedom from', (as opposed to 'freedom to', a positive, growth-oriented form), noting the way it functions to liberate individuals and collectives "from restrictions and impediments" (p. 1009). By drawing on a repressive understanding of power and aligning themselves with negative forms of freedom the research participants were less able to recognise their own relational governing practices as also embedded *within* power relations. Taking up the biopolitical lens assists to recognise that the relational interventions, whilst premised as caring and empowering, nonetheless operated as governing practices. Relational practice was taken up by school social workers to address the mismatch between the children's and parents' actions and accepted developmental norms and expectations.

Situating relational practice as outside controlling power relations and a liberatory approach highlights its lineage with feminist ethical theory. Gray (2010) notes the re-emergence of relationship-based practice in social work is underpinned by the ethics-of-care perspective developed by feminist writers Gilligan and Noddings in the 1980s. Gilligan (1982, 1989), a developmental psychologist, proposed there were marked gender differences in moral reasoning in that "men tended to be more rational [and] women tended to be more emotionally connected and nurturing" (Gray, 2010, p. 1800). Further as a theory of moral reasoning, Gilligan's work also opened up the notion of care as a basis for development. Gilligan (as cited by Gray, 2010) emphasised that individuals are inherently connected to others such that one's sense of self is intricately tied to others (p. 1800). She proposed an ethics of care as a mode of being and acting in ways that maintain and enhance the relations of care (Gray, 2010, p. 1800). Likewise, Noddings, an American educationalist, proposes a caring basis for human relations, focusing on the mutuality of the caring relationship (Gray, 2010, p. 1800). She characterises the caring relation as an engrossing mode of being as opposed to being detached or objectively following a code of practice (Gray, 2010, p. 1800). Noddings' (1984; 1999; 2005) work has been prominent with the moral community model of schooling, a strand within the community school

literature. She argues schooling should be organised around caring for children "to encourage the growth of competent, caring, loving, and lovable people" (Noddings, 2005, p. 3), adding that this approach would address many social problems such as violence, unemployment, poor parenting and low democratic participation.

Consistent with the research participants' accounts, Gray (2010) notes that within social work the ethics of care is influential in emphasising the "relational embeddedness of care" (p. 1800). Further, she highlights how it has been positioned as a basis for structuring political processes and arrangements. This principle also connects with some of the research participants' accounts when they discuss in favourable ways how relational care could operate more broadly to create a culture of support in post-earthquake schools, as follows:

> So that's why I think it is really important if schools have some capacity, to be
> supportive instead of blaming. But there are other schools that are probably a
> little bit more ready to take disciplinary measures as a first response, like look
> at things like consequences for the child (Angela, SWiS).
> That the school would be empathetic to that and actually wanna find out …
> why and support the child with that, instead of … punishing them for the
> behaviours (Erin, RCSW).

As an institutional model for schools the caring relation emphasises "care, compassion and contextualisation" (Mendus, 1993, p. 17). The approach also aligns with recent developments in trauma-informed practice that have become increasingly influential in social work, premised on social workers gaining a deeper understanding of how trauma affects children and working to create trauma-responsive systems in schools and social services centred on compassion and care (Walkley & Cox, 2013).

In proposing an anti-authoritarian model for schools, the research participants prioritise care and support rather than top-down hierarchical power relations. This is an alternative mode of political order to authoritarian structures developed by the likes of political philosopher, Hobbes, who, as discussed in chapter two, was one of the main proponents of a social contract model. A key feature of Hobbes' (1651, as cited by Esposito, 2010) early liberal framework is protecting subjects from the risk of harm and violence that others present through the implementation of centralised forms of authority. As Goodin (1996) notes, this form of political order relies on rules and laws that are issued to subjects who have little discretion in interpreting and/or applying them (p. 500). In contrast, the relational configuration of schools described by the research participants emphasised the care and

guidance for children and parents so they could address their concerns within a supportive context. Prozorov (2007a) argues there is little place for hierarchical or dualistic structures of power relations within this biopolitical pastoral configuration. He observes that as members of the flock all subjects of pastoral power are equal and subject to the power relations of care and protection. Biopolitics functions to invest, incite and energise individual lives. This means that the research participants' commitment to deactivating hierarchies and separations in schools, which favoured arrangements that energised therapeutic practices and arrangements, can be understood as aligning with objectives for all individuals to be cared for so that they are able to develop and enhance themselves.

The relational ethics' emphasis on non-hierarchical and egalitarian relations is also consistent with the bottom-up, grassroots approach of critical community development found in the disaster research literature. Individuals are understood as relational beings which, as Goodin (1996) notes, in line with Esposito's (2011) position, stresses the commonality between people rather than their differences. At the level of the collective, relational ethics enables the 'we' to be spoken of as a single entity, eliding any notion of the separateness of people, rather than expecting that we are all the same in that we are all different and unique (Arendt, 1959).   This kind of relation requires a focus on the interrelationship between people as separate yet able to connect across differences.

In summary, relational practice functions as a contemporary configuration of the pastoral rationality denoted by its emphasis on care, responsiveness and individuality.   The approach re-institutes psychological ideas that have their origins in developments within the profession dating back to the 1930s when the psychosocial casework model became the primary practice approach. The newer renditions of relationship-based practice seek to open up the individualising parameters of psychodynamic theory through the introduction of general family systems theory and attachment theories. Nonetheless, the research participants' accounts provide a basis for understanding their relational practices as primarily individualising and centred on personal wellbeing and individual change. This finding highlights the basis for understanding relational practice not just as a caring mode of thinking and speaking the truth about children and parents, but as a particular mode of acting upon them in order to improve them (Rose, 1996, p. 86). Within this caring power relation, the school social worker is positioned as a therapeutic expert who is able to interpret and guide individuals to be able to manage and enhance themselves in self-regulating and autonomous ways.

The research participants' accounts highlight how they experienced the relational approach as a kind of emancipatory form of practice, a model for ensuring that children's and parents' rights are

protected and they are free from constraint within schools. This means that their prevalent notion of freedom was freedom from oppression. This is a different frame of freedom than it as a condition of being human, which Foucault (1997a) proposes in his later work. These understandings align with a model of power as top-down and repressive, which enabled the school social workers to experience their own practices as outside this relation of domination. Limiting top-down, authoritarian governing practices favours biopolitical governance practices that seek to incite more than restrict life. The approach also intersects with the research participants' aims to develop and care for the wellbeing of one and all in schools. The 'taken-for-grantedness' of this caring and supportive discursive arrangement seems to mask the research participants' ability to notice that even caring for their clients in this way creates space for guiding the conduct of conduct. For whilst Foucault (1997a) acknowledged that power could operate as a relation of domination, he also conceived of modern power as relational. He states "in human relationships, whether they involve verbal communication … or amorous, institutional, or economic relationships, power is always present: I mean a relationship in which one person tries to control the conduct of the other" Foucault (1997a, pp. 291-292).

In this next section, I seek to explore this caring, pastoral power relation further by examining the governing techniques the school social workers used to guide and direct the children and parents to recover and rebuild their lives in the aftermath of the earthquakes. Specifically, I examine the research participants' use of informed consent processes and confessional techniques to engage children and their parents in their personal growth and development. I am also cognisant of how within the pastoral relationship, each individual is made accountable not only through their relationship to the shepherd, but also to themselves. Thus, my focus is on the ways in which the school social workers' relational practices are used to stimulate the self-improvement practices of children and families. This also necessitates a focus on how the school social worker is dependent on each and every client in his/her care. For as Golder (2007) points out, for Foucault there is a relation of duty for the shepherd too, who is responsible for the salvation of each and every member of the flock.

2. Governing through relational practice

Recognising biopolitics as a vitalising pastoral relation that works with individuals' subjectivities, enables me to examine the tools and techniques the research participants used within their relational practice approaches as a life-affirming mode of subjectification. In the first part of this section, I examine the research participants' discussion of the technique of informed consent as a governance

tool. I discuss how consent is conceived of as a right for parents and is used to facilitate a space for self-determination and protection from coercion for the parents and their children. As Golder (2015) observes, this is one of the significant features of contemporary, liberal political thought where human rights are premised as legal rules that shield people from repressive power. The research participants' accounts highlight how they considered themselves, when they gained informed consent, as taking a role of protecting the parents and possibly the children from the repressive power of the school. Interestingly, as I discuss, the parents' process of giving consent for the therapeutic work was also considered a protective mechanism for the research participants themselves, who perceived their roles in schools as somewhat precarious. I also consider the techniques of the confession as a therapeutic truth-telling intervention through which the research participants were able to guide the children and parents to examine and understand how to take care of themselves. Overall, investigating the subjectifying effects of the consent process and confessional techniques makes visible the interconnections between sovereign, pastoral, disciplinary and biopolitical power relations that the research participants negotiated in their school-based recovery practices.

Informed consent as a parental right

Gaining consent from parents to work with their children was described by some of the research participants as a routine part of the social work process:

> Quite often it's the child's teacher, that has referred them –with the parents'
> permission (Erin, RCSW).
> And often the school has spoken to them as well, and said, "Are we gonna refer
> out to…?" and "Lynne's here and she's the social worker and she'll contact
> you." So they'll let the parents know that that's what's gonna happen. So I
> won't see a kid without talking to the parents first … so no contact with kids
> without parent consent (Lynne, RCSW).

As an integral part of the referral process, the research participants placed importance on the teaching staff gaining consent or permission from the parents first before they themselves would make contact with the parent or begin the work. As Manning and Gaul (1997) emphasise, gaining informed consent in this way is an important aspect in the social work process in establishing a relationship characterised by shared decision-making with their client(s). They add that it is essentially the process by which the social worker gives the prospective client some basic information about what is proposed, and they then agree to it. Consent demonstrates the social worker's commitment to work in the best interests of the parent and the child, to ensure their ability to self-determine is protected.

Derived from the moral principle of autonomy, informed consent centres on a person making rational decisions and acting freely, outside the control or others, in accordance with her or his own life plan (Manning & Gaul, 1997, p. 109). The concept is underpinned by humanistic notions of self-determination, which rely on the constitution of the 'consent giver' as self-managing individuals able to act in accordance with their best interests. Consent also functions within a modern form of democratic sovereign power. It induces what Prozorov (2007b) refers to as a correlative form of subjectivity of the rights-bearing political subject, who is conceived of as part of a political unity (p. 55). By the nature of their status as parents, who are accorded with the responsibility to care and protect their children, the consent process confirms the rights parents have and the importance of gaining their permission to commence the professional relationship. Within the research participants' accounts, the parent is presented as a freethinking individual who is able to make a rational decision about the choices at hand. Thus, consent is construed as a principle of right that integrates negative freedom and constitutes parents as sovereign rights-bearing subjects.

The practice of gaining consent does not involve children themselves as decision-makers in the process; they are noticeably absent from the research participants' accounts. When children were discussed in this process, it was more in relation to being provided information, as the following excerpts demonstrate:

> Well, cos often I say to mum, you know you wanna talk to the kid first? (Lynne, RCSW)
>
> If I'm talking to the parent, I'll just say … just explain … to them [their child] that
> I'll be coming and maybe we'll be looking at these things (Sophie, RCSW).

The research participants identified a preference for the parent to inform the child of the referral and the reason for the child being asked to see the social worker. They did not express any discomfort with the child not being directly involved in the consent process. In this way, whilst the parent within the consent process is constituted as a subject bearing rights like a legal subject, the child, most likely because of their age, is not. Vandenbroeck (2006) argues, the absence of the child in decision-making is connected to the constitution of children's subjectivities as vulnerable, which is also associated with practices that incite parents to take responsibility for their care.

Lynne, RCSW, highlights that informed consent was a useful process in addressing any unrealistic or unfair aspects of the school's concerns, as follows:

> I always contact the parent as soon as the referral comes through, because
> sometimes I don't believe what the school says, you know. [Laughs.]

She adds:

> The main thing is talking with them and letting them know what the school has
> said.

Lynne describes herself as a kind of advocate for the parents in making sure they know what the school has said. The practice of obtaining consent enabled a non-hierarchical position for herself in the therapeutic relationship. Sophie, RCSW, similarly discusses this collaborative objective in obtaining consent:

> So for me if the teacher refers somebody, I'll say, "Oh you need to talk to the
> parent," and then we've got a form, which is a really simple form and they just
> have to sign consent. And I kind of then explain about my role and then say if
> they get that, cos sometimes parents will be, "oh yeah" and just sign and not
> really know what's happening or what's going on. Then I'll call the parent and
> just explain my role and see if they're wanting me to work with their child and
> what their concerns are and see if that kind of matches up with what the
> school's thinking. And then sometimes it might not go any further or then we
> might do some work or there might be other things or … if they don't want to
> work … then we don't.

These research participants highlighted how the consent process enabled them to challenge top-down and authoritarian relations in schools. Promoting consent in this way to demonstrate the intent of minimal intervention aligns with immunity practice. As discussed in chapter two, in Esposito's (2011) terms legal immunity is a defensive process that either temporally or permanently exonerates people from political obligations and responsibilities. Configured in this way, the consent process entitled the parents to be exempted from the authoritarian influence within the school and from others in the school pastoral care system. The parents' autonomy is understood as a negative freedom, the ability to say no to interventions. Further the research participants' use of the consent process enabled them to experience their practices as challenging or refusing to align with hierarchies between school staff and parents. In demarcating authoritarian actions in this way, the consent process enabled the school social workers to position themselves as caring, which supported them to establish participatory relationships with parents, concurrently augmenting their pastoral roles.

Another facet of the consent process is that the research participants experienced it as useful in preventing any potential negative repercussions from parents. The research participants conceived of themselves as without employment status to afford them with sufficient legal protection as Susan, RCSW, discusses:

It'd probably be parents are within their rights to say, "What are you doing talking to my child?" … and yet they could talk to the teachers, because they were staff employees. The public health nurse could talk to them, because … it was part and parcel of what had been negotiated with the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education, but we're in a different situation, cos social work you're not supposed to be talking to minors without parental permission.

As a non-employee in the school Susan emphasised she had few rights to talk to children and as having 'outsider status' compared to other school staff. Angela, RCSW, likewise emphasises these legal factors and the voluntary status of SWiS:

That they needed to have parental consent –that's a really interesting issue because the schools don't understand why could we not just –that child isn't turning up to school, and the parents don't answer the phone, then couldn't the social worker just go down to their house and knock on the door? And they don't get that. You know, they don't get that we aren't an employee of the school, and we're not an employee of Child, Youth and Family [former name of New Zealand [Statutory child protection agency] or whatever the truancy service is called –- non-Attendance Service now. We're not entitled to even have their name and phone number without their permission.

Angela discusses the tension for social workers in ensuring schools seek informed consent from parents. In this way, consent can be considered a risk management tool. It was used by the research participants to ensure that they were not considered coercive in their actions with children and parents. Therefore the informed consent practices for the research participants were also connected to their concerns for their own security as workers in schools where they had little institutional authority. From this perspective, the rights-bearing parent was understood to have the ability to disrupt the caring practices of the pastoral social work expert. This dynamic also highlights how pastoral subjectivity works within a different frame to the human rights frame. As Prozorov (2007a) outlines, in contrast to sovereign order, which is characterised by the law that restricts and regulates, the pastorate in caring for life has a life-affirming ethos that needs to be negotiated without constraint.

In establishing the therapeutic relationships in schools, gaining parental consent is clearly considered a necessary first step for social workers. To 'de-activate' the risk consent presented to closing off children and parents from their care and support, many of the research participants discussed how they established it as a one-off event, led by school staff:

> I really like the way Riverton do it. So they contact the parent, they get the
> needs from the teacher and the parent. And then they give the contact
> information to me … and then I ring the parent and I talk to them and touch
> base with them. It's important when I ring the parent they already know I'm
> ringing as well, so it's not a cold call. Cos that's awkward, and you don't know
> whether they're gonna say yes or no and they know why you're ringing. So it's
> really good, cos you can touch base with the parent (Scott, RCSW).

Consent was established as a right of approval for Scott's involvement, much like a 'check-box'
approach, such that without the attainment of prior consent the therapeutic relationship is not likely
to be permitted. In a similar way, Nicole, SWiS, describes the outcome if informed consent is not
secured prior to her contact with parents:

> Well, they're defensive … often it's lost before it's started. Because I've always
> tried to say that if you actually connect with that person … in a supportive
> stance and saying, I want to support [you] in things … that's better than me
> ringing and them being defensive. So I think that can be really tough. Also the
> kind of idea of fixing things. Like, that person's going to fix this and that's going
> to fix that … rather than just that constant sort of support.

Nicole presented her role as life-enhancing through an ongoing, caring relationship rather than short-
term, problem-focused interventions. Within relational practice, where the active participation of
children and parents within their self-work was emphasised, the need for the research participants to
be freely given the authority to act as guides was deemed necessary by them. In this way, consent
was identified as an important means for augmenting the therapeutic alliance. This process did not
seem to involve pressuring or requiring parents to take up this support. Establishing consent as a one-
off event, and constituting it as an act of care, displaces its transcendence as a right of refusal. In this
way consent was re-directed as the parents' possible acknowledgement and preference for enhancing
their children's lives.

Understanding of this pseudo-legal process of informed consent as a negative freedom does not
sufficiently account for the ways in which parents act as protectors of their children's development.
In legalistic and moral terms, the parents' rights to informed consent and choice protects *against* the
interference of school social workers in the realisation of their children's interests. The right to
autonomous decision-making was clearly construed as a freedom from external constraints by the
research participants. However, it is conceivable that in the post-earthquake context, the prevalent
understandings of children as vulnerable and traumatised might have made it imperative for parents

to act in proactive ways to ensure the wellbeing of their children. Thus, we can see that informed consent is plausibly not just a right of refusal but is a positive freedom, a means through which parents, in accepting therapeutic care from the school social workers, were able to proactively enhance, protect and develop their children's lives. The latter, according to Foucault (1997a) and Esposito (2011), is an affirmative reading of immunising biopolitical power in this situation.

The practices of informed consent encouraged parents to act freely to accept expert help on behalf of their children in post-earthquake schools. According to Prozorov (2007a), within biopolitics sovereign authority is displaced in favour of the norm that "incites and supports life, maximises its potential and nurtures its capacities" (p. 59). However Mills (2011) disagrees, emphasising that the law and principles of rights are not superseded by norms, but that in modernity the norm becomes the means through which the law operates (p. 26). She argues that, in a biopolitical society, the law is enabled to function in conjunction with regulatory arrangements and processes, incorporated into institutions such as schools. Mills (2011) adds "norms permit the law unprecedented access to individual bodies, allowing it to act as a continuous regulatory force rather than an occasional, prohibitive instrument of sovereign right" (p. 26). In such a way, informed consent can be considered a process through which parents are regulated via their freedom in deciding to choose whether their child is seen by a school social worker.

The parents' autonomous choices also seem to work as a process of self-formation. They were able to 'self-choose' for their children to receive specialised care, informed consent. As Rose (1996) argues these kinds of actions can be considered as a form of ethical self-practice – an expression of the parents' self-autonomy (p. 193). The established practice of informed consent enabled the parents to 'freely' act in ways that demonstrated their concerns for the lives of their children. In accordance with Foucault's view, self-practices are generally provided by the culture within which the individual is situated and it is through taking up these norms and models for living that the ethical self emerges. As Mills (2011) emphasises, these "practices of self-formation are not simply expressions of choice, whether enacted in words or actions of a pre-existing individual; rather, the individual subject only emerges as an artefact of the enactment of those choices" (p. 48). Crucially for the research participants in normalising the right of parental consent, they were able to encourage parents to be responsible for ensuring their children get the 'right' help. This process simultaneously augmented the social workers' authority as the 'caring interpreters of life' in post-earthquake schools.

The right of consent functions like a sovereign power relation and the positive freedom imbued in the school social workers' biopolitical-pastoral recovery practices were intertwined with the parents'

decisions to protect and develop their children. Foucault made it clear that sovereignty and pastoral power should not be considered to be one and the same. Nor should one be considered bad and the other good. Sovereign power may be reductive, but as Ojakangas (2005b) indicates, biopolitics can be kind *and* suffocating. He makes the point that sovereign power is not as all-encompassing and thus has more space for freedom (p. 53). The processes of informed consent were such that refusing the caring involvement of the social worker would have been difficult for the parents, given the demands that they act in protective ways to maximise their children's wellbeing. The norm of wanting the best for their children predisposes the parents to accept the assistance of the school social worker.

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Confessional practices to facilitate self-care

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Many of the research participants discussed why client-led conversations were a key feature of their practices. Scott, RCSW, provided an account of how, when he made contact with a parent for the first time, following a referral, he started the conversation with open-ended questions rather than asking about the identified concerns directly, as follows:

> I think the first thing I usually ask when I ring the parent is "How are you doing?"
> … "How are you coping?" … "How is so and so coping?" And … my questioning's
> getting better with open-ended questioning and stuff like that.

Scott emphasised the need to demonstrate an open conversational process with parents and asking about how they were coping in relation to the earthquakes facilitated this approach well. Likewise, Amy, RCSW, discusses starting her client sessions with an interactive beginning, as follows:

> When I have someone come to me, I might plan an activity to do while we talk.
> But I always let them direct the conversation. I let them come out with what's
> on top first. So they might have had a really rough day or something might
> have happened at home, and then if we're trying to work on how they deal
> with their anger, we'll talk about that after. But I always say, 'How's your week
> been?' ''What's been happening?' And then I try and remember out of all the
> other children what they told me [laughs] last time, and we'll have a
> conversation about what's on top for them, because it's…. really important and
> then I'll get into the stuff that I kinda want to bring in and say, "So how about
> that anger?"

The research participants placed importance on participative forms of communication in which the children's and parents' self-expression was prioritised. Key to this engagement with children and families was the expectation that they would want to talk about their personal issues with the social worker. This readiness to open up and 'confess' one's inner self and responses to the world are an

expected part of most therapeutic relationships. Although more than a mode of openness, the confession is "a form of truth telling that actively constitutes the self" (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. xvi). Peters (2005) emphasises that through language, which has a performative function, speaking the truth about oneself is self-constitutive, that is, one actively turns him/herself into a subject. Nielsen, Dalgaard, and Madsen (2011) identify that through the processes of self-disclosure and self-inspection, the confession acts to direct an individual's attention to himself or herself and others. They argue it is a method through which "subjects are expected to control themselves in order to shape themselves to become subjects who think of themselves as being autonomous" (Nielsen et al., 2011, p. 437). The confessional techniques enacted within relational practice guided children and parents to take up therapeutic objectives to enhance their coping as independent and self-aware individuals. As a confessional process, the conversations were guided by the research participants, through the techniques of active listening and open questioning.

In the post-earthquake context, many children who were considered to have behavioural, emotional and/or social skills problems tended to be provided with individual counselling and group work. Emotional regulation was a focus of a number of group programmes provided by school social workers, as Vivienne, SWiS discusses:

> And this little man that I was talking to you about before said to me, "You know, what about your … mingle?" Cos we were talking about managing our emotions. He said, "You know, what about your mingle?" Like, your mingle, your mingle? 'Do you mean, do you mean your amygdala?' "Yeah, yeah, that's right! That's the word." He said, "You know, it's … in here somewhere." And I said, "Yes and I actually think mingle's a great way to describe it." And he said, "Yeah, well what you do is you put your emotions in your mingle and then you use this part, your thinking box, to process it." And I think I might have actually said to him, "I love you" or something (Vivienne, SWiS).

This excerpt highlights that through the confessional practices of the group the boy was able to disclose 'the truth' of how his brain works to regulate his emotions. The rationality that invites the boy to 'know himself' is that of neuro-science, which helps him to understand his cognitive processes – his ability to control his emotions and behaviour through thinking. Neural understandings have been taken up in cognitive psychology which, based on the principles of autonomy and self-reflection, encourages the development of "adaptive, information-processing subjects" (Usher & Zakay, 1993, p. 355). Busso and Pollack (2015) caution that the biological framing of children as neuro-entities might compel them to understand themselves and their actions as inevitably flawed and as something they

are powerless to change. However, in the current example, Vivienne affirmed the boy for candidly disclosing his capacity to manage his emotions; a mode of being that involves self-mastery and self-knowledge. As Rose (1996) suggests, this is an example of a kind of 'ethical scenario' "in which a particular relation to the self is administered, enjoined, and assembled" (p. 194). He adds that this process enables positive therapeutic attention for those who aspire to "new images of selfhood" (Rose, 1996, p. 194). Arguably, through normative psychological knowledge, the confessional context of the group and the affirming guidance of Vivienne, an ethical relation between the boy and his own sense of self as capable and self-managing was cultivated.

Some of the research participants discussed how they worked to educate and solicit an alliance between their client's own objectives and school expectations. Scott, RCSW, provided an example of this process when he discussed his conversations with children who identified their dislike of school, as follows:

> "So you might hate coming to school but then you know … you really like PE
> and actually your teacher's not *too* bad and you've got a few good friends and
> you like lunchtime, so that sort of stuff to make you start to feel better."

Scott encouraged the children to share their thoughts, which were then used as a basis for correction whereby he actively assisted in the creation of new meaning. He worked to build an alliance between what the children wanted and the school objectives. The relational practice approach enabled Scott to advise and guide his clients in ways that ensured their participation and self-determination. To do this he positioned himself as the 'significant other' in helping to frame the children's understanding of themselves and in encouraging them to choose alternate ways of being and acting. This process is consistent with Foucault's (1982) observation that in confessional practices, pastoral power relations consist of an individual becoming dependent on the shepherd but also connected to his or her own identity by their own conscience or self-knowledge (p.212). The children's thoughts were points of reference for Scott to achieve prosocial goals, to promote the children's self-knowledge as well as their ability over time to be self-monitoring.

As Vandenbroeck and Bouverne-De Bie (2006) emphasise, self-examination calls for a dialogue with the expert through setting up a specific pastoral relationship between children and the social worker. Clearly, the involvement of the social worker was significant in the confessional practices. There was a lot of emphasis by research participants on the children and parents speaking freely and openly when engaging in the therapeutic conversations. To govern through freedom (Rose, 1999) requires a level of participation, which for some of the research participants meant they needed to go to great

lengths to gain their client's engagement in the therapeutic relationship. In the following account
Erin, RCSW, describes the steps she took to engage with a young boy who had been referred to her
due to poor communication and social skills. Initially he did not want to see her, which, for Erin, meant
her needing to work more intensely to gain his participation, as follows:

> I think going and just hanging with him at home and mum was there and his
> brothers were there and we were all having a good chat and just asking him,
> "Can I sit next to you and watch you play your video game?" and stuff like that.
> In addition, sitting there and like not asking heaps of questions, but when I saw
> something that interested me, I asked what he was doing. So being interested
> in him and I think the first times coming to school, doing some fun stuff with
> him. So giving him options and "we've got a bit of work to do, but we can also
> have some fun and play a game that you can pick". So making him feel like he
> has a choice in the matter. I think just being friendly is one that always helps.
> [Laughs.]

Erin seems to have experienced the boy's reticence to talk with her as part of his problem
presentation:

> He's a wee kid who normally avoids eye contact with adults and won't, like if
> someone spoke to him, he would kind of mumble.

The boy's reluctance to talk to Erin was framed as deficient in psychological normative terms, which
reinforced the need for Erin to work on helping him to open up and participate in the therapeutic
work. Erin visited him in his home environment, encouraged him to be involved in activities he was
interested in while they talked, and demonstrated a friendly and non-confrontational manner. These
techniques aimed to enable this boy to 'freely' talk about himself.   The confessional techniques also
seemed to bridge the separation between the boy's own interests and those of Erin and presumably
the objectives of his mother and the school. Over time, the boy's behaviour changed, as the following
excerpt highlights:

> So whenever I see him now, the first like two seconds of seeing him he's all a
> little bit shy, and then after that he's, you know, eye contact (Erin, RCSW)

These kinds of techniques, engaged in by both Erin and the boy, were productive in augmenting the
boy's skills of self-expression and self-management. As Foucault emphasised, confessional practices
function as technologies of the self, as the processes by which individuals are incited to "internalize,
monitor and control their own behavior according to the prevailing standards of normality (sic)"
(Nielsen et al, 2011, p. 437). Enabling children to manage their emotions and work on themselves as

autonomous individuals aligns with the kinds of pro-active, adaptive subjectivities valued in the earthquake recovery strategy.

The preceding excerpts lend weight to Esposito's (2011) position that subjectification within biopolitical immunisation is a process of individuation. The individual is enabled to protect itself through an affirmative process of incorporation, which means including the external risk within itself. Esposito (2011) proposes "for life to remain as such, it must submit itself to an alien force that, if not entirely hostile, at least inhibits it development" (p. 8). The children and parents were coached, educated and supported to develop the social and emotional self-management skills to cope with the risks associated with vulnerability in its different forms.

In a similar way immunisation functions to protect the collective so that external risk to the social body may be blocked and contradicted (Esposito, 2011, p. 46). In the following excerpt William, SWiS, discusses that in the context of a group programme he was informed by some participants of conflict with each other:

> So, we had a sort of opening thing where the kids came together and then that
> week some girls were organising a fight in one of the local parks on Facebook
> and it was great because this is what the kids do.

The confessional opening activity of the group enabled the girls to disclose the disagreement between themselves and other group participants. From there they were guided by William to resolve the conflict and reflect on their relationships differently:

> So, and then the girls come to you and say, "Oh I did that. Oh great." And then,
> "Thanks for coming to us, right, how do we resolve this? What's the issue
> here?" So we were able to work through that process with them to the point
> where, we're at a stage now where those girls very quickly became friends,
> because there was no reason to hate each other.

William facilitated a particular way for the group members to treat each other as friends. Therefore, whilst conflict was tolerated, it needed to be worked through openly and constructively so that the girls could revaluate their positions. They were encouraged to reconsider the separation they had from each other, a condition produced by their differences, to consider the commonality they shared as friends, a form of collective identity. Esposito's (2011) position is that this is a process of incorporation where immunisation works to include the external element of difference or contagion within the community. It highlights the contradictory aspect of immunity that not only functions to protect the individual but also the collective. As Campbell (2008) elaborates, "to be obliged to a

community means to undermine your own identity; and vice versa, to be free from communal obligations means to restore your autonomy and identity and enjoy the condition of immunity" (p. xi). In this sense, obligating the girls to their greater collective identity as friends works against their individual identities and independence.

In summary, this section has shown that pastoral techniques of the consent and the confession employed by the social workers who participated in this study enabled processes of subjectification in post-earthquake schools. Although there was little sense that the research participants' clients were docile in taking up specific patterns of conduct. As Rose (1999) emphasises, the relationship between the social worker and the client is not one of command and control. It is an alliance through which the client's "desires, affects and bodily practices … get connected up with 'expert' ways of understanding experience, languages of judgement, norms of conduct" (Rose, 1999, p. 92). Through pastoral techniques, the research participants engaged children in working on their emotional and behavioural self-management capacities and their social competence. Similarly, they aimed to motivate parents to engage the protective and nurturing aspects of themselves – abilities, capacities and motivations valued within the dominant forms of psychological knowledge. These types of ethical self-practices are also complementary to the aspirational objectives espoused in the recovery policies, which emphasise wellbeing, adaptation and social order in the wake of the earthquakes, values that also have clear links with neo-liberal rationality and governmentality. As Rose (1996) claims, the ethical ways of thinking, acting and judging also support the aims of advanced liberal society. The modern self "is to aspire to autonomy, it is to strive for personal fulfilment in its earthly life, it is to interpret its reality and destiny as a matter of individual responsibility, it is to find meaning in existence by shaping its life through acts of choice" (Rose, 1996, p. 151). Active citizenship is simultaneously empowering, for example, by configuring children and parents in relation to their rights, freedoms and autonomy. In giving children 'voice' their governance is enabled (Smith, 2012, p. 33).

An effect of these "presuppositions of the self" (Rose, 1996, p. 160) and the self-directing practices, centred on self-management and self-responsibility, according to Esposito (2011), is that it closes off difference within systems. He considers this phenomenon to be a key facet of the workings of the immunity paradigm, which tends to target risk through enacting protective responses in order to securitise against the perceived exteriority of its threat. To do this an immunity process can either work to include differences within a system or seek to eliminate them. The analysis in this chapter thus far has shed light on a specific set of ethical practices that enable individuals to maximise their potential, an affirmative process of including the risk from within. However, in engaging in these

ethical practices, the children and parents seemed to close themselves off somewhat to different forms of subjectivity. Significantly, for the focus of this inquiry, the ethical practices that function as 'vitalising self resources' also work in opposition to collective bonds of the kind where there is little focus on plurality or interdependence with others. In this context, the ethic of relational practice and the pastoral techniques of consent and the confession tended to favour relations between the school social worker and the children and parents, at the expense of more communal, horizontal bonds.

3. Ethical practices and freedom

Rose (1996) claims that it cannot be known in advance what will be produced from an intervention, nor what its effectiveness will be, which makes the potential for political action more hopeful and open than might have otherwise been thought. Foucault (1978) emphasises that political arrangements are unstable and complex and, within this context, discourse "transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (p. 101). Foucault (1978) refers to this as the "polyvalence of discourse", which is essentially "a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies" (p. 100). In sourcing the examples provided in this section I inspected the interview texts for occasions where there seemed to be something unpredictable going on. I observed some instances where a child and some parents refused to take up the invitations for care. Another moment within a group context seemed to indicate group members pursuing a vulnerable sense of being with each other. In this section, I treat these fragmentary moments of some of the ethical practices of children and parents as alternate practices of difference and communal bonds in the schools.

Refusing care

There were two examples in the transcripts identified by the research participants in which individual children and parents negotiated, limited and/or refused social work interventions. Erin, RCSW, discussed the case of a young girl who had been referred by her teacher due to concerns about her social skills and her lack of friendships, as follows:

> A referral came through for her around isolation and her expecting things, like
>
> friendships to be happening, but her not putting in the effort around that.

However, when Erin met with the girl she identified that she did not have a problem. As a result, of this first meeting a different meaning was established:

I don't know what but I kind of got the sense –like I kind of said to the teacher

this is her personality as well. She loves to read, she'd probably rather be

reading book after book after book than doing school work. She's doing her

school work though. She likes to hang out with younger kid cos she doesn't

wanna be hanging out with the other girls her age who are walking around with

boys and have boyfriends and girlfriends. So once I kind of got to know her, I

didn't pick up anything about her being depressed and I didn't pick up anything

about feeling isolated in any way. She had huge confidence in herself and in

her abilities, she was really good at explaining her strengths to me and writing

them down.

This example highlights the potential of school social workers to re-direct their caring expertise in such a way that it enables difference in schools. The confessional techniques enabled the girl to convince Erin that she was not in need of intervention. In presenting herself as in control, self-assured and autonomous she was able to decline further intervention. Erin was able to go back to the referring teacher and inform her that there was nothing abnormal about the girl's character and she did not need to receive a social work intervention.

The above example highlights how the norm centred on autonomy and responsibility functions. The young girl, by using this discourse about herself, was able to resist being assessed as socially lacking and legitimately decline therapeutic assistance. The girl's ability to present herself as an independent thinker makes visible her tactical use of neo-liberal discourse. Her ethical practices seemed to incorporate the notion that as a freethinking person she should be able to choose to be on her own for contentment, and select friendships on the basis of her strongly held beliefs. The girl's ability to demonstrate autonomous decision-making and self-expression is a socially prized activity, which enabled Erin, in her position of expert, to recognise and support the girl in asserting herself within the school. As Peters (2005) emphasises, speaking the truth about oneself is self-constitutive, that is, one actively turns oneself into a subject. However, the other aspect is being recognised as this subject and legitimised within the school context and social norms. Although the above example does not necessarily mean that the girl will not be identified again as needing assistance at a later time. Nonetheless, in this instance the social worker facilitated the recognition and legitimacy of her as an independent and freethinking individual.

'Refusal of care' is resistance to biopower, according to Prozorov (2007a, p. 62). In another example two parents at a particular high decile school refused consent for their children to be seen by the social

worker. As discussed in the previous section, giving consent for social work intervention is considered by the school to be a way of parents demonstrating care and responsibility for their children. However as the following excerpt highlights, these parents were able to refuse caring interventions for their children *and* resist being represented as uncaring parents:

> We have consent forms that we get the parents to sign and things like that, and it just has a bit about information sharing, and where we keep our records. And I had two parents complain to the DP saying, "I don't want my child's name being kept on records. What are they gonna do with my child's name?" and all that sort of stuff, but you never get that at any other school (Amy, RCSW)

The parents seem to recognise the consent form as a way in which their child would have been named and marked as a concern in the school. They seem intent on being responsible parents, which involved them 'speaking up' for the rights of their children.

The parents' acts of refusal appear to have been made possible in relation to the prevailing neoliberal concerns for investing in the future lives of their children, as Amy, RCSW discusses:

> I think the Thistledown parents worry that … their child is gonna be on some register to say that they had social work support or something, so later on in life when they go to … some fancy university, "Oh, we see that your child struggled and had a social worker".

What is significant about this example is that the parents exercise the same logic of care as those parents who accept the social workers' interventions, but with the opposite outcome. With the support of the school principal, they were able to decline consent and rather than be considered as inadequate in responding to their children's needs, they were able to secure identities as responsible parents. Their ability to exercise their right to refusal was based on the same norm –that of doing what is best for their children's lives.

Whereas the school social workers seek to enact consent as a norm within their relational practices, the parents in this account seem to resurrect consent as a rule for the purpose of resistance. This latter function can be seen as characteristic of Esposito (2011) immunity paradigm, which he claims provides the basis to understand how individuals can be provided with legal exemption from the duty and responsibilities that usually obligate them. Exercising their right to not consent enabled the parents to refuse care, thus disrupting or refuting the wellbeing-focused biopolitical governance. In this way, the immunising function of the consent tool provided the parents with opportunities to enact their negative freedom, which as discussed, is conceived within a model of modern sovereign power

– a liberatory, rights-based freedom to choose. However, for Foucault (1978) freedom is an ethical process that "enables the subject to transform itself and the others through its action" (p. 140). He distanced his political philosophy from any notion of power as something that can be possessed by individuals, drawing attention to *how* power operates rather than who exercises it. Moreover he claimed the top-down, sovereign model of power had been increasingly in decline since the nineteenth century. Within modern power relations Foucault (1978) interprets the sovereign exception as "an art of government, entirely inscribed in the (liberal) rationality of government … the result of governmental practices … a type of governmentality" (p. 133). As I have already argued in the previous section, informed consent can be considered an ethical self-formation practice through which the parents express their autonomy to care for their children thereby constituting themselves as free-choosing subjects. Thus, it would seem that some choice needs to be made as how to understand the autonomy of consent, either as a sovereign act of freedom from constraint or as positive freedom –a self-formation process. Usefully, Patton (1989) offers another articulation of Foucault's concept of freedom and the practices of self-formation. He argues that both negative and positive freedom are at play in setting the course of actions on which an individual is capable of deciding. Patton (1989) finds little use for differentiating between negative and positive freedom, preferring to refer to freedom in terms of constraints, those located outside and within the individual, structuring their interests, desires and purposes (p. 262). Specifically, he accounts for two ways in which an individual may have their capacity to act constrained: "by external limits to the kinds of act which may be carried out or by internal limits to the kinds of action the agent is capable of undertaking" (Patton, 1989, p. 262). According to Mills (2011), this account of freedom and self-formation helps to conceptualise how "the realisation of capacities through either the absence of internal and external constraints are fundamentally interrelated" (p. 52). Thus it follows that the parents' decisions to decline consent required the existence of a space where they could act without coercion and in accordance with their own capacities (Mills, 2011, p. 52).

An interesting characteristic of these interactions was that they occurred in the context of high decile schools. This theme was noticed by the research participant, Amy, RCSW, who discussed a lack of overall receptiveness to her involvement from the parents at a decile ten school, as follows:

> A lot of them, I mean it sounds judgemental, but a lot of them are a lot more educated, because they have roles such as doctor, lawyer, accountant, all that sort of stuff like that. A lot of them, I think are a lot more resistant to having people coming into their lives and getting involved, because they feel like they can handle stuff themselves: "We don't need help – we're fine."

Wealthy parents, as Amy discussed, were more able to present themselves as autonomous and self-reliant and thus closed off to the role of the social worker as facilitators of such capacities. Parents were able to 'push' the boundaries of what it is to be a responsible parent, recognising that attending university and such like is valued in the school context, enabling their arguments to be accepted. The consent process, which encourages autonomous and responsible personhoods, enabled these wealthier parents to legitimately situate their refusal for social work involvement as child-focused. In contrast, Amy identified that "you never get that at any other school" making a comparison to the responses from parents in low decile schools, as follows:

> But I feel like the other people in maybe Tekau, like [low socio-economic suburb] area are a lot more used to having people coming in and out of their lives and they are happier about having people support them and open to it, and not so suspicious.

The affluent parents were able to refuse the caring expertise of the school social worker whilst still maintaining their identities as capable and responsible parents. This might also mean that a refusal of care by less articulate parents could be conceivably interpreted as non-legitimate as resistance and considered foolish if not articulated within the dominant discourse. Amy's comment that refusal to consent to social work intervention was unheard of in low decile schools supports this notion. Parents from low decile schools, in not being able to demonstrate autonomy and independence, can be conceived of as less free to refuse care. This implies that social workers may often not recognise the effect of class relations in exercising the right to refuse caring attention.

However, there is evidence that the school social workers sought to develop the internal capacities of children and parents even in low decile schools. In the following excerpt, William, SWiS, who was based in low decile schools, discusses how children's and parent's disclosures to him would sometimes lead him to involve the teachers, as follows:

> Some clients I've had where they've expressed to me, "I don't like the way the teacher talks to me; they make me feel dumb". So as a result we'll have a meeting together and I'll sit there while they tell the teacher, "You actually make me feel dumb in the way that they're talking to me or the way that they're interacting with me."

By encouraging the clients to meet with the teaching staff in question to express their concerns, William emphasised the practice of negotiation. Vandenbroeck and Bouverne-De Bie (2006) note, "the focus on negotiation, self-expression and verbalization of the self are white, Western, gendered, middle class norms (sic)" (p. 76) that have been decontextualised and consequentially considered as

universally beneficial for all. In the school context, which was conceptualised within a top-down and authoritarian model of power, negotiation was enacted as both a negative and positive freedom. William recognised the benefit of his clients being articulate and able to express their experiences in assertive ways to negotiate a different kind of relation with the teachers. The discursive practice of negotiation also addressed the internal limits of what his clients were capable of undertaking. William acted to coach and support his clients to communicate their desire for respectful interactions with the teaching staff.

Finally, it is worthwhile noting in relation to this example that within the structure of the pastoral relationship, the clients were able to tell the 'truth' of their experiences to William, who in his position of expertise legitimised their accounts. The clients' actions should not be underemphasised in this process; they were not an object that was 'acted on' by the social worker. In this case, the clients were active and assertive persons who desired to be treated fairly and kindly by teaching staff. The process was aided by biopolitical arrangements, which prioritise non-hierarchical conditions, and relational practice values, which emphasise caring and democratic relationships.

Therefore it can be concluded that the social workers' preference for relational practice, which tends to be experienced as an egalitarian and empowering practice model, should not be considered a form of practice that precludes positive freedom. The examples discussed in this section highlight a connection between negative and positive freedom, which seems to relate to Foucault's (as cited by Mills, 2011) proposal that "freedom is an ontological condition of ethics. But ethics is the considered form that freedom takes when it is informed by reflection" (p. 52). As Mills (2011) suggests, this means that negative freedom can be considered to provide "the ontological condition of ethics … the considered form that it takes as positive freedom, as self-formation or ethics understood as ethos" (p. 52). She adds that negative liberty is also "dependent on its enactment in positive practices of freedom to gain reality and import in everyday life" (Mills, 2011, p. 52). The research participants' relational approach can be considered as a facilitative condition for the children and parents' positive freedom. Their ability to act and to enact freedom was dependent on the children and parents in schools acting in accordance with their own motivations and interests. Thus, the two forms of freedom are intertwined in enabling the practices of self-formation for children and parents in schools, which means that relational practice constituted as freedom from constraint is only one dimension of school social workers' ethical work in schools. To effectively attend to the practices of freedom, objectives with which the social workers who participated in this study demonstrated an alliance, they

need to extend their understanding of their practices beyond merely a negative right of non-coercion. This would involve reflecting on and acknowledging their positive practices of freedom.

Activating community through shared vulnerability

When there were concerns about a child in terms of their emotional, behavioural and/or social functioning at school but not to the extent that they were considered to be have an unsafe home life, the research participants tended to work directly with the child. This highlights how school social workers could negotiate children's needs for care and protection with the imperatives of self-regulation and self-management. Further, these dimensions to social work practice with vulnerable children denote how the discourse of self-development has not displaced that of social need. At times, the research participants discussed needing to shift between these two imperatives as new information about a child's home situation became apparent. Vivienne, SWiS, discussed a situation at a group she was facilitating where the girls brought an unanticipated topic for discussion, as follows:

> Well, I thought we were meeting to eat lunch and learn how to make friendship bracelets, but they came to the table –talk about literally, came to the table, opened their lunchboxes and then spilled their stuff on the table. Not their lunchbox contents I don't mean. Almost within minutes of entering the room.

She elaborates that the focus of the conversation turned to their home lives:

> Divided custody, conflict at home, my mum, being removed from mum's care and put into dad's care, all those sorts of things. So we let them do that. We don't directly respond to that stuff. I mean, we listen and – but we don't try and tease that out with them. We just give them an opportunity to talk about that. And then we work on building them as a group to develop relationships with each other and with us so that, that's again … a good place to be for them.

Vivienne did not seek out the girls' disclosure of their difficult home-life experiences; she expresses some discomfort with the discussion:

> I just don't think that's the focus–we'd lose that sense of safety.

Vivienne's concerns were more about group safety, ensuring the content was not too distressing for any of the group participants. Nonetheless, she did not stop the conversation nor did she identify that the discussion called upon her to take steps to ensure the girls' protection. The open format of the group and the focus on friendship as a form of mutual support seems to have precluded this. The girls' disclosures also reinforced the idea of telling the truth of oneself as set out in the confessional. The girls were not refusing to engage in the confession but, rather, took the content of their discussion in unexpected directions.

Butler (2004) considers how in contexts of loss and grief there is a commonality between individual's experiences such that "loss has made a tenuous 'we' of us all" (p. 23). She makes the point that the attachments that one has to others 'makes up' who one is. She argues that relational ties are self-constitutive and that "when we lose some of these ties … we do not know who we are or what to do" (Butler, 2004, p. 23). She adds that when a major loss occurs it provides a basis for revealing the ties that we hold to others and that grief and loss, rather than being an individual or private process, is shared, shedding a different light on notions of dependency and ethical responsibility (Butler, 2004, p. 23). However Butler (2004) also recognises the risks for identifying with a community of the vulnerable, in that it can invoke protective factors that are more inhibitory and restrictive than may be desirable. In a stance similar to Esposito's (2011) theorising of immunity, she claims such protective actions "constitute the building of a subject that seeks to restore and maintain its mastery through the systematic destruction of its multilateral relations" (p. 41). Nonetheless, Butler (2004) argues, shared vulnerability can be 'resignified', a term which resonates with Foucault's concept of the tactical deployment of discourse, as a communal experience of loss and grief and as a form of political action. In these terms, the girls' talk can be considered a process by which they were able to bring to the fore their shared experiences of loss and vulnerability. The girls became a source of support to each other, akin to what Butler (2004) promotes as shared vulnerability, offering a basis to understand their grief and loss as more a collectivising, political process than an individualising, self-focused process.

Another notable aspect of the above account was that the girls were able to direct the discussion to their shared experiences of loss and vulnerability without much guidance from Vivienne, their social worker. The discussion did not invoke a process where Vivienne stepped in and assumed responsibility for ensuring their safety – a protective immunising response that could have detracted from their ability to interact with each other about their common experiences. Although Vivienne was still in the pastoral shepherd role and probably making judgments all the time about the girl's safety, she let the discussion go and did not actively intervene. Her presence was also possibly something the girls were aware of and this could have been experienced as a containing and safe arrangement for them, in itself. The immunitary processes of the group functioned to support their communality. This accords with Campbell's (2007) point that "immunity undergirds every conception of community" and personal identity is "the subject and object of immunitary protection" (p. 22). In this example the protective objectives of the social worker did not function to close each girl from their ties to each other. Rather the girls' relationality seemed to be enhanced such that there was a sense of reciprocity between them.

In summary, the discussion in this section has highlighted how the conditions of protecting and enhancing post-earthquake vulnerable lives enables children and parents to act in accordance with their own desires and motivations. These actions were enacted through the processes of refusing care, renegotiating their relationships with authorities and engaging in shared experiences of vulnerability. According to Esposito (2013), when immunity is resisted, displaced, limited or redirected and different forms of subjectivity are enabled, this represents a 'crack' in community "that opens itself to the singularity of every existence" (p. 56). He also identifies community belonging as a process facilitated by individuals letting go of their own sense of self and opening themselves up to what is held in common with others (Campbell, 2007, p. 22). Therefore, this analysis has made visible how pastoral governance can be moved beyond concerns for merely protecting children's lives and developing their self-managing potentialities to opening up spaces for difference and commonality in schools. However, when it comes to refusing care, school social workers need to reflect on how their relational practices, which whilst intended to empower, operate to privilege neoliberal identities and centre in on those who do not display those self-competencies deemed necessary for modern living. Nonetheless, the discussion provides a basis for considering how school social workers' practices are significant in facilitating the emergence of an affirmative biopolitics in post-earthquake schools.

Affirmative biopolitics also involves, as Blencowe (2013) notes, re-appropriating existing ideas (p. 26). Emphasising the place of negative freedom alongside affirmative biopolitical objectives to incorporate difference, commonality and vulnerability shows some affinity with feminist academics' proposals such as Young's (1986, 1997) 'politics of difference'. Like Esposito (2011), Young (1986) considers that the prevalent notions of community in contemporary politics work to deny difference. Young (1986) claims, "the ideal of community presumes subjects who are present to themselves and presumes subjects can understand one another as they understand themselves" (p. 15). She offers the politics of difference approach as a political means to establish democratic arrangements, enabling socially differentiated groups to participate in collective decision-making. Young's (1997) proposal should be differentiated from the identity politics that have been heavily critiqued within feminist theory. Identity is a normative category that groups individuals in terms of their common attributes or dispositions. Within the politics of difference, social differentiation is emphasised as a function of structural relations and is more relational and fluid (Young, 1997, p. 385). The idea is that the social positioning of groups differentiated by class, gender, race and age divisions gives individuals some shared experiences and perspectives on social life (Young, 1997, p. 385). Key to Young's (1997) model of democratic communication is mutual commitment to public discussion as a means to address social

problems, within which oppressed groups' shared perspectives on social life are given priority. However, I find it important to emphasise at this point that in recommending that school social workers attend to the experiences of disadvantaged groups, I do not advocate for affirmative biopolitics and emancipatory projects to be considered as one and the same. Seeking to address the oppression of specific groups in schools so as to create a fair and just school community remains within both the biopolitical and sovereign terrain, in its commitment to the objectives for the care of life and its alignment with structural notions of authority (Prozorov, 2007a, p. 74). Nonetheless as Blencowe (2013) posits, in line with Foucault's position, the objectification of collective, biological life "is not a closing down, but precisely an opening-up, of domains of politics, creating new spaces for the conduct of conduct, setting up grounds for resistance, facilitating rights claims and proliferating new political bodies" (pp. 19-20). Vulnerable individuals and groups such as the children and parents discussed in this section did not seek to rebel from biopolitics or sovereign power relations. Rather, they were able to refuse care and negotiate their authority through taking up alternative representations of recovering, coping and living in the post-earthquake context.

I propose vulnerability as a basis for ethical rationality, which connects with Butler (2004) position that as living beings we are "physically dependent on one another, physically vulnerable to one another" (p. 27). She argues that this bodily vulnerability is one way to express an ethical indebtedness to others – an argument that shows consistency with Esposito (2010) position on community as obligation or duty to the other. I propose that school social workers' affirmative biopolitical practices are those that are constituted through a politics of difference, a process in which they facilitate vulnerable individuals and groups in schools to dispute, select and perform difference. I also suggest these ethical practices animate bonds that tie the self to the other and as such, offer an alternative basis for thinking and acting community.

Conclusion

As an individualised mode of affirmative biopolitics, the pastoral social worker-client relationship aims to care for all vulnerable children and their parents in post-earthquake schools. In this chapter, I have elaborated on how relational practice was a dominant discursive formation for the school social workers who participated in this study. Their preferences for this form of practice connects with understandings from psychodynamic, attachment and systems theories. These forms of psychological knowledge are prevalent in social work's history and the contemporary focus on the relationship as a primary mode for practice. Taking up Foucault's (2003e, 2007) theorising of pastoral power as an

interpretative lens makes it clear how the relational approach situates social workers as therapeutic coaches, caring experts who seek to guide children and parents to manage themselves as active participants in their own recoveries. Further Esposito's (2011) notion of immunity implicates the social workers' practices as predominantly individualising with a central focus on strengthening their clients' coping skills. This prevalent relational approach displaced much emphasis on the relations of commonality in post-earthquake schools.

The case for relational practice also rests on a foundation of liberatory freedom. A number of the social workers who participated in this study discussed their intent to transform coercive power relations in schools that contributed to children and their parents being portrayed or treated in uncaring ways. Opposing the relational practice approach to top-down, authoritarian techniques and recognising power in terms of repression and constraint seemed to mask the school social workers' awareness of their own governing actions and regulatory practices. This finding lends weight to Hyslop (2012) suggestion that defining social work primarily in relation to human rights "conceals more than it reveals" in terms of the day-to-day practices of social workers (p. 405). In this chapter, I have argued for a more complicated understanding of relational practice, making visible how it functions to regulate individuals through their freedom.

Some alternative ethical self-practices of the children and their parents were also examined. Firstly were the examples of children and parents refusing the care offered by school social workers. These moments seemed to work within the polyvalence or multiple functions of neoliberal discourse. Another example highlighted how children and parents were able to express their dissatisfaction with teaching staff and negotiate different kinds of relationships. There was also a moment when a group of girls created space for their common experiences of loss and grief in their home lives. Many of these actions were facilitated by the research participants themselves, highlighting the important role social workers can play in opening up some spaces for difference and shedding light on some relations not readily visible within the prevalent configurations of protection and immunity. However, it was evident that school social workers may be contributing to a politics of difference in schools, particularly in terms of class divisions. Extending school social workers' conceptualisations of power relations to those biopolitical arrangements that encourage positivity, growth and protection, mechanisms within which they themselves are implicitly embedded, would enable them to promote affirmative experiences of commonality and difference in schools.

Central to this thesis is the aim of interrogating, exploring and re-thinking community in the earthquake recovery arrangements in Christchurch. Rather than accepting community as a taken-for-granted imperative, I have sought to make visible the concepts, practices, theories and the political objectives that made community essential for the wellbeing of one and all. Specifically, I have pursued an understanding of how community functions in connection with the meanings of life proposed within the earthquake recovery policies and school social workers' accounts. By combining these two dimensions, this study has taken an innovative approach to biopolitics, configuring the community-focused recovery practices as an 'art of government' active in producing 'recovery identities' at individual and populational levels. Finally, by investigating the 'truths' of relational practice and ethical-political practices associated with school social workers' pastoral identities and immunitary practices, my hope is that I have responded to Esposito's (2013c) call for a better link between the notions of life and politics in biopolitics and Foucault's (2007, 2013a, 2013b) theorising.

Bridging the discourse of community

Two dominant discourses of community became apparent in this inquiry, those of the community as recovery and the community hub. Within the recovery policies, the effects of the earthquakes were considered to have placed the wellbeing of the greater Christchurch population at risk. In responding to this threat, individuals were expected to transition from their own subjective experiences of the earthquakes to collective forms of relating with like-minded and similarly affected persons. Privileged as positive, natural and vitalising developmental recovery processes, the community recovery 'truths' supported minimal government interventions and community-led processes. The influence of resilience thinking located the earthquake survivors as active respondents within adversity, rather than passive victims who require external aid and material relief. Foregrounding the adaptivity of resilient communities effectively displaced notions of inequality and sought to facilitate the restoration of social and political stability. This rationality functioned to overlook existing and potentially reinforced inequalities related, but not limited, to class dimensions.

The community-hub discourse centred on the developmental potential and ecological needs of school children. Within the school recovery context, the school social workers who participated in this study emphasised that the earthquakes had intensified and extended stress problems for families. These conditions seem to have validated the social workers taking roles to intervene with parents on behalf of children. Recognising the earthquakes as traumatic events, coupled with newer forms of neuro-cognitive psychological knowledge, enabled the social workers to recognise children by their internal emotional and psychological characteristics. This was particularly evident in the context of high decile schools where there was less focus on poverty-related problems. Addressing these emergent needs encouraged the school social workers to work directly with these children in efforts to enhance their self-management skills and social competences, often without their parents' involvement.

Attending to these discursive dimensions has helped to make visible the similarities and differences between the discourses of community as recovery, the community hub, and the different concepts, categories, theories and practices on which they function as truth claims. Of particular prevalence is the knowledge and practices of developmentalism and its concepts of progress, enhancement and evolution. Further, there is commonality in the desire to protect, preserve and develop each and every earthquake-affected life. However, as governmental practices the two renditions of community work operate at different levels and seem to have different aims. The recovery discourse positions community at the interface of the individual and their greater collective selves such that individuals are considered to be their 'best selves' when they are actively engaged in community life. Normative knowledge and statistical measurement imposed markers of vulnerability on populations such as children, highlighting how community operated as an important tool in enabling a 'biopolitics of difference' within the disaster recovery arrangements. The community hub discourse, in comparison, reflects a reversal in the processes of subject formation whereby children and their parents are identified as collectively vulnerable and further divided to address their individual needs. Thus, the community hub approach can be understood as a process of therapeutic inclusion whereby all children and their families were marked 'at risk' and targeted for restorative, individualised attention.

Pastoral-biopolitics and the school social worker

School social work practice should not be considered simply as a welfare programme involved in applying population-based norms in alignment with societal demands for wellbeing and stability. The school social workers involved in this study acted to facilitate the capacities of children, parents and

families; practices that show an alliance with the vitalising and maximising values of biopower. Key to achieving their caring objectives were the social workers' abilities to shift the dynamics with their clients and within the school. They worked to distance themselves from vertical, authoritarian and involuntary relationships to more personalised, egalitarian associations. These individualising, caring practices also functioned as protective responses seeking to target the risk associated with vulnerability for children and parents. Despite the caring intentions of these pastoral relations, they did not prioritise collective bonds of the kind where individual community members were connected to others in schools. They tended to close children and parents off from differently articulated norms and non-validated forms of subjectivity. The pastoral, therapeutic school social worker was positioned as the 'significant other' with whom their clients were morally connected through the values of self-care and protection.

The protective, caring, individualising relations instituted by school social workers need not be considered fixed or totalising. As Foucault (1978) emphasises, "where there is power, there is resistance" (p. 95). In one scenario, the school social worker's actions legitimated a young girl's position that she was not in need of intervention through representing herself as an autonomous, free-thinking individual. On another occasion, some parents were able to decline social work interventions for their children through invoking alternative parental identities for themselves, centred on concerns for their children's future lives. Refusal of care by children and parents can be read, when legitimated, as one way to resist biopolitical rationality. However it would seem these acts of refusal privileged middle class children and parents – those who were able to demonstrate autonomy and independence. School social workers do work with children and parents in low decile schools to develop their competences in self-expression, negotiation and assertiveness. Nonetheless, families living in poverty can be conceived of as less free to refuse care and there were indications that social workers may not recognise this difference. Another form of resistance was noted in a scenario where a group of girls sought to connect to each other in relation to their shared vulnerability. The guidance of the school social worker allowed the grief and loss to be expressed as an experience of commonality, rather than seeking to correct it. These examples make visible how the school social workers can work at the limits of neoliberal and biopolitical rationality, promoting an openness to what was held in common with others within post-earthquake schools.

Implications for school social workers

A number of implications for school social workers have emerged in this study. Firstly is the task of positively critiquing truth and power relations that circulate through and around their work in schools. Positive critique does not align with the conceptualisation of schools as authoritarian models of treating, educating and interacting with children. Nor does it readily enable school social workers to position themselves and their relational practices as protective and empowering, or to adopt a stance in which they use their immunitary practices to undergird their conceptions of individual life and community. In this study positive critique has been taken up to make visible the location of school social workers within the workings of knowledge and power – the productive, vitalising set of biopolitical, disciplinary and pastoral arrangements in the earthquake recovery processes. These power relations are as recognisable in terms of their dominating and constraining conditions as their productive, expansive and maximising effects. Positive critique offers a basis for school social workers to attend to the way their own professional identities, taken-for-granted recovery practices and ethos of care are embedded within modern pastoral-biopolitical power relations.

Recognising the productivity of pastoral-biopolitics lends itself to the capacity to "take hold of and re-appropriate that power, to reinvent it, redirect it; a practical attitude that seeks an actively critical approach to power in the present" (Blencowe, 2011, p. 198). Positive critique introduces openness and contingency to school social workers' critical reflections on the political context of their practice, making visible different approaches and alternative professional stances. It also lends itself to other notions of freedom, not readily available in the relationship-based social work literature (Gray, 2010), which tends to focus on releasing people from the external conditions of constraint. In this inquiry the notion of negative freedom has been shown as inadequate on its own in illuminating the conditions for freedom of the kind where individuals act on their own behalf to develop and enhance themselves.

Another implication for practice relates to school social workers' alliance with the pastoral care system. The pastoral care system concerns the formation of vulnerable subjects as an arrangement of practices that segment and distribute children together in relation to their affects, behaviours and social circumstances. According to Rose (1998) humans are more multiple and transient than is currently thought and they have the abilities to act upon themselves to inhabit diverse forms of existence. Yet systems of organisation, such as the pastoral care system, work in opposition to these kinds of self-practices. They close off difference in their pursuit to eliminate risk through the

protection of the self (Esposito (2013b). The pastoral care system worked as both a process of organisation and subjectification; it sought to develop children and their parents so that they were competent in caring for themselves "as the subjects of their own and others practices upon them" (Rose, 1998, p. 171). Arguably, these functions call on social workers to remove themselves from, or resist, the negative effects of the pastoral surveillance system. However, this would be a very difficult process. School social workers' involvement in the pastoral care system was inextricably connected with their experiences of therapeutic expertise in schools. This position of authority was promoted as a means for the social workers to meet the needs of vulnerable children and influence the attitudes, values and actions of the teaching staff and the school overall. So the notion of displacing or deactivating the pastoral surveillance mechanism runs against not only the practices that give school social workers meaning, but also the objectives for protecting children and school communities. The risk for school social workers in seeking to destabilise the pastoral care arrangements is that it could result in their own isolation within schools. A preferable approach would be for social workers to attend to how the immunity function of the pastoral care system can be brought to include differences within systems, like a filter that lets in contamination (Esposito, 2011). Here it is important that individuals be exposed to others in ways that escape the immunisation of the self, through an openness to what is held in common with others. The school social workers who participated in this study demonstrated a proclivity to open up discussion and express their disagreement with teaching staff and other professionals whilst still maintaining a commitment to working in collaboration. I consider these practices as important sites of resistance, enabling immune bonds to be loosened or re-directed and enhancing the sense of contingency and openness in schools. To do this however, school social workers need to be cognisant of how some available ethical practices tend to favour middle-class norms and capacities.   Social work interventions may be reinforcing, rather than challenging, the power relations that constitute families affected by poverty as the other in schools.

Pastoral-biopolitical care relations are not always reduced to normalisation processes. The school social workers who participated in this study emphasised vulnerability as foundational experience of belonging in schools after the earthquakes. They also discussed the ways in which some children and parents refused and negotiated care and sought to connect to each other through their shared sense of loss. These examples bear witness to the complex ways in which these individuals took responsibility for themselves and each other. They also indicate how school social workers can animate inter-relational bonds that encourage difference and commonality in schools. Techniques such as the consent process and confession can be redeployed to optimise plurality in schools. Likewise, group work can be a means to promote opportunities for shared vulnerability and enable

horizontal relations in schools. Whilst entangled in normative knowledge and existing pastoral power relations, these kinds of interventions can be re-configured as alternative politically constituted community practices. Although they are small spaces of resistance, they are nonetheless significant in providing a beginning sketch of an affirmative biopolitics in post-earthquake schools. School social workers can re-utilise their immunitary practices to promote collectivity, without resorting to notions of sameness, and encourage relations between the self and other that are not centred on autonomy and self-control.

Future directions

This analysis has illustrated the complexity of biopolitics in relation to earthquake recovery, community practice and the roles of school social workers. As Harwood (2012) emphasises, taking this kind of critical stance is not simply a "politics of opposition" (p. 100); it is based on understanding the intersecting and complex power relations, modes of subjectification and the workings of knowledge. I have provided an introductory view of some individualising practices that move in relation to the affirmative modes of biopolitics that were not predicted by social workers. Further investigations into the ways that children and parents in schools develop these kinds of practices and the types of school social work interventions that facilitate them, are worthy endeavours for future research. Whilst it cannot be anticipated what these practices will look like, this study has shown that an affirmative biopolitics of community in schools can become possible when social workers facilitate relations based on difference and openness to what is held in common with others.

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The five policy documents examined in this study were produced between the years 2005-2014. The four government policies were published by different departments, one being published by the fifth Labour government in 2005 whilst the three others were produced by the fifth National government, which was elected in 2008. One was produced by the NZRC. In what follows, is a brief outline of each policy, some background information, the stated purpose and aims as well as the audience for whom they were produced.

Focus on Recovery: A holistic framework for recovery in New Zealand (MCDEM, 2005)

This policy was produced by the Ministry of Civil Defence & Emergency Management (MCDEM) to accompany new legislation, The Civil Defence Emergency Management Act 2002, which replaced the Civil Defence Act 1983. This legislation sought to introduce a more integrated and holistic approach to emergency management processes. It instituted new arrangements in which local authorities, local emergency and welfare services were grouped into regional Civil Defence Emergency Management (CDEM) groups. The new Act also established the MCDEM with the responsibilities of providing support to the regional CDEM groups to plan and manage local responses to disasters, leading the development of the National CDEM strategy, and managing the government-led response to major natural disasters (MCDEM, 2005, p. 3). The policy links directly with the National CDEM Strategy and aims to enhance the capabilities of CDEM stakeholders "to undertake short, medium and long-term recovery activities, enabling a timely and effective response to the recovery of affected communities" (MCDEM, 2005, p. 2).

Strategic Planning Framework: To support individual recovery and community wellbeing, and to build community resilience (MSD, 2011)

This policy was published by the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) in the May 2011 and builds on an initial draft policy titled "Supporting Individual Recovery and Community Wellbeing, and Building Community Resilience following the Canterbury Earthquake" (MSD, 2011, p. 5). (NB. Canterbury is the larger region within which Christchurch City and the towns: Rangiora, Kaiapoi and Rolleston reside). The policy was developed by the National Psychosocial Response Subgroup, which includes representatives from various government departments, NZRC, Salvation Army and Victim Support, the Psychosocial Recovery Advisory Group, a group of disaster researchers and the Christchurch

Psychosocial Response Subgroup, made up of representatives from government departments as well as those from the Christchurch City Council, Ngai Tahu (the local Māori iwi/tribe), the University of Canterbury, Canterbury District Health Board and local social services (MSD, 2011, p. 38). The framework sought to inform the planning and provision of the psychosocial response to the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes in the greater Christchurch region. The identified aim of the strategy is to enable "a stronger Canterbury" and has two components:

I.   Psychosocial recovery, which focuses on individual recovery over the short to medium timeframe following the 2011 earthquake.

II.   Community-level psychosocial recovery and wellbeing, which focuses on "the social implications of a disaster on the community as a whole" (MSD, 2011, p. 8) and is a longer-term response.

The policy document identifies that community engagement and resilience objectives will need to be developed at a later point within a broader recovery strategy (MSD, 2011, p. 8).

New Zealand Red Cross Recovery Framework (NZRC, 2011)

This policy was published by the New Zealand Red Cross (NZRC) in June 2011 to serve as the strategic framework for the recovery work of the organisation in the greater Christchurch region from 2011 until 2014. It was developed to align with the strategy and principles of International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and is also identified as a pilot policy for the future development of a national NZRC recovery framework (NZRC, 2011, p. 7). The overall aim of the NZRC's role in the Christchurch recovery is identified as "to meet immediate needs as required but to place an emphasis on working with communities to reinforce preparedness activities, to support recovery and to reduce reliance on relief" (NZRC, 2011, p. 4). Four strategic objectives are identified:

I.   Additional and enhanced Red Cross community programmes to meet the needs of affected people which includes the recruitment, training and establishment of Red Cross information, support and referral outreach teams to provide personal and practical assistance and collecting information on community needs and capacities through community programmes and outreach activities to share with other stakeholders.

II.   To contribute to resilient Canterbury communities; better able to cope with disasters and emergencies in the future, through developing, implementing and evaluating household preparedness initiatives.

III.   To strengthen the NZRC's capacity to respond and recover from future emergencies through reviewing and developing guidelines, response and contingency plans, response team roles and responsibilities and the procurement of tools and equipment, ensuring the appropriate

training of disaster teams and strengthening organisational resilience and preparedness for response.

IV. To assist and connect with displaced persons utilising the NZRC network which includes ensuring displaced populations have the same access to NZRC preparedness programmes and services, regular communication with affected people, providing family links service to displaced families and enhancing capacity in registration and data management (NZRC, 2011, pp. 14-17).

Community in Mind: Strategy for rebuilding health and wellbeing in greater Christchurch (CERA, 2014b)

This policy was published by the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) in June 2014. CERA was a government department set up on 29 March 2011. As a result of the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes, the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 was instituted and this established CERA to lead and coordinate the recovery of the greater Christchurch/Canterbury region. CERA was disestablished on 18 April 2016 when the Government transferred the ongoing recovery management to local authorities. The policy is directed to government, non-government agencies and local community groups to "develop, target and coordinate" (CERA, 2014b, p.8) their psychosocial and community recovery activities. The policy aims to guide the social recovery and focuses on community resilience through "enabling and empowering communities to shape their own recovery" (CERA, 2014b, p. 10). It outlines three priorities:

I. Community-led responses in which communities and leaders within those communities are enabled to plan and initiate recovery actions.

II. Good communication and engagement between service providers and community organisations.

III. Innovative service provision to target services to those considered to be most in need, identified broadly as vulnerable people (CERA, 2014b, p. 15).

Community in Mind: Shared Programme of Action (CERA, 2015)

This policy was published by CERA in May 2015 to expand on the three priority actions outlined in Community in Mind strategy document. It provides detail about the activities government and non-government agencies were delivering or planned to deliver to achieve the social recovery outcomes in greater Christchurch. The audience for the policy is the member organisations of the Greater

Christchurch Psychosocial Committee, which are identified as "responsible for coordinating, funding, planning and implementing the strategy and the initiatives in Community in Mind programme (CERA, 2015, p. 6). The members of this committee are includes representatives from:

- All Right? Campaign

- Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority,

- Canterbury District Health Board: Community

- Public Health

- Canterbury District Health Board: Mental Health Services

- Canterbury District Health Board: Planning and Funding

- Christchurch City Council

- Department of Internal Affairs

- Earthquake Commission

- Earthquake Support Coordination Service

- He Oranga Pounamu

- Ministry of Social Development: Department of Child, Youth and Family

- New Zealand Red Cross

- NGO sector and pan-NGO sector (One Voice Te Reo Kotahi, Social Service Providers of Aotearoa, Council of Social Services, Older Persons Network, Young Persons Network)

- Public Sector Organisational Resilience Team

- Relationships Aotearoa

- Selwyn District Council

- Te Puni Kōkiri

- University of Canterbury: Psychology Department

- University of Otago

- Waimakariri District Council

- Inter-Church Forum

- Health Promotion Agency

- Ministry of Health

- Mental Health Education and Resource Centre

- Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs

(CERA, 2015, p. 12).

It is interesting to note that despite CERA (2015) strategy's emphasis on guiding the work of local community groups there were no sports clubs, community centres or neighbourhood networks represented on the committee.

Information covered prior to interview:

• Purpose of the study and role and background of researcher

• Reminder of privacy rights and withdrawal

• Storage of information

• Overview of the focus of the interview

• Check if they would be available for follow-up by phone or email for further questions or an additional interview

Practice experience and work context

1. Overview of your history and experience as a social worker/community worker.
2. How/why did you start working in schools?
3. Describe your current position/role.
4. Describe the school(s) you work in.
5. Tell me about the impact of the earthquakes on the school.

Skills and methods of school-based practice

1. How would you describe the way you practice?
2. What are the beliefs or values which guide your work in the school(s)?
3. What do you consider to be the most important priorities for your work in the school(s)?
4. In what ways do you help clients to deal with concerns and issues and enhance their wellbeing?
5. Are there particular individuals/families who you consider to be disadvantaged or vulnerable within the school(s)? If so, how does your role respond to this need?
6. What role do you have in supporting the connections and relationships within schools?
7. How do you combine the roles of supporting the school relationships and helping children and families with problems?
8. Please describe an occasion when you successfully worked with a client which included enhancing their participation and belonging into the wider school community.
9. What practice skills and methods would you like to incorporate (further) into your current role to address the needs of your clients/ school community?
10. What are the highlights of your work in school(s)?
11. What are the challenges of your work in school(s)? How do you address these challenges in practice?

At the end of the interview the following was covered:

• Any further questions or points to add

• Privacy rights

• Transcripts to be given back to check for accuracy

• Timelines for completion and reporting

Title: Social work and community development in schools

This information sheet is for you to keep.

My name is Raewyn Tudor and I am conducting a research project with Dr Uschi Bay, and Associate Professor Philip Mendes, Associate Professor in the Department of Social Work towards a PhD at Monash University. This means that I will be writing a thesis that is the equivalent of a 300-page book.

You are invited to take part in this study. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before making a decision.

The aim of this study is to ascertain the usefulness of social work and community work in schools following the earthquakes and the methods and skills employed by social workers in their practice. The research interviews will seek to document the ways in which social workers and community workers based in schools facilitate wellbeing and social inclusion amongst the children and families of the schools.

It is hoped that this research will highlight the contribution and usefulness of social work and community development in schools; raise the profile of community development in social work education and practice, and promote the work of social services in schools.

The research involves speaking with you in an individual interview for approximately 60 minutes at a time and venue that is convenient. Some of the interview questions will ask you to consider how you started working in schools, the current role you have and the ways in which you respond to the needs of the school and the families you work with. You will be asked to consider how the earthquakes have impacted on the schools at which you work. Some sample questions are:

- How/why did you start working in schools?
- Tell me about the impact of the earthquakes on the school.
- What practice skills and methods would you like to incorporate (further) into your current role to address the needs of your clients/ school community?

The interview will be audio-taped and transcribed and interviewees will be provided with a transcription of their interview to check for accuracy of content.

Each participant will be requested to sign a consent form prior to the interviews. Participation in this research is entirely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any stage by notifying me either on the phone or in writing. You may also decline answering any questions which you feel are too personal or intrusive. If at any point during or after the interview you are distressed and would like support then you may access the following services:

Your organisation's Employment Assistance Programme

Lifeline, a 24-hour telephone counselling service, ph: 0800 543 354

Psychiatric Emergency Service (PES), for free 24-hour urgent and emergency psychiatric

assessment, ph: 0800 920 092 or 03 364 0640

No data or findings that identify individual participant or school will be published and all reasonable attempts will be made to protect participant's right to privacy and confidentiality. Only the researchers listed above will have access to the data collected during this research, which will be stored by the Department of Social Work at Monash University for five years in a locked filing cabinet as prescribed by the university regulations.

The findings are accessible for five years. You will not be penalised or disadvantaged in any way should you choose not to participate in the project. If you have any queries please contact Raewyn Tudor on 9408 501, Dr Uschi Bay on 061 3 9903 1130 or uschi.bay@monash.edu or Associate Professor Philip Mendes on 061 3 9903 1132 or philip.mendes@monash.edu

Once you understand what the research project is about and if you agree to take part in it, please sign the consent form. By signing the consent form, you indicate that you understand the information and that you give consent to participate in the research project. Please post the consent form to:

Raewyn Tudor

Department of Nursing and Human Services

Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology (CPIT)

████████

Christchurch

On receipt of the signed consent form the researcher will phone to set up a time for an interview.

If you would like to contact the researchers about any aspect of this study, please contact the Chief Investigator:	If you have a complaint concerning the manner in which this research CF12/2205 - 2012001192 is being conducted, please contact:
Dr Uschi Bay on 0███████████ or ██████████ ████████	Executive Officer Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) Building ██████████ Research Office Monash University VIC 3800
Associate Professor Philip Mendes on ████ ████ or ██████████████	

Tel: ███████████   Fax: ███████████

Email: █████████████████

Thank you.

Raewyn Tudor

Tel: ███████████   Fax: ███████████

Email: █████████████████

Consent form

Title: Social work and community development in schools

NOTE: This consent form will remain with the Monash University researcher for their records

I agree to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that:

I agree to be interviewed by the researcher	Yes	No
I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped	Yes	No
I agree to make myself available for a further interview if required	Yes	No

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstances, contain names or identifying characteristics.

I understand that I will be given a transcript of data concerning me for my approval before it is included in the write-up of the research.

I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

I understand that data from the interview transcript and audio-tape will be kept in a secure storage and accessible to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a five-year period unless I consent to it being used in future research.

Participant's name

Signature

Date