Governing Pro-Environmental Behaviour Change: A Governmentality Approach

Luke T. M. Dilley

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) at Newcastle University.

January 2012

School of Agriculture, Food and Rural Development
Newcastle University
Newcastle-upon-Tyne
NE1 7RU

No part of the material offered has been previously submitted by me for a degree or other qualification in this or any other University.

Abstract

Academics and policy makers alike have shown an increasing interest in the concept of 'pro-environmental behaviour'. Central to this concept is the understanding that tackling environmental problems will necessitate behaviour change by individuals. Much research to date has sought to understand how attempts to encourage people to change their behaviour can be made to work more effectively. This research takes a different approach. Drawing upon Foucault's work on 'governmentality', this research examines pro-environmental behaviour change as a practice of government. The research draws on an ethnographic study of the UK Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs' Sustainable Behaviours Unit (SBU). It examines pro-environmental behaviour change as a particular problem, object and end of government. It is argued that the SBU hopes to govern the way we 'choose to behave' by acting on the psychic 'stuff' thought to drive and inhibit various forms of behaviour. The thesis examines the ways in which behaviour is sought to be governed 'at a distance' by working *through* 'community' and the 'Third Sector'. The thesis also analyses how behaviour change is mobilised at the local level by exploring a particular green communities initiative – Wenfield Energy Saving Together (WERG). It is argued that the discourse and practice of behaviour change is modified and limited as it is inserted into a particular context and set of social relations. The themes of modification and limitation are explored in more depth in the final section of the thesis. It is argued that attempts to govern are met with resistance, contestation and strategic counter moves. It is suggested that rather than being a block to the exercise of government, such 'counter conduct' triggers processes of governmental reform. Finally, despite some evident difficulties in fostering pro-environmental behaviour; it is contended that, as a form of government, behaviour change may become less of a policy experiment and instead a more stable strategy of the state.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Economics and Social Research Council and the organisation which part funded this research[1].

I wish to thank all those who took part in this research. Without their help and time this research would never have been possible.

I also wish to thank my all my supervisors: Prof. Philip Lowe, Dr. Nicola Thompson, Dr. Jane Atternton, Lydia Speakman and Ruth Machen for their comments and invaluable guidance.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents and Misato for their support and help.

[1] This organisation is not named in order to ensure the full anonymity of some of those appearing in this thesis.

Contents

Acronyms and Abbreviations **8**

List of Tables and Figures **9**

Introduction **10**

Pro-Environmental Behaviour Change 12

Thesis Overview 17

Chapter One: An Analytics of Government **20**

1.1 Introduction 20

1.2 A Restructured State? 20

1.2.1 Government, Governance and the Environment *22*

1.3 An Analytics of Government: Understanding Government 25

1.3.1 Problematics and Rationalities of Government *26*

1.3.2 Programmes and Technologies of Government *27*

1.3.3 Subjectivity and Government *29*

1.3.4 An Analytics of Self-Government *30*

1.3.5 Toward an Analytic of 'Pro-Environmental Behaviour Change' as a Practice of Government *33*

1.4 Bio-Power 34

1.5 Liberalism and Advanced Liberalism 37

1.5.1 Advanced Liberalism: Subjectivity, Choice, Freedom and Obligation *39*

1.5.2 Advanced Liberalism: Community as Governmental Technology *41*

1.6 Green Governmentality: from Bio-Power to Advanced Liberalism? 43

1.7 The Greening of Conduct: Environmental 'Community' Initiatives 46

1.7.1 Government and the Shaping of a Green Self? *47*

1.8 Critique of Governmentality 48

1.9 Conclusion 51

Chapter Two: Methodology and Methods **53**

2.1 Introduction 53

2.2 Realities, Methodologies and Method 53

2.2.1 Ethnography and Governmentality *56*

2.3 Ethnography: Participant Observation 57

2.3.1 Defra *58*
2.3.2 Eco-Teams *61*
2.3.3 WERG and Green Communities *62*
2.4 Ethnography: Interviews 64
2.4.1 Defra 66
2.4.2 WERG and Green Communities *68*
2.5 Ethnography: Documents 69
2.6 Analysis: Diaries, Interviews and Texts 70
2.7 Ethics 71
2.8 Conclusion 74
Chapter Three: Choice, Conduct and the SBU **76**
3.1 Introduction 76
3.2 The Sustainable Behaviours Unit and a Wider Problematics of Government 77
3.3 The SBU Beginnings: The Virtual Team 82
3.3.1 Social Marketing as a Technique of Government *86*
3.4 Social Marketing: Segments 87
3.5 Social Marketing: Designating Sustainability 90
3.5.1 Designating Sustainability: 'Behaviours Refresh' *93*
3.5.2 Beyond the Virtual Team *94*
3.5.3 Meetings and Choosing Choices *95*
3.5.4 Behaviours: Impacts and Evidence *96*
3.5.5 Selecting Behaviours: Neutrality, the Bureaucratic Persona and Tactics *102*
3.6 Social Marketing: Drivers, Barriers and Changing Behaviour 106
3.7 Technologies of the SBU: Behaviour and Community 110
3.8 Conclusion 114
Chapter Four: Making Government Technical **117**
4.1 Introduction 117
4.2 Defra and the Third Sector 117
4.3 Programmes and the Third Sector: Every Action Counts and the Environmental Action Fund 120
4.3.1 The EAF, EAC and Community *125*

4.4 Governing at a Distance and the Third Sector 126
4.5 The Greener Living Fund (GLF) and Pilot Projects 130
4.5.1 The GLF 134
4.6 The GLF and Eco-Teams 135
4.6.1 Eco-Team Workshop 138
4.6.2 Promoting Individual Action 140
4.6.3 Measurements and Numbers 142
4.6.4 Facilitating Self-Government: Eco-Team Norms 146
4.6.5 Pedagogy: Schooling Participants to become the Instruments of Government 147
4.6.6 The Eco-Team Workshop: A Success? 149
4.6.7 Eco-Team Workshop: Conclusion 152
4.7 Making Government Technical: Conclusion 153
Chapter Five: Behaviour Change: WERG and Green Communities 156
5.1 Introduction 156
5.2 Green Communities, the Energy Saving Trust and Wenfield Energy Reduction Group 157
5.2.1 Rationalities of EST 160
5.2.2 Moral Codes and Energy Saving Conduct 161
5.2.3 Energy Saving and Ethics 161
5.2.4 Energy Saving and Technologies of Government 163
5.3 Wenfield and Wenfield Energy Reduction Group 165
5.3.1 WERG: Beginnings 166
5.3.2 WERG as an Object of Government: Autonomy, Self-Government and Responsibility 168
5.3.3 Targets and Community 172
5.4 WERG: Governing Others 173
5.4.1 Working 'on' and 'through' Children 174
5.4.2 Problematising Energy Use 175
5.4.3 Disseminating Energy Saving Choices 177
5.4.4 Power, Schools and Energy Saving Conduct 179
5.4.5 Posters and Energy Saving 181
5.5 The Ethics of WERG 182

5.6 Ethics, Energy Monitors and Energy Saving 186
5.6.1 Eco-Eyes, Self-Government and Ethics 189
5.7 Members of WERG as Objects of Government 192
5.8 Conclusion 197
Chapter Six: Limitation, Resistance and Reformation 199
6.1 Introduction 199
6.2 WERG and Green Communities: Failure and Reform *201*
6.2.1 WERG: Elite Networks and Disconnection 203
6.2.2 WERG: Divisions and Resistance 205
6.2.3 Green Communities: Programme Reformation 208
6.3 Defra: Limitation, Resistance and Reformation 210
6.3.1 Alignment of Values? 210
6.3.2 Evaluation, Limitation and Resistance 211
6.3.3 Delivery, Limitation and Resistance 214
6.3.4 Governing at a Distance? 220
6.4 Defra: Learning, Delivery and Programme Reformation 220
6.4.1 Splitting the Fund: Learning and Delivery 220
6.4.2 Auditing: Self-Regulated Autonomy, Discipline and Capacity 222
6.5 Defra: Programmes, Delivery Partners and Power 227
6.5.1 The Play of Forces 229
6.5.2 Symbiosis and Emergence 233
6.6 Defra: Practice, Criticism and Regulation 234
6.7 Defra: Losing Control 237
6.8 Defra: Becoming Objects Themselves 240
6.9 Conclusion 241
Chapter Seven: Conclusion 243
7.1 Behaviour Change as a Practice of Government: Towards Sustainability? 243
7.2 Behaviour Change, Government, Networks and Relationships 250
7.3 Behaviour Change: Conditions of Existence 251
7.4 Behaviour Change and Future Studies 254
Bibliography 256
Appendices 302

Acronyms and Abbreviations

BERR	Department of Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform
CAfE	Community Action for Energy
CSE	Centre for Sustainable Energy
DECC	Department of Energy and Climate Change
Defra	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
EAC	Every Action Counts
EAF	Environmental Action Fund
EBP	Evidence-Based Policy
ERC	Energy Reduction Company
EST	Energy Saving Trust
GAP	Global Action Plan
GLF	Greener Living Fund
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
SBU	Sustainable Behaviours Unit
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
WERG	Wenfield Energy Reduction Group

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1	Social Marketing as an Intellectual Technology	86
Figure 2	The Seven Population Segments	89
Figure 3	Defra's 'Headline Behaviour Goals'	92
Figure 4	The 'Hair Dryer'	99
Figure 5	Motivators for Pro-Environmental Behaviour	108
Figure 6	Barriers and Motivations by Segment	109
Figure 7	Behavioural Influences	111
Figure 8	Defra's Deliver Partners	121
Figure 9	Acting for the Planet	124
Figure 10	Action Cards	125
Figure 11	Action Cards	125
Figure 12	Choosing your Actions	143
Figure 13	Rubbish and Shopping Actions	144
Figure 14	Eco-Teams Recruitment Poster	148
Figure 15	Behaviours Designated as 'Second Nature' by Workshop Participants	150
Figure 16	What are the Benefits of Joining an Eco-Team?	151
Figure 17	Funding Diagram for CAfE	158
Figure 18	Institutional Structure Behind WERG	159
Table 1	EST 'Right Choices'	161
Figure 19	Green Communities Action Plan	170
Figure 20	Energy Use and Appliances	176
Figure 21	Energy Use Checklist	177
Figure 22	Energy Saving Behaviour	179
Figure 23	Two Posters Made by Children for WERG	182
Figure 24	A number of Energy Saving Devices Bought by WERG	187
Figure 25	An 'Eco Eye' Displaying KWh	187
Figure 26	Defra's Policy Making Model	212
Figure 27	Diagrammatic Representation of the Reconfiguration of the Behaviour Change Funding Stream	221

Introduction

The year 2012 will mark the 20th anniversary of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in which Agenda 21 was adopted. In the report released after the 1992 conference it was argued that humanity was "confronted with … the continuing degradation of the eco-systems on which we depend for our well being" (United Nations (UN), 1992: 12). Faced with this mounting degradation it was suggested that the world was at a "defining moment in history" (UN, 1992: 12) which required concerted effort by governments, NGOs, citizens and other social actors. Some nine years later, just prior to the World Summit in Johannesburg in 2001, Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary General, echoed this call suggesting that: "if we are to maintain a viable global environment there is no choice but for governments, United Nations entities, the private sector and civil society to work together" (United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), 2001: 3).

While these conferences are perhaps notable for a number of reasons, not least the calls for a concerted and interconnected response to environmental problems, it is the framing of the causes of environmental degradation that are, in the context of this thesis, of interest. In the reports issued after both conferences, environmental degradation is framed in terms of 'unsustainable' production. Unsustainable production, in these reports, is, in turn, linked into, and generated by, the consumption and lifestyle practices of an affluent minority which, it is argued, places "immense stress on the environment" (UN, 1992: 3; see also UN, 2002). Following these summits, Hobson (2003: 96) argues, one of the key priorities facing national governments was translating this international policy discourse into positive action.

However, the ideological and epistemological underpinnings of this framing of environmental problems in terms of (Western) consumption and lifestyle practices have shaped national political responses in particular ways (Hobson, 2002: 99). Hence, since the 1992 Earth Summit there has been increasing emphasis in the UK placed on encouraging environmentally-orientated action by individual citizens (Barr, 2003) particularly via strategies that focus around the shaping of individual consumption and lifestyle practices in ways that do not seek to *force* individuals to consume less

(Hobson, 2002: 99). Subsequently, there have been a number of both multi-national and national government initiatives which focus on *encouraging* individuals to change the way they behave and consume. In the UK context these include: Local Agenda 21 (Selman, 1998; Lafferty & Eckerberg, 1998), 'Helping the Earth Begins at Home' (Hinchcliffe, 1996) 'Going for Green' and 'Are you doing your bit?' (Hobson, 2002).

However, it is not only at the political level that the framing of environmental problems is individualised. Maniates (2002) also points to the increasing tendency amongst environmental groups, NGOs and other agents to conceptualise environmental problems in terms of individual consumption. This has translated into the development of strategies which seek to encourage individuals to modify their own consumptive practices. This may be evidenced in the increasing proliferation of (non-governmental) books, pamphlets and initiatives that encourage the public to take action at the level of their individual consumption and lifestyle (see for example: Greenpeace, undated; Goodall, 2007).

This apparent emphasis on individual consumption and lifestyle practices by a host of political and non-political groups, actors and institutions seems to be reflected in the increasing participation by UK citizens in 'consumption politics'. In other words buying goods for environmental and/or other political and ethical reasons (Pattie, Seyd & Whiteley, 2003: 622/631). It may also be reflected in accounts given by interviewees which frame environmental problems in terms of individual responsibility, consumption and lifestyle practices (Middlemiss, 2010b)[2]. Here, Middlemiss (2010: 153) draws a link between how individual citizens reflect upon environmental problems and the framing of these problems by "government and other stakeholders". Indeed, she states that "an emphasis on individual responsibility is not inevitable" (Middlemiss, 2010: 153). Similarly, Maniates (2002) argues that the increasing individualisation and responsibilisation of environmental problems is part of a broad and conscious effort, and suggests that "it's more than coincidental that … our prevailing way of framing environmental problem-solving has become more individualised" (Maniates, 2002: 58). It is in this context that this thesis is situated and attempts to open up to reflection the notion of 'pro-environmental behaviour change'.

[2] Although there are studies which show that individuals reject such framings (see for example: Hinchliffe, 1996; 1997, Hobson, 2002).

Pro-Environmental Behaviour Change

The concept of 'pro-environmental behaviour change' has increased in salience over the last 10 years. Its rise can be linked to the political sphere (Defra, 2008a; 2006a), various NGOs and non-governmental groups (see for example: WWF, 2008; Green Alliance, 2006) as well as the increasing attention it has been given by academics in a multitude of disciplines. These include: environmental psychology (see for example the *Journal of Environmental Psychology*), social psychology (see for example: Harland, Staats & Wilkie, 1999) and sociology (for example: Shove, 2010a; 2010b) [3]. While not without critics, central to the concept of pro-environmental behaviour is the understanding that environmental problems necessitate behaviour change by individuals. Indeed, Jackson (2005a: xi) suggests that "behavioural change is fast becoming the 'holy grail'" of environmental sustainability, while in the recent Stern Review it was argued that:

> "Dangerous climate change cannot be avoided solely through high level international agreements: it will take behavioural change by individuals and communities, particularly in relation to their housing, transport and food consumption decisions"
>
> (Stern, 2007: 395)

This behavioural change, according to Lord Stern, will require concerted effort, especially by policy makers, to persuade individuals to willingly co-operate with environmental objectives and change their behaviour (Stern, 2007: 395-396). In this regard a number of scholars have engaged with the notion of pro-environmental behaviour in an effort to understand how ways to persuade people to change their behaviour "can be made to work best" (Paterson & Stripple, 2010: 342).

Stern (2007: 395) has suggested that any attempt at persuading people to change their behaviour will need to involve the consideration of environmental attitudes. In a similar vein Barr (2003) argues that strategies to encourage behaviour change will need to go beyond information provision and take into account individual values, while De Young (2000) suggests that environmentally responsible behaviour could be

[3] Although concern with environmental behaviour and its drivers has been evident in academia for some time (see for example: Lowe & Wolfgang, 1986).

encouraged by considering a whole raft of individual motivations. This view is echoed by Spence & Pigeon (2009) and Turaga, Howarth & Borsuk (2010). Not only have there been calls to consider individual environmental attitudes, values and other motivations in relation to behaviour change, there have also been appeals for situational factors and context to be taken into account (Stern, 2000: 421; Barr, 2003). This has included a focus on the social groups and communities in which individuals are situated (see for example: Reid, Sutton & Hunter, 2010; McKenzie-Mohr, 2000). In this light, studies examining behaviour change initiatives conclude that there needs to be consideration of a "broad range of social factors that may limit or encourage … pro-environmental behaviour changes" (Baldwin, 2010: 864).

Other studies of behaviour change initiatives, viewed from the stand point of social practice theories, argue that behaviour needs to be understood in relation to bundles of interconnected elements. These elements have included cultural understandings as well as "forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use … know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (Warde, 2005: 133; see for example Hargreaves, 2008; 2011). Indeed, those employing theories of practice highlight the need for consideration of both the social and material context in which behaviour is situated (see for example Shove, 2010b: 283). Such concern for material context has led to arguments that in order to encourage behaviour change, stress should be placed less on behaviour at the level of the individual and instead focus on the structural contexts in which people behave. Furthermore, others have speculated on whether behaviour change is best achieved through tackling structural and institutional barriers through state regulatory and coercive measures, hence compelling change and "forcing people to be "green"" (Ockwell, Whitmarsh & O'Neil, 2009: 311).

While intellectual exercises in the vein of "Making Pro-Environmental Behaviour Work" (Hargreaves, 2008: 1) are no doubt worthwhile, they often take the form of, what Patterson & Stripple (2010: 342) describe as, "managerial/normative analyses". Such studies tend to posit that if only X theory, factor or aspect was taken into account then attempts at changing behaviour can be 'made to work best'. Moreover, recommendations and critiques relating to pro-environmental behaviour change are usually structured along the author's understandings of individual agency. This leads

to writings which either stress individual motivations, values and attitudes or social and material context or a mixture of the two.

This research does not seek to replicate and rehearse such arguments. Neither does this thesis seek to offer a critique of the increasing salience of individual pro-environmental behaviour change as simply a 'scam'; whereby those who are ultimately culpable for environmental degradation – governments and large corporations – are excused of their responsibility for it (see: Patterson & Stripple, 2010: 343-345). On saying this, this thesis does examine, in part, how the notion of pro-environmental behaviour assigns responsibility in particular ways. Nevertheless, this thesis attempts to understand pro-environmental behaviour change as a practice, but not in the sense of Warde (2005), Hargreaves (2008; 2011) and Shove (2010a; 2010b). Instead it interrogates pro-environmental behaviour change by drawing on Foucault's notion of 'governmentality' (see for example Foucault, 1991a) and conceptualises pro-environmental behaviour change as a particular practice and form of government. Thus pro-environmental behaviour change is understood as a "more or less methodical and rationally reflected 'way of doing things' … so as to shape, guide, correct and modify the way in which [persons] conduct themselves" (Bruchell, 1993: 267). More specifically, this thesis asks:

- What are the elements that comprise and inform this way of governing behaviour?
- How is behavioural change actually sought?
- How is pro-environmental behaviour change implemented as a form of self-government?
- How is the discourse and practice of pro-environmental behaviour change contested and re-shaped by those that could be understood as the 'objects' of government?

In order to begin to tackle these questions this research focuses on two specific sites, the first of which is a particular site in the state. It is a site that is perhaps ubiquitously associated with the notion of pro-environmental behaviour change: the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs' (Defra) Sustainable Behaviours Unit (SBU).

Drawing on documents, interviews and time spent in the SBU, this thesis comes to examine how this specific site is seeking to respond and govern in relation to concerns over the environment. It comes to examine the formation, problematisations, knowledge, rationality and ends of this unit (Dean, 2010). In a sense this thesis firstly examines the intellectual labours and *techniques* (Dean, 2010: 40) linked to behaviour change as a state objective. This thesis also brings to the fore the ways in which behaviour is sought to be changed through various governmental networks and *technologies*. Finally, in relation to Defra, this thesis highlights how attempts to change behaviour are met with resistance and contestation which triggers a process of governmental reformation and recalibration.

The study of the second site similarly draws upon text, interviews and participant observation. The second site examined is a local community environmental initiative which focuses on climate change. Situated in the village of Wenfield, this initiative came to be known as Wenfield Energy Reduction Group (WERG) and is part of the Energy Saving Trust's Green Communities Programme. This thesis contends that this initiative can also be understood as governmental. Indeed, using Foucault's notion of government allows one to understand that government is not synonymous with the state, but is enacted at a multitude of levels including various (non-state) institutions, groups, the family and even the self.

Hence, Foucault's understanding of government is used as an analytical framework to conceptualise the workings of the SBU as well as WERG and the Green Communities Programme. In this sense the thesis examines the rationalities, problematisations and ends of the Green Communities Programme and WERG. However, it is understood that WERG and the Green Communities Programme is part of the same practice of government, known as behaviour change, as found within Defra and the SBU. In this regard, attempts to govern behaviour can be found in sites outside the formal *apparatus* of the state, yet, the means, ends and logics of these other sites of government are invested by, overlap and resonate with those of the state (Barnett et. al., 2008: 626). Hence, it is argued, the Green Communities Programme and WERG, an initiative which explicitly seeks to change behaviour in relation to environmental concerns, is a locus of practice which links, overlaps and resonates with the aspirations and activities of the state. There is, however, one difference between the

analysis of Defra/the SBU and WERG. Unlike the SBU, WERG is understood to be a site in which behaviour change becomes a practice of self-government. Thus, in relation to WERG, the question arises: how is behaviour, both of others and the self, sought to be changed? How, as both a practice of the government of others and the self, has behaviour change been resisted and modified?

This thesis, then, seeks to contribute to scholarship in a number of ways. Firstly it attempts to conceptualise pro-environmental behaviour change in terms of Foucault's understanding of government and does so through detailed empirical investigation at two sites. In doing this, it not only re-frames behaviour change as a *form* of government, a conceptualisation that is just starting to emerge, (see for example: Pykett, 2011a, Pidgeon & Butler, 2009; Butler, 2010; Jones, Pykett & Whitehead, 2011; Jones, Pykett & Whitehead, 2010; Patterson & Stripple, 2010; Letell, Sundqvist & Elam, 2011), but also seeks to add to the governmentality literature (for example: Dean, 2010; Rose, 1999a), and more specifically, the writings on 'green governmentality' (see for example: Oels, 2005; Rutherford, 1999; 2007; Luke, 1999; Darier, 1996a, 1996b; Agrawal 2005a; 2005b, Slocum, 2004). This research adds to these literatures in a number of ways. It does so by employing ethnographic techniques which are rarely used in governmentality studies[4]. Indeed, although much governmentality work focuses on the rationalities, aims and means of the state, this research explores, through ethnographic techniques, the practice of government by a central state actor. As far as the author is aware this has not been done before. It also explores a second site through ethnographic techniques and comes to understand this site as linked into, and invested in by, the state. Thus, this multi-level ethnographic study adds to the governmentality literature as it allows for a detailed empirical exploration of the interlinking practice of government at the political and the local level. Finally, the use of ethnographic methods also enables the messy nature of governing, at multiple levels, to be brought to the fore. In other words it highlights the ways in which attempts to govern are modified, resisted and contested; something that is often underplayed in governmentality studies (O'Malley, Weir and Shearing, 1997: 509).

[4] Although see: Herbert-Cheshire (2006), Agrawal (2005b) and Li (2007).

Thesis Overview

The following chapter, **Chapter One,** sets out a Foucauldian analytics of government which focuses around governmental logics, means and ends. It then examines some of the contemporary and not so contemporary rationalities, aims and practices of government and comes to argue that contemporaneous forms of advanced liberal rule increasingly come to depend on constructing and fostering types of persons able to regulate their own conduct in particular ways. Furthermore, in this chapter, it is suggested that attempts to govern in relation to environmental problems can be decoded through reference to the notion of advanced liberalism. However, it is proposed that Foucault's conceptualisation of government should not only be applied to the state but also to a 'new breed' of environmental community/local initiative which involve individuals modifying their own behaviour and seeking to modify that of others around them (Middlesmiss & Parrish, 2010: 7559). Finally, the chapter deals with some common criticism aimed at Foucault's work and the notion of governmentality.

Chapter Two engages with issues of methodology and method. This chapter sets out and justifies the interpretive/constructivist framework that this research draws upon. Linked to the employment of both Foucault's ideas and this interpretive/constructivist approach, the chapter also raises, and seeks to deal with, the problem of normative frameworks. Chapter Two also highlights the methods used during this research and seeks to rationalise their use. Subsequently the chapter addresses data analysis and questions of ethics.

Chapter Three introduces and looks at the formation of the SBU. It also examines both the institutional and discursive context in which the SBU is set. Situated within this context the chapter then explores what could be understood as the intellectual labours of the SBU. In so doing, it brings to the fore the key 'intellectual technique' employed in the SBU – 'social marketing' – and explores how this technique is linked to the formation of a particular problem, object and end of this unit. This chapter also argues that, linked into a broader political narrative, community comes to be understood as a key 'technology' through which the choices and behaviours of individuals can be modified.

Following Chapter Three, **Chapter four** examines how behaviour is actually sought to be changed "without the need for prescriptive policies" (Hobson, 2004: 134). The way this is done is through the enrolment of the 'Third Sector' into a network of government. This chapter also introduces three of Defra's Behaviour Change programmes: the Environmental Action Fund (EAF), Every Action Counts (EAC) and the Greener Living Fund (GLF). Using an example of a workshop funded under Defra's latest behaviour change programme, the GLF, this chapter tries to highlight how people 'on the ground' are enticed to problematise and change their behaviour. The chapter concludes by arguing that Defra is to some degree successful in 'translating' its aims and objectives through a network of actors. However, this chapter can only go so far and for a detailed empirical investigation of behaviour change at the local level the thesis moves to examine WERG and the Green Communities programme.

Chapter Five firstly examines the Energy Saving Trust's Green Communities Programme. It comes to suggest that this programme can be understood as part of a practice of government which seeks to engender pro-environmental behaviour change in particular ways. The chapter shows how WERG is formed as part of this Green Communities Programme and suggests that the members of WERG become both the instruments and objects of attempts to change behaviour. Indeed, Chapter Five highlights how the members of WERG not only seek to change the behaviour of others but also seek to change their own conduct. However, Chapter Five also demonstrates how behaviour change is circumscribed and modified in "unexpected ways" (Rydin, 2007: 621) as it is made practical by WERG.

Chapter Six examines the themes of resistance, contestation, limitation and reformation in relation to WERG, Green Communities and Defra's behaviour change programmes. Starting with an examination of WERG, this chapter demonstrates how the members of this group increasingly feel that they have failed. However, as it is shown, rather than 'give up', WERG reform their strategies and tactics. Similarly, the Green Communities Programme is shown to be a sphere of restructuring. The theme of reformation is taken up again in relation to the limitations of, and contestations within, Defra's behaviour change programmes. It is argued that in the light of

apparent problems in ‘delivering’ behaviour change, Defra reformulates its programmes in an attempt to ensure its objectives are met. Hence, we can see in both Defra and the Green Communities programme/WERG a cycle of “experiment[ation], invention, failure, critique and adjustment” (Miller & Rose, 1990: 88). Hence, rather than conceptualising malfunction or resistance as simply being a ‘block’ to attempts to change behaviour, they could instead be understood as a trigger for reform. Chapter Six also briefly questions whether Defra is the only actor seeking to govern in its programmes, in the sense that non-state actors, engaging with Defra through its behaviour change programmes, might be seeking to govern Defra itself.

Chapter Seven offers some conclusions by asking “what is at stake” (Dean, 2010: 49) and the “theoretical and non-theoretical consequences” (Lemke, 2002: 61) of the form of government explored in this study. It is argued that the discourse and practice of behaviour change examined in this thesis embeds an understanding of environmental problems as related to the privatised personal choices made in the domestic sphere. Hence, the understanding that the solution to environmental problems is linked to individuals changing their private choices moves away from a framing of environmental problems in terms of collectivised solutions, regulation or deliberation at the level of the social. Finally, this chapter reflects upon the context in which the notion of behaviour change has emerged and suggests that the political climate is right for its proliferation across Whitehall.

Chapter 1. An Analytics of Government

1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework upon which this thesis draws. As this thesis to a large degree focuses on the way in which Defra's Sustainable Behaviours Unit (SBU) seeks to govern in relation to environmental problems this chapter firstly examines the shifts in contemporary statecraft. Subsequently the chapter goes on to argue that we can best understand the operation of the modern state by drawing upon Foucault's work on governmentality. Taking from the work of Foucault and others this chapter outlines an 'analytics' of government. Using this analytics draws our attention to the need to examine the rationalities, problems, ends and technical aspects of government. Subsequently this chapter attempts to ground this analytics by examining some of the discernible contours of particular rationalities and practices of contemporary, and not so contemporary, government. This thesis argues that modern 'advanced liberal' forms of government increasingly rely on indirect mechanisms in the governing of behaviour. One of these indirect mechanisms is community. It is *through* community that it is thought the behaviour of individuals can be governed. Following the exploration of community as a *technology* of government this chapter then goes on to explore 'green governmentality' and community environmental initiatives. This chapter develops the view that contemporary efforts to govern in relation to environmental problems can be decoded through the lens of advanced liberalism. It further suggests that local community initiatives can be understood as governmental and that such initiatives may link into, be invested by and resonate with the aspirations of the state. The chapter concludes by highlighting some critiques of a governmentality approach.

1.2 A Restructured State?

This thesis, to a large degree, focuses upon a particular site of the state, Defra's Sustainable Behaviours Unit (SBU). This thesis examines two interconnected aspects of this particular site in relation to the period of the New Labour administration (1997-2010). Firstly, the thesis investigates the development of a particular logic of

government in connection to environmental problems. Secondly, this work explores how this particular site seeks to govern. As this thesis, then, focuses on the logic and the ways of governing of a particular site of the state, it is worth sketching out the recent shifts in contemporary statecraft. In this regard a number of scholars have tried to understand the way in which the state is being reformed and reorganised. Such reforms are characterised as linked to a broader 'neoliberal' project, with state function shifting from one of 'government' to 'governance' (Jessop, 2002: 454). This state restructuring has been theorised as the outcome of a crisis in the Keynesian welfare state model. This crisis has been viewed by some to be the result of processes of globalisation (see for example: Tickell & Peck 1995: 373, Peck & Tickell, 2002: 383; Clarke, 2004: 29) and an undermining of the legitimacy of bureaucracy and the state in service delivery (Rhodes, 1996: 655).

The shift from government to governance was theorised to include a number of core tenets, one of which was the apparent 'blurring' of the boundaries between, and a greater integration of, the state, civil and private spheres (Jordan, Wurzel and Zito, 2005: 480; O'Toole & Burdess, 2004: 434). Thus, there was a move to incorporate a whole host of private, public and quasi-governmental organisations, volunteer groups and individuals into the apparatus of the state. This was said to be leading to a reformation of the traditional roles of the state and non-state actors (Connelly, Richardson & Miles, 2006; Jordan, 2008). The blurring of lines between the public and private as well an increased emphasis on the market (Rhodes, 1996; Peck 2001) has lead Murdoch & Abram (1998) to suggest that there has been a shift from direct intervention through the formal apparatus of the state to government through complex state, private and public partnerships. Congruent with this analysis was an apparent reduction of state control, as state functions were devolved upwards to international organisations, downwards to localities and outwards to corporations, NGOs and other private or quasi private bodies (Beer et. al., 2005; Ward and McNicholas, 1998; Jordan, Wurzel and Zito, 2005: 480).

In a similar vein there has been a movement towards a greater engagement of the public and communities within systems of government through forms of participatory government – a move that is said to devolve power 'down' and empower local actors (MacKinnon, 2002: 307; Beer et. al., 2005: 51/53). The attempts at increased

inclusion of communities into systems of government were justified by arguments that centralised, 'one size fits all' approaches, characteristic of previous forms of central (government) intervention, were not the most effective form of administration (Murdoch, 1997). Moreover, it was argued, individuals and communities not only have the 'right' to govern themselves and find the answers to their problems but are also best placed to do so according to proponents of community empowerment (Herbert Cheshire, 2000).

This inclusion of a whole host of non-state bodies into systems of government has been characterised as resulting in a loss of centralised state control and "the hollowing out of the state" (Rhodes, 1996: 661). However, critics of the 'hollowing out' thesis argue that there is also evidence of increased state influence within non-state spheres. Thus, these restructurings have not led to a diminution of state control. Rather than seeing the state as becoming less powerful, it is argued that the state should be conceptualised as "differently powerful" (Peck, 2001: 447; Peck 2004) with centralised control still being exerted, albeit in different ways, through, for example: budgetary controls, audits and targets (Herbert Cheshire, 2000: Ward & McNickolas, 1998: Murdoch & Abram, 1998). Hence shifts in contemporary statecraft have been understood as "a qualitative process of state restructuring, not a quantitative process of state erosion or diminution" (Peck, 2001: 447).

1.2.1 Government, Governance and the Environment

Research on the way in which the state is governing in relation to environmental problems to some extent echoes the broader understandings of the perceived shifts in the form and function of the state (Gibbs, Jonas and While, 2002: 124). There is a perception that there is a tendency towards the decentralisation of state environmental functions (Bulkeley, 2005). Thus, there has been increasing importance placed on communities in relation to environmental issues, and the capacity of communities to manage their local environmental resources by both state and non-state actors (Lane & McDonald, 2005: 709; Lemos & Agrawal, 2006: 303). The emphasis and integration of communities and other small scale social units in the management of, and responses to, environmental problems are premised on the notion that such units are able to utilise and disseminate more context specific, and effective, knowledge

about the causes of, and solutions to, environmental problems. The inclusion of these social units into systems of environmental government is also said to increase local 'ownership' of environmental problems (Wallington & Lawrence, 2008: 279; Lemos & Agrawal, 2006: 303; see for example: Selman, 1998: 534-535). Such a trend towards the inclusion of communities can be seen in the Local Agenda 21 (LA21), an environmental initiative which explicitly attempted to incorporate communities and a whole range of actors into systems of government (Lafferty & Eckerberg, 1998; Bulkeley, 2005: 890).

This emphasis on inclusion of a whole range of actors within systems of government in LA21 reflects an increasing stress on partnership between state, private and civil society in environmental protection (Mol, 2007: 214). Indeed, Bulkeley & Kern suggest that within the UK "governing through enabling" is becoming the principal way in which to manage contemporary environmental problems (Bulkeley & Kern, 2006: 2242). In other words, state bodies facilitating, co-ordinating and encouraging environmental action through partnerships with community groups and private and voluntary-sector organisations. This emphasis on partnerships can also be evidenced in the use of voluntary agreements between the state and a number of public and private actors (these voluntary agreements relate to eco-labels, waste reduction and high energy efficiency agreements) (Lemos & Agrawal, 2006).

Despite the apparent emphasis on governing through enabling and partnership in relation to environmental problems, there is evidence that state regulatory instruments are still very much in use, and that governance mechanisms are being used to complement existing regulatory systems, or to deal with emerging issues such as climate change (Jordan, Wurzel and Zito, 2005). However, there is a perception that states are increasingly unable or reluctant to regulate the sources of environmental problems (Lemos & Agrawal, 2006: 301). This could be linked to a number of interconnected reasons. Firstly, there is perceived to have been a loss of faith in the understanding that nation states, through centralised regulatory and coercive management, are the appropriate agents for tackling environmental problems (Lemos & Agrawal, 2006: 301/302). Secondly, contemporary environmental problems, such as climate change, spill over national borders. This 'leaky' characteristic of modern environmental issues appears to suggest that single states are unable to address such

problems on their own (Bulkeley, 2005: 879). Thirdly, the globalised nature of contemporary markets leads to fears that capital may move to areas that have less stringent environmental standards (Lemos & Agrawal, 2006: 300) and hence the worry that environmental regulation may lead to a loss of economic competitiveness (Chua, 1999: 393).

In this context Lemos & Agrawal (2006) argue that, in relation to concerns over the environment, there is increasing emphasis being placed on governance mechanisms in contrast to the 'traditional' instruments of the state. These mechanisms, it is suggested, aim to "elicit the willing cooperation of those subject to the goals of governance" (Lemos & Agrawal, 2006: 311). Such arguments imply that contemporary forms of statecraft are less about "seeking to control through direct and immediate force" (Rydin, 2007: 611). Rather such arguments suggest current state practices seek to act through networks of actors in ways which attempt to inform the actions and choices of certain agents without prescriptive or coercive policies (Hobson, 2004). Indeed, this thesis comes to argue that one particular site in the state, the SBU, predominantly seeks to tackle environmental problems by working through a network of actors and aims to elicit particular forms of action without resorting to coercive or regulatory state mechanisms.

It is a central contention of this thesis that we can best understand the way in which the state seeks to govern in relation to environmental problems by drawing upon a conceptualisation of government developed by Foucault in his work on governmentality. This is because this conceptualisation of government, later extended by others, can be understood as a "method of decipherment" (Jose, 2010: 695) which takes as its object of concern the practice of government, its logic and shifts. This method of decipherment allows us to understand the ways in which the contemporary state seeks to govern by inciting, fostering and engendering certain actors' willing cooperation with the objectives and ends of the state (see: Dean, 2010). To begin to understand this approach to government the next section starts by questioning the "ontological opposition" between the state, the public and the private realm (Herbert-Cheshire, 2001: 26).

1.3. An Analytics of Government: Understanding Government

To think of the state brings to mind a number of powerful and commonly held distinctions. These include spatial divisions: 'top down', 'bottom up' (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002), distinctions around the private and public, state and market (Cutler, 1999) and the state and civil society (Rose and Miller, 1992). However, Rose & Miller (1992) suggest that to understand the operation of the modern state through such dualisms will not adequately capture the workings of political power. This is because, it is proposed, these dualisms are in fact the outcome of, and integral to, the workings of political power itself (Rose and Miller, 1992; Foucault, 2000a:75). Hence, it is argued, the state, its functionality and attributes are a 'mythical abstraction' which is linked to the work of a form of government (Rose & Miller, 1992: 174).

As Cutler (1999) points out the distinction between the private and public and the content of these spheres is a construction. This distinction is based on a governmental logic that has emerged and shifted in the "context of different historic blocks" (Cutler, 1999: 67). Here the separation between the public and private is 'methodological' (Cutler, 1999: 66). Cutler (1999) sees the distinction between the public and private, state and non-state, as resulting from the practices, strategies and struggles of various (political) actors. Others have posited that the various spatial images of the state as 'up there', hovering above and contrasted with the communities and individuals 'on the ground', which, in opposition to the state are more rooted and authentic – are partly the outcome of mundane operations and various practices of government (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002).

Hence, it is suggested by Rose & Miller (1992), one should decipher the workings of the state not in relation to these 'ontological oppositions'. This is because the state and the various ontological oppositions which define it can be understood as the outcome of, and internal to, a particular rationality, form and practice of government (Rose & Miller, 1992). Thus, Rose & Miller (1992) suggest that the working of the state should be understood in terms of governmental thought and practice. This thought and practice can be analysed along a number of axes. In this regard, the following sets out an analytics of government.

1.3.1 Problematics and Rationalities of Government

Government as an activity, while not solely restricted to the operation of the state or political authority, nevertheless "involves a certain rationality" (Foucault, 1979: 254). Governmental rationalities relate, in turn, to a set of problems concerned with the objects, ends and limits of government activity (Foucault, 1991a: 87, 88). Hence, governmental rationalities link to questions about the appropriate powers and duties of various bodies and actors, as well as the legitimate objects and ideals at which governmental efforts should be directed (Rose & Miller, 1992:178-179). An analysis of government, then, focuses on the construction and problematisation of particular objects, limits and ends of government (Dean, 2010: 44). However, rationalities and problematics of government are developed in particular historic moments and relate to temporally specific complements of knowledge, expertise and language (Rose, 1999a: 21).

An analysis of government activities, then, is also concerned with the 'episteme' (Dean, 2010: 42) or the 'coherent systems of thought', that are linked to particular rationalities of government (Rose, 1999a: 24). These systems of thought relate to ways in which certain domains are codified in particular ways. In other words how certain objects, spheres and forces are rendered visible, made intelligible and problematic through certain forms of knowledge and expertise, definite vocabularies and idioms and ways of thinking and questioning (Dean, 2010: 33; see also Miller & Rose, 1990: 78-81). Hence, an analytics of government is concerned with the "intellectual machinery" (Rose & Miller, 1992: 179) which codifies and renders 'reality' open to the processes of thought in such a way that it is amenable to problematisation, calculation and action.

Government rationalities are connected to forms of knowledge, particular issues and expertise. Yet, they are also related to materialities, including, what Dean (1994a: 188) terms "intellectual *technologies*"[5]. These may take the form of various representational devices which allow various spheres to become cognisable in certain ways; for example maps, statistical tables, graphs and reports (Dean, 1994a: 188; see

[5] I find the term 'intellectual technologies' Dean (1994a: 187-188) rather unhelpful and will therefore suggest that we should view these as representational devices.

for example Miller & Rose, 1990: 83). Moreover, the episteme of government is connected to intellectual *techniques* – the mechanisms and calculative practices of government (statistics, systems of notation, ways of dividing space and time) (Dean, 1994a: 187; Dean, 2010: 42, 43). Thus, to understand the logic of government we have to pay attention to, and examine, the problematics, language, idioms, representational devices and techniques of government. However, while these elements maybe related to a rationale of government they cannot be reduced to it. Rather, specific forms of these elements can be assembled around, and are a condition for, a particular rationality of government (Dean, 2010). Here, for example, Murdoch & Ward (1997) highlight how the construction and problematisation of agriculture as a discrete economic sector in the UK depended upon a whole host of expertise, surveys, statistics and so on. Linked to this rendering of agriculture in the UK, farming came to be understood as a sector in need of rationalisation and modernisation in order to boost production and reduce dependency on foreign imports. In this sense Murdoch and Ward (1997) demonstrate how objects, rationalities, problematisations and ends of government cannot be separated from forms of knowledge, representation and calculation.

1.3.2 Programmes and Technologies of Government

As noted above governmental rationalities relate to particular ideals or ends. In this regard government is "intensely moral" (Dean, 2010: 19) as, at the most basic level, the practices of government relate to the managing of 'men and things' and their relations to one another so as to lead to a desired end (Foucault, 1991a: 93). Through this lens, government is a rational, problematising and calculating activity concerned with the conduct of people, their relationships and their disposition. It involves the aspiration to modify and structure the relationships between entities; to act upon possibilities of conduct; to "structure the possible field of actions of others" (Foucault, 2003: 138). Thus, government is a moral endeavour as it seeks to manage the disposition, relationships and conduct of persons and collectives into forms that are more or less explicitly understood as "correct, virtuous, appropriate and responsible" (Dean, 2010:19). In this regard Dean (1995) shows how the government of the unemployed seeks to turn those receiving benefits into active job seekers who prepare a plan for returning to work, enhance their job readiness and so on. Similarly,

government rationalities of empowerment aimed at the problems of ‘welfare dependency’, criminality and alcoholism seek to modify the conduct of individuals into the responsible form by encouraging a state of self esteem (Cruikshank, 1993). This, however, brings us to the next aspect of an analytics of government: the means of government. Aspirations in relation to the management of people and things can only be considered governmental when they are attached to various practical mechanisms of rule (Rose, 1999a: 51).

Concern with the means of government brings our attention to the programmes and various technical instruments of government (Rose, 1999a: 51; Dean, 2010: 42; Dean, 1994a: 188). Programmes are explicit attempts to manage and govern broad problem spaces – relationships between entities or ways of educating and punishing – into forms that are seen as desirable (Dean, 2010). Programmes are often characterised by the lashing together of theoretical knowledge and practical concern and objectives. They are also often embedded with various humble and mundane technical mechanisms, or *technologies,* which seek to render programmes operable (see: Foucault, 2002: 230; Miller & Rose, 1992: 181-182, Dean, 1994a: 188: Dean, 2010: 276)[6].

These technologies “have no essence” but are practical mechanisms through which the managing of things is sought (Lemke, 2007: 50). Such technologies may consist of a complex of vocabularies, practical knowledges, techniques (inscription, calculation), non-human objects and devices and forms of judgement and so on (Rose, 1999a: 52). These technologies may also take varied forms. For example, the different economic instruments linked to the problematisation of the economy as a plane of thought and action (Miller & Rose: 1990: 85-92), systems of schooling, specific medical practices and systems of intervention (Dean, 1994a: 188). These technologies may consolidate and operate through various alliances in which the rationalities and ends of government are translated into loose networks of actors allowing government “at a distance” (Rose, 1999a: 48, 49; Miller and Rose, 1990: 84). In this regard particular technologies of government are the means through which the aspirations of

[6] These technical means of government are embedded with, are the outcome and condition of the rationalities and techniques of government (Dean, 1994a: 188). In this sense, neither the rationalities, problems, programmes, techniques, representational devices nor technologies are the foundation of the other aspects of government.

those hoping to govern are sought to be realised. They allow for ‘centres’ of governmental activity to act upon various domains, locales and actors (Murdoch and Ward, 1997: 311). Hence, the analysis of government can form along a number of axes relating to the various elements which compose and inform the activity of government. Yet, we must incorporate another analytical axis beyond rationalities, problematics, techniques and technologies and examine ‘the self’.

1.3.3 Subjectivity and Government

This analytics of government moves away from government being synonymous with only the state and political power. Here the practice of government is found at a multitude of sites, from the apparatus of the state and political authority to institutions in the widest sense, including the family, but also in relation to individual self-government (Foucault, 1991a). In this broader sense government becomes defined as the “conduct of conduct” (Rose, 1999a: 3; Foucault, 2003: 18) by which attention is drawn to both the ways in which conduct is sought to be orchestrated by others as well as the manner in which individuals come to interpret themselves, understand and regulate their own conduct. Hence, the broader notion of government as the ‘conduct of conduct’ allows us to understand the way that we think about and act upon ourselves as caught within a “symbiotic relationship” (Rose, 1999b: 11) with broader (governmental) rationalities, problematisations, techniques and technologies (O’Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997: 502). Thus, the government of others and government of the self are two independent but interdependent domains that lend themselves to investigation (Dean, 1994a: 178).

To draw a distinction between attempts to govern others and forms of self-government would undermine the analytical power of defining government as the ‘conduct of conduct’. In this sense this framework for understanding government – which could be termed a governmentality approach (Foucault, 1991a) – highlights the way in which particular forms and practices of the government of others, may articulate, presume and seek to disseminate various modes of individual self-understanding and self-government. Therefore, we should seek to have concern for the rationalities, techniques, technologies and forms of self-identity presupposed or inherent within particular practices of government (Dean, 2010:43, 44).

Dean (2010: 21) suggests that many forms of self-government are relatively independent of the practice of the government of others or the state. However, this understanding of government, opens up the possibility of examining how the micro practices of individuals are linked up to attempts of actors to government the conduct of others, not least the attempts of political power and the apparatus of the state (Cheshire, 2006: 24). This analytical power becomes perhaps more significant when it is suggested that in an era characterised as 'advanced liberalism', inculcating particular forms of self-identity is becoming more important to the ends and objectives of political authorities. To go further, advanced liberal modes of political government increasingly seek to foster agents who are able to conduct themselves in the 'correct' manner through governing their own conduct (Herbert-Cheshire, 2001; Cheshire 2006: 24; see also Buchell, 1993: 273; Lemke, 2001: 201).

1.3.4 An Analytics of Self-Government

> "Governing people is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complimentarity and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself"
>
> (Foucault, 1993: 204)

Government as the 'conduct of conduct' can be conceptualised as an analytical resource through which the government of the self is located on the same plane as the government of others and state government (Dean, 1994a: 196). This allows one to understand the government of others, political government and self-government as similarly linked with forms of problematisation, historically specific complements of knowledge, means, procedures and technologies (Dean, 1994a: 195). This notion of government, then, can be used to understand not only the government of others, but also how the self comes to understand and govern its own conduct. It also allows for us to understand the relationship between these two forms of government. In others words it allows one to think about how the practice of the government of others is linked to "our ways of understanding and enacting our experience as human beings" (Rose, 1996a: 130). It enables a conceptualisation of how the practice of the government of others is related to the "practices of the self" (Foucault, 1992: 13).

Practices of the self are connected to two interlinked but distinct domains – ethics and morals. Firstly, ethics concerns the way in which individuals relate to themselves, know themselves and the way in which a person makes him or herself the object of "solicitude and attention" (Foucault, 1992; 6). More specifically ethics relates to the way in which the self deciphers the self or to forms of "self reflection, self knowledge [and] self examination" (Foucault, 1992: 29). In other words, ethics relate to the ways in which individuals understand themselves as a certain type of 'ethical subject' – be it the active jobseeker or active citizen and such like (Dean, 2010: 26 – 27).

Secondly, practices of the self can *relate* to moralities. Moralities are comprehended as codes of interdiction and injunction: "thou shalt do this or thou shalt not do that" (Rose, 1996a: 135). Hence, practices of the self can correlate to work upon the self and one's conduct in order to comply with moral codes (Foucault, 1992: 27). Yet, within practices of the self, while distinct domains, moral codes of conduct can relate to, and rely upon, certain forms of ethics (Foucault, 1992: 28). The object of study, then, is how forms of self-practice relate to both moral codes and ethics (Foucault, 1992). Hence, what is of interest is the interplay of these two forms – the way in which moral codes interact, transform, are weighted and relate to forms of ethics. To put it succinctly "we are concerned with morality as it codifies and is inscribed within, and modified by" ethics (Dean, 1994b: 155)[7].

In analysing practices of the self, focus should also be placed on the way in which individuals are able, recommended, or obliged to exercise certain forms of self-government (Foucault, 1992: 25). In other words, the way in which individuals come to undertake forms of self-practice in relation to what is deemed as good, normal or healthy. For example through: 'recognising' they are a member of a group (Foucault, 1992: 27); education, motivation, encouragement, persuasion (Herbert-Cheshire, 2001: 55); gratification and reward (Herbert-Cheshire, 2001: 43) or through models "proposed, suggested or imposed on him [sic] by his culture, his society, and his social group" (Foucault, 2000c: 291). In this regard attention needs to be paid to the

[7] Any practice of the self will combine both moral codes and ethics. However, some practices will place a greater emphasis on rules and codes, while others will focus more on ethics (Barnett et. al., 2008: 642).

forms of ‘subjectification’ (Foucault, 1992: 27): the ways in which human beings come to undertake certain practices of the self through which they “relate to themselves as persons of certain sorts” (du Gay, 2007: 42).

With a concern for forms of subjectification, attention is placed on knowledges, language, grids of analysis and expertise and how these relate and are implicated in the problematisation of conduct and one’s relationship with oneself (Foucault, 1992; Dean, 2010: 38). It leads us to ask how certain aspects of human beings are rendered problematic, and what forms of knowledge are linked to these problematisations (Rose, 1996a: 131). It suggests we should seek to understand the ways in which certain aspects of being and conduct are made to “lose their familiarity, for a certain number of difficulties to surround [them], and the way in which [they] become … an object of thought and action (Foucault, 2000b: 117). Practices of the self are, then, linked into and enabled by practices that are offered to us, wider problematisations, languages and criteria by which we come to judge ourselves (Rose, 1999b: 11). Thus, the ways in which humans relate to and conduct themselves are formed within a repertoire of problematisations, language, idioms and practices. Yet, this repertoire has its own historic specificity. The self, understood as a particular space that is a site of various practices, “conduct and capacities” (Dean, 1995: 563), is thus formed within a “horizon” (Rose, 1996a: 144) of a “historically specific complement” (Dean, 1994a: 195) of self-practices, knowledge and forms of problematisation. In other words, certain practices of the self form within particular historic blocks and relate to specific complements of knowledge, language, problematisations and expertise. The self, in a sense, is formed within a temporally specific “habitat of subjectification” (Rose, 1999a: 178).

Finally, in examining the practices of the self one should seek to understand the ‘telos’ of these practices (Foucault, 1992: 27-28), or “the transformations that one seeks to accomplish with oneself as an object” (Foucault, 1992: 29). The telos, then, is the “mode of being” we hope to produce through practices of the self (Dean, 1994b: 159). The telos of self-practice can be understood as its utopian element – the end point – be it the emancipation of the self (Dean, 1994b) or a state of self-esteem (Cruikshank, 1993).

1.3.5 Toward an Analytic of 'Pro-Environmental Behaviour Change' as a Practice of Government

Dean (2010) suggests we can understand the practices of government as composed of, and informed by, a "historically constituted assemblage[]" (Dean, 2010: 40) of particular logics, techniques, programmes, technologies and forms of self-practice. It is through these assemblages that ways of doing things emerge – curing, caring, punishing and responding to environmental problems. Indeed, as this thesis highlights, what we see in the SBU – encapsulated by the term 'behaviour change' – is the formation of a practice of government that is composed of a complement of heterogeneous technical and intellectual practices, logics and forms of self-practice. This practice of government attempts to constitute 'how we do things' in relation to the environment.

An analytics which draws upon a governmentality framework, then, seeks to understand and interpret the practice of government. However, drawing on this analytics does not mean that one seeks to identify which agent holds or possess power or whether certain forms of government are legitimate (Dean, 2010: 16). Indeed, in examining pro-environmental behaviour change this thesis does not attempt to understand it as the work of a single agent or institution. It does not seek to draw back the emerald curtain to reveal the wizard but rather understand how behaviour change as a form of government has emerged out of heterogeneous relations between a variety of elements (Dean, 2010).

While crucial to understanding the development of behaviour change as a state objective, this section has laid out a rather abstract understanding of government. The following seeks to ground the analytics set out above by examining some of the discernible contours of particular rationalities and practices of contemporary, and not so contemporary, government. Through examining the notions of 'bio-power', 'liberalism' and 'advanced liberalism', the following sections will outline a number of shifts in the styles and ways of governing. However, one should not conceptualise these shifts in terms of displacement or replacement, but rather as recoding and reformulation (Oels, 2005: 190, see also Foucault, 1991a: 102).

1.4 Bio-Power

The term 'bio-power' appears in a number of Foucault's works, but was rather sporadically used[8]. However, with reference to the work where Foucault briefly addressed this notion and through drawing on the expansion of this work by others (e.g. Dean, Rose and Miller), it is possible to construct a brief outline of this form of government. It is not the purpose of this section to carry out a comprehensive analysis of this concept, but rather to draw some of the ideas to the surface which are most relevant to this thesis.

Bio-power marks the point where executive power "gave itself the role of administering life" (Foucault, 1990: 138) and the birth of what we today might call 'government'. Bio-power focuses on administering the vital characteristics of human existence both at the collective and individual level (Rabinow & Rose, 2006: 197). The concern with the administration of life at the collective level is meshed with the surfacing of the 'population' as an object, a plane of intervention and objective of government (Foucault, 1990: 136; Foucault, 1991a). The codification and emergence of the population was linked, in part, to a particular intellectual technique and 'science of the state': statistics (Foucault, 1991a: 96/99). Statistics came to identify and construct the population as a collective realm with its own regularities. It illuminated the cycles of births and deaths, diseases and illness, scarcity, labour and wealth within collectives of persons. These regularities were aggregate qualities at the level of the population that were neither reducible to the individual or the family (Foucault, 2009: 104). Hence, statistics, along with a multitude of devices and forms of knowledge, allowed for populations and their aggregate qualities to be made visible and permitted calculations upon these phenomena. However, these techniques and devices not only rendered certain regularities and cycles visible – they enable them to be governed (Foucault, 2009). As Miller & Rose (1990: 83) argue, the ability to act upon distant domains is only possible when one has 'intellectual mastery' over them.

---

[8] There is a series of lectures given by Foucault in 1978/79 entitled the '*Birth of Bio-Politics*' (2010). The notion of bio-politics is connected to bio-power. However, Gane (2008) suggest the lecture series could have been entitled "the birth of Neo-Liberalism" (355), as despite the title Foucault seems most concerned with neo-liberal conceptions of government.

The government of life came to partly focus itself on the species body, the population, and its processes and problems (Foucault, 2009: 66). The emergence of the population brought with it a plethora of knowledges, expertise and forms of calculation (Foucault, 2009). These elements played their part in the development of an assortment of instruments with the purpose of managing certain problems and processes relating to, for example, labour, education, health, wealth and hygiene (Foucault, 2009; Foucault, 1991a: 100). Thus, particular regularities, cycles and problems of the population were sought to be managed through a whole array of continuous and broad regulatory and corrective mechanisms (Foucault, 1990: 144) "discretely, administratively" (Rose, 1999a: 123) by "acting on a range of factors and elements that seem far removed from the population itself and its immediate behaviour" (Foucault, 2009: 72). Thus, bio-power incorporated a concern for the conduct of conduct at an aggregate level. It targeted the population, its various cycles, regularities and problems through various "bio-political" regulatory and corrective mechanisms (Rabinow & Rose, 2006: 197).

However, bio-power did not only concern itself with the processes and regularities of the population, but also the corporeal entities which made it up. In this regard the government of life comes to be formed around two poles. The first focused on the population through a series of interventions and regulatory controls – bio-politics. The second pole centred on the body as a machine, and was characterised by disciplinary mechanisms (Foucault, 1990: 139). Disciplinary mechanisms, in part, were developed and located in various institutions related to the military, labour, education, medicine and psychiatry (Foucault, 1991b: 216). The technologies of discipline seek to train and bend the body both increasing its usefulness and its docility (Foucault, 1990: 139). Hence, these disciplinary instruments are targeted at the body and its forces in order to optimise them in relation to specific objectives. One instrument of discipline is the positing of a model or norm, in relation to a certain result, against which bodies and forces can be compared (Foucault, 2009: 57). Through constant testing and surveillance (Foucault, 1991b), that which is found to conform to the norm is deemed normal. The corollary is that, whatever does not fit the norm, or is incapable of doing so, is abnormal (Foucault, 2009: 57). Here the discrimination of the normal and abnormal is situated within a field of gratification and punishment. Bodies, their conduct and forces are judged in relation to what is deemed normal and abnormal and compliance with that that is deemed normal is sought through the play of award and

punishment (Foucault, 1991b: 118). Thus, with reference to a norm and through the play of punishment and reward, forces can be enhanced, conduct conducted and bodies shaped.

Foucault does suggest in *Discipline and Punish* (1991b) that from the initial confines of military, educational and medical institutions, the mechanisms of discipline come to infuse the population as a whole (Foucault, 1991b: 216). While there are a whole array of interlinked disciplinary instruments, in particular we can understand the operation of the norm as broadening out from the initial confines of various disciplinary institutions and coming to operate across the social body. In this regard, Rose (1999a: 75) argues that the measurement and the inculcation of a norm has become a key contemporary technology of government. This is because the norm has come to indicate what is "socially worthy, statistically average, scientifically healthy *and* personally desirable" (Rose, 1999a: 76, italic in original). Individuals are judged, and judge themselves in relation to the norms and averages of the population (Ewald, 1990: 146; Rose, 1999a; 76). Subsections of the population and their 'normalities' are mapped and charted against one another (Foucault, 2009: 63)[9]. Hence, groups and individuals, their characteristics and forces, with reference to various averages, can be compared and measured. The norm allows the measurement of gaps between that which is deemed healthy and worthy and the attributes of certain entities (Foucault, 1991b: 184). Hence, the norm establishes what is desirable and allows effort to be made to bring the conduct and qualities of certain actors in-line with parameters deemed "the more favourable" (Foucault, 2009: 63). Therefore, while the operation of the norm is often associated with discipline and bio-power, its governmental function has continued, multiplied and broadened. Indeed, the norm as governmental instrument continues to play a role within more contemporary liberal forms of government (Dean, 2010: 133). Moreover, as shown later, the practices of government examined in this thesis, in part, form around the discernment and instilling of norms of environmental behaviour.

[9] In this regard Foucault (2009: 63) argues that norms do not only function in relation to individuals, but also groups and sub-populations. Thus, the averages of various groups can be mapped and compared. These "distributions of normality" (Foucault, 2009: 63) are important because it means that certain sub-sections of a population can be targeted by governmental efforts in order to bring their characteristics in-line with that which is deemed normal and desirable.

1.5 Liberalism and Advanced Liberalism

As the population and its complexities emerged, a specific field of naturalness and systems of self-regulation inherent within this social body were also 'discovered'. Through this discovery the natural correlate of the state, civil society, surfaces - this is understood to be the locus of intrinsic processes and inherent regulatory mechanisms. This discovery of these natural processes *firstly* necessitates that the freedoms of the governed are respected. *Secondly*, these natural processes demand that "arbitrary and blind intervention" which impacts upon the natural and productive mechanisms inherent in this sphere should be avoided (Foucault, 2009: 353). It is in relation to the discovery of these natural processes that the problematic of liberalism is defined. Liberalism is not a theory or ideology but rather a "way of doing things" connected to a problematic of government which forms around the suspicion of "too much government" (Foucault, 2000a: 74). This suspicion of 'too much government' Foucault argues, came to invoke both the notion of the rights of the individual, but also 'naturalness' of the "processes of the economy or intrinsic to the population" (Foucault, 2009: 353).

Liberalism, according to Dean (2010: 133), continues a concern for the government of life, in the sense that it seeks to ensure the security and vitality of processes intrinsic to, and necessary for, the population, yet continually questions the need for government (Foucault, 2000a: 75). Liberalism on this account, then, can be thought of as a recoded problematic and practice of the government of life, yet based on the principle that one always risks governing too much[10]. Despite the understanding that liberalism is a form of government based on a suspicion that "one governs too much" (Foucault, 2000a: 74), liberalism does not reject intervention, regulation, disciplinary mechanisms[11] and creative government activity (Dean, 2010: 137-146). Equally advanced liberalism defines positive roles for "governmental activism" (Burchell,

[10] However, Dean (2002) argues that in fact liberal forms of government can be understood as 'total government' not because it is equivalent to authoritarian rule, but rather that, while there is always a suspicion that one is governing too much, liberal forms of political government concern themselves with all of social, economic and cultural existence (129)

[11] Indeed, Dean (2002) argues that within modern liberal democracies we are seeing a 'proliferation' of coercive forms of state rule. Witness, he says, the rise in techniques of "arrest, incarceration, punishment, expulsion, disqualification" in fields as diverse as the management of asylum seekers, criminals, idle youth and social welfare recipients (132).

1993: 274). In this light, liberal and advanced liberal government are not forms of anarchy - there is still space for forms of government intervention linked to notions of public interest and well-being.

Within liberal and advanced liberal mentalities, realms are identified as outside of politics (Rose & Miller, 1992): civil society, the Third Sector, the market or community (Rose, 1999a: 189). The apparent naturalness of these spheres and the energies that are seen to be contained within these realms are understood to be critical to the security and vitality of the population and political structures. Thus government cannot override the free conduct of individuals without the risk of "destroy[ing] the very effects it seeks to produce" (Burchell, 1993: 271; see also Rose, 1999a: 70, 189). What, however, distinguishes advanced liberal thought from earlier liberalism, is that under liberalism certain processes and spheres were seen to be *natural*. Within advanced liberal logics, however, there is an understanding that such apparently natural spheres and processes may need to be fostered (Burchell, 1993; see: Foucault, 2010: 270).

Thus, advanced liberal rationalities allow for state intervention within 'non-political' realms, but attempt to do so without resorting to the formal, coercive, regulatory powers of the state (Herbert-Cheshire, 2000: 205). They identify realms in which direct intervention is seen as undesirable and unnecessary (Herbert-Cheshire, 2001: 51), yet, seek to manage and foster these through new non-direct forms of control (Rose & Miller, 1992: 180). Hence, advanced liberal modes of government seek to ensure that certain spheres, entities and processes function in the 'correct' manner, without undermining their freedom or autonomy. One of the ways this is possible is through 'devices' which create a distance between governing authorities and the governed, yet, ensure that the governed regulate their own conduct in relation to the objectives of the 'governor' (Rose & Miller, 1992: 199). Indeed, in advanced liberalism, indirect means that harness the self-governing mechanisms of particular entities and ensure that they exercise their 'freedom' in particular ways have become more important in meeting the ends of government (Burchell, 1993: 276). Such forms of government, then, seek to intervene indirectly so that actors can acquire suitable ways of analysing and regulating their own conduct (Hindess, 1997: 268) without seemingly destroying their autonomy. In a sense, contemporary modes of rule

increasingly seek to integrate the relationship that the governed has with themselves into the government of conduct (Burchell, 1993: 276). This form of government, then, is not about "the suppression of individual subjectivity, but rather the cultivation of that subjectivity into specific forms, aligned to specific governmental objectives" (Morrison, 2000: 121). In this regard rather than understanding contemporary advanced liberal modalities of state rule as characterised by a lack of government intervention, a more productive approach would explore the working of the state in relation to the changing technologies of government (Herbert-Cheshire, 2000: 205).

Liberal forms of government are based on critiques of excessive disciplinary and regulatory mechanisms (Dean, 2010: 133). Yet, this is not to say that technologies and institutions of earlier mentalities of government are discarded, rather they are simply re-inscribed (Dean, 2010: 29). Thus, regulatory mechanism, disciplinary institutions, means and technologies continue to play role in liberal modes of government (see: Dean, 2010, 140-146). Indeed, it is suggested that disciplinary mechanisms are fundamental in the *a priori* forming of actors and subjects able to exercise their freedom in the correct manner (Dean, 2010: 193; Dean 1994a: 164). Advanced liberal modalities of government come, then, to understand, foster and work through a particular form of autonomy and freedom (Rose, 1999a). It is by developing and impinging upon these forms of freedom that liberal forms of government are exercised (Rose, 1999a: 72).

1.5.1 Advanced Liberalism: Subjectivity, Choice, Freedom and Obligation

> "The ethic of individual self fulfillment and achievement is the most powerful current in modern society"
>
> (Beck & Beck-Gernstein, 2002: 22).

Beck and Beck-Gernstein (2002) have come to argue that the choosing, deciding, shaping human being who aspires to be the author of his or her own life and is the creator of an individual identity, is the central character of our time. Yet, in contrast to Beck and Beck-Gernstein, Rose (1996a) suggests, we should not understand contemporary forms of subjectivity in relation to shifts in production regimes, demography or make-up of the family. Rather subjectivity can be understood in

relation to shifts in the forms of subjectification and movements in the regime of practices, vocabularies and problematisations of the self. Nevertheless, the sketching out of the central character of our time by Beck & Beck-Gernstein (2002) reflects some of the understandings of the self in advanced liberal democracies. Here the self is conceptualised in terms of an active personhood, where the self has the freedom to shape his or her life, lifestyle and identity through choices made or to be made (Rose, 1996b: 57). The self is viewed as an entrepreneur with his or her own stocks of human capital (Foucault, 2010: 226), striving to maximise this capital through his or her own choices (Rose, 1999c: 483).

Choice then becomes a "fundamental human faculty" (Dean, 2010: 186) through which the self constructs the course of its own life (Rose, 1999a). The self, through choice, comes to be seen as able and free to shape an autonomous identity and lifestyle (Rose, 1999a: 178) - it becomes an expression of individual personality. Yet, choice also forms a modality through which one's responsibilities, one's obligations and one's citizenship is enacted (Rose, 1999b: 230). Thus, the self is no longer thought of as being able to best fulfill its social and political obligations in terms of relations of dependency and obligation connected to the nation state but rather through socially sanctioned consumption and responsible choice (Rose, 1999a: 166).

Rose (1996b) argues that in advanced liberalism the subjects of rule are identified as able to operate the faculty of choice through which they exercise their freedom, fulfil their responsibilities and their obligations. Hence, the problem of advanced liberalism is how to ensure that individuals exercise their freedom to choose in the correct manner thereby fulfilling their responsibility to themselves and their obligations to those whom they owe allegiance. The problem of advanced liberalism, then, becomes one of how to enmesh this faculty of choice with the goals of political authority while at the same time keeping this faculty of choice "outside the formal control of "public powers"" (Rose, 1996b: 58). Hence, Rose (1996b: 58) suggests that within advanced liberalism, political authorities attempt to develop indirect mechanisms of rule which translate the goals of government "into the choices and commitments of individuals". One of these indirect means through which our choices may be governed is through our networks of identification and affinity: our communities (Rose, 1999a).

1.5.2 Advanced Liberalism: Community as Governmental Technology

> "At the heart of my beliefs is the idea of community. I don't just mean the local villages, towns and cities in which we live. I mean that our fulfilment as individuals lies in a decent society of others. My argument … is the renewal of community is the answer to the challenges of a changing world"
>
> (Tony Blair, 2000: Taken from Levitas, 2000: 189).

> "I want to reinvigorate community action for sustainable development"
>
> (Tony Blair, Taken from: Seyfang and Smith, 2007: 586)

Under New Labour, community came to play a pivotal role in the politics of the third way "balancing on the shoulders" of social theorists like Giddens and 'communitarian philosophers' such as Etzoni and Putnam (Amin, 2005: 614). This increasing emphasis on community within the language of the state is linked into the apparent need for decentralisation, associative democracy, active citizen participation and an increasing emphasis on sensitivity to local contexts and community needs (Summerville, Adkins & Kendal, 2008: 696). In this context community has similarly become embedded within much of the rhetoric of the state related to the environment due, it is argued, to the fact that tackling environmental problems requires ownership at the local level and action by active citizens (Seyfang & Smith, 2007: 587). However, drawing on the notion of governmentality, the increasing emphasis on community within the language of the state has been examined by a number of commentators from a diverse array of fields (See for example Schofield, 2002; Murdoch, 1997; Herbert-Cheshire & Higgins, 2004; Marinetto, 2003; Ilcan & Basok, 2004; Amin, 2005; MacLeavy, 2009; MacKinnon, 2002; Ward & McNicholas, 1998; Cheshire & Lawrence, 2005; Herbert-Cheshire, 2000). Such research has reframed community as a "technology" of advanced liberal government (Summerville, Adkins & Kendal, 2008: 697; Herbert-Cheshire, 2000: 206).

Community has become a deliberate alternative to society (Levitas, 2000) and has lead to a re-envisioning of the territorialisation and object of government (Rose, 1999c). As an object of government, community has become understood as a body whose vectors and forces can be mobilised (Rose, 1999a: 176). Community, then, is "not just an abstract slogan" (Giddens, 2000: 79) but rather a thought space and

means of government (Marrinetto, 2003: 109).Yet, to become a instrument of government these seemingly ‘natural’ spaces of thought and action need to be ‘made up’. They have to be visualised, surveyed and *mobilised* (Rose, 1999a: 189).

Community, in this schema, is something that, while seemingly ‘natural’, can be fostered through “*building* networks, *enhancing* trust relations, *developing* mutuality and co-operation” (Rose, 1999c: 475). Indeed, for the potentiality of community to be realised, strategies for constructing communities need to be initiated. Members of a (potential) community must get to know one another, they must become strong and cohesive (Herbert-Cheshire, 2000: 206). Thus, it appears that in order to ‘unleash’ the latent possibility of community, certain mechanisms are to be used to foster community: practices of partnerships, inclusion and community participation and so on (Amin, 2005, Marinetto, 2003). Hence, community should not be understood as a natural ‘zone’, but rather an object of government thought and action that is “made up” through forms of visualisation, knowledge, expertise and various practices (Rose, 1999a:189).

With the emphasis on community, Rose suggests that we are not understood as the rational beings of “classical economics: calculating, maximizers of self interest” (Rose, 1999c: 474). Rather we are understood as ‘ethical creatures’: creatures of sentiments, a moral nature and guiding principles (ibid: 477), situated in affect-laden relationships of our communities, associations and networks (ibid: 475). We are no longer viewed as belonging to a single public sphere but rather “localised fragmented hybrid, multiple … domains of culture [and] values” (Rose, 1999a: 178). Here our choices and behaviour is situated in, not society, but groups of belonging and identity, and it is by acting on these groups of association that individual behaviour can be worked upon. Thus, those who seek to govern the choices and conduct of individuals may now work via the meanings, sentiments, identities and relations of trust of communities (Rose, 2000a: 1401). The government of conduct is thought to be possible *through* community by “acting upon [its] associations, networks, cultures of belongingness and identity” (Rose, 1999c: 475; see also Rose, 1999a: 176).

As this thesis shows, community becomes a governmental technology through which the way we choose to behave is sought to be changed. It demonstrates how

community is understood to be an extra-political sphere, yet one that can be harnessed to the ends of government. It shows that this enrolment of community into a network of government is done so 'at a distance' (Rose, 1999a: 49). This allows for community to become "the object and target of political power whilst remaining … external to politics" (Rose, 1999a: 168). Indeed, acting on community at a distance becomes a way to govern behaviour without resorting to formal or imposed governmental instruments, because, it is thought, the government of behaviour "can be carried out by the community itself" (O'Malley, 1996: 313).

1.6 Green Governmentality: from Bio-Power to Advanced Liberalism?

> "Like gods and 'objective scientific truth', 'nature' becomes another normative yardstick to impose itself on human behaviour and values"
>
> (Darier, 1999a: 217)

Much like the concept of population, the 'environment' can be understood as a 'historical artefact' which has been rendered visible through a specific complement of knowledge and procedures (Luke, 1995a: 67). This rendering has allowed the environment to become conceptualised as the basis for human life. With an understanding that humans depend on the environment, both the health and prosperity of humanity is woven into the continual functioning of the "ecological life-support system" (Luke, 1999: 146). However, the procedures and knowledge which depict the environment as linked into the prosperity of humanity, also construct an image of the environment as being undermined by human activities. Within this understanding, the environment and people's relation to it have become a problem and object to be managed in the name of the continuing prosperity of humanity (Rutherford, 1999).

In this regards, a number of authors have linked a concern for the functioning of the environment to the construction of new domains for the exercise of bio-power (Rutherford, 1999:56; See also: Luke 1999; 1995a; Levy, 1999: 211-213; Darier, 1999b; Whitehead, 2008). They argue that the environment has come to be understood as a sphere upon which the vitality of the economy, state and population depend (Luke, 1999). This understanding has led to conceptualisation that the environment, and people's relationship to it, requires management and intervention to

ensure the prosperity and health of humankind. Witness, Rutherford (1999: 56) states, the rise in environmental science, legislation and state regulatory bodies throughout the 1960s and 1970s. These developments, Rutherford (1999) suggests, can be conceptualised as a modern "articulation" of bio-power, and more specifically 'bio-politics'[12] (Rutherford, 1999: 56).

Other researchers have similarly used the concept of bio-power to analyse efforts to govern both humans and 'nature'. Indeed, Luke highlights the way in which nature has been subject to forms of bio-political government, whereby its vitality, regularities and forces have been mapped, surveyed, administered and regulated by various eco-experts and managers (Luke, 1999: 142,143; See also Luke: 1995a; 1995b). However, it is not only nature that has been a target of administration. The conduct of the social body too requires intervention and regulatory measures (Luke, 1999: 149). Hence, the social body and its relationship to nature has become an object of direct government regulatory intervention in the name of continuing vitality of the environment (Rutherford, 1999)

Here then, in keeping with the concept of the two poles of bio-power; the government of the environment has necessitated the targeting of broad surfaces: nature and the social body (Rutherford, 1999: 60). However, it is not just nature and the social body that has become the target of government in the name of the environment. The body of the individual has similarly become the object of government (Luke, 1999:149). Indeed, a number of studies have drawn on Foucault's notion of discipline to bring to the fore the technologies utilised to govern the conduct of individuals in relation to environmental concerns. For example, Darier has documented how Canada's Green Plan (1996b) and recycling schemes in Halifax (1996a) have sought to normalise certain forms of environmental conduct (Darier, 1999a: 81). He suggests that the mechanisms by which green norms of conduct are sought to be engendered include 'disciplinary' forms of environmental education and drills (Darier, 1996a; 1996b). This notion of disciplining bodily conduct in relation to concerns over the environment has also been taken up by Hargreaves (2010). He shows how, in the context of an office, various disciplinary instruments: surveillance, the division of

[12] In other words, broad regulatory interventions.

space and time, the construction of an optimal model and examinations, were used in an attempt to foster pro-environmental behaviour.

However, framing environmental government in terms of bio-power may not be adequate. Contemporary state responses to environmental problems are seemingly more aptly decoded through the notion of advanced liberalism. This is because environmental problems, such as climate change, framed by the mentality of bio-power, justifies the extension of state power, increased regulatory, formal and disciplinary state intervention in the name of the survival of the planet (Oels, 2008). However, it is proposed, that unlike the 1960's and 1970's, we now see an emphasis on different technologies of government (Oels, 2008: 199, 201). Here, Oels belives that since the 1980's, in the 'environmental field', there has been a shift in the problematics and technologies of government which could be characterised as a move from bio-power to advanced liberalism (Oels, 2008:193). This is not to say that there has been a wholesale displacement of forms of governmental rationalities and technologies; rather, they have shifted and been recoded (Oels, 2008: 190).

The understanding that there has been a shift in practice of environmental government brings to the fore questions over the nature and content of the shift in the problematics and rationality of government. It also raises questions as to the nature of shift in the technologies of government. Indeed, a shift from bio-power to advance liberal forms of environmental government would suggest that government in the name of the environment relies less upon direct, formal and coercive mechanisms aimed at broad surfaces and their processes, or the individual body. Rather, it implies that environmental government seeks to work through various indirect devices. Such devices have been argued to include the "social engineering" instruments of marketing and education (Darier, 1996a: 79) or strategies of decentralised, community co-management (Agrawal, 2005a: 178; see also Haggerty, 2007). Such mechanisms are aimed at fostering, indirectly, certain types of free subjects able to regulate their own environmental conduct in certain ways. Hence, it appears that practices of government increasingly seek to work through and produce a certain "environmental subject" (Agrawal, 2005a: 162, Haggerty, 2007: 223): a self-regulated, autonomous green personhood (Darier, 1996b: 597).

1.7 The Greening of Conduct: Environmental 'Community' Initiatives

A recent estimate of the number of 'local community based groups' responding to environmental problems put the figure to be somewhere between 2000 and 4000 in the UK (Nef, 2008: 7). This apparently high number can be understood with reference to sponsorship of such initiatives by a diverse number of multinational institutions, state agencies and NGOs since the 1990s (Lane & McDonald, 2005: 709). While there has been sponsorship of environmental community initiatives over the last 20 years, Middlesmiss & Parrish (2010) suggest that there is a "new breed" (7559) of environmental community/place based projects emerging in the UK. What makes these movements a 'new breed' is rather unclear. However, these initiatives are linked to "people altering their own practices [and/or] seeking to influence others around them" (Middlesmiss & Parrish, 2010: 7559). Indeed, even a cursory investigation will reveal an extraordinary number of different community groups looking to respond to a myriad of social, economic and environmental problems through altering individual level and community practices. We can look at, for example at; Carbon Rationing Action Groups (Carbon Rationing, undated), Ashton Haynes Going Carbon Neutral (Going Carbon Neutral, undated) or local food movements like The Fife Diet (Fife Diet, undated). That such groups involve people seeking to alter their own behaviour and influence that of others around them, suggests that they could be understood as governmental. In this sense, such community initiatives seem to involve the government of one's own conduct, but also attempts to govern the conduct of others.

> "the state is [not] the only force engaged in the government of conduct"
> (Rose, 2000b: 323)

The contemporary usage of the word 'government' is usually linked to the political sphere and much academic work relating to a Foucauldian notion of government is in connection with the apparatus of the state and political authority (c.f. Dean, 2010). However, up to the middle of the 18th century the notion of government was also linked to a host of other domains (Lemke, 2002). Hence, as mentioned earlier, government, as understood as the 'conduct of conduct', is not solely related to the state, or indeed political authority. Rather government is conceived in relation to multifarious bodies, agents, institutions and authorities (Dean, 2010).

Drawing on the broader understanding of government, it is clear that one could apply it to a whole host of arenas (Dean, 2010; Lemke, 2002). Attempts to govern both others and the self, in the broadest sense seem to be found “beyond the limits of the state” (Foucault, 1980b: 122). This does not suggest alternative sites of government are completely removed from the state. Contemporary political government itself relies upon, and is invested by, other sites of government (Foucault, 1980b:122). To say beyond the limits of the state is to argue that government, or attempts to govern, can be found in sites outside the formal *apparatus* of the state, yet, the means, ends and logics of other locusts of government may be invested by, overlap and resonate with those of the state (Barnett et. al., 2008: 626). Hence, it is argued, not only can we understand environmental community initiatives as governmental, as they involve the government of others and the self, but we must also pay attention to the ways that such initiatives maybe linked to broader (state) rationalities and practices of government. Hence, in Chapter Five it is contended that we can understand a particular community initiative, WERG, as a locus of government which is linked into a broader state rationality and practice aimed at environmental behaviour change.

Hence, it is not just the state, but a variety of (environmental) institutions, initiatives, groups and agents that are seeking to govern conduct and invoke a green subject (see: Rutherford, 2007: 299; Darier, 1996b: 596, 602). Attempts to ‘green’ conduct and invoke ‘green subjects’ have been found in local food and community garden initiatives (see: Dowling, 2009; Pudup, 2008; Guthman, 2008) groups of students (Moisander & Pesonen, 2002) and empirical studies of green consumption (Connolly & Prothero, 2008: 140). In this regard we should pay attention to how environmental subjects are sought to be formed outside the formal apparatus of the state and how these sites potentially resonate with, and are invested by, state practices (see: Foucault, 1980b:122; Barnett et. al., 2008: 626).

1.7.1 Government and the Shaping of a Green Self?

The suggestion that contemporary environmental practices of government seek to work through and invoke certain green subjects has not been left unquestioned. Indeed, Barnett et. al. (2008) suggest that often eco-governmental efforts are being

directed at shaping the infrastructures in which individuals find themselves or the *actions* of individuals, rather than their subjectivities. Not only do these authors question the objects of contemporary environmental governmental efforts. They also argue that, more broadly, a modest influence should be ascribed to governmental mechanisms in the development of certain types of personhood. Hence, could it simply be that governmentality inspired analysis of particular governmental practices get it wrong (Rose, O'Malley & Valverde, 2006: 97)? Indeed, Harris (2009: 61-62) views governmentality analytics as employing a reductionist lens which can 'misread' forms of practice and attach significance to them which is not warranted. Yet, such arguments prompt us to consider some of the critiques of the approach sketched out here.

1.8 Critique of Governmentality

> "I think there are more secrets, more possible freedoms, and more inventions in our future than we can imagine"
>
> (Foucault, 1988b:15)

One of the strengths of the work on governmentality, drawn on above, is that it allows the examination of the rationalities of government as related to problematics, forms of knowledge and so on, rather than the hidden ideology of a particular group (Foucault, 1990: 95). It also facilitates the interrogation of the mundane practices of those seeking to govern. Furthermore, it enables one to examine the nexus between broader rationalities and technologies of government and micro-practices of those who are the targets of these efforts. While there are, of course, a number of critiques that have been levelled at the concept of governmentality and Foucault's work more generally, it is perhaps this linkage between broader governmental efforts and individual practices that appears to be a familiar object of contention (Hobson, 2009: 180).

Foucault's work does seem to suggest that the subject is not the source of their own capacities, as their capacities, practices and even self-consciousness are products of socially instituted forms of training and practice (du Gay, 2007). In this regard, it would seem that themes of agency and resistance are undeveloped and vague in Foucault's work (Herbert-Cheshire, 2001). Indeed, Nixon (1997) contends that

Foucault's earlier work overlooks the possible failures of specific attempts to govern. However, Foucault does leave space for 'resistance' to forms of government and subjectification (see Foucault, 2003: 129,130). How then, do we account for resistance to governmental efforts by a subject without innate capacities? According to Rose (1996a), resistance and failure needs no account of agency as actors constantly move across different practices that address them in certain ways. Hence forms of resistance are the outcome of conflicting forms of practice and subjectification. As Rose (1996a) suggests:

> "[ways] of relating to yourself as a subject of unique capacities worthy of respect run up against practices of relating to oneself as the target of discipline, duty and docility" (141).

Indeed, resistance could simply be the turning or use of forms of self-practice and subjectification for ends for which they were not intended (Rose, 1996a).

A view that the self is constituted in "a habitat of subjectification" (Rose, 1999a: 178) and through various governmental efforts can potentially be labelled as rather pessimistic. But this is perhaps only because one may see attempts to govern as solely repressive. Instead, government[13] can be seen as productive. It producing things – knowledge, pleasures and ways of being (Foucault, 1980b: 119). Furthermore, government is only exercised where there is freedom; government seeks to act upon individuals and collectives who are faced with a field of possibilities in respect to conduct. Government does not operate where the "determining factors are exhausted", for this would not constitute government, but rather "slavery" (Foucault, 2003:139). Thus, while we are perhaps not agents of autonomous self-creation, in a sense, our various practices of the self indicate certain degrees of liberty. And yet to maintain our liberty we must exercise a "hyper and pessimistic activism" (Foucault, taken from Darier, 1999b: 27; see also: Foucault, 2000c: 284; Hofmeyr, 2006). Furthermore, Foucault was interested in exposing the way in which no entity has a pre-given essential nature (Levy, 1999). Thus, what Foucault suggests is that all forms of government, especially those that appeal or rely upon calls to some sort of intrinsic or

[13] In 'The Subject and the Power' Foucault (2003: 138) makes little distinction between government and the exercise of power. And hence while Foucault (Foucault, 1980b) might argue that 'power' is productive we can equally understand that government is productive.

naturalistic nature of phenomena, have to be subjected to a continual questioning and reflection in order maintain certain degrees of liberty.

In this regards, we should not understand governmental efforts in relation to the environment as repressive. Rather, eco-practices of government may incite types of personhood that do not risk endangering the planet; but, equally, may simply be re-articulating those that do. Hence, we should exercise a scepticism towards practices of government that seek to conduct conduct in the name of the environment; especially if such practices invoke or rely upon some intrinsic or naturalistic phenomena. If we do not exercise such scepticism, and certain practices of green government become too quickly normative (Gibson, Head Gill & Gordon, 2011: 5), what we may doing is simply not only setting limits upon how we can 'be green' but also how we can practice our liberty.

There is another critique which tangentially focuses around resistance. Studies of governmentality are sometimes charged with simply excavating the ideal typifications of governmental practices. Despite their attractiveness as generalised descriptions, such typifications lack any real analytical power as they ignore the 'messy actualities' of government (O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997; Rose, O'Malley & Valverde, 2006[14]). Indeed, the predominant method of unearthing a rationality of government from texts and documents may hide the way in which there are a multitude of (conflicting) voices and internal contestations within rule itself (O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997: 505, 513). Hence, practices of government may not be tied into a singular or monolithic rationality. Rather, practices of government may simply be the resultant of various actors coming together (Barnett et. al., 2008), contestations or misinterpretation (O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997: 513; see also O'Malley, 1996: 323).

These criticisms are pertinent to this study as what it seeks to understand and examine is not an idealised version of government rationalities or programmes. Instead it examines the emergence of a certain practice of government through ethnographic study of, and interviews with, the 'governors' themselves. It examines how

[14] However, see Herbert-Cheshire (2006).

governmental programmes and rationalities emerged, shifted or where modified through the coming together of various actors. It also, to some extent, examines the *effects* of governmental practices. According to Li (2007: 27), scholars drawing upon a governmentality analytics prefer to keep apart analysis of government from its 'effects'. However, Rose, O'Malley & Valverde, (2006: 100) argue, there is "no reason" why an examination of the emergence of governmental practices cannot be articulated with work that examines the effects of such practice.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the relevance and importance of Foucault's notion of government in understanding the workings of the modern state. Taking from Foucault and others' work this chapter outlined an analytics of government. This analytic brings our attention to the need to understand the rationality, problems, ends and practical mechanisms of government. In order to ground this analytics this chapter subsequently examined the mechanisms, rationalities and problematics connected to bio-power, liberalism and advanced liberalism. It was argued that within advanced liberal forms of government, the state increasingly seeks to govern without resorting to its formal or coercive powers. One of the ways in which this is possible is through instruments of control which seek to intervene indirectly so that actors can acquire suitable ways of analysing and regulating their own conduct. One of these indirect technologies of control, it is theorised, is community. Situated in community we are not longer understood as the beings of classical economics, but rather creatures whose choices are shaped by the bonds of affinity in which we are situated. It is thought that by acting upon community it is possible to shape the choices which we make.

This chapter demonstrates that attempts to govern in relation to environmental problems can be decoded through the lens of advanced liberalism. This implies that contemporary forms of eco-government seek to indirectly foster particular forms of green subject. Drawing on this understanding and the analytics of government set out in this chapter, this thesis seeks to analyse and evaluate the work of the SBU and conceptualises pro-environmental behaviour change as a practice of government composed of, and informed by, an assemblage of specific logics, technologies and practices of the self. It attempts to demonstrate how the SBU seeks to 'conduct the

conduct' of others in ways that do not rely on coercive or regulatory mechanisms. As it is shown, the SBU seeks to foster a particular form of green subjectivity by shaping, indirectly, the way that people choose to behave. Indeed, it argued that one of the ways SBU seeks to govern 'at a distance' (Rose, 1999a: 49) is by connecting to and working *through* community.

However, it is not only the state which is seeking to govern in relation to environmental problems. A whole host of community initiatives, organisations and agents appear to be attempting to 'green' conduct. These other sites of government, however, while outside the formal apparatus of the state, may link into, and be invested by, the rationalities, logics and practice of state eco-government. Indeed, it is contended that a community initiative, WERG, can be understood as a locus of government. Yet, this site of government links into a broader practice of government encapsulated in the notion of pro-environmental behaviour change. Hence, this thesis, by exploring WERG, examines how behaviour change is mobilised at the local level. Drawing on the conceptualisation that behaviour change incorporates both *morals* and forms of *ethics* it examines how various local actors seek to govern the behaviour of others and the ways in which these actors change and regulate their own conduct.

The final section of this chapter draws attention to some critiques of governmentality. While perhaps not autonomous agents of self-creation we do have certain degrees of liberty. Yet, to maintain our liberty we have to exercise a degree of scepticism towards forms of government, as while potentially productive, they may also limit the ways we practice our freedom. This suggests that forms of green government must be subject to enquiry. Indeed, this thesis is part of an attempt to understand, and hence subject to scrutiny, a particular practice of green government: pro-environmental behaviour change. Finally, this chapter argued that we should seek to move away from idealised typifications of government and examine the 'messy actualities' of governing. This thesis does exactly that by exploring, *in situ*, attempts to govern at two specific sites. The way in which this was done and the methods used to do so are explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 2. Methodology and Method

2.1 Introduction

Chapters on methodology and methods are usually concerned with epistemological and ontological positions; the reasoning behind and description of the employment of certain research practices and; ethical considerations (Silverman, 2005: 302-309). This chapter is no different. Indeed, it seeks to take the reader through the methodological underpinnings of this work and the steps and justifications behind the research process as it unfolded. Such an endeavour is understood as integral to “disciplined inquiry” (Lincoln, 2002: 330) and part of an attempt towards rigorous social science. In discussing methodology and methods this chapter sometimes evokes the first person unlike, for the most part, the others chapters. This is partly because without doing so, some parts of this chapter would be overly verbose. It also brings a dimension of ‘reflexivity’ - understood as “making one’s position known” (Rose, 1997: 308)[15].

2.2 Realities, Methodologies and Method

This thesis is ultimately concerned with the exploration of behaviour change as a practice of government. In doing so this research draws on a number of methods. However, in discussing methods, questions arise in relation to methodological, ontological and epistemological frameworks (Bryman, 2004; Barbour, 2008). Drawing on a Foucauldian based analytics in the thesis necessitates a move away from a sense that one might be able to capture an external ‘reality’ or that one may find the ‘truth’ inherent in the phenomena studied. This then leads away from a positivist stance in which studies are carried out modeled on the ‘natural sciences’ which lead to truth, facts and objective description (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 6; Bryman, 1984: 77; Bryman, 2004: 11; Hammersley, 1995).

Rather, this work draws upon a ‘constructivist’ or ‘interpretative’ approach. Here the understanding is that reality is socially constructed (Denzin & Lincon, 1998: 8) and

[15] There is one other section where the word “I” is very specifically and carefully used to draw out a sense of the act of interpretation.

that phenomena have a “historical specificity and contingent dimension” (Reed, 2008: 123). This means that, by necessity, we must be attentive to the way people constitute, interpret, understand and make sense of the world and themselves (Bryman, 2004). Thus, we must deal with the “question of what realities and/or subjectivities are being constructed in the myriad sites of everyday life” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2005: 498) and how actors are situated and situate themselves within distinctive discourses and rhetorics (Holstein & Gubrium, 2005). Such an approach, which stresses the constructed nature of phenomena, allows for concepts that are taken for granted to be destabilised and open to questioning (Hacking, 1999a). It also enables us to understand “particular practices, objects, ways of life or modes of thought” as relating to a ‘socio historic’ specificity (Malpass, 2001: 138; see also Hoy, 1986).

However, employing such a framework raises questions about the descriptions offered. For if we are to understand reality as being constructed, then descriptions of such constructions are ultimately constructs and interpretations themselves. Employing such a framework means that in essence any description of the phenomena being studied is itself the interpretation of “interpretations of interpretations” (Rabinow & Sullivan, 1979: 6; Bryman, 2004: 15). Hence, not only does such a framework open up the possibility that there are “multiple realities” (Barbour, 2008: 28) but also suggests that a researcher constructs the phenomena they describe (Hammersley, 1995: 16). In other words a “researcher always represents a specific version of … reality rather than one that can be regarded as definitive” (Bryman, 2004: 17).

Drawing on Dreyfus & Rabinow’s (1983) understanding of “interpretive analytics” (104), what this thesis seeks to offer is an “analytics of our current situation” (ibid: 124) through a “pragmatically guided reading” and interpretation of the practices under consideration (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983: 124). This thesis does not claim to be the only reading possible or that these readings are necessarily “shared by the actors involved or, in any simple sense … reveal the intrinsic meaning of the practices” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983: 124). Rather it is an effort to interpret, understand and construct a coherent account of practices which, “quite literally … embody a “form of life”” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983: 125). The previous chapter, then, should not be understood as ‘theory’, but as an “interpretive framework” (Dean, 1994b: 146) which

has guided the particular area of interest of this thesis but also represents an aid and frame for interpretation (Bryman, 2004).

Forms of research which draw on notions of 'interpretation' and 'social construction' may be open to the charge that they are 'subjective', biased, unscientific and so on (see: Steinar, 1996: 284; Denzin & Lincon, 1998: 7). While this could potentially be problematic, this thesis is not seeking to offer a grand theory or 'find' hidden affective structures. Nor is it an attempt at criticism. In an era where governmental practices which embed certain "assumptions about 'being green' in personal conduct and behaviour have become too quickly normative" (Gibson, Head Gill & Gordon, 2011: 5) this thesis does not to look for 'new truths' or objective facts. Rather, it aims at a "restive problematisation" (Dean, 1994a: 4) in which the construction of these practices of government are brought into the realm of thought and questioned, opening up opportunities for new possibilities, rather than closing them down.

Not looking for 'truth' and the adherence to a loose constructivist or interpretative framework does not, however, mean that quality and rigour are not a concern of this piece of research. Yet, using a framework which stresses the possibilities of multiple potential truths and perspectives means that positivistic understandings of research validity must be left behind as "the concept of validity indicates a firm boundary between truth and non-truth" (Steinar, 1996: 231). Thus, quality and vigour of a study whose focus is an "interpretive one" (Geertz, 2000:5) come to be linked to: the depth of description of the phenomena being researched; the thickness of the description (Geertz, 2000); the openness of the research process; the consistency and logical congruency of the argument and the congruency between one's framework and the interpretations (Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001: 532). In a sense the reader is invited to make a judgement on the rigour of the research and its 'success' through assessment of the "quality of craftsmanship" (Steinar, 1996: 241) as well as the ability to "open up … alternatives for thought and action" (Steinar, 1996: 235).

Drawing on an interpretive and constructivist framework requires methods congruent with such an approach. Qualitative methods which facilitate the production of rich and deep narratives can be understood as "a set of interpretative practices" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 5). Conceptualised in this way qualitative methods are appropriate for

this research. Consequently this research utilised a specific qualitative approach: ethnography. Ethnographies can involve the utilisation of a wide selection of methods and usually entail periods of participation in the lives of those who are being studied (Fetterman, 1998: 35). While perhaps, according to Fetterman (1998), this research could not be described as 'ethnography' as the period of involvement in the lives of those being studied was not of sufficient length, this research was based around ethnographic practices: participant observation, face-to-face semi-structured interviews, document collection and opportunism, i.e. gathering "whatever data that [were] available to throw light on the issues" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:1). While the use of multiple research techniques are on occasion linked to 'triangulation' (Walsh, 2004: 236) the use of multiple methods in this research does not signal an attempt to get a fix on 'objective reality' from multiple standpoints but rather to add "rigor, breath and depth to … [the] investigation" (Densin & Lincoln, 1998: 4). The employment of multiple ethnographic techniques, however, was not only related to one context but was undertaken at two sites, and hence this research could be understood as the "practice of multi-sited ethnography" (Marcus, 2006: 618).

The research was conducted in two sites. The first was Defra's Sustainable Behaviours Unit. The second was a local "Green Communities" initiative. More will be said about these two sites below. However, the use of multi-sited ethnography allows for the exploration of how particular understandings and practices of government were being constructed and enacted at two 'levels'. Moreover, it is suggested that these two sites cannot be understood in isolation to each other. Indeed there are tangible connections. Hence, this thesis sought to explore how the "functioning of one site … depends on a very specific imagining of … elsewhere" (Marcus, 2006: 619). What follows is the exploration of related environmental rationalities and practices of government at two sites. In essence, this thesis explores these related governmental practices at a national and local level.

2.2.1 Ethnography and Governmentality

The use of ethnographic techniques in studies drawing upon a governmentality analytic have recently been advocated by a number of scholars (Parr, 2009; McKee, 2009; 2011; Li, 2007). According to these authors, one needs to move away from

governmentality studies which discern governmental rationalities and aims from documents. Instead, one should examine the construction and configuration of the practices and rationalities of government "within the social relations in which they are embedded" (McKee, 2009: 473). Here the emphasis is less on the idealised rationalities and schemes of government derived from key governmental texts (O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997) but rather on "trying to tease out the messy and contested nature of contemporary governing practices" (McKee, 2011: 4). The aim of this research, in part, is to do exactly that. This does not mean, however, that key governmental texts are ignored. Indeed they are an important aspect of this research. Yet, these texts, through the use of ethnographic techniques, are situated in complex social and institutional processes; bringing a 'messy' dimension to the analysis.

However, it is perhaps a simplification of governmentality studies to suggest that they often focus on "discursive governmentality" (McKee, 2010: 3) rather than pay attention to the locally situated configuration, enactment and dissemination of governmental practices (Parr, 2009). Indeed, there have now been a number of studies, drawing on ethnographic techniques, which examine governmental practices at the local level (Li, 2007; Herbert-Cheshire, 2006). However, the ethnographic component of these studies has often been focused on the agents usually understood as the 'object' of government, i.e. those who are the object of governmental programmes. This research hopes to bring a new dimension to the governmentality literature by studying, through ethnographic techniques, the actors who could be understood to be the 'governors', i.e. state actors. As far as it is possible to be certain, this has not been done before.

2.3 Ethnography: Participant Observation

One of the main techniques of ethnography is 'participant observation' within a particular site. Here "people's actions and accounts are studied in every day contexts" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 3), through the researcher immersing himself in the social processes under study. Or put more simply, "research takes place in the field" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 3). With participant observation there is a continuum related to the level of involvement in the field. On the one hand, the researcher may play the role of the 'complete participant'. On the other hand, a

researcher maybe a 'complete observer' whereby interaction with those in the field is very limited and the researcher is unobtrusive in character (Bryman, 2001). In each site examined, the role of the researcher was somewhat different as will be highlighted below. However, in both sites the area of concern was similar in the sense that participant observation was used to generate an understanding of how a particular practice of government was constructed, configured, modified and contested in *situ*.

A number of authors who are concerned with ethnography and participant observation stress certain key considerations to made (see: Hammersley & Atkison, 2007; Walsh, 2004; Fetterman, 1998). These include:

- Site Selection
- Access
- Data collection
- Characteristics of the researcher
- Field relations

This section will address these considerations while outlining the specificity of each phase of participant observation at the two separate sites.

2.3.1Defra

Originally this thesis sought to examine three community initiatives which were broadly responding to climate change and environmental problematics. From this rather extensive remit, my interest eventually focused on community initiatives that had a 'behaviour change' aspect to them. This interest was linked to previous work that I had carried out with a local initiative that had focused on changing food consumption practices (Dilley, 2009). This interest in behaviour change was also stimulated by Foucault's and other authors' work on ethical practices of the self and governmentality. This led to an understanding that behaviour change could be interpreted as a practice of government.

Following initial 'field work' and greater immersion in the literature, a concern with the political context in which community behaviour change initiatives were set began

to emerge. It was felt that an examination of a site in the apparatus of the state linked to behaviour change would be beneficial and add an extra dimension to the study. As it turned out the research carried out within a specific site of the state became less of a benefit and extra dimension to this thesis but rather one of its core components. In this sense the research process was not linear, but rather was more of an "iterative" (Bryman, 2004: 10) set of activities where the research focus evolved in relation to the work already carried out and on-going reviews of the literature (Marshall & Rossman, 1999: 25).

At the time my interest in the political level emerged, an internship opportunity at Defra's Sustainable Behaviours Unit became available through a national funding institution. At the time it was clear that this 'Unit' was one of the key actors in relation to the notion of behaviour change. The conclusion was reached that this internship would offer an opportunity to gain access to a site in the state that was concerned primarily with behaviour change in relation to environmental concerns. It was felt that the SBU represented a potential research case, in the political sphere, that would mirror the interest with behaviour change at the local / community level. The initial intention was that the internship itself would not be research, but rather I would seek to conduct interviews with members of Defra and the SBU after the internship had finished. Hence, the internship was understood to be purely an opportunity to build connections within Defra and to generate an understanding about the work of the SBU. This understanding would then be used to frame and inform interview questions as, "in an interview, what you already know is as important as what you want to know" (Leech, 2002: 665). Fortuitously, I was able to obtain the internship.

The internship could be understood as part of "opportunistic research" process in which chance developments offer openings for interesting areas of study (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 28). The internship started in March 2010 and ran for three months. During the internship I was instructed to do a review of the previous behaviour change programmes that had had connections to the SBU. The remit for this work was fairly broad so it was decided that the best way to understand these programmes would be through examination of Defra's internal documents and by conducting interviews with those involved in these early programmes. For the review, nine interviews were carried out in Defra as well as with a number of actors outside

the department. After the interviews had been completed, and during the last month of the internship, a report on these programmes was produced which summarised the findings.

This experience of doing research for Defra was invaluable in terms not only of understanding Defra's behaviour change programmes, but also making contacts and connections that would have otherwise have been difficult to make. Moreover, working full time in the SBU for three months allowed for an insight into the workings of the department and the everyday working lives of those within the SBU. The fact that I was an intern was also beneficial as it was felt by my (Defra) supervisor that I should make the best use of my time in Defra and experience as many aspects of Defra work as possible. In this regard I was openly encouraged to attend different meetings or to ask to go to seminars/conferences/events that I thought were of interest. I was offered 'shadowing' days with various senior staff. I was also encouraged to speak to as many people as possible with connections to behaviour change programmes. I was even invited, on a number of occasions, to go to intra-departmental meetings. Although this encouragement to make the best of my intern experience and the mere status of being an intern made me somewhat 'different' to those permanent members of staff; the fact that, at the time, there were a number of secondees on short term contracts working in the SBU meant that I did not stand out. Indeed, after a month or so I felt that, to some degree, I was being accepted.

With the initial intention being to conduct interviews with the members of the SBU about their work, I felt it was important that I demonstrate that I fitted in; that I was friendly, trustworthy, conscientious and discreet. It was hoped that in demonstrating these qualities I would be granted the opportunity to interview people "that earlier would have been refused point blank" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 57). In this regard I not only tried to carry out the work that was given to me in a conscientious and enthusiastic manner (as would be expected) but also made an effort to engage in other activities. For example I started to play squash with members of the department in squash courts that were in the departmental basement, I joined a 'civil service' badminton club, I cycled to work as other members of the SBU did and on a couple of occasions joined Defra staff for a few drinks after work.

In order to draw on the Defra experience later when devising interview schedules, notes were taken. These notes were not taken during the time spent in Defra itself, but were written up in research diaries after work, at lunch time in a local park or indeed during any other spare time that was available. However, with time constraints it was impossible to write a detailed diary everyday. A format that was found to be manageable was that brief notes were made at the end of each day with more detailed notes, deductions, questions and so on being made two/three times a week, usually on Monday evening, Wednesday evening and Saturday.

2.3.2 Eco-Teams

After finishing the Defra internship and on reviewing the material that had been gathered in preparation for the interviews with Defra staff, it was felt that the internship experience and interviews would give an insight into the 'thought' of the SBU. However, while such an understanding would be invaluable in itself, it would give little indication of how behaviour change as a governmental objective is made 'technical'. In other words, interview testimony and the experience of the internship seemed more suited to excavating the rationalities, techniques and telos of the SBU rather than how these rationalities and aims are made practical. An opportunity to examine this technical aspect presented itself in the form of an 'Eco-Teams' workshop in a nearby city. As is explained in some detail later in the thesis, the Eco-Teams workshop can be understood as the thought and rationalities of the SBU made concrete. In this sense the Eco-Teams workshop represents one instance where the aspirations of the SBU become governmental as they move from the realm of thought and attach themselves to various technologies (Rose, 1999a: 51). In this regard the interest was in the discourse, activities and various technicalities of the Eco-Teams workshop and Eco-Teams process more generally, rather than the workshop facilitators or participants.

The workshop was just one of a number held all over the country and lasted for two hours. Access was gained to the workshop by signing up to Eco-Teams via an email. During the workshop, as an aide-memoir, notes were taken and the proceedings were audio recorded. I asked one of the facilitators if it was acceptable to record proceedings saying that I was a student interested in community responses to climate

change. While, it was impossible to ask everyone to give their consent for the proceedings to be recorded, neither my note taking nor the presence of an audio recorder raised any comment from other participants. Indeed a number of other attendees were also making notes. The fact that I took part in all the activities, however, meant that it was difficult to make detailed notes. Yet, brief notes were made which were subsequently written up more fully after the event.

In my involvement in both Defra and in the Eco-Teams workshop I played the role of participant more than 'observer', or perhaps "participant as observer" (Walsh, 2004: 229). This was unavoidable in the case of Defra as I had been employed to work there. In relation to the Eco-Teams workshop it was though that playing the role of participant rather than observer would generate a more "complete understanding of the situation" (Walsh, 2004: 229) and lead to a better conceptualisation of how the activities and discourses 'worked'; in the sense of their actual and intended (subjective) effects.

2.3.3 WERG and Green Communities

As already mentioned, initially this study sought to examine three local/community environmental initiatives that had a behaviour change aspect to them. The intention was to explore how behavioural change as a form of practice of (self) government was being constructed, enacted and disseminated at the local level. The examination of three different local community initiatives was originally conceived in terms of case studies through which comparisons of the forms and outcomes of these governmental practices could be made. However, following the Defra internship opportunity the research was cut from three local cases down to two. Subsequently, during the writing up stage it was felt that including the second case study would detract from the analysis and make the thesis too unwieldy. The local initiative which is included in this thesis is Wenfield Energy Reduction Group (WERG), situated within the village of Wenfield and which is part of the Energy Saving Trusts (EST) Green Communities Programme.

Social research is often impacted upon by practical considerations (Bryman, 2004: 22). The selection of WERG as a local case study was to some degree constrained by the

funding for this thesis and other pragmatic considerations. Firstly, this thesis was part funded by a regional partnership organisation that had stipulated the local study be undertaken within a specific area. Secondly, the methods employed in this study, most notably participant observation, meant that the initiative and those involved had to be easily accessible by car. The first part of the selection process was the compilation of a database of community initiatives within the stipulated area. The resulting database lead to the selection of WERG as a potential site of study, primarily because it was a community initiative, incorporated notions of behaviour change in relation to environmental concerns, was situated in the specified area and was relatively easily accessible by car.

Contact had already been made with WERG in the production of the database of local initiatives and on deciding upon WERG as a site of study, access was granted by the members of the group. As WERG is part of the Energy Saving Trust's Green Communities Programme it was deemed to be important to include the local instigator of the initiative – Scott – who was being contracted by the EST to run the Green Communities Programme in the local area. During the study period I attended a whole host of WERG meetings, events and activities. Often these would take place during the evenings and would last one or two hours. While most of the meetings and events attended were instigated and organised by WERG itself, I also attended a number of other activities. These included a one day training day put on in the local area by the WERG to stimulate interest in Green Communities and support Green Community initiatives in the region.

Attending such a wide variety of events and activities allowed an insight into the ways in which those concerned spread the notion and rationality of behaviour change at the local level. The number and range of sites and activities attended, however, cannot all be discussed in the thesis. It is hoped, however, that the breadth and depth of engagement facilitates a better understandings and more convincing interpretation of the examples given in this thesis. In order to capture these experiences I kept a detailed research diary. During the activities, meetings and events that I attended, following Silverman (2005: 176), I would make brief notes which would be written up more fully as soon as was possible. The notes would include the layout, facilities and materialities, what was said, who attended and so on. However, questions emerge

around ‘what’ to record in studies employing participant observation as “social scenes are inexhaustible” (Walsh, 2004: 234) in terms of what could be recorded about them. While on occasion being rather broad, the notes made were obviously selective and focused on what was thought to be significant, or of interest, in relation to the research area.

The role I played within WERG could be characterised as ‘observer as participant’ where the “balance is in favour of observation over participation” (Walsh, 2004: 230). However this balance sometimes shifted at specific points. For example I would often help out at a number of the events and activities. This was because I was aware and in agreement with Fetterman’s argument that “ethnographers use a great deal of people’s time, and they owe something in return” (Fetterman ,1998: 143). However, I tried to keep my active participation in WERG to a minimum. Indeed, a number of members of WERG, one in particular, were very keen for me to become more involved not only in WERG, but also in other activities in Wenfield. In this regard I was happy to be a participant in some pragmatic aspects of WERG’s activites, such as helping out at events by moving chairs around, setting up the activities and so forth. However, on occasion when I was asked to contribute ‘ideas’ to the direction that WERG was taking as an initiative, or other activities in the village, I would try and decline or be as vague as possible without causing offence. This was because, I thought, the objective of the local study was to *understand and interpret* the processes and ways in which behaviour change as a form of governmental practice was being configured – not to *affect* these processes.

2.4 Ethnography: Interviews

According to Fetterman (1998: 37) interviews are one of the “most important” research methods within a study employing an ethnographic approach. Interviews can be used to elicit a number of different forms of data. Depending upon the demands of the research, interviews can be used as a source of information about events or used to explore the “perspectives and … practices” of those being studied (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007: 120). In this regard interviews in this study were not used with one objective in mind, but rather had multiple components. Obviously the form and content of the interviews varied according to the context in which they were being

utilised. However, with members of WERG and Defra, the interviews were used to cover broadly similar themes. They were firstly used to elicit information on events and activities and secondly to “grasp and articulate” the meanings attached to, and the basis for, certain activities and practices (Johnson, 2001: 107; see also: Steinar, 1996: 229)

The interview format used for both members of Defra and WERG could be characterised as qualitative or face-to-face semi-structured interviews (Gaskell, 2000: 38). Semi-structured interviews were used to facilitate a certain flexibility. This flexibility allows the interviewer to tease out how the interviewee frames and understands events. It facilitates the exploration of the interviewee’s views as important factors in interpreting and understanding activities and practices (Bryman, 2001). Such exploration would be difficult in heavily structured interviews. Indeed, the need to explore the perspectives of people being studied puts limits on the standardisation of interviews (Warren, 2001: 86).

Semi-structured interviews allow for some flexibility during the interview to explore areas of interest that might arise. However, they are suitable for researchers with explicit questions in mind. In this sense semi-structured interviews are suitable when the researcher “comprehends the fundamentals” (Fetterman, 1998: 38) of the area of interest, through, for example, participant observation, and has set areas he/she would like to explore. Hence, as the interviews for this research took place after periods of participant observation, I had developed a number of key themes that I wanted to investigate. In this sense, the interviews followed an ethnographic tradition in which one remains open to elements that have not been previously codified, while at the same time following pre-defined areas of inquiry (Baszanger & Dodier, 1997). Thus, following Bryman’s (2001) suggestion, interview guides comprising of a number of core questions were produced before each interview. These core questions where occasionally general ‘grand tour’ questions relating to what people did, their background and so on. In other instances the questions were related to specific areas of interest. The core questions were also often accompanied by a number of prompts (Fetterman, 1998: 38).

Of course the interview guides varied depending on whether they were being used to interview members of Defra or WERG and were accordingly tailored to meet the requirements of each interview. However, interviews in both sites sought to explore similar themes. These themes were: what form did the practices of both sites take; what were the rationalities, knowledges and understandings underpinning these practices and; what were the aims of these practices? The interview questions also sought to draw out any instances of contestation and resistance at both sites. In order to facilitate the exploration of each interviewee's answers, each interview was audio recorded and transcribed fully using a word processing and transcription software package.

2.4.1Defra

About two months after the end of the internship, having secured permission to interview a number of those in the SBU and Defra, I returned to Defra to conduct the interviews. There were various strands of work within the SBU and some of the SBU staff knew more about some strands of work than others. Hence the interviewees were selected for the different perspectives and insights that they could bring to the different strands of work of the SBU. Such a strategy can be understood as "targeting the people who have the knowledge required" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 106). This targeting of specific individuals would have been very difficult or even not possible without the experience of the internship.

Understanding interviews as an "active" process (Holstien & Gubrium, 1997: 114) leads to a consideration of how the context impacts upon the understanding generated within interviews. However, taking contextualisation to the extreme leads to a proposition that is rather "daunting" (Miller and Glassner, 1997: 97). Hence, while the interview context should be taken into consideration "the distinctiveness of the interview setting must not be exaggerated, and it can be viewed as a resource rather than a problem" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 108). In this regard I felt that it was best to interview the members of Defra within Defra. This was for a number of reasons. Firstly, as I was interested in the work of the members of the SBU and Defra, it seemed only fitting that the interviews should be situated in their place of work. Secondly, it was thought that by returning to Defra and conducting the interviews

there, the interviewees would be in familiar 'territory' and would also see me as the intern rather than a researcher coming to interview them. This, it was hoped, would put the interviewees at ease.

The interviews in Defra raise questions about the positionality of those interviewed (Holstien & Gubrium, 1997: 122-124). Previous research in Defra (Wilkinson, 2009: 113) highlighted how often interviews with members of the department would result in enunciation of 'Defra's' position and various organisational scripts rather than personal perspectives. What this seems to set up is something of a dichotomy between the 'personal' and the 'organisational'. However, following the internship this appeared to be something of a false dichotomy as often, due to the nature of the SBU, the individual everyday activities of work, and the meanings attached to that work, seemed "coordinated in relation to the … organisation and also coordinating [the organisation]" (Campbell, 1998: 60). In this sense the work of the SBU, and the meanings and rationalities behind that work, was understood neither solely a function of the organisation or the personal. Indeed, what this thesis shows is that within the SBU, behaviour change as an object, problem and end of government emerges out of a coming together of logics, actors, biographies and expertise within a particular institutional context. Therefore the interviews did not seek to erase either the personal or the organisational from the interview accounts, but rather sought to bring both to the fore and understand the interaction between the two. Indeed, this meant paying particular attention during the interviews for instances of contestation, disagreement and incommensurability.

While the interviews made directly after the internship in the SBU make up the bulk of the interviews, the empirical work relating to the SBU in this thesis also draws on a number of other interviews made at different times. Some of the interviews drawn upon were undertaken during the internship. These interviews had been conducted with a number of members of the SBU who had been involved in the previous behaviour change programmes, some of whom had moved onto different areas of Defra. These interviews also included outside actors, e.g. members of the 'Third Sector' and consultants who had been involved in the work of the SBU. Rather than returning to these actors and asking them for a second interview that re-hashed the previous one, I simply contacted them and asked if it would be possible to use the

interviews for my thesis. All of those approached gave their consent. On one occasion I conducted a follow up interview with one individual whom I had interviewed during my time in the SBU in order to clarify a number of points. I also conducted an interview with a consultant who had left the SBU after her secondment had finished. Both the follow up interview and the interview with the consultant were conducted over the phone. Questions can be raised relating to the differences in the data collected through face-to-face or telephone interviews (Sturges & Hanrahan, 2004). Ideally, I would have liked to have done these two interviews face-to-face rather than over the telephone. However these interviews would have necessitated more travel, accommodation and so on. Hence, the cost and the time involved in travelling to both of these interviewees prohibited a face-to-face format. Moreover, while questions can be raised as to the 'quality' of the data elicited from telephone interviews, it is suggested that the differences between these two formats can be minor (Sturges & Hanrahan, 2004: 110).

Not all of the interviews conducted during the internship at the SBU have been used, however. While, this means that quotes have not been taken directly from the interviews, or the actors named, it does not mean that the understandings within them are lost. Indeed, much like the experience of the internship itself and the conversations held with various actors during the internship, these interviews can be understood as a form of background experience that aids and guides interpretation. Nevertheless, the empirical work relating to the SBU and Defra draws upon twelve interviews which were audio recorded. All lasted between forty-five minutes and one hour and thirty minutes.

2.4.2 WERG and Green Communities

The interviews with those involved in WERG, as already mentioned, covered similar themes to that of the interviews with the various actors connected to the SBU. In other words they examined, at the local level, the dissemination and configuration of (environmental) behaviour change understood as a form of governmental practice. In this sense the study of WERG, to some degree, sought to mirror the study of the SBU. However, there was one difference. While both the SBU and WERG were understood and explored as sites that seek to govern the behaviours of others, WERG was also

conceptualised as a site in which behaviour change may become a practice of *self*-government. Thus, the interviews explored not only how WERG was part of an effort to change the behaviours of others, but also how and why those involved in WERG sought to govern their own behaviour.

As with the SBU, WERG interviewees were selected on the basis of their perspectives and insights into WERG. This understanding derived from the participant observation already carried out. In terms of interview location, ideally, I would have liked to interview some of the actors in their homes. This was because WERG was primarily concerned with domestic level behaviour change. Hence by conducting the interviews in the home I would have had the opportunity to see how the rhetoric of (domestic) level behaviour change fitted into the interviewee's domestic world. However, the location of interview was chosen by the interviewee because it was thought that "allowing [the interviewees] to organise the context the way they wish, [was] the best strategy" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 116). In this regard I did not want to intrude into people's private sphere as this may have made them uncomfortable. Letting the respondents choose also allows them to pick a location that is most convenient to themselves; a consideration to make especially when you are asking for a significant amount of a respondent's time. In any event the interviews were often undertaken in people's homes. An interview was also undertaken with the individual who had been contracted to run the Green Communities Programme in the local area. In total six interviews were undertaken. Each interview was audio recorded and lasted between one hour and two and a half hours.

2.5 Ethnography: Documents

Interview transcripts can be viewed as texts. However, 'text' will refer to material consisting of words and images that have been recorded without the intervention of the researcher (Silverman, 2000). Such texts are a key aspect of many social worlds and are often an "invaluable research resource" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 132). Indeed, in-line with the importance of texts in Foucault's work and in other studies employing a governmentality analytics, a particular emphasis was placed on gathering texts (see for example: Wallington & Lawrence, 2008 Ward & McNicholas, 1998; Li, 2007; Agrawal, 2005b). This was especially true in the case of the SBU where texts –

especially documents – are an integral component of everyday working lives of those in the SBU. Yet, the collection of texts was not only undertaken in relation to the SBU. During all stages of this research, emphasis was always placed on collecting documents, texts, images and other media (in one case a DVD) that were available. This collection of texts would take a variety of forms. It ranged from simply picking up leaflets and reports that were available at meetings and events, to downloading documents from the internet and taking 'screen shots' of particular internet websites[16]. I also stored all the emails that I had received relating to both WERG and Defra and on a number of occasions took photos of certain events and activities. These photos acted more as an aide-memoir than analytical resource. However, some photos do appear in the thesis.

2.6 Analysis: Diaries, Interviews and Texts

Analysis was a continuing process throughout the research. An analytical diary was kept which drew on the interview transcripts and the texts collected. In this analytical diary I wrote down thoughts, theories and ideas and links to literature, an approach that could be considered similar to 'memoing' (Bernard, 2002: 463). While analysis was ongoing throughout the research, in the more formal stage analysis, much of what I had collected was read and re-read – essentially "immersing [myself] in the [data] corpus" (Gasgall, 2000: 53). Unlike, the use of computer packages aimed at facilitating analysis in a pseudo-quantitative manner, much of the analysis was conducted in a 'low-tech' way using highlighters, scribbled notes in margins and in my analytical diary. During this more formal phase, using the literature as "resources to make sense of the data" (Hammersley, 1995: 210), I searched for certain themes in the corpus of data that I had compiled. Drawing particularly on Dean's (2010) and Rose's (1999a) work, the data were analysed in terms of governmental practices and their:

- Problematisations / Rationalities
- Intellectual machinery, or 'techniques'
- Aims or Telos

[16] This was done because often websites change quite dramatically, and I wanted to capture particular sites at a particular time.

- Technologies
- Implied subjectivities
- Modification, resistance, and contestation

All of the body of data that I collected was subject to similar analysis. Unlike previous studies which draw on the concept of governmentality, this research sought to blend the analysis of texts, interview and fieldwork material (see for example: Cheshire, 2006; Li, 2007; Agrawal, 2005b). Of course there are empirical sections in this thesis which focus more heavily on texts than interview narrative or field notes, yet the analytical strategy was to analyse these side by side. Here texts were approached from an interpretative standpoint and understood as part of a textual network. They were examined in terms of what form of reality they construct and what "they are used to accomplish" (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004: 58). In this sense texts were not considered as representative of a reality (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004), nor were they understood as determinate of social worlds. Rather, they were conceptualised as part of (social) practices, which both construct these texts and are partly constitutive of them. In this way texts, interviews and field notes are drawn together to understand the construction of a particular form of government.

2.7 Ethics

In conducting social research one must be attentive to the ethics of doing so (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 209; Fetterman, 1998; British Sociological Association (BSA), 2002). However, ethics cannot be reduced to sets of codes and university ethical procedures as much social research requires constant consideration of ethics *in situ.* In this respect, while the following section highlights two of the key ethical considerations usually alluded to – informed consent and confidentiality – this section cannot cover the myriad of ethical considerations made. The consideration of the ethics of this research starts with Defra and deliberation on informed consent.

While the initial intention was not to use the Defra internship as an opportunity for research, it does raise questions about covert and overt research. In the process of applying to do the internship it was felt that it would be best not to mention the

interest in the Unit as site of study. Indeed, even after being selected for the internship, the interest in the SBU as a potential research site was still not mentioned. The fact that I did not inform the members of the SBU at the beginning as to my intentions means the work in Defra comes rather close to a 'covert' study in which the researcher undertakes activities without the full knowledge of the intentions behind these activities by those concerned. The ethical implications and the potentiality for problems after research has been completed mean that covert studies are generally avoided whenever possible (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 57).

However, the choice of strategy was rationalised in a number of ways. Firstly, I felt that mentioning the interest in the 'Unit' as a site of study would have negatively impacted on the chances of gaining the internship opportunity. Secondly, the initial intention was not to use the internship for 'collecting data'. Rather the internship was understood to be purely an opportunity to build connections within the department and to generate an understanding about the work of the SBU to frame and inform interview questions later.

Despite the intention that the material generated during the internship would not be used in the thesis, about one month before the end of the internship, with some trepidation, I asked my supervisor at the SBU about the possibility of drawing on the internship experience for this thesis and if it would be possible to conduct interviews with members of Defra. To my surprise this request was greeted with some interest and not the overt hostility that I was worried it might attract. After some negotiation it was agreed that I would be able to engage with the internship experience and was granted the opportunity to interview members of Defra. This agreement, however, did not, I felt, give a full licence to draw on all the experiences in Defra. In fact most of the empirical work draws upon interview material which I have been given permission to use[17]. There is only one occasion in this thesis in which a detailed account of a specific event, a meeting, is given. All of those who were present at this specific meeting are aware of the research, have given their consent to be included in this study and were interviewed for this research.

---

[17] This does not mean I have also drawn on interview material that I have not been given permission to use. I have permission to use <u>all</u> of the interview material appearing in this thesis.

The research conducted at the Eco-Teams workshop was covert, in the sense that the participants and workshop facilitators did not know about my interest in the workshop as a site of study. However if anyone asked, I was a PhD student interested in community responses to climate change. This raises ethical questions around: the rights to privacy of those involved in the workshop, what kind of potential harm could be done to the reputations or otherwise of those involved in the workshop by this work and, whether covert research of this site could be understood as exploitation of those involved (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 210 – 218). Nevertheless, the strategy adopted at this workshop is justified on the basis that the area of interest was not the participants or facilitators but rather the governmental discourses, processes and 'technologies' embedded in the workshop. Indeed, there is little description of the attendees or facilitators and certainly not enough for people to be identifiable. Moreover, the fact that the location of the event has not been given and that there were a number of similar events all over the country makes identification doubly difficult.

In relation to WERG, all of those interviewed gave permission to be interviewed after receiving a letter outlining the purpose of the study. Consent to participate in, and observe, the work of WERG was obtained from members of WERG. However, as is often the case with participant observation there were some occasions in which it would have been impossible to have asked for permission to observe from everyone without "making the research highly disruptive or rendering it impossible" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 211). These occasions usually involved observation of events that were organised by WERG; although efforts were made to disclose the purpose of my presence. One such event took place in a school. Although I had permission to work in the school, after supplying a copy of my CRB, and the teachers were aware that I was a student working with WERG, it was impossible to obtain permission to observe from the children or their guardians. However, as with other events, the main area of interest was not with the 'attendees', in this case the children or the teachers, but rather the members of WERG and their activities.

Confidentiality and anonymity is another key consideration in social research (Warren, 2001: 88; BSA, 2002; Fetterman, 1998: 142). In this respect efforts have been made to ensure anonymity. All of those appearing in this thesis have been given

pseudonyms and in the case of WERG, the village and area have been fictionalised. This has included altering the names of reference material that would have revealed the location of WERG. While this has involved some work, ensuring of anonymity of those connected to the SBU has been more difficult. At first it was thought that I could anonymise the particular unit. However, it was decided that doing so would be virtually impossible and would undermine the integrity of this thesis. Hence, seeking to ensure anonymity, especially in such a small unit and where some biographical details have been used, has involved some ingenuity on my part. Even so this is no guarantee of anonymity if readers are familiar with the unit or if efforts are made by the readers to identify those within this study. However, if identifiable it is hoped that any impact may be lessened by the fact that this thesis does not seek to 'expose', in a sensationalist sense, or overtly critique the work of the SBU. Nor does this research pry deeply into the private lives of those involved. Rather, it seeks to understand and interpret a creative, new and interesting arena of the state. Finally, considering the impact that this study might have (see: Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 218) it is hoped that this study will not deter the SBU, or Defra, from hiring subsequent interns or for studies to be conducted in Defra. This is because I thoroughly enjoyed my Defra experience, both the internship and research. This was mostly due to the kindness of those in the SBU, and I would hope others are offered the same opportunity.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter brought attention to considerations made in relation to methodology and the methods employed in this study. It has also sought to explicate the research process. It has done so with a view to transparency of both the intellectual underpinnings and assumptions of this study and the steps and justifications for the form taken by this research. Such an enunciation allows the reader to gain a sense of: the circumstances in which this study was carried out; some of the difficulties encountered; the ethical considerations and dilemmas and the sources upon which the interpretations developed within this thesis are made. Hence this chapter is part of an attempt to allow the reader to make a judgement on the quality of this research and part of an attempt to bring rigour to this study. However, in discussing 'quality' one

must consider the empirical elements of a thesis; and it is the empirical that this thesis next addresses.

Chapter 3. Choice, Conduct and the SBU

3.1 Introduction

There has been considerable debate, for some time, around whether the problematisation and modification of individual behaviour and choice, most notably that of the consumer, is able to make any sort of impact on the multitude of contemporary environmental and social problems (Maniates, 2002; Sassatelli, 2006; Clarke et. al., 2007; Littler, 2006; Guthman, 2008; Bryant & Goodman, 2004; Shaw, Newholm & Dickinson, 2006). While this debate will no doubt continue, it appears that these deliberations are part of a wider set of problem formations across a number of sites from government departments to NGOs and university campuses. This wider set of problematisations revolves around notions of choice, but also relates to questions over responsibility, behaviour, morals, norms, values and attitudes. The purpose of this chapter is to examine how, connected to this context, a certain rationality of government which focuses around the notion of choice and behaviour has emerged in a specific site in the machinations of state – Defra's Sustainable Behaviours Unit. It documents the surfacing of a number of instruments, objects and ends of government within this specific site and the interconnected knowledges and forms of 'intellectual machinery'.

This chapter can be understood to chart the emergence of a problematics, rationality, means and ends of government that is embedded within, and integral to, a practice of government known as behaviour change. From this initial examination, later chapters will explore how behaviour change as an objective has become governmental as it becomes enmeshed within a number of technical mechanisms which seek to reform a multitude of agents. This work hopes to highlight how, as Barnett et al. (2008) suggest, such mechanisms seek to modify behaviour. In contrast to Barnett et. al. (2008), however, the argument is made that this modification of conduct is attempted through understanding, harnessing and constructing the very subjectivities of individuals themselves.

3.2 The Sustainable Behaviours Unit and a Wider Problematics of Government

> "[In order to govern it became necessary] to gain access to the bodies of individuals, to their acts, attitudes and modes of everyday behaviour"
> (Foucault, 1980b: 125)

The publication of the *Environmental Behaviours Strategy for Defra* (Defra, 2006a) in December of 2006 signalled the consolidation of a set of questions and understandings within a specific site in Defra. It was also the precursor to the formation of the Environmental Behaviours Unit which was subsequently renamed the Sustainable Behaviours Unit (SBU). The strategy report was the outcome of the pulling together of "strands of work and thinking" (Megan: Defra, interview) within a cluster of three members of Defra: Megan, Clare and Robert. These three had come together as a 'virtual team' while spread out in different sections of the department. At the point of the formation of the virtual team, Clare had recently been seconded into Defra from a university environmental psychology department. She brought with her some 10 years experience of working in both the field of environmental psychology and commercial marketing. Similarly, Megan had experience and an interest in marketing which she had developed on leaving university after studying politics. Megan and had come into Defra in 2005 after working for different marketing and educational institutions as well as the Government Communications Network. Robert had been working in Defra for a number of years. At the time Robert's role was one of a policy 'wonk'[18] in the field of sustainable consumption and production. In this regard he was seen as the 'policy colleague' by this virtual team.

The work being conducted in this virtual team was taking place in the context of a wider set of questions and statements about "what the role of government was" (Robert: Defra, interview), both in relation to concerns around sustainability and in achieving other government objectives. Problematising the role of government is not new, but rather questions concerning the appropriate forms, objects and limits of government are integral to government itself (Rose & Miller, 1992; 175). The questioning of the role of government during this period might not be a new phenomenon, but it is the nature of the distinct idioms (Rose, 1999a: 27) and content

[18] 'Policy wonk' was a term used by members of Defra to describe those working in policy formation..

of this questioning that requires some deeper examination. This questioning seems to mark out a particular frame of thought that is linked to an opposition between choice on the one hand, and regulation and direction on the other. To explore this frame of thought one must move beyond Defra and into the broader context in which the department operates.

The exercise of state government, as understood by Thaler & Sunstein (2008), should seek not only to maintain, but also to increase individual choice. Yet, individual choices are conceptualised as sometimes being imperfect, not only in relation to a person's own, but also, societal welfare. However, regulation or laws that prohibit certain imperfect choices are understood to undermine individual freedom of choice (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008: 5 – 12). Between these apparently conflicting elements, the problem that is posed is one of how to *improve* people's choices and lives without undermining people's freedom to choose (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008: 5)? A response to this problem is to 'nudge' them in the direction of optimal choice through "relatively weak, soft, and non-intrusive type of [intervention]" (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008: 6), whereby "choices are not blocked, fenced off" (Sunstein & Thaler, 2003: 4) or "significantly burdened" (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008: 6).

Choice, in Sustein & Thaler's model of 'Liberal Paternalism', certainly seems to be understood as a "fundamental human faculty" (Dean, 2010: 186) and a non-political sphere which should result in non-direct, soft and non-intrusive sorts of government intervention. The importance of choice, most notably consumer choice, in contemporary mentalities of government is stressed within the work of Rose (1999a; 1996b). Rose (1999a; 1996b) posits that persons are viewed as agents who are expected and able to construe the course of their being through their choices. Seen as possessing the faculty of choice, we are understood to have the agency to shape our own lives and identities and "to determine the course of [our] own existence through acts of choice" (Rose, 1999a: 84; also see Rose, 1999b: 231). Furthermore, Rose (1999a: 166) suggests that the individual is no longer thought of as a citizen bound to society through relations of dependency and obligation, but rather through socially sanctioned consumption and responsible choices. This last point is interesting especially in relation to Sustein & Thaler's work. Sustein & Thaler appear to understand choice as a medium through which *both* individual and societal welfare is

maintained and increased. In other words individuals can not only fulfil their obligations to themselves through the choices they make, but also discharge their obligations to the welfare of society through choice. Choosing to donate organs, hence increasing the availability of organs for transplant, or choosing to reduce emissions of harmful pollutants and green house gases would be examples of this exercise of 'positive' choice (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008: 165 - 210).

Of course Sunstein & Thaler's conception of liberal paternalism and 'nudge' is not a direct reflection of the problematics of government within the virtual team. Rather, Sunstein & Thaler's work is part of a broader reflection on the role of government; albeit an influential one which has been drawn on by politicians on both sides of the Atlantic (Chakrabortty, 2008). Yet, at the time of the formation of the 'virtual team', the idioms and the language used in Suntein & Thaler's reflections on the role of government can be found not just in discussions at an international level, but also within the publications of the UK Government and Defra[19]. These idioms can be located in three UK Government and Defra publications: Chapter Two of *Securing the Future* (Defra, 2005a), Chapter Nine of *Climate Change: The UK Programme* (Defra, 2006b) and, *Personal Responsibility and Changing Behaviour: the State of Knowledge and its Implications for Policy* (Halpern et. al., 2004).

These documents (Defra, 2005a; 2006b; Halpern et. al., 2004) are replete with the language of choice and, as in Sunstein & Thaler's work, choice is understood as a medium through which both individual and societal welfare is maintained and increased. Indeed it is suggested that choice is a medium through which 'sustainable development' can be realised. In this regard persons are seen as choosers, who, through choice, are able to affect their own and the nation's welfare.

> "We all [] need to make different choices if we are to achieve the vision of sustainable development"
>
> (Defra, 2005a: 25)

Hence, in much the same way as found in Sunstein & Thaler's work, the question that is posed within these documents (Defra, 2005a; 2006b; Halpern et. al., 2004) is how

[19] Interestingly Sunstein and Thaler's early work is referenced in some of these documents.

to help “people make better choices” (Defra, 2005a: 24). Yet, and in a similar vein to Sunstein & Thaler’s work, directly impinging on choice through regulation is seen as neither necessary, or desirable and indeed may not even be possible. This is wrapped up in a number of rhetorical strategies. Government, it is argued, ‘cannot’ simply force a disengaged and passive public to make better choices; the public must become active in changing their own choices. Furthermore, it is seen as more cost effective not to directly impinge upon the choices of individuals. It is also understood as immoral to encroach upon the choices of individuals as people expect to control their own lives and desire to live in a less coercive state and judicial system (Halpern et. al., 2004). Finally, excising choice is seen to confer responsibility and hence “strengthen[] individual character and moral capacity” which in turn enhances “the quality of life of the whole community” (Halpern et. al., 2004: 7). In this context, an understanding emerges to the effect that what is needed to help people make better choices are alternative approaches to “traditional” and “command and control regulation” (Defra, 2005a: 25).

While these documents (Defra, 2005a; 2006b; Halpern et. al., 2004) to some degree reflect Sunstein & Thaler’s thoughts on the role of government there are two moves within these documents that are of interest. Firstly there seems to be an amalgamation of the notion of ‘choice’, ‘consumer’ and ‘behaviour’. While choice in these documents is often associated with the consumer (see for example: Defra, 2006b: 118) it is also linked to a whole host of other areas of life. Indeed, choice is not only exercised in relation to the products we buy when shopping, but also in regard to how we as persons “choose to behave” in all areas of life (Defra, 2006b: 117). The second shift is that it is not only the choices and behaviour of individuals that are the concern of government, it is also that of the ‘attitudes’ of individuals. In this regard it is argued that part of government’s role is to engender “the right attitude” (Defra, 2006b: 118).

These documents (Defra, 2005a; 2006b; Halpern et. al., 2004) give us an insight into the broader reflections on the role of government. While such reflections are integral to government itself – and it has been suggested that this is nothing new – it is the particular language of the problematics of government found in these documents that have been highlighted. Individuals are viewed as agents and exercisers of a faculty called choice, which is a medium through which both individual and social benefits

are produced, thus ensuring the wellbeing of the nation and the state. However, as direct intervention in this medium of choice is not necessary, desirable, possible or moral through classic 'command and control regulation' – how can government intervene in this medium of choice?

There are two factors within these publications that give us a view into the potential strategies arising from this problematics of government. The first is that of attitudes. The second factor is found in the understanding of the context in which we, as agents and choosers, are situated: community. Rose (1999c: 474) suggests that we are not understood, in contemporary mentalities of rule, as the rational beings of "classical economics: calculating, maximizers of self interest". Rather we are understood as 'ethical creatures' whose choices and behaviours are situated within, and shaped by, our communities. Thus, our behaviour is situated not in society, but the bonds of community and it is by acting through these bonds that individual behaviour can be worked upon. In light of these arguments it is interesting that 'the text book' model of the rational subject who responds logically to price signals and information is found to be wanting in these documents (Halpern et. al., 2004: 15). At the same time little inserts of text, in these documents, inform us that "we are social creatures, our behaviours are shaped and constrained by social norms and expectations. Negotiating change is best pursued at the level of communities and groups" (Defra, 2005a: 28). In this light it is perhaps no surprise, as expanded upon later, that the practice of government within the SBU comes to consolidate around three key themes: behaviour (understood as the outcomes of agents and choice), attitudes and community.

It has been suggested that *specific parts* of these documents (Defra, 2005a; 2006b; Halpern et. al., 2004) highlight wider relevant reflections on the role of government during the formation of the virtual team in Defra. From these documents the ideal role of government can be understood to be one which fosters, without recourse to traditional command and control regulation, the 'right choices'. It is, however, perhaps disingenuous to propose that, on reading these documents, the state does not envisage a role for coercive or regulatory forms of intervention in helping people make better choices. Indeed, it is clear that these forms of intervention will still play a

role in the work of government[20] (see: Defra, 2006b). Moreover, direct state intervention is understood to be means through which certain choices are enabled (Defra, 2006b: 119). Yet, it is in the context of an apparent desire for alternatives to command and control regulation that the work of the SBU can be understood.

3.3 The SBU Beginnings: The Virtual Team

Defra was formed in 2001 out of the previous Ministry of Agriculture Fisheries and Food (MAFF) after what was perceived to be the poor handling of the Foot and Mouth outbreak (Wilkinson, 2009). The formation of Defra signalled somewhat of a change of focus away from production, as had been the case under MAFF, and towards the consumer, environmental protection and the management of natural resources. This shift in policy objectives and focus meant that there were calls "for greater attention to social research and analysis" within Defra (SAC 42, 2006: 3). Hence, as consumption became increasingly important for Defra, it was understood that there needed to be a mobilisation of social research in order to engender a greater understanding of the consumer.

Despite this perceived shift, at the point of the formation of the virtual team it seems that little thought had been given to consumption in relation to sustainability, whereas the department "had done a lot on the production side" (Robert: Defra, interview). This focus on the production side of sustainable consumption was perhaps a continued manifestation, within Defra, of the objectives and core research strengths of MAFF. This core of research focused around the biological and agricultural sciences and to some extent economics. The continuing strength of this natural science research base is evidenced by the fact that in 2006-2007 Defra had some sixty-six economists, forty five statisticians, approximately three hundred natural and physical scientists and five social scientists (SAC 33, 2007). This 'natural science' tradition and its link to the focus on production was evident at the point of the formation of the virtual team.

> "*The department [Defra] was just beginning to think, at that point, about sustainable consumption and production. It had a significant amount of*

[20] However, even traditional command and control regulation is understood in the language of choice, as, it is argued, such mechanisms effectively "edit" the choices available (Defra, 2006b: 118).

> *work going on around [product] life cycle analysis and some of the more, I guess you could call it, science type issues, and they didn't have anything about behaviour, consumers, consumption.*"
>
> (Clare: Defra, Interview)

In this light, the development of the virtual team within the department, still heavily dominated by natural and physical scientists, can be viewed as in line with the shifting understanding of the role of the department since its reformation. The development of the virtual team can also be seen as the opening of a small space in which 'social science' could be brought to bear on the problem of consumption.

> "*I came into the Defra on secondment before, really, there wasn't any social research relating to consumer behaviour or behaviour in general. I came into the department to really sort of have a think about [behaviour, consumers and consumption and] what would sort of evidence base would be necessary to kick off that type of thinking*"
>
> (Clare: Defra, Interview)

While there appears to have been an opening of a space within Defra in which the notion of sustainable consumption could come under the gaze of social science, the formation of the virtual team was not set up in "the formal sort of way" (Megan: Defra, interview). Rather, it seems that the virtual team was an informal group whose work was seen as outside of the work of the department in general.

> "*I suppose at this time [our work] wasn't seen as interfering with [Defra's] core work, it was very much linked to it, but it was something we were just saying 'we'll do this as well'*"
>
> (Megan: Defra, Interview)

This small space in which this virtual team was operating was seen as outside of the traditional role of the department inherited from MAFF. Yet the development of this team could be understood as in line with the changing perceptions of the role of the relatively new department, and the understanding of the function of social science within that changing role. The members of the virtual team could be described as having a background in the social sciences, which, as defined by the Defra Science Advisory Council Social Science Sub-Group, include a number of disciplines such as sociology, psychology and anthropology (SAC 33, 2007: 9). However, the lens

through which the team began to view consumption was a very specific one. In this regard the formation of this virtual team did not signify the mobilisation of a whole complex of social science onto the notion of sustainable consumption. Rather, sustainable consumption became refracted through a particular corpus of social science itself.

> "*Our approach was very much us as a team deciding on what we thought made sense having looked at that time at a particular social marketing approach*"
>
> (Megan: Defra, Interview)

It is perhaps unsurprising that this virtual team started to consolidate their understanding of sustainable consumption through the lens of social marketing. Clare and Megan both had previous experience of working in the field of social marketing. Clare "had been working in the depths of this type of research and this type of approach for about ten years and had worked with a lot of commercial industry" (Clare: Defra, interview). Megan, on the other hand, had, before she joined Defra, been working within government on social marketing approaches and had applied them, in her previous job, to 'migration'. During her time working on migration, she had developed a best practice guide in relation to social marketing derived methods and their use in policy. On moving over to Defra, Megan brought this experience and knowledge with her and had applied it to her work at the department.

> *"[The work that I carried out and the 'Environmental Behaviours Strategy for Defra'] very much, I would say, obviously it very much [drew] on my best practice guide that I did in my previous job*".
>
> (Megan: Defra, Interview)

The approach and methods brought to bear on the notion of sustainable consumption within this virtual team seems to have been very much a function of the team's past experience. Furthermore, in keeping with the rather informal nature of the collaboration between Clare, Megan and Robert, it seems that there was considerable freedom afforded to this virtual team in the development and application of this social marketing approach.

> "*At that point Clare, Robert and I had that freedom, as it could be described, or the opportunity, to sort of really work together and collaboratively work out 'what do we think', you know, 'how do we draw on our experiences, what does this add up to, what do we want to [do]?'*"
>
> (Megan: Defra, Interview)

Megan and Clare both emphasised the amount of freedom they had in the development and application of a social marketing approach. Whether this may have been a function of the fact that the work they were carrying out was seen as outside the core remit of the department, one still heavily dominated by natural and physical scientists and still focused around production, is debatable. However, they do note that their work was being carried out in a facilitative context not only in relation to Defra, but across government.

> "*At the time [social marketing] was an emerging high profile discipline. When I say high profile it was emerging as something that people were starting to talk about at quite a senior level [within government], and they were going in sort of trying to get people from different government departments to think about a social marketing approach*"
>
> (Megan: Defra, Interview)

The adoption and application of this approach set the direction which the SBU as a whole would follow. It was the particular understandings that were brought to Defra, and which were subsequently developed, that set in motion a particular series of problematics, questions, answers and strategies of government.

> "*At the time, it was really my thinking, Megan's thinking and Robert's thinking that framed the debate and that meant actually where the consumption work was going [and where] the interpretation of the literature was going …*"
>
> (Clare: Defra, Interview)

It is important to note in relation to the framework adopted in this thesis that the work of the virtual team emerged from a number of actors, forms of knowledge and a facilitative context. The purpose of this work is to understand how a particular mentality and practice of government has emerged out of heterogeneous relations between actors, agencies and forms of knowledge and understanding (Dean, 2010). In this regard, within the virtual team, we see a coming together of a combination of (particular) knowledges and experience situated within a context that is conducive to

the formation of a particular style of understanding. This understanding forms the basis for a more precise set of questions in relation to the notion of sustainability.

3.3.1 Social Marketing as a Technique of Government

The coming together of the virtual team formed a nexus in which a particular approach and technique of government was developed. The technique, or form of "intellectual machinery" (Rose & Miller, 1992: 179), that came to define the SBU was 'social marketing'. This technique allows for the codification and rendering of 'reality' in such a way that it becomes amenable to particular forms of problematisation, calculation and action.

Both Clare and Megan were familiar with and had utilised this technique before coming to the SBU. Megan had brought with her the social marketing best practice guide which she had developed in her previous work in another government department and had quickly begun to develop work along the same lines on arriving in Defra. In order to fully understand how social marketing as an intellectual technique was utilised, we need to examine how it was connected to and productive of the development of a series of objects and ends of government. This will be done through examining three themes: Segments, Behaviours and Drivers/Barriers (see Figure 1).

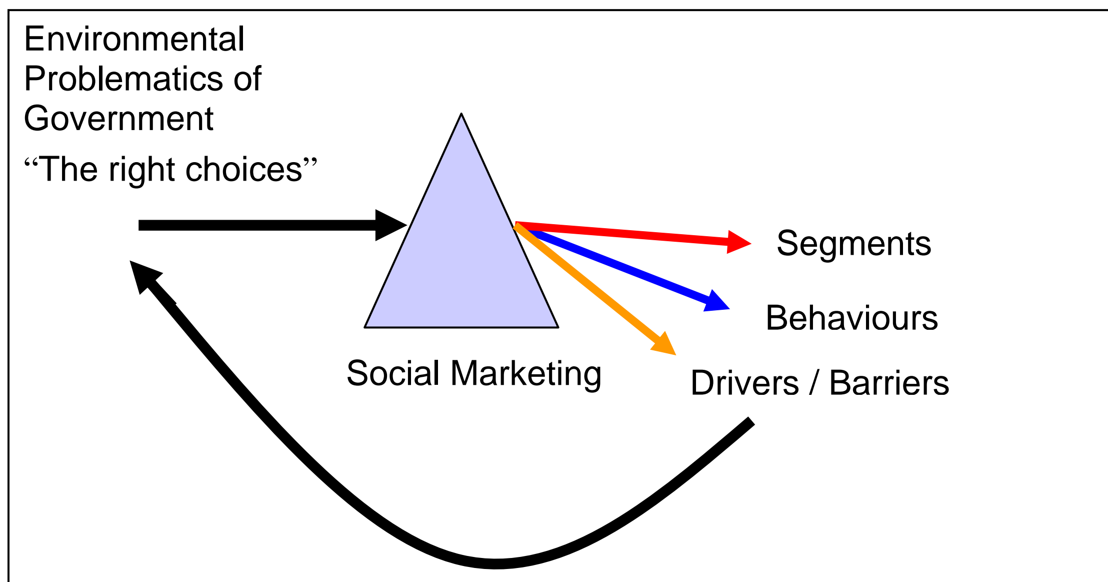


Figure 1: Social Marketing as an Intellectual Technology, Author's Diagram

3.4 Social Marketing: Segments

Social Marketing employs understandings that were originally developed in the commercial sector. The key difference, however, between social and commercial marketing is found in the aims of utilising this technique. While commercial marketing is employed to maximise profit and shareholder value, social marketing, as an intellectual technique of the state, aims to achieve a "social good" (National Social Marketing Centre for Excellence (NSMCE), 2005: 20). Social marketing is an intellectual technique (Moisander, Makkula & Eraranta, 2010: 74) that revolves around a number of key basic tenets. The first is that the population can be differentiated into groups by any number, form and combination of variables (Giles & Lee, 2008: 8). However, social marketing is understood to go beyond the traditional concerns of demography to focus on behavioural and psychodynamic aspects of individuals and groupings (NSMCE, 2005: 34). Subsequently, social marketing embeds an understanding that the population can be broken down into distinct segments and that people belong to discrete groups with their own particular attitudes, behaviour, identities and lifestyles. While perhaps unremarkable in itself, this intellectual technique seems to mirror a shift in the conceptualisation of the ways in which subjects of government are collectivised (Rose, 2000a: 1401). Hence, we are no longer understood as situated within a 'national collective' (Rose, 1999a: 189; Rose, 1999c; 2000a) but rather located in a "diverse and complex" (Barr, Gilg & Shaw, 2005: 10) social milieu. Through this technique, then, the population is understood to be composed of various groupings, each with their own mores, values and virtues. We have "moved then from *culture* to *cultures*" (Rose, 2000a: 1402 italics in original).

In order to fully operationalise this understanding, the SBU needed to split the population into specific environmental segments. However, before it was possible to do so, the development of segments required insight – insight into the lifestyles of the population and "a deeper understanding of the citizen" (NSMCE, 2005: 27). It required an understanding of the distinct sets of "people's needs, wants and aspirations" (NSMCE, 2005: 26). Subsequently a whole raft of social science research, expertise, methods and reports were mobilised through which the population's psychodynamic (motivations, values, aspirations) and behavioural traits were charted,

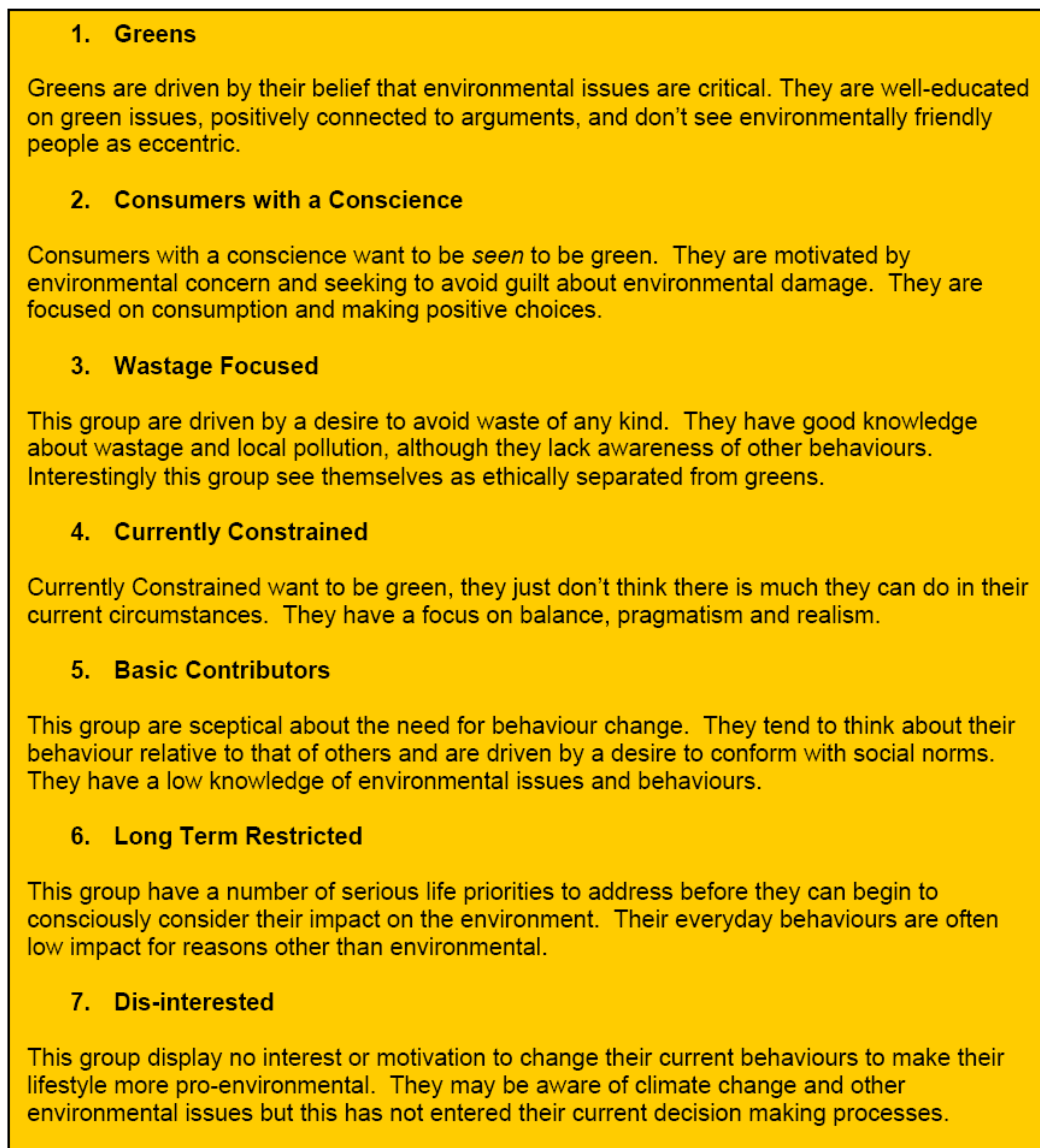
noted and drawn together (see Defra, 2006a: 31; Defra, 2006d; Defra, 2008a; Barr, Gilg & Shaw, 2005). These efforts brought the population's environmental "values and virtues into visibility and injected them into the deliberations of authorities" (Rose, 1999a: 189). This detailed charting and mapping culminated with the development of a segmentation model[21] (Defra, 2006a; 2008a). The segmentation model splits the population into seven segments each with their own specific environmental beliefs and values, motivations and aspirations (see Defra, 2006a; see Figure 2). Here, through the utilisation of various techniques of the social sciences, the choices, attitudes, motivations and behaviours of individuals were "mapped out" onto new spaces of differentiated cultures (Rose, 1999a: 189).

The segmentation model was the product of the utilisation of social marketing. In this regard social marketing can be understood as an intellectual technique which allows for the visualisation and objectification of particular phenomena – as both objects of calculation and intervention. Indeed, through this segmenting process there are two distinct moments of visualisation and objectification. One instance of visualisation and objectification is the division of the population into distinct segments which are thought to have their own discrete characteristics and logically their own policy requirements. More precisely, once rendered visible, the various segments can become the objects of differentiated governmental technologies (NSMCE, 2005; undated). Through this understanding, people are no longer thought to be best "influenced by blunt 'one-size fits all' public policy measures" (Barr, Gilg & Shaw, 2005: 10). Rather, "there is a need to group activities and people into distinct segments so that each group … of people can have tailor made public policy interventions" (Barr, Gilg & Shaw, 2005: 10).

Secondly, the "internal" drivers (NSMCE, 2005: 35) of individuals – pleasures, habits, values, attitudes and beliefs (NSMCE, 2005: 56) – are objectified. This allows these aspects to become both the object of calculation and intervention. Indeed, it is through

[21] The 'model' itself is essentially an algorithm. The original scoping report (Defra, 2006a) segmented the population according to environmental attitudes, values and current environmental behaviours. The segmentation model developed in the second report (Defra, 2008a) focused on forty four attitudinal variables. The argument for this shift was that a model based on current behaviours would lead to a fluid model as people took up and dropped behaviours. Defra also argues that such a model incorporating behavioural variables would be affected by circumstances, as changing circumstances would make it less easy to identify ways in which they could encourage pro-environmental behaviour.

intervening at the level of an individual's psychodynamic drivers and barriers that government is thought to be possible. Here, for example, specific attitudes can be targeted; Defra is encouraged to engender or reinforce "levels of personal responsibility for the environment" for the realisation of environmental objectives (Defra, 2006d: 7, 9). Moods and emotions, similarly, are potential tools and targets of government, which can be utilised to achieve particular environmental aims (Uzzel et. al., 2006: 15; Defra, 2006e: 11). Through the technique of social marketing, then, a particular object of government is made visible – an individual's very subjectivity.



1. **Greens**

Greens are driven by their belief that environmental issues are critical. They are well-educated on green issues, positively connected to arguments, and don't see environmentally friendly people as eccentric.

2. **Consumers with a Conscience**

Consumers with a conscience want to be *seen* to be green. They are motivated by environmental concern and seeking to avoid guilt about environmental damage. They are focused on consumption and making positive choices.

3. **Wastage Focused**

This group are driven by a desire to avoid waste of any kind. They have good knowledge about wastage and local pollution, although they lack awareness of other behaviours. Interestingly this group see themselves as ethically separated from greens.

4. **Currently Constrained**

Currently Constrained want to be green, they just don't think there is much they can do in their current circumstances. They have a focus on balance, pragmatism and realism.

5. **Basic Contributors**

This group are sceptical about the need for behaviour change. They tend to think about their behaviour relative to that of others and are driven by a desire to conform with social norms. They have a low knowledge of environmental issues and behaviours.

6. **Long Term Restricted**

This group have a number of serious life priorities to address before they can begin to consciously consider their impact on the environment. Their everyday behaviours are often low impact for reasons other than environmental.

7. **Dis-interested**

This group display no interest or motivation to change their current behaviours to make their lifestyle more pro-environmental. They may be aware of climate change and other environmental issues but this has not entered their current decision making processes.

Figure 2: 'The Seven Population Segments', taken from Defra (2006a: 32)

Through the use of social marketing as an intellectual technique the understanding emerges that not only are psyches of individuals an object of government, but that different groups potentially become an object of different forms of intervention. However, these understanding were not only confined to the virtual team. Indeed, these understandings were actively being disseminated. In this regard The *Scoping Report* (Defra, 2006a) was not an 'outward facing document' in the sense that it was not designed for the public. Rather, it was primarily written for a Defra "policy audience" (Clare: Defra, interview). This report (Defra, 2006a) was part of an effort to disseminate a different way of thinking about, and understanding, state government.

> "*To us [the 2006 framework] was a way of helping policy teams think through the development of their policy and the changes that needed to happen in the development of their policy … our argument, which we were really trying to drive home through the framework, was "actually you have to build audience into the beginning, you have got to think about what you need people to do and why. What are their motivations for doing that, what are the barriers to them doing those things, why would anybody pick up your policy intervention and what do you expect them to do? You know, "why", and so it was a very different way of thinking for policy teams … It was a different way of thinking for government*"
>
> (Clare: Defra, Interview)

To re-cap, the application of the understandings inherent within social marketing facilitated the development of a 'different way of thinking' about government within Defra in two regards. Firstly, government is understood to involve differential forms of practice upon various sub-groups of the population. Secondly, and more importantly in this thesis, the very psychic 'stuff' of the population becomes understood as a potential object of intervention for government. However, before this is discussed at greater length later in this chapter, the next section explores how prior to intervening in the social sphere, the SBU had to designate its telos – its environmental objectives.

3.5 Social Marketing: Designating Sustainability

The second core tenet of social marketing is that individual behaviour is malleable and that the outcomes of (successful) government can be understood in terms of enactment of specific forms of conduct. A social marketing approach, therefore, explicitly posits that government needs to address specific behavioural goals in order

to meet its aims and that individual behaviour is a modality through which social goods can be realised (NSMCE, 2005). In the SBU this understanding is linked to a number of statements concerning the environmental and resource impacts that individual level behaviours have. For example, our individual level behaviour, it is stated, accounts for 42% of all carbon emissions, 150 litres of water used a day and some 500kg of waste produced a year (Defra, 2008a: 18; Defra, 2006a: 14). The subtext of these statements is clear. It is our personal behaviours that are one of the main drivers of climate change and environmental degradation and hence our behaviours need to change.

Within this context a specific question emerges:

> "'*what is it that we want people to be doing? … What is it that people are doing [where] we would say 'that is a sustainable, that is an environmentally friendly lifestyle'*'"
>
> (Megan: Defra, Interview)

Through the constitution of this question the SBU set about compiling a "set of behaviours that would constitute a sustainable lifestyle" (Megan: Defra, Interview). The outcome of this compilation was a set of twelve 'headline behaviours' which can be found within the *Scoping Report* (Defra, 2006a) and the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008a) (see Figure 3).

These behaviours, however, were understood in a specific way. They were understood to relate to consumption, but not solely consumption in regards to shopping:

> "*[the behaviours are] not just about shopping and buying stuff, but consuming energy, water and food and so consumption in the widest sense possible*"
>
> (Clare: Defra, Interview)

On reading the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008a) it is also apparent that the behaviours are also predominantly understood in terms of choice. Hence, within the SBU these consumptive behaviours are understood as the outcome of our choices. These behaviours also relate, predominately, to the private domestic sphere. Hence, a 'sustainable lifestyle' within the SBU becomes linked to

the way we choose to behave in relation to certain domestic consumptive micro-practices.

CONS. CLUSTER	BEHAVIOUR GROUP	BEHAVIOUR	BEHAVIOUR TYPE
Homes	Energy efficiency/usage in the home	Install insulation products	One-off purchasing decision
Homes	Energy efficiency/usage in the home	Better energy management and usage[8]	Habitual everyday lifestyle
Homes	Energy efficiency/usage in the home	Install domestic micro-generation through renewables	One-off purchasing decision
Homes	Waste and recycling	Increase recycling and segregation	Regular everyday lifestyle
Food	Waste and recycling	Waste less (food)	Habitual everyday lifestyle
Homes	Water efficiency/usage in the home	More responsible water usage[9]	Habitual everyday lifestyle
Transport	Personal transport	Buy/use more energy efficient (low carbon) vehicles	Occasional purchasing decision; Habitual everyday lifestyle
Transport	Personal transport	Use car less – seek alternatives for short trips (<3 miles)	Habitual everyday lifestyle
Tourism	Personal transport	Reduce non-essential flying (short haul)	Occasional lifestyle decision
Homes	Purchase of eco-friendly products	Buy energy efficient products	Occasional purchasing decisions
Food	Purchase of eco-friendly products	Eat food locally in season[10]	Habitual purchasing decisions
Food	Purchase of eco-friendly products	Adopt diet with lower GHG/env impacts	Habitual everyday lifestyle

Figure 3: Defra's 'Headline Behaviour Goals', taken from Defra (2008a: 27)

The list of twelve headline behaviours, however, was not designed for the public. It needed a further iteration before it could be deemed worthy as "outward facing messages" (Defra, 2008a: 26). These behaviours and the SBU's documentation (Defra, 2006a; 2008a), more generally, were predominantly aimed at and written for Defra teams in charge of different areas of policy, one example being food and water use (Gillian, Defra, interview). Yet, these behaviours were not selected purely as Defra policy objectives; they were based on, what the SBU presumed, was their "importance for an environmentally friendly lifestyle" (Megan, Defra, interview). The list of twelve headline behaviours, then, represented a set of individual behaviours that could be joined together and enacted as a form of environmentally friendly lifestyle. This

list represents a form of moral code. In other words a set of moral behaviours through which people could constitute themselves as environmental subjects. This list, then, serves a dual purpose. Firstly, it marks a point at which a particular set of behaviours "enter the field of thought" and establishes them as a problem and end of government (Foucault, 2000b: 117). Secondly, it represents a moral "code" (Foucault, 1992: 26) through which it is posited that people can enact an environmental identity.

The register in which the *Scoping Report* (Defra, 2006a) and the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008a) is written and the understanding of the behaviours themselves fit well in the broader problematics of government and the understandings of the self in an era of advanced liberalism. Within the SBU we are understood as agents who are able to enact environmental goods and an environmental identity through the choices we make. Hence, the way we choose to behave in relation to consumptive practices in the spheres of food, energy, travelling or water have become an enactment of a green identity, an end of government and a problem of government. Yet, for behaviours to establish themselves as an object of reflection and a problem, there needs to be a number of processes or factors which have allowed them to enter the field of thought (Foucault, 2000b: 117). Both the *Scoping Report* (Defra, 2006a) and the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008a) give some details of the procedures behind the establishment of these behaviours as an object of thought. However, in order to gain a more detailed understanding of the (mundane) processes behind this list one must understand the day to day activities of the SBU.

3.5.1 Designating Sustainability: 'Behaviours Refresh'

The *Scoping Report* and the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* were published in 2006 and 2008 respectively. The research for this thesis took place after this period and hence it is impossible to offer insight into the processes behind the construction of the headline behaviours other than those gathered from a number of interviews and documents which are publicly available. However, during the time spent in Defra, the SBU was undertaking a 'behaviour goals refresh'. This refresh was part of an adjustment and updating of the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008a). The basis for this updating and adjustment was predicated

on the suggestion that “a lot ha[d] changed” (Alex: Defra consultant, interview) since the development of the previous set of headline behaviours and that a greater understanding of pro-environmental behaviour had been developed within the SBU.

The ‘refreshed’ set of behaviours, at the time of writing, has still to be published. Yet, examining the processes of the behaviour goals refresh allows an insight into the problematisation of certain forms of conduct as found in the *Scoping Report* (Defra, 2006a) and the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008a).

3.5.2 Beyond the Virtual Team

It had been around five years since the coming together of the virtual team, and the SBU had changed somewhat. Megan was still there as head of the ‘unit’, but Clare and Robert had left. Clare had moved off to an area of Defra specialising in social research while Robert had gone into a section of Defra related to agriculture. However, a number of other actors had joined the SBU. The key new actors within the SBU and the behaviour goals refresh were Gillian, James and Alex. Gillian had moved into the SBU during the development of the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008a). Gillian had a studied sociology at university and had a masters degree in social research methods. She had joined the Government Social Research Network after completing her studies and had gone on to work in a number of government departments. Gillian had spent time working on ways to change people’s behaviour in relation to finances – e.g. savings and pensions. Within this, one of her core areas of work had been evaluating and testing personal financial policy options or measures. Gillian was now the ‘head of research’ at the SBU. James, on the other hand, had completed a PhD in Philosophy and had spent time working as a policy specialist in another section of Defra. He was now the ‘policy leader’ in the SBU. The final actor, perhaps the most important in this context, was Alex. Alex had previously worked in the commercial sector and had developed an interest in marketing and the environment through her work there. The commercial company that she had been working for sought to develop the concept of behaviour change as a commercial product. However, Alex, feeling that the business component of the work was not something that she enjoyed, decided to leave the company to set up her own social marketing business which focused on environmental behaviour change. Since setting

up her business she had been involved in a number of 'behaviour change projects' at Defra, mostly revolving around waste and recycling. She had also conducted research for the SBU and had been involved, previously, in the development of the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008a) as an external stakeholder. However, for the framework refresh she had been seconded into the SBU to lead the review and extension of the headline behaviours. The coming together of these actors within the SBU was somewhat unusual for Defra. The department itself was structured in a way so that there were distinct teams consisting of various specialists. Hence, in other areas of Defra there would be separate specialist teams of 'policy wonks', economists and scientists. James, while questioning whether "organisationally the department is always structured right", concluded that this arrangement was "a cultural thing". The SBU, on the other hand, consisted of a coming together of various specialists into one team fostering, as James surmised, "closer working".

These actors played a crucial role in the behaviours goal refresh. However, in order to understand how certain behaviours become an object of reflection, a problem and an end of government we must examine the day to day activities of the SBU. The next section examines one particular meeting in which the behaviours for the behaviour goal refresh are being discussed. Following a vignette of the meeting, the section subsequently seeks to explicate the process of selecting behaviours a little more closely.

3.5.3. Meetings and Choosing Choices

It is 12.30 pm on the 31st of April and slightly muggy in one of the meeting rooms on the 4th floor of Ergon House, Defra. If you listen you can hear Gillian coming – the quick 'klick klack' of her heels on the floor outside. She arrives looking busy, but as always exudes efficiency and is well dressed. She has a pint of water in one hand and in the other, two individually wrapped half sandwiches from a well known multi-national coffee and sandwich outlet. As usual it has been a busy day for everybody who is attending the meeting. Many of the SBU members do not live in London itself so they work from home one or two days a week. This is facilitated by each member having their own Defra laptop through which they can securely access Defra

mainframes from home. The downside, however, is that when they do come into the office, their day is filled with meetings, usually from 9 am to 5 pm, with very little respite, even for lunch.

James and Gillian, having arrived at the meeting, wait. Alex is not far behind and Megan comes in some five minutes late. This is not unusual, sometimes Megan has back to back meetings leaving her very little time to get between meeting rooms, or indeed, on occasion, departments. She looks slightly flustered and doesn't seem to have brought lunch with her, just a bottle of water with a vitamin supplement. The room and table are too large for the five people attending and they are scattered around in a rather ad-hoc manner. All the attendees have in front of them, or are in the process of taking out, the list of some 100 behaviours that Alex sent by email the week before. This list, while still not the final outcome of the refresh, is the product itself of a rather long process. The 100 or so behaviours at the meeting had been selected from a list of over 800. This original list of 800 had been complied through a review of possible behaviours, including those found in state, NGO, consultancy and academic publications. The list of behaviours prior to the meeting had also been subject to stakeholder input and review through a number of mechanisms, including workshops[22]. The behaviours had subsequently been "sense checked" (Alex: Defra consultant, interview) and subject to a number of internal processes which had honed the number down to the 100 which were discussed at the meeting.

The purpose of the meeting on the 31st was to give those at the meeting a chance to comment upon the list of behaviours so far compiled and to make amendments or additions. Alex opened the meeting and asked everybody to say what they thought. Gillian began highlighting some of the behaviours that she had concerns about. One of the first behaviours highlighted was "travel less". Gillian felt that she was not 'comfortable with this'[23]. She asked what it meant. James cut in. 'It implied', he suggested, 'that it was about drastic changes in people's lifestyles, and, if followed, would suggest that many people would have to live closer to their work'. Megan agreed and thought that one could infer from it some sort of extreme localism.

[22] Stakeholders, during the development of the original twelve headline behaviours, had included a broad mix of 'environmental' NGOs, charities and quangos including: Friends of the Earth, the Environment Agency and the Green Alliance (Green Alliance, 2006: appendix 7)
[23] A single inverted comma in speech signifies the paraphrasing of what was said.

Equally, Megan continued, another behaviour, “avoid having a car”, had drastic implications for people’s lifestyles and was “just too far from where people are”. Moreover, she argued, this behaviour was couched in negative and coercive terms and as it stood, would not be included on the list. These two behaviours were struck from the list but later were “translated” and remerged in reworded form (Alex: Defra consultant, interview): “walk or cycle instead of using the car”.

A number of other behaviours were raised as problematic. “Influence companies about the natural environment” and “use your consumer voice” were seen as potentially inciting individuals to lobby or engage in direct / political action. Megan asked whether the role of SBU could include encouraging direct action or lobbying. To this Gillian sternly responded that they could not. Megan subsequently noted that the SBU had to be careful about how they worded ‘this sort of thing’. There was some discussion centred on how to make the wording of this behaviour more acceptable, with the resultant phrase being “engage in the democratic process at a local level”. This, it was felt, had overtones of encouraging civic participation, but did not represent a call to direct political action. Similarly, “drink tap water” was interpreted as potentially being viewed as a direct attack on bottled water companies. James noted that while he was “rather gung-ho” against bottled water, he conceded the point and agreed that it should be cut from the list of behaviours. Gillian sipped her pint of tap water.

A final point of contention was “home compost your unavoidable food waste”. For Alex, the reduction or utilisation of waste was one of her “pet behaviours” (Alex: Defra consultant, interview). This was partly because of her work previously in the field. She was also, however, a committed composter and composted both her garden and food waste. Yet, Gillian did not feel at ease with the behaviour. She argued that not everybody had a garden for composting, or, as Alex suggested, would want an indoor wormery – something she apparently found rather abhorrent. Further, she argued, the reason that she did not personally home compost food was that she was worried that it would attract rats into her garden. She felt that this behaviour was just not possible or realistic for many people. Alex, later said that she had had to “fight tooth and nail” (Alex: Defra consultant, interview) to keep the food composting

behaviour in the behaviours refresh. It seems despite Gillian's reservations, this behaviour made the cut.

By the time that the meeting was scheduled to finish all of the behaviours which had raised concerns had been discussed to some degree. However, Megan wanted to make a final point. She noted that the behaviours that were to be selected were supposed to be the most important in terms of a sustainable lifestyle. She was concerned about the lack of 'impact data' for many of the behaviours, and the inclusion of behaviours with little or no justification. She reminded everybody that it was important to have the evidence for the behaviours being included within the refreshed Defra behaviour goals. A tap at the door signalled that it was time to leave the room. Gillian picked up her now empty pint glass and walked out the room to put her sandwich packets in one of the three large recycling bins just outside room 4.03. Megan rushed to get to her next meeting.

3.5.4 Behaviours: Impacts and Evidence

The brief vignette serves to bring to the fore a number of aspects in relation to the designation of the list of twelve headline behaviours. The first of which revolves around the notion of evidence. From the late 1990s a specific model of policy-making was adopted across many government departments, including Defra. This model was known as Evidence-Based Policy (EBP) (Wilkinson, 2009: 52). EBP as a system of policy making is often represented as an iterative model of problem setting and evidence gathering, as found in the "hair dryer" diagrammatic (Clare: Defra, interview) in many of the Defra publications (see Figure 4). However, EBP can be understood not as a system of policy making but rather as an ethos of how policy should be made (Wilkinson, 2009: 53). In this ethos, evidence is key, as it is through the combination and compilation of the 'best evidence' (Defra, undated a: 11, 12) that "objective and 'correct'" judgements can be made (Wilkinson, 2009: 53).

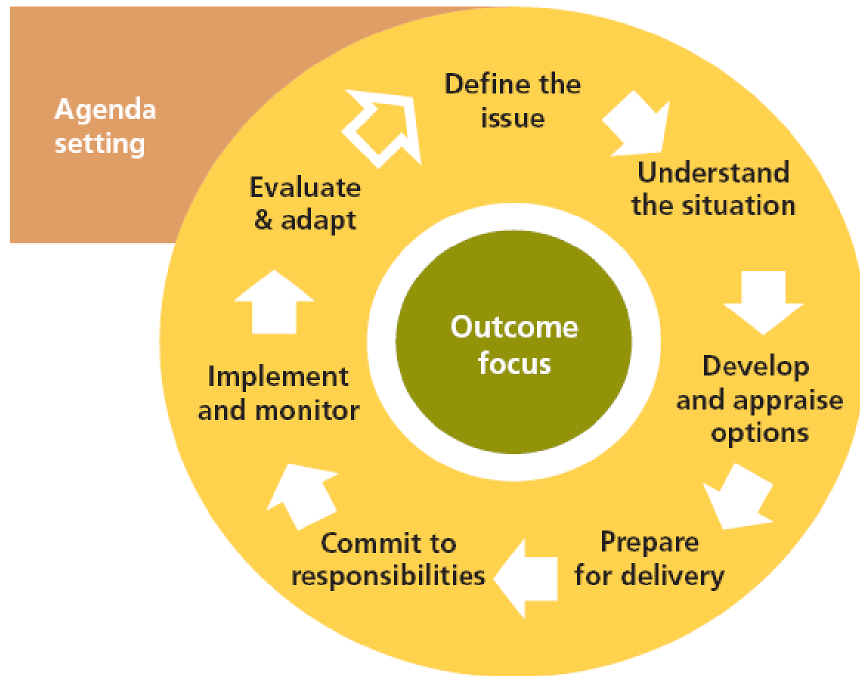


Figure 4: The 'Hair Dryer': taken from Defra (undated a: 11)

Partly due to criticisms stemming from its handling of a number of disease outbreaks, Defra has instituted a rather "extreme" form of EBP (Wilkinson, 2009: 154). In this context it is perhaps unsurprising that both during the compiling of the original list of behaviours and during the refresh process, Megan placed considerable weight upon the need for impact data for the behaviours. The provision of this environmental impact evidence was mostly undertaken by internal Defra statisticians who provided what data they could on behaviours that were submitted to them by the SBU. 'Environmental impacts', however, could include a whole range of cross-cutting and complex forms of evidence, from water usage and potential biodiversity impacts of certain behaviours to the amount of carbon emitted by conducting oneself in a certain way. The extremely complex and cross-cutting nature of the impacts of various behaviours posed a problem for the SBU and the statisticians. Firstly, the range of different metrics made any form of comparison between behaviours difficult. Secondly, some impact measures, due to their complexity, were almost impossible to calculate. These two factors mean that a single metric was preferential and that some forms of environmental impact were far easier to quantify than others.

While much of the concern was focused on the environmental impact of certain behaviours, the SBU and its staff are embedded in a department in which notions of

sustainability are “at the core of Defra’s work and identity” (Defra, 2009b: 6). Sustainability is a notoriously difficult term to define (Adger & Jordan, 2009: 9). It revolves around notions of natural resource protection, environmental enhancement, addressing concerns over climate change and the promotion of social and economic wellbeing (Defra, 2005a). For Megan, then, the behaviours were not necessarily solely about environmental impact. Rather they could also be linked into a host of other benefits including social wellbeing. These more subjective sustainability benefits were seen as a way to complement environmental impact data of certain behaviours, for example, increased levels of wellbeing through gardening or growing your own fruit and vegetables. However, the qualitative nature of much of the evidence for the more subjective benefits of certain behaviours made this form of data difficult to use. In theory, what counts as evidence in Defra is rather broad and can include:

> “research, analysis of stakeholder opinion, economic and statistical modeling, public perceptions and beliefs, anecdotal evidence, and cost/benefit analyses; as well as a judgement of the quality of the methods that are used to gather and synthesise the information”
>
> (Defra Website, undated a)

However, Wilkinson (2009: 55) argues that Defra values ‘scientific’ evidence above all other forms due to the perception that such data is objective and apolitical. In this light it may be easier to understand why Megan found the use of qualitative evidence, because of its potentially ‘unrepresentative’ and ‘unscientific’ nature, problematic in bolstering the environmental impact data of certain behaviours.

> “*it is difficult because we wouldn’t say it has to be quantitative evidence [in terms of behaviour impact data], but there is an issue around the level of qualitative [evidence] even though qualitative, you know, at certain point it should just be ‘well that is representative’*”
>
> (Megan: Defra, Interview)

This problem of qualitative data being ‘unrepresentative’ was compounded by what Megan perceived as a real lack of robust qualitative evidence. Indeed, she said that Defra and stakeholders found it a challenge:

> *"providing [qualitative] evidence other than: "it appears that there is a benefit from doing this to such and such"*
>
> (Megan: Defra, Interview)

Partly due to these complexities in relation to evidence for the importance of behaviours selected, carbon dioxide became the predominant metric through which behaviours in the SBU were understood. However, behaviours with low carbon dioxide emissions impacts were not left out[24]. Rather, the argument is that behaviour, within the SBU came to be linked to and predominantly understood in terms of their carbon impact. Hence, in the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008b) certain forms of conduct are linked to a figure of carbon dioxide. Here, for example, we are told that doubling the amount of recycling and ensuring that 10% of the clothes we buy are second hand will save 540Kg of carbon dioxide a year (Defra, 2008b: Annex C).

Rose (1999a: 199) suggests that the quantification of certain domains allows for them to become understood and acted upon in certain ways. Hence, this carbon metric facilitated a particular problematisation and understanding of certain forms of conduct. Such (carbon) accounting practices enabled conduct to be costed and injected into the calculations of authorities in a particular manner (Miller, 2001:384). Particular types of conduct became understood and (morally) valued in 'new' ways. Moreover, these accounting practices also justified "the acting upon individuals and intervening in their lives in an attempt to ensure that they act in accordance with specified [environmental] objectives" (Miller, 2001: 392). Carbon accounting, then, becomes not only a way through which to select, understand and value particular forms of conduct but also a reason to act upon persons. However, this use of carbon emission data within the SBU did not only impact upon how the behaviours were viewed inside Defra itself. Indeed, during various external workshops, the SBU, for 'ease of communication', started to plot the behaviours against carbon dioxide impact in their

[24] Nor were behaviours which had other impacts. However, these behaviours are found in the 'long list of behaviours' in the annexes of the report (Defra, 2008b). The argument here is that predominantly these behaviours became conceptualised in terms of carbon dioxide emissions. Indeed, even behaviours that were seen to have other primary environmental impacts, e.g. water saving, were still conceptualised in terms of carbon emissions saved.

presentations[25]. Through the use of such devices and forms of notation, people outside the SBU also started to focus more on carbon dioxide impact as a metric for understanding certain forms of action (Megan: Defra, interview). It seems, that in part, these factors led to the development of "carbon as the main currency that people use[d]" (Alex: Defra consultant, interview) for visualising certain behaviours both within the SBU and wider network of actors.

3.5.5 Selecting Behaviours: Neutrality, the Bureaucratic Persona and Tactics

The selection of the behaviours, as shown in the vignette earlier, was not only related to the processes of determining their impact. It was also connected to a whole host of other considerations. However, to ensure that the process of selecting the behaviours was seen to be objective and devoid of political or personal influence, the members of the SBU had to enact the bureaucratic persona. Bureaucratic office holding as a vocation is predicated on a particular form of self-relation whereby the civil servant is understood as a subject of political neutrality and duty; "autonomous of and superior to the bureaucrat's extra-official ties to kith, kin or conscience" (du Gay, 2007: 108). This "art of separation" (du Gay, 2007: 108) between the public and the private means that the various powers, warrants and resources of the state are delegated to a particular form of persona rather than an autonomous moral conscience. This understanding of the bureaucrat paints a picture of a particular type of neutral subject operating within the offices of government who is detached from their extra-official lives and moral considerations. This ethos of the bureaucrat and the art of separation were tangible within the processes of the behaviour goal refresh. This enactment of the ethos of the bureaucrat ensured that processes and judgements of the behaviours refresh were seen as neutral. However, this enactment relied upon certain tactics. One such tactic was that of employing evidence and numbers. Through utilising numbers and the notion of evidence, decisions over which behaviours should be selected were seen as scientific, neutral and "beyond reproach" (Wilkinson, 2009: 53). This of course holds true for the use of carbon metrics in the selection of behaviours. But

[25] During the refresh there was increased funding available and a concerted 'push' to include other forms of 'evidence', however, "not much at all was provided" (Megan, Defra, interview). In this regard while the refresh may have some behaviours which may not be linked to carbon, it seems that still the overall metric used to justify and visualise certain behaviours is carbon dioxide emissions.

there were also other instances in which numbers were used to justify the selection of certain behaviours.

The inclusion of stakeholders in the behaviours selection process and the large number of possibilities on the list of 800 behaviours had meant that there were sometimes conflicts around which behaviours should be promoted by the SBU. Indeed, some of the behaviours complied in the early stages, from the SBU's point of view, "were really quite nonsensical, that just couldn't and didn't fit the bill …" (Alex: Defra consultant, interview). One of the ways that the list of behaviours was honed down was through the construction and use of a "rating and weightings framework", devised by Alex and another consultant (Alex: Defra consultant, interview). Here various subjective criteria were used to asses certain behaviours, such as internal and external feasibility, i.e. the extent to which it was thought that people would be willing and able to undertake certain behaviours. Alex explained the process as essentially:

> *"trying to give a quantitative assessment to something that is qualitative. You weight, and then you rate them, so then you score them, so you assess each behaviour, go through each of the criteria against that behaviour, and then you score … You then get an overall score for each of the criteria, and then an overall score for that particular behaviour"*
>
> (Alex: Defra consultant, Interview)

This framework was then used to hone down and justify the behaviours on the list (Alex: Defra consultant, interview). Here the use of numbers within this 'rating and weightings' framework can be understood as a "technique of objectivity" through which decisions can be seen to be 'disinterested' (Rose, 1999a: 199). Thus, by turning subjective assessment into a quantitative score this process of assessing the behaviours was given an air of objectivity and hence neutrality, in keeping with the ethos of the bureaucrat.

The need to be seen as enacting the 'art of separation' between self and office was evident in the SBU where many were careful to stress the separation of their office persona from that of their extra-official life. For example one of the staff was:

"very careful not to bang the 'eat less meat drum' – because she is a vegetarian – so [she was] very careful not to do that"

(Alex: Defra consultant, Interview)

In this regard, James agreeing that "drink tap water" should be cut from the list despite being rather "gung-ho" against bottled water, was another instance of this enactment of the office persona. However, it was felt that it was wrong to completely separate one's personal experience or considerations from the bureaucratic work of the SBU:

"[the staff of the SBU] are thinking about [drawing on personal experience in their work] more in a way that we are guarded against it, or at least I am personally very guarded against [it]. But it would be wrong not to bring to the table some of the insights or innovations that I have seen as I have gone about my daily life"

(Gillian: Defra, Interview)

On occasion it was evident that within the SBU relating to oneself as a bureaucrat would "run up against" (Rose, 1996a: 114) personal interests. Indeed, the discussion surrounding the selection of a food composting behaviour highlights this point. For Alex composting was one of her pet behaviours which she was keen to endorse, but she had to be "very careful" (Alex: Defra consultant, interview) in terms of how she promoted it. Gillian, on the other hand, argued against it on the basis of her own personal worry about rats and distaste for indoor wormeries. In this regard, the notion of 'sense check' was a tactic that ensured judgements were conducted in a manner in keeping with the bureaucratic ethos. Here, then, 'sense check' was used to cover the use of extra-official considerations in making certain judgements and allowed such decisions to be in keeping with the enactment of the bureaucratic persona:

"Sometimes [in relation to the work of the SBU] in my mind I will be thinking about my own experiences and my experiences of my friends and so on … so I guess it [personal considerations] can be useful as a 'sense check'"

(Megan: Defra, Interview)

"we could never base a big decision on what we ourselves think, and we ourselves behave. But at the same time we are a very good sense check for saying this is just something totally implausible that if we are not going to

> *do it, then no one is going to do it … so I think it is more that it is a 'sense check' …"*
>
> (Siri: Defra, Interview)

'Translating' behaviours was a further tactic employed by those in the SBU to ensure that behaviours selected did not appear to breach the apparent neutrality of those undertaking the refresh, or its processes. The vignette above highlighted an example where specific behaviours, "use your consumer voice" and "influence companies about the natural environment" could have been seen as potentially partisan, or certainly their promotion as out with the remit of the bureaucrat. While it was evident that those attending the meeting were perhaps sympathetic towards such forms of conduct, their understanding of themselves as embodying the ethos of bureaucrat mitigated against the selection of these behaviours. In a similar manner, we can see the disqualification of 'travel less' and 'avoid owning a car' on the basis that they potentially implied a form of life that was (politically) too radical. However, by translating the behaviours it allowed them to be neutralised of any potential partisan or radical interpretation, while keeping some of their original aims.

Such tactics, 'sense check', the use of numbers and 'translating', functioned to ensure that the behaviours, and their selection, were seen as (politically and personally) neutral. However, these processes constructed a particular understanding of the role of both the state and the individual in respect to protecting the environment. These processes essentially channel the understandings of the legitimate practices of the individual in relation to concerns over the environment and ensured they resonated with certain understandings, rationales and problematics of state government. With liberal government predicated on the notion of individual liberty, state authorities have to seek to ensure that, while the liberty of the individuals in the population is maintained, it is excised in a manner that is understood not to be potentially disruptive to the state, its agencies, the economy or to "significant aspects of social life" (Hindress, 1997: 269). Thus, these processes made certain that the forms of conduct being promoted resonated with, constructed and did not potentially undermine particular understandings of the 'appropriate' role of both the state and the individual in respect to protecting the environment.

3.6 Social Marketing: Drivers, Barriers and Changing Behaviour

Defining a set of behaviours, however, is just another step when employing a social marketing approach. A further aspect is to develop a "genuine insight into the everyday lives and experiences of the audience" (NSMCE, 2005: 35). Here the emphasis is placed on encouraging and achieving voluntary changes in behaviour through understanding and targeting the myriad of factors which drive or inhibit particular forms of desired conduct. Yet, in understanding these drivers or inhibitors one has to avoid "professional assumptions about what [people] want, need or think" (NSMCE, 2005: 35). Rather, those taking a social marketing approach have to understand the factors involved in people conducting themselves in the desired way.

The SBU, "following very much a social marketing approach" (Clare: Defra, interview) sought to understand the myriad of factors involved in relation to the twelve headline behaviours. For Clare, this need to generate real 'insight' into people's lives was somewhat of a change.

> "*I think that was the big change, it was really focusing in on the reality of people's lives rather than policy teams' assumptions that "if I do that, then people will do this" and actually sort of like, "let's really ground these assumptions in the reality of people's everyday understanding and lives". Its not about sort of, "well, you know, people are like this", which generally is a false impression because we, generally, as you know, assume that people are like me and it is hard to imagine somebody who's not like me*"
>
> (Clare: Defra, Interview)

This desire to 'focus in on the reality of people's lives' in relation to particular desired forms of environmental conduct led to the commissioning of a set of research projects. This was called the "Public Understanding" series. Clare noted that this series of research projects sought to answer a number of:

> "*straightforward, fairly easy and intuitive question[s] about "Ok what do you [the public] think?" and "how do you think about these issues?", "do you even think about these issues?" [So] we start off saying "tell us about food", for example … so ok getting people to talk about their ideal and their aspirational food [for example]. If you could aspire to have whatever you want and eat whatever you want, what would it be? [Then]*

you start like getting people to talk about their real behaviour … and so we can work out: "Ok so that is … where people are heading and we know what a sustainable picture looks like". So we introduce a sustainable picture and we try to work out then "ok how much of a shift is it from there, where your aspirations head, to there which is a picture of sustainable living? Are they diametrically opposite, are they actually fairly well aligned?" … So that was the idea for the public understanding [series], to understand where people are at, now, so we know where we are starting from and how easy or difficult it would be to shift them [the public] to where we need them to be and what would motivate them to make that shift so those sort of like, that was the basis of the public understanding [series]"

(Clare: Defra, Interview)

In this series of publications (Owen, Seamen & Prince, 2007; Dawkins, Young & Collao, 2007; Miller et al., 2007; Richardson, Harrison & Parkhurst, 2007; Brooklydhurst, 2007; Fisher et. al., 2008) the individual member of the public emerges "as a highly problematic entity … someone to be known in detail, whose passions desires were to be charted … anatomised and acted upon" (Miller and Rose, 1997: 6). Thus, we learn that people have aspirations to eat healthy, fresh and 'tasty' food. This, it is argued, is a potential motivator for the SBU's desired form of conduct: seasonal, organic and low meat food consumption (Owen, Seamen & Prince, 2007). We find people have anxieties around using public transport. People also 'want' cars or to use cars; their statuses and forms of life are tied to their car. These desires, worries and wants are noted, mapped and become 'barriers' to environmental travel behaviours (Richardson, Harrison & Parkhurst, 2007). Similarly some segments of the population are discovered to desire more electrical appliances forming a block to environmental ways of life. Other studies found that people's attitudes towards energy saving conduct (switching off lights etc) and being 'green' is both a hindrance and potential motivator in the adoption of certain forms of behaviour (Brooklydhurst, 2007).

What predominantly emerges from these reports is a detailed charting and description of the more subjective 'barriers and motivations' that are thought to drive or inhibit certain forms of conduct (see Figure 5).

Motivators

- **Desire to save money**: An important motivator across all segments, but particularly for those less engaged with sustainability and those in lower socio-economic groups
- **Level of engagement with sustainability**: Those more concerned with the environment and sustainability are more willing to engage in pro-environmental behaviour and change behaviour.
- **Life stage**: For various reasons, events such as the arrival of children and retirement were cited as a motivator for pro-environmental behaviour change.
- **Quality**: Some sustainable options, such as sustainable food, are associated with higher quality and are therefore aspired to by some segments.
- **Provision of information**: There was evidence across the projects that the provision of information acted as a powerful motivator for change.
- **Image**: The more environmentally engaged segments had a positive image of environmentalism and aspired to pro-environmental behaviour.
- **Altruism**: Some segments actually made changes that involved personal sacrifice for the collective good, though this was rarely perceived as sacrificial behaviour.
- **Health**: An important motivator, in particular for food, was health, which could be an important double win to be highlighted across other sustainable behaviours.
- **Enjoyment and personal wellbeing**: There was evidence that the positive effects on wellbeing obtained from certain pro-environmental choices acted as a motivator, especially in leisure and tourism, and transport.

Figure 5: Motivators for Pro-Environmental Behaviour, taken from Dresner, McGeevor & Tomei (2007: iv)

Moreover, these various subjective aspects are mapped onto different segments of the population, producing distinct groups with their own particular psychic barriers and motivations (see Figure 6). For example, individual feelings of responsibility for certain forms of conduct were compiled, charted and differentiated by segment with the research revealing that while one segment feels “individually responsible for their own impact on the environment”, others have “little sense of personal responsibility” (Brook Lyndhurst, 2007: Annex A).

Here, through the use of a whole range of social science techniques, certain forms of conduct are made understandable in terms of “a regime of needs, desires, pleasures and terrors” (Miller & Rose, 1997: 32). Furthermore, the desires, aspirations and attitudes of particular segments of the population are sought to be linked to particular desired forms of conduct. These reports seek to fabricate lines of “delicate affiliations” (Miller and Rose, 1997: 31) between specific forms of conduct and the

particular psychodynamic traits of various segments of the population. Thus, what emerges in these documents is the understanding that desired forms of conduct – e.g. purchasing certain forms of goods, or particular types of energy saving – can partly be fostered by modifying and harnessing particular traits emanating from the individual psyche. Here, bolstering a sense of responsibility can lead to behaviour change – aspirations to be healthy and eat quality food is linked to, and is thought to stimulate, eating food that is local and in season. Furthermore, energy saving can be encouraged by the desire to save money, while a sense of fun and personal enjoyment is understood to be a key motivator for behaviour change. In a sense the objectives of government can be realised by aligning with, harnessing and working through people's very subjectivity.

- **Consumers with a Conscience** are the only segment, apart from Greens, that are prepared to spend more on greener products. To do this, they need to be persuaded that there is some other associated benefit, such as convenience, health, better quality or lower running costs, and that the choice will not involve a sacrifice to their current lifestyle.
- **Currently Constrained** also consider environmental issues, but lack of money is a concern for this segment. For this reason, adopting behaviours that are more expensive is currently unacceptable and unachievable.
- **Wastage Focused** do not factor the environment into their lifestyles[3]. Indeed many have a rather negative attitude towards environmentalism. They are driven primarily by a desire to save money and a sense of efficiency.
- **Long-Term Restricted** also do not consider the environment and voice rather negative attitudes towards environmentalism. They are short of money and can therefore be motivated by financial incentives.
- **Basic contributors** can be distinguished from the other groups by their lack of motivation to adopt pro-environmental behaviours, even when faced with choices that may save money.

Figure 6: Barriers and Motivations by Segment, taken from Dresner, McGeevor & Tomei (2007: iv)

For Megan, social marketing facilitated a space for the development of a form of government "intervention that relies on your understanding of people" (Megan: Defra, interview). This may give credence to the suggestion that social marketing based approaches only deal with subjective qualities rather than address questions around coercive or regulatory government interventions (Giles & Lee, 2008: 11). However,

while predominantly about engendering "voluntary" (NSMCE, 2005: 34) behaviour change, a social marketing approach also highlights the need for a 'mix of interventions' which both target the "external" and "internal" factors which facilitate or inhibit governmental objectives (NSMCE, 2005: 35). Indeed, both Clare and Megan stressed that while a social marketing based approach facilitated a rethinking about governmental intervention, this did not mean that old technologies of government were discarded. Social marketing and behavioural change approaches could also have "a component of regulation" (Megan: Defra, interview). Here then, social marketing as an intellectual technique allows for the development of an understanding that government is about changing very specific behaviours. However, within a social marketing based approach to changing behaviour, old technologies of government are not thought to be obsolete. Rather, it is thought that these older modes of intervention can be complemented by less direct forms of government which seek to change behaviour 'voluntarily' by understanding, working through and invoking particular subjective effects and faculties.

The next section examines one of the 'alternative' governmental technologies utilised by the SBU. The discovery of this technology of government comes from an understanding that individuals and their psyche are to be found in a social context. In this regard, one aspect that is continually highlighted in the work of the SBU is the need to harness the very networks of affiliation in which the objects of government are found (see: Fell, Austin, Kivinen & Wilkins, 2009; Peters & Jackson, 2008; Defra, 2007b). It is here that community is inserted into the work of the SBU.

3.7 Technologies of the SBU: Behaviour and Community

A social marketing approach, as employed by the SBU, emphasises the need for behaviour to be seen "in the round" (NSMCE, 2005: 70). Here the individual, and their behaviour is understood as situated within an effectual social milieu (see Figure 7).

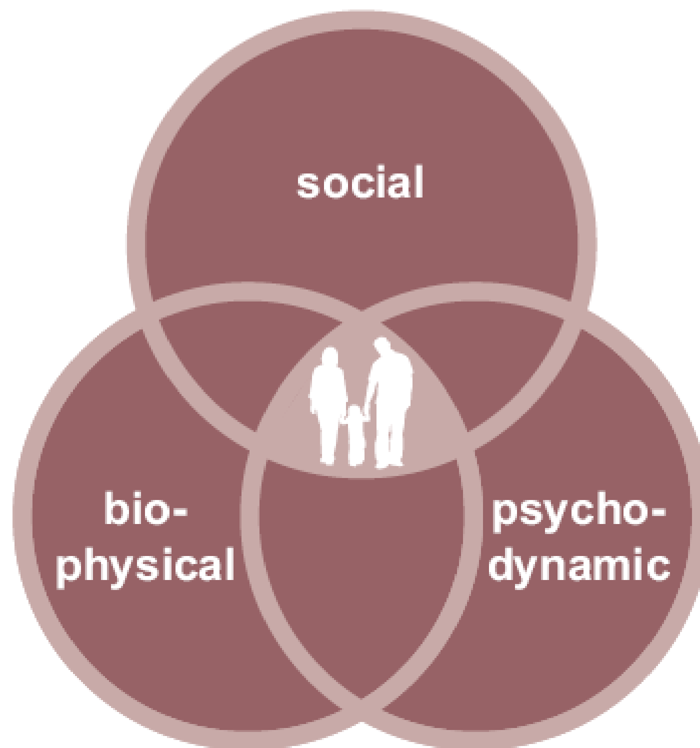


Figure 7: "Behavioural Influences", taken from NSMCE (2005: 60)

We are not understood, in this schema, as wholly autonomised actors but rather as situated in a social environment where “key influencers” on our behaviour include: wider society, peers, family, school and community (NSMCE, 2005: 71). Yet, while the employment of a social marketing based approach may allow for the envisaging of a number of planes within which the individual could be thought to be situated, the SBU predominantly understands and targets our behaviour within a specific form of social setting: community. Within the SBU, community emerges as a surface of thought and action through which to “influence pro-environmental behaviour” (Defra, 2008a: 73). The emergence of community as both an object of thought and action within the SBU, it is argued, can be understood as facilitated by, situated within, and productive of a “new politics of community” articulated by the then Labour government (Rose, 1999c: 478).

Community found new vitality and emerged out of a New Labour rationality that sought to steer between “the old (statist) left and the new (marketising) right” (Clarke & Newman, 2000: 131). The concept of community allowed for the continuation of a notion of human collecitivity within a reformed Labour party; and formed the core of what Tony Blair called “social-ism”. Here community is presented within political

rhetoric as a “neglected force” within civil society (Clarke and Newman, 2000: 131). It is understood as networks of social relationships, which mobilise or motivate individuals in particular ways. Such invocations of community draw on nostalgic imagery in which community is seen as “a moral order” where networks of relationships can sustain or enforce certain ways of being or behaving (Clarke and Newman, 2000:132). Yet, in the New Labour invocation of community there is slippage between the normative (what it should be) and the descriptive (what it is) (Rose, 2000a). Hence, such discourses of community do not reflect a pre-given reality but constitute community on its own terms (Schofield, 2002). Community is something fashioned in its own image, and once constituted (in discourse) forms a power to be harnessed, a “means” and end of government (Herbert-Cheshire, 2000: 206).

The rendering of community as a plane of government within the SBU can be understood as facilitated by, situated within, and productive of this “new politics of community” (Rose, 1999c: 478). Yet, such a politics of community and the constitution of community as an object of government is, in turn, facilitated by, and productive of, a multitude of reports and studies produced by a whole host of actors. Within the SBU three such notable reports are: *Mobilising Individual Behavioural Change through Community Initiatives* (Defra, 2007b), written for Defra by the Community Development Exchange and the Centre for Sustainable Energy; ‘*Motivating Sustainable Consumption*’ (Jackson, 2005a), a report compiled for the ‘Sustainable Development Research Network’ and *I will if you will* (Sustainable Consumption Roundtable (SCR), 2006), both part funded by Defra. In these reports we learn that attempts to change behaviour based on a rational choice model of human behaviour is insufficient in facilitating behaviour change, as, it is argued, people’s behaviour is not solely related to price signals and information (Jackson, 2005a: 127,128). Rather, it is noted, the evidence points to the fact that behaviour is socially negotiated. This broadening of the understanding of action as the outcome of more than rational choice reveals a “complex terrain” (Jackson, 2005a: 128) of human behaviour. However, while complex, this terrain “is not a place devoid of possibilities for state influences. Rather, it is one in which there are numerous possibilities at multiple levels for motivating pro-environmental behaviour” (Jackson, 2005a:128). One of these levels, and a “forgotten strategy” of government, is that of community

(Jackson, 2005a: 124). Here the role of community in "mediating and moderating behaviour … is clear" (Jackson, 2005a: 133) and hence "makes community based action an imperative" (SCR, 2006: 51). Subsequently, communities are envisaged as an appropriate locus for individual behaviour change as they can act as trusted conduits for behavioural messages. Communities can disseminate understandings about what forms of conduct are desirable and what forms are not (Peters & Jackson, 2008: 21). Communities can also overcome apathy and "encourage people to help each other and tackle new challenges". They can support social learning which is, it is argued, an "effective tool for encouraging new behaviours". They can also negotiate new norms of behaviour and effectively change individual behavioural 'bad habits' (SCR, 2006: 51).

Community, its norms, attributes and ties of affiliation becomes a strategy, mechanism and conduit for government. Community is understood to be an object through which behaviours, attitudes and virtues can be disseminated, harnessed and modified. However, while community is envisaged as an effective technology of government, what is missing "is unequivocal proof that community initiatives can achieve the level of behavioural change necessary" (Jackson, 2005a: 133). While this lack of evidence may be "frustrating" (Defra, 2007b:16), nevertheless, it is argued, this should not mean that such approaches should be disregarded. This is because it is "<u>not</u> easy to imagine a successful national response to [environmental problems] which <u>does not</u> involve effective community based initiatives in stimulating individual behaviour change" (Defra, 2007b:16, emphasis added). In the SBU, what community encompasses, however, is rather broad and includes "physical communities at local or regional levels or communities defined by common features, of a social, demographic, religious or cultural kind" (Defra, undated b: 1). Yet within the SBU, despite its various forms, community is constituted by various experts of the social sciences as a moral order through which we can be governed.

Within the SBU, then, communities are envisaged as places in which individuals and their behaviour are believed to be found. It is through the moral order of community that individuals are "thought to derive their guidelines" for how they choose to act (Rose, 2000a: 1398). Indeed, communities are understood to "determine the everyday mundane choices that human beings make as to how they lead their lives" (Rose,

1999c: 477). Thus, individuals are not autonomous rational actors, choosing to behave in certain ways on the basis of purely price or information. Rather, within the SBU, individuals, it is thought, derive their guidelines for the way in which they choose to behave through community. However, in the work of the SBU community appears as a natural zone and hence autonomous from politics – yet also a zone that is crucial to the aspirations of the state. Thus, in order to maintain the freedom and autonomy of both community and the individuals therein, the SBU must act upon community indirectly. It "must become the object and target for the exercise of political power while remaining, somehow, external to politics" (Rose, 2000a: 1401). The next chapter will examine, in part, how community is mobilised as a means of government in the SBU, while remaining external to politics

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to chart the rationalities, intellectual techniques and technologies of government in the SBU. It has been suggested that the SBU is situated within a broader rationality of government whereby individual choice is understood as a medium productive of individual and societal welfare and negative externalities. Despite, however, choice being viewed as a faculty through which positive or negative societal outcomes are achieved, the state understands its role as less about seeking to constrain choice but rather to enhance it. Thus, direct formal or coercive intervention through 'traditional' 'command and control' becomes neither desirable nor moral and indeed is perhaps unnecessary. Rather, the ideal role of the state is to help foster the "right choices".

This chapter has suggested that situated within this rationality of government a particular nexus forms within Defra. This nexus encapsulates a number of agents and knowledges and draws upon a particular form of intellectual machinery – social marketing. This particular nexus is known as the Sustainable Behaviours Unit. Through subtle linkages between various forms of knowledge, actors and understandings, a "new way of thinking" (Clare: Defra, interview) about the objects and ends of government emerges. Firstly, people are no longer understood as being situated within a national collective, but living within a diverse and complex social milieu which can be segmented into distinct groups partly on the basis of similar

(environmental) attitudes, values and virtues. These segments can be subject to different forms of intervention. Secondly, the object of government, the individual, and their behaviour, comes to be understood in a particular way. We are no longer perceived as rational beings, economically or otherwise, who respond solely to price or information (See Defra, 2008b: Annex E, I). Rather, drawing on a particular branch of social science – the 'psy' sciences – we are understood as "predictably irrational subjects" (Jones, Pykett & Whitehead, 2011: 53), subjects whose (environmental) choices and behaviours are partly structured by "discernible psychological patterns and tendencies" (Jones, Pykett & Whitehead, 2010: 7). These include our attitudes, aspirations and values. Indeed, not only are our behaviours the outcome of certain discernible psychological patterns, but these patterns can be harnessed and modified to achieve the ends of government.

Government, and its ends, are also to be understood in a particular manner within the SBU. Here the way in which we 'choose to behave', in relation to specific forms of consumptive practice becomes the ends of government. This chapter has shown how these ends of government, the pro-environmental behaviours, are designated within the SBU. These specific forms of conduct are the outcome of various processes, yet, it has been argued, the specificity of the behaviours is an outcome of a perceived need within Defra, generally, for 'hard evidence' and the tactics of the staff in the SBU. These processes ensure that, while cloaked in an apparent neutrality, the specific forms of conduct sought both constructed, and resonated with, particular understandings of the legitimate role of both the state and the individual in relation to concerns over the environment.

In order to foster these forms of conduct the SBU seeks to understand the ways in which these behaviours are inhibited or promoted. While research commissioned by the SBU suggests that some of the influences on behaviour could be thought of as 'structural', pro-environmental behaviours are predominantly understood as the outcomes of various psychographic drivers. In this regard specific forms of conduct are chiefly charted and made intelligible in terms of a variety of aspirations, desires and terrors. Or in the language of the SBU, "motivators and barriers" (Defra, 2008a: 7). It is through acting upon, and forming, delicate affiliations between these psychodynamic traits and behaviours that the SBU hopes to govern.

Social marketing stresses that our behaviours and their associated values and attitudes are located within and influenced by our social milieu. However, the SBU comes to conceptualise the individual as situated within a particular social plane: community. Facilitated by a broader 'politics of community' and buoyed up by academic and other writings commissioned by the SBU, community becomes not only a plane of thought, but also of action, a potential and forgotten strategy and technology of government. Here, it is thought, our behaviours, attitudes and virtues can be acted upon indirectly by acting upon the bonds of community.

There is a tacit assumption within the documents of the New Labour administration and Defra that continuing environmental degradation could potentially undermine the social and economic basis of the nation state (See for example: Defra, 2006b; Defra, 2005a; Stern, 2007). In this context the perceived need to reduce the impact of people's choices and behaviour on the environment can be comprehended as a continuation of the rationality of bio-power in which the state seeks to ensure its own security and that of the population. However, we can better decipher the SBU, its rationalities, problems and technologies through the lens of advanced liberalism as a form of rule. What emerges within the SBU is a specific understanding about the role, object and end of government in guaranteeing security. Within the SBU, security is an outcome of how the individual chooses to behave, and these choices can be acted upon indirectly through fostering, harnessing and channelling people's very subjectivity. This chapter, then, charted the emergence of a rationality, means and ends of government that is part of, embedded within, and integral to a practice of governmental known as 'behaviour change'. This form of government can be understood to resonate with advanced liberal forms of rule. The next chapter will explore how behaviour change as an objective becomes governmental as it becomes enmeshed within a number of technical practices which seek to reform a multitude of agents.

Chapter 4. Making Government Technical

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter documented what might be considered the intellectual efforts of the SBU. The following chapter highlights the ways in which behaviour change as an intellectual exercise and objective is made governmental as it is made practical. Hence, while the development of the SBU and the Framework (Defra, 2008a) may have facilitated a 'new way of thinking' about the role and object of state government within Defra; in order for the objectives of the behaviour change to become governmental, they have to be made "technical" (Rose, 1999a: 51). As suggested in the previous chapter, environmental conduct is understood to be governable by harnessing and modifying people's very subjectivity. One of the ways this is thought possible is *through* community. However, this presents a particular technical problem. How can a central government department effectively connect to community and those 'on the ground'? Here, the Third Sector emerges as a possible solution to this problematic.

4.2 Defra and the Third Sector

In a broader context, the voluntary sector had increased in visibility under New Labour, and was seen as the most appropriate mechanism for stimulating various forms of citizenly, grass roots and community activity in a manner that is seen to be 'bottom up' rather than 'top down' (Morrison, 2000: 110; Ross & Osborne, 1999: 50; Lewis, 2005: 126). While perhaps facilitated by this increased visibility of the Third Sector, and also possibly productive of it, within the SBU the understanding emerges that the Third Sector is an effective means for engendering pro-environmental behaviour change. This is firstly because the Third Sector was seen as an effective conduit for the actualisation of community as a technology of government. This came from an understanding that the Third Sector, unlike the state, is able to access, stimulate and provide the bonds of community (Defra, 2008c: 13, 14).

> *"[Third Sector][26] organisations have a very different relationship with their members, people are members, is the first thing, people aren't members of government, well technically we all are [but], you know, from a psychological point of view [the reason people become involved in Third Sector organisations] is either there is some core identity or some shared value … and once you are a member, you identify with that group and [are] listening to people who you identify with, they are a trusted intermediary, they are somebody with whom you identify"*
>
> (Clare: Defra, Interview)

Not only were the Third Sector able to provide, access and stimulate the bonds of community, their status as "trusted" (Defra, 2008c: 11) translated into a greater ability, than afforded to the state, to penetrate the private domestic/sphere.

> *"the sector has reach you know we [the state] … can't get into people's houses and talk to them about low energy light bulbs, Third Sector organisations do that everyday. So they have a reach that we don't have, they are trusted"*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

This 'trusted' status of the Third Sector came from an understanding that they were independent of the state. The perceived independence of the sector was also thought to confer an ability to innovate and provide leadership in relation to pro-environmental behaviour, unlike the state which was felt to be constrained:

> *"The other thing is they [the Third Sector] provide leadership, they do things, they are independent and they can just do things, unlike government who is constrained by all sorts of things. So they can innovate more easily, they provide leadership. So the first recycling schemes in this country or in the world weren't done by governments, they were done by Third Sector organisations"*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

However, this perceived independence not only translated into a greater ability to puncture the private realm, provide leadership and innovate. It also served another function. It meant that if the sector were effectively enrolled to the ends of government, the state could attempt to govern particular spheres while remaining

[26] This interview was conducted after the 2010 election. One of the first dictates to be issued by the new administration was that the Third Sector was no longer to be called the Third Sector, but would now become 'civil society'.

apparently independent of them. In a sense, Defra would be able to act "at a distance" (Rose, 1999a: 49) on particular spheres without destroying their autonomy.

The understandings, within the SBU, of the attributes of the Third Sector emerge within the context of a broader discourse about the role of voluntary sector organisations in stimulating community and citizenly activity. Yet, the descriptions of the Third Sector and its attributes, within the discourses and writings of Defra, constitute the sector in a particular way, bringing about new ways of acting (see: Defra, 2008c; HMG, 2010). Indeed, while Defra had been "involved in the Third Sector for ages" (Peter: Defra, interview) it was argued that many people working in Defra had previously not conceived of these organisations in such terms.

> *"even now there are lots of people in Defra who don't ... recognise the term 'Third Sector', even though they work with the Third Sector day in day out ... so there is a lot of work to do within Defra to get this idea of the Third Sector across and get people to understand. A lot of people [in Defra] will just feel they have got a great relationship with an external organisation, they won't have gone through, you know, 'what were the key strengths of that organisation', and 'how can we use them better'?"*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

Within the rhetoric of Defra the Third Sector is 'made up' as an extra political zone of "thought and action" (Rose, 1999a:188-189). Thus, we can understand the mode of description of the Third Sector as perfomative. The constitution of Third Sector and its attributes within Defra bring it into existence and forms new "possibilities for action" (Hacking, 1999b: 166). Through this constitution of the Third Sector, a strategy emerges. This approach focuses around:

> *"[Third Sector] organisations being able to take some of government's messages and finding their own way of communicating those messages. These are not messages we are saying to [the Third Sector]: "you have got to go and tell everybody that", these are things that [Third Sector] would probably be doing anyway and we would be saying "we would very much encourage you to do this sort of thing", or sort of like: "we will give you some extra funding to do this sort of thing", or, "we would like to work with you in doing this sort of thing". So it's engaging with big Third Sector organisations who have mass membership, who are then a trusted intermediary, so it is not about government saying: "thou shall recycle your banana skins" it is about, I don't know, [a large nature conservation charity, for example] saying "Oh you know there is this composting thing*

and it is really good and here's some ways of doing this" … So it [our approach, is about the Third Sector] talking to government and then to members of the public …"

(Clare: Defra, Interview)

While this strategy partly relies upon a number of rhetorical devices it also emerges from, and informs, two previous 'proto-behaviour change programmes'. These programmes can be understood as early attempts by Defra to change behaviour in relation to environmental concerns. Indeed, these early programmes can be said to both be informed by and inform the understandings developed in the SBU, as they where running, or just starting, around the time of the formation of the virtual team. This seems to resonate with an analytics which suggests the rationalities, problems, technologies, programmes of government "each presuppose the others, without being reducible to them" (Dean, 2010: 33)

4.3 Programmes and the Third Sector: Every Action Counts and the Environmental Action Fund

The understanding of the Third Sector as a conduit and mechanism for behaviour change drew on a number of rhetorical devices. However, this understanding also surfaces from a review of grant programmes which around the time of the formation of the SBU were "explicitly or implicitly" seeking to change behaviour (Defra, 2006a: 19). This review noted that Defra had only a limited number of direct lines to the public, yet also had a number of indirect routes it could utilise (see Figure 8). Two of the 'indirect' 'Third Sector'/Community routes identified were two grant programmes: the Environmental Action Fund (EAF) and Every Action Counts (EAC) (Defra, 2006a). While grant programmes, both the EAF and EAC can be understood as 'proto-behaviour change programmes'[27]. They can also be understood as programmes in the governmentality sense (see: Miller & Rose, 1992: 181-182, Dean, 1994a: 188: Dean, 2010: 276). These programmes consist of the binding together of theoretical knowledges, practical objectives and various technologies, most notably community.

[27] There were a number of grant programmes reviewed at this time – including the EAC and EAF. Hence, the term 'grant programmes' refers to a number of programmes. However, when the term 'proto-behaviour change programmes' is used in this thesis it is referring to the EAF and EAC specifically.

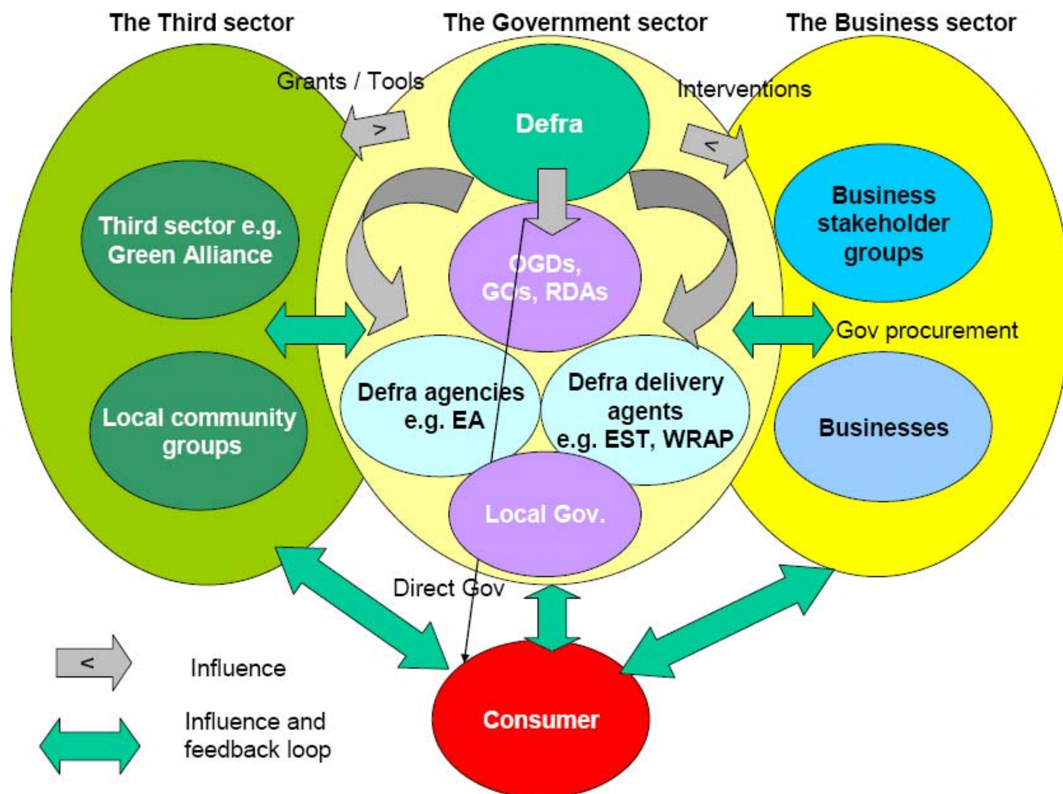


Figure 8: 'Defra's Delivery Partners', taken from Defra (2006a: 20)

The EAF, before the coming together of the virtual team, had been through a number of iterations, starting in the early 1990s under the then Conservative Government (CAG, 2005). Within the 2002 to 2005 round of the EAF, Defra funded some thirty five ‘voluntary sector and community’ sustainable development projects. These sustainable development projects were grouped under two strands: a) biodiversity and b) understanding and awareness of sustainable development. Within the ‘understanding and awareness’ strand, the overall emphasis was not on behaviour change, but rather on an increase in the public’s understanding of sustainable development issues. However, a few projects reported that they had managed to change behaviour in some cases (CAG, 2005). The following round of the EAF, from 2005 to 2008, similarly funded thirty five Third Sector organisations, with the fund itself worth close to £7 million. However, in this round of the EAF, the bio-diversity strand was dropped and the fund started to focus more heavily on ‘action’ in relation to sustainable consumption. Indeed, one of the programme’s main objectives was “to change the behaviour of individuals at the community level” (Cox et. al., 2009: 2) through “community action” (Cox et. al., 2009: 3). The shift in focus was an attempt

to “move beyond awareness of consumption challenges”, as under the previous round of the EAF (2002-2005), and “into action” (Cox et. al., 2009: 1). However, there was a sense that the focus on behaviour change in the 2005-2008 round of the EAF (Cox et. al., 2009) was less the outcome of set objectives at the beginning of the fund, but rather a narrowing of the aims of the fund as it progressed over the three years. In this regard, initially, the EAF centred around a rather loose notion of sustainability[28]. However, as the fund progressed it focused more on behaviour change in relation to certain consumptive practices as well as the role of the Third Sector in achieving behaviour change.

> *L: “I get the impression that at the beginning of the programme [EAF], it was based around a loose set of deliverables, very much in tune with sustainability in terms of a rather loose set of ideas, rather than behaviour change which it focused on later. Is that a correct interpretation?”*
>
> *P: “Yes, yes ... the way we looked at the EAF did evolve over that period ...”*

(Robert: Defra, Interview)

In an endeavour to gain a better understanding of how the Third Sector could influence pro-environmental behaviour change, towards the end of the first year of the EAF (2005), Brooke Lyndhurst, a consultancy company, was commissioned to undertake a programme level evaluation. In other words Brook Lyndhurst was commissioned to evaluate the 2005 to 2008 phase of the EAF. The concept of evaluation will be examined in more depth later in the thesis. The EAF from 2005 until 2008 funded a whole host of projects, which undertook a huge variety of activities. These activities included: the establishment of community groups to tackle sustainable living, the recruitment of ‘community champions’ to take the sustainable consumption messages to their communities, developing and disseminating publications, the organisation of events and the distribution of various packs and eco-tips (Cox et. al., 2009: 52-60).

[28] Indeed, some of the projects sought to tackle issues around the ‘supply side’ of sustainability, rather than consumption per se.

The second grant programme was EAC which ran from 2006 until 2009. This programme provided funding to Third Sector organisations to "enable them to deliver community actions that would bring about behaviour change" (CAG, 2009: 3). This behaviour change focused around five themes: *Save Energy*, *Travel Wisely*, *Shop Ethically*, *Save our Resources* and *Care for your Area*. The programme itself was delivered through a 'consortium' of over twenty five Third Sector organisations. One of the key mechanisms employed in the quest for behaviour change was the recruitment and training of community champions. The recruitment of the champions was supposed to be undertaken by all of the members of the consortium. There were a number of strategies through which community champions were recruited, including: a website; training days and events; various publications and the targeting members of individual Third Sector organisations.

These community champions, it was envisaged, would take the messages of the EAC back to their community groups. This would, it was thought, subsequently engender behaviour change in relation to the five themes. Prospective champions were told that "it was important to remember that your role is to help and advise. The role of a Champion is not to be a leader, it is to encourage other people to make changes" (BTCV, 2007: 5). The champions were envisaged as conduits between the Third Sector and their communities. It was understood that champions would be stimulated to take action in their own life and also encourage others to undertake behavioural changes individually and collectively. In one of the key publications for the EAC, the Champions Handbook (BTCV, 2007), we find a list of actions that individuals and groups can take (see Figure 9).

First steps to saving energy in your home, community centre, etc…

These actions will save you energy and money.
Most of them cost very little.

- Stop the draughts! Spaces around windows and doors (including letter boxes) let cold air in and warm air out. Get draught-excluders from d-i-y stores (or make them).
- Check the thermostats for hot water and central heating. There's no need to have hot water above 60°C – any higher and you may get scalded, and will need to add cold water to cool down the water you've just paid to heat.
- Don't heat rooms to more than 21°C.
- Close the curtains at night (and open them wide during the day to get as much heat from the sun as possible).
- Use low-energy light bulbs. These can save you up to £10 a year and they last up to nine years. Community centres may save hundreds of pounds a year this way.
- Think! Don't fill kettles too full, cook with pans covered, switch unnecessary lights off, and don't use the washing machine until you have a full load (and you can wash most dirty clothes at 30°C). Every little helps you save money and reduce pollution!

Figure 9: Acting for the Planet, taken from the Community Champions Handbook (BTCV, 2007:14)

Yet, within the materials of the EAC there are not only lists designed to stimulate behavioural changes. For example, there was a card game which outlined a number of actions that could be taken to lower carbon dioxide emissions and one's impact on the environment more generally (see Figures 10 and 11). These cards also outlined ways

to spread the sustainable consumption message through one's wider networks of affiliation.

Figure 10: "Action Cards", taken from: BTCV (undated a)

Figure 11: "Action Cards", taken from: BTCV (undated b)

4.3.1 The EAF, EAC and Community

The enrolling of community groups and community champions within the EAC and EAF resonates with an approach which sees communities and their ties of affiliation as mechanisms through which to channel the behaviours and choices of individuals. The notion of community champions is also congruent with a conception that one of

the ways in which these networks can be accessed and mobilised is by enrolling influential individuals to the ends of government (Brook Lyndhurst, 2006: 8[29]). Here, within the EAC and EAF we see the attempts to stimulate 'the right choices' by connecting central political authorities to various spheres on the ground through delicate linkages between Third Sector organisations, community champions and certain community groups.

The seeking to govern through community and the enrolment of community within the networks of the state is not new, or particular only to the objectives of Defra, as other studies have shown (see for example: MacLeavy, 2009; Amin, 2005). However, in these previous studies (MacLeavy, 2009; Amin, 2005) many of the actors engaging with communities were local state authorities or agencies. In the case of its proto-behaviour change programmes, however, Defra seeks to bypass these completely through enlisting Third Sector organisations which then co-opt various non-state actors 'on the ground' (community groups, volunteers, community champions etc). Such programmes, then, try to 'govern at a distance' (Rose, 1999a: 49) by establishing delicate linkages between various non-state actors, hence bypassing established state structures. Here the aim is to bring together Third Sector organisations, communities and community champions into a network of government to "become both the objects of [government] and the instruments of its exercise" (Cheshire, 2006: 103).

4.4 Governing at a Distance and the Third Sector

To effectively govern the environmental conduct of individuals at a distance within its programmes, Defra has to effectively ensure that the Third Sector reproduces the aims of the state. In this sense Defra had to establish effective relays between itself, as a centralised political node, and the behaviours of "free citizens" (Rose, 1999a: 49). Yet, in order to preserve the perceived independence of the Third Sector, Defra had to be careful not to intervene too directly. Indeed it was argued that Defra should step back and let the sector deliver.

---

[29] These influential individuals are distinguished on the basis of certain characteristics and said to be either so-called 'Connectors', 'Mavens' or 'Salesmen'(Brook Lyndhurst, 2006: 8)

> *"I think we can't treat [behaviour change programmes] as service delivery, which is when we would be on [the Third Sector organisation's] arse the whole time saying "where is this report?", "what are the milestones?", all the rest of it. You have to do this stepping and back and leave it to the sector to actually deliver"*
>
> (John: Defra, Interview)

To understand how Defra effectively sought to ensure that the Third Sector would reproduce its rationalities and aims without threatening the sector's autonomy, we can draw on Rose's notion of translation (1999a: 50). Rose argues that effective relays between centralised political authority and free citizens through intermediary non-state actors can be achieved when the state can "translate the values of others into its own terms" (1999a: 50). This translation process is, however, not only dependent upon funding or legal frameworks, but is also possible when one actor convinces the other that their problems and goals are intrinsically linked (Miller & Rose, 1990: 84). Here, language plays a key role in the translation processes as problems and goals can be allied through the adoption of shared vocabularies, theories and explanations (Miller & Rose, 1990: 84). In this regard, experts and their language play a key role in this establishment of alliances because of their apparently compelling claims to truth and the "promise they offer of achieving desired results" (Miller & Rose, 1990: 84). Through such translation processes it is possible for a state actor to be able to count upon another actor thinking and acting in particular ways.

While Rose proposes that there needs to be an active translation process in order to govern at a distance (1999a), within Defra it was suggested that there needed to be little alignment of the values of Defra and the Third Sector. This, it was argued, was because the values of the people working in both spheres had a natural affinity.

> *"A lot of the values that the Third Sector has are very similar to Defra's values. It is about social justice and the environment ... people are working for Defra, not because it is a huge department, they are working because they really believe in the themes ... so they are value driven often like the sector is"*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

While there may have been some natural affinity between the values of Defra and the Third Sector, there was a sense that linkages and alliances had to be formed and goals and values actively aligned through funding[30].

> *"As a funder you need to understand that … you are aligning Defra's needs with that of the [Third Sector] organisation, and then, them as an organisation, which has got 'buy in' from the community and people, should then be able to sort of say "well we can align our goals with what Defra's are""*
>
> (John: Defra, Interview)

In this regard, in order to receive funding at the beginning of a programme, a potential Third Sector 'delivery partner' had to demonstrate congruence with the aims and rationalities of Defra.

> *"[Defra] basically say 'this is what we want to do in general terms' and then the sector comes to you with ideas. So we are not specifying in detail what we want, we are just saying, you know, "this is about behaviour change … this is what we are trying to do, we are trying to get to ordinary citizens, get them to change their behaviour, tell us how you would do it?" And then they [the Third Sector] tell us how they would do it, and we would look at them and match them to the criteria of the fund and pick the ones that we think are the strongest in terms of delivering what we want … "*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

A further, often parallel mechanism through which Defra could ensure that the Third Sector organisations would act in particular ways was through the translation of Defra's expert evidence into the workings of the Third Sector. Indeed, during the EAF, Defra sought to:

> *"encourage those [Third Sector delivery] organisations to work off the evidence base rather more, rather than just assume that they know what's good for people, and to try and use the insights from the research that's been done"*
>
> (Robert: Defra, Interview)

---

[30] From the perspective of the Third Sector, funding was one of the main motivations for engaging with Defra. However, a secondary benefit was understood to be the ability to exercise influence in the sphere of the state. The engagement with Defra from the perspective of Third Sector organisations will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Six.

Hence the particular vocabularies, theories and explanations of behaviour change are translated into the work and understandings of various Third Sector organisations. This appears to be part of a larger effort to share the knowledges, theories and explanations developed within the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008a) "with [Defra's] many external stakeholders and delivery partners" (Defra, 2008a: 75). Indeed, it appears that the active promotion of these understandings has been successful to the point where some Third Sector organisations, as well as other actors, no longer need encouraging; they actively seek out the evidence and models themselves. In the following extract, for example, Kate talks about the segmentation model developed in the SBU and how an increasing number of non-state actors want to use it:

> *"Well, people like [a large conservation charity], who are really keen users of our, um, segmentation model. So it is people out in the field … academia use it, people doing our [recent grant programme's] projects use it, the [large national student voluntary organisation] use it for some of their stuff … it is loads of different people. [They] hear about it from someone, you know, and they just come to us saying to us "can you tell us more about it, can we use it?" But everybody has been calling for it, I mean you talk to [a person] about it from [a large conservation charity], and he is very keen …"*
>
> (Kate: Defra, Interview)

Encouragement and funding no-doubt play a role in the interest of external actors in these models, theories and evidence. However, external interest in the theories of the SBU may also be linked to perceived credibility of some of the sources of these theories, their apparent academic nature and language. Here the 'evidence base' (Defra Website, undated b) of Defra and the apparent "promise" (Miller & Rose, 1990: 84) it holds in reducing the impact of human activities on the environment is no doubt enticing to those external organisations which are actively involved in seeking more environmentally sustainable forms of living.

While the models and theories of the evidence base are perhaps compelling, on closer inspection the evidence base represents a cluster of interlinked reports and studies that are funded by Defra. In this regard, Shove (2010a) suggests that Defra's behaviour change evidence, explanations and theories are situated within a "self fulfilling cycle of credibility" (1281). Here "certain lines of enquiry are funded and legitimised"

creating a “self-sustaining paradigm” which mobilises a whole industry of research and advice focused around a “limited vocabulary” (Shove, 2010a: 1281). Indeed, within the SBU there appeared to be close links between a relatively small number of NGOs, academics, academic departments, consultants and so on, many of whom appear to have received multiple research and consultancy contracts from Defra to produce the evidence base. These actors appear not only to be bought into the approaches and aims of the SBU, but also help to actively construct and legitimise them[31].

Goldman’s (2005: 133-134) work on the World Bank highlights how the knowledge, evidence and theories of a (well-funded) influential actor can diffuse outside its immediate networks and impact upon how a wide range of actors view their roles and act in relation to the environment. In this context the active dissemination of the evidence base can be understood as a mechanism through which Defra seeks to align the goals and rationalities of others with its own. And while promotion of the understandings of the evidence base can be understood as often undertaken in parallel with funding opportunities, the credibility of the evidence and promise it apparently holds must not be dismissed as a reason for its uptake. Nor should the apparent promise this evidence holds be discounted as a reason for any apparent alignment between the goals of others and those of Defra. Nevertheless in order to explore Defra’s programmes a little more closely, this chapter now examines Defra’s latest programme: the GLF.

4.5 The Greener Living Fund (GLF) and Pilot Projects

The GLF was scheduled to run from April 2009 until March 2011. The GLF was heavily inflected by the understandings developed within the SBU’s 2008 *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008a). It was also “built on the lessons

[31] Of course it is difficult to draw a distinction between those who have helped construct and legitimise the evidence base and those that are encouraged to use it. It might help to think of it as an iterative process. Certain actors engage with the SBU and through such engagement, theories and understandings are built, disseminated and legitimised. The process is then repeated with certain actors engaging with the SBU which in turn again builds, develops and legitimises approaches and understandings. Hence, the argument here is that it appears that this development and dissemination of the ‘evidence base’ is an active process which constructs and disseminates particular understandings which then impacts on the thoughts and actions of not just the SBU, but a whole host of actors.

learned" (Defra, undated c: 2) from previous programmes run by Defra, including the EAF and EAC. In this regard there are a number of crucial differences between the GLF and Defra's previous proto-behaviour change programmes – the EAF and EAC. To understand these differences we first need to examine the Action Based Research and Small Scale Pilots fund.

One of the most important developments during the time that the EAF and EAC had been running was the configuration of an Action Based Research and Small Scale Pilots (ABRSSP) fund. This fund came out of a suggestion that there needed to be a consolidation of spending on programmes related to "consumer/community engagement and behaviour change" (Defra, 2006a: 42). Here it was suggested that spending on behaviour change programmes could be consolidated and split into two streams. One of these streams would fund action-based research projects or pilots. It was envisaged that such a fund would fulfil a number of purposes. Firstly, it would allow new behaviour change "initiatives to be tested, evaluated and adjusted where necessary, before roll out" (Defra, 2008a: 73). Thus, particular behaviour change initiatives could be trialed, calibrated and optimised before they were rolled out on a national level. Secondly, this fund could assess more "experimental" (Defra, 2008a: 73) projects that were not envisaged for national roll out. Such initiatives could perhaps target specific segments or groups of people. Within these experimental initiatives a particular emphasis would be placed on learning. This 'learning' would then be fed into the SBU's evidence base (Defra, 2008a: 73). Running alongside this ABRSSP funding stream would be a programme which focused more on the delivery of behaviour change. This programme would work through a small number of large Third Sector delivery partners which would deliver behaviour change initiatives at a national level. By delivering projects through large Third Sector organisations at national level it thought that such a programme would have "a greater impact at a larger scale" (Robert: Defra, interview). This shift in grant funding was summarised by Robert:

> *"So the notion was to have a split so you say "demonstration projects, pilot projects run through a research programme where you structure it that way and you have it properly peer reviewed and evidenced-based" and so forth. And [then you have] your delivery side that is trying to pull from all of those findings to operate a smaller number of projects at a*

higher scale trying to have greater impact working through big organisations, trying to get more leverage, that sort of thing, which is broadly where we went. So, the GLF was more delivery, with a smaller number of national scale, sort of, partners ... [while running alongside there was] demonstration projects, smaller scale but they focus on innovation and learning …"

(Robert: Defra, Interview)

Despite the innovative or experimental nature of the pilot funding stream, much like the earlier larger scale proto-behaviour change programmes of the EAF and EAC, many of the projects sought to work through trusted intermediaries, moral circuits and communal bonds. Siri, who joined the SBU in 2010 and manages some of the research pilot projects, outlined what she saw as the driver for these projects.

"the idea of these projects is that they are kind of pilots, basically … testing interventions to influence behaviours, so basically we found out a lot of stuff about how to influence behaviours and now we are putting some of what we learnt into practice. And so that is about working with trusted intermediaries to get the message out in a way that government could possibly never do as effectively"

(Siri: Defra, Interview)

At the time of the interview, Siri was managing a number of initiatives, "one of [which focused] around working with intermediaries who are plumbers and retail store staff to see if they can encourage sustainable water behaviours amongst their customers". Siri explained the project further:

"you are going to trust a plumber more than you are going to trust a local authority representative or something, quite possibly, and you are also going to have much more interaction with something like a sales staff than you are the government. So it is about saying well what are the points of contact and how can we make, how, um, you know, we expect there are these points of contacts for costumers of water appliances, how can we influence those points of contact in a way that mean sustainable water issues become part of the dialogue they have at those points"

Here the SBU tried influencing the conduct of the individual via the point of contact between plumbers and the public. However, in order to do this, the SBU had to enrol, and work through, the 'plumbing community'. This was done vis-à-vis influential plumbers:

> *"so we are actually looking to engage with, um, influential plumbers. So, you know, the plumbers who, within the plumbing community, are kind of the go tos. So if I am a new plumber, I want to go to that experienced plumber to find out, you know, how to deal with a tricky customer, or whatever, so we are trying to find those influential plumbers within the plumbing community for this project ... [when we find the influential plumbers] they can spread the word and we can help them spread the word"*
>
> (Siri: Defra, Interview)

Another of the projects undertaken within the ABRSSP funding stream outlined by Siri, was one in which older people were enrolled to act as "as effective advocates of… sustainable behaviours through the medium of digital story telling" (Siri: Defra, interview). Here older people recorded video dairies which were played in 'their community' giving them "a voice within that community … in a way that means that they are empowered" (Siri: Defra, interview). Older people, in this scheme, were seen to have a particular intrinsic affinity with the SBU's pro-environmental behaviours as these forms of conduct, while not understood as environmental by the older people, were perceived to come naturally to them due to the way they were brought up. This scheme, for Siri, was not about "government preaching" but rather can be understood as Defra acting upon community indirectly by aligning with and working through actors whose subjectivities were seen to naturally embody values, conduct and rationalities that served the ends of the SBU.

> *"[the older people's initiative is] not [about] the government preaching, you know, "these are the pro-environmental behaviours we want you to do". It is actually just people who are doing it naturally anyway, because that is the way they were brought up, you know the make do and mend angle or not wanting to waste anything. Those actions for some older people come very naturally and they are not about preaching, they are not about being very obviously environmental, they are just about living in a commonsensical way ..."*
>
> (Siri: Defra, Interview)

The smaller scale action-based research funding stream can be understood as sphere in which a particular form of government, developed within the SBU, is sought to be made practical through a whole package of technologies. Yet, while different technologies are employed, the ABRSSP funding stream centres on a particular

approach. Within this funding stream the SBU seeks to govern indirectly through a variety of actors who can connect to a whole host of different moral circuits and communal bonds. It wishes to make plumbers, sales persons and older people (to name a few) the 'object and instrument of government'. It is hoped that such actors, either naturally or voluntarily, conduct themselves in ways which meet the ends of the state. It is through this co-opting of these actors and their access to various bonds of affinity (the plumbing community, older people's communities) that the messages and the desired behaviours of the SBU can be spread. Yet, this is an experimental field of government. The technologies used here are to be trialed, examined and reformed. Specific types of communities and actors are to be examined for their ability to relay the aims of the SBU. Moreover, the usefulness of more material instruments, for example videos, are to be assessed. Indeed, from such assessments and recalibration, successful initiatives and technologies can be integrated into national programmes of government.

> *"what we are doing is we are running the [pilot] interventions and then we are saying "so what, does that work?" or, you know, and "what elements of it work, and what elements of it don't" and essentially the idea is can we scale up this project … if this works successfully and plumbers and retail staff do get the message across around sustainable water behaviours then brilliant, lets work out a way of rolling that out across the country…"*
>
> (Siri: Defra, Interview)

4.5.1 The GLF

Running in parallel to these pilot projects was a further funding stream which sought to focus more on 'impact' and 'delivery' rather than learning. Within this funding stream it was hoped that behaviour change could be delivered at a national scale through a small number of larger Third Sector organisations using behaviour change approaches that had been tried and tested. This was somewhat of a change from the previous two proto-behaviour change programmes (the EAF and EAC) that had funded a relatively large number of both big and small voluntary organisations whose projects were somewhat experimental. The specific programme that emerged from the impact and delivery funding stream came to be known as the Greener Living Fund (GLF). The main objective of this programme was to: "help individuals and

communities in England live more sustainably, reducing their carbon footprint and reducing pressure on natural resources" (Defra, 2008d: 2).

It appears the original conception of the ABRSSP funding stream was that it was to act as a test bed for experimental projects, following which successful initiatives could be fed into delivery programmes, such as the GLF. However, it seems that this was not fully realised. Rather, within the GLF, instead of scaling up initiatives from the ABRSSP fund, Third Sector organisations were invited to submit grant applications for behaviour change initiatives and approaches which "have been tried, tested, evaluated and demonstrated to have worked" (Defra, 2008d: 6). The GLF did not seek to fund or test new approaches to behaviour change, but would allow the extension of approaches that had previously been done on a small scale (Defra, 2008d).

Despite the fact that, within the GLF, 'successful' ABRSSP initiatives were not being rolled out through large Third Sector organisations, it was clear that the SBU sought to ensure that its particular forms of environmental conduct were disseminated through approaches that were in line with its "core set of principles … on achieving behaviour change" (Defra, 2008d: 4). For example, applicants to the fund had to highlight which of the twelve headline behaviours they sought to target. Moreover, the Third Sector organisations were encouraged not only to demonstrate that they could conceptualise and understand the objects of their concern in terms of SBU's segmentation model, but were also encouraged to target specific segments that were identified as having "the most significant potential to do more so long as they are effectively engaged and enabled" (Defra, 2008d: 4)[32]. Indeed, it is in the GLF that we see a more concerted effort, in comparison to the EAF and EAC, to make technical a particular form and understanding of government

.

4.6 The GLF and Eco-Teams

One of the successful applicants to the GLF was Global Action Plan (GAP) and their initiative 'Eco-Teams'. GAP's work has been subject to a considerable amount of

[32] These were understood by members of the SBU to be predominantly middle class with existing concerns over the environment.

academic attention over the last decade (see for example: Hobson, 2002; 2003; Staats, Harland & Wilke, 2004; Hargreaves, 2008; 2010; Hargreaves, Nye & Burgess, 2008; Nye & Burgess, 2008). GAP was initially founded in the United States in the late 1980s after which the Eco-Teams concept was developed. Eco-Teams is an initiative which provides guidance and support in relation to practical actions that people can take to live sustainably. This combination of guidance and support is seen to address "both behaviour and attitudes simultaneously" (Hobson, 2003: 97). In respect to behaviour, Eco-Team members are provided with advice on practical changes in conduct that participants can make in respect to a number of consumptive areas. Participants in the initiative are also asked to weigh or measure particular aspects of their household consumption within these areas, for example, weighing rubbish and recycling output or measuring home energy use (Staats, Harland & Wilke, 2004; Hargreaves, Nye & Burgess, 2008; Nye & Burgess, 2008). This information is then returned to GAP who analyse and compile it and feed it back to Eco-Team participants, hence providing a measure of how their impact on the environment has changed.

One of the core tenets of Eco-Teams is that behaviours and attitudes are addressed within groups of six to ten individuals (Staats, Harland & Wilke, 2004). These groups are either established particularly for the initiative, or from within existing social networks (churches groups etc). The communal nature of Eco-Teams has been theorised to induce a number of effects. Firstly, Eco-Teams are seen as places within which new ideas and understandings about 'being green' can be disseminated (Nye & Burgess, 2008). Secondly, a group setting is suggested to be productive of social support mechanisms, where individuals are encouraged (by other members) to (continue to) make changes in their lives. This is translated into a sense of "normative rightness" for particular forms of conduct, which, it is argued, is an "important cognitive driver of pro-environmental behaviour change" (Nye & Burgess, 2008: 70). This sense of "normative rightness" also has a knock-on effect, it is suggested, as group participants come to feel "pressure to 'act like' a green individual" (Nye & Burgess, 2008: 71). Here Eco-Teams are seen to be facilitative of a green group identity amongst participants, which leads to the establishment of green norms of conduct. It is argued that participants are "inclined to apply" to these green norms of conduct to their private lives (Nye & Burgess, 2008: 72). One of the reasons that

participants may be inclined to apply these norms of green conduct is due to a sense of guilt derived from not conducting themselves like other members of the Eco-Team, or in accordance with the team's standards, especially if they had indicated that they would do so.

Eco-Teams as an initiative has had a rather turbulent past. Shortly after GAP UK was established in 1994, the Eco-Team model was dropped and in its place a number of other initiatives were developed, including 'Action at Home' (Hobson, 2003). Following Hobson's (2002) critique of this initiative, GAP revised its approaches and returned to its Eco-Teams model (Hargreaves, Nye & Burgess, 2008; Nye & Burgess, 2008). GAP itself is a national charity and has had a rather long history of being funded by state agencies, not, however, necessarily on the basis of Eco-Teams. Moreover, GAP has been funded by a number of Defra programmes, including the EAF and EAC. It is perhaps no surprise that Defra has funded this organisation considering GAP's emphasis on "pro-environmental behaviour changes"[33] (Hobson, 2003: 102). Moreover, GAP's use of social networks as a core technology of behaviour change within Eco-Teams resonates strongly with the understandings of community within the SBU. The apparent close alignment between the approaches and aims of both the SBU and GAP's Eco-teams raises a number of questions. On first reading it could suggest that, like Peter suggested, there needs to be little translation of the objectives, modes of thought and action of Defra into networks of Third Sector actors. It appears that the values of both can have a natural affinity. However, it also raises questions as to the role of non-state actors, like GAP, in informing the construction of particular governmentalities of the state. This is particularly pertinent considering that GAP and the concept of Eco-Teams was developed before the establishment of Defra, and, indeed, the SBU.

Nevertheless, the GLF facilitates the formation of a symbiotic alliance between Defra and GAP. Here both actors can translate "the resources provided by the association so that they may function to their [respective] advantage" (Rose, 1999a: 50). On the face of it, the similarities of the rationalities, approaches and aims of the two actors means that, in respect to GAP, Defra appears to be able count on a particular way of thinking

[33] It is interesting that this phrase appears prior to the establishment of SBU. Indeed, it indicates that the trajectory of this concept, and its implied understandings, cannot be traced to solely the SBU.

and acting. At the same time, the apparent independence of GAP enables Defra to govern indirectly. On the other hand GAP, through the apparent close alignment with the work of Defra, is able to obtain funding. The apparent close alignment between approaches and objectives of GAP and Defra is not to suggest, however, that under the GLF, GAP's Eco-Teams initiative has been untouched by the understandings of the SBU. Indeed, under the GLF, GAP has re-conceptualised its aims in terms of Defra's pro-environmental behaviours and suggested that the Eco-Teams initiative addresses nine of the twelve Defra headline pro-environmental behaviours. Moreover, GAP appears to now understand its objects of application in terms of Defra's segmentation model. Indeed, it is argued that the Eco-Teams initiative traditionally motivated behaviour change in volunteers who aligned to Defra's segments one, two and three (Defra, 2009c). However, to more fully understand how behaviour change as a governmental objective is made technical 'on the ground', the next section will explore one of the Eco-Team training events, a key engagement mechanisms within the GLF's Eco-Teams project[34] (Defra, 2009c).

4.6.1 Eco-Team Workshop

Being November, and an unusually wintry November, it is cold. It is just after 6pm and with the sun gone it has started to snow quite heavily. The Eco-Team event is being held in a conference facility situated in a city in the north west of England. The meeting itself is held in rooms on the second floor of the conference facility. On arrival you are greeted almost immediately by someone who is obviously a workshop facilitator. There appears to be three of them at first glance, all are women and all are wearing distinctive blue polo shirts with the GAP logo. After being offered a cup of coffee and a biscuit the attendees sit down at one of the tables. Attendees are told politely, but firmly, that they should sit at one of the tables where there are people already, as there will be group activities. The room itself has four large round tables, each big enough to seat about eight to ten people. In the middle of the room is a small table with a laptop and projector pointed at a screen at the far end of the room. On the wall dotted around the room there are four pieces of poster paper, each with a

[34] Under the GLF, GAP partnered with EDF Energy in the delivery of Eco-Teams. This partnership was a core part of the project, with EDF Energy promoting Eco-Teams through its 'Team Green Britain' advertising campaign as well as to its 20,000 employees and 5.6 million customers.

handwritten question: 1) What is the best way to get the word out about Eco-Teams?, 2) Who should we approach to join us?, 3) What are the benefits of Eco-Teams?, and, 4) Where/when/what is the best way of running meetings? There are also four printed rectangular cards which have the GAP logo on them. They also have writing on them, but this time their contents are printed: 'second nature', 'would give it a whirl', 'sitting on the fence' and 'not on your nelly'.

At one of tables there are four people, all of them aged between mid 40s and late 50s. There are three men; all appear affluent and well dressed, either in a suit, or in a shirt and slacks. This suggests that they might have come directly from the office. The men do not come across particularly as the 'eco' type. The other attendee at this table is a lady, who is more difficult to place. She is wearing jeans, a woolly jumper and stout shoes. Her hands show signs that she uses them outdoors, she enjoys gardening, one might conclude.

There are only a brief few moments to get an impression of the workshop before it begins. One of the facilitators, Fiona, starts talking to the people who have arrived. She congratulates the attendees for managing to make it to the workshop this evening despite the poor weather. She suggests that it is probably due to the weather that there are not that many people attending today. There are about fifteen participants at the beginning of the workshop and within the large room it feels a bit empty. Indeed, one of the tables is completely vacant. After congratulating those who have braved the weather, Fiona launches into the Eco-Teams script.

While there are two other facilitators, Fiona does almost all of the talking and it is obvious that she is experienced in conducting these workshops. She appears to have long red hair, but today it is scraped back and secured behind her head with a hair band. She is wearing walking boots and tight jeans, along with the blue GAP polo shirt. It is clear from the attendees' reactions that Fiona is rather intimidating and she deals with the participants briskly, hurrying people along or cutting them short when they start to elaborate a little too much – especially in relation to their green credentials – something that a lady at one of the tables appears to be in danger of doing on a number of occasions. The pace and efficiency with which Fiona conducts

the workshops means that there is little time to discuss things other than that on the agenda, and the two hours that the workshop is scheduled for fly by.

4.6.2 Promoting Individual Action

To govern conduct it was crucial that the participants of the workshop understood that every individual needed to be taking action in relation to environmental problems. In the case of the workshop the main environmental problem posed was that of climate change. In order to engender this understanding the workshop facilitators created a particular discursive construct in which specific forms of individual action come to be understood as not only essential but also logical. A discourse can be understood as a set of interconnected statements whose connections provide a set of resources for deciphering, understanding and talking about particular topics (Foucault, 2007: 54). Conceptualised in this way, a discourse is a system of representation which "governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about. [It] 'rules in' a certain ways of talking about a topic, defining an acceptable and intelligible way to talk, write or conduct oneself [and also] limits and restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to [a] topic" (Hall, 1997:44).

Some of the first statements within this discursive construct that the participants of the workshop were subject to related to truths regarding their impact on the environment. During a brief video projected onto screen at the front of the room, participants were told that:

> *"the fact is around 60% of the average UK consumers carbon footprint comes from food, travel, energy and in the home, and it is in these three [sic] areas individuals can make a real impact on helping the environment"*
>
> (Voice over from short film, Eco-Teams workshop)

The attendees' ability to make a real difference in relation to climate change was then linked to a statement whereby they not only had the capacity, but a responsibility to 'do their bit' in relation to climate change.

> *"Climate change … well Global Action Plan passionately believe that everyone should be facing this reality and doing their bit to mitigate their impact on it"*
>
> (Fiona, Eco-Teams workshop facilitator, Eco-Teams workshop)

Throughout the workshop, becoming a member of Eco-Teams and changing one's conduct was predominantly linked to doing one's bit for the environment. However, if perhaps unconvinced by the call to face up to and accept one's environmental responsibility, other reasons for taking action and joining an Eco-Team were also stressed:

> *"Ok. Let's have a show of hands, who likes just doing practical activities, practical actions that make good common sense? Anyone just really into doing things in better ways? Ok, great. Anybody like saving money? Right, three great reasons that have nothing to do with climate change… Another great thing that eco-teams promotes is fantastic social links, getting to know more like-minded people, building communities, all of these things are just fantastic benefits that come out of eco-teams …"*
>
> (Fiona, Eco-Teams workshop facilitator, Eco-Teams workshop)

Such statements were repeated, mantra like, throughout the workshop and served to submerge the participants in a form of rhetoric in which they were 'called' to understand themselves as having the capacity to make a difference in relation to environment, vis-à-vis their actions. Moreover, 'doing one's bit' was portrayed as not only environmentally responsible but also overwhelmingly logical in terms of both the personal monetary and social benefits. Taking part in Eco-Teams was also constructed as rational in another way. It was stressed throughout the workshop that action should be undertaken within the framework of Eco-Teams, as Eco-Teams had been "researched and proven" (Fiona, Eco-Teams workshop facilitator, Eco-Teams workshop). Overall, the statements to such effect formed a loose conglomeration whereby taking action and facing the reality of environmental problematics, within an Eco-Teams setting, became not only responsible, moral but also logical. However, left at this juncture, the ill-defined nature of doing one's bit could be open to potentially radical (mis)interpretation by participants of the workshop. Indeed, as the workshop progressed, more specific understanding about the forms of individual action and conduct expected were constructed and disseminated.

4.6.3 Measurements and Numbers

Inserted within the interconnections between the statements set out above, a particular understanding of 'doing one's bit' is constructed. This is partly put together in the description of what being a member of Eco-Teams entails. Fiona did most of the talking here and informed the participants that Eco-Teams is a six month project, where the group, and each member, comes together, discusses and then spends one month tackling a particular topic – either water, travel, energy or rubbish and shopping. However, Fiona was keen to stress that Eco-Teams:

> *"is not a talking shop, the important bit is that people decide ... what personal behaviour they are going to challenge, for themselves, for that month"*
>
> (Fiona, Eco-Teams workshop facilitator, Eco-Teams workshop)

Within the Eco-Teams workshop 'doing one's bit' came to be linked to 'challenging' and changing one's own personal conduct in a number of specific (private) spheres: travel, shopping, waste, gas and electricity usage and so on. The Eco-Teams workshop consisted of a number of activities and discussions which suggest forms of conduct that should be challenged. For example, the use of highly consumptive electrical appliances, short haul flights and eating meat. These activities and discussions also disseminated models of behaviour that individuals could adopt[35]. One such activity was entitled "How Green is my Action" (Fiona, Eco-Teams workshop facilitator, Eco-Teams workshop) which consisted of each table receiving an A1 sized GAP branded piece of card on which there are outlines of smaller cards arranged under headings of 'Platinum', 'Gold', 'Silver' and 'Bronze' . Each table was also given a set of behaviours that related to one of the Eco-Team topics: water, travel, energy, rubbish and shopping. One particular group received 'waste and shopping'. Subsequently, the groups were instructed to rank each behaviour in terms of the average carbon dioxide emissions savings and then place them under the category of Bronze (<100kg of CO2 saved), Silver (101-200Kg of CO2), Gold (201-500Kg of

[35] In fact most of the time behaviours were presented in terms of positive models of behaviour that one should follow. This seems to follow the understanding in the SBU that behaviours should not be couched in negative and coercive terms.

CO2) or Platinum (>500Kg of CO2). These behaviours included: ‘compost’, ‘mend clothes’, ‘eat all your food’ and ‘reduce waste by a third’[36].

This game can be understood as part of a larger Eco-Teams process which seeks to both simultaneously bring into the realm of thought certain problematic micro-practices and to promote alternative forms of conduct. Indeed, this workshop is just the beginning of this procedure. This process is continued throughout the duration of the six months that an Eco-Team project runs. One aspect that is crucial to this process is the Eco-Teams website. On the website, after joining Eco-Teams, members can access a range of activities and advice which problematises certain behaviours and details forms of conduct that Eco-Team members can undertake (see Figure 12 and 13).

4 Step 4 – Choose your actions

Here are possible rubbish and shopping actions from the EcoTeams website. It’s important to recognise the good things you’re already doing, so tick off any of these that you are doing. Then choose actions either from this list or from ideas from the rest of the team.

Bronze (up to 100kg CO_2)
- Don’t buy bottled water
- Recycle glass waste
- Take reusable bags when you go shopping
- Buy in bulk
- Use home recycling collection instead of taking to local recycling centre
- Recycle paper and cardboard
- Compost food waste (uncooked)
- Compost garden waste
- Recycle electronic goods
- Use rechargeable batteries
- Avoid packaged goods
- Buy secondhand clothes, e.g. from charity shops

Silver (101 to 200kg CO_2)
- Reduce junk mail
- Donate unwanted items
- Use all the food you buy
- Clothes swap
- Rent/borrow things
- Mend things rather than buying new.

Gold (201- 500kg CO_2)
- Keep a ‘rubbish diary’ – aim to to reduce your rubbish by half
- Eat local and seasonal produce

Platinum (501kg CO_2 and over)
- Don’t buy stuff, do things – try to be creative
- Eat less meat

Make a note of what you plan to do here and tick any actions on the EcoTeams website:

Figure 12: 'Choosing your Actions’, taken from Eco-Teams (undated a: 9)

[36] This game appears to reflect the SBU’s conceptualisation of environmental behaviours in terms of carbon impact.

Shut down your computer and monitor

Switch off your computer when you aren't using to save energy. If you want to avoid shutting down your computer make use of its power management settings or invest in an 'eco-button'. Source: Eco-button.com.

Switching off your monitor is easy, don't leave it on standby, just press the button whenever you're not looking at the screen.

Depending on the make and model laptops can be up to 30% more efficient than PCs.

- **CO_2 saving per year: 27kg**
- **Cost saving per year: £4**
- **Cost to implement: Free**

Read more about computers and peripherals at the Energy Savings Trust website.

Only boil the water you need

When making a hot drink only boil enough water to fill the number of cups you need. You'll save yourself time, money and energy. Pour any excess hot water you boil into a thermos flask for instant hot water later.

- **CO_2 saving per year: 27kg**
- **Cost to implement: Free**

Wash full loads of laundry

Save energy and water by waiting until you have a full load before switching on the washing machine. Washing at 40° or at 30° will save you even more.

- **CO_2 saving per year: 43kg**
- **Cost to implement: Free**

Fill your dishwasher

Only put the dishwasher on when it's full. A half load setting usually uses more than half the energy of a full load. (Source: Energy Saving Trust) Use the economy setting if you can.

- **CO_2 saving per year: 28kg**
- **Cost to implement: Free**

Figure 13: Rubbish and Shopping Actions, taken from Eco-Teams (undated b)

The Eco-Teams website is also crucial in the measurement and weighing process. As explained in the workshop, Eco-Team members are encouraged to take measurements in relation to how much they throw away, recycle, travel and use in terms of water as well as heating and electrical energy. Once these measurements are made they can be entered into the website which then compiles, scores and feeds this information back, hence showing how a member's environmental impact has changed over the duration of Eco-Teams. This function on the Eco-Teams website permits visualisation and calculation of conduct in particular ways, i.e. one's activities become linked to so many Kgs of carbon dioxide or rubbish. This visualisation of the environmental impact of our conduct reinforces an understanding that the solution to environmental problems is linked to the way we choose to behave in the private sphere. This measurement function, then, helps to "fabricate and extend" the discourse of

"individualisation and responsibilisation" (Miller, 2001: 381) that is found within Eco-Teams.

The measurement function also facilitates the voluntary exercise of self-government. We can understand this better by conceptualising the measurement function as a confessional "technology of the self" (Foucault, 1988a: 16). Foucault (1993: 222) suggests that confession is a means through which the subject learns to enounce their 'sins' and the "movements of the self" (222). Here, confession becomes a way for the self to open up to itself, to judge itself and its conduct (Rose, 1999b: 244). Understood in this light, the taking of measurements has a confessional character. Through measurement, ecological sins are brought to the fore; one can tell how far one is on the way to an ecological way of life, and, if found wanting, the self can redouble its efforts. These measuring practices, then, make the object of one's concern oneself and one's domestic conduct. They enable the visualisation of the impact of conduct and encourage the self-government of domestic behaviour in the name of the environment.

Taken together, the whole process of Eco-Teams helps to assemble a certain form of understanding about the responses needed in relation to environmental problems. Within the Eco-Teams processes individuals are called to understand the solution to environmental problems as linked into the changing of individual behaviour and the enactment of a particular series of logical and responsible forms of private individual micro-practice. Through this understanding the solution to environmental problems becomes linked to the self-government of domestic conduct. In this regard the Eco-Teams process appears to seek to endow subjects with the capacities needed to regulate their behaviour in the (environmentally) appropriate manner. Certain forms of conduct are problematised, while others are encouraged. Mechanisms of measurement allow individuals to visualise the impact of their behaviour and encourage work upon the self. The Eco-Teams process, as a whole, fosters, constructs and disseminates a self-governing subject who takes the object and objective of their self-management to be certain forms of behaviour in the private sphere. But it is not just the website, sets of statements or games which seek to foster such a subject. Community also has a role to play.

4.6.4 Facilitating Self-Government: Eco-Team Norms

Explicit within the concept of Eco-Teams and the workings of the SBU is the understanding that bonds of community can function to encourage behaviour change. An understanding of the communal nature of Eco-Teams as a technology of government came across within the workshop.

> *"If you are at a meeting, say it's an energy meeting ... no-one wants to say "ok, well I said I was going to turn down the thermostat, and do my radiator panels and check my [energy usage], I didn't do any of it". No-one wants to be that person, so actually being part of the group helps keep you on track, helps to make sure that the things that you have pledged to do that you actually do do them"*
>
> (Fiona, Eco-Teams workshop facilitator, Eco-Teams workshop)

The above quote suggests that within Eco-Teams, communal bonds are not only understood as effective in *disseminating* forms of behaviour, but also *enforcing* specific forms of conduct. Indeed, as touched upon earlier, Eco-Teams can be understood to enforce the self-government of behaviour via the establishment of group green norms of conduct. It is at this point that the norm and community meet.

In Eco-Teams it appears that specific optimal models and norms of conduct are inserted into the bonds of affinity of community. Unlike earlier regimes of discipline, however, the norm, here, does not function within a "total institution" (Hacking, 2004: 287). Nor does it operate across the social body as a whole (see Foucault 1991b; 2009). Rather it comes to function within the confines of communal bonds. Within Eco-Teams, the moral order of the community comes to propagate and reinforce norms of (environmental) conduct and self-regulation, as the communal bonds of Eco-Teams act as a vector of (social) punishment and reward (see: Nye & Burgess, 2008). Hence, green norms of conduct within an Eco-Team establish models of behaviour by which the individual can judge their own behaviour and have their conduct judged by others. If discrepancy is found between the model and the behaviour of an individual, efforts can be made by the both the self and others to bring conduct in line with that deemed more favourable.

There may, of course, be some scepticism about the efficacy of Eco-Team communal bonds in acting as disciplinary order. However, this is not the point of contention. Community has been documented (see for example: Dwyer, 1999; Valentine, 1997; Ingram, 1984) and theorised to act as a sphere of (social) sanctions and incentives (Etzioni, 1994; Smith, 1999). However, what is of interest is that the explicit understanding of community, its sanctions and rewards, as a mechanism and technology of government within the SBU (see also: Peters & Jackson, 2008: 13), can be relayed through networks of actors to a specific location: a workshop, on a cold day in a northern city.

4.6.5 Pedagogy: Schooling Participants to become the Instruments of Government

Despite the understanding that community is an extra-political sphere, before it can work as a technology government it has to be "made up" (Rose, 1999a: 188-189). Here, before being effective, community needs to be fostered by "building networks, enhancing trust relations, developing mutuality and co-operation" (Rose, 1999c: 475). Indeed, as the workshop progresses the participants were left in no doubt as to their envisaged role as Eco-Teams champions, facilitators and community builders. In this regard attendees at the workshop were continuously, but subtly, schooled in the art of creating and running their own optimal eco-community.

Throughout the workshop the participants were given hints and tips on setting up and running an Eco-Team. For example, they were told the optimal number of members:

> *"we would say that six to eight people is an ideal number, so that everybody has got adequate talking time, because you'll see… it is great to let everyone have their say, ask questions and if you've got a massive group you might not have time [to follow the Eco-Teams process]"*
> (Fiona, Eco-Teams workshop facilitator, Eco-Teams workshop)

With six to eight members established as the optimum Eco-Team size, the attendees were also tutored in who could be potential candidates for such a group. It was suggested that the attendees could ask people in an already established social circle – for example a church committee – or speak to neighbours or friends. The attendees were even taught the best ways to entice these people to become a member of an Eco-

Team. Here the participants were told that Eco-Teams should not be about 'doom and gloom', they had to stress the positives of Eco-Teams – money saving, the fun and the social benefits of joining together and making friends. This, it is argued by the facilitators, is because attendees have to be aware that some people, unlike themselves, are not as concerned about environmental problems. Hence, it was argued, a more effective way of engaging people is to stress the personal benefits of Eco-Teams.

Figure 14: Eco-Teams Recruitment Poster, taken from: Eco-Teams (undated c)

Not only were the participants schooled in how to start an Eco-Team, but also how to manage one as well. At the workshop all attendees took part in an activity in which they have to arrange a set of cards detailing the stages of Eco-Teams into chronological order. The 'right' answer was given by Fiona as: Eco-Teams workshop ⇒ Getting Eco-Team together ⇒ Introduce team ⇒ Investigate 'baseline' measurements ⇒ Tackle each topic ⇒ Feedback and evaluation ⇒ Celebrate. Such schooling is continued on the Eco-Teams website. The website contains various tips, forms of advice and resources relating to how to set up and manage an Eco-Team (see

Figure 14). Within Eco-Teams, then, one is not only enticed to reflect upon personal conduct and modify it, but also called to enrol others to undertake the same work upon themselves. Moreover, the Eco-Team workshop attendees are asked to build communities so that these mechanisms of self-government can be reinforced by (newly created) bonds of affinity. Here, much like the Third Sector involved in behaviour change programmes, attendees are enticed to become the objects and instruments of government.

4.6.6 The Eco-Team Workshop: A Success?

The attendees at the workshop were, by and large, enthusiastic about Eco-Teams, the activities and the messages relayed at the workshop. This was partly due to the presentation style of Fiona, who stressed the 'fun' nature of both the workshop and the Eco-Teams process. It may have also been partly due to some of the attendees being already receptive to the predominant message that individuals need to face up to and take responsibility for environmental problems and change their behaviour. Indeed, a number of the attendees spoke passionately about the steps they were already taking in their own lives in relation to a host of environmental concerns. In this regard, during one of the activities individuals had to choose a behaviour depicted on a card. They subsequently had to stick the card under one of the rectangular pieces of paper on the wall, hence indicating whether a certain action was 'second nature' already, something they were willing to try ('give it a whirl'), not sure about as they were 'sitting on the fence', or lastly, something they did not want to do ('not on your nelly'). The majority of these behaviours were stuck under the headings which indicated that participants were willing to try or were already doing the behaviours (see Figure 15). While it was difficult to know if people were doing these behaviours, for example 'check your tyre pressure', for reasons other than those that could be classed as environmental, in the next activity participants were asked to all take a behaviour that they would be "prepared to do" for the environment (Fiona, Eco-Teams workshop facilitator). This was an activity that attendees appeared to undertake with a certain degree of enthusiasm and without any questioning[37].

[37] Surprisingly, perhaps, due to its apparently controversial nature within and outside the workshop (See for example Jowit, 2008), many people chose 'eat less meat' as the behaviour they would be willing to try.

Figure 15: Behaviours Designated as 'Second Nature' by Workshop Participants, Author's Photograph

Not only did the participants appear to accept that doing one's bit revolved around the changes in individual level micro-practices, but also seemed to dutifully relay the lessons learnt about taking the messages of Eco-Teams out into their community. This was evident in one of the final activities where attendees had to answer the questions about how to start and run an Eco-Team on poster paper on the wall (see Figure 16).

This sense that the attendees had been effectively tutored in Eco-Team building was to some degree confirmed when Fiona asked everyone to jot down a quick pitch which they could give to potential members of their Eco-Team. After asking for examples of a 'pitch' one of the attendees agreed to read hers out:

> *"I know of a way to save you about £170 next year and do your bit for the planet, are you interested?"*
>
> (Eco-Teams workshop participant)

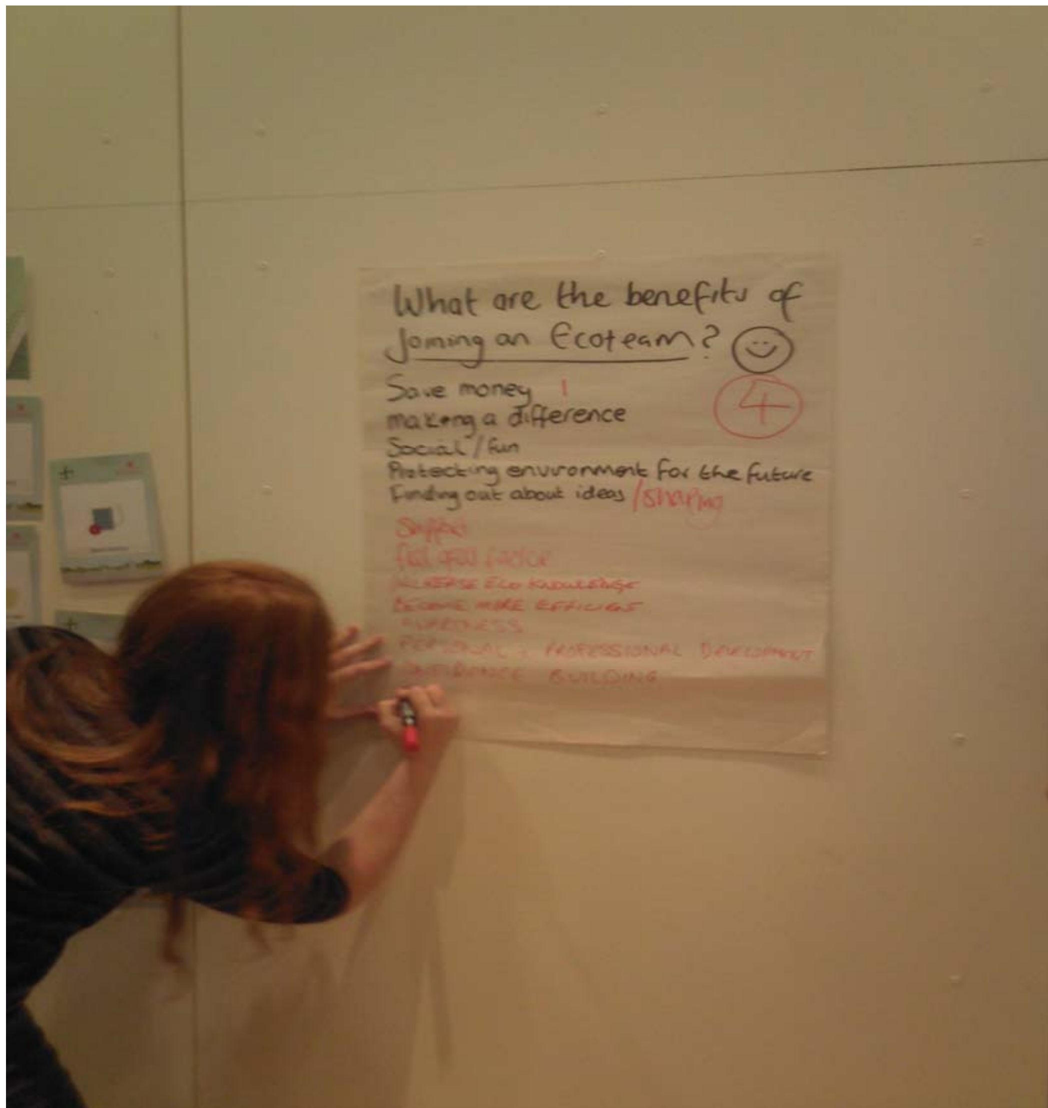


Figure 16: What are the Benefits of Joining an Eco-Team? Author's Photograph.

However, there were apparent flashes of resistance or 'mis-interpretation' (O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997: 513) at the workshop. When Sara asked rhetorically what people could do with the £170 saved by participating in Eco-Teams, one of the attendees made a remark to the effect that he would take a flight and go on holiday. Fiona dealt with this with a rather curt "that was the wrong answer". Such a phenomenon is known as 'rebound effect' where the money saved by 'green behaviours' can lead to the spending of this money on other environmentally damaging activities (Okwell, Whitmarsh and O'Neil, 2009: 311). While the comment was perhaps made for comedic value, it could be understood as a form of contestation to the overtly environmental rhetoric of Eco-Teams. The comment also underlines

how subjects can highlight the internal contradictions of certain programmes and in small ways undermine the rationalities of them – potentially making them impotent.

Moreover, despite the apparent ability of the attendees to recite the lessons learned about recruiting Eco-Team members and running an Eco-Team, there seemed, towards the end of the workshop, some reluctance to put the lessons into practice. This was evidenced in a general feeling of apathy and unwillingness on the part of the participants to link up with other attendees to start an Eco-Team or to discuss how they were specifically going to take Eco-Teams forward after the end of the evening. In this regard it seems that regardless of the stress placed on forming an Eco-Team and Fiona's pleas that this was the most "important bit" of the workshop, the calls to be the instrument of government were perhaps not enticing enough.

4.6.7 Eco-Team Workshop: Conclusion

The Eco-Teams process can be understood as the technical incarnation of the rationalities and aims of behaviour change as they hit 'the ground'. Within the Eco-Teams workshop, and the Eco-Teams process more broadly, there is an attempt to foster a particular form of responsible environmentally friendly self-regulating subjects who takes the object of his/her concern to be the way they behave in the private sphere. This section has highlighted the various mechanisms by which the Eco-Teams process seeks to foster such a subject – community, a discourse of doing your bit and mechanisms of measurement. However, there are also complications. While Fiona kept suggesting that the attendees at the meeting were 'very green', another type of subject was hailed, a subject who governed his/her conduct not just because of a sense of environmental responsibility, but also because of money saving. There were also other reasons presented at the workshop for joining an Eco-Team. It was fun; there were social benefits from making friends and so on. These stresses on the personal benefits of Eco-Teams mirrors an understanding that key motivators for undertaking pro-environmental behaviours are a "desire to save money" as well as personal "enjoyment and well being" (Defra, 2008b: iv). In this sense what was propagated was a number of rather complex and possibly conflicting subject positions: potentially self interested, yet also possibly environmentally altruistic and responsible.

Despite the overall apparent enthusiasm present at the workshop, it is difficult to know whether the participants at the workshop went on to carry out the suggested forms of conduct, and if so, this was due to a sense of responsibility for environmental problems, or to save money or otherwise. Moreover, though there was an apparent lack of enthusiasm for starting an Eco-Team amongst the participants of the workshop, it is difficult to know how many members went on to do so. What is striking, however, is the apparent clarity of translation of the aims of the SBU, through a convoluted network of actors on to the ground. This is evident in the close similarities in the forms of conduct targeted and the technologies of government within the Eco-Teams workshop and the work of the SBU. There does, on saying this, appear to be differences, especially in relation to the behaviours. For example within Eco-Teams "don't buy bottled water" is a recommended form of conduct (see Figure 16), unlike within the SBU (see chapter 2). As this behaviour was seen as potentially radical, or outwith the promotion of the state, by the SBU[38], the inclusion of this behaviour within Eco-Teams could be taken a sign that 'delivery partners' are able to exert some form of agency in relation to these programmes. However, while there are some modifications, predominantly, the Eco-Teams process seems to resonate with a logic that sees individual conduct and choices in the private realm as a medium through which environmental objectives can be realised and which are open to government.

4.7 Making Government Technical: Conclusion

This chapter has explored what could be considered to be the practical mechanisms by which relevant agencies seek to shape behaviour. It has highlighted the ways in which behaviour change as an intellectual exercise has been made concrete as it has been made practical. This chapter has highlighted three of Defra's programmes. Within these programmes Defra sought to govern conduct "at arm's length" (Hobson, 2004: 134) by establishing delicate linkages between a whole host of actors, effectively situating itself as the "central node in a complex web" of government (Hobson, 2004: 134). It is through these networks that Defra has sought, through a

[38] See Chapter Two

number of mechanisms, to "inform organisational [and] individual choices, without the need for prescriptive policies" (Hobson, 2004: 134).

Indeed, this chapter has discussed the ABRSSP funding stream, the Eco-Teams initiative and the EAC and EAF. In doing so it has highlighted attempts to govern conduct at a distance by aligning with, fostering and working through people's subjectivity and capacity for self-government. Defra's various funding streams and programmes can thus be understood as integral to, and part of, a practice of government which seeks to intervene indirectly so that individuals can acquire suitable ways of analysing and regulating their own (environmental) conduct (Hindess, 1997: 268). In this way, behaviour becomes governable without recourse to the more direct and coercive powers of the state.

This practice of government, as demonstrated in this chapter, relies on a number of soft mechanisms. However, these "softer" (Gillian: Defra, interview) mechanisms can not only be understood in contrast to more coercive or regulatory technologies of the state, but also in relation to forms of state intervention that might stimulate certain behaviours in other ways. In other words this practice of government is not about the state directly or indirectly intervening in the supply-side or developing infrastructure that may help facilitate certain forms of behaviour[39]. Indeed, in the EAF it was made clear that the programme was not about infrastructural provision. Thus, behaviour change as a practice of government embeds, constructs and disseminates a particular understanding about the objects, limits, means and aims of government.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to analyse how successful the programmes examined here have been in terms of influencing the individual choices of the public. However, this chapter has demonstrated the apparent ability of the SBU to clearly translate its rationalities and aims on to the ground, as witnessed in the Eco-Teams

[39] Predominantly. There was some effort within the EAF to influence consumer choice through modification of the supply chain. Yet this was not done through infrastructure projects or by directly bolstering the quantity of certain goods/services. Rather, many projects were concerned with "developing a stronger business case for sustainable products amongst buyers, and removing information barriers" (Cox et. al., 2009: 45). Indeed, it appears that even in the EAF this aspect did not seem to be that prominent, and its importance seems to have faded over time. Moreover, in the subsequent programmes (the EAC and GLF), such concerns with the supply-side appear to have been removed all together.

workshop. This may indicate success in terms of engendering a particular form of thought and action on the part of Third Sector organisations and the other actors enrolled into the governmental networks of Defra. However, the thesis will later go on to explore, a little more closely, the outcomes, resistances and reformations of the three programmes highlighted in this chapter. Before this, the next chapter explores a particular initiative with tangible links to Defra and which shares similar rationalities, aims and aspects of the behaviour change delivery model explored in this chapter. Indeed, the next chapter explores this initiative in order to understand a little more closely how behaviour change as a practice of government incorporates both moral codes and ethics.

Chapter 5. Behaviour Change: WERG and Green Communities

5.1 Introduction

> "In climate change we see the requirement for a whole new moral code. Things which seemed entirely innocent, turning on the lights, turning on the kettle, watching telly, all those things now don't look so innocent, all those things involve you in moral choices and moral decisions which weren't there before. Climate Change requires a re-orientation of our moral compass"
>
> George Monbiot (undated)

The previous chapters explored a form of government encapsulated by the term 'behaviour change'. These chapters examined the rationalities, aims and objectives of this practice of government. This practice of government embeds and seeks to elicit particular forms of environmental conduct. These forms of conduct, or 'headline' behaviours, as argued in Chapter Three, can be perceived as representing a 'moral code'. Moreover, as the previous chapters showed, this particular practice of government seeks to channel behaviour by aligning with, shaping and harnessing our very subjectivities. Indeed, as argued in the previous chapter, certain desired types of conduct were sought through appealing to, what could be understood as, various ethics: an ethic of environmental responsibility, an ethic of altruism and an ethic of (financial) self-interest. Here we can understand behaviour change as a practice of government, embedding both *moral codes* and forms of *ethics*.

The following chapter draws on Foucault's notion of ethics and morals to examine one particular community initiative. It attempts to try to understand how behaviour change as a governmental practice is enacted at the local level. It is contended that only through detailed empirical analysis of the local level and the agents and objects of behaviour change are we able to understand how this practice shapes, and is shaped by, the forces which it seeks to modify. In this regard this chapter demonstrates how the logics, rationalities and aspirations of behaviour change are reconfigured and modified through the particular concerns, contexts and practices of those on the ground.

5.2 Green Communities, the Energy Saving Trust and Wenfield Energy Reduction Group

The following chapter focuses on a particular initiative: Wenfield Energy Reduction Group (WERG). This initiative is an incarnation of the Energy Saving Trust's Green Communities Programme. It is the premise of this chapter that this programme and initiative can be understood as part of a practice of government known as behaviour change (albeit focused around energy and climate change[40]). It is argued that the rationality, language and aspirations of the Green Communities Programme and Energy Saving Trust share enough of a similarity with the rhetorics and logics of the SBU to be used as an example of how behaviour change as governmental practice can unfold at the local level. This similarity between the rhetoric and rationalities of the SBU and the EST / Green Communities Programme is perhaps no surprise given that the EST and the Green Communities Programme has tangible links to the state and Defra itself. Indeed, the EST and the predecessor of the Green Communities Programme, Community Action for Energy, was funded by Defra. This funding makes sense because for Defra, the EST represented a "delivery agent" (Defra, 2006a: 20) and a 'key' mechanism through which the department could respond to environmental problems – especially climate change (Defra, 2006c: 36; 2007a: 12). In the last two years that Defra sponsored the EST (2007-2008), it did so to the tune of some £70 million (EST, 2009a: 34). In this regard, the EST was another 'Third Sector'[41] conduit for the (environmental) aims and rationalities of Defra.

Green Communities is a complex multi-partner programme. The programme started in 2001 under the name of Community Action for Energy (CAfE) and was implemented through an assemblage of QUANGOs, charities and state bodies. Defra funded CAfE from 2001 (Walker, et. al., 2007: 69) with the programme itself being delivered by the Centre for Sustainable Energy (CSE) and the Energy Saving Trust (EST) (see Figure 17). CAfE was a networking and supporting initiative designed "to develop community capacity" and to encourage participation in energy efficiency

[40] This programme could perhaps be understood as focusing on Defra's headline behaviours under the cluster "Energy efficiency/usage in the home" (Defra, 2008a: 27).
[41] The EST is a non-governmental, non-profit organisation.

measures in direct response to concerns over climate change (Walker, et. al., 2007: 69).

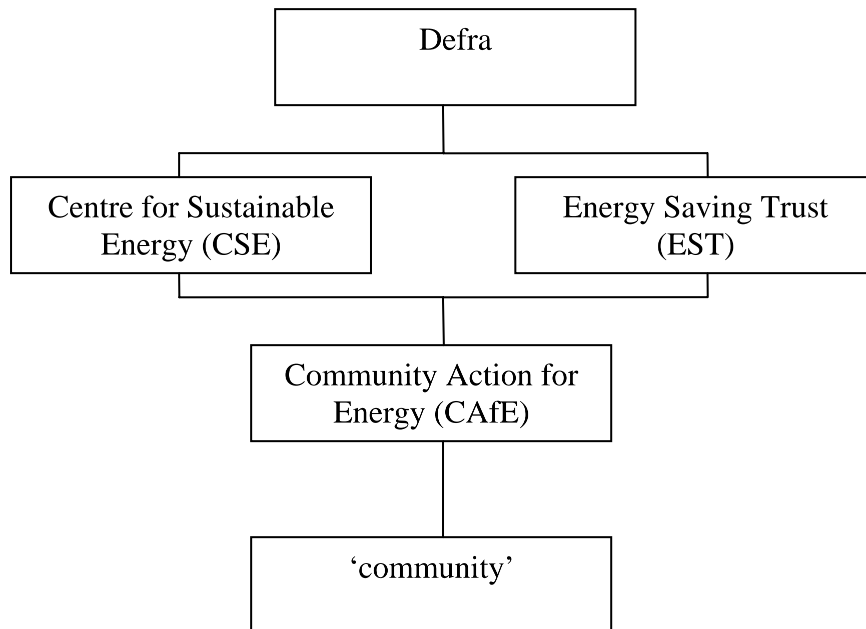


Figure 17: Funding Diagram for CafE, adapted from Walker (undated)

Following the establishment of the Department of Energy and Climate Change (DECC) in October 2008, CAfE changed. The establishment of DECC brought together the energy remit from the department of Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform (BERR) and some of the climate change and mitigation policy from Defra (DECC, 2011a). DECC also took over the sponsorship of the EST from Defra (Defra, 2009a: 12), with DECC providing some £61 million to the EST during 2009-2010 (EST, 2010: 11). This shift in sponsorship of the EST and CAfE also signalled a move, from Defra to DECC, of the responsibility to engender "sustainable living, communities and places" by helping "households reduce their carbon emissions through offering practical advice and support on waste, water, travel and energy in the home" (Defra, 2009a: 12). This commitment to reducing household energy use was then discharged and funded through DECC, and CAfE was reformulated and came to be known as the Green Communities Programme National.

The Green Communities Programme National was administered through the CSE which had the responsibility for delivering national training events, various

consultancy tasks and a national technical helpline (Green Communities Training Day). This Green Communities National was joined by a pilot Green Communities Programme Local which was to be managed and delivered, via the EST head office in London, by the regional offices of the EST (Scott: interview). Within the area in which this research was undertaken, the contract for delivering the pilot Green Communities Programme and the EST 'advice centre'was tendered for, and won by, ERC limited, a carbon reduction advice company (see Figure 18 for a diagrammatic representation of the Green Communities Programme). Scott, an employee of ERC working in the advice centre, was tasked with delivering the local Green Communities Programme and advertised in the local papers signalling that the EST was looking for "community groups to work with" (Scott: ERC, interview, 28.07.10). It was through this advertisement that WERG formed in August 2009.

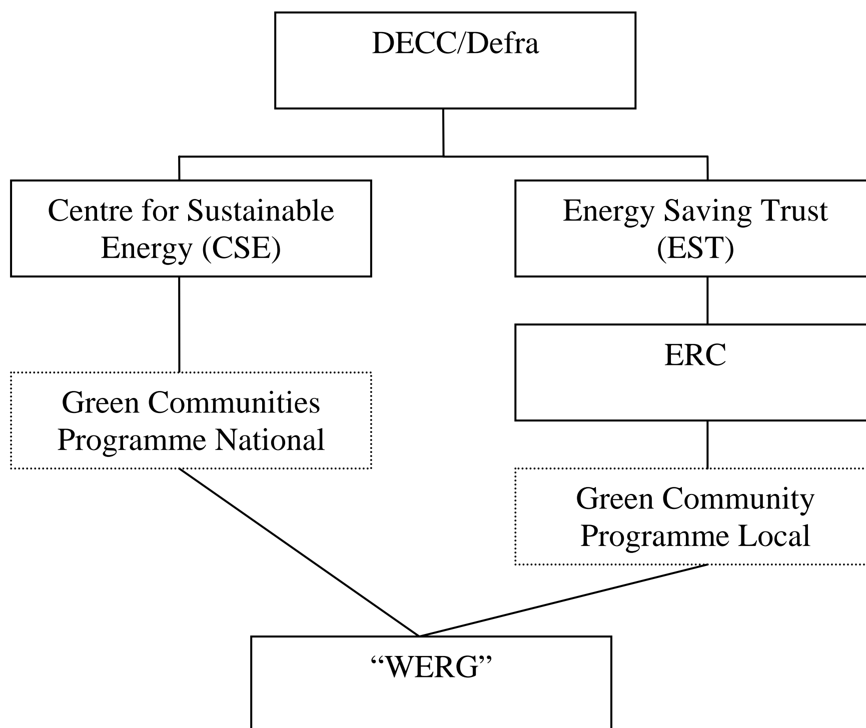


Figure 18: Institutional Structure Behind WERG, Author's Diagram

It is not the purpose of this chapter to excavate the minutiae of the relationship between DECC/Defra, the EST, ERC and WERG. Rather it is to understand and explore this programme as part of a broader practice of government (Dean, 2010: 40) encapsulated in the notion of behaviour change. Understood in this way this chapter

examines how behaviour change unfolds at the local level. To begin to understand this programme and how it fits within this broader practice, we must examine the specificity of its rationale, aims, objectives and technologies.

5.2.1 Rationalities of EST

The EST suggests that it is the "leading independent body working to help people save energy and reduce their personal carbon emissions" (EST, 2009b: 3). It is, however, perhaps no surprise, considering the funding, that much of the rhetoric and many of the idioms found in the EST documents resonate with those of Defra and the SBU. In this regard, the broad problematic for the EST is how to "lead 60 million people in the UK to act on climate change" (EST, 2009b: 3). The formation of this problem is linked to a conglomeration of statements. Two such statements are that we need to reduce our emissions by 80% by the year 2050 to avoid 'dangerous climate change' (EST: 2008: 3) and that our personal carbon emissions account for 43% of the UK total. These two statements together indicate, it is argued, that a reduction in our personal emissions will help meet this 80% target and avoid the potential hazard of a changing climate (EST: 2008: 3). Success in reducing our personal carbon emissions and mitigating climate change, according to the EST, will inevitably not only involve technological solutions and 'bold policy decisions', but also the "right personal choices" (EST, 2008: 3). Indeed, as climate change is now an issue that "each of us is responsible for" (EST, 2007a: 5), protecting the environment becomes a question of environmentally responsible individual choices. Unsurprisingly, with the EST being a "consumer centric organisation" (EST, 2009a: 6), the exercise of responsible choices can be made through the purchasing of certain products, including: energy efficient durables, devices and measures for our home (EST, 2009b: 8, 11). However, much like within the SBU, there is also another dimension present within the documents of the EST. This emerges through an amalgamation of the notion of choice and behaviour. Here, our choices in relation to certain consumer durables are not the only modality through which we can become responsible agents. We can also operate this faculty of choice through "our day-to-day behaviour" (EST, 2008: 4).

5.2.2 Moral Codes and Energy Saving Conduct

In relation to this 'day-to-day behaviour', much like the SBU, the EST has developed a comprehensive list of behaviours to enable people and households to enact these right choices. This list is not as wide ranging as the SBU's but has a more narrow focus: the notion of energy saving centred around the domestic sphere[42] (see table 1).

Table 1: EST 'Right Choices', adapted from EST (2011).

Area of household	Behaviour 1	Behaviour 2	Behaviour 3
Kitchen	Keep lids on pans as much as you can, to reduce heat loss - turn the heat down when it reaches the boil.	Defrost food in the fridge overnight rather than microwaving it.	Only boil the water you need in your kettle, and de-scale it from time to time
Bedroom	Wear socks to bed in cold weather to keep toasty	Towel dry your hair thoroughly to cut down the time you'll have to use your hairdryer for	Make sure all the lights are turned off when you go to bed, or use a low wattage energy saving night light if you do need to leave one on
Living Room / Dining Room	Only turn on the lights when you need them	Don't leave things on standby	Don't overdo the catering; wasted food makes a significant contribution towards carbon dioxide emissions

Yet, within the documentation of the EST we can not only discern a moral code, but also forms of ethics.

5.2.3 Energy Saving and Ethics

The EST could be understood as seeking to govern the conduct of others by both stipulating moral codes and by fostering and working through a particular ethic of *environmental* responsibility. There are, however, a number of tensions within the

[42] However, other choices include how we use water as well as travel (EST, 2008: 4)

work of the EST and the Green Communities Programme which adds a number of complexities to this analysis.

During the initial pilot of the Green Communities Programme, Scott, who was contracted to deliver the Green Communities Programme at the local level, had been instructed to "work with … four new communities" (Scott: ERC, interview). It was part of Scott's role to help these communities develop various cross cutting initiatives in response to climate change. However, Scott was also contracted, by the EST, to deliver a number of referrals and measures. A referral in this context, means referring people who had contacted the EST to companies that fit certain household energy saving 'measures'. A measure for Scott was primarily various forms of insulation – cavity, wall and loft. Indeed, Scott understood one of the reasons behind working with community groups in the Green Communities Programme was that community engagement would facilitate a more cost effective take up of measures and referrals rather than:

> "*trying to target a whole host of individuals … [through our advice centre]*"
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

In this regard the Green Communities Programme seems more about economies of scale and "quick one off [energy saving] hit[s]" (Scott: ERC, interview) rather than moral codes or ethics.

A second point that increases the complexity of the analysis is that whilst it is true that within the EST's documents the 'right choices' are often couched in the language of responsibility and agency; they were also framed in terms of financial prudence and self interest. Throughout the EST literature there are numerous references to how much, in monetary terms, the right energy saving choices will save you. Thus, we are told that through the EST's advice, householders can "save £340 every year from reduced utility bills. That's £340 in hard cash – every year – not to mention the carbon dioxide savings" (EST, 2009a: 7). However, it is understood that appealing to financial prudence and self-interest is not always effective as we "aren't always economically rational beings and we don't always follow price signals" (EST, 2008:

4). What then appears is a hybrid form of, or multiple, ethics: an ethic of environmental responsibility and/or an ethic of financial prudence and self interest. Indeed, it is through invoking these ethics that it appears the EST seeks to work. Here it is argued a low energy "lifestyle" – an individual exercising financially and environmentally responsible low carbon choices – has to become "aspirational" with "wasting energy both financially and socially unacceptable" (EST, 2008: 8, 10, 16). Indeed, the EST's vision of a financially and environmentally responsible 'lifestyle' and behaviours has to become the "norm" (EST, 2008: 10). Thus, while the Green Communities Programme and the EST may be partly about 'one off hits', it appears, through textual analysis, that the EST seeks to disseminate a form of ethics and associated moral conduct. The EST appears to blend a moral code, "thou shall switch off the light", with a form of environmental and financial ethic. In this regard the Green Communities Programme can be understood as part of a broader effort to "shape our ways of understanding and enacting our experience as human beings in the name of certain [environmental] objectives" (Rose, 1996a: 130)

5.2.4 Energy Saving and Technologies of Government

Such attempts to disseminate and govern through ethics and moral codes is congruent with the broader practice of government explored earlier. However, this leads us to questions related to the methods by which the EST seeks to disseminate such ethics and associated conducts. While, in examining the EST's documentation, information-based approaches appear as a core method and conduit through which the EST seeks to disseminate its messages, the EST also seems to employ other strategies (EST, 2009a: 6). Here, it is not just the aims and objectives of the EST and the Green Communities Programme which seem similar to the SBU. One of the principal technologies of government also appears to be comparable. In studying the EST documents further it seems that peer-based networks are envisaged as a means by which the right choices maybe fostered. It is through the *strategic* instumentalisation of community that the EST hopes to make a financially prudent, low carbon subjectivity both aspirational and the norm. In a similar vein to the SBU, we are told that the EST's approach rejects the understanding that people are purely rational actors and their strategy goes "beyond just using the media" to provide information (EST, 2009a: 13). It will, rather, "promote energy saving behaviour through social

networks, word of mouth and local … communities" (EST, 2009b: 11). The EST will engage and support communities as they can "play a vital role in raising awareness of climate change" (EST, undated a: 1). It will further work through influential communities and individuals as they are able to "cajole and encourage friends, family and local … social groups to save energy" (EST, 2009a: 13). Indeed, while Scott saw community groups as a way of contacting a number of people in one go, on reflecting on the Green Communities Programme he also backed up this understanding:

> *"… if there is a lot of activity happening [in a local community] and there is a buzz created then people are more likely[to participate]. People that have been on fringes [or] haven't been interested in [energy saving in] the past may then sit up and take notice and say "hang on, what is happening here" and get involved and find out more about it and you know … if people … start speaking to each other … and say "look you know I have had my house insulated, or I have done these behavioural changes people are more likely then to take notice" …"*
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

Here, in the EST documents (EST, 2007b; 2009a; 2009b), much like the SBU, the bonds of community are understood to act as a means of government through which it is possible to "create new moral and ethical subjects who understand that they have a duty" to enact the right energy saving choices and behaviours (Larner and Butler, 2005: 85).

From the document of the EST one can discern a particular set of objectives that the Green Communities Programme seeks to make concrete. The following sections of this chapter will examine how and to what extent these objectives are transmitted and made technical through one initiative of the Green Communities Programme: WERG. It will examine how the aims of EST are transmitted via a number of nodes and technologies, from meetings and events to forms of local activity. However, this chapter will question the extent to which the members of WERG and others within Wenfield come to "experience themselves" (Dean, 2010: 44) in relation to the understandings found in the texts of the EST. In this regard, rather than seeking to only document some idealised and abstract scheme of government (O'Malley, Weir and Shearing, 1997), this thesis will later examine the "the messy actualities of what actually happens" (O'Malley, Weir and Shearing, 1997: 509) 'on the ground' as the

aims of the EST are sought to be made technical. In this regard, as the following sections show, what emerges from WERG is not simply the wholesale replication of the discourses of the EST. Instead the work of WERG is the product of a coming together of a whole host of logics, agents and understandings.

5.3 Wenfield and Wenfield Energy Reduction Group

WERG is focused around a large village in the North of England with a population of around 1,000 (ONS, 2004). The village itself consists of two main streets, on one of which is located a number of small independent cafes, pubs, shops and one hotel. The other main street consists of a number of houses, a social club, a small supermarket and a recently built elderly care and resource centre. The village also has two schools, a first and middle school. The village is fairly isolated and situated 50 and 70 miles away, respectively, from two large cities. The village was traditionally a major horse-drawn coaching station, and continued to be the route between the two cities until a bypass was built taking traffic away from the village itself. Wenfield is situated on fertile coastal plain and as such, much of the surrounding area is still marked by agricultural activity – both arable and livestock. Wenfield has an industrial area located half a mile from its centre and due to the agricultural surroundings, this site is dominated by a large agricultural produce storage facility. The sparsely populated nature of the area and the still prominent influence of agriculture on the landscape is reflected in the classification of the area as "rural 80"[43] (Defra, 2005b). Ten percent of those in the wider area are still involved in primary industries: fishing, farming or forestry (AreaInfo, undated). However, the scenic and historic nature of the area means that it is a popular destination for tourists and this is reflected in the fact that almost a quarter of the houses in the area are second or holiday homes and that sixteen percent of those living in the area are employed in the hotel or catering trade, the highest proportion out of all the categories of employment.

The population of the area is an older one in comparison to the local authority district as a whole and the numbers of younger people have been in decline (AreaInfo, undated). This decrease in the numbers of younger people is being matched by a sense

[43] Characterised by at least 80% of the population living within rural settlements and/or larger market towns.

of decline in the village. Indeed, one apparent example was the closure of the only bank in the village some 10 years ago which was met with a number of protests by the villagers (BBC News, 2000). This sense of decline was perhaps most recently summed up in a newspaper article in which Wenfield was described as a "dying village" (The Citizen, 2010). Despite this rhetoric of decline, there is a sense that, to some degree, this is being combated by an active, cohesive and self-reliant community, as one of the residents suggested:

> "*If [the residents of the village] get hold of an idea they are very good at working together to make it a success*"
>
> (Doug: WERG, Interview)

Such a sense of an active community was evidenced, it was argued by some inhabitants of Wenfield, by a number of examples of the residents successfully improving the life of the village. One of these examples was that of a local charity which had taken over the running of an elderly persons care home when it was closed by the County Council. However, one of the almost mythic stories told by the residents was one in which they "fought" to bring mains gas into the area. Following this 'fight' the local gas supplier undertook £2.5million of works on the mains gas infrastructure (The Advertiser, 2004). This sense of an active community was further reinforced during the research period when it was announced rather breathlessly by one of the WERG members who had arrived late to a meeting that a long campaign to re-open a railway siding in the village, which closed in 1958, had apparently met with success after it was announced that funding for the project would be granted (The Advertiser, 2011).

5.3.1 WERG: Beginnings

Following the placement of articles in local newspapers inviting community groups to become part of the pilot Green Communities Programme by the member of staff at ERC responsible for delivering the programme locally, Scott was contacted by a number of people in Wenfield. This initial contact with Scott was instigated by two residents of Wenfield, one of whom was Catherine. Catherine is a lawyer who lives in the village but commutes to the nearby city to work for the council. She is married to

the reverend at the local Church. The second individual, Doug, lives in the centre of Wenfield. Doug is a retired theology, French and head teacher. He is extremely active in the local area, being a member of the local church, the Rotary Club and other organisations. Catherine explained how the WERG had started:

> "*It came out of the fact that Doug… said to me once at a Labour Party branch meeting … "the one thing I feel like committing my energies to in Wenfield is actually reducing our carbon footprint …". [Later I saw] an article from the Energy Savings Trust saying "is your local community one that the EST could work with"? And so I contacted Doug and asked him if he thought that was a good idea and he did*"
>
> (Catherine: WERG, Interview)

Doug, following his conversation with Catherine, decided to get in touch with Scott and a number of other residents of Wenfield.

> "*I wrote the letter to Scott … saying that I thought Wenfield would be a good village to work with and then I rang quite a few other people and encouraged them to write similar letters, and you know lo and behold [the EST] said they … would like to work with us*"
>
> (Doug: WERG, Interview)

Scott, having received the letter from Doug and a number of other supporting letters, went to an initial meeting with the group. At this first meeting Scott, contrary to his expectations that he was to meet an established community group, was surprised to find "a couple of interested individuals that [had] pulled together some interest in the community" (Scott: ERC, interview). For Scott this realisation represented somewhat of a disappointment as at the time Green Communities was still a pilot programme, and the "idea of the pilot was to prove the idea … worked". For Scott the fact that this group was just forming potentially signified an increase in the length of time before results were possible. Despite this concern, the fledgling group became one of the EST's Green Communities. The initial meetings between the interested individuals and Scott consisted of "about 20 people" (Scott: ERC, interview). However, after a number of meetings "it sort of settled down to a smaller group" of five to eight active members (Scott: ERC, interview) which came to form the steering group of WERG.

The steering group had monthly meetings in the meeting rooms situated in the industrial area outside the village. The members of WERG, including Doug and Catherine, were mostly retired professionals, including: three retired teachers, a doctor and a lawyer. The meetings themselves would usually be around two hours long and often characterised by long and rather intricate discussions about the structure and workings of the group, the next activity planned under WERG, discussions of previous activities and so on. During these meetings Catherine acted as convenor. However, despite Catherine's efforts to ensure that the discussions were relatively brief and to the point, it would often take a long time for decisions to be made and discussions would often weave between topics, and could seem like a platform for individuals to voice their personal grievances or opinions on particular matters. This lack of decision making often resulted in topics that had been discussed at the previous month's meeting being re-hashed leaving some with a sense:

"*that WERG is a talking shop*"

(Den: WERG, Interview)

5.3.2 WERG as an Object of Government: Autonomy, Self-Government and Responsibility

WERG had formed specifically for the Green Communities initiative. While this had initially been disappointing for Scott, it meant that the group was unstructured and did not have any previous processes in place. This was in contrast to some other community groups that Scott had worked with before. Previous community groups that Scott had worked with had been linked to local government and as a result the work of these other groups had been a "bit more structured, a bit more formal [as] they had strategies and that kind of stuff' (Scott: ERC, interview). However, for Scott this lack of pre-existing processes or strategies represented the opportunity to do:

> "*real sort of community work … interested individuals form a group, get them going, get them galvanised, get them doing stuff and hopefully three years down the line they will still be there doing stuff*'
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

While representing an opportunity to do ‘real’ community work, this lack of pre-existing processes also signified somewhat of a problem as, in Scott’s experience, fledgling community groups could often work in a way that was unstructured. Hence, while this lack of formality and structure meant that it was perhaps easier to mould WERG around the aims and rationalities of the Green Communities Programme, it also led to a risk that the group’s work would be outside the remit of the programme, unfocused and “messy” (Scott: ERC, interview).

In this regard, it was crucial that WERG came to govern itself in line with the aims and rationalities of the Green Communities Programme and the EST more broadly. One of the key technologies employed to serve this purpose was an ‘Action Plan’ (see Figure 19). The use of the action plan was obligatory if the group wanted to become an official Green Community initiative. The action plan is one of a number of technologies within the programme which encourage the Green Communities groups to understand their role in certain ways. WERG’s Action Plan appears to demonstrate that the aims of the Green Communities Programme were able to be effectively translated into the aspirations of WERG itself. Indeed, on completing the action plan, WERG’s aim came to be to reduce Wenfield residents’ energy consumption by ten percent by 2010 through “cavity wall insulation and loft insulation, energy efficient appliance purchase, behaviour change campaigns [and] low energy lighting” (WERG Materials). However, this target of ten percent was not dreamt up by the members of WERG. Rather it was a reworking of the 10:10 campaign, itself an initiative which sought to encourage individuals to cut their carbon emissions by 10% by 2010, primarily through behavioural change in the home (Katz, 2009).

Summary

An overview of the goals of the project, who is involved and a timeline.

Action points to focus on....

e.g. Cavity wall insulation and loft insulation through focussed insulation programmes, energy efficient appliance purchase, behaviour change campaigns, etc

Who's who and what they are going to do....

Who	Desired response	Key messages	Communication methods	Responsibility for engagement
e.g. local authorities, community groups, householders etc	e.g. take carbon reduction action, help promote actions, referral networks, volunteer development, support insulation programme etc	e.g. saving money, climate change, matching stakeholder interests (drawn from dialogue) etc	e.g. telephone, leaflet, meeting, community networks, media etc	e.g. advice centre, community rep/group etc

Figure 19: Green Communities Action Plan, taken from EST (undated b)

However, while the group's aims were informed by the programme it was important to let the group develop a sense of autonomy and for the Action Plan to become "owned by the [group]" (Scott: ERC, interview). This duality is seen in a quote from Scott where he described how he worked with the group:

> "*[I said] right here's the template, here's some ideas, here's some things … key dates and here's some things we are going to do with you, but we need [you] to populate some other things in here*"
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

Through the use of the Action Plan it was hoped that WERG would not only "take the work of it [the programme] forward" (Scott: ERC, interview), but also become an autonomous and self-governing actor, acting in accordance with the objectives of the Green Communities Programme. Indeed, Scott personally saw his role as "trying to get communities to be more in control … more self reliant sort of thing" (Scott: ERC, interview). Once the group had become sufficiently proficient in governing itself the EST and ERC could withdraw.

The Action Plan, then, was not only a mechanism to ensure the aims of WERG reflected those of the programme, but also a mechanism to formalise and perpetuate the group as an autonomous and responsible energy saving organisation. This would help make them attractive to various funding bodies ensuring that the group could continue after the EST withdrew its support:

> *"[the other thing about the Action Plan], is that... it appeals to funders [it allows funders] to know that there is some organisation involved in terms of direction, in terms of where [WERG] see themselves going and that kind of thing*"
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

The attempt to professionalise the group was also evident in the stress placed on gathering information and evaluating the various activities undertaken by WERG. This stress was partly couched in terms of the benefits that WERG would receive as a group. For example, gathering information and evaluating activities would potentially make the group more "forward thinking" (Scott: ERC, interview) in terms of potential activities and the aims of each activity. Such information would demonstrate to the

group whether certain activities had worked or not. It would also be valuable in demonstrating success to future potential funding bodies.

5.3.3 Targets and Community

The emphasis on gathering information was not only for the benefit of WERG, but also fulfilled a role for the EST. Gathering information would allow the EST to demonstrate to its funders the positive outcomes of the programme. Indeed, such information also allowed the ERC to demonstrate to the EST that it was fulfilling its obligations. For Scott this aspect was rather more personal, as for him the Green Communities Programme was not just about the creation of WERG as an autonomous and responsible organisation, but also the generation of results. This was part of Scott's requirement to hit targets as part of the EST contract in delivering the Green Communities Programme.

> "*I have to get some targets out myself so I could satisfy people I work for as well*"
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

Targets and evaluation processes can be understood as "technologies of performance" (Dean, 2010: 197), powerful technologies "for acting at a distance on the action of others" (Rose, 1999a:152; see also: Higgins, 2004: 466). Indeed, there seems to have been a chain of targets and evaluation requirements from DECC through the EST and ERC down to Scott, enabling a series of linkages through which each actor is encouraged to govern their own conduct in relation to the rationalities and aims of the programme. It is perhaps most interesting that despite WERG having no obligation to set any target, the group decided to do so for themselves. While not meeting its target would have had little material effect on WERG, the objective of reducing Wenfield's energy consumption by 10% by 2010 does act as a metric and telos for WERG, a figure which gave the group an impetus and direction for their activities.

In order for Scott to hit his targets in terms of measures fitted, he first needed to identify homes that would be suitable. It was here that WERG started to become the instrument of the programme. Indeed, one of the first things that WERG did was enrol local volunteers to hand deliver to each household in the area an Energy Saving Trust

home energy self-assessment. This assessment was to be filled out and returned to Scott, who would be able to recommend specific energy saving measures for each household. Each assessment was accompanied by a covering letter from WERG explaining the purpose of the assessment and the aims of the group. It is here we can see, in regard to the ends of others, the mobilisation, enrolment and instrumentalisation, in perhaps its purest form, of the presumed "collective allegiances" and "bonds of affinity" (Rose, 1999a: 176) between the members of WERG and their community. As Scott argued, enrolling members of the community was:

> "*the best way to get to householders [which haven't installed measures yet] in the most cost effective way; and obviously if it is done locally by locals then people are more likely to take heed of the message …*"
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

However, while this may demonstrate an attempt to utilise the bonds of community for the ends of others, it hardly demonstrates an endeavour to govern through "subject effects" (Barnett et al., 2008: 629). It is later in two projects undertaken by WERG that attempts to create energy saving 'Wenfieldians' are witnessed.

5.4 WERG: Governing Others

Once successfully formed as a self-governing group whose aims and objectives were consistent with the Green Communities Programme, WERG could come to play an instrumental role in the promotion of "energy saving behaviour" (EST, 2009b: 11). One of the ways in which this was done was through three events at the local middle school. The activities at the middle school were an attempt at "making the kids aware" (John: WERG, interview) of their energy using practices. Making the kids aware, it was hoped, would lead to energy saving children. However, another rationale for working in the middle school and promoting the notion of energy saving to the children was that:

> "*The hope … [was that the children] would … go home and say "mam, dad do we need that telly on, mam, dad can we turn the heating down" – whatever that was to be. That was the hope …*"
>
> (Den: WERG, Interview)

This approach was more eloquently summed up by Doug who suggested that WERG was:

> "*working* <u>*through*</u> *the children [as we] think that children might have an influence on their parents in the home*"
>
> (Doug: WERG, Interview)

Similar projects have been considered elsewhere (Larsson, Andersson and Osbeck, 2010). Such projects both seek to "create self-disciplined and caring, ethical, 'ecological [children]'" (Larsson, Andersson and Osbeck, 2010: 135) and affect, via the child, a family's domestic practices. Such projects are based on the assumption of children having "actual and potential influence" (Larsson, Andersson and Osbeck, 2010: 137) on their own and their family's behaviour. However, what follows does not focus on the outcomes, in terms of energy saved, of such a pedagogical project[44]. Rather, it aims to highlight the methods used by WERG to 'create self-disciplined and caring, ethical' individual children.

5.4.1 Working 'on' and 'through' Children

WERG's work in the Wenfield middle school was facilitated by the fact that two of its members, Den and Doug, though retired from teaching, continued to help at the local schools. Doug, previously a theology, French and subsequently head teacher, provided one-to-one tuition for children who were having difficulties at the local middle school. Den, a retired music teacher, continued to work with children and would put on various musical events in the locality. In this sense, both were known at the school and already active in shaping the school and students. While being known at the local middle school no doubt enabled both Doug and Den relatively unproblematic access, access was also made somewhat easier by the fact that both the head teacher and assistant head of the school were new and very enthusiastic about including some sort of environmental aspect within the school's curriculum. The assistant head was especially so, in this regard, and during one meeting in which the

[44] Although, the efficacy of schemes to change children's and their families' behaviour in relation to environmental concerns have been questioned through empirical work (see: Goodwin et. al., 2010).

details of WERG's work with the school were finalised, the assistant head told both Den and Doug about some of his work he had done in his previous school under the Eco-Schools Programme. Indeed, for the assistant head it seemed like it was more than just a professional interest in teaching the children about the environment, but also a personal one.

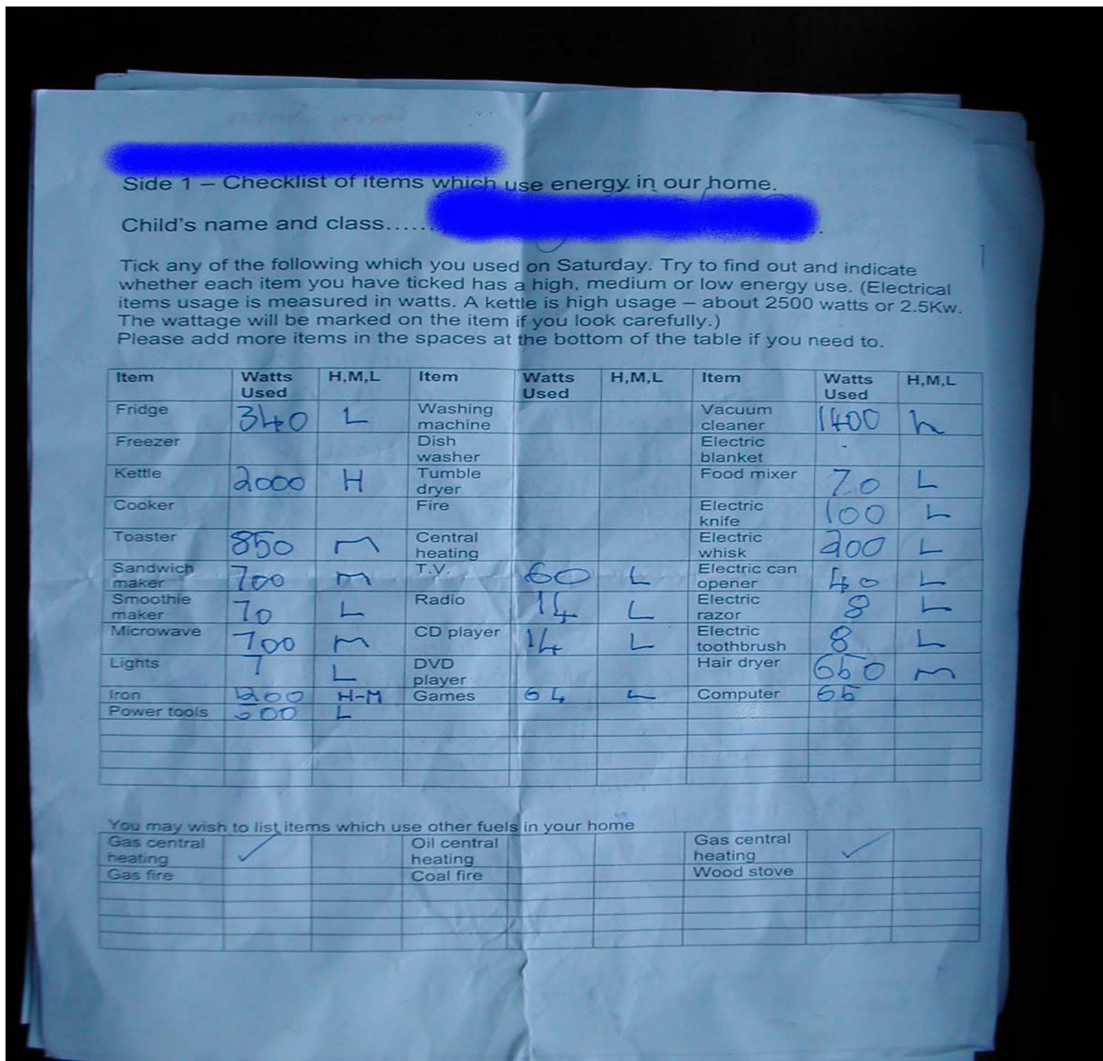
The work in the school involved three events on three consecutive Fridays. Two of the events at the school revolved around the morning assembly; while the third took place during an entire afternoon. The assemblies would take place in the school hall where 100 or so children would file in while either listening to Den playing the piano, or listening to music from a small CD player in the corner. The children would face the stage located at one end of the hall and would be arranged in lines according to their year group, with the youngest at the front and the eldest at the back. The older children would sit on benches towards the back of the hall while the youngest would sit on the floor towards the front. The teachers stood along the wall on one side of the hall and as such had a height advantage over the children allowing them to watch each individual child for any misbehaviour. Den and Doug would situate themselves at the front of the hall, just in front of the stage.

5.4.2 Problematising Energy Use

During the first assembly the children were introduced to Den and Doug, despite apparently needing no introduction. Doug outlined to the children that they were members of a community group called WERG who were trying to save energy in the village. Den then took out a number of pieces of card with domestic appliances on them, but did not show them to the children. He asked the children to name anything which used energy and if it matched one of the cards the particular child was given the card. The children evidently enjoyed this game. It was slightly chaotic and the children would often, despite being told to put their hands up before answering, shout the answer out. After all the cards had been handed out, the children were then told about the objective for next week. For those that had received the cards, they had to find out if the particular appliance depicted on the card could be classed as a low, medium or a high energy user based on the power rating of the appliance. On returning to school on the following Monday, the children were asked to put the card

on to a poster under the correct heading (see Figure 20). Furthermore, at the end of the assembly, each child received a check list to fill out. This check list was to be used to record each energy using item the children used over a 24 hour period (see Figure 21). This checklist was to be returned on Monday. Towards the end of the assembly Doug took over and said that while WERG was encouraging energy saving partly to help save money, they were also doing this to save resources and because it was the right thing to do. Following this he asked the children to put their heads down and pray to thank God for all the things He had given them and to help them protect these things.

Figure 20: Energy Use and Appliances, Author’s photograph



Side 1 – Checklist of items which use energy in our home.

Child's name and class.....

Tick any of the following which you used on Saturday. Try to find out and indicate whether each item you have ticked has a high, medium or low energy use. (Electrical items usage is measured in watts. A kettle is high usage – about 2500 watts or 2.5Kw. The wattage will be marked on the item if you look carefully.)
Please add more items in the spaces at the bottom of the table if you need to.

Item	Watts Used	H,M,L	Item	Watts Used	H,M,L	Item	Watts Used	H,M,L
Fridge	340	L	Washing machine			Vacuum cleaner	1400	h
Freezer			Dish washer			Electric blanket	-	
Kettle	2000	H	Tumble dryer			Food mixer	70	L
Cooker			Fire			Electric knife	100	L
Toaster	850	m	Central heating			Electric whisk	200	L
Sandwich maker	700	m	T.V.	60	L	Electric can opener	40	L
Smoothie maker	70	L	Radio	14	L	Electric razor	8	L
Microwave	700	m	CD player	14	L	Electric toothbrush	8	L
Lights	7	L	DVD player			Hair dryer	650	m
Iron	1200	H-M	Games	64	L	Computer	65	
Power tools	500	L						

You may wish to list items which use other fuels in your home

Gas central heating	✓		Oil central heating			Gas central heating	✓	
Gas fire			Coal fire			Wood stove		

Figure 21: Energy Use Checklist, Authors Photograph

5.4.3 Disseminating Energy Saving Choices

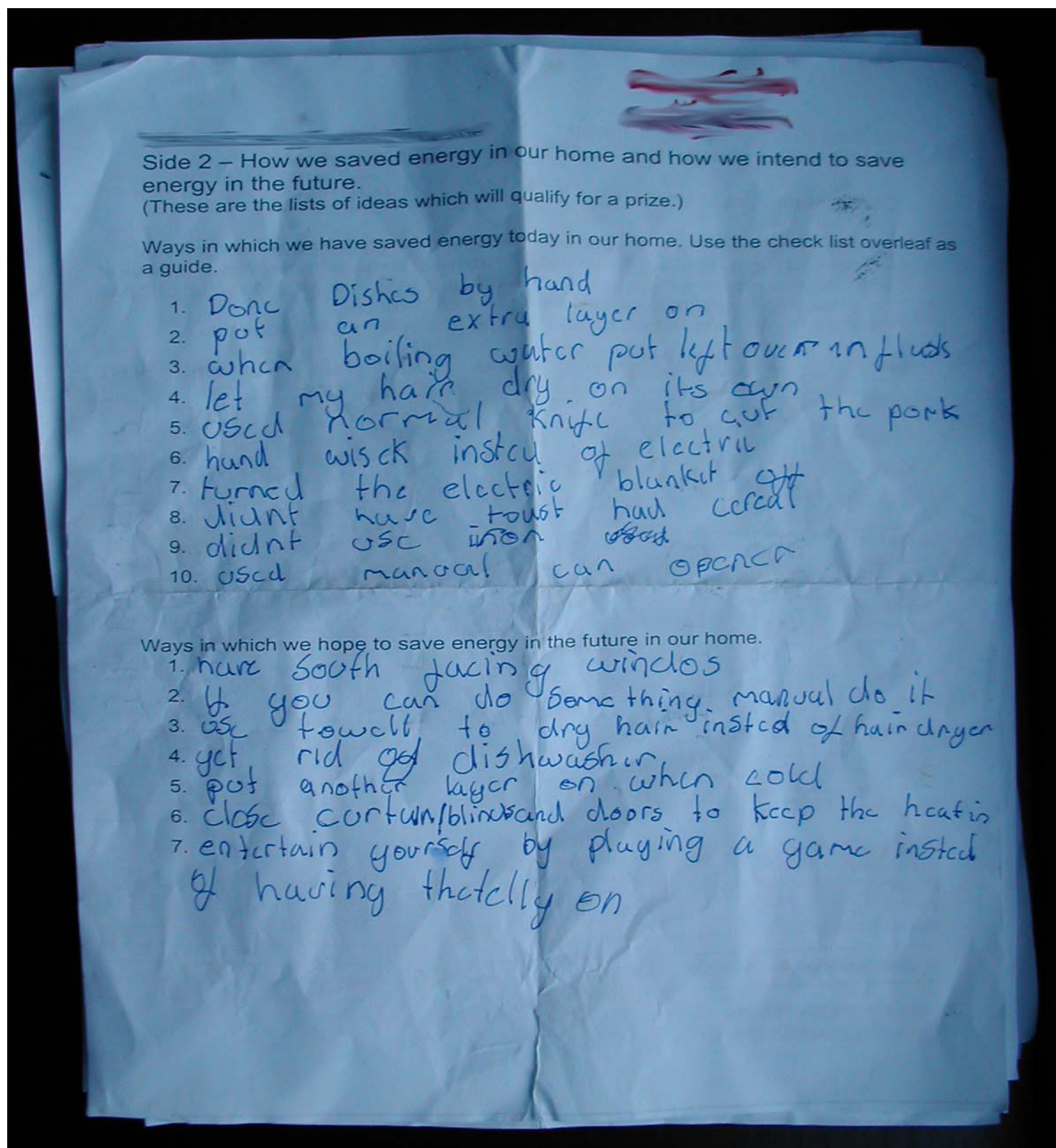
The following assembly revolved around disseminating the key energy saving behaviours to the children. However, before they did this Den and Doug returned to the previous exercise. While some of the children had obviously completed the tasks set for them, many had not. Indeed, only ten out of about thirty cards given out had been put up on the large poster situated in the school (see Figure 20). Den at first praised those children for completing the task and then chastised those who had not. He said that he and Doug had taken a long time to complete the activities and he was disappointed that many children had not made the effort.

Following this chastisement Den and Doug moved onto the next section of the assembly. He outlined some forms of conduct which could save energy: "Do you need

two TVs on at the same time? Could you switch your lights off when not in the room? Do you really need a full kettle for only two cups of tea?" (WERG Materials). Den then asked the children to outline a number of energy saving ideas. The children duly obliged, but it seemed that Den's telling off had had an effect and many of the children seemed a little less enthusiastic than they had been at the previous assembly. Nevertheless the children did offer suggestions including:

1) Cycle instead of taking a car
2) Use normal instead of electric blankets
3) Switch off lights during the day
4) Put more clothes on and turn the heating down

Both Doug and Den seemed impressed with the answers given and told the children that their next assignment was to, on the following day, note down all the energy saving behaviours that they did as well as the ones they wished they could do (see Figure 22). Doug again stood up and told everybody that they were not doing this just to save money but also to protect the world's resources and because it was the right thing to do. He said that there were lots of children being born at the moment and if they wanted the same quality of life as they had had, they needed to look after the world and its resources. He again asked them to pray to thank God for the world's resources as well as their friends and family. Following this he led them through a rendition of the Lord's Prayer.


Side 2 – How we saved energy in our home and how we intend to save energy in the future.
(These are the lists of ideas which will qualify for a prize.)

Ways in which we have saved energy today in our home. Use the check list overleaf as a guide.

1. Done Dishes by hand
2. put an extra layer on
3. when boiling water put left over in flasks
4. let my hair dry on its own
5. used normal knife to cut the pork
6. hand wisck insteu of electric
7. turned the electric blanket off
8. didnt have toast had cereal
9. didnt use iron
10. used manual can opener

Ways in which we hope to save energy in the future in our home.

1. have south facing windos
2. if you can do something manual do it
3. use towels to dry hair insted of hair dryer
4. get rid of dishwasher
5. put another layer on when cold
6. close curtains/blinds and doors to keep the heat in
7. entertain yourself by playing a game insted of having the telly on

Figure 22: Energy Saving Behaviour, Author's Photograph

5.4.4 Power, Schools and Energy Saving Conduct

While the school activities in themselves are fairly unremarkable, they do demonstrate how WERG had, in effect, become the instrument of the EST and the Green Communities Programme. They highlight how WERG sought to disseminate particular forms of domestic energy saving conduct in line with the rationalities of the EST. These activities sought to make certain forms of (energy using) conduct (switching on lights, boiling lots of water) the object of the children's thoughts and to problematise them (Foucault, 2000c: 117). However, within these activities there appears to be the inscription of a rather alien concept onto the Green Communities

Programme and the logics of the EST. Within the school activities, there were references to money saving and climate change. However, more prominently there were connections made between energy saving, resource protection, care and Christianity. What appeared to emerge during these events, fundamentally, was the linking of energy saving behaviour to a Christian ethic of care and earth stewardship. The introduction of this Christian ethic appears to be a rewriting of the ethics found in the documents of the EST. What we see, then, is a Christian notion being introduced into the Green Communities Programme and linked to energy saving practices within these school activities[45]. Here an ethic of care and responsibility to the world and its resources are connected to switching one's lights off when leaving the room, putting an extra layer on when cold and switching the TV off. While, the construction and coming together of this ethic and moral code (Foucault, 1992) will be discussed later in the chapter, these school activities can be understood to contain moments of subjectification (Foucault, 1992: 27) in which the children are enticed to link certain modes of moral conduct to a form of ethics: a Christian ethic of care and earth stewardship.

The children were encouraged to undertake certain forms of conduct by appealing to an ethic of stewardship. However, there were other aspects to the school activities. These activities also incorporated mechanisms which sought compliance. These mechanisms can be understood with reference to discipline and domination (Cheshire, 2006: 29-31). Firstly, the children were inserted into a double system of gratification and punishment (Foucault, 1991b: 118). Here the children were offered prizes for those who came up with the best list of the energy saving behaviours in the home (see Figure 22), while those who did not complete the activities were scolded. The message was clear: those who take energy saving practices seriously and try them for themselves would be rewarded, and those who do not, should be ostracised. This aspect linked to the particular institutional regime of power and legitimacy found within the school. As Kohli (1999) notes, schools are places where children learn what is "acceptable to do and be – and what is not" (323). Schools are exemplars of institutions which seek to direct conduct through disciplinary technologies (Dean,

[45] It is not the purpose to discuss whether this notion of stewardship may lead to a more benign attitude towards the environment. However, if of interest it has been discussed elsewhere (see: Dickson, 2000: 131),

1994a: 170). Many disciplinary techniques were not seen during these particular activities (see: Foucault, 1991b). Yet, Doug and Den, their activities and the 'energy saving behaviours' were inserted into the particular form of regime of power that is the school and the legitimacy it is afforded as an institution in directing the conduct of children. Indeed, this is seen during the assemblies where Den and Doug fill the role of pedagogue situated above the children who are sitting down, while the students were watched by the teachers to ensure that there was no misbehaviour and that the children took the activities seriously. As I wrote in my research diary following the chastisement of the children by Den:

> "*I suddenly realised the power of the adults in this situation and the power of the school in enforcing [these] modes of behaviour*"
>
> (Author, Fieldwork Diary)

5.4.5 Posters and Energy Saving

Once sufficiently schooled in the energy saving behaviours, the final exercise, which took place over the whole afternoon of the subsequent Friday, revolved around the children designing and making posters for WERG (see Figure 23 for a montage of the posters). It is impossible to surmise, based on the posters, that these activities at the school have had an effect upon the children's actual conduct. However, what we can gather from the posters is that the children understood what was expected of them. They may also indicate that the children were beginning to link ethic of care to individual (energy saving) choices and private micro practices.

Yet, the activities in the school were not met without some resistance. Indeed, resistance could be read off the lack of effort from some of the children in completing the various exercises set by Doug and Den. It could also be evidenced with reference to the poster making where the children seemed less interested in energy saving and more engrossed in playing with the various mediums they had been given – paint, coloured pencils and so on. Moreover, one of the teachers, during a conversation in one of the classrooms, out of ear shot of Doug and Den, said he 'baulked at' Doug's pontification and questioned how Doug's words would 'go down' in front of a group of adults.

Figure 23: Two Posters Made by Children for WERG, Author's Photograph.

5.5 The Ethics of WERG

As highlighted in the school activities, the desired behaviours that were disseminated to the children re-articulated the objectives of the EST in the sense that the school activities focused around individual conduct in relation to the domestic sphere. However, while in some respects, the ethics of WERG matched those found within the broader EST documentation; there was some reworking of these ethics. In line with the wider EST literature, energy saving conduct, within WERG, was linked, on occasion, to either an environmental message or one of money saving.

> “*I think we tried to vary the message from environment to saving money*”
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

Hence, energy saving behaviours came to be partly linked and promoted through an appeal to a financially prudent subject.

> *“[people are saying] if you want to make [energy saving] relevant to people in Wenfield, the way to do it is to tell them it is good for your pocket*”
> (Doug: WERG, Interview)

However, energy saving was not only promoted in terms of financial prudence, but went further and was linked to an ability to practice hedonistic consumption:

> *“what I say to the kids is “how much is a pair of trainers, a decent pair of trainers? £60/70, you could have saved that in ten weeks by switching off your telly”, you know, what ... would you rather have three tellies on in the house or rather switch one of the off and buy a brand new pair of trainers every ten weeks. So that is the way I soft of explain it to youngsters”*
> (Den: WERG, Interview)

There were also, to a lesser extent, appeals to an environmental ethic. Here energy saving conducts became linked to carbon emissions and climate change. This linkage was sometimes disseminated tentatively during a number of events.

> “*I would say to people who think “oh well it [climate change] is far too big a problem, I can’t, what can little me do about it? I might as well carry on as I am”. I would say that “you are part of the problem”*”
> (Individual on WERG DVD)

However, an explicit environmental ethic – linked to carbon emissions – was one of the least often invoked within WERG. Rather, this ethic was often substituted for one of stewardship and care. This can be understood as linked into the religious convictions that many people had within WERG. A number of the most active members were closely linked to the churches in the village and held deep beliefs

about the role of humans in relation to the earth and its resources. This came through in the DVD that WERG made to promote itself and its activities.

> *"if we start right at the beginning of scripture and Genesis and we look at the implicit relationship and explicit relationship between people, our creator and the world around us, people around us and the earth itself … there is a very clear injunction there that we should be good stewards of God's good earth"*
>
> (WERG, DVD)

> *"the earth is not just for us to squander, it is something to be looked after …"*
>
> (Doug: WERG member, DVD video)

Energy saving became linked to a stewardship ethic through understandings about resource use. Here, profligate energy consumption became conceptualised as (unnecessarily) using up precious resources that God had given to humankind. Hence, energy saving behaviour became understood as helping to care for God-given (fossil fuel) resources. The notion of stewardship, however, was in turn often connected to scepticism over how real climate change is; or at the least a scepticism towards its supposed anthropogenic nature.

> "*People say, some people say, it's [a changing climate] just the normal cycle of things and I think well it doesn't matter if it is the normal cycle, it doesn't matter … even if there isn't climate change, even if that is not going to create huge disasters all over the world it seems to me that there is still a very good moral case for not wasting things [like] finite resources*"
>
> (Doug: WERG, Interview)

> *"I mean it [climate change] is happening, there is no doubt about that, what we are questioning is why it is happening … from my point of view [involvement in WERG is about] the waste of energy and the waste of resources and trying to use resources as sensibly as we can …"*
>
> (Den: WERG, Interview)

Even for those that did not have a religious conviction, like John, the "flaming atheist [and] delightfully so" (Catherine: WERG, interview) of the group, a similar

uncertainty about the supposed anthropogenic nature of climate change and a notion of resource protection was present:

> "*Oh I am sure it [climate change] is there, but whether it is man generated is still a moot point, I mean nobody can really be sure, or whether it is a natural phase … but whatever, we should be saving anyway …*"
>
> (John: WERG, Interview)

This notion of stewardship can be understood as substitute or reworking of references to a responsible low carbon, environmental subject within the Green Communities Programme and the EST more broadly. Here an environmental ethic is re-articulated to become a stewardship ethic, yet has similar themes of individual responsibility and agency. Through this reworking, explicit reference to carbon and climate change are removed, accommodating and appealing to those sceptical of climate change, while keeping a 'moral dimension' through the connection to resource protection. However, the notion of care within the stewardship ethic is also 'environmental' in the sense that it allows those with concerns about climate change to be included, as a concern with carbon emissions could be linked to care for the planet. Hence, the ethics of WERG were rather mutable. There was, in line with the EST, the enunciation of financial and environmental ethic. Yet, the environmental ethic was usually substituted by a vaguer ethic of stewardship. This elusiveness, however, in relation to the motivations of WERG was not seen as a problem by Scott who argued that:

> *"I think because, because energy reduction, you know, it has an environmental aspect, it has a monetary aspect, it has resource aspect, you can come at it in any angle … So regardless of whether you are a climate change sceptic or not, it doesn't really matter, but if you are reducing fossil fuels for whatever reason, from our point of view, you are reducing carbon production … So I suppose [that is] something that is … irrelevant to carrying out the project as WERG. WERG don't need to have the raison d'être that they want to reduce carbon because of climate change"*
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

The mutability behind the ethics of energy saving in WERG and the irrelevance prescribed to the ethical position behind energy saving conduct by Scott is neatly summed up in WERG's slogan "good for the planet and good for your pocket"

(WERG materials). This suggests that, in WERG, there is less of a concern for ethics but rather that "the main emphasis is placed on the code" (Foucault, 1992: 29). In other words this suggests that WERG is less about the construction of a specific 'ethical subject', be that a steward, financially prudent or environmental subject; but rather more about the "codes of behaviour" (Foucault, 1992: 29): switching off lights, not leaving things on standby and wearing socks in bed. While such an explanation holds some value, as seen earlier in the examination of the school activities, certain members of WERG did feel it was important that energy saving conduct was about "morality, in the broadest sense" (Foucault, 1992: 29) and went beyond an ethic of financial self interest.

> "*I think in the end, whether you save money or not … I would still want the moral thing to be put [forward]*"
>
> (Doug: WERG, Interview)

What we see, then, within an overall emphasis on 'the code', is the dissemination by WERG of complex and multiple ethics. In the next section we come to examine, in a little more detail, how these ethics and conducts are disseminated through a particular device: the 'Eco-Eye'.

5.6 Ethics, Energy Monitors and Energy Saving

The work in the school was but one of the ways in which WERG sought to disseminate energy saving. A further project that developed was one which involved energy monitors. After receiving a grant for £5,000 from a local community development trust, the group sought to buy a number of energy saving devices which could be used promote energy saving and behaviour change (see Figure 24). Beside other things, this money was spent on a number of Eco-Eyes (see Figure 25).

An Eco Eye is essentially a portable device with a LCD display. The display is linked wirelessly to a small device which is connected to the main power supply cable of a household before it enters the electricity meter. This device measures the amount of electrical energy being supplied to the house and subsequently sends this information to the LCD monitor. The monitor itself has a number of functions. The monitor can

display, amongst other aspects, the amount of energy being used at the time in kilowatts, the current cost of the electricity being used at the time, and the amount of carbon dioxide that is being generated through electricity use.

Figure 24: A number of Energy Saving Devices Bought by WERG, Author's Photograph

Figure 25: An 'Eco Eye' Displaying KWh (Eco Eye, undated)

There has recently been an increasing interest in such energy monitors in academic and political circles. In December 2009, DECC declared that it intended for every household in the UK to have a ‘smart meter’ accompanied by real time energy display by 2020 (Hargeaves, Nye & Burgess, 2010). One of the rationales behind this roll out of such displays is that they will, through the provision of real-time information, allow consumers to “understand and manage energy use, thereby helping them save money and play their part in reducing carbon emissions” (DECC, 2011b: 10).

It has been suggested that energy is ‘doubly invisible’ (Hargreaves, 2009). Firstly because it is an abstract force that enters the home, and, secondly because its use is embedded in a number of mundane routines. This invisibility makes it hard for people to connect certain forms of conduct to energy usage (Hargreaves, 2009; Hargeaves, Nye & Burgess, 2010). Hence, through the use of such monitors it is hoped that energy use is rendered visible, thus raising awareness and encouraging individuals to cut electricity use, and/or carbon emissions as well as reduce costs (Hargeaves, Nye & Burgess, 2010). Such assumptions seem to be backed up by findings which suggest that such feedback devices can lead to reductions in energy consumption of between 5-15% (Gronhoj & Thogersen, 2011: 139). However, recent evidence suggest that while these monitors may lead to energy saving in the short term, this effect often fades overtime, even if the households continue to own the monitors (van Dam, Bakker & van Hal, 2010: 466).

Such findings on the effectiveness of these devices are perhaps of interest. However, attention can also be paid to how material devices are embedded with particular rationalities and how they play an important role in governing conduct in particular ways (Merriman, 2005). Certain objects are embedded with certain forms of rationality and are productive and delimiting of particular types of practice and subject (Hobson, 2006). In this regard it is notable that the Eco-Eye allows for monitoring in terms of the cost of the electricity being used or the amount of carbon being emitted. While these two functions were consistent with the financial and environmental ethics being disseminated by WERG, the third and final ethic, stewardship, seems less concretely connected to the Eco-Eye.

5.6.1 Eco-Eyes, Self-Government and Ethics

Once WERG had received funding, they purchased about thirty Eco-Eyes. The intention was to lend the Eco-Eyes to residents of Wenfield. WERG also designed a little questionnaire to be given to those borrowing an Eco-Eye. These questionnaires were meant to capture whether those borrowing an Eco-Eye had reduced their energy consumption. In order to encourage people to use an Eco-Eye, WERG linked their usage to the three ethics highlighted above: money saving, stewardship and environmental responsibility.

Two of the ethics, environmental responsibility and financial prudence, were to some degree already “scripted into” the device, in the sense that settings on the Eco-Eye allow the user to visualise his/her energy usage in terms of either cost or carbon emissions (Hobson, 2006: 330). These two ethics were in line with those found in the literature of the EST and within WERG. However, these two ethics still needed to be concretely linked to the use of the Eco-Eye and the third ethic, that of stewardship, needed to be more actively worked into the device. One sphere in which this was done was at a number of Eco-Eye parties. These parties were organised by WERG and took place on a number of occasions within Wenfield. The attendees were invited to the party by members of WERG via a letter or a phone call. On two occasions the numbers attending the parties ranged from ten to twenty. However, for the members of WERG the turn out was often not what was hoped for, with Doug in particular noting that he was disappointed with the interest they had generated, despite mostly his efforts.

The parties themselves took place in the local community club in a function room. While still having its own bar, the room was separated from the main bar situated in a larger room. The larger room was where one would find a number of locals ‘propping up’ the bar, and was in a slightly dishevelled state. On arriving to the first Eco-Eye party early, before the members of WERG had arrived, it was clear from speaking to those in the main bar area that they were unsure about what was happening in the function room, and indeed what WERG was. The parties themselves consisted of snacks and some wine. They were seen as opportunities for people to discuss energy

usage in a convivial environment. However, before this was possible the attendees had to learn about energy saving.

At the beginning of the Eco-Eye parties the members of WERG would give a talk on energy saving and the Eco-Eye. It was here that the device became linked to the three ethics. During the parties, predominantly, the money saving aspect of the device was heavily stressed. Often members of the WERG would tell the attendees how much money they had saved through energy saving. The second most predominant ethic was that of stewardship. This was promoted during one of the Eco-Eye parties through showing a DVD that WERG had made. It was through the showing of this DVD that the Eco-Eye and its usage came to be linked to being:

> *"good stewards of God's good earth"*
>
> (WERG, DVD)

The final ethic, that of environmental responsibility, was muted within the Eco-Eye parties. However, it was present but often only through brief reference to carbon dioxide, carbon neutrality, 'carbon footprint' and/or climate change.

Following the introductions at the Eco-Eye parties, the attendees were invited to borrow one of the devices from WERG. Those that had already borrowed an Eco-Eye were asked to talk to those interested in borrowing one. These Eco-Eye parties can be understood, then as places and processes in which the three ethics, as found in WERG, were disseminated and woven into the Eco-Eye. And while two of the ethics were to some degree already scripted into the device, the third ethic, the Christian notion of care and earth stewardship, needed to be more concretely linked into the Eco-Eyes and its use. In this regard, the ethics attached to devices were not wholly delimited by the Eco-Eyes themselves, but were "worked up and through the objects" by the members of WERG (Hobson, 2006: 330). Thus, while WERG sought to concretise the perhaps 'common sense' interpretation of the Eco-Eye and its display modes; WERG also connected the usage of the Eco-Eye to a Christian ethic of care and earth stewardship. However, while the Eco-Eye was linked to rather mutable ethics; its use does engender a particular form of problematisation and set of practices.

Through speaking to people who had used the Eco-Eyes it became apparent that these devices were collaborative in a specific form of self-government. Here the device, and its forms of visibility (Dean, 2010: 41), no matter what the setting, firstly problematises certain aspects of conduct.

> *"When I first got it I used to switch everything off [then] switch a light on, switch the light off, switch the cooker on: one ring, two rings oven and everything, and you would have a look in the shower and yeah it was quite impressive, it just makes you aware of how much electric you are using …"*
>
> (Craig: WERG, Interview)

> *"it is like watching telly, I have got it under the telly, so that when I look at the telly I can watch this thing [and when I see the meter reading go up I think] "grr why is that gone up" and you go charging round the house trying to see what the heck is on … it very much makes you aware of what you are actually using and how"*
>
> (Den: WERG, Interview)

Through this problematisation, the Eco-Eye's forms of visibility facilitate the development of a particular object of the individual's concern and self-government – the mundane use and the switching on and off of household appliances:

> *"… we actually went out our way to try and use less. [the Eco-Eye] just made you aware of what you were using, the likes of the shower, you know you would spend 10 mins in the shower, maybe more, but now … I usually have a shower in about five minutes …"*
>
> (Craig: WERG, Interview)

> *"it doesn't half sort you out! You go around switching lights [off]…"*
>
> (Den: WERG, Interview)

The Eco-Eye and its forms of visibility facilitate the problematisation of particular forms of conduct. It also engenders a certain practice of self-government focused around the domestic sphere and the use of household appliances (see also: Hargreaves, 2009; Hargeaves, Nye & Burgess, 2010). Thus, while the use Eco-Eye was connected to a number of ethics, it facilitates a particular form self-government. In this sense, and no matter what the ethic, in both the school-based activities and through the Eco-

Eye lending project, individuals are called to understand the reduction of energy use as being a matter of self-government in relation to private domestic micro-practices. Moreover, once this form of self-government is linked to an ethic, it becomes possible to enact a specific type of ethical subject through the self-management of domestic micro-practices.

5.7 Members of WERG as Objects of Government

While WERG's role was to disseminate the rationalities, conducts and aims of the EST within their community, the individual members of WERG were not just the instruments of the EST, but also became its objects. The discourses of the programme and the EST more generally began to have an effect on the individual members of WERG. Doug, one of the most active members of WERG, was most notable in this regard, and would often ask, whether in his own home or elsewhere, if it was necessary to have the lights on, or would often switch lights off if he felt they were not needed. The switching off of lights could be understood as the "ethical work" (Foucault, 1992: 27) and the primary object of Doug's ethical practice and self-government. However, this was not Doug's only object of concern:

> *"I am becoming more and more conscious that when I go to school I should walk … I am [also] driving much more carefully now than I used to, that sort of thing. I am really in the business now of closing shutters, switching lights off, doing all of that. It has made me think a lot about the way that we use energy in the house [] …"*
>
> (Doug: WERG, Interview)

This governing of individual conduct in line with the aims of the programme and EST were also seen during the interviews with other members of WERG:

> *"we have changed certain things, turning down the thermostat, using less water in the kettle …"*
>
> (Catherine: WERG, Interview)

For some individuals, however, subjection to the discourses of the EST programme and involvement in WERG had not changed their behaviour. This was because they had already been conducting themselves in ways that they saw as congruent with the

programme before the start of WERG. Den, for example, before WERG formed, had installed a wood burning stove for heating and cooking.

> *"D: I got myself a woodburing stove, or at least a multi-fuel stove and I put that in and I use it during the winter for everything. I mean heating water on top of it, I do all my meals on top of it, the lot ...*
>
> *L: You do your meals on top of it?*
>
> *D: Oh yeah, I cook my meals in the sitting room, so I smell of curry, but yeah I do..."*

John also argued that he had been considering energy usage for some time and that he engaged in various practices that were in tune with the aims of WERG.

> *"we grow all our own vegetables ... at night we are down to one light usually, we have mains switches on the telly, so we don't leave them on standby. Lots of things that people are advocating we actually do. [However] I would have done all these things with or without WERG ..."*
>
> (John: WERG, Interview)

In this regard there was a sense that involvement in WERG had simply given pre-existing conducts a structure, coherence and larger purpose.

> *"Yes, I did [these things] before, but it has sort of really made it come home as to why"*
>
> (Den: WERG, Interview)

Not only did the Green Communities Programme come to give a structure and coherence to previous forms of conduct, but also fitted and articulated with "already existing ethical competencies" (Hobson, 2006: 325). Indeed, this is most clearly seen, within WERG, in the meshing of the EST programme with a concern over resource use and a notion of Christian stewardship. As Catherine stated when asked why she became involved in WERG and undertook certain forms of energy saving conduct:

> *"It is the most basic issue about stewardship, that we are responsible for this planet and it's our responsibility to be good stewards ... I think that is primarily influenced by a Christian conviction. Yeah I think that is about as far as it goes really, so it is about stewardship ..."*
>
> (Catherine: WERG, Interview)

In this sense we can understand the Green Communities Programme as articulating with the existing *telos* of individuals. In other words, the programme came to be meshed with the ethical accomplishment that the members of WERG wished to achieve (Foucault, 1992: 27). For Doug and Catherine, involvement with WERG and energy saving conduct formed part of what it meant for them to be Christian. In regards to Den, however, involvement in WERG was linked to a move away from understanding himself as a failure, to one were he could consider himself ‘worthy’:

> *“I felt a failure as a child, I had a very unhappy childhood, I have always had a huge inferiority complex, I always come across as being confident. I am not. I am very, very lacking in confidence, and I have got to keep proving myself to myself that I am worthy …”*
>
> (Den: WERG, Interview)

For John, a doctor and ‘flaming atheist’, energy saving was rationalistic. This was in line with his atheism in the sense that for him moving away from a reliance on fossil fuels and saving money were rational in themselves. Yet, John’s involvement in WERG and energy saving was not only an element in an attempt at rationalism but also, and linked to his atheism, part of an effort to be completely autonomous and in control.

> *“I think as an atheist … you don’t expect others to sort the problems out, you go and get on and do it …”*
>
> (John: WERG, Interview)

Yet, the attempts to enact certain forms of existence through energy saving conduct would often hit both practical and contextual limits. As Catherine lived in a house that was owned by the Church it meant that she could only go so far in terms of the energy saving she could achieve:

> *“we don’t actually have control over this house anyway, so unfortunately it limits what we can do …”*
>
> (Catherine: WERG, Interview)

Energy saving is not only negotiated in the context of the physical and practical limits of household, but also with other members of that household (Hargreaves, 2009; Hargeaves, Nye & Burgess, 2010). Indeed, this aspect was evident during Doug's and John's interview.

> *"[My wife] has problems in the kitchen because we have got lights underneath the cupboards and they're these small florescent ones and … I am always saying "I think we are having those on too long" and "why don't you use the two above the table?" But it is something about the quality of the light that [my wife] finds – she needs to have those [on] …"*
>
> (Doug: WERG, Interview)

> *"Agas are one of the biggest energy wasters … and we have got one but I can't wean [my wife] off it because it best way of cooking there is … we don't waste energy, by and large, apart from the Aga, that is the one and only thing that really eats into my heart and I can't do anything about it"*
>
> (John: WERG, Interview)

The evident negotiation and articulation of energy saving with multiple ethics, practices, relations and contexts, brings us back to the governmentality literature. Much of this literature focuses on and generates ideal typifications of government derived from texts and hence places limited consideration on the 'outcomes' of governmental rationalities and programmes (O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997: 504). Even when considerations are made in relation to the outcomes of attempts to govern, they are frequently made with reference to resistance or contestation and passive acceptance (Cheshire, 2006: 114). However, Cheshire (2006) suggests that we should examine how programmes are translated and modified by the forces which they seek to contain. In a similar vein, we can draw conclusions about the outcomes of the Green Communities Programme as articulated through WERG. Thus, the outcomes of the Green Communities Programme within Wenfield are the result of the rationalities and aims of the programme meshing with already existing ethical competencies and practices, and are a result of the programme's insertion into practical and contextual limits. One further example may clarify this final point.

Catherine, as it has already been argued, came to undertake specific domestic energy saving behaviours in the home, but also re-articulated the discourse of energy saving through a notion of Christian stewardship. However, Catherine is not just a Christian,

she is also a lawyer who undertakes a commute by car of nearly one hundred miles a number of times a week. As part of a concern over the cost of the commute, and with reducing energy usage, she bought herself the most economical car she could in its class. Taken together, what is apparent in Catherine's case is the notion of energy saving being meshed with, and negotiated within a whole regime of ethics and practices: her position as a Christian (and associated ethics and practices), a tenant, as already noted, and a professional. Thus, the outcomes of (governmental) programmes should not only be conceived in relation to idealised schemes of government. Rather, the outcomes of such programmes are related to ways they become articulated with a whole regime of already existing ethics and practices.

Finally, while the EST predominantly conceives of energy saving in relation to the private domestic sphere, there also developed within WERG an attempt to tackle the contextual limits in which members of WERG undertook energy saving behaviours. In this regard, Wenfield is situated within a conservation area. Within such areas planning guidance stipulates that significant modifications to houses are not permitted. This includes the installation of double glazed windows. Some of the individuals in WERG started to question the logic of not being able to install double glazing in the context of an increasing emphasis on saving energy. In order to challenge this planning guidance, members of WERG invited the local planning officer to a meeting with residents of the area. At one point during the meeting the members of WERG showed the planning officer pictures of double glazed and non-double glazed windows in the area and asked the planner to identify which was which. According to some of the members of WERG he could not identify these correctly, undermining the position that double glazing has an effect on the appearance of the listed properties[46]. John concluded that this:

> "*may have shaken the planning department a bit, because they weren't expecting us to have photos*"
>
> (John: WERG, Interview)

[46] An argument used to reject planning applications for installing double glazed windows in conservation areas.

Despite the understanding that WERG was *"about changing behaviour, primarily"* (Catherine: WERG, interview), this challenge to planning regulations, while still focused on the domestic sphere, moves away from an understanding of energy saving as related to an individual's solicitude for private micro-practices. Rather, the focus of a concern for energy saving comes to include the regulatory and practical context in which individuals are situated. We could understand this as a broadening of the sphere of interest by the members of WERG, through which attention is paid not only to the domestic realm but also to the broader regulatory context.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter began by examining the specificity and the idealised typifications of the rationalities of the EST and the Green Communities Programme. It was argued that the rationalities of the EST share a similarity with the logics and rhetoric of the SBU. Here, the language of both the SBU and EST embed an understanding that certain environmental problems can be addressed through the way we choose to behave in the domestic sphere. Indeed, it was argued that the rationality, language, technologies and aspirations of the Energy Saving Trust are consistent with and linked to those of the SBU to such a degree that the Green Communities Programme can be used as an example of how behaviour change as governmental practice can unfold at the local level. Drawing on Foucault's notion of the practices of the self, this chapter came to understand behaviour change as embedding both *ethics* and *morals*. Through this understanding this chapter sought to explicate how behaviour change was made practical through a specific Green Communities initiative – WERG.

This chapter documented how WERG not only became the object of the Green Communities Programme, but also the ways in which it effectively became the conduit and instrument of the EST. However, this chapter has demonstrated that what emerged as the Green Communities Programme was articulated through WERG was not simply a realisation of the rationalities and aims of the EST. Hence, what this chapter has highlighted is the "the messy actualities of what actually happens" (O'Malley, Weir and Shearing, 1997: 509) when the logic of those seeking to govern 'hits the ground'. It has demonstrated how the Green Communities Programme, while arguably successful in some regards, was limited and modified by, inserted into and

meshed with already existing pragmatic concerns, social relations, ethical clusters and practices. It was through these processes that the Green Communities Programme and behaviour change shifted in, perhaps, "unexpected ways" (Rydin, 2007: 621; see also Miller and Rose, 1992: 190). However, this chapter has not addressed how successful WERG was from the perspective of its members or that of the 'programmers'. In the next chapter this thesis moves to examine this through exploration of the themes of resistance, contestation, reformation and failure.

Chapter 6. Limitation, Resistance and Reformation

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have sketched the contours of a governmental practice known as behaviour change. It has documented the development of a particular rationality of government and how it has been sought to be made technical. The previous chapters have explored how these attempts to govern have been successful, and yet have also revealed the messy actualities involved in the endeavour to meet particular aims through various technical means. In relation to the messy actualities of government, the previous chapters have hinted at moments of resistance, contestation and failure. However, in the following chapter these themes are explored more fully.

Government can be understood as a "failing operation", in which attempts to govern are punctuated by malfunction and reform (Higgins, 2004: 457). However, themes of resistance, contestation, failure and struggle have been underdeveloped within the literature relating to governmentality (McKee, 2011; O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997). This is strange considering that such aspects are linked to governmental and programmatic reformation and redesign (Miller & Rose, 1990: 88; O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997: 510-511). This lack of attention to themes of resistance, failure and so on, may stem from a tendency of governmentality literature to focus on "discursive governmentality" – by which it is meant the understandings of governmental forms as discerned or "manifest in key (government) documents" (McKee, 2009: 473). Hence, McKee (2009: 473) argues that we should pay attention to the "concrete 'art of governing'", in the sense that we should focus on the actualities of governing, rather than abstract and idealised understandings of government (O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997). Paying attention to the more concrete actualities of governing is important as history is not "a plan", but rather the collision of heterogeneous realities and strategies (Lemke, 2002: 56). In this sense the history of Defra's programmes and the Green Communities Programme is what is made when they collide and articulate with other strategies and realities.

Hence this chapter first considers WERG and the perceived 'failure' of WERG. The failure of WERG comes to be examined in relation to the make up of the organisation and the "messy actualities of social relations" (O'Malley, Weir and Shearing, 1997: 509) within Wenfield. This failure is examined in light of the members of WERG seeing themselves as the leadership within the village. Rather than solely due to apathy or resistance to the discourses of energy saving, failure is understood with reference to opposition to the exercise of leadership and to attempts to govern. Finally, the WERG section of this chapter finishes by briefly examining the reformation of WERG and the Green Communities Programme. However, we can only go so far with the WERG material. To more thoroughly explore the themes of reformation, resistance, contestation and limitation this chapter goes on to consider Defra.

In relation to Defra, this chapter seeks to highlight how, in spite of the apparent success of the translation process between Defra and the Third Sector, as argued in Chapter Four, Defra's programmes have malfunctioned and have been subject to contestation. As this chapter shows, following the contestations and limitations of earlier programmes, the SBU came to re-conceptualise how it saw its behaviour change programmes. In its latest programme, the GLF, the SBU put in place measures that it felt would negate or lessen the opportunities for malfunction and conflict. In light of this programme reformation this chapter accordingly goes on to examine the relations between Defra and the Third Sector. This then bring us to the idea of power.

It is through programmes that the 'governors' seek to bend others to their will. However, programmes can be seen, it is contended, as a meeting place for various strategies and realities. In this regard, if history is not a plan but rather the collision of strategies, then we can perhaps understand the history of behaviour change programmes as the outcome of a "multiplicity of force relations" (Foucault, 1990: 92). Thus, in regards to Defra's programmes, we should not only think about the unidirectional exercise of power and its counter strategy being resistance/contestation. Rather, "power is everywhere" (Foucault, 1990: 92), and it is not only the 'programmers' who seek to exercise power or govern. Programmes are also an opportunity for those usually understood as the objects of government to exercise power and actualise their aims. Hence, this chapter suggests that we should perhaps move away from a notion of Defra as being the only organisation or institution

seeking to govern. Indeed, the Third Sector itself actively tries to bend programmes to its own aims and ends. Finally, this chapter examines some of the relations in which the SBU itself is embedded and explores some of the criticism that it has faced. It notes how these criticisms have been responded to. However, in light of the ever increasing proliferation of interest in the concept of behaviour change, this chapter suggests that the SBU has lost discursive control of this notion. Subsequently, it is argued that we have seen (and will continue to see) an increasing propagation of the notion and practices of behaviour change. Indeed, it suggests that this proliferation has meant that, perhaps ironically, this form of government comes to be folded back onto government itself. Before, however, considering Defra, we return to WERG.

6.2 WERG and Green Communities: Failure and Reform

In some regards we can understand the Green Communities Programme, as articulated through WERG, as successful. As Scott argued, WERG represented a group of individuals committed to disseminating the message of energy saving within their community. The members of WERG, through their personal connections, managed to mobilise a number of volunteers on their, and the EST's, behalf. The group also implemented a number of projects and initiatives – from the school activities, to the Eco-Eye project, as well as organising numerous events. There was also evidence, as with similar initiatives (see Middlemiss, 2011), that engaging with the EST programme had stimulated behavioural changes, albeit mostly within the group itself.

> *"a major success has been going from nothing to having an active group of people doing activities… the energy monitors, the Eco-Eye parties, the more local engagement activity, work with the school … I think[also] a number of people from the group have been stimulated to take action themselves"*
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

However, as time progressed there was a distinct feeling that the programme, as articulated through WERG, had not been as successful as the various actors involved had hoped. In relation to Scott, the success of WERG partly revolved around the

number of energy saving household measures fitted[47]. However, working with and through WERG had not engendered the results Scott was looking for.

> *"if it were purely down to… my targets … it[WERG] hasn't been particularly successful in getting measures fitted …"*
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

This lack of measures was partly due to the low numbers of EST questionnaires returned by the residents of Wenfield. The return of these questionnaires was crucial for Scott, as they allowed him to contact individual households and offer particular measures. Hence, the low rates of return meant he could only offer a few households these measures. This low response rate was despite WERG mobilising local volunteers to deliver the questionnaires and the association of the survey with WERG through a covering letter. This lack of engagement with the EST surveys by the residents of Wenfield was also mirrored by a general sense that WERG had failed to engage the community.

> *"they [the members of WERG] seem to be frustrated about[the fact that] they can't seem to engage as many people as they envisaged …"*
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

Doug was particularly vocal in this regard and would often question why WERG had been unable to stimulate action in the village. To some degree it appeared that Doug took this lack of engagement as a personal slight and became more and more despondent. This lack of engagement was evidenced by Doug, and a number of others, in the low numbers of returned questionnaires that had been distributed within the village[48]. The poor turn out at events was also a sign for some that WERG had not engaged the community:

> *"we first of all set up an exhibition in the school, which … took us a long time to create … There were, I think, eight of WERG's members [at the*

[47] Insulation and so on.

[48] There were a number of surveys distributed. There was the EST survey distributed by volunteers. There was also an energy audit that was distributed with the Eco-Eye and through other channels. All of the return rates for the questionnaires were below 10%. This low return rate of the both questionnaires effectively meant that Scott could not approach households to offer them measures to be fitted and WERG could not demonstrate that their initiative had been a success as this relied on the questionnaire data.

exhibition] … do you know how many members of the community came to it? Three! Three from the whole village."

(Den: WERG, Interview)

The activities in the school where also considered by the members of WERG to be a partial success at best.

"I don't think it [the work in the school] achieved a lot …"

(John: WERG, Interview)

In examining similar community initiatives one finds that the establishment of a core of committed individuals, yet a failure to engage the community is not unique to WERG (see Trier & Maiboroda, 2009; Davies, 2002). Amongst the members of WERG the perceived failure to engage was often discussed in terms of the 'apathy' of the villagers and the difficulty in stimulating the residents into action. This apathy was discussed not only in relation to the work of WERG, but also with regard to a whole host of community activities in Wenfield. While apathy has been an explanatory factor for lack of engagement in similar initiatives (Peters & Fudge, 2008), this sense of non-engagement was also put down to another reason.

6.2.1 WERG: Elite Networks and Disconnection

Despite the image of the English village as unchanging, within rural areas there have been social, political and economic shifts. These changes have included shifts in 'leadership' within rural areas. The once dominant landed 'squirearchy' have recently come to be displaced by "in-migrant middle classes" (Woods, 1997: 454). These in-migrants, it is argued, come looking for the 'rural idyll' and tend to be articulate, knowledgeable and well educated. These attributes have been linked to the middle classes becoming influential in rural areas (Woods, 2005:48-50). Within this context Woods (2005) examined the emergence and workings of 'Elite Networks' in rural Somerset. Elite Networks are understood to be "clusters of individuals who hold positions of power and influence and are connected by social, personal or family ties" (Woods, 2005: 54). As such, these networks are often composed of individuals who regularly meet both socially and/or in an organisational capacity, and often play a variety of roles or undertake a number of functions within their locality.

The members of WERG, for the most part, knew each other previously either through being members, or involved in the running of, a variety of local clubs and organisations[49]. They could also be described as middle, or service, class (Doctors, Lawyers, Teachers etc) and the majority defined themselves as incomers into the area. Indeed, Catherine, who understood herself as an incomer, argued that many of the local clubs and organisations, a number of which she was a member, were often made up of significant numbers of in-migrants:

> *"I wonder if it is all or most organisations in Wenfield [in which] all the key figures will be incomers ..."*
>
> (Catherine: WERG, Interview)

Catherine argued that it was these incomers that provided the leadership for the community:

> *"you will find almost everything in the village is organised by outsiders, not by native villagers ... incomers are more likely to provide leadership and impetus for community projects than very local people and that is a feature throughout Wenfield, in every organisation"*
>
> (Catherine: WERG, Interview)

During the interviews with the members of WERG, there was a sense that this network of incomers tried to provide guidance for the residents of Wenfield. Indeed, in discussing the prevalence of particular individuals in many of the village activities and organisations, who also happened to be incomers, Catherine suggested that:

> *"you've got people in the world that just sit around doing nowt, you've got people who do stuff and there are people who will come along for the party"*
>
> (Catherine: WERG, Interview)

[49] Catherine was involved in the local church, linked to the local Labour party (and had run for office in the local elections) and connected to the Fair Trade movement in the area. Den and Doug were (non-practising) Masons and involved in the local music association. Doug was an active member of the local church, involved in the local school, ex-president of the local Rotary Club. Den was secretary of the local fishing club. John, the retired Doctor, had started a University of the Third Age in Wenfield. Den, Doug and John had also been the principal actors in the 'fight' against the gas company in Wenfield. All obviously knew each other before the start of WERG.

While not directly stated, it was clear that all of the WERG interviewees, as with Catherine, saw themselves, as individuals that 'do stuff'. In this regard the members of WERG could perhaps be understood as part of an influential network characterised by a significant numbers of 'service class' and in-migrants who are linked to a variety of social and voluntary organisations (Woods, 2005: 57). Or perhaps, more accurately, the members of WERG *understand themselves* as members of an incomer network in Wenfield, providing the village with leadership. In this regard we can understand WERG as a weaving of the Green Communities Programme with a network of individuals who saw themselves as a group of incomers providing direction within Wenfield. Yet, despite this sense that the members of WERG were providing leadership for the village, WERG concluded they had been unable to engage the community. This brings us to questions about the perceived nature of the incomer network and the community in which it is situated.

6.2.2 WERG: Divisions and Resistance

Much like divisions between the 'moneyed' and 'ordinary people' in Childerely (Bell, 1994), on spending time within Wenfield, despite the oft made invocation that the residents of Wenfield represent a community, the observer becomes aware of references made to a number of sub-divisions and distinct groupings. Speaking to Catherine's husband after a WERG event, he suggested that Wenfield was like a ship, it was small so everybody knew each other, yet it also had discrete alliances. He suggested that residents of the village had somewhat of an 'oriental' style deferential attitude which meant that the different networks of allegiance could live alongside one another without any open hostilities. This deferential attitude allowed for the maintenance of an image of an apparently unified community.

One of the obvious divisions alluded to in Wenfield was between the 'locals' and 'incomers'. This division was perceived to cause problems especially if the older residents of Wenfield thought the incomers were trying to take over the village:

> *"another thing about the old Wenfield residents … some of whom see the incomers as a separate entity and, you know, that can cause sort of small*

difficulties and so on if the old ones feel that they are being taken over by the incomers ...”

(Doug: WERG, Interview)

Indeed, when asked whether the perception that WERG represented a group of incomers may have impacted on the ‘locals’’ view of the initiative, John suggested that:

> *“Probably, yes ... most things in the village are run by people who have come in rather than locals, and it tends to be “well that’s the toffs’ organisation”. There is always a certain amount of local resentment, it wouldn’t be very prevalent, but it would be there ...”*
>
> (John: WERG, Interview)

From his perspective as an outsider, Scott felt that this division between the incomers and the locals was perhaps one of the factors behind the lack of engagement with WERG.

> *“It[non-engagement has] come up a few times. Part of the main issue is that although a lot of the people in the group have been living there a long time, they’re still maybe seen as incomers, they are not originally from Wenfield ... there is always a political history that comes on board with sort of community-wide projects which may, unfortunately, impinge on other community-wide projects ...”*
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

Despite some giving no-credence to this suggestion, non-engagement was understood as a function of this division and as part of a broader contestation aimed at the legitimacy of a group of incomers as an organising force within Wenfield. These quotes give us a sense that non-participation in WERG was not only conceptualised in terms of passivity, or apathy, but an active phenomenon in itself (Hayward, Simpson & Wood, 2004: 100). This could provide evidence that non-participation in WERG can be understood, drawing on Foucault’s words, in the more active terms of “resistance” (Foucault, 2003: 129). Indeed, it was understood that there was some active opposition to WERG as it potentially represented the policing of energy usage.

> *"people[in Wenfield] are a bit sceptical because you think "oh good God … it is going to be the police, it is going to be the police coming round saying put that light out" …*
>
> (Craig: Interview)

Hence, non-engagement was not linked to opposition to the notion of energy saving. Nor was it solely connected to apathy by those associated with WERG. Rather, it was linked to 'local' opposition to a network of incomers and the perception that WERG would involve the policing of energy usage. This brings us to a number of final points.

'Finding' divisions and contestations in communities is not new (see for example Liepins, 2000) and indeed goes back to critiques of early "community studies" (Brint, 2001: 6). But it is not the purpose of this chapter to point to these divisions and highlight this as a source of the programmatic failure. Rather it is to offer an insight into how, *in the minds of those involved*, the outcomes of the Green Communities Programme, in Wenfield, can be understood with reference to the programme's insertion into the division between incomers and locals in the village. However, the perceived failure to engage was not the end of WERG, but rather represented an opportunity for the development of new tactics which relied less on the engagement of the residents of Wenfield.

The sense of a lack of engagement did not deter members of WERG. Rather it simply renewed their attempts to actualise their aims and lead the village through WERG – albeit in different ways. Indeed, following the perceived inability of WERG to entice members of Wenfield to return their energy use questionnaires, the members of WERG turned to a more covert tactic – they simply tried to extract energy use information from the local energy companies thus bypassing the need to engage and convince those in the village to supply the information. The members of WERG also entered a national competition to fund the installation of solar panels on a community building. In this regard it appears WERG have moved away from trying to convince the residents of Wenfield to save energy and now seek to effect (energy saving) change on their own. Thus, through bypassing the other residents, these reformations allow WERG's members to continue to lead the village in energy saving without concern for apathy or contestation towards their leadership. However, it was not just

WERG that sought to reform its modes of operation; the Green Communities Programme itself became a sphere of renewal.

6.23 Green Communities: Programme Reformation

Following almost two years of ERC working with WERG, the Green Communities Programme was reformed. The programme came to focus more concretely around measures and referrals[50] through the narrowing of targets.

> *"this year now … it [the Green Communities Programme] is slightly different … in terms of targets, because all of our targets have been narrowed down now specifically to measures and referrals… we don't have a target to work with X number of communities …"*
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

Through these reforms, ERC no longer had to work with a certain number of community groups, but could, rather, engage with specific community based projects if it was thought these were potentially beneficial for ERC in terms of referrals and measures. These reforms of the programme were linked to the EST's overall measure of success: the demonstration of carbon emission reduction.

> *"certainly from an EST point of view [a measure of success] is kilograms of carbon saved"*
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

In this sense, the installation of measures was the easiest way to demonstrate success as the EST were able to quantify the amount of carbon saved from the number of measures fitted. However, Scott suggested that a number of aspects of the Green Communities Programme, before its reformation, had meant that it was not conducive to success in terms of such a metric. Firstly, the broad based community approach within the Green Communities Programme meant there was a tendency for attention to be diverted away from the measures aspects of the programme.

[50] ERC can claim a 'referral' when it passes on the details of someone looking to install energy efficiency measures in their home on to an installer, or installation scheme running in their area.

> *"in the past with the Green Communities Programme … as soon as you got involved and tied in [a community initiative], you know, you have got to spend time … getting involved in other things and doing different things, maybe get a bit diverted away from focusing purely on the measures aspect of it … And then the programme sort of changed to fit that …"*
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

This problem of getting diverted was connected to a parallel problem surrounding the quantification, in terms of carbon saving, of certain community activities. While the potential carbon savings of installing certain measures could easily be calculated, the more intangible aspects of community initiatives, like awareness raising and so on, were difficult to enumerate in terms of carbon dioxide.

> *"the other things that [the community] do, how do you quantify it in terms of carbon saving? … You know it is a bit more difficult, so I think this is why [the reformed Green Communities Programme] comes down to hard measures …"*
>
> (Scott: ERC, Interview)

This greater emphasis on 'hard measures' can be understood in relation to a perceived difficulty for broad based community approaches to focus on and deliver carbon savings. Hence, the Green Communities Programme appears to be a site of "critique and adjustment" (Miller & Rose, 1990: 88), in the sense that the programme, as originally designed, was to some degree seen not to be optimised in terms of the EST's objective of demonstrable carbon emission reduction.

Programming is a continuously failing operation (Higgins, 2004) with resistance and failure often the basis of programme reform and innovation (Miller & Rose, 1990: 88). We can understand WERG and the Green Communities Programme within this context. For those involved, WERG had to some degree failed, as evidenced in the lack of community engagement, the lack of measures fitted and the inability to quantify the amount of energy saved. This failure in turn feeds back into the programme, through the non-meeting of targets. In the light of such failures, and in an effort to optimise outcomes, the programme becomes a sphere of reform. It would, of course, be difficult to link directly the failure of WERG to the reformation of the Green Communities Programme. However, Scott's arguments in relation to the difficulties connected to working with community groups appears to suggest that

WERG's failure was taking place in the context of a broader critique of the programme. It is, unfortunately, difficult to understand exactly how the outcomes of the Green Communities Programme are linked to its reformation as there is no evidence available on the success or otherwise of the programme overall. However, by returning to Defra we may be able explore, a little more concretely, the themes of resistance, programme malfunction and reformation[51].

6.3 Defra: Limitation, Resistance and Reformation

While the previous section examined notions of limitation, resistance and reformation, in order to more fully understand such themes it is necessary to return to Defra. The following section considers success, malfunction and resistance in relation to Defra's early proto-behaviour change programmes. Later sections of this chapter examine how the problems of the EAF and EAC come to shape the way that Defra conceptualises its subsequent behaviour change programmes. However, before we explore these topics, we should revisit the 'success' of Defra and the translation process.

6.3.1 Alignment of Values?

In Chapter Four it was argued that Defra, through its behaviour change programmes, seeks to 'govern at a distance' by aligning the values, modes of thought and action of the Third Sector with that of its own. While it was suggested, by those in Defra, that there needed to be little alignment of values and ways of working, there were two principal mechanisms through which this alignment was ensured: funding and encouraging the use of Defra's evidence. In Chapter Four it was also suggested that through such mechanisms, Defra had been successful in aligning the values of the Third Sector with its own. Highlighting the success of Defra in engendering particular modes of thought and action within the Third Sector could ultimately lead to arguments which suggest that the Third Sector has to some degree become the "Shadow State" (Smith, 2010:61). Here the shadow state is understood as organisations that are "captured by the state while remaining separate from it;

---

[51] In the spring of 2011 funding was cut to the Green Communities Programme, meaning that the programme effectively came to an end.

whereby the sector actually reproduces the aims of the state … and moves away from their original missions or core beliefs" (Smith, 2010: 61). Such a reading could be supported by the comments made by Joseph, a senior member of one of the lead delivery partners in the EAC:

> *"Possibly too many [Third Sector] organisations, particularly some of the large national ones, position themselves in relation to government, rather than in relation to their members or local communities …"*
>
> (Joseph: Delivery Partner, Interview)

However, suggesting that through engagement with Defra, the Third Sector have become the shadow state would gloss over the limitations and resistances inherent within Defra's programmes and the constitutive role the Third Sector has played in the programmes themselves. To begin to explore this, we must examine some of the problems of Defra's early proto-behaviour change programmes. The following explores the limitations and forms of contestation inherent within Defra's earlier programmes. In doing so the final part of this section comes to question the ability of Defra to govern at a distance.

6.3.2 Evaluation, Limitation and Resistance

The Environmental Action Fund (EAF) has been previously described in this thesis as one of Defra's early proto-behaviour change programmes. From the initial conception of the EAF there was somewhat of a narrowing and recalibration in the aim and objectives of the programme. This shift could be understood by reference to the context in which the EAF started. The EAF started around the time in which the early work of the then virtual team was formalised with the publication of the *Scoping Report* (Defra, 2006a). In this regard, soon after the EAF began, the programme came to focus more concretely around the notion of behaviour change. This focusing of the fund was mirrored in an increasing emphasis put, within the programme itself, on evaluation. This came in the form of increasingly formalised efforts to not only quantify the actual 'amount' of behaviour change engendered by the projects under the EAF, but also to understand the effectiveness of certain behaviour change approaches. Or in the words of Robert, to generate 'learnings' (Robert: Defra, interview) about the mechanisms of Third Sector led behaviour change projects. This

increased emphasis on evaluation was, on Defra's behalf, part of an attempt to "get a better understanding of how the Third Sector projects might influence behaviour change" (Robert: Defra, interview). The generation of 'learnings' from the projects, however, was somewhat secondary to delivering and quantifying behaviour change. Yet, the focusing of the programme towards the dual purposes of engendering behaviour change and understanding behavioural change mechanisms meant that the EAF "hover[ed] a bit between 'are we about learning or are we about delivery …'" (Robert: Defra, interview).

The formalisation of evaluation within the EAF, as Robert saw it, was part of a "desire … to move beyond a description of having done lots of activities to really asking much harder questions about ... do we detect an effect?" (Robert: Defra, interview). Of course, it is difficult to pin point the 'origin' of this desire, but this could be more readily understood in the context of the deployment of social marketing within the SBU; a system of thought which places stress upon the evaluation of behaviour change initiatives (see NSMCE, 2005: 82). Indeed, such a stress on evaluation in social marketing would resonate within a department which has implemented an "extreme" form (Wilkinson, 2009: 154) of evidence-based policy making – one of whose core tenets is policy monitoring and evaluation (see Figure 26).

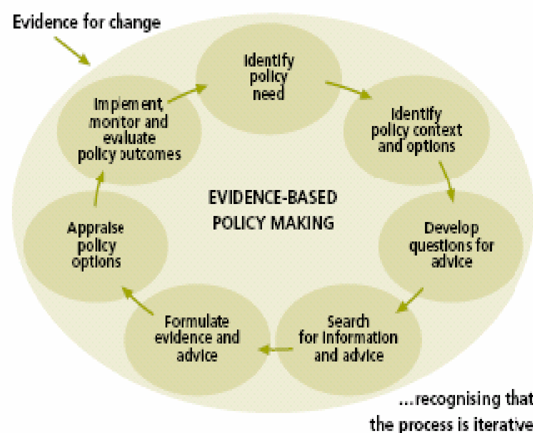


Figure 26: Defra's Policy Making Model (2003), taken from Wilkinson (2009: 52)

Reflecting the focusing of the EAF and the increased emphasis on evaluation, an independent consultancy company, Brook Lyndhurst, was called in to carry out a

programme level evaluation half way through the first year of the EAF. In order to undertake a robust evaluation of the programme as a whole, Brook Lyndhurst needed data from each project run by the delivery partners. Hence, this contracting of Brook Lyndhurst translated into the increase and formalisation of evaluation requirements for the Third Sector delivery partners. In this regard, while the delivery partners had, since the conception of the EAF, always been expected to provide some sort of evaluation of their activities, following the appointment of Brook Lyndhurst there was a shift in the evaluation guidelines and an increase in guidance given to the Third Sector delivery partners. This was evidenced in the publication of an *Evaluation Good Practice Handbook* (Rathouse, 2008) some two years after the beginning of the fund.

Despite the increase in evaluation guidance given to delivery partners, there was a sense, in the final programme level evaluation for the EAF, that the project evaluations had been poor. This emanated from arguments that the data supplied by the projects to underline the efficacy of their work had, in many cases, not been robust enough to support any direct conclusions (Cox et. al, 2009: 26). At a programme level this led to the conclusion that “it is difficult to establish a complete picture of what the funding outcomes have been” (Cox et. al, 2009: 32). Moreover, these poor evaluations were also linked to the lack of robust ‘learnings’ about Third Sector-led behaviour change initiatives, a secondary desired outcome of the evaluations for Defra.

The sense that the project evaluations had, for the most part, been unable to demonstrate success, or produce robust ‘learnings’, was, within Defra, attributed to three factors. Firstly, the increased emphasis placed on evaluation after the EAF started, meant that the funds and time needed to do the evaluation had not been factored into the original contract. This led to the conclusion that poor evaluation on the part of the delivery partners was partly down to “limited resources (time and money)” (Cox et. al, 2009: 32). Secondly, it was suggested that many of the Third Sector organisations did not have the capacity or skills to do robust and effective evaluations.

> *“The core problem, and as I say the people doing these projects are brilliant at actually doing the project, but evaluation is a different type of skill set”*
>
> (Clare: Defra, Interview)

Thirdly, there was an understanding that some of the delivery partners had resisted, or been deliberately obscure and obstructive in relation to their project evaluations. This was related to the sense that the Third Sector organisations would not want to expose their project failings to Defra, despite assurances that a lack of success would not negatively reflect upon the organisation.

> *"am I going to really honestly tell you as the person running this project, am I going to tell you "well we tried that, that and that and none of it worked". No, I am not going to tell you that am I, am I going to tell you about the bit that worked"*
>
> (Clare: Defra, Interview)

This sense that the Third Sector were unwilling to disclose their weaknesses was, it was thought, compounded by the fact that the purpose of the evaluation in the EAF had 'hovered' between 'learnings' and the quantification of success.

> *"if you are a project leader and you are trying to build up a reputation for delivery then you haven't got any great incentive to expose your weaknesses, so it is quite hard to have a straight forward open evaluation when the emphasis is more on, in your mind, is more on delivery and showing a track record [rather than] on saying this didn't work and so forth. [So] you could say that we were trying to do too many things at once ..."*
>
> (Robert: Defra, Interview)

This perceived inability of the EAF evaluations to produce robust data in relation to either 'actual' behaviour change engendered or indeed proper project level 'learnings' later went on to have a substantial impact on the subsequent Greener Living Fund (GLF). But before this is explored, we will return to one of Defra's other early proto-behaviour change programmes, the EAC, and explore some of the other issues raised.

6.3.3 Delivery, Limitation and Resistance

The EAC, was not, in the words of Peter, "considered a success, or not an unbridled success anyway …" (Peter: Defra, interview). The EAC, which had started after the EAF, had 'built in' evaluation requirements at the beginning of the fund, with a

programme level evaluation this time being run by CAG consultants. However, the lack of success of the EAC is not linked to poor evaluation, as in the EAF, but rather a failure to deliver. Two of the key aspects of the programme were the recruitment of community champions and community groups onto the EAC programme through the Third Sector delivery bodies. While the Third Sector organisations involved in the EAC managed to recruit two thirds of the target numbers of community champions, "one of the big gaps [was] the community involvement … there [was] zero delivery on that" (John: Defra, interview). This sense that there was almost 'zero delivery' on the involvement of small groups came from the fact that, for example, only a small number of voluntary community groups signed up to the EAC or undertook an evaluation of their actions.

These problems in delivery were partly due, it was argued, to the inability of some the larger Third Sector organisations to cascade the behaviour change messages down to their members. This was related to a suggestion that Third Sector organisations could often be classified into two separate categories that were "two very different beasts" (Joseph: Delivery Partner, interview). The classification revolved around the extent to which the central node of the organisation could disseminate messages out to its membership. Some of the Third Sector organisations, it was argued, were member led and hence the central organisation would have difficulty in directing its local members and affiliates. The other type of Third Sector organisation was led by the central node, meaning it was easier for them to direct their members.

However, the limitations of the programme were not only attributed to the structure of the organisations tasked with delivery, but also to a reluctance of the Third Sector organisations to fully align their goals with that of the programme.

> *"We [Defra] said … it is up to you as this organisation to deliver these changes in communities and people, and I don't think that they understood that part of it, because I think they liked [some] aspects of [the programme] and they did very well in the bits of it that fitted with what the internal drivers of the organisations were, I thought …"*
>
> (John: Defra, Interview)

Going further, there was a sense that the Third Sector had not only been reluctant to fully align its goals with those of Defra, but had also been actively resistant to delivering some parts of the programme.

> *" there was a lack of engagement of some of the environmental organisations... they felt somewhat resentful at, I think, some of the advice given which had come from Defra, they disagreed with some of it, so there was a sense "oh we don't want to be seen delivering that" ..."*
>
> (Joseph: Delivery Partner, Interview)

This resistance could be linked to a more general contestation to the form and content of Defra's behaviour change delivery model. In connection to the programmes of Defra, the emphasis was very much on alignment of values and 'stepping back' to enable the Third Sector to deliver. This stepping back would allow the sector to remain innovative, independent and trusted – qualities that Defra needed for successful programme delivery. Such an approach was based on the notion of the Third Sector being:

> *"delivery partners where you basically say 'this is what we want to do in general terms' and then the sector comes to you with ideas. So we are not specifying in detail what we want, we are just saying, you know, "this is about behaviour change" ... It is not tightly specified by us."*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

This rhetoric of stepping back and allowing the sector to deliver was also found in connection to the EAC programme:

> *"We [Defra] said " we want behaviour change" and we've said "it is up to you to tell us how to do that" ... and it was the same with [the EAC], it was this thing of stepping back saying it is up to you as this organisation – EAC – to deliver these changes in communities and people"*
>
> (John: Defra, Interview)

However, the experience of being 'delivery partners'[52] for some Third Sector organisations did not match the rhetoric. Here Joseph agues that despite a fairly broad consultation at the initial conception of the EAC:

> *"what kind of popped out of Defra into the public domain was "we want to run a programme, it will target these different organisations, it will do so in this manner, there will be this kind of weighting between the different strands of work". You know it was prescribed ... Essentially they were asking for people to come and deliver something that had been defined down to the branding, everything, messaging. It was Defra saying we have got some messages which we want to give to these specific community organisations and we are looking for a route to deliver them – come be the route ... That caused enormous issues for the organisations involved ... There was a sense that it was a large corporate programme being rolled out."*
>
> (Joseph: Delivery Partner, Interview)

This frustration over the prescribed nature of the Third Sector's role could be understood as a form of contestation towards the perception that the Third Sector was being utilised as an instrument in the exercise of government (Cheshire, 2006: 103), despite the rhetoric of independence. However, there was a further area of contestation: Defra's particular conception of behaviour change.

> *"we talked a lot, a lot about this amongst the sector and amongst those delivering [the EAC], about what, what it was about [the EAC] that was so hard, or felt so inappropriate ... Defra ... has a particular model of behaviour which is about consumer behaviour and effecting purchasing decisions, it identifies people very narrowly on [the level] of individual domestic behaviour and purchasing, and it sees the voluntary community sector as a mechanism to get its messages to individuals, and it misses, largely, the sense of what collective action is about, the fact that people come together, not because they are asked to by government, [but] because they want to change something in society, in their neighbourhood*
>
> (Joseph: Delivery Partner, Interview)

For Joseph, Defra disseminated a particular form of action and self which left out more collective and radical understandings of personhood and conduct. Articulated further, Joseph saw community not as a locus through which the modification of

[52] This is perhaps strange as the term 'delivery partners' paints a particular role for the Third Sector that is hardly active or co-constructive.

individual domestic conduct is made possible, but rather a sphere in which people are able to:

> *"affect social change, quite often to challenge and undermine existing economic models. So, you know, people are setting up farmers' markets, not because Defra are telling them to eat healthy food, they are doing it because they resent the big supermarket that has just got built up outside the town ..."*
>
> (Joseph, Delivery Partner, Interview)

This potential to affect social change was the 'real value' of community for Joseph, but also the source of the reluctance of Defra to go beyond its narrow conception of community, community action, personhood and conduct.

> "*Government find it hard [to support community efforts to affect social change as] generally they arise out of an antagonism to the kind of paradigm which is either market or government driven, and usually one supporting the other. And you know, government struggles to get their heads around "how do we support the stuff like that", because it fundamentally challenges an awful lot of what the economy is based on*"
>
> (Joseph, Delivery Partner, Interview)

These contestations within the EAC place the notion that Defra was effectively able to translate its values and modes of thought into that of the Third Sector in doubt. In reference to the previous chapters, Defra is able, to some degree, to engender particular forms of action by the Third Sector through its programmes. Yet, it appears the content and form of Defra's behaviour change delivery model, within its programmes, are areas of contestation and resistance. However, while this could be understood as 'externally' derived resistance to the aims and rationalities of Defra, one must also pay attention to the internal fissures within "programmes of rule" (O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997: 511). Within Defra itself there was some questioning of Defra's emphasis on individual behaviour change and its potential to really make changes.

> *"what I think, is that getting people to change their behaviour ... boiling a half full kettle rather than a full kettle and all that, is pissing in the wind if you just look at it from the actual carbon or whatever ... it is insignificant, and a lot of people feel that, individuals feel that"*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

From Peter's point of view, the real benefit of these programmes was not the actual behaviour change, but the potential to create space in which political action could be taken.

> *"The real benefit of all of that work is you create a different environment. So if everybody is thinking about "how much water shall I put in my kettle" [it makes it] easier for government to come in and ... make a big change ... So the real win is not the CO2 saved, it is the environment that changes, the way people think that changes, and that enables politicians to make big decisions ..."*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

Defra's programmes' focus on individual domestic-level behaviour change, Peter felt, was "missing the point … really" (Peter: Defra, interview). This ambiguous stance by Peter and the (external) contestation towards the programmes of Defra highlights the multiplicity of voices and discourses of those actors subject to government and also "within rule itself" (O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997: 505). Such recognition of internal fissures challenges the tendency for governmentality studies to rely on text-based studies which see government as internally consistent, coherent and of singular purpose (O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997: 513). While the internal contestation to Defra's model of behaviour change is of interest, the external contestation suggests that the Third Sector was not wholly submissive to Defra. It is important to understand and recognise these external forms of resistance and contestation as it is these that are theorised to be a source of governmental and programme failure, reconfiguration and reform (Miller & Rose, 1990: 8; O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997). Yet, while these instances of resistance and non-alignment could be understood as the mechanisms behind the problems of the EAC, it is not the purpose of this thesis to document the 'real' causal relationships leading to programmic malfunction. Rather, it is simply to demonstrate, at this point, that the early programmes of Defra were a source of contestation and resistance and were judged to have not been as successful as hoped.

6.3.4 Governing at a Distance?

The perceived difficulties of the two early proto-behaviour change programmes left somewhat of a sour taste for Defra. It was felt that Defra had been unable to align the problems, goals and principles of the Third Sector with that of its own. This could provide evidence of Defra's difficulty in governing at a distance and "count[ing] on a particular way of thinking and acting" (Miller & Rose, 1990: 84) within the Third Sector itself. Indeed, following the apparent limitations of the EAC and EAF, there was a sense that Defra simply gave Third Sector organisations:

"money and [then] they do their own thing"
(Peter: Defra, Interview)

It was this sense that the Third Sector was doing its 'own thing' that led to the reformation of how Defra conceptualised its behaviour change programmes and funding. Part of this reformation was linked to an effort to discipline the Third Sector within Defra's subsequent programme: the GLF.

6.4 Defra: Learning, Delivery and Programme Reformation

The early proto-behaviour change programmes and their outcomes form the basis upon which subsequent programmes were built[53]. Following the EAC and the EAF there was a re-thinking and restructuring of Defra's programmes. While these shifts no doubt took a myriad of forms, the following section will examine two of the more prominent (interconnected) themes: the splitting of the behaviour change funding and the increasing emphasis on delivery and evaluation.

6.4.1 Splitting the Fund: Learning and Delivery

It was partly due to the problems surrounding the earlier evaluation processes that led to the reconfiguration of the spending on behaviour change programmes into two core streams: the Action Based Research and Small Scale Pilots (ABRSSP) fund and a

[53] Indeed the following programme, the GLF, was "built on the lessons learned" from earlier programmes (Defra, undated c: 2)

fund that came to focus around delivery and impact (see Figure 27). As noted in Chapter Four the ABRSSP strand was designed to test and calibrate pilot behaviour change initiatives before these initiatives were either dropped or rolled out at a national level. To facilitate this testing, each of these pilots would have independent and properly 'specced' research and evaluation component. While the ABRSSP strand focused on testing behaviour change approaches, in contrast, the second stream of funding focused around impact and delivery and was designed to roll out tried and tested behaviour change initiatives at a national level through large Third Sector delivery organisations. Within this second impact and delivery strand, the project level evaluations were to be the responsibility of the delivery partners themselves, while the fund level evaluations would be carried out by an independent consultant[54].

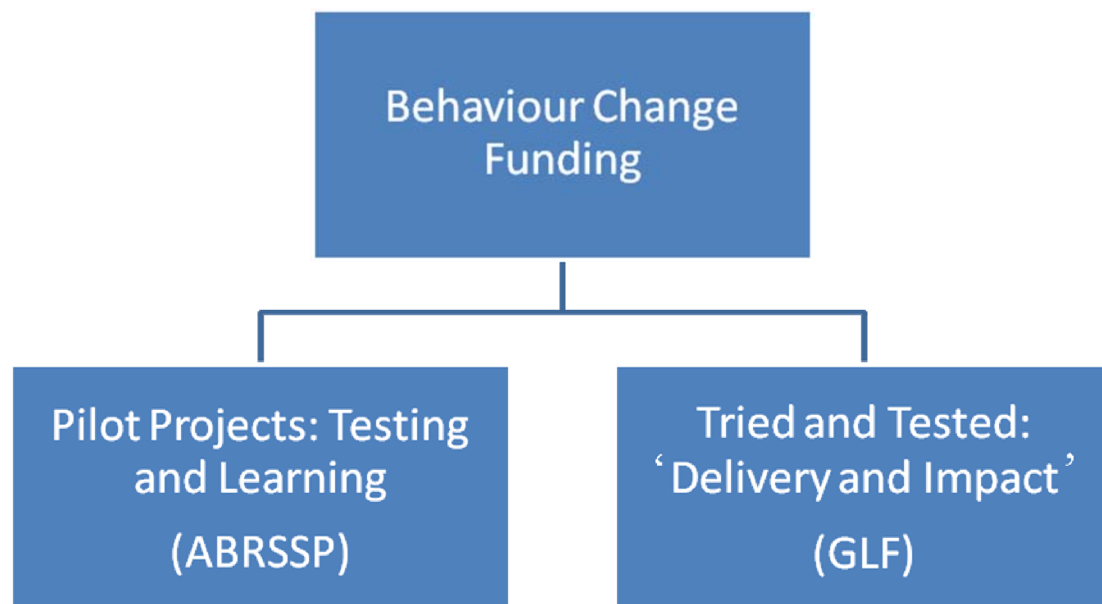


Figure 27: Diagrammatic Representation of the Reconfiguration of the Behaviour Change Funding Stream, Author's Diagram

This reconfiguration of the funding of behaviour change initiatives was partly an attempt to separate and simplify the objectives and aims of the previous proto-behaviour change programmes. In this regard, unlike the dual purpose of the EAF, one funding stream would focus purely on testing and learning and the other would centre solely on impact. The rationale for setting up a separate stream of funding

[54] As in the EAF and EAC.

aimed at testing and learning with independent evaluators was partly that this structure was understood to eradicate the incentive for Third Sector organisations, who were delivering the project, to be obstructive in the evaluation of the initiatives. However, this reconfiguration of behaviour change funding still left Defra with a problem – how to ensure that those being contracted to deliver under the impact and delivery strand, did not simply ‘do their own thing’. It is in the GLF, Defra’s latest behaviour change programme funded under the impact and delivery funding stream, that we see the attempts to answer this problematic.

6.4.2 Auditing: Self-Regulated Autonomy, Discipline and Capacity

> *“The GLF was designed, I feel, in an environment where there was a feeling that we had given all this money to these Third Sector organisations and they were just doing their own thing basically”*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

> *“I think there was definitely a sense [following the EAC and EAF] of … you know, it could be characterised as kind of government saying ‘well you know, we give you [the Third Sector] the money and then you go off a do whatever the hell you want and so we are going to put something in place to make sure that you don’t do that and that you are kind of accountable’”*
>
> (Joseph: Delivery Partner, Interview)

As previously noted, following the EAC and EAF, there was a feeling that, despite being given money to deliver Defra’s aims and objectives, the Third Sector had ‘gone off and done its own thing’. Despite the reformulation of behaviour change funding, this did not, in itself, nullify the potential of the Third Sector, within the GLF, to reform the programme to its own ends. It was through the ramping up of evaluation, targets and delivery requirements in the GLF that Defra sought to more effectively govern the conduct of the Third Sector and instil a particular form of thought and action.

This increased emphasis on targets, goals and evaluation, within the GLF, can be understood with reference to the ‘audit society’ (Power, 2000: 112). Audits, perceived as forms of monitoring and measurement in relation to specific goals and targets (Shore, 2008: 280), are supported and driven by political demands and rationalities

that appear benign and almost incontestable: notably, improvements in efficiency and accountability (Power, 2000: 113; Shore, 2008: 281). Yet, audits could also be understood as one of the key mechanisms, in advanced liberal governmentalities, "for governing at a distance" (Rose, 1999a: 154). Here audits are part of a broader trend of "autonomization and responsibilization" (Rose, 2000a: 1400) within advanced liberalism, in the sense that audits seek to create systems of "regulated self-regulation" within the targeted actors (Shore, 2008: 281). Hence audit arrangements afford actors, who are subject to them, "formal independence" (Rose, 1999a: 154) and autonomy. Yet, the requirement to meet goals and targets and for measurement and monitoring, seeks to induce a form of responsibilised self-regulation within actors subjected to an audit process. This is because the conduct of the audited comes to be judged, by themselves and others, in relation to targets and goals vis-à-vis the monitoring process. While audits could be understood with reference to advanced liberalism, they could also be decoded by drawing parallels to Foucault's (1991b) notion of discipline. In this regard, through audits, an actor's conduct (and the outcomes of that conduct) is measured with reference to the norms inherent within the goals and targets of an audit. Moreover, the actors subject to audit are often situated within a field of punishment and reward, where success in meeting targets qualifies reward, and failure, punishment (see: Shore, 2008: 278). In this sense those actors subject to an audit who do not regulate their own conduct in the manner required of them can become the object of remedial measures. In light of this theory we may be able to interpret the increased emphasis on targets and evaluation in the GLF more satisfactorily.

The GLF marked somewhat of a shift in the conceptualisation of Defra's behaviour change programmes.

> *"[The EAC] was a much more freer type approach … and the evaluation showed that it didn't produce the outcomes that it was supposed to produce … [The] GLF is much more, obviously, much more tightly monitored, it is not looking at … collective activity … it is looking at the behaviour of individuals"*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

Defra's earlier programmes (EAF and EAC) represented a rather un-regimented approach, and hovered between delivery and learning. However, within the GLF, leading from the notion that the programme was about the roll out of initiatives that were known to have worked, there was an almost sole emphasis placed on delivery and actually changing behaviour "in line with target expectations" (Brook Lyndhurst, 2009: 51)[55]. This emphasis on impacts was coupled with an increase in monitoring requirements for the Third Sector delivery partners. These increased evaluation requirements were in order to ensure that each partner could effectively demonstrate that the target 'amount' of behaviour change had taken place. Indeed, each delivery partner and project was to be judged on a scale of zero to seven on both the 'amount' of behaviour change engendered and the quality of the behaviour change data collected by the delivery partners (Brook Lyndhurst, 2009). In order to ensure that the GLF delivery partners were able to produce robust evaluations – and hence demonstrate that they had engendered the amount of behaviour change required – Defra devised an array of evaluation requirements. These included the need for 'baseline' evaluations[56] and 'follow up'[57] assessments, as well as a list of compulsory and recommended questions that the delivery partners were to include in questionnaires that were sent to people taking part in an initiative.

Such audits, as found in the GLF, are effective because they "create patterns of accountability" (Rose, 1999a: 154) and foster "self-managing local centres" (Dean, 2010: 198). They seek to ensure that actors become accountable to themselves and others. This is achieved as the audits form a reflective technology which ensures the conduct of an actor is brought under the auspices of its own cognition and judged, via monitoring, in relation to sets of goals and targets. Such mechanisms seek to govern at a distance by bringing the objectives, aims and conduct of those subject to the audit in line with that of 'the governor'. Indeed, as Joseph, in talking about the increased evaluation and delivery requirements, put it:

[55] There of course were other criteria of the fund. However, the core focus was on 'delivery' and behaviour change as evidenced in the core criteria of the programme. These criteria were "delivery of outputs, audience reach, audience engagement, claimed behavioural change and actual behavioural change" (Brooklyndhurst, 2009: 52).
[56] Evaluations which charted people's behaviour before an initiative
[57] An assessment of the people's behaviour after an intervention

> *“[evaluation puts] undue pressure on the mission of the organisation, so you end up delivering to somebody else’s agenda”*
>
> (Joseph: Delivery Partner, Interview)

The increase in evaluation requirements and the setting of targets could be understood as mechanisms through which Defra, following the perceived limitations of the previous programmes, sought to more effectively govern at a distance. It was through these mechanisms that Defra sought to negate potential resistance and instil particular ways of thinking and acting within the Third Sector organisations delivering the GLF. Yet, while this auditing process could be thought of in terms of constraint, there was also a productive aspect to it.

Foucault (1980b) suggests that power is not to be considered as wholly repressive but also productive in the sense that it not only constrains but “produces things” (119). Moreover, techniques of power which are productive, rather than restrictive, are less costly, less risky and less likely to induce resistance (Foucault, 1980b: 119). The increased emphasis on auditing, evaluations and targets with the GLF, understood as the exercise of power by Defra, could equally be seen as repressive. This is because these mechanisms seek to constrain the possibilities of conduct of the Third Sector. While the increased evaluation requirements did lead to some resistance in the form of “some kicking and screaming at the beginning of GLF from the Third Sector organisations” (Peter: Defra, interview), in order to lessen the resistance to this exercise of power, the productive nature of the evaluations was stressed. In this sense the increased evaluation requirements were not only framed in terms of the how they “help[ed] Defra justify and improve similar programmes in the future” (Brook Lyndhurst, 2009:3), but also how they were productive and beneficial for the Third Sector delivery partners themselves.

> “Evaluation is crucial to success, helping you to monitor progress, improve and fine-tune your outputs as you go along, and learn from your experiences … it [evaluation] can prove a powerful tool in securing further funding and improving the effectiveness of future projects”
>
> (Brook Lyndhurst, 2009: 3)

Moreover, it was not just that evaluations themselves which were argued to be of benefit, but also the acquirement of the 'capacity' and 'skills' to evaluate which were presented as positive.

> *"I do think that [Third] sector organisations, for their own benefits, need to be evaluating more, making themselves better. So by participating in a programme where evaluation is very strong, that is a benefit to them"*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

It seems this discourse of self-improvement did indeed reduce resistance, as this rhetoric was reproduced within the sector itself.

> *"the sector has not been very good at monitoring and kind of measuring and proving what it does… and that it needs to be able to do, not just for government, but for itself. [It needs to] be able to manage, to be able to actually maximise its impact, like if you are not measuring what you are doing then how do you make it better? How do you know where to put your priorities and assets? [Evaluation also allows you to] to report back to other funders, to service users: "actually, this is what we are doing and we are doing this very well …"*
>
> (Joseph: Delivery Partner, Interview)

In order to boost the monitoring skills and capacities of the Third Sector in the GLF, Defra deployed a whole array of resources. These included: a number of workshops, another consultant to act as 'call on support' for the Third Sector project evaluations and a booklet which reads almost like a crash course in social science research methods and methodologies (Brook Lyndhurst, 2009). While framed as beneficial for the Third Sector, the building of monitoring capacities, through these mechanisms, may serve a further purpose for Defra. Dean (2010) argues that before autonomous, 'free' actors can exercise their own responsible self-government, they need to be "guided [and] moulded into one capable of responsibly exercising that freedom" (193). In this light, these evaluation resources, then, sought to shape, guide and mould the Third Sector into an actor capable of exercising their own self-government. They help create self-managing and responsible autonomous non-state actors. In this sense the auditing and monitoring processes within the GLF would only 'work' as an indirect mechanism of government if the Third Sector had the capacities to monitor their own conduct in the manner that was required of them.

Following the problems, forms of resistance and contestation in the earlier programmes, the increased emphasis on auditing in the GLF, then, can be understood as a mechanism through which to govern the behaviour of the Third Sector. In line with advanced liberal rationalities of rule, these audit processes sought to ensure that the Third Sector's goals and aims were effectively aligned with those of Defra. They attempted to direct conduct through the exercise and incitement of the Third Sector's own self-regulatory mechanisms. In a sense, these auditing processes were part of an effort to construct within the sector a form of 'regulated self-regulation'. However, before the sector was capable of exercising this regulated self-regulation, it needed the skills and capacities to do so. It was here that Defra deployed a whole host of resources which sought to build actors capable of monitoring and regulating their own conduct in line with the rationalities of Defra. However, to lessen the potential resistance of Third Sector bodies to this increased emphasis on monitoring, the productive and beneficial aspects of this reconfiguration were stressed.

Reconfigurations of programmes, such as the increased emphasis on targets and monitoring, then, are part of a cycle of "experiment, invention, failure, critique and adjustment" (Miller & Rose, 1990: 88). In this regard, the limitations, resistance and contests inherent within the earlier proto-behaviour change programmes should not only be conceptualised in terms of the closing down of the exercise of government. Rather they should be understood as productive (O'Malley, 1996; O'Malley, Weir & Shearing, 1997). Such phenomena create a space for, and "trigger[] the process of re-thinking and reconstructing programmes" (O'Malley, 1996: 311). Yet, to more fully understand the GLF, EAC and EAF, one must examine the broader power dynamics and relations within Defra, and between Defra and the Third Sector.

6.5 Defra: Programmes, Delivery Partners and Power

The increased emphasis on monitoring within the GLF can not only be understood with reference to the limitations of the earlier programmes, but also in relation to a number of other factors. It could be linked to the extreme form of evidence-based policy within Defra which places weight on evaluation and monitoring. It could also be made sense of in the light of the stress placed on monitoring in social marketing, a

key intellectual technology being utilised by those involved in the GLF. However, the stress placed on demonstrating success within the GLF may be connected to the pressure that the staff in the SBU felt to justify the spending of public money both to the Defra minister and the public themselves.

> *"obviously as Defra, we couldn't have the minister stand up in parliament if questioned on a particular grant that was awarded and say 'well the West Witton Flower Group tried really hard to deliver world peace but ultimately they failed and used the money to fund a day trip to Gatwick Zoo, which the organisation found very useful'"*
>
> (John: Defra, Interview)

> *"From Defra's point of view [it's] public money ... which has to be accounted for, it's our money, so our citizens have the right to say how you spend their money, you know, justify it"*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

This pressure to justify the spending of money through demonstrating success was perhaps compounded by the publication of a report by the Taxpayers Alliance following a Freedom of Information request (TaxPayer's Alliance, undated). This report, in rather negative terms, assessed a previous environmental programme run by Defra[58] - the Climate Challenge Fund (CCF) (see: Brook Lyndhurst, 2008). This report also featured in an article by the Daily Mail, which was equally negative in terms of the "money squandered" on the programme (Doughty, 2010). Thus, the combination of these factors suggest that the increased emphasis on delivery, impacts and monitoring, as found in the GLF, should be considered with reference to a myriad of forces: resistance and limitations within Defra's earlier programmes; the emphasis on monitoring in evidenced-based policy and social marketing; as well as the broader connections and (power) relations within which the GLF, and those responsible for the GLF, are situated. In this sense the 'programmers' – those directly working on the GLF – are situated in broader discourses and relations and are subject to affective forces themselves. There is one final consideration to be made in relation to the development of Defra's behaviour change programmes and that is the power relations between Defra, the Third Sector and other non-state actors.

[58] The CCF was originally run by Defra but was moved to DECC in 2008.

6.5.1 The Play of Forces

One may suggest, with perhaps due justification, that it has been argued within this thesis that Defra seeks to capture and bend particular actors to its will, notably Third Sector organisations. But perhaps before we get caught up in what could be called "the sovereign-subject metaphor" (Lockie, 2002: 280), where power is understood to be exercised solely by an institution, person or group over others (Foucault, 1990: 92), we should more carefully consider the power relations between the Third Sector and Defra. While it has been evidenced that the exercise of power on the behalf of Defra has been met not only by success, but also resistance and contestation, a dominant theme in this thesis has perhaps been that Defra exercises all the power and that at best, the Third Sector can resist or contest. Could we, however, perhaps suggest that the Third Sector exercises power and may have, in fact, captured Defra and its programmes and bent them to its will? Such an understanding might be productive. In fact, far from understanding power as being held by one actor who solely dominates others, Foucault understands that "power is everywhere" (Foucault, 1990: 93). For Foucault, power is something that cannot be 'held', but rather exercised from numerous points (Foucault, 1990: 94). Indeed, power should be examined in terms of a "multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate" (Foucault, 1990: 92). Thus, one should be attentive to the play of forces between actors (Foucault, 2003). Such a perspective may make more sense if we interrogate, firstly, the economic relations between Defra and the Third Sector.

We could understand power as immanent within the economic relations that Defra has with the Third Sector (see: Foucault, 1990: 94). Here, Defra exercises power through its ability to mobilise financial incentives. Indeed, apart from the opportunity to exercise influence, one of the main reasons that the Third Sector engages with Defra's behaviour change programmes "is money" (Peter: Defra, interview). In this regard, at the beginning of any programme the relations of power are heavily structured towards Defra, as Peter explains:

> *"[At the beginning of a programme] you go into a room and negotiate a contract, you have got officials on that side of the table [for whom] if the fund doesn't go ahead, it is going to cause some discomfort, but they are not going to lose their jobs. [On the other hand] you have got a bunch of*

> *people on this side of the table from the Third Sector, [and] if they don't get this money they will have to make staff redundant next month. That is the difference. So the power in that situation is with officials, with government"*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

Indeed, the exercise of power, by Defra, through this economic relationship, continues to some degree throughout their programmes. If the delivery partners are not meeting their targets, they can be disciplined by Defra through the withdrawal of funding. Thus, targets and audits seek to affect, as noted earlier, autonomisation and responsibilisation. However, those actors subject to an audit process which do not exercise their autonomy in the responsible fashion may be the target of remedial measures.

> *"when you are funded and you are having to report back on a quarterly basis and you are not meeting those targets there is a real sense of 'God funding is going to be pulled' ..."*
>
> (Joseph: Delivery Partner, Interview)

However, while Defra technically have the option of pulling funding if an organisation is believed not be delivering, in 'reality' it was felt that once the initial contracts were signed, the power dynamic between the Third Sector and Defra switches.

> *"as soon as the contract is signed, it flips, because now the power is with the Third Sector, 'cause they have got the money. It is going to be very difficult for [Defra] ... to stop the contract, because of all the negative publicity, so you get that power flip on the signing of the contract ..."*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

This fear of negative publicity comes from the perception that the Third Sector were conceived, by the public, as "voluntary organisations doing nice things by nice people" (John: Defra, interview). Hence cutting funding, or in extreme cases asking money to be returned, "would look a bit dim" (John: Defra, interview). In this sense the Third Sector is able to, once the contract is signed, exercise power vis-à-vis the perception that it does "nice things by nice people". In other words with Defra reluctant to cut funding due to this perception, the Third Sector can attempt, more

effectively, to align programmes with their own aims and rationalities. However, even at the beginning of a programme, the power relations are more ambiguous than first thought[59].

> *"[At] the start of the programme … government will want to justify the money and therefore will want "these outcomes", and [after some negotiation] the Third Sector will sign the contract, but … it doesn't mean they agree to those outcomes, they just know if they don't sign on that day they are not going to get the money …"*
>
> (Peter: Defra, Interview)

This sense that the Third Sector sometimes feign alignment to the aims and objectives of Defra is compounded by Joseph's argument that the Sector often "dress themselves" (Joseph: Delivery Partner, interview) in the rhetoric of government in order to maximise funding opportunities and to secure and maintain leverage and influence within the sphere of the state. Here, one gets the sense of the strategic nature of these relations and of the exercise of power (Foucault, 2003: 142). Each actor employs certain strategies in its interaction with the other "in order to have the advantage over [the] other[]" (Foucault, 2003: 142). But, can we move beyond understanding the relations between the Third Sector and Defra in terms of power? Would it be better to think of these relations in terms of government?

"The exercise of power is the 'conducts of conducts'", and can be re-conceptualised as government (Foucault, 2003: 138). Understood in this light, what we see, looking at the relations between Defra and the Third Sector more broadly, is attempts to govern by both actors. Within the sphere in which they operate, we can see heterogeneous attempts to govern by all actors immanent in their various strategies and the resources they deploy. Indeed, suggesting that the Third Sector seeks to govern itself is not inconceivable. As Joseph suggested, through engagement with the state, the Third Sector seeks and has been able to influence state strategies and programmes. The sector has been able to govern the conduct of the state itself.

[59] This was especially true in the case of EAC where the Third Sector bid as a consortium. This effectively cut other Third Sector organisations out of the bidding process. After the programme finished Defra felt to some degree they had been stitched up by the consortium bid.

> *"you know once we have won the first bit of work as it were, or won the first relationship, [we are then able to say] "right ok yeah we will partner with you in delivering this piece of work, but every time we come and see you we will tell you … what's working and what is not working and what is not and why" … it is a fairly slow process but I think those things are being heard and the sector is influencing how government behaves …"*
>
> (Joseph: Delivery Partner, Interview)

Joseph even went further and argued that the current emphasis on community approaches within contemporary environmental political discourses is down to the successful engagement and lobbying by community sector interests.

> *"[we have moved to a form of politics] that assumes that there is a benefit in community delivery of some description. And I don't think that that has happened by accident, I think the sector has been ... possibly quite successful"*
>
> (Joseph: Delivery Partner, Interview)

Through engagement with the state, the Third Sector seeks and has been able to influence the state's strategies and programmes and has been able to govern the conduct of the state itself.

In this sense engaging with the state is not simply repressive for those understood as the objects of state power. It is also an opportunity to capture funding and secure influence and can be understood as a space to instigate (governmental) reform (see for example O'Malley, 1996). More specifically, then, the behaviour change programmes of Defra offer the Third Sector an opportunity to capture funding and to influence and affect how the state behaves. Indeed, programmes have been a source of funding for the Third Sector and programmes have shifted not only in relation solely to the aims of Defra. In the case of both the EAF and EAC, during the time that the programmes were running, targets were renegotiated, stresses were placed on different parts of the programmes and so on. And just because Defra appears to have sought to decrease the opportunities for the Third Sector to 'do their own thing' within the GLF, this does not mean the GLF did not present new windows of opportunity for the Third Sector and that it will not be subject to reform. Indeed, it may be that the Third Sector, consultants and other actors attempted to capture and bend this programme to their will.

Here we should move away from a conception of Defra holding all the power. It is not the only actor seeking to govern. Rather, we should pay attention to the various plays of government between actors, the resistances, perceived limitations, and contestations, as well as counter strategies inherent within relationships[60]. However, could one broaden this view out from just the relationship between Defra and the Third Sector, to one that includes the relationships between the multitude of actors within the sphere of behaviour change? Could we also include an understanding of these relationships that is not too antagonistic? Not too "war" (Foucault, 1980a: 93) like. Could we integrate an element of symbiosis?

6.5.2 Symbiosis and Emergence

Rose suggests that often relationships are established between actors so that each actor can "enhance their powers" by converting the resources provided by the other actor (1999a: 50). The practice of government known as behaviour change relies upon a nexus of a whole host of actors – Third Sector organisations, academics, consultants and so on. This network of relationships has formed because each actor is provided with resources by the other. Through engagement with Defra, the Third Sector, academics and consultants receive funding. This engagement also provides an opportunity to be influential within the sphere of the state, as, in the case of the Third Sector, it "has an agenda that it wants to pursue" (Peter: Defra, interview). On the other hand the SBU, situated in a department with an extreme form of evidence-based policy, relies on the credibility of academics in the construction of its evidence. Moreover, the SBU draws upon and needs the perceived independent and trusted nature of the Third Sector to deliver its programmes, and it relies on the evaluation capacities of the consultants to run the programme level evaluations and so on. Thus, the relationship between these actors within this nexus could not only be understood as one of government and resistance, but also symbiosis. Each party then enters the relationship to enhance its powers. However, while there is the formation of a relationship, this does not signify a full submission to the other parties, but rather a delicate dance between government, submission and resistance. In this regard,

[60] This of course is not to suggest that this is an equal relationship. It is rather to suggest that the Third Sector do themselves seek to govern Defra and bend its programmes to their will.

although this thesis has examined a central government department, it has not sought to look for the wizard behind the emerald curtain, but rather has tried to "cut off the King's head" (Foucault, 1980b: 121). This thesis has attempted to highlight how the particular mentality of government found within the SBU, the way it has been made technical in the programmes of Defra and the 'results' of these programmes, are not the product of one or two actors, but rather emerged out of heterogeneous relations between actors, agencies, problematics and forms of knowledge and understanding (Dean, 2010). In this regard can we understand the rationalities and programmes of Defra, and their outcomes, as resultant of relationships punctuated by mutual benefit, attempts at government, submission, resistance and malfunction? While this may be the case, whatever the source of the rationalities of the SBU and the outcomes of its programmes, the SBU have, of late, been the target of increasing criticism.

6.6 Defra: Practice, Criticism and Regulation

One might understand the SBU as predominantly seeking to foster specific choices and forms of conduct through technologies in line with advanced liberal rationalities. In other words, the government of conduct has been sought through mechanisms that do not rely upon direct state intervention, or the coercive and regulatory powers of the state (Herbert-Cheshire, 2000: 205). However, the work of the SBU and the research feeding into the SBU's evidence base has not been without inconsistencies. These points of dissonance are mostly in the form of an interruption of the rhetoric of agency and choice found within the documentation linked to the SBU. For example in "*I will if you will*" (SCR, 2006) it is suggested that people are "far from being able to exercise free choice" (SCR, 2006: 6). This questioning of the extent to which individuals are able to exercise agency in their choices is also linked to questions focusing on the efficacy of soft individual level behaviour change initiatives in contrast to more coercive or infrastructural approaches. In this vein, reports commissioned by Defra have similarly suggested that the state should address infrastructural barriers to behaviour change as well as use its regulatory and coercive powers (see: Dresner, McGeevor & Tomei, 2007: 47; Defra, 2006f: 4; Darnton, 2004: 9).

Nonetheless, such arguments might be thought to offer no more than points of disturbance in an otherwise fairly coherent discourse of agency and choice within the SBU and its documentation. And while soft individualised approaches to environmental problems have been subject to critique for longer than the duration of the SBU (for example see: Maniates, 2002), it is only fairly recently that there have been more explicit critiques of both the SBU and the notion of behaviour change. These criticisms have come from a variety of sources, including academia and non-governmental organisations, and revolve around the individualistic and narrow focus of behaviour change approaches (Whitmarsh, 2009; Corner & Randall, 2011; Crompton & Thogersen, 2009; Gibson, Head, Gill & Waitt, 2011). Tacit criticism has also come from those who contributed to Defra's evidence base (Barr, Gilg and Shaw, 2011). However, one of the most sustained sources of censure has come from those who have examined the notion of behaviour change and behaviour change initiatives by drawing upon theories of practice (Hargreaves, 2011). Such critiques also come from those working in the Sustainable Practices Research Group which is, perhaps ironically, part funded by Defra (see Shove, 2010a; 2010b; 2011). These authors have suggested that the current emphasis on behaviour change in policy relies on a rather distinct subset of social theories[61] and in itself propagates a narrow view of (the causes of and ways to engender) social change. Here it is argued "conventional narrow models of individual behaviour change need to be abandoned" (Hargreaves, 2011: 96) with an effort made towards generating "different ways of conceptualising social change" (Shove, 2010a:1282). However, it is suggested by Shove (2010a) that these individualistic state led approaches, like those taken in the SBU, draw on and legitimise particular lines of enquiry and individualistic and choice centred theories of social change. In this regard it is suggested that:

> "An emphasis on individual choice has significant political advantages and in this context, to probe further, to ask how options are structured, or to inquire into the ways in which government maintains infrastructures and economic institution, is perhaps too challenging"
>
> (Shove, 2010a: 1283)

[61] Notably "a strand of psychological literature grounded in theories of planned behaviour" (Shove, 2010a: 1274).

The implicit argument within Shove's work is that the SBU takes a narrow approach to environmental problems which is underpinned by, and promotes, politically expedient understandings about social change. This narrow focusing, and political expediency of the work of the SBU, leaves different theoretical conceptualisations, and subsequently different approaches to government, un-examined. Such arguments are perhaps well founded:

> *"[theories of social practice focus] more around the impact of the context and the environment and the social structures and what they actually mean … in realistic terms the findings [from studies relating to theories of social practice] may be less easy to turn into policy interventions or ideas for policy interventions …"*
>
> (Defra Staff, Interview)

While perhaps holding some purchase, Shove's criticisms have not left the SBU unaffected, and can be linked to the development of a number of rhetorical strategies to nullify such criticism. In direct response to Shove's criticism, those working in the SBU argued that their particular approach is but one form of response to environmental problems situated in a much larger machinery of the state. The SBU, it was suggested, is "one unit focusing on [environmental problems] from a particular perspective" (Gillian: Defra, interview) and that "the rest of Defra and other government departments [are] in fact responsible for other aspects of [environmental government]" (Megan: Defra, interview). Moreover, members of the SBU suggested that their work, while focusing on a small subsection of behaviour change approaches, draws attention to the need for, and *should be situated within*, a larger 'suite' of state interventions and practices. In other words, the staff of the SBU maintained that their work should be situated within a context of congruent forms of state led infrastructure provision, regulation and so on. Indeed, this argument fits within the framework of social marketing. Social marketing, while predominantly focusing on the internal motivations of individuals, also examines the external determinants of behaviour and suggest that the two key elements in changing behaviour are control (legislation) and design (of physical context) (NSMS, 2005: 50).

Behaviour change, then, for the SBU, represented a particular approach to government. This approach centers on specific behaviours, but, despite the SBU's

focus on “softer interventions” (Gillian: Defra, interview), behavioural change mechanisms are understood to include a broad array of governmental technologies, including the regulatory and coercive. In this sense it could be suggested that the work of the SBU was regarded as the development of a particular set of *soft* technologies for changing behaviour, which were understood to complement and work in tandem with other forms of (more) direct state intervention aimed at behavioural change. However, posing the work of the SBU as but one form of approach to behaviour change, which needed to be situated within a larger suite of interventions, was not only linked to retorts to academic critiques of the political expediency of the SBU’s efforts. It was also connected to conceptualisations within the state itself that behaviour change was politically convenient as it was the cheap and the (politically) easy option. Indeed, the SBU were actively trying to dispel this impression.

> *“[Our approach is] often seen as being a cheap option so that you don’t have to regulate, so that is the concern, the worry that people [take only our approach] instead of having a mix of interventions ...”*
>
> (Megan: Defra, Interview)

> *“[Our approach is], it is seen to be the cheaper option, the easier to do where we haven’t got the joys of doing some of the harder measures. So that is why it might be seen to be attractive, and that is something that it’s important, very much for us, to mitigate against, cause it is by no means the cost effective option, but what we are seeking to do ultimately is to ensure the right interventions are in place ...”*
>
> (Gillian: Defra, Interview)

However, the extent to which the SBU might be able to militate against behaviour change being seen as the cheap and easy option may be questioned. This is because there is a sense that the SBU have now lost control of the notion of behaviour change, a sphere of work at which they were at the cutting edge.

6.7 Defra: Losing Control

Despite the fact that the SBU and Defra have been unable to demonstrate the efficacy of their approach through the quantification of actual behaviour change engendered, the SBU has been very successful in some regards.

> *"People say "well what are your impacts? What have you changed as a result of it?", [and] you think "well what has changed is that people are talking about influencing behaviour, they are talking about understanding people and thinking about different segments of the population, … they [realise that they] need to understand what behaviours they focus on and [so on] …" that is progress, so people saying that they think differently about their work because of hearing about the work we've done is progress …"*
>
> (Megan: Defra, Interview)

Such arguments were backed up with reference to the establishment of the Cabinet Office's Behaviour Insight Team (Hickman, 2011) and other behavioural units across Whitehall. However, this success might not only be understood with reference to the efforts of the SBU, but also to the context in which these comments were made. The interviews were undertaken shortly after the general election in 2010 in which a coalition of the Conservative party and the Liberal Democrats took over government administration from New Labour. Following the formation of this administration a coalition *Programme for Government* (HMG, 2011) was published in which it was stated that:

> "there has been the assumption that central government can only change people's behaviour through rules and regulations. Our government will be a much smarter one, shunning the bureaucratic levers of the past and finding intelligent ways to encourage, support and enable people to make better choices for themselves"
>
> (HMG, 2011: 7-8)

Here "the political moment [was] right" (James: Defra, interview) for the spread of behaviour change. However, as the notion of behaviour change is picked up across government, it has meant that the SBU have lost control over 'what' behaviour change signifies.

> *"I don't feel we have the same agency to define the approaches because it has become a much bigger thing, there is loads more people in Defra who are interested in influencing behaviour, lots of different teams and specialists involved. Equally there are people involved at much higher levels in a wider range of policy areas who want to know about it and want to be involved …"*
>
> (Megan: Defra, Interview)

As the notion of behaviour change has proliferated outside of the SBU, such approaches have come to represent cost effective “alternatives to regulation and fiscal measures” (House of Lords Science and Technology Select Committee (HLSTSC), 2011: 11). Hence, despite the SBU’s arguments to the contrary, within the sphere of the state, behaviour change has come to symbolize a form and practice of government that shuns the bureaucratic levers of the past. It is through this that behaviour change may have its biggest impact.

This thesis has sought to document the development of, and efforts to make technical, a specific form of government in line with advanced liberal rationalities. It has sketched the contours of a practice of government linked to the problem of the environment. The thesis, however, has always suggested that the development of this approach to government does not mean that other or ‘older’ mechanisms (or problems) of government are abandoned. Rather they are supplemented or modified. However, despite a recent House of Lords report (HLSTSC, 2011) which brought into question the efficacy of behaviour change approaches based on soft mechanisms, it is suggested that, in the current context, we will see an increased proliferation of governmental practices and approaches that share similarities with those explored in this thesis. Moreover, their application will not solely be restricted to the environment. They may also encompass disparate spheres; including health, giving, well-being and finance (Hickman, 2011). Indeed, it may be that this propagation will coincide with an erasing of other forms of government intervention from view. In this sense, within the state, there may well be a selection of governmental mechanisms, techniques and technologies associated with soft behaviour change approaches over other forms of governmental instruments. These soft mechanisms may, in time, become “more stable strategies of state … power” (Jessop, 2007: 38). As it was recently argued, Defra has been “giving a much bigger priority to looking at whether behaviour change [non-regulatory and non-fiscal measures] can contribute, because the Government is less willing to do regulation and that is a stated objective … previously, we’d probably have looked at regulation more methodically” (Ms. Eppel Head of Sustainable Consumption and Production, Defra: taken from: HLSTSC, 2011: 35, square brackets in original). However, with the speed of developments in this field, it is difficult to know where the story will go next. One area of interest might be the folding of

government upon itself (Dean, 2010: 223). As Dean (2010) argues, increasingly state mechanisms for the government of others are turned upon the state itself.

6.8 Defra: Becoming Objects Themselves

The emphasis on behaviour change has reflected back upon those within the SBU who appear to have started to conceptualise themselves in relation to their work. Indeed, during some of the interviews with Defra staff, the interviewees commented on how working in the SBU had begun a process through which they re-conceptualised their own behaviour.

> *"[working in the SBU] made me think much more about the behaviours that I myself display, it has impacted on my behaviour outside of work …"*
>
> (Siri: Defra, Interview)

> *"I just go around going "turn off that, turn off [that], unplug that, do that". So it is like because I have been working on it for two years it is just automatic now to do all these things at home …"*
>
> (Kate: Defra, Interview)

But behaviour change has not only reflected back onto the individuals within the SBU. It has also come to affect the department within which they are situated. This is linked to the Coalition's pledge to be the 'greenest government ever', which is not only a reference to a Coalition objective to reduce the UK's carbon emissions overall, but also an attempt to reduce the emissions connected to the institutions of the state (Randerson, 2010). Within this push to become the greenest government ever, Defra itself has instituted a programme of internal behaviour change with its staff. This could be regarded as a kind of "reflexive government" (Dean, 2010: 217), where the state mechanisms for affecting change in others is folded back onto itself. Whether there will be much enthusiasm from civil servants who are operating in a context of unprecedented budgetary and staff cuts is a moot point. But this, perhaps, adds a further dimension to the apparently increasing zeal with which the practices linked to the notion of behaviour change are being adopted by the state.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to cover the themes of limitation, resistance and contestation through examining the actualities of governing. In examining these themes this chapter has not attempted to find the source of programmatic malfunction or linked these ultimately to contestation or resistance. Nor has it sought to suggest ways that these programmes could be made better by considering other approaches or theories. It has simply tried to demonstrate the untidy nature of governing as programmes of government collide with multiple strategies and realities. Furthermore, this chapter has documented the way in which programmes have been reformed in attempts to make them more effective in the light of perceived resistance and malfunction. In the context of Defra this chapter has also explored how the point of engagement between state and non-state actors is not only a sphere in which the state seeks to actualise its aims, but rather a space of opportunity for non-state actors to actualise theirs. Moreover, this sphere is not just an arena of gladiatorial style cut and thrust, but also one of mutual benefit where engagement could be understood more symbiotically.

While the SBU has been subject to contestation from its delivery partners, it has also been critiqued by other actors, including newspapers and more recently academics. These academic critiques have led to the deployment of rhetorical devices which seek to nullify such arguments. Indeed, these rhetorical devices have also been deployed towards other actors in the state in an attempt to negate the building impression that behaviour change is politically expedient as it is cheap and easy alternative to regulation. Yet, as this chapter suggested, what we are seeing, and will continue to see, is an increased proliferation of the notion of behaviour change. It has argued that the SBU has lost discursive control over something that it was at the developmental cutting edge. In this regard the SBU will be less able to make itself heard and define behaviour change as it sees it.

It is apparent that this thesis, and particularly this chapter, has not sought to argue programmatic malfunctions are due to one reason or another, and hence should be reformed and recalibrated to govern better. Neither has it sought to suggest that tackling environmental problems needs a whole new approach, based on a whole new theoretical framework – practice theories or otherwise. This may disappoint those

who argue that governmentality theory should integrate more critical elements (Parr, 2009; McKee, 2009, 2011). However, this chapter (and thesis) has not sought to suggest that the form of government explored here is "bad or good, necessary or unnecessary" (Dean, 2010: 46). This is because firstly such a critique would require a normative stance which is problematic for a thesis drawing on the work of Foucault (Dean, 2010: 46-50). And secondly, what would one critique? This thesis has demonstrated that behaviour change and the way it has been made technical has emerged out of heterogeneous relations between actors, problematics and forms of knowledge (Dean, 2010). There is no king's head at which to aim critique. However, to add a more critical edge to this thesis, one could reflect at greater length on "what is at stake" with, (Dean, 2010: 49) and the "theoretical and non-theoretical consequences" (Lemke, 2002: 61) of, the construction and mobilisation of behaviour change. It is in this direction that this thesis turns in its conclusion.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

7.1 Behaviour Change as a Practice of Government: Towards Sustainability?

Anthropogenic modification of the climate and other environmental processes are linked, not least in the political sphere, to the negative destabilisation of social, economic and political processes (Stern, 2007; IPCC, 2007; Defra, 2006c: Defra, 2005a). The implicit understanding within such linkages is one that contends that if continued degradation of such vital ecological processes continue or are not managed below a certain threshold, then the long-term viability of human societies, as they are now, will be threatened. In other words, in order to protect economic, social and political processes one must secure and maintain environmental ones. This leads to a particular problem: how to ensure the security and functioning of the ecological systems in which we live in order to maintain the security of vital social and economic processes. The practice of government highlighted within this thesis can be connected to this pervasive problematic.

In charting the emergence of this practice of government, Chapter Three argued that individual choice is understood to be a medium through which to ensure the security and vitality of environmental processes. Yet, direct intervention in individual choice is understood to be neither moral or necessary and perhaps not even possible. Hence a further governmental problematic emerges: how to foster 'the right choices' indirectly. It is within the context of this problematic that the formation and work of the SBU becomes intelligible. Or rather this problematic and the work of the SBU are made intelligible when they are linked and understood as functions of each other.

Within the particularities and aims of Defra, the SBU forms around and employs a particular intellectual technique – social marketing. Through the utilisation of this technique, a specific problem and end of government are brought into view. Here, choice, behaviour and consumption become conflated, and the problem of government becomes the way we choose to behave in relation to certain consumptive practices. Hence, 'a sustainable lifestyle' – a series of behaviours – become constructed as the *telos* of this unit. The designation of this sustainable lifestyle is the

product of a variety of processes which seek to neutralise and de-politicise its designation, yet this ‘sustainable lifestyle’ constructs and resonates with a particular (political) understanding about the ‘proper’ practices of the individual and the role of the state in relation to environmental concerns. As Hindress (1997) points out, the state seeks to foster individual practices that do not take the form of potentially disruptive activity for the state, its agencies, the market and so on (see also: Brulle, 2010: 83-85). Here, then, the role of the SBU comes to revolve around fostering a sustainable subject – a subject who takes the object of his or her concern to be his or her private choices in the domestic-sphere.

Before, however, it becomes possible to foster the sustainable subject indirectly, the SBU has to develop an ‘understanding of people’. Here the SBU commissions a whole host of research drawing on the expertise of the social sciences. This research allows certain forms of conduct to become understandable in terms of a whole array of discernible psychological patterns and tendencies. Through this exercise environmental conduct is made not only understandable in these terms, but also achievable through fostering, harnessing and modifying subjectivity. But this presents a problem: how to affect such subjective effects? One answer to this problematic is the construction of community as a ‘forgotten strategy’ or technology of government.

In Chapter Four this thesis examined how behaviour change was made governmental through the process of making it technical within a number of programmes. It demonstrated how Defra sought to govern ‘at a distance’ by aligning the aims of, and working through, a number of actors – most principally the Third Sector. It documented how these programmes worked through a network of actors. Through these networks Defra sought to connect to and utilise community, as well as a number of other technologies. Through these technologies, Defra attempted to incite particular modes of conduct by aligning with, fostering and working through people’s subjectivity and capacity for self-government.

Moreover, in Chapter Five, it was argued that the EST’s Green Communities Programme, previously funded by Defra, could be cited as an example of how behaviour change as governmental practice can unfold at the local level. It was suggested that one particular initiative of the Green Communities Programme, WERG,

could be explored to understand, more deeply, how attempts to foster the 'right choices' played out for 'real'. It was shown that the members of WERG became the instruments of government as they sought to disseminate certain forms of conduct within their community. It documented how WERG sought to foster the 'right choices' by utilising a number of mechanisms and material technologies. Chapter Five also documented how the members of WERG not only became the instrument of governmental efforts, but also its objects.

This brings us to consider the limits and consequences, as well as what is at stake in the development of this approach to government. In considering the limits of this approach one can firstly examine the context in which behaviour change is set. It could be suggested that, in relation to environmental problems, seeking to influence the way we 'choose to behave' within the realm of certain consumptive practices is part of a deep contradiction and "schizophrenia currently inhabiting Government policy" (Jackson, 2009a: 339). This could perhaps be illustrated with reference to the emerging economic problems in 2008. During the run up to Christmas in 2008, soon after the unfolding of the so called 'credit crunch', the UK public was being urged by politicians and the central bank to consume more in order to prop up the failing economy (BBC, 2008; Simms, 2008). It seems deeply ironic that in the same year that the public was being urged to consume more in a patriotic fashion, the *Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours* (Defra, 2008b) was published by Defra. It is ironic because in one instance politicians were urging us to consume more for the sake of the national economy, while at the same time the state-led approach to environmental problematics – pro-environmental behaviour change – appeared to amount to calls for "consumption restraint" for the sake of the environment (Jackson, 2009a: 337).

In one sense then we are being called to consume more "for the sake of the market" (Barr, Gilg & Shaw: 2011: 718) and consume less for the sake of the environment. Jackson (2009a; 2009b) puts this schizophrenia down to two conflicting drivers. The first driver is the understanding that increasing consumption is the root cause of environmental degradation (Schaefer & Crane, 2005; see Burgess et. al. 2003 for a review). The second driver is the understanding that the current politico-economic system depends on increasing energy and material consumption for its stability and legitimacy (Jackson, 2009a; 2009b). This schizophrenia could suggest that the state is

duplicitous and insincere in its calls for consumption restraint (Jackson, 2009a). Or, this could suggest that the state is the site of incoherent and contradictory rationalities, objectives and practices. The vignette in Chapter Three could serve as evidence to suggest that the state is insincere in its attempts to alter consumption radically as it attempts to promote forms of action that do not potentially undermine the ‘proper’ functioning of the state and the economy. Whatever the answer, Jackson highlights a significant tension and raises the question as to how far state-led pro-environmental behaviour change can go in the context of political rationalities and objectives that are orientated towards consumption growth.

Secondly, notwithstanding the previous point, one must consider the limits of a practice of government which seeks to foster an environmental subject who predominantly takes the object of their concern to be their domestic-level practices. One of these limits pertains to the ability of such a strategy to effect the sort of change needed to tackle the environmental problematics upon which such an approach is based (Gibson, Head, Gill & Gordon, 2011; Crompton & Thogersen, 2009). This limit is especially pertinent when one considers, despite the rhetoric of agency inherent within the notion of behaviour change, that choices in the way we behave are made within the structural and social fabric of individual daily lives (Gibson, Head, Gill & Gordon, 2011; Butler, 2010). For example, the ability to affect change through our choices in relation to our travel practices maybe undermined if the only choices are between “red cars and blue ones” (Maniates, 2002: 63). Indeed, as Chapter Five showed, people’s ability to exercise choice in relation to how they behave is limited by the physical constraints and negotiated within existing practices, obligations and feelings of responsibility.

Thirdly, as Chapter Four and Five showed, framing certain choices as responsible and self-interested may be counter productive. More precisely, appealing to a subjectivity that is simultaneously both environmentally responsible and self-interested may stimulate effects that are ultimately detrimental to the aim of seeking to reduce an individual’s environmental impact. In this regard, appealing to self-interest and financial prudence may actually be appealing to ethics that are counter to those needed to address environmental problems. Indeed, such ethics may well motivate behaviours that are distinctly non pro-environmental (Corner & Randall, 2011). As

documented in Chapter Four and Five, highlighting the money saving aspects of certain behaviours may simply lead to an understanding that such behaviour would allow for the quantitative increase of other (environmentally damaging) consumptive practices. In other words (environmental) behaviours undertaken simply for the money saving aspect may result in the 'rebound effect' whereby the money saved by reducing consumption in some spheres is spent on other (more) environmentally damaging consumption patterns (Okwell, Whitmarsh and O'Neil, 2009: 311; Rowley, 2011). In this regard attempts to stimulate certain environmental behaviours by appealing to an ethic of financial prudence and self-interest may be counter-productive.

However, as highlighted in Chapter Five, the ethical positions inherent within programmes of government can be modified as they are inserted into particular contexts and social relations. In this regard, even though the form of government explored here seeks to induce conduct through the inciting and harnessing of certain subject effects, this does not mean the effects sought are necessarily produced. Indeed, in Chapter Five we see that the ethics of behaviour change can be taken in "unexpected ways" (Rydin, 2007: 621) as they intersect with already existing ethical clusters. Such mutations in ethics may represent an opportunity to further environmental concerns or may allow for the increasing erasing of environmental considerations. Or it may simply be that the environmental benefit of such mutations are at best simply ambiguous, as could perhaps be construed from the example of WERG.

Fourthly, the limits of this approach could be understood in terms of the "governance trap" (Pidgeon & Butler, 2009: 683). This refers to the suggestion that politicians are afraid to design policies which would intervene directly in the behaviour of individuals – thereby forcing people to be green – as the perception within political circles is that this could lead to a public backlash and ultimately signify "vote losing policies" (Okwell, Whitmarsh and O'Neil, 2009: 313). However, there has been the implicit suggestion that indirect forms of state intervention which foster types of 'bottom up' citizenly engagement with environmental issues may lead to a public mandate for politicians to make tough decisions in relation to environment (Okwell, Whitmarsh and O'Neil, 2009). Hence, it is argued and assumed that behavioural

change approaches, especially led by the Third Sector (see: Hale, 2010), will lead to "political space and pressure for decision-makers to act in new and ambitious ways" (Crompton & Thogersen, 2009: 10). Indeed, as demonstrated in Chapter Six , for a member of Defra, the real benefit of behaviour change interventions was that they created *"a different environment … that enables politicians to make big decisions"* (Peter: Defra, interview). Yet, as so eloquently argued by Crompton & Thogersen (2009), interventions which are based on and disseminate 'non-radical' "small and objectively insignificant behavioural changes" (20) and which stress voluntary action, choice and individual agency may actually "reinforce public scepticism [over] the need for government intervention to restrict certain lifestyle choices" (8). Hence, rather than such interventions opening a space for greater reflection on the need for radical changes or on the role of the state in directly intervening in choice, they may simply lead people to the understanding that environmental problems are a matter of small changes and individual choice. Subsequently people may become "more resistant to urgently needed government interventions" (Crompton & Thogersen, 2009: 20) rather than less. However, as Chapter Five documented, the concern of individuals – involved in programmes in which they are identified as agents and choosers – may be "turned" (Rose, 1996a: 141) and directed away from the domestic sphere towards the regulatory and practical limits in which they find themselves. In this sense, within programmes of government, individuals addressed as (environmental) agents may indeed move their focus away from their private choices and towards their political and structural context.

More broadly, then, the practice of government documented here detracts from an understanding of environmental problems as solved through collective efforts and strategies at the 'social' level (Rose, 1999a: 135) in a number of ways. Firstly, with reference to Defra, as shown in Chapter Three, this is partly through the understanding that the population can be segmented into distinct lifestyle groupings. This is connected to a conceptualisation that these different lifestyle groups are able to be subject to different forms of governmental intervention based on the distinct motivations and understandings of each group. Such an approach emphasises differences rather than similarities (Corner & Randall, 2011:5) and leads to a situation in which the "'thought space' of the social is fragmented" (Rose, 1999a: 135). Through this, solutions to problems are understood to be less about developing 'one

size fits all' strategies that bind groups around the same understandings, problems and objectives; but more about developing discrete interventions at the level of distinct lifestyle groupings which resonate with 'their' understandings, values and aspirations. Hence, environmental problems become a matter of segmented strategies which actively differentiate at a number of levels, rather than strategies which seek to collectivise at the level of the 'social'. Indeed, these understandings have been made technical. Chapter Four highlighted that the most recent Defra programme – the GLF – was not aimed at the social but rather explicitly targeted groupings whose lifestyle and attitudes were thought to be most resonant with the messages of behaviour change.

As already discussed, this practice of government embeds an understanding that the practice of citizenship relates to the private (consumptive) domain rather than the public sphere or the realm of the state. This may connect the practice of citizenship to spheres distinct from more classical forms of citizenly activity – collective mobilisation, lobbying, deliberation and voting (see: Clarke et al., 2007: Shaw, Newholm & Dickinson, 2006; Mansvelt, 2008; and also Trentmann, 2006 how this might not be a 'new' phenomenon). Yet, it may simply cement the view that the way we discharge our obligations in relation to problems such as climate change is not the concern of the state, collective aspiration or the public sphere, but rather relates to the choices we make in the domestic sphere. Hence, the practice of government documented here actively distances environmental problems from any sort of collective or deliberate sphere (see: John, Smith & Stoker, 2009). And it is not only the form of citizenly activity encouraged that could support this argument, but also the mode of intervention. In this regard, as this thesis has shown, this type of approach seeks to govern indirectly in relation to a "preordained … view of what a decent [environmental] person is" (O'Neil, 2010: 2) by working through non-state actors. This mode of delivery could be understood to literally 'hide' from view the role of the state in these attempts to govern. This effectively negates public discussion as to firstly, whether *indirect* behaviour change is the proper role and function of the state, and secondly, whether the form of behaviour change sought is an appropriate end of the state.

7.2 Behaviour Change, Government, Networks and Relationships

As it has been argued throughout the thesis, the rationalities of government are not the outcome of one or two actors. As noted in Chapter Three and Four, these rationalities emerge from a diverse array of relations between actors, knowledges and understandings (Dean, 2010). Moreover, programmes should not be thought of as the actualisation of a rationality. Rather the ‘form’ that a programme takes emerges from relations between actors, understandings and objectives. Hence, it is within these diverse relations that attempts to govern through programmes come to ‘succeed’, ‘fail’ and shift. As Chapter Five documented, WERG was not simply the actualisation of the rationalities of the EST; rather WERG was the form that the Green Communities Programme took as it was articulated through the residents of Wenfield, their forms of understanding and objectives. The form of Defra’s programmes, similarly, can be understood as the emergent properties of various relations between actors, objectives and understandings. It is within these relations that one finds resonances as well as contestation and resistance. As shown in Chapter Five, Defra’s programmes shift, succeed and malfunction within these relations. But, the ‘failure’ of programmes is not the end of the exercise of government; it is productive. It simply allows for the redoubling of effort. In this regard, in Chapter Six we see WERG, the EST and Defra renew their endeavours in light of perceived limitations.

The understanding that rationalities and programmes of government emerge from relations between various actors and understandings leads us to a pivotal point of this thesis. It is suggested that government forms out of relationships, and as this thesis showed in Chapter Six, these relationships are not always repressive for those often understood as the objects of the exercise of government. These relationships are also opportunities for these various actors. The EST/ERC entered into a relationship with those in Wenfield because it represented an opportunity to realise its aims. Those in WERG formed an association with the EST because it was a new opportunity for its members to express and mobilise around a myriad of concerns. Defra forms associations with academics, consultants and the Third Sector because those actors possess attributes it needs. Academics, consultants and the Third Sector join with Defra because it is an opportunity to use the resources and openings provided by Defra to “enhance their powers” (Rose, 1999a: 50). However, to more fully

understand the emergence of the relationships and form of environmental government discussed in this thesis we once again return to where this thesis started, to the "conditions of existence" (Lemke, 2007: 47) in which the work of Defra, the EST, WERG and the notion of behaviour change is set.

7.3 Behaviour Change: Conditions of Existence

'Behaviour change' or 'liberal paternalism', it is suggested, is a form of government that emerged under the New Labour administration (Pykett, 2011a). This from of government attempts to reconcile freedom of choice with a caring and supportive government in ways that reflect advanced liberal formations of rule (see: Pykett, 2011a, Pidgeon & Butler, 2009; Butler, 2010; Jones, Pykett & Whitehead, 2011; Jones, Pykett & Whitehead, 2010). Liberal paternalism emerged within increasing concerns over a whole range of issues, including the environment and anxieties over obesity and smoking. It is also linked to critiques of the (neo-liberal) conception that humans make economically rational choices and criticisms of market-based mechanisms of control (Jones, Pykett & Whitehead, 2011, Pykett et. al., 2011). These critiques drew their epistemological basis from a whole host of academic disciplines, not least behavioural economics and psychology. Here, in place of the economically rational individual, the "predictably irrational subject" was proffered (Jones, Pykett & Whitehead, 2011: 53). It was understood that the behaviour of this subject could be acted upon by harnessing and exploiting "discernible psychological patterns and tendencies" (Jones, Pykett & Whitehead, 2010: 7).

This thesis has made similar arguments. It has documented how the work of the SBU emerged out of an amalgamation of: concerns over the environment, social marketing, understandings drawn from 'psy' disciplines, a concern for preserving choice and so on. It has revealed how these concerns have linked with forms of understanding about community, whereby communal bonds come to be envisaged as a key technology of government. But, while such explanations certainly offer explanatory power, should we perhaps cast our net further to understand the formation of the environmental politics captured here? Indeed, can we understand it as "configured by the very forces [it] would contain" (Li, 2007: 282)?

It has been argued that the outcomes of the work of the SBU cannot only be understood in reference to the members of the SBU. It has to be linked to a whole host of actors: the Third Sector, academics and so on. We should understand these groups and organisations as very much active in the in the work of the SBU. Indeed, perhaps we can go further and understand the form of environmental government examined here as connected into a longer lineage of environmental thought as well as calls for greater freedom, empowerment, community action and development that stem from discourses that evolved in the 1960s and 1970s (see: Herbert-Cheshire, 2006: 40-42 and Dean, 2010; 180-182). In this light, the emphasis on a sort of active citizenship, community and community activity within the approaches taken by Defra can be made sense of in the context of 'green' rhetoric which stresses the need for decentralisation, self-reliant and self-determining local communities and active (environmental) citizenship (Goodin, 1992:147; Kenny, 1996; see for example: Tokar, 1987; Thomas-Pellicer, 2009; Hopkins, 2008; Dobson, 2010). Indeed, these calls have, it is suggested, not gone un-heard by political authorities. As shown in Chapter Six one of the members of the Third Sector spoken to for this research put the emphasis on localised, community approaches within contemporary environmental political discourses down to successful lobbying and work by 'community sector' interests (see also: Jamison, 1996).

More broadly the notion of pro-environmental behaviour change resonates with the (already existing) 'powerful ethic' of agency, individual choice and responsibility underlying the central character of our time (Beck & Beck-Gernstein, 2002: 22). Surfacing in parallel to notions of individual agency, choice and responsibility is an understanding that politics can be practised within "private matters of every day life" (Beck & Beck-Gernstein, 2002: 44). In this regard the Green Communities Programme and the work of Defra could be understood as simply (re)articulations of an ethic of choice and responsibility as well as an understanding that politics can be practised in the private sphere. Indeed, in Chapter Five we see that the Green Communities Programme resonated with already existing practices and ethical clusters which incorporated themes of agency and responsibility. Thus, the programmes examined here, to some degree, do not layer 'alien' concepts on to the social milieu, but rather resonate with already existing ethics and practices. Hence, could this be switched around to question whether the work of the SBU simply

reflects the ethics and practices of those often understood to be the objects of state government? In fact, to say that the source of the understandings about the self within the work of the SBU is purely 'political' may miss, as Dean argues (1994b), the way in which "governmental practices of self formation come to colonise, compose and transform the state itself" (156). This form of environmental state government, then, could be understood as both productive, and the product of, forms of self-practice.

This form of state government, then, cannot be understood as distinct from broader movements, be they 'green' and community activist movements, or shifts in the practices and ethics of the self. Indeed, we could perhaps come to understand this form of government as the translation and intersection of a diverse array of understandings, rhetorics and rationalities, some of which may emanate from sources the state seeks to contain. In this respect, from the point of view of those who may aspire to a greener, more 'ethical' future, be it the Third Sector or local community groups, an approach to environmental problematics which stresses 'self politics', choice, community and agency, may, on the surface, reflect and resonate with their concerns. However, as highlighted in Chapter Six, such forms of political government may ultimately be found to be disappointing by those non-state actors engaging with them. Yet, for those non-state actors that strive for a greener, better future, it is the 'promise' that these approaches hold for the fulfilment of 'their' vision that may make this form of environmental politics potentially attractive and means they will continue to engage. In this regard this pro-environmental behaviour change as a practice of state government may signify the refraction of 'their' agenda, which only needs a little more effort until it truly reflects their concerns. As one member of the Third Sector interviewed argued:

> *"we have won the political argument … what we are still fighting for is the policies"*
>
> (Joseph: Delivery Partner, Interview)

7.4 Behaviour Change and Future Studies

This thesis has viewed behaviour change through the lens of governmentality. Through this lens, this thesis has understood pro-environmental behaviour change as a practice of government. This practice of government does not rely on the formal or coercive powers of the state, but rather attempts to act upon conduct indirectly through a network of actors. Through this conceptualisation, this thesis has attempted to subject pro-environmental behaviour change to scrutiny at a time when it is perhaps becoming too quickly normative. However, it is not only in the sphere of the environment that one is beginning to find the notion of behaviour change. In this regard, it may be worth exploring other formations of behaviour change as they emerge.

It will be interesting to see how the notion of behaviour change shifts and changes as it is taken up throughout Whitehall, as Chapter Six demonstrated. It will also be worth noting how forms of state-led behaviour change intervention intersect and resonate with non-state actors. The themes, techniques and technologies which are picked up and dropped as behaviour change is taken up by different actors could also be monitored. In this regard, state-led behavioural change interventions will not necessarily involve the Third Sector, notions of community or draw on social marketing as a core intellectual technology (see: Jones, Pykett and Whitehead, 2011: 54). Rather, it is suggested, incorporating the key theme of individual choice (and responsibility), or more precisely how we choose to behave, we will witness a myriad of forms of behaviour change intervention that explicitly seek to work indirectly through harnessing and modifying our very subjectivities (see for example: Cabinet Office, 2010a; 2010b). Indeed, it could be that further research examines the actors, rationalities, techniques and technologies of other forms of behaviour change interventions in different fields. This may give us an insight into other configurations of government in the sphere of behaviour change.

However, there is perhaps a point of interest for those thinking of using a governmentality approach to understand (other) forms of behaviour change. Those now at the forefront of behaviour change have a keen interest in the work of Nicolas Rose and have pre-empted critiques informed by a governmentality approach (Pykett,

2011b: 371). This does not mean, however, that governmentality will lose the potential for insight into behaviour change. What it may mean is that future studies in this area, employing the lens of governmentality, may need to go further. One of the ways this may be done is to consider more deeply than has been done in this thesis, the ‘effects’ of forms of government known as behaviour change.

Bibliography

Adger, N. W. & Jordan, A. (2009) Sustainability: exploring the processes and outcomes of governance, in: Adger, N. W. & Jordan, A. (eds) *Governing Sustainability*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp. 3-31.

Agrawal, A. (2005a) Environmentality: Community, Intimate Government, and the Making of Environmental Subjects in Kumaon, India. *Current Anthropology*, 46(2), 161-190.

Agrawal, A. (2005b) *Enviornmentality: Technologies of Government and the making of subjects*, London: Duke University Press.

Amin, A. (2005) Local community on trial, *Economy and Society*, 34(4), 612-633.

AreaInfo (undated) Wenfield Locality: Area Profile,
Available at:
http://www.areainfonet.org.uk/area_profiles/.pdf
Accessed on 27.07.11

Atkinson, P. & Coffey, A. (2004) Analysing documentary realities, in: Silverman, D. (ed) *Qualitative Research: Theory Method and Practice* (2nd ed), Sage Publications: London, pp. 56-75.

Baldwin, R. (2010) Football and climate change: strange bedfellows or a means of going beyond the usual suspects in encouraging pro-environmental behaviour change?, *Local Environment*, 15(9), 851-866.

Barbour, R. (2008) *Introducing Qualitative Methods: A student guide to the craft of doing qualitative research*, Sage Publications: London.

Barnett, C., Clarke, N., Cloke, P. & Malpass, A. (2008) The Elusive Subject of Neo-Liberalism, *Cultural Studies*, 22(5), 624-653.

Barr, S. (2003) Strategies for sustainability: citizens and responsible environmental behaviour, *Area*, 35(3), 227-240.

Barr, S., Gilg, A. & Shaw, G. (2005) *Promoting Sustainable Lifestyles: A social Marketing Approach, Technical Paper,* University of Exeter.
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=SD14005_3523_TRP.doc
Accessed on 14.03.11

Barr, S., Gilg, A. & Shaw, G. (2011) 'Helping People Make Better Choices': Exploring the behaviour change agenda for environmental sustainability, *Applied Geography*, 31, 712-720.

Baszanger, I. & Dodier, N. (1997). Ethnography: Relating the Part to the Whole. In: Silverman, D. (ed), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practise*. Sage Publications: London, pp. 8-23.

BBC News (7th August 2000) Wenfield to Loose Bank
Available at:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/
Accessed on: 27.07.11

BBC (25th November 2008) Should Shopping be a Patriotic Duty?
http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/magazine/7747644.stm
Accessed on 14.08.11

Beer, A, Clower, T., Haugtow, G. & Maude, A. (2005), Neoliberalism and the Institutions for Regional Development in Australia. *Geographical Research*, 43(1), 49-58.

Beck, U. & Beck Gernstein, E. (2002) *Individualisation*, Sage Publications: London.

Bell, M. M. (1994) *Childerley: Nature and Morality in a Country Village*, The University of Chicago Press: London.

Bernard, R. H. (2002). *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches (3rd edition)*. Altamira Press: Oxford.

Brint, S. (2001) *Gemeinschaft* revisited: A critique and reconstruction of the community concept, *Sociological Theory*, 19(1), 1-23.

British Sociological Association (2002) *Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association*.
Available at:
http://www.britsoc.co.uk/NR/rdonlyres/801B9A62-5CD3-4BC2-93E1-FF470FF10256/0/StatementofEthicalPractice.pdf
Accessed on 21.09.11

Brook Lyndhurst (2006) *Innovative Methods for Influencing Behaviour & Assessing Success: Triggering widespread adoption of sustainable behaviour*, Report for Defra.
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=SD14006_3516_FRP.doc
Accessed on 29.03.11

Brook Lyndhurst (2007) *Public Understanding of Sustainable Energy Consumption in the Home,* Report for Defra,
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=EV02046_6701_FRP.pdf
Accessed on 03.12.11

Brook Lyndhurst (2008) *The Climate Challenge Fund: An Evaluation for DECC*.
Available at:
http://www.brooklyndhurst.co.uk/download/90/a843f8d9/climatechallengefundevaluationreport.pdf
Accessed on 28.04.11

Brook Lyndhurst (2009) *Evaluation Handbook: A guide for Greener Living Fund projects*, unpublished.

Brulle, R. J. (2010) From Environmental Campaigns to Advancing the Public Dialog: Environmental Communication for Civic Engagement, *Environmental Communication A Journal of Nature and Culture*, 4(1), 82-98.

Bryant, R. & Goodman, M. (2004) Consuming Narratives: The Political Ecology of 'Alternative' Consumption, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 29, 344-366.

Bryman, A. (1984) The debate about quantitative and qualitative research: a question of method of epistemology?, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 35(1), 75-92.

Bryman, A. (2001). *Social Research Method*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Bryman, A. (2004) *Social Research Methods* (2nd ed), Oxford University Press: Oxford.

BTCV (2007) *Every Action Counts: Community Champions Handbook*, Severnprint Ltd: Gloucester.
Available at:
http://www2.btcv.org.uk/Community%20Champions%20Handbook%2001.pdf
Accessed on 29.03.11

BTCV (undated a) *Action Cards*,
Available at:
http://www.e-c-a.ac.uk/media/uploaded_files/Game_Cards.pdf
Accessed on 29.03.11

BTCV (undated b) *Action Cards*,
Available at:
http://www2.btcv.org.uk/Game%20cards.pdf
Accessed 29.03.11

Bulkeley, H. (2005) Reconfiguring environmental governance: Towards a Politics of Scales and Networks, *Political Geography*, 24, 875-902.

Bulkeley, H. & Kern, K. (2006) Local Government and the Governing of Climate Change in Germany and the UK, *Urban Studies*, 43(12), 2237-2259.

Burchell, G. (1993) Liberal Government and Techniques of the Self, *Economy and Society*, 22(3), 267-282.

Burgess, J., Bedford, T., Hobson, K. Davies, G. & Harrison, C. (2003) (Un)Sustainable Consumption, in: Berkhout, F., Leach, M. & Scoones, I. (eds) *Negotiating Environmental Change: New Perspectives form Social Science*, Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd: Cheltenham, pp. 261-292.

Butler, C. (2010) Morality and Climate Change: Is leaving your TV on Standby a Risky Behaviour?, *Environmental Values*, 19, 169-192.

Cabinet Office (2010a) *Mindspace: Influencing behaviour through public policy*, Cabinet Office: London.
Available at:
http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications_download.php?id=2
Accessed on 03.11.11

Cabinet Office (2010b) *Applying behavioural insights to health*, Cabinet Office: London.
Available at:
http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/sites/default/files/resources/403936_BehaviouralInsight_acc.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

CAG (2005) *Environmental Action Fund 2002 – 2005*, London: CAG.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/corporate/funding/documents/eaf-cagreport2005.pdf
Accessed on 29.03.11

CAG (2009) *Every Action Counts: Final Evaluation Report*, unpublished.

Campbell, M. L. (1998) Institutional Ethnography and Experience as Data, *Qualitative Sociology*, 21(1), 55-73.

Carbon Rationing (undated) *Carbon Rationing Action Groups*
Available at:
http://www.carbonrationing.org.uk/
Accessed on 28.02.11

Chakrabortty, A. (2008) From Obama to Cameron, why do so many politicians want a piece of Richard Thaler? *The Guardian*, 12.07.2008,
Available at:
http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2008/jul/12/economy.conservatives
Accessed on 02.08.11

Cheshire, L. & Lawrence, G. (2005) Neoliberalism, individualisation and community: Regional Restructuring in Australia, *Social Identities*, 11(5), 435-445.

Cheshire, L. (2006) *Governing Rural Development: Discourses and Practices of Self-help in Australian Rural Policy*, Ashgate Publishing: Aldershot.

Chua, S. (1999) Economic Growth, Liberalisation and the Enviornment: A Review of Economic Evidence, *Annual Review of Energy and Environment*, 24, 391-430.

Clarke, J. (2004) Dissolving the Public Realm? The Logics and Limits of Neoliberalism, *Journal of Social Policy*, 33(1), 27-48.

Clarke, J. & Newman, J. (2000) *The Managerial State*, Sage Publications: London.

Clarke, N., Barnett, C., Cloke, P. & Malpass, A. (2007). Globalising the Consumer: Doing Politics in and Ethical Register, *Political Geography*, 26, 231-249.

Connelly, S., Richardson, T. & Miles, T. (2006) Situated legitimacy: Deliberative arenas and the new rural governance, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22, 267-277.

Connolly, J. & Prothero, A. (2008) Green consumption, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 8(1), 117-145.

Corner, A. & Randall, A. (2011) Selling climate change? The limitations of social marketing as a strategy for climate change public engagement, *Global Environmental Change*, forthcoming.

Cox, J; Wilkins, C; Ledsom, A; Drayson, R; Kivinen, E (2009) *Environmental Action Fund (EAF): A Review of Sustainable Consumption and Production Projects (SCP2.2). A report to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs*, Brook Lyndhurst, Defra: London,
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=EV02004_7825_FRA.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Crompton, T. & Thogersen, J. (2009) *Simple & painless: The limitations of spill-over in environmental campaigning*, WWF: Godalming,
Available at:
http://gin.confex.com/gin/2009/webprogram/Manuscript/Paper2233/Simple-and-painles-JACC.pdf
Accessed on 28.07.11

Cruikshank, B. (1993) Revolutions within: self-government and self-esteem, *Economy and Society*, 22(3), 327-344.

Cutler, A. C. (1999) Locating “Authority” in the Global Political Economy, *International Studies Quarterly*, 43, 59-81.

Darier, E. (1996a) The politics and power effects of garbage recycling in Halifax, Canada, *Local Environment*, 1(1), 63-86.

Darier, E. (1996b) Environmental Governmentality: The case of Canada’s Green Plan, *Environmental Politics*, 5(4), 585-606.

Darier, E. (1999a) Foucault against environmental ethics, in: Darier, E. (ed), *Discourses of the Environment*, Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, pp. 217-240.

Darier, E. (1999b) Foucault and the Environment: An Introduction, in: Darier, E. (ed), *Discourses of the Environment*, Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, pp. 1-33.

Darnton, A. (2004) *Driving Public Behaviours for Sustainable Lifestyles: Report 2 of a Desk Research commissioned by COI on behalf of Defra,*
Available at:
http://collection.europarchive.org/tna/20080530153425/http://www.sustainable-development.gov.uk/publications/pdf/desk-research2.pdf
Accessed on 28.07.11

Dawkins, J., Young, D. and Collao, K. (2007) *Public Understanding of sustainable finance and investment: A report to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs*, Ipsos MORI, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=EV02025_6699_FRP.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Davies, A. R. (2002) Power, politics and networks: shaping partnerships for sustainable communities, *Area*, 34(2), 190-203.

Dean, M. (1994a) *Critical and effective histories: Foucault's methods and historical sociology*, Routledge: London.

Dean, M. (1994b) A Social Structure of Many Souls: Moral regulation, government, and self formation, *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 19(2), 145 – 168.

Dean, M. (1995) Governing the unemployed self in an active society, *Economy and Society*, 24(4), 559-583.

Dean, M. (2002) Life and Death Beyond Governmentality, *Cultural Values*, 6(1/2), 119-138.

Dean, M. (2010) *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*, 2nd *ed.,* Sage Publications: London.

DECC (2011a) *About Us*
http://www.decc.gov.uk/en/content/cms/about/about.aspx
Accessed on 22.02.11

DECC (2011b) *Smart Metering Implementation Programme: Responses to Prospectus Consultation, Overview Document*, DECC: London,
Available at:
http://www.decc.gov.uk/assets/decc/Consultations/smart-meter-imp-prospectus/1475-smart-metering-imp-response-overview.pdf
Accessed on 27.07.11

Defra (2005a) *Securing the Future*, The Stationary Office: Norwich.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/sustainable/government/publications/uk-strategy/documents/SecFut_complete.pdf
Accessed on 03.04.08

Defra (2005b) *Local Authority District Classification*
Available at:
http://archive.defra.gov.uk/evidence/statistics/rural/
Accessed on 27.07.11

Defra (2006a) *An environmental behaviours strategy for Defra: Scoping Report*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/evidence/social/behaviour/documents/behaviours-1206-scoping.pdf
Accessed on 14.03.11

Defra (2006b) *Climate Change: The UK Programme*, The Stationary Office: Norwich.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/ENVIRONMENT/climatechange/uk/ukccp/pdf/ukccp06-all.pdf
Accessed on 14.03.11

Defra (2006c) *Departmental Report* 2006, The Stationary Office: London.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/corporate/about/reports/documents/2006deptreport.pdf
Accessed on 14.03.11

Defra (2006d) *Behaviour Change: A Series of Practical Guides for Policy-Makers and Practitioners: Number 2, Targeting Specific Lifestyle Groups*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=SD14005_3802_INF.pdf
Accessed on 14.03.11

Defra (2006e) *Behaviour Change: A Series of Practical Guides for Policy-Makers and Practitioners: Number 5, Understanding Choice*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=SD14008_3805_INF.pdf
Accessed on 14.03.11

Defra (2006f) *Behaviour Change: A Series of Practical Guides for Policy-Makers and Practitioners: Number 1, Sustainable Resource Use in the Home*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=SD14002_3798_INF.pdf
Accessed on 14.03.11

Defra (2007a) *Departmental Report 2007*, The Stationary Office: London.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/corporate/about/reports/documents/2007-deptreport.pdf
Accessed on 14.03.11

Defra (2007b) *Mobilising individual behavioural change through community initiatives: Lessons for Climate Change*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://www.cse.org.uk/downloads/file/pub1073.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Defra (2008a) *A Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours: Report*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/evidence/social/behaviour/documents/behaviours-jan08-report.pdf
Accessed on 14.03.11

Defra (2008b) *A Framework for Pro-Environmental Behaviours: Annexes*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/evidence/social/behaviour/documents/behaviours-jan08-annexes.pdf
Accessed on 14.03.11

Defra (2008c) *Third Sector Strategy*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://archive.defra.gov.uk/corporate/about/with/third-sector/documents/Defra-Third-Sector-Strategy-1108.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Defra (2008d) *Greener Living Fund 2009-2011: Guidance notes for applicants – concept note stage*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://archive.defra.gov.uk/corporate/about/with/third-sector/documents/guide-applicants-concept-note.pdf
Accessed on 28.04.11

Defra (2009a) *Third Sector Strategy One Year On – a progress report: detailed annex*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/corporate/about/how/third-sector/documents/strategy-progress-detailed091105.pdf
Accessed on 25.05.10

Defra (2009b) *Sustainable Development Action Plan: September 2009 – March 2010*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/sustainable/defra/pdf/sd-action-plan-2009-2011.pdf
Accessed on 15.03.11

Defra (2009c) *Greener Living Fund: EcoTeams*, unpublished.

Defra (undated a) *Inside Defra: How Defra Works*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/corporate/about/how/documents/inside-defra.pdf
Accessed on 14.03.11

Defra (undated b*) Environmental Action Fund 2005 – 2008: Guidance Notes for Applicants*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/corporate/docs/forms/envprot/eaf13.pdf
Accessed on 29.03.11

Defra (undated c) *Greener Living Fund Questions and Guidance*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://archive.defra.gov.uk/corporate/about/with/third-sector/greener-living-fund.htm
Accessed on 20.04.11

Defra Website (undated a) Evidence in Defra
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/corporate/policy/evidence/
Accessed on 18.05.11

Defra Website (undated b) Evidence Base
Available at:
http://archive.defra.gov.uk/environment/business/scp/evidence/theme3/sustain-consump.htm
Accessed 20.04.11.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998) Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research, in: Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *Strategies of Qualitative Enquiry*, Sage Publications: London, pp. 1-34

De Young, R. (2000) Expanding and Evaluating Motives for Environmentally Responsible Behaviour, *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(3), 509-526.

Dickson, B. (2000) The Ethicists Conception of Environmental Problems, *Environmental Values*, 9, 127-152.

Dilley, L. (2009) Consumption, Identity and the Case of Local Food, *Centre for Rural Economy Working Paper*, 23,
Available at:
http://www.ncl.ac.uk/cre/publish/discussionpapers/pdfs/dp22%20Dilley.pdf
Accessed on 21.09.11

Dobson, A. (2010) *Environmental citizenship and pro-environmental behaviour: Rapid research and evidence review*, The Sustainable Development Research Network: London.
Available at:
http://www.sd-research.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/sdrn_environmentalcitizenshipreview_formatted_final.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Doughty, S. (2010) Ministers lavish £9m on climate change stunts … but public is left cold by global ‘propaganda’, *The Daily Mail*, 18.02.10,
Available at:
http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1251881/Ministers-lavished-9m-climate-change-stunts--public-opinion-left-cold-global-warming-propaganda.html
Accessed on 28.07.11

Dowling, R. (2009) Geographies of identity: climate change, governmentality and activism, *Progress in Human Geography*, 1-8.

Dresner, S., McGeevor, K, and Tomei, J. (2007) *Public Understanding Synthesis Report: A report to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs*, Policy Studies Institute, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=EV02065_6902_FRP.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Dreyfus, H. L., Rabinow, P. (1983) *Michael Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

du Gay, P. (2007) *Organising Identity: Persons and Organisations after Theory (Culture, Representation and Identity Series)*, Sage Publications: London.

Dwyer, C. (1999) Contradictions of community: questions of identity for young British Muslim women, *Environment and Planning* A, 31, 53-68.

Eco Eye (undated) Eco Eye
Available at:
http://www.reuk.co.uk/OtherImages/eco-eye-mini.jpg
Accessed on 27.07.11

Eco-Teams (undated a) *EcoTeams Handbook*,
Available at:
http://ecoteams.org.uk/sites/ecoteams/files/EcoTeams%20Handbook%20to%20use%20alongside%20website_1.pdf
Accessed on 27.04.11

Eco-Teams (undated b) *Consumer Purchasing Power*
Available at:
http://ecoteams.org.uk/5-consumption-purchaser-power
Accessed on 29.04.11

Eco-Teams (undated c) *Join a Local EcoTeam!,*
Available at:
http://ecoteams.org.uk/sites/ecoteams/files/EcoTeams%20recruitment%20flyer%20A5.pdf
Accessed on 26.04.11

EST (2007a) *Green Barometer: Measuring Environmental Attitude, April, 2007*, EST: London.
Available at:
http://10.9.0.18/content/download/7487/32772/file/Green-Barometer-Web(spread).pdf
Accessed on 25.02.11

EST (2007b) *The Power of One, Green Barometer, November 2007, Issue 3*, EST: London.
Available at:
http://www.energysavingtrust.org.uk/uploads/documents/aboutest/GBIIIFINAL%20-%20use%20me!.pdf
Accessed on 25.02.11

EST (2008) *Emission Impossible: A vision for low-carbon lifestyle by 2050*, EST: London.
Available at:
http://www.energysavingtrust.org.uk/Publication-Download/?p=4&pid=1336
Accessed on 25.02.11

EST (2009a) *Annual Review 2007-2008: Joining the dots: One Vision*, EST: London.
Available at:
http://www.energysavingtrust.org.uk/Publication-Download/?oid=397857&aid=1238833
Accessed on 25.02.11

EST (2009b) *Achieving our mission: The Energy Saving Trust Strategy 2009-2014*, EST: London.
Available at:
http://server-uk.imrworldwide.com/cgi-bin/b?cg=corporatedocs&ci=energyst&tu=http://www.energysavingtrust.org.uk/content/download/482484/1643744/version/3/file/Achiving
Accessed on 25.02.11

EST (2010*) Annual Review 2009/2010*, EST: London.
Available at:
http://server-uk.imrworldwide.com/cgi-bin/b?cg=corporatedocs&ci=energyst&tu=http://www.energysavingtrust.org.uk/content/download/1946424/5812005/version/3/file/EST
Accessed on 25.02.11

EST (2011) *Easy Ways to Stop Wasting Energy*,
http://www.energysavingtrust.org.uk/Easy-ways-to-stop-wasting-energy/Stop-wasting-energy-and-cut-your-bills/Tips-to-help-you-stop-wasting-energy
Accessed on 23.02.11

EST (undated a) *Green Communities*,
Available at:
http://www.energysavingtrust.org.uk/content/download/559455/1988037/file/how%20to%20guide%20carbon%20footprinting%20tool.pdf
Accessed on 25.02.11

EST (undated b) *Green Communities Action Plan Template*
Available at:
http://origin-akamai.est.org.uk/content/download/603063/2215627/file/Green%20Community%20Action%20Plan.doc
Accessed on 27.07.11

Etzoni, A. (1994) Restoring our moral voice, *Public Interest*, 116, 107-113.

Ewald, F. (1990) Norms, Discipline and the Law, *Representations*, 30, 138-161.

Fell, D., Austin, A., Kiviven, E. & Wilkins, C. (2009) *The diffusion of environmental behaviours; the role of influential individuals in social networks. Report 1: Key finding*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=EV0408_8307_FRP.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Ferguson, J. & Gupta, A. (2002) Spatializing states: toward an ethnography of neoliberal governmentality, *American Ethnologist*, 29(4), 981-1002.

Fetterman, D. M. (1998). *Ethnography Step by Step*. Sage Publications: London.

Fife Diet (Undated) Fife Diet
Available at:
http://www.fifediet.co.uk/about-us/
Accessed on 28.02.11

Fisher, T, Cooper, T, Woodward, S, Hiller A and Goworek H, (2008) *Public Understanding of Sustainable Clothing: A report to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs*. Defra: London.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/environment/business/scp/research/themes/theme3/sustain-consump0708.htm
Accessed on 23.05.10

Foucault, M. (1979) Omnes et sigulatim: Towards a criticism of 'Political Reason', in: *The Tanner Lecture on Human Values Vol. 11*, Utah University Press: Salt Lake City, pp. 223-254.

Foucault, M. (1980a) 'Two Lectures': in Gordon, G. (ed) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972 – 1977*, Harvester Press: New York, pp. 78-108.

Foucault, M. (1980b) 'Truth and Power': in Gordon, G. (ed) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972 – 1977,* Harvester Press: New York, pp. 109-133.

Foucault, M. (1988a) 'Technologies of the Self' in: Martin, L., Gutman, H. & Hutton, P., H. (eds) *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michael Foucault*, Tavistock Publications: London, pp. 16 - 49.

Foucault, M. (1988b) 'Truth, Power, Self: An interview with Michel Foucault': in Luther, H. M., Gutman, H. & Hutton, P. (eds) *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michael Foucault*, Tavistock Publications: London, pp. 9-16

Foucault, M. (1990) *The History of Sexuality volume 1: An introduction*, Penguin Books: London.

Foucault, M. (1991a) 'Governmentality' in: Burchell, G., Gordon, C. & Miller, P. (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality: with two lectures and an interview*. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, pp. 87-105

Foucault, M. (1991b) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Penguin Books: London.

Foucault, M. (1992) *The History of Sexuality: The Use of Pleasure, Vol. 2*. Penguin Books: London.

Foucault, M. (1993) About the Beginning of the Hermeneutics of the Self: Two Lecture at Dartmouth, *Political Theory*, 21(2), 198-227.

Foucault, M. (2000a) The Birth of Biopolitics, in: Rabinow, P. (ed) *Michel Foucault: the essential works if Foucault 1954 – 1984: Volume 1: Ethics*, Penguin Books: London, pp. 73-79.

Foucault, M. (2000b) Polemics, Politics, and Problematizations: An interview with Michel Foucault, in: Rabinow, P. (ed) *Michel Foucault: the essential works if Foucault 1954 – 1984: Volume 1: Ethics*, Penguin Books: London, pp. 111 – 121.

Foucault, M. (2000c) The ethics of the concern of the self as a practice of freedom, in: Rabinow, P. (ed) *Michel Foucault: the essential works if Foucault 1954 – 1984: Volume 1: Ethics*, Penguin Books: London, pp. 281-301.

Foucault, M. (2002) Questions of Method, in: Faubion, J. D. (ed) *Michel Foucault: the essential works of Foucault 1954 – 1984: Volume 3: Power,* Penguin Books: London, pp. 223-238.

Foucault, M. (2003) 'The Subject and the Power' in: Rabinow, P. & Rose, N. (eds) *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault, 1954 – 1984*. Newpress: London, pp. 126-144.

Foucault, M. (2007) *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Routledge: Oxon.

Foucault, M. (2009) *Security, Territory, Population*, Palgrave Macmillian: Basingstoke.

Foucault, M. (2010) *The Birth of Biopolitics,* Palgrave Macmillian: Basingstoke.

Gane, M. (2008) Foucault on Governmentality and Liberalism, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 25(7-8), 353-363.

Gaskell, G. (2000) Individual and Group Interviewing, in: Bauer, M. W. & Gaskell, G. (eds) *Qualitaitve Researching with Text, Image and Sound: A practical handbook*, Sage Publications: London, pp. 38-56.

Geertz, C. (2000) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. Chapter 1, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." Basic Books: Cambridge, pp. 3-30.

Gibbs, D., Jonas, A. & While, A. (2002) Changing Governance Structures and the Environment: Economy-Environment Relations at the Local and Regional Scales. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 4, 123-138.

Gibson, C., Head, L., Gill, N. & Waitt, G. (2011) Climate change and household dynamics: beyond consumption, unbounding sustainability, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 36(1), 3-8.

Giddens, A. (2000) *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*, Polity Press: Oxford.

Giles, E. L. & Lee, R. P. (2008) Exploring the Relationship between Agri-Food Marketing and Public Policy: The case of Social Food Marketing, *Centre for Rural Economy Discussion Paper*, 21,
Available at:
http://www.ncl.ac.uk/cre/publish/discussionpapers/pdfs/dp21%20Giles%20Lee.pdf
Accessed on 14.03.11

Going Carbon Neutral (undated) Going Carbon Neutral
Available at:
http://www.goingcarbonneutral.co.uk/
Accessed on 28.02.11

Goodall, C. (2007) *How to live a low carbon life: The individual's guide to stopping climate change*. Earthscan: London.

Goodin, R. E. (1992) *Green Political Theory*, Polity Press: Cambridge.

Goodwin, M. J., Greasley, S., Peter, J. & Richardson, L. (2010) Can we make environmental citizens? A randomised control trial of the effects of a school-based intervention on the attitudes and knowledge of young people, *Environmental Politics*, 19(3), 392-412.

Goldman, M (2005) *Imperial Nature: The World Bank and Struggles for Social Justice in the age of Globalisation*, Yale University Press: London.

Green Alliance (2006) *Achieving a step-change in environmental behaviours: A report from three Green Alliance workshops held with civil society organisations in October and November 2006,* Green Alliance.
Available at:
http://www.green-alliance.org.uk/uploadedFiles/Our_Work/AchievingStepChangeEnvtalBehaviours.pdf
Accessed on: 14.03.11

Greenpeace (undated) *How to Save the Climate*, Greenpeace: Amsterdam,
Available at:
http://www.greenpeace.org/international/Global/international/planet-2/report/2007/4/how-to-save-the-climate-pers.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Gronhoj, A. & Thogersen, J. (2011) Feedback on Household electricity consumption: learning and social influence processes, *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 35, 138-145.

Guthman, J. (2008) Neoliberalism and the making of food politics in California, *Geoforum*, 39, 1171-1183.

Hacking, I. (1999a) *The Social Construction of What?*, Harvard University Press: London.

Hacking, I. (1999b) Making Up People, in: Biagioli, M. (ed) *The Science Studies Reader*, Routledge: London, pp. 161-172

Hacking, I (2004) Between Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman: between discourse in the abstract and face-to-face interaction, *Economy and Society*, 33(3), 277-302.

Haggerty, J. H. (2007) "I'm not a greenie but …": Enviornmentality, eco-populism and governance in New Zealand: Experiences from the Southland whitebait fishery, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 23, 222-237.

Hale, S. (2010) The new politics of climate change: why we are failing and how we sill succeed, *Environmental Politics*, 19(2), 255-275.

Hall, S. (1997) 'The Work of Representation': in Hall, S. (ed) *Cultural representation and signifying practises*. Sage Publications: London, pp. 13-75.

Halpern, D., Bates, C., Mulgan, G., Aldridge, S. Bealses, G. & Heathfiled, A. (2004) *Personal Responsibility and Changing Behaviour: the state of knowledge and its implications for public policy*, Prime Minister's Strategy Unit: London,
Available at:
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/media/cabinetoffice/strategy/assets/pr2.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Hammersley, M. (1995) *The Politics of Social Research*: Sage Publications: London.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography: Principles and Practice (2nd ed)*, Routledge: London.

Hammersley, M & Atkinson, P. (2007) *Ethnography: Principles and Practice (3rd ed)*, Travistock Publications Ltd: Oxon.

Harland, P., Staats, H. & Wilkie, H.A.M. (1999) Explaining Proenvironmental Intention and Behaviour by Personal Norms and Theory of Planned Behaviour, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 29(12), 2505-2528.

Hargreaves, T. (2008) *Making Pro-enviornmental Behaviour Work: An Ethnographic Case Study of Practice, Process and Power in the Work Place*, PhD Thesis, University of East Anglia.

Hargreaves, T. (2009) The Visible Energy Trail: Insights from Qualitative Interviews, *Tyndall Working Paper,* 141, Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, Available at:
http://www.tyndall.ac.uk/sites/default/files/twp141.pdf
Accessed on 27.07.11

Hargreaves, T., Nye, M. & Burgess, J. (2008) Social experiments in sustainable consumption: an evidence –based approach with potential for engaging low-income communities, *Local Environment*, 13(8), 742-758.

Hargreaves, T., Nye, M. & Burgess, J. (2010) Making Energy Visible: A qualitative field study of how householders interact with feedback from smart energy monitors, *Energy Policy*, 38, 6111-6119.

Hargreaves, T. (2010) Putting Foucault to work on the environment: Exploring pro-environmental behaviour change as a form of discipline, *CSERGE Working Paper*, EDM 10-11.

Hargreaves, T. (2011) Practice-ing behaviour change: Applying social practice theory to pro-environmental behaviour change, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 11(1), 79-99.

Harris, E. (2009) Neoliberal Subjectivities or a politics of the possible? Reading for difference in alternative food networks, *Area*, 41(1), 55-63.

Hayward, C., Simpson, L. & Wood, L. (2004) Still Left Out in the Cold: Probelmatising Participatory Research and Development, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 44(1), 96-108.

Herbert-Cheshire, L. (2000) Contemporary strategies for rural community development in Australia: a governmentality perspective, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 16(2), 203-215.

Herbert-Cheshire, L. (2001) *Governing Rural Development: Discursive Practices of Self-Help in Contemporary Rural Australia*, PhD Thesis, Central Queensland University

Herbert-Cheshire, L. & Higgins, V. (2004) From risky to responsible: expert knowledge and governing of community-led rural development, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20, 289-302.

Hickman, M. (2011) Nudge, nudge, wink, wink … How Government wants to change the way we think, *The Independent*, 03.01.11,
Available at:
http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/nudge-nudge-wink-wink-how-the-government-wants-to-change-the-way-we-think-2174655.html
Accessed on 28.07.11

Higgins, V. (2004) Government as a Failing Operation: Regulating Administrative Conduct 'at a Distance' in Australia, *Sociology*, 38(3), 457-476.

Hinchliffe, S. (1996) Helping the earth begins at home: The social construction of socio-environmental responsibilities, *Fuel and Energy Abstracts*, 6(1), 53-62.

Hinchliffe, S. (1997) Locating risk: energy use, the 'ideal' home and the non-ideal world, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22(2), 197-209.

Hindress, B. (1997) Politics and Governmentality, *Economy and Society*, 26(2), 257-272.

HLSTSC (2011) *Behaviour Change: Report*, The Stationary Office: London, Available at: http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201012/ldselect/ldsctech/179/179.pdf Accessed on 28.07.11

Hobson, K. (2002) Competing Discourses of Sustainable Consumption: Does the 'Rationalisation of Lifestyles' Make Sense? *Environmental Politics*, 11(2), 95-120.

Hobson, K. (2003) Thinking Habits into Action: The role of knowledge and process in questioning household consumption practices, *Local Environment*, 8(1), 95-112.

Hobson, K. (2004) Sustainable Consumption in the United Kingdom: The "Responsible" Consumer and Government at "Arm's Length", *The Journal of Environmental Development*, 13(2), 121-139.

Hobson, K. (2006) Bins, Bulbs and Shower Timers: On the 'Techno-Ethics' of Sustainable Living, *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 9(3), 317-336.

Hobson, K. (2009) On a Governmentality Analytics of the 'Deliberative Turn': Material Conditions, Rationalities and the Deliberating Subject, *Space and Polity*, 13(3), 175-191.

Hofmeyr, B. (2006) The Power Not to Be (What We Are) The Politics and Ethics of Self-creation in Foucault, *Journal of Moral Philosophy*, 3(2): 215-230.

Holstien, J.A., & Gubrium, J.F. (1997). Active Interviewing, in: Silverman, D. (ed.), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Methods and Practice*. Sage Publications: London, pp. 99-112.

Holstein, J. A. & Gubrium, J. F. (2005) Interpretive Practice and Social Action, in: Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research (3rd ed)*, Sage Publications: London, pp. 483-505.

Hopkins, R. (2008) *The Transition Handbook: From oil dependency to local resilience*, Green Books Ltd: Totnes.

Hoy, D. C. (1986) Introduction, in: Hoy, D.C. (ed) *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, Blackwell Publishing: London, pp. 1-25.

HMG (2010) *Shaping Our Future: The joint ministerial and third sector Task Force on climate change, the environment and sustainable development*, HMG: Surrey.
Available at:
http://www.defra.gov.uk/corporate/about/with/third-sector/documents/taskforce-march2010.pdf
Accessed on 29.03.11

HMG (2011) *The Coalition: our programme of government*, Cabinet Office: London.

Ilcan, S. & Basok, T. (2004) Community government: Voluntary agencies, social justice and the responsibilisation of the citizen, *Citizenship Studies*, 8(2), 129-144.

Ingram, M. (1984) Ridings, Rough Music and the “Reform of Popular Culture” in Early Modern England, *Past and Present Society*, 105(1), 79-113.

IPCC (2007) *Climate Change 2007: Synthesis report, and assessment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*, IPCC: Valencia.
Available at:
http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Jackson, T. (2005a) *Motivating Sustainable Consumption: a review of evidence on consumer behaviour and behavioural change*, Report to the Sustainable Development Research Network,
Available at:
http://www.sd-research.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/motivatingscfinal_000.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Jackson, T. (2005b) Live Better by Consuming Less: Is There a "Double Dividend" in Sustainable Consumption?, *Journal of Industrial Ecology*, 9(1-2), 19-36.

Jackson, T. (2009a) Postscript, in: Thomas-Pellicer, R., Reconstructing Communities of Sustainable Consumption and Climate Justice: Towards a Deconstruction of the Global Polity, in: Banik, S. D. & Basu, S. K. (eds) *Environmental Challenges of the 21st Century*, A.P.H. Publishing Corporation: New Delhi, pp. 271-343.

Jackson, T. (2009b) *Prosperity without growth? The Transition to a sustainable economy*, Sustainable Development Commission: London.

Jamison, A. (1996) The Shaping of the Global Environmental Agenda: The Role of Non-Governmental Organisations, in: Lash, S., Szerszynski, B. & Wynne, B. (eds) *Risk, Environment & Modernity: Towards a New Ecology*, Sage Publications: London, pp. 224-245.

Jessop, B. (2002) Liberalism, Neoliberalism and Urban Governance: A State-Theoretical Perspective, *Antipode*, 34(3), 452-472.

Jessop, B. (2007) From Micro-powers to governmentality: Foucault's work on statehood, state formation, statecraft and state power, *Political Geography*, 26, 34-40.

John, P., Smith, G., & Stoker, G. (2009) Nudge Nudge, Think Think: Two Strategies for Changing Civic Behaviour, *The Political Quarterly*, 80(3), 361-370.

Johnson, M. J. (2001). In-Depth Interviewing, in: Gubrium, J. & Holstein, J. (ed.), *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*. Sage Publications: London, pp. 103-119.

Jones, R., Pykett, J. & Whitehead, M. (2010) Governing Temptation: Governing in an age of libertarian paternalism, *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(4), 483-501.

Jones, R., Pykett, J. & Whitehead, M. (2011) The Geographies of Soft Paternalism in the UK: The Rise of the Avuncular State and Changing Behaviour after Neoliberalism, *Geography Compass*, 5(1), 50-62.

Jordan, A. (2008) The governance for sustainable development: taking stock and looking forwards, *Environment and Planning C*, 26, 17-33.

Jordan, A., Wurzel, R., K., W. & Zito, A. (2005) The Rise of 'New' Policy Instruments in Comparative Perspective: Has Governance Eclipsed Government? *Political Studies*, 53, 477-496.

Jose, J. (2010) A (con)fusion of discourses? Against the governancing of Foucault, *Social Identities*, 16(5), 689-703.

Jowit, J. (2008) UN says eat less meat to curb global warming, *The Observer*, 7.09.08.
Available at:
http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2008/sep/07/food.foodanddrink
Accessed on 27.04.11

Katz, I. (2009)10:10: What's it all about? What is the 10:10 campaign and why are 10% emissions cuts in 2010 important? *The Guardian*, 1.09.09.
Available at:
http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2009/sep/01/10-10-campaign-explained
Accessed on 27.07.11

Kenny, M. (1996) Paradoxes of Community, in: Doherty, B. & de Geus, M. (eds), *Democracy and Green Political Thought: Sustainability, Rights and Citizenship*, Routledge: London, pp. 19-35.

Kohli, W. (1999) Performativity and Pedagogy: the making of educational subjects, *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 18, 319-326.

Lafferty, W.M. & Eckerberg, K. (1998) 'Introduction: The nature and purpose of local agenda 21', in: Lafferty, W.M. & Eckerberg, K. (eds) *From the Earth Summit to Local Agenda 21*. Earthscan: London, pp. 1-16.

Lane, M. B. & McDonald, G. (2005) Community-based Environmental Planning: Operational Dilemmas Planning Principles and Possible Remedies. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 48(5), 709-731.

Larsson, B., Andersson, M. & Osbeck, C (2010) Bringing Environmentalism Home: Children's influence on family consumption in the Nordic countries and beyond, *Childhood*, 17(1), 129-147.

Larner W. & Butler, M. (2005) Governmentalities of Local Partnerships: the rise of a "partnering state" in New Zealand, *Studies in Political Economy*, 75, 79-101.

Leech, B. L. (2002) Asking Questions: Techniques for Semistructured Interviews, *Political Science and Politics*, 35(4), 665-668.

Lemke, T. (2001) 'The birth of biopolitics': Michel Foucault's lecture at the College de France on neo-liberal governmentality, *Economy and Society*, 30(2), 190-207.

Lemke, T. (2002) Foucault, Governmentality and Critique, *Rethinking Marxism*, 14(3), 49-64.

Lemke, T. (2007) An indigestible meal? Foucault, governmentality and state theory, *Distinktion*, 15, 43-66.

Lemos, M. C. & Agrawal, A. (2006) Environmental Governance, *Annual Review of Environmental Resources*, 31, 297-325.

Letell, M., Sundqvist, G. & Elam, M. (2011) Steering through the neighbourhood: towards an advanced liberal risk society, *Environment and Planning A*, 43, 106-125.

Levy, N. (1999) Foucault's Unnatural Ecology, in: Darier, E. (ed), *Discourses of the Environment*, Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, pp. 203-216.

Levitas, R. (2000) Community, Utopia and New Labour, *Local Economy*, 2000, 15(3), 188-197.

Lewis, J. (2005) New Labour's Approach to the Voluntary Sector: Independence, *Social Policy and Society*, 4(2), 121-131.

Li, T. M. (2007) *The will to improve: governmentality, development and the practice of politics*, Duke University Press: London.

Liepins, R. (2000a) Exploring rurality through 'community': discourses, practices and spaces shaping Australian and New Zealand rural 'communities', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 16, 325-341.

Lincoln, Y. S. (2002) Emerging Criteria for Quality in Qualitative and Interpretive Research, in: Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (ed) *The Qualitative Inquiry Reader*, Sage Publications: London, pp. 327-345.

Littler, J. (2006) Tackling Turbo Consumption: An interview with Juliet Schor, *Soundings*, 34, 45-55.

Lockie, S. (2002) 'The Invisible Mouth': Mobilising the 'Consumer' in Food Production-Consumption Networks, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 42(4), 278-294.

Lowe, P.D. & Wolfgang, R. (1986) Review Article: Political Ecology and the Social Sciences – The State of the Art, *British Journal of Political Science*, 16, 513-550.

Luke, T., W. (1995a) On Environmentality: Geo-Power and Eco-Knowledge in the Discourses of Contemporary Environmentalism, *Cultural Critique*, 31(2), 57-81.

Luke, T. W. (1995b) Sustainable Development as a power/knowledge system: the problem of governmentality, in: Fischer, F. & Black, M., *Greening Environmental Policy: The Politics of a sustainable Future*, Paul Chapman Publishing: Liverpool, pp. 21-32.

Luke, T. W. (1999) Enviornmentality as Green Governmentality, in: Darier, E. (ed), *Discourses of the Environment*, Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, pp. 121-151.

MacKinnon, D. (2002) Rural governance and local involvement: assessing state-community relations in the Scottish highlands. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 18, 307-324.

Malpas, J. (2001) Governing Theory: Ontology, Methodology and the Critique of Metaphysics, in Wickham, G. & Pavlich, G. (eds) *Rethinking Law, Society and Governance: Foucault's Bequest*, Hart Publishing: Oxford, pp. 125-140.

Maniates, M. (2002). Individualisation: Plant a Tree, Buy a Bike, Save the World? In: Princen, T., Maniates, M. & Conca, K. (eds). (2002). *Confronting Consumption*. MIT Press: London, pp. 43-66.

Mansvelt, J. (2008) Geogrpahies of consumption: citizenship, space and practice, *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(1), 105-117.

Marcus, G. E. (2006) What is at Stake – and is not – in the idea of and Practice of Multi-Sited Ethnography, in: Moore, H. L. & Sanders, T. (eds) *Anthropology in Theory: Issues in Epistemology*, Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, pp. 618-621.

Marinetto, M. (2003) Who wants to be an active citizen?: The politics and practice of community involvement, *Sociology*, 37(1), 103-118.

Marshall, C. & Rossman, G. B. (1999) *Designing Qualitative Research (3rd ed)*, Sage Publications: London.

McKee, K. (2009) Post-Foucauldian governmentality: What does it offer critical social policy analysis? *Critical Social Policy*, 29(3), 465-486.

McKee, K. (2011) Sceptical, Disorderly and Paradoxical Subjects: Problematizing the "Will to Empower" in Social Housing Governance, *Social Housing Governance, Housing, Theory and Society*, 28(1), 1-18.

McKenzie-Mohr, D. (2000) Promoting Sustainable Behaviour: An Introduction to Community-Based Social Marketing. *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(3), 543-554.

McLeavy, J. (2009) (Re)Analysing Community Empowerment: Rationalities and Technologies of Government in Bristol's New Deal for Communities, *Urban Studies Journal*, 46(4), 849-875.

Merriman, P. (2005) Materiality, Subjectification and Government: the Geographies of Britain's Motorway Code, *Environment and Planning D*, 23(2), 235-250.

Middlemiss, L. (2010) Reframing Individual Responsibility for Sustainable Consumption: Lessons from Environmental Justice and Ecological Citizenship, *Environmental Values*, 19, 147-167.

Middlemiss, L. (2011) The effects of community-based action for sustainability on participants' lifestyles, *Local Environment*, 16(3), 265-280.

Middlemiss, L. & Parrish, B. D. (2010) Building capacity for low-carbon communities: the role of grassroots initiatives, *Energy Policy*, 38, 7559-7566.

Miller, G., Rathouse, K., Scarles, C., Holmes, K. and Tribe, J. (2007) *Public understanding of sustainable leisure and tourism: A report to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs,* University of Surrey, Defra: London, Available at:
http://www.som.surrey.ac.uk/staffprofile/grahammiller/PublicAwarenessReport.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Miller, J. & Glassner, B. (1997). The ‘inside’ and the ‘outside’: finding realities in interviews. In Silverman, D. (ed.), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Methods and Practice*. Sage Publications: London, pp. 99-112.

Miller, P. (2001) Governing by Numbers: Why Calculative Practices Matter, *Social Research*, 68(2), 379-396.

Miller, P. & Rose, N. (1990) Governing Economic Life in: Gane, M. & Johnson, T. (eds) *Foucault’s New Domains*, Routledge: London, pp. 75-106.

Miller, P. & Rose, N. (1997) Mobilising the Consumer: Assembling the Subject of Consumption, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 14(1), 1-36.

Mol, A. P.J. (2007) Bringing the environmental state back in: Partnerships in perspective, in: Glasbergen, P., Biermann, F. & Mol, A. P. J. (eds) *Partnerships, Governance and Sustainable Development*, Edward Elgar: Cheltenham, pp. 214-239.

Moisander, J. & Pesonen, S. (2002). Narratives of Sustainable Ways of Living: Constructing the Self and the Other as a Green Consumer. *Management Decisions*, 40(4), 329-342.

Moisander, J., Makkula, A. & Eraranta, K. (2010) Construction of consumer choice in the market: challenges for environmental policy, *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 34, 73-79.

Monbiot, G. (undated) George Monbiot talks about air travel and Love Miles
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bbYsZFEYclM
Accessed on 25.02.11

Morrison, J. (2000) The Government –Voluntary Sector Compacts: Governance, Governmentality, and Civil Society, *Journal of Law and Society*, 27(1), 98-132

Murdoch, J. (1997) The Shifting Territory of Government: Some Insights from the Rural White Paper, *Area*, 29(2), 109-118.

Murdoch, J. & Abram, S. (1998) Defining the Limits of Community Governance, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 14(1), 41-50.

Murdoch, J. & Ward, N. (1997) Governmentality and Territoriality: The Statistical Manufacture of Britain's 'National Farm', *Political Geography*, 16(4), 307-324.

National Social Marketing Centre for Excellence (2005) *Social Marketing Pocket Guide: 1st Edition*, National Social Marketing Centre for Excellence: London.

Nef (2008) The response of civil society to climate change, NEF: London, Available at: http://movimientotransicion.pbworks.com/f/IN++Respuesta+civil+al+Cambio+Clim%C3%A1tico.PDF
Accessed on 03.11.11

Nixon, S. (1997) 'The Spectacle of the 'Other'': in Hall, S. (ed) *Cultural representation and signifying practises*. Sage Publications: London, pp. 223 – 291.

Nye, M. & Burgess, J. (2008) *Promoting Durable Change in Household Waste and Energy Use Behaviour: A technical Report for the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs*, University of East Anglia, Defra: London.

Oels, A. (2005). Rendering Climate Change Governable: From Biopower to Advanced Liberal Government, *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 7(3), 185-207.

Okwell, D., Whitmarsh, L. & O'Neill, S. (2009) Reorienting Climate Change Communication for Effective Mitigation: Forcing People to be Green or Fostering Grass Roots Engagement? *Science Communication*, 30(3), 305-327.

O'Malley, P. (1996) Indigenous Governance, *Economy and Society*, 25(3), 310-326.

O'Malley, P., Weir, L. Shearing, C. (1997) 'Governmentality, criticism, politics', *Economy and Society*, 26(4), 501-517.

O'Neil, B. (2010) A message to the illiberal Nudge industry: push off, *Spiked*, Available at:
http://www.spiked-online.com/index.php/site/article/9840/
Accessed on 25.07.11

ONS (2004) Neighbourhood Statistics
Available at:
http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/viewFullDataset.do?
Accessed on 23.06.11

O'Toole, K. & Burdess, N. (2004) New community governance in small rural towns: the Australian experience. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20, 433-443.

Owen, L., Seaman, H, and Prince, S. (2007) *Public Understanding of Sustainable Consumption of Food: A report to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs,* Opinion Leader, Defra: London,
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=EV02045_6700_FRP.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Parr, S. (2009) Confronting the reality of anti-social behaviour, *Theoretical Criminology*, 13(3), 363-381.

Paterson, M. & Stripple, J. (2010) My Space: governing individuals' carbon emissions, *Environment and Planning D*, 28, 341-362.

Pattie, C., Seyd, P. & Whiteley, P. (2003) Civic Attitudes and Engagement in Modern Britain, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 56, 616-633.

Peck, J. & Tickell, A. (2002) Neoliberalising Space, *Antipode*, 34(3), 380-404.

Peck, J. (2001) Neoliberlaising States: Thin policies/Hard outcomes, *Progress in Human Geography*, 25(3), 445-455.

Peck, J. (2004) Geography and public policy: constructions of neoliberalsim, *Progress in Human Geography*, 28(3), 392-405.

Peters, M. & Fudge, S. (2008) Motivating individual carbon reduction through Government-led community initiatives in the UK: the role of local government as an agent of social change, *RESOLVE Working Paper*, 04-08
Available at:
http://www3.surrey.ac.uk/resolve/Docs/WorkingPapers/RESOLVE_WP_04-08.pdf
Accessed on 28.07.11

Peters, M. & Jackson, T. (2008) Community Action: A Force for Social Change? Some Conceptual Observations, *RESOLVE Working Paper,* 01-08.
Available at:
http://www3.surrey.ac.uk/resolve/Docs/WorkingPapers/RESOLVE_WP_01-08.pdf
Accessed on 29.04.11

Pidgeon, N. & Butler, C. (2009) Risk analysis and climate change, *Environmental Politics*, 18(5), 670-688.

Power, M. (2000) The Audit Society – Second Thoughts, *The International Journal of Auditing*, 4(1), 111-119.

Pykett, J. (2011a) The New Maternal State: The Gendered Politics of Governing through Behaviour Change, *Antipode*, 00(0) 1-26.

Pykett, J. (2011b) Review Forum: Mindspace: State knowledges and the new philosopher kings, *Area*, 43(3), 370-372.

Pykett, J., Jones, R., Whitehead, M., Huxley, M., Strauss, K., Gill., N., McGeevor, K., Thompson, L. & Newman, J. (2011) Inventions in the political geography of ‘libertarian paternalism’, *Political Geography*, in press.

Pudup, M. B. (2008) It takes a garden: Cultivating citizen-subjects in organised garden projects, *Geoforum*, 39, 1228-1240.

Rabinow, P. & Sullivan, W. (1979) The Interpretive Turn: Emergence of an Approach, in: Rabinow, P. & Sullivan, W. (eds) *Interpretive Social Science: A Reader*, University of California Press: London, pp. 1-21.

Rabinow, P. & Rose, N. (2006) Biopower Today, *Biosocieties*, 1, 195-217.

Rathouse, K. (2008) *The Environmental Action Fund project evaluations: Good practice handbook*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://archive.defra.gov.uk/corporate/funding/documents/good-practice-handbook.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Randerson, J. (2010) Cameron: I want coalition to be the 'greenest government ever', *The Guardian*, 14.05.10,
Available at:
http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2010/may/14/cameron-wants-greenest-government-ever
Accessed on 28.07.11

Reed, I. (2008) Justifying Sociological Knowledge: From Realism to Interpretation, *Sociological Theory*, 26(2), 101-129.

Reid, L., Sutton, P. & Hunter, C. (2010) Theorizing the meso-level: the household as a crucible of pro-environmental behaviour, *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(3), 309-327.

Rhodes, R., A., W. (1996) The New Governance: Governing without Government, *Political Studies*, 4, 652-667.

Richardson, J., Harrison, G, and Parkhurst, G. (2007). *Public Understanding of Sustainable Transport: A report to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs*, Defra: London.
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=EV02048_6704_FRP.pdf
Accessed on 03.12.11

Rose, G (1997) Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics, *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(3), 305-320

Rose, N. (1996a) Identity, Genealogy, History. In: Hall, S & du Gay, P. (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Sage Publications: London.

Rose, N. (1996b) Governing "advanced" liberal democracies, in: Barr, A., Osborne, T. & Rose, N. (eds), *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism and rationalities of government*, UCL Press: London, pp. 37-64.

Rose, N. (1999a) *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Rose, N. (1999b) *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*, Free Association Books: London.

Rose, N. (1999c) Inventiveness in politics, *Economy and Society*, 28(3), 467- 493.

Rose, N. (2000a) Community, citizenship and the thirdway, *American Behavioural Scientist*, 43(9), 1385-1411.

Rose, N. (2000b) Government and Control, *British Journal of Criminology*, 40, 321-339.

Rose, N. & Miller, P. (1992) Political power beyond the State: problematics of government, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 43(2), 173-205.

Rose, N., O'Malley, P. & Valverde, M. (2006) Governmentality, *Annual Review of Law, Society and Science*, 2, 83-104.

Ross, K. & Osborne, S. P. (1999) Making a reality of community governance. Structuring Government-Voluntary Sector Relationships at a Local Level, *Public Policy and Administration*, 14(2), 49-61.

Rowley, S. (2011) Could the rebound effect undermine climate efforts? *The Guardian Blog*, 22.02.11,
Available at:
http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/blog/2011/feb/22/rebound-effect-climate-change
Accessed on 28.04.11

Rutherford, P. (1999) The entry of life into history, in: Darier, E. (ed), *Discourses of the Environment*, Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, pp. 37-62.

Rutherford, S. (2007). Green Governmentality: insights and opportunities in the study of nature's rule. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(3), 291-307.

Rydin, Y. (2007) Indicators as a Governmental Technology? The lessons of community-based sustainability indicators, *Environment and Planning D*, 25, 610-624.

SAC (2006) *Increasing the capacity and uptake of social research in Defra*, Defra: London. SAC (06) 42.
Available at:
http://sac.defra.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/SAC0642SocialScience.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

SAC (2007) *Social Research in Defra*: Defra: London. SAC (07) 33.
Available at:
http://sac.defra.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/SAC-07-33-Final-report.pdf
Accessed on 03.11.11

Sassatelli, R. (2006) Virtue, responsibility and consumer choice. In: J. Brewer and F. Trentmann, Editors, *Consuming cultures, global perspectives*, Berg Publishers: Oxford, pp. 219–250.

Schaefer, A. & Crane, A. (2005). Addressing Sustainability and Consumption, *Journal of Macromarketing*, 25(1), 76-92.

Schofield, B. (2002) Partners in Power: Governing the self sustaining community, *Sociology*, 36(3), 663-683.

Selman, P. (1998) Local Agenda 21: Substance or Spin? *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 41(5), 533-553.

Seyfang & Smith (2007) Grassroots Innovations for Sustainable Development: Towards a New Research and Policy Agenda, *Environmental Politics*, 16(4), 584-603.

Shaw, D., Newholm, T. & Dickinson, R. (2006) Consumption as voting: an exploration of consumer empowerment, *European Journal of Marketing*, 40(9/10), 1049-1067.

Shore, C. (2008) Audit culture and illiberal governance: Universities and the politics of accountability, *Anthropological Theory*, 8(3), 278-298.

Shove, E. (2010a) Beyond the ABC: climate change policies and theories of social change, *Environment and Planning A*, 42, 1273-1285.

Shove, E. (2010b) Social Theory and Climate Change: Questions Often, Sometimes and Not Yet Asked, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 27(2-3), 277-288.

Shove, E. (2011) On the difference between chalk and cheese – a response to Whitmarsh et al's comments on "Beyond the ABC: Climate change policy and theories of social Change", *Environment and Planning A*, 43, 262-264.

Silverman, D. (2000). Analysing Talk and Text. In: Denzin, N., K. & Lincon, Y., S. (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications: London, pp. 821-835.

Silverman, D. (2005) *Doing Qualitative Research (2nd ed)*, Sage Publications: London.

Simms, A. (2008) Let's not shop till we drop, *The Guardian*, 01.12.2008,
Available at:
http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/dec/01/recession-creditcrunch
Accessed on 04.11.11

Slocum, R. (2004). Consumer citizens and the Cities for Climate Protection campaign, *Environment and Planning A*, 36, 763-782.

Smith, D. M. (1999) Geography, community and morality, *Environment and Planning A*, 31, 19-35.

Smith, A. (2010) The Third Sector, regeneration and sustainable communities: "Rolling" with the New Labour agenda, *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 30(1/2), 48-65.

Spence, A. & Pidgeon, N. (2009) Psychology, Climate Change & Sustainable Behaviour, *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development*, November-December,
Available at:
http://www.environmentmagazine.org/Archives/Back%20Issues/November-December%202009/Psych-Climate-full.html
Accessed on 04.12.11

Staats, H., Harland, P. & Wilkie, H. A. M. (2004) Effecting Durable Change: A Team Approach to Improve Environmental Behaviour in the Household, *Environment and Behaviour*, 36(3), 341-367.

Steinar, K. (1996). *InterViews: an introduction to qualitative research interviewing*, Sage Publications: London.

Stern, N. (2000) Towards a Coherent Theory of Environmentally Significant Behaviour, *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(3), 407-424.

Stern, N. (2007) *The Economics of Climate Change: Report to The Treasury*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
Available at:
http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/d/Executive_Summary.pdf
Accessed on 15.02.11

Sturges, J. E. & Hanrahan, K. J. (2004) Comparing Telephone and face-to-face qualitative interviewing: a research note, *Qualitative Research*, 4(1), 107-118.

Summerville, J. A., Adkins, B. A. & Kendall, G. (2008) Community participation, rights and responsibilities: the governmentality of sustainable development policy in Australia, *Environment and Planning C, 26(4), 696-711*.

Sunstein, C. R. & Thaler, R. H. (2003) *Liberal Paternalism in Not an Oxymoron*, Working Paper 03-2, AEI-Brookings.

Sustainable Consumption Roundtable (2006) *I will if you will: Towards sustainable consumption*, SDC and NCC report,
Available at:
http://www.sd-commission.org.uk/data/files/publications/I_Will_If_You_Will.pdf
Accessed 04.11.11

Thaler, R. H. & Sunstein, C. R. (2008) *Nudge: Improving decisions about health, wealth and happiness*, Penguin Books: London.

The Advertiser (7th March 2004) Village Campaigns for Mains Gas
Available at:
http://www.The-advertiser.co.uk/news/local
Accessed on 27.07.11

The Advertiser (27th January 2011) Wenfield Station gets Go-Ahead
Available at:
http://www.The-advertiser.co.uk/news/local
Accessed on 27.07.11

The Citizen (4th June, 2010) Local Business gives Wenfield a Boost
Available at:
http://the-citizen.co.uk/2010/
Accessed on 27.07.11

The TaxPayer's Alliance (undated) *The Climate Challenge Fund,* Research Note 56,
Available at:
http://www.taxpayersalliance.com/CCF.pdf
Accessed on 28.07.11

Thomas-Pellicer, R. (2009) Reconstructing Communities of Sustainable Consumption and Climate Justice: Towards a Deconstruction of the Global Polity, in: Banik, S. D. & Basu, S. K. (eds) *Environmental Challenges of the 21st Century*, A.P.H. Publishing Corporation: New Delhi, pp. 271-343.

Tickell, A. & Peck, J., A. (1995) Social regulation after Fordism: regulation theory, neo-liberalism and the global-local nexus, *Economy and Society*, 24(3), 357-386.

Tokar, B. (1987) *The Green Alternative: Creating an Ecological Future*, R. & E. Miles: San Pedro.

Trentmann, F. (2006) The Modern Genealogy of the Consumer: Meanings, Identities Synapses, in: Brewer, J & Trentmann, F. (eds) *Consuming Cultures, Global Perspectives: Historical Trajectories, Transnational Exchanges*, Berg Publishers: Oxford, pp. 19-71.

Trier, C. & Maiboroda, O. (2009) The Green Village project: a rural community's journey towards sustainability, *Local Environment*, 14(9), 819-831.

Turaga, R. M. R., Howarth, R. B. & Borsuk, M. (2010) Pro-Environmental Behaviour: Rational Choice meets moral motivation, *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1185, 211-224.

United Nations (1992) *Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Volume One*,
Available at:
http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N92/836/55/PDF/N9283655.pdf?OpenElement
Accessed on 04.12.11

United Nations (2002) *Report of the World Summit on Sustainable Development*,
Available at:
http://www.unctad.org/en/docs/aconf199d20&c1_en.pdf
Accessed on 04.12.11

United Nations Environmental Programme (2001) *UNEP in 2001*,
Available at:
http://www.unep.org/pdf/annualreport/AR_2001_FINAL_MINUS_PIS.pdf
Accessed on 04.12.11

Uzzel, D., Muckle, R., Jackson, T., Ogden, J., Barnett, J., Gatersleben, B., Hegarty, P. & Papathanasopoulou (2006) *Choice Matters: Alternative Approaches to Encourage Sustainable Consumption and Production, Report to Department of the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs*, University of Surrey: Surrey.
Available at:
http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=SD14008_3518_FRP.doc
Accessed on 14.03.11

Valentine, G. (1997) Making space: Lesbian separatist communities in the United States, in: Cloke, P. & Little, J. (eds) *Contested country cultures: Otherness, marginalisation and rurality*, Routledge: London, pp. 109-122.

van Dam, S.S., Bakker, C.A. & van Hall, J.D.M. (2010) Home energy monitors: impact over the medium-term, *Building Research & Information*, 38(5), 458-469.

Whitehead, M. (2008) Cold Monsters and Ecological Leviathans: Reflections on the Relationships between States and the Environment, *Geography Compass*, 2(2), 414-432.

Walker, G. (undated) *Community Renewable Energy and Sustainable Transition Management: analysis of policy change and institutional infrastructure*, Sustainable Cities Research Institute.
Available at:
http://www.sustainable-cities.org.uk/db_docs/Gordon%20Walker.ppt
Accessed on 25.02.11

Walker, G. P., Hunter, S., Devine-Wright, P., Evans, B. & Fay, H. (2007) Harnessing Community Energies: Explaining and Evaluating Community-Based Localism in Renewable Energy Policy in the UK, *Global Environmental Politics*, 7(2), 64-82.

Wallington, T. & Lawrence, G. (2008) Making Democracy Matter: Responsibility and effective environmental governance in regional Australia, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 24(3), 277-290.

Walsh, D. (2004). Doing Ethnography. In, Seale, C. (ed), *Researching Society and Culture (2nd edition)*, Sage Publications: London, pp. 225-237.

Ward, N. & McNicholas, K. (1998) Reconfiguring Rural Development in the UK: Objective 5b and the New Rural Governance, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 14(1), 27-39.

Warde, A. (2005) Consumption and Theories of Practice, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 52(2), 131-153.

Warren, C. A. B. (2001). Qualitative interviewing. in: Gubrium, J. & Holstein, J. (ed.), *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*. Sage Publications: London, pp. 83-101.

Wilson, K., S. (2009) *Bureaucracy and other Stories: Organizing Policy-Making in Defra*, PhD Thesis, Newcastle University.

Whitmarsh, L. (2009) Behavioural Responses to Climate Change: Asymmetry of intentions and impacts, *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 29, 13-23.

Whittemore, R., Chase, S. K., & Mandle, C., L. (2001). Validity in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 11(4), 522-537.

Woods, M. (1997) Discourses of power and rurality: Local politics in Somerset in the 20th century, *Political Geography*, 16(6), 453-478.

Woods, M. (2005) *Contesting Rurality: Politics in the British countryside*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd: Aldershot.

WWF (2008) Weathercocks and Signposts: The Environment Movement at a Crossroads, WWF: Godalming.
Available at:
http://assets.wwf.org.uk/downloads/weathercocks_report2.pdf
Accessed on 04.12.11

Appendices

Appendix One

General interview outline (WERG)

1) Could you tell me a little about yourself and your background?
    a. When did you come to Wenfield?
    b. What did you do previously?
    c. What do you do now?
    d. Do you have any formal qualifications in ‘green’/the environment?

2) Could you tell me a little about why (and how) you became involved with WERG?
    a. What was it about the group that attracted you to the movement?

3) *Optional question*: [It sounds like you have had a concerns over the [*environment*] / [*Community resilience]* / [*business resilience*] etc. I would like to know a little bit about your background before you became involved in WERG. Can you tell me a little bit about your consideration of [*the reasons they joined WERG*] issues before you joined WERG?]
    a. Were you previously involved in other groups/did you have a job that was centred around these issues?
    b. What brought you to be involved in these issues before you joined WERG?
    c. Did you take practical steps in your life before joining WERG with regards to these issues?
    d. Has our perspective changed since joining WERG?

4) What does being involved in WERG entails?
    a. Could you talk a little bit about your involvement in WERG and the projects that you have been involved in?
    b. How would you classify your involvement?
    c. What is the purpose of these projects?
    d. What was the outcome?

5) In WERG there seems to be a great emphasis on ‘community’ could you talk a little about this emphasis?
    a. Why is community important?
    b. What does community signify/mean to you?
    c. What is the community like in Wenfield?

6) How do you think WERG has been received in Wenfield?
    a. Local Council?
    b. Local Residents?
    c. Businesses?
    d. How has your involvement with WERG been received by your friends?

7) You have talked about your involvement in the projects WERG. Are there other ways that you put your concern for [environment] / [resource use] / [local resilience] / [disappearing community] / [climate change] into action?
    a. Joining WERG? Meetings with WERG? Marches? Political action?
    b. Energy saving? / Local food? / Organic food? / Driving less?
    c. [*If they talk about energy saving, trying to reduce their own Carbon Footprint – ask*]: In a sense energy is quite an abstract concept, what resources do you use to guide the pragmatic steps you are taking?

8) Could you talk about your, for want of a better word, 'philosophy' behind doing these things?
    a. Are there conflicts between WERG's philosophy and your own?

9) Whenever I went to a group meeting of WERG there seemed to be many people with disparate interests but linked into concerns over energy saving. How do you negotiate your interests and opinions with others while attending WERG meetings/events/activities?

10) Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix Two

Example Questions for Defra

1) Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?
    a. What is your professional/academic background?
    b. What is your field of expertise?
    c. When did you start working for Defra?
2) Can you tell me briefly about the work you personally do here?
3) What do you see as the rationale behind the development of the 2006/2008 framework?
    a. I don't mean sort of saving the planet but the notion of engaging with the norms, motivations and values of communities and individuals through soft measures in relation to sustainability.
    b. What is the end goal of the framework?
4) It appears that there has been somewhat of a shift in, or development of thinking over the years in relation to behaviour change. Could you outline in broad terms some of these shifts?
5) What was the rationale behind these shifts?
6) Can you talk about how this shift in thinking was made material within the programmes that Defra were running – I mean here the EAF, the EAC, CCF and GLF.
7) There is a real drive to build the capacities of Third Sector delivery partners – why is this so important?
8) Could you talk about the process behind the commissioning and selection of social research within the SBU?
    a. How do you decide upon what areas of research you would like to commission?
9) Is there anything that you would like to add that maybe pertinent to my research or anything you would like to clarify/add?