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PEREGRINATIONS OF POWER AND

NEO-LIBERAL CITIZENSHIP

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Declaration

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A.   Preface

This portfolio consists of three sections: a client study, a piece of empirical doctoral research and a publishable article. Each part was completed over the course of City, University of London's Counselling Psychology Doctoral training. As such, they demonstrate the clinical and academic competency achieved during this training.

These sections are tied together by themes of power and powerlessness, particularly as they relate to one's aspirations and obligations of maintaining social value within a social context. This portfolio is ultimately concerned with citizenship and connectedness. It shows the tensions existing between those two notions and begs questions of integration.

The client study is an exploration of the course of Compassion Focused Therapy that I offered to an 18 year-old Afghan asylum seeking client who presented at a CAMHS service with trauma related symptoms after fleeing Afghanistan and being smuggled into the UK. While we worked together he also struggled with significant anxiety in light of an appeal he had made to remain in the UK.

The empirical research is a Foucauldian Discourse Analysis with social constructionist epistemology exploring the constructions of employability that inform the practices of third sector employability programmes. This research is particularly concerned with how discourse—and socially constructed aspirations of social value—position and obligate these third sector professionals, their clients and psychological professionals, in light of national employment agendas. The analysis demonstrates how the interviewed leaders of those third sector settings drew on psychological discourses of intrinsic motivation to construct employability. However, they creatively combined those discourses with economic ones in a manner that is reflective of the third sector settings' organisational hybridity and their alignment with neo-liberalism. The findings also suggest the participants' construction of psychological practice as incompatible with their largely social entrepreneurial objectives. These incompatibilities are explored to determine their implications for integrating psychological practice into such third sector settings and to tackling questions of social

justice as it relates to employability. The publishable article, like the empirical research, focuses on the powers acting on social enterprises commissioned to enhance the employability of those at risk for social exclusion. These pieces consider the social enterprise's neo-liberal work from discursive and extra-discursive perspectives to contextualise the apparent, though situated, resistance noted in the participants' accounts. The aim of these considerations is, again, to explore how, and why, specific power relations maintain the constructed incompatibilities noted in the context of neo-liberal employability agendas.

 Perhaps it is my experience in the UK as an international student that has raised these questions about power, powerlessness and the tenuousness of one's place within a social context. Employability, in particular, emerged as a topic of interest through the experience of completing my Master's thesis. I found that for "psychiatric survivors" recovery was becoming economically productive and therefore socially valuable. Many of them wanted to be considered worthy of work. They expressed wanting to do within society what they were able to do at the charity I studied; leave their diagnosis and "psychologised" identities at the door. And that raised important questions for me, as I began my doctoral psychology training, about the role and relevance of psychologists within spaces as inspiring as that charity. Would I, as a psychologist desiring relevance, be relevant among these clients who desired to leave their "psychologised" identities at the door?

The power struggles inherent in this questioning were inescapable but they were questions that marked the beginning of my journey toward becoming a Counselling Psychologist. They led me to ask questions of Foucault. How did these clients' goals and desires come to be in the first place, if desires, goals and worth are subject to social construction anyway? With an understanding of Foucault's "discourse" and his concern with power, I was confronted with more questions about the social justice of helping clients to recover economically valuable identities above their other potentials. More questions about professional power and relevance arose during my training as I discovered the Social Justice Network in the Counselling Psychology Division, the Black and Asian Counselling Psychologists Group and the Community Psychology's call for activist practitioners.

I began to ask if the answer to some of these questions about balancing an ethical commitment to social justice with a professional commitment to the clients' desires lay in working outside of the consulting room. Was there a form of activism required to challenge the disempowering effects of the discourses that implicated psychological practice in the construction of a person's value according to their economic productivity? However, through the work represented in the following client study, I was challenged to consider that the relationships existing between the psychological discipline and various institutions tend to disempower individuals and psychologists. The powerlessness I felt while working with Jared raised even more questions about the societal role of the discipline.

I began to wonder about the ways in which a psychologist could work outside of the consulting room, in spite of these relationships. How would work purposed to expose and challenge discourse fit with the professional Counselling Psychologist identity, of which I seek to be considered worthy? What would a commitment to compassion in practice, and its requirements of action and distress tolerance, add to that identity? This portfolio is therefore a product of my own reflectivity regarding who I can become, professionally, in relation to others; both the powerful and powerless.

While the questions that culminate in this portfolio's empirical research began to take form at the very beginning of my training, the client study is more representative of my final year of training. It was a distinctive year for a number of reasons. I was a trainee in a CAMHS setting working within a tight-knit multidisciplinary team for the first time. I was beginning integrative practice after previous CBT and Psychodynamic placements and I was working with young people for the first time. Questions of identity thus came to the fore in this placement as they had not done in others. There was a much stronger sense of the Other in this placement; of relationship and of self-definition. I was the only Counselling Psychology trainee this service had ever had. I was also the only black, female, foreign unpaid trainee, unlike the Clinical Psychology Trainees the service had had. All of these things highlighted the multi-dimensionality of my personal and professional identity, as well as the context's ability and challenge to accommodate that multidimensionality. It was my supervisor, one of the two

male supervisors (a new experience in itself) I had in that placement, who jokingly pointed out the powerlessness of my position in the service. This was the first time that the theme, which now runs through this portfolio, appeared relevant to my own training experience. It shed light on the possibility that there are ways in which the powerlessness of one's position can be hidden. Yet it is possible for new meaning to arise when power finally becomes a topic of conversation.

Though aspects of this placement experience could be subjectively and objectively described with the word "powerlessness", I am compelled to counter that by acknowledging the capacities I gained through this experience; those of creativity and pragmatism in practice. This placement represented a significant and necessary opportunity for me to let go of absolutes that I had clung to for the "safety" they ensured. Instead, I was challenged to navigate the "middle ground" between modalities where there is so much room for uncertainty but also discovery. I found that the questions I had asked in my earlier trainee experiences, such as, "Is this the right way?" changed at CAMHS and sounded more like, "Is this a meaningful way and meaningful to whom?". This represents the progression in my practice from obliging myself to the Truth (of a modality) toward acknowledging the multiplicity of truths (or modalities).

Importantly, this progression sounds like a personal movement toward postmodernist thinking. It is important because postmodernism could be said to tie the sections of this portfolio together. The portfolio consists of an integrative professional piece written from a postmodern pluralistic standpoint, as well as empirical/academic writing drawing on Foucauldian critique. I use postmodernist reasoning to account for the incompatibility that may exist between the Compassion Focused Therapy integrative model I used with Jared, and the social constructionist epistemology of the empirical research—not to mention the psychoanalytic extra-discursive considerations that emerge in the research. Social constructionism and Foucault criticise assumptions of selfhoods and of human intrinsic motivations. Yet an important dimension of my work with Jared was the evolutionary assumption that as human beings we are fundamentally driven to fulfil particular needs and to fend off various threats,

including social threats. We do so in conflicting ways that are representative of the "tricky brain" (Gilbert, 2010) that evolution has left us with. So, it is not our fault. I contextualise the societal roles of social enterprises and of the psychological discipline using with psychoanalytic insights on desire and systemic anxiety. Meanwhile, Foucault describes psychoanalysis as dangerous and a "form of power that locates the truth of the individual in his or her sexuality" (Milchman, 2006). In fact, Foucault argues that psychoanalysis is a consequence of a particular variety of power relations ultimately participating in a "strategy of control, integral to the spread of social control" (Milchman, 2006).

The discord among these theoretical, ontological and epistemological precepts is undeniable but I have sought to bring them together in this portfolio from the postmodern, pluralist standpoint that Cooper and Mcleod (2007) have made relevant to Counselling and Psychotherapy. From this standpoint, I acknowledge the discord. I also assume that a portfolio exploring social constructions of human beings and human living can accommodate "dissensus", rather than consensus, in the same way that the human condition is said to do (Cooper and MCleod, 2007). I accommodate the tension that this portfolio's integrations create in a manner of opening up to the possibility that multiplicity ensures. I hope that this portfolio will inspire more questions about how the Counselling Psychology discipline can harness that possibility to greater degrees.

Section C: Employability as a Treatment Goal? A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

C.1   Abstract

The research aims to understand if the integration of psychological practice with social entrepreneurship can support individuals at risk for social exclusions enhance their employability, while enabling psychological professionals to remain sensitive to social justice. This appears challenging to do in state funded, institutional settings. There is limited evidence to support and explore such integration. However it has been noted that third sector settings can effectively accommodate socially just practice. In light of the above, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis is preliminarily applied to explore how social enterprises construct employability and to examine the implications for practice. The research study is concerned with social justice, with the contextual factors influencing psychological practice and with the integration of psychological practices and social entrepreneurship. The leaders of these social enterprises appeared to draw on discourses of neo-liberal citizenship and neo-liberal paternalism. They constructed employability using psychological constructions of motivation to internalise employability as an assumption and a responsibility of the individual. However, they also resisted aspects of these neo-liberal citizenship and psychological discourses to then integrate those discourses with economic and neo-liberal paternalistic discourses. This appeared useful in managing the aspirational and obliging tensions of their neo-liberal subject position. The participants' constructions were effective in delineating the contexts and practitioners most appropriate for the implementation of employability enhancement interventions. This appeared to create particular implications for the practice. These implications in turn challenged the possibility of integrating psychological practice with social entrepreneurship. The findings of the analysis were contextualised with existing literature to explore the implications for social justice in integrating these practices to enhance client employability.

C.2   Literature Review

C.2.1.   Introduction

This empirical research explores constructions of employability as a treatment goal with an interest in how those constructions mediate or inhibit particular practices. In particular, the research is concerned with the implications of employability constructions on the integration of psychological practice into settings that aim to enhance the employability of individuals at risk for social exclusion. The literature review will thus begin with an exploration of employability definitions that have emerged in research from psychological fields and beyond. The literature review will then take a genealogical approach to deconstructing the history of employability-related practice and discourse. In so doing, the literature review aims to demonstrate the implications that various constructions of employability have created for the employable individual, their understanding of themselves and their relationships with the larger social context.

The literature review will then demonstrate how constructions of employability popularly feature and vary in literature and in policy, for particular effects. It will show how literature and language translate into action to affirm larger social agendas, which are in turn, reliant on and affirming of unique constructions of employability. These agendas will be shown to implicate neo-liberal Third Way Policy discourse, Human Capital discourse and Social Capital discourse. The literature review will highlight uniquely relevant practices in literature and practice that reflect the action of these discourses. These include education and lifelong Learning and vocational Rehabilitation.

The literature review will conclude with comments on the gaps in literature and with a formulation of the research problem that is to be addressed through the following research study. In so doing the literature review will highlight the relevance of such a study to the discipline of Counselling Psychology.

C.2.2. Defining Employability

Many authors have offered a definition of employability that transcends "the ability to work". Forrier et al., (2003) identify that the variety of employability definitions tend to construct it as a function of multidimensional and varying factors. As such, the employability of an individual may be constructed in relation to the internal labour market within an organisation, to the individual's internal employability, to the external labour market, to the individual's external employability" (Rothwell and Arnold, 2007) or to varying interactions of all the above. These definitions commonly present employability as built upon a number of attributes or indicators (Rothwell and Arnold, 2007). Yet Forrier et al., (2003) demonstrate that no clear conceptual model exists. However, the diversity of multidimensional definitions again confirms the common conception that employability is not merely the ability to be employed.

Rothwell and Arnold (2007) compile the findings of multiple researchers, including notable employability researchers, Hillage and Pollard (1998). They demonstrate a variety of employability constructions that have emerged from research within and outside of psychology. They identify constructions that are understood to be prerequisite *attributes* of employability. These are knowledge and skills, the capacity to learn, mastery of career management and job search, professional knowledge, resilience, and personal efficacy. Others have shown models of employability that emphasize *indicators* of the individual's employability such as individual characteristics that enable an individual to find and keep work (Forrier and Sels, 2003). They show that attitudes which, for example, allow people to seek and maintain work are included in this category of individual characteristics. Hillage and Pollard (1998) pay particular attention to the quality of the job and explore correlations between individual characteristics and the possibility of growth (Forrier and Sels, 2003) suggesting a construction of employability as dynamic and *interactive* with environmental opportunities for its expression. Forrier et al., (2003) also identify Van Dam's (2004) research, which is characterized by a distinguishing interest in an individual's orientation toward enhancing their capacity to be employed. This research thus highlights the motivating beliefs and behaviours of the individual.

The significant amount of research designed to conceptualise employability tends to emphasise some construct or another that is understood as inherent to the individual. The specifications of a potential job role or other labour market considerations appear to be less significant in determining or defining employability. Instead, the research emphasises ways of being that manifest in an individual's attributes, attitude, orientation toward enhancement or their interaction with a working environment.

Indeed, there are more nuanced, and perhaps critical definitions of employability that allude to the landscape of jobs or to the role of the labour market's unpredictability in defining one's individual employability. In fact, the challenge in finding a consistent/coherent definition of employability may be attributed to this unpredictability. The Confederation of British Industry, for example, accommodates for the labour market's unpredictability with its definition of employability as "qualities and competencies to respond to the changing needs of employees and customers" (McQuaid, 2005). However, such definitions again highlight the individual's capacity to interact effectively with that unpredictability.

Definitions such as Lees' (2002), which acknowledge this unpredictability, add yet another dimension to already multidimensional and therefore ambiguous definitions such as Knight and Yorke's (2002). According to Lees, in addition to employability being "a synergic combination of personal qualities and skills of various kinds and subject understanding" (Knight and Yorke, 2002), employability must also ensure the individual's ability to exploit the market and sell their assets (Lees, 2002). This suggests the problematisation of employability constructions that posit the all-importance of skills, knowledge and competencies. Yet skill-based constructions are highly promoted to enhance graduate employability, for example (Dearing Report (NCIHE), 1997, in Cranmer, 2006). Lees (2002) highlights that the labour market's unpredictability is only acknowledged to insist upon individual's increased responsibility to adapt and exploit opportunities.

C.2.3.   Setting the Stage, Socio-Politically

There is continued debate within the literature as to whether individual differences or contextual/socio-political forces ultimately determine employability. However, McQuaid (2005) shows that employability, as it is now understood in neo-liberal Western capitalist societies, is not merely a subject of theoretical debate but a keystone of labour market policies. That in itself may be a reflection of the neo-liberal society. Larner (2002) describes neo-liberalism as "both a political discourse about the nature of rule and a set of practices that facilitate the governing of individuals from a distance" (2000, p. 6). She shows that neo-liberalism is most effectively understood through Foucauldian critique. "As a form of [Foucault's] governmentality, neo-liberalism operates through its creation of autonomous, individualised, self-directing, decision-making identities within subjects (individuals) who are motivated to exist in self-interested ways that ultimately serve the larger neo-liberal practice (Bondi, 2005, p. 499)". Neo-liberalism is related to "post-welfare state citizenship regimes" by Jenson and dependent on the free labour market (Larner, 2000, p. 5).

The conception of the UK welfare state is partially credited to the economist William Beveridge who in 1942 put forward a synthesised plan of social insurance for post-war social reconstruction. Brown (2001) summarises' Beveridge's vision writing, "every British citizen was to be covered, regardless of income or lack of it. Those who lacked jobs and homes would be helped. Those who were sick, would be cured" (Brown, 2001). Eikemo et al. (2008), who explore different kinds of welfare regimes and their relationship with income related health inequalities, describe that this vision evolved over half a century to take the form of neo-liberal, Anglo-Saxon, welfare state. Eikemo et al. (2008) also describe the post-welfare regime in the following ways:

- "Basic and minimal levels of provision"

- "Strict entitlement criteria"

- "Recipients are usually means-tested and stigmatized"

- "Dominance of the market is encouraged both passively, by guaranteeing only a minimum, and actively, by subsidizing private welfare schemes"

Larner (2000) highlights, in genealogical fashion, that the stringency that now defines the post welfare state reflects the more recent social construction that welfare state mechanisms produce "immoral dependence", in the forms of substance abuse, illiteracy, criminal behaviour and social exclusion. Larner (2000) demonstrates that there is therefore increasing denouncement of welfare dependency, particularly through the action of neo-liberal post welfare discourses of social responsibility. These discourses insist that each individual embraces and achieves active citizenship to ensure social governance that is even further liberated from governmental intervention.

Larner (2000) demonstrates this form citizenship relies on each individual's employment and in return promises the benefits of social inclusion, which is in turn promoted as an achievable aspiration for all. Bracken and Thomas (2005), similarly highlight these value-based assumptions of citizenship in their description of active citizenship as "the rights we enjoy, such as the right to work, to be housed, to participate in democracy, the right to be autonomous self-determining beings" (p. 255). Within the governmentality framework, however, active citizenship is a "means of remote government where the state increasingly relies on individual capacity and subjectivity, instead of directly engaging through its apparatuses. It is envisaged to decentralize its power to the lower echelons of the society" (Babu, 2009). Citizenship is thus presented as problematic because assumptions of self-governance redefine the rights as duties, which ultimately "marginalise 'resistance and negotiation' from the society"(Babu, 2009, p. 89). It is argued here that employment is one such right that is redefined as the individual's duty and reflects the individual's social responsibility to be employable.

Employability's construction in the literature as an individual responsibility, in spite of contextual factors, and its affirmation of post-welfare social agendas justifies the consideration of Foucauldian theory. Importantly, Foucault noted particular relationships between knowledge and power relations that determine practice. As such the literature will now take this Foucauldian/genealogical perspective to consider trends in employability practices that have been established through language for particular effects.

C.2.4.   Genealogy of Employability as A Politicised Tool

What follows here is a genealogical illustration of "employability's" use in policy language to demonstrate the action of policy discourses of employability. Foucault's conception of a genealogy is effective in demonstrating, as Bastalich (2009) describes, the "history of practice and discursive relations" to ultimately show how particular ways of being have been created and delineated for the individual in socio-historically situated, yet reified ways. However, the literature review will largely do so by referring to the trends in employability policy that Gazier (1998b) describes.

Despite the ambiguity in theoretical literature, employability constructs in policy publication have tended to hold specific, politicised meanings with particular implications for institutional practice. However, as Gazier (1998b) demonstrates, these politicised meanings and implications have changed as the socio-political paradigms that have characterised the twentieth century have also evolved (McQuaid, 2005). This is not to say that the use of the term "employability" as a politicised tool is recent. However, its use within the last century has had particular significance in policy during this time, to effect the current social reality, as it relates to work and the welfare state.

C.2.4.1   "Dichotomic" employability

Gazier (1998b) and the many authors that quote him offer a historical overview of the political and economic purposes that publications regarding employability have served. McQuaid (2005) shows that the first notable wave of employability's emergence in policy publication was after World War 2, when social restructuring was necessary and underway (Brown, 2001). This dichotomic construction of employability differentiated those who were physically/socially capable of employment from those whose incapacity necessitated relief. McQuaid (2005) notes that it was an emergency distinction, as opposed to a labour market tool, that considered external factors such as age, physical ability and family burdens.

C.2.4.2　"Socio-medical", "Man-Power" and "Flow" Employability

In the 1960s the notion of employability then morphed into a concept that was less binary but highlighted the "distance between an individual's social/physical/mental disadvantage and the requirements for employment" (McQuaid, 2005). In this sense employability justified the measurement of incapacity. Thus began what Gazier (1998b) refers to as the second wave of employability's emergence, which he characterizes as "socio-medical" and later "man-power" constructions of employability. In these forms, employability was of significant interest to statisticians, social workers and labour market policy makers (McQuaid, 2005; Wilton, 2011).

The measurability inherent in this construction of employability introduced scrutiny in relation to the unemployed individual's way of being. This construction ensured processes of assessment and categorization, which according to Foucault, make the individual susceptible to intricate mechanisms of government (Bastalich, 2009). The knowledge obtained empowers those who obtain it to impose disciplining power on the individual (Bastalich, 2009). However, this was justified in policy as a means of informing government interventions that could rehabilitate more of the population and maximise economic productivity (Wilton, 2011). This took root at a time when the extent of national unemployment, which had been hidden in the number of those receiving relief, became increasingly apparent and represented untapped economic resources (Houston et al., 2010). Evident here is the modernist notion that rationality, in this case categorisation and measurement, could offer feasible solutions to social problems (Thomas and Bracken, 2005). The widespread reliance on incapacity benefits was no longer accepted as the status quo but became a target for rehabilitative measures on the government's part (Houston et al., 2010).

Gazier (1998b) highlights that "flow employability" in French sociology literature also emerged during this wave but it uniquely considered the role of the labour market's "absorption rate" (Wilton, 2011) in determining an individual's employability. This construction acknowledged that there are different speeds at which members of different social groups flow into employment, thus factoring social demographics and human geography into conceptions of

employability (McQuaid, 2005). It also allowed a distinction between one's relative employability and the mean employability of a particular social group, thus highlighting the demand-side of the labour market and an individual's place within it (Wilton, 2011). However such considerations were radical with their scrutiny of macro-economic structures rather than individual capacities.

C.2.4.3 "Labour Market Performance Based", "Initiative" and "Interactive" Employability

There is currently a third wave of employability's constructions, which according to McQuaid (2005) originated in the 1980s and developed further in the 1990s. He identifies these as outcome based "labour market performance-based employability" (emphasising the government's activation efforts), "initiative employability" (emphasizing individual responsibility) and "interactive employability" (emphasising the individual's adaptability to the labour market) (Wilton, 2011). The scrutiny that emerged with the socio-medical constructions came with a potential and expectation of the government to rehabilitate inactive members of the labour force. It also brought about a conceptualisation of employability that was tied to policies regarding labour market intervention, thus facilitating the construction of "labour market performance based employability". This outcomes focus insisted upon wide-reaching governmental efforts to increase the productivity of those who were not effectively attached to the labour market. It justified greater categorisation and employability assessments as a means of measuring the effectiveness of those programmes (Wilton, 2011).

However in the late 1980s "initiative employability" emerged and represented a unique shift in the use of the term "employability". Its use was no longer limited to highlighting concerns of limited productivity among underprivileged and disadvantaged populations, or to justify the scrutiny that the unemployed individual underwent for the purposes of rehabilitation (McQuaid, 2005). Rather than prioritising the entry of inactive/disabled individuals into the labour market, the use of employability in policy publications and in human resource literature began to require the economic activation of the whole population. This coincided with a shift in the government's promise of full employment to a promise of employability

(McQuaid, 2005, Lister, 2001) i.e. a promise to equip the increasingly liberal individual with resources that they could then apply and maximise to achieve employment themselves.

This shift was reflected in the human resources development literature, wherein the notion of career development or the *protean career* emerged and established the importance of the individual continually and proactively seeking diverse career opportunities (Fugate, 2004). In practice, responsibility of the organisation to ensure lifetime employment or job security shifted to the individual with this construction of career. Wilton (2011) shows that instead, job security had to be safeguarded differently i.e. by means of the individual's own self-motivation and personal responsibility.

Gazier (1998b) shows that in the 1990s, this conceptualisation of employability expanded to reflect the unpredictable nature of the labour market, as well as the institutions and rules that govern it. It considered employers' and labour market demands. As such Gazier's (1998b) described this latest construction of employability as "interactive" in that it acknowledges a dynamic relationship between individual characteristics and the structure of the labour market in impacting one's ultimate employability (McQuaid, 2005). However, in spite of this acknowledgement, the responsibility still rests with the individual, not only to gain the appropriate skills or to develop relevant human capital but to adapt and market that capital according to the labour market's structures (Lees, 2002). According to the OECD, human capital is defined as "the knowledge, skills, competencies and other attributes embodied in individuals or groups of individuals acquired during their life and used to produce goods, services or ideas in the market circumstances…It encapsulates individual attributes which are of use at the labour market" (Westphalen, 1999p. 10). With the construction of "interactive employability", the government takes on the responsibility to facilitate or incentivise the adaptation of those who have not established human capital because of previous disadvantage (McQuaid, 2005) through employability enhancement programmes, for example.

In summary, employability's use in the early 20th century began as a value-free term following the pragmatic social restructuring of society and welfare provision after World War II.

However, it later became the basis for scrutiny and categorisation of those whose ability to work was complicated by individual disability. Measurements of employability gave way to the politicisation of one's ability to work, introducing policy regarding state intervention designed to enhance employability. This then highlighted individual responsibility for engagement and in turn suggested the irresponsibility of those who were unemployed and did not show the effort or willingness to adapt or engage with the labour market policies that were designed to maximise their productivity (Doyle, 2003; McQuaid, 2005). Currently, there is a significant requirement of all individuals, by virtue of their rights to active citizenship, to take responsibility for their employability in spite of the changes and nuanced challenges that characterise the labour market (Lees, 2002).

Yet, Gazier (1998b) argues that the more current and appropriate "interactive employability" is proof that the one-sided/supply-side labour market demands have been exposed and adapted. However, according to Wilton, (2011) labour market performance discourse continues to define constructions of employability and manifest in governmental practices such as those of the Job Centre. Perhaps, these shifting policy constructions of employability overlap to validate employability interventions that assume the individual's interactive adaptability but also justify state's intervention. However, it appears that the post-welfare state's intervention is no longer in the guise of social insurance or measured by the extent to which their interventions result in performance i.e. employment outcomes. Its responsibility regarding performance appears to be ensuring the individual's *ability to* perform, rather than facilitating their performance. Through this redefinition, employment outcomes may remain unsatisfactory even while the state is regarded as active in its interactive efforts. It is shown to offer opportunities for individuals to achieve the threshold of employ*ability* rather than employment. This has justified welfare-to-work or work programmes, for example. These are reflective of what McQuaid (2005) describes as labour market strategies focusing, to potentially punitive degrees, on individual-centred, supply-side solutions.

A key point that emerges in this genealogical illustration is that of individual responsibility. Individual responsibility emerges constantly in employability literature, whether in the

promotional sense of agency or the prescriptive sense of limiting "immoral dependence". Moreau (2006) writes:

> "The recurrent use of the employability word is not only a shift in terminology but also a shift in discourse drawing on different explanatory frameworks of employability and constructions of the worker. The employment question has been reformulated into the employability question. There has been a shift from a systemic review of the labour market to a focus on the individual and their qualities. Unemployment is now more likely to be seen as an individual problem (Moreau, 2006, p. 309)"

As an "employability question" it begs questions of the individual's ability to find and keep employment rather than the labour market's capacity to employ.

C.2.5 The Subjectification of the Employable Individual

Ultimately, Foucault and his genealogical approach are concerned with the ways in which histories of practice and discourse create particular ways of being (Bastalich, 2009) for the subjects to internalise and by which they can understand themselves. Therefore, the literature will now take this genealogical illustration further and show how these socio-historical constructions of employability have culminated to reify particular assumptions of what constitutes the employable individual. The literature review argues that alongside the socio-historical changes in the construction of employability that are highlighted above, there are shifting constructions of the employable individual. With the action of each construction of employability in policy, the employable subjectivity, i.e. permitted ways of being, evolves.

In the initial wave of the word's emergence, employability was located externally and determined by external factors such as one's family obligations. Its discursive "location" then moved closer to the body, in a sense, when employability became constructed as dependent on how able one's body and mind were to perform employment related tasks. This process of internalising employability continued even further into the individual as employability literature became concerned with individual characteristics, attributes and

indicators. The emphasis on intelligence, performance and skill, which are categorized as external indicators in the literature, then made employability a matter of internal capacities/thresholds/quotients that manifest in externally evident or measurable behaviours. (Forrier and Sels, 2003)

In this increasingly internalised sense, the employable individual is constructed as a constellation of capabilities. While employability is constructed in this way, as a matter of one's capability alone, the expectation of employment arguably has a somewhat formulaic probability of being achieved. However, the increasing acknowledgement of the labour market's unpredictability and of the number of variables impacting the likelihood of employment appears to problematise the formulaic understanding of who is employable. In the face of this conundrum, discourse is seen to ensure that the construction of employability is located even more internally to the individual. The employability literature thus emphasises idiosyncratic, increasingly psychosocial/psychological constructs of employability in the forms of personal qualities, self-perception, subjective evaluation resilience and self-efficacy (Rothwell and Arnold, 2007; Fugate et al., 2004). These less overtly quantifiable and less role/context-specific qualities are increasingly considered key to characterising the employable individual. As such, developing psychometric measures of self-perception in relation to employability, for example, emerges as a significant research effort (Rothwell and Arnold, 2007). Similarly, occupational psychometrics achieves relevance in the workplace, and even in the curriculum of comparatively clinical Counselling Psychology training, as per the requirement of BPS accreditation.

This literature review argues that these shifts demonstrate an extreme internalisation of employability whereby enigmatic psychometrics is now required to extricate the varied degrees to which an individual possesses the internal dispositions that are constructed as conducive to employment. Perhaps the benefit of permitting such ambiguity is that it allows employability to be assumed as present unless proven otherwise, and only by an "expert". In line with this internalisation of employability, a significant dimension of employability literature espouses psychological constructions of employability. Kim and Kim's (2015) review show

that employability is increasingly understood in terms of self-efficacy, self-direction, subjective self-concept, self-perceived employability and cognitive schema (Kim and Kim, 2015). Not only do these emphasise the individual, they suggest internal states, individual traits and individual epistemologies rather than generalisable external capacities that perhaps match the job role. These internalised constructs are suggestive of one's way of being, feeling and relating. While they are pertinent to the work place, they importantly reflect ways of being that arguably define every other facet of the individual's life as well. Employability is thus constructed as a way of being.

While this internalisation makes it possible to consider employability as inherent to an individual, the employable individual does not have to overtly demonstrate employability to be considered employable. Within a discourse of adaptability, employability is constructed to manifest with appropriate encouragement and/or stimulation from the environment. It is thus possible to assume that employability will emerge within an environment that requires it, even if there is limited overt evidence to suggest that the individual's employability is intact. Once again, the status quo is maintained as this discourse alludes to natural selection and assumes that the environment, i.e. the unpredictable labour market, does not need to be the target of change as long as it appropriately facilitates the individual's ability to adapt within it (McArdle et al., 2007; Fugate and Ashforth, 2003) and gain employment.

In this case, the employable individual's internal capacity to survive the labour market is accepted as unknowable—on account of its internalised location—until the individual is in a conducive environment. It is in turn, possible to argue for practices that place individuals with otherwise limited external indicators of employability, such as human capital, into environments that require them to demonstrate their employability. Such a placement is expected to mediate the manifestation of seemingly latent inherent/internal employability. However, this is problematic as it leaves barriers to unemployment that are related to external indicators of employability, such as family obligation, unacknowledged.

Employability is thus constructed as a psychological/internal state that is most conducive to work but reflective of a particular personhood relevant to other dimensions of life. It parallels

Ashforth's (2001) characterisation of post-industrial neo-liberal society as blurring the "boundaries between jobs, between organisations and [importantly] between life roles" (Fugate et al., 2004). The employable individual is not only a constellation of capacities, with a particular responsiveness to the labour market. Their employability is, in this sense, an all-encompassing state of being indicative of a particular way of being, which is constructed as the most aligned with economic productivity. In fact as shown by Bondi (2005), it is an economic personhood that is discursively created and suited to the neo-liberal discursive imperative of economic productivity (Bondi, 2005). This personhood is maintained/limited through aspirations of citizenship and the enactment of its related rights and responsibilities (Larner, 2000).

However, a quest for citizenship, particularly self-determination, inevitably leads to questions of governmentality, given that the two share a complex relationship, as shown by Bracken and Thomas (2005). Read (2009) describes governmentality as the self-governing on behalf of government. It is the capacity of self-regulating/self-policing individuals who have been subjectified by productive powers that do not restrain or coerce its subjects' desires, as disciplinary powers do, but instead acknowledge and adapt to those desires (Vandenberghe, 2008). As Osbourne (2003) states, "compulsory productiveness" presumed by productive powers, is a "matter of our governmentality" (Osbourne, 2003; cited in Salehi, 2008, p. 81, 88). This economic, individualized unit, who is required to relentlessly sustain productivity to continually build their human capital, is created into an economic creature, Foucault's "homo-economicus". This literature review argues that this economic selfhood, which is inclined towards continuous, aspirational productivity, constitutes the employable individual. He or she understands themselves in terms of economic benefits and costs (Read, 2009) within the context of a neo-liberal, highly economised sociopolitical context.

C.2.6. Pertinent discourses of employability

A social constructionist sensitivity to the power dynamics inherent in knowledge production demands that special attention be paid to the topics that garner popularity in published literature (Jones and Elcock, 2001). These allude to the dominant discourses within which it is possible to understand employability. It is equally important to consider who makes those topics popular given the Foucauldian notion that those who possess power determine and are appeased by expert knowledge (Bastalich, 2009).

The literature review will, therefore, now consider where in the literature employability emerges as a topic of popularity with an awareness of the fact that employability's use in language tends to carry political usefulness. Specifically the literature review will focus on constructions of employability and the associated discourses that are active within the practices of labor market policy, education/lifelong learning and vocational rehabilitation. Within these realms of literature, the literature review is particularly concerned with notable discourses pertinent to the topic of social exclusion and concerned with the social groups threatened by it. The literature review will also demonstrate the associated social agendas that are aligned with the discourses that appear in the literature.

C.2.6.1 Third Way Policy Discourse

Moreau et al. (2006) notes that the use of employability constructs in policy publications has sharply increased. They highlight that the neo-liberal emphasis on employability is part of an effort to improve access to employment particularly among disadvantaged groups. The promotion of the term employability is thus reflective of a consistent concern about the economic productivity of the unemployed in disadvantaged groups (Wilton, 2011) and of those facing particular barriers to the labour market.

McQuaid (2005) identifies three factors that are influential in making employability the cornerstone of labour market policy

      1. Employability's potential role in tackling social inclusion of disadvantaged groups

2. The consequences of high levels of long term unemployment and inactivity

3. The trend toward new types of relationships between employers and employees.

All these objectives are suggestive of a somewhat urgent agenda to ensure that all individuals within the labour force perform according to the demands of neo-liberalism (Larner, 2000). This agenda is specifically aligned with Third Way policy in the UK.

McQuaid (2005) asserts that employability predates those constructions of the word that are linked to neo-liberal or Third Way policies. However, it has become "central tenet to so called Third Way policies, which characterize the New Labor Approach to economic and social policy" (Haughton, et al., 2000). Nikolas Rose (2000) shows that the redefinition of community that began with Tony Blair's leadership has been termed The Third Way. Rose shows that Blair said the following of individual and social responsibility as defined in the Third Way:

"Community and citizenship, collective belonging, and individual responsibility "must be sutured together in "any attempt to rebuild community for a modern age... [P]ersonal and social responsibility are not optional extras . . . we owe duty to more than self". (Blair, 1996a, p. 304).

Within this frame of understanding, every citizen is obligated to balance the rights and responsibilities of that citizenship as part of their social responsibility to the community. It follows that each individual has a duty to ensure their productivity, to ensure that of the community. Individual employability is thus an issue of social responsibility.

Beyond UK policies, there is a similar preoccupation with employability. It has formed "one of the four original pillars of the European Employment Strategy" (Moreau, 2006). Even with this strategy's revision in 2003, the emphasis is still to promote employability among young people, the unemployed and other potentially disadvantaged groups while ensuring full employment, productivity and inclusion in the labour market (Moreau, 2006). In practice, this ultimately manifests as the "promotion of active and preventative measures for the

unemployed and for the improvement of financial incentives to make work pay" (CEC, 2003; McQuaid, 2005).

Employability emerged again as a key tenet in the UK's Employment Action Plans and welfare to work agenda, which were implemented to "attach young people, long-term unemployed, lone parents and the disadvantaged or disabled to the labour market importantly" (McQuaid, 2005). Importantly, these policies target certain strata of society. As a product of neo-liberalism, Third Way policy connotes particular moral contractual responsibilities and therefore rights. In practice, it is thus concerned with members of those social groups who face particular challenges in meeting their responsibilities as economic units. As Doyle (2003) states, the impetus for individuals to participate in the Third Way communitarian and social integrationist institutional practices is "all at once promotional and prescriptive" and ultimately achieves social control.

C.2.6.1.1.   Practice: Employability and Social Enterprise

Social enterprises are described as emerging in the 1970s and 1980s out of dissatisfaction with the public administration's hierarchical management of public and social services (Defourny, J., and Nyssens, M. 2010). Kummitha (2016) identifies a key trigger for this movement as the gap in welfare provision resulting from "the failure of the so-called modern welfare states to effectively address the concerns of exclusion and the state's incapacity to protect excluded individuals and communities or to re-integrate them (p.62)". Within this context, social enterprises were conceived as grassroots, third sector responses to socio-political inequalities. They responded from within the gaps existing between private commercialized markets and statutory institutions. From this position, they continue to take a flexible, hybrid formation that permits innovation and in turn establishes their social value (Doherty, 2014).

According to Teasdale (2013), the Labour government eagerly adopted the concept of social enterprises in its ideological commitment to "a third way beyond state socialism and free market capitalism". Defourney and Nyssens, (2010) show that the social enterprises emerging in neo-liberal UK played an important role in Third Way Policy and the New Public

Management era, which is characterised by the government's rolling back and the decentralisation of power to establish quasi-privatised provision of public service (Robinson, 2015). A new mode of public management "by results" thus emerged with the marketisation and contracting out of core services to private and non-profit organisation, including social enterprises (Dunleavy and Hood, 1994, Robinson, 2015). This transition in public administration was in response to the limitations of the hierarchical, arms-length forms of management highlighted by the competitive market economy (Robinson, 2015). This is said to have freed up the government to perform more evaluative and regulatory roles while "injecting principles of competition and privatised "hands-on management" (Robinson, 2015). In this manner, public authorities are shown to embrace an entrepreneurial approach to social integration through economic activity rather than taking the social approach to unemployment, which allows avoidance of the pitfalls associated with occupational work schemes (Defourny et al., 2001)

In Third Way communitarian fashion, promotional discourses such as partnership and social inclusion manifest in institutional practices whereby those social groups of interest are encouraged to engage with social enterprises acting as dispersed agents of the government (Doyle, 2003).

C.2.6.2 Human Capital Discourse in Education

In education literature, employability has become a noteworthy and problematic term as it represents the added responsibility of Higher Education institutions to ensure that graduates access the labour market (Doyle, 2003). In fact, employability is central to the strategic direction of the Department for Education and Employment (McQuaid, 2005). Literature on the topic demonstrates the troublesome implications of upholding employability as an overarching goal. Economic institutional practices are shown to impose a top down insistence on the attainment of skills relevant to the workplace. The objectives of graduate curricula appear to be curtailed by the action of a human capital discourse which prioritizes the attainment of skills and assumes that skills are equal to knowledge (Cranmer, 2006, Moreau, 2006). As, Ron-Balsera (2011) states, within the human capital discourse,

"education, like any other investment, is judged [and according to educuationists, limited] by its economic rate of return" (Psacharoupoulos and Woodhall, 1985, OCDE, 1998; for a critique see also Bennell, 1996)

Lees (2002) conceptualizes the social agenda inherent in higher education policy with the following observation:

"Government policy to enhance the employability of graduates is part of a wider strategy to extend the skill base in the UK (Coopers and Lybrand, 1998). This interest in employability is associated with human capital theories of innovation and economic performance. Growth in the stock of human capital is essential for economic growth and hence the government's agenda is driven by the desire to stem the productivity shortfall (Lees, 2002, p.1)"

C.2.6.2.1   Practice: Lifelong Learning

Meanwhile lifelong learning emerges as an important facet of educational literature as it gains comparable status to formal education, allowing a much wider proportion of the population to generate human capital by more varied means. This is made possible through the challenges of postmodernity, which call for diversification of education (McQuaid, 2005; Ogunleye, and Kaunonen, 2010). In particular, it is within the context of lifelong learning that employability appears as a topic of promotional interest, rather than criticism, in the education literature. This interest is portrayed in the work of authors such as Harvey (2000) who writes, employability is "a subset of and fundamentally contingent on transformative lifelong learning" (Lees, 2002).

In response to the national priority of improving the skill base of the whole population lifelong learning schemes emerge (Lees, 2002) as a "second chance" for those who were prevented by socio-political barriers from preparatory engagement in formal education (Lees, 2002). This provision thus offers as a solution to the problematisation of human capital constructions of employability, which have been criticised as more reflective of one's social group than their individual capacities.

In practice, Doyle (2003), notes that there is a narrow interpretation of lifelong learning based on vocational education and training which is linked to meeting national qualification targets to support macroeconomic strategy (Doyle, 2003). With this understanding established, all those who are not fulfilling their potential where the opportunities have been created, through vocational education and training, must be drawn into learning (Doyle, 2003). With neo-liberal Third Way reliance on social enterprises and the promotion of lifelong learning via human capital discourses, the practice of social enterprises facilitating vocational and educational training (VET) is firmly established to improve the employability of those belonging to disadvantaged social groups at risk of social exclusion (McQuaid, 2005). However, Doyle (2003) describes VET as a "narrow interpretation of lifelong learning". Their promotional work suggests something that might be articulated in the following way: *Everyone can work because the opportunities required to become employable are available for everyone*.

Those faced with barriers to employment by virtue of their economically disadvantaged position within the labour market are thus left without "excuses" for their unemployment through the activities of these discourses.

C.2.6.3 Social Capital Discourse in Vocational Rehabilitation

There is a notable presence of the word "employability" in literature concerned with vocational rehabilitation and this literature spans different disciplines inclusive of human resource management, vocational psychology, and career guidance. However, of particular interest to this research study is the literature exploring the vocational rehabilitation of those with "psychiatric disabilities", where some form of accompanying psychological intervention could be indicated.

Where previously employability is spoken of in terms of one's ability, it is often presented in vocational rehabilitation literature as primarily a right and secondarily a responsibility; a desirable one. There is an advocating tone problematising psychiatric discourses that construct "psychiatric disability" as precluding an individual from employment (Marrone and

Golowaka, 1999; Lloyd and Waghorn (2007). Importantly, the argument here is not economic activity or the development of human capital. Instead what is being advocated for is that those with "psychiatric disability" be permitted to recover their social role and the social esteem it can facilitate. Mental illness is, as these writers describe, "a disease of losses" (Marrone and Golowaka, 1999) and rehabilitative literature argues to ensure that such individuals have a chance to recover social value through practices that generate social capital (Marrone and Golowaka, 1999; Lloyd and Waghorn (2007). According to Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) social capital is the "sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Social capital thus comprises of both the network and the assets…mobilised through that network" (p. 213).

The vocational rehabilitative literature performs a particular function in establishing that those with psychiatric disabilities can indeed work. And it continues in its assertion that such individuals therefore, should work (Marrone and Golowaka, 1999). This is accompanied by an emphasis in the literature on "recovery" for those who have psychiatric disabilities. For them employment is often constructed as a measure of recovery (Marrone and Golowaka, 1999; Lloyd and Waghorn 2007; Griffiths and Ryan, 2008) that functions as a means of recovering lost social value. Vocational rehabilitation literature not only argues for the development of social capital through social integration, as an alternative means of developing human capital. Vocational rehabilitation literature importantly disavows questions of ability and therefore of dis*ability,* in such a manner that employ*ability* does not necessarily enter the discussion, so to speak. Employment is seemingly constructed as an unattested right of the "citizen", which is represented in every individual. As such, it seems that vocational rehabilitative measures are implemented to ensure employ*ment*, regardless of apparent employ*ability*. However, in this construction, it is the professionals working with the individual that must take responsibility to ensure the employability of the "psychiatrically disabled" clients. This is evident in Lloyd and Waghorn (2007) suggestion that professional factors, such as "low expectations by mental health practitioners" and the "the lack of a clear

responsibility for promoting vocational and social outcomes" are active in limiting the employment outcomes for these "psychiatrically disabled" individuals.

As the practice of lifelong learning equalises and decontextualises the differences in human capital that are reflective of social disadvantage, vocational rehabilitation appears to do the same. Where questions of (dis)ability would otherwise limit the reasonable expectations of employment that can be imposed upon the disabled individual, vocational rehabilitation upholds the possibility, and therefore expectation, of ability. In this regard, there is a neo-humanistic economic suggestion that *everybody wants to work and can work with the right opportunity,* which vocational rehabilitation practice will ensure (Scaperlanda, 1985).

C.2.6.3.1   Practice: Lifelong Learning and Recovery

Incidentally, lifelong learning emerges once again as a key feature of the literature concerned with recovery, empowerment and social integration (Griffiths and Ryan, 2008). Recovery is after all, as these authors say "a special case of lifelong learning". Within this context of the recovery literature, lifelong learning has garnered such attention that EMILIA (Empowerment of Mental Illness Service Users: Life Long Learning, Integration and Action), a £3.4 million funded research project involving 13 European countries, was established between 2005 and 2010 to explore the role of lifelong learning in facilitating social inclusion among the mentally ill in recovery (Ogunleye, J and Kaunonen, 2010). This further affirms the extent to which employability is, as established earlier,   "a subset of and fundamentally contingent on transformative lifelong learning" (Harvey, 2000).

C.2.6.3.2   Practice: Vocational and Education Training (VET) and Supported Employment

The development of social capital is shown to be exceedingly worthwhile in political terms, as it ultimately facilitates human capital development and ensures the collective potential of the population to achieve economic goals (Moreau, 2006). As such, it is becoming increasingly evident that human capital is not particularly necessary for a person to enter the job market. Instead an individual can develop social capital through engagement with employability enhancing social enterprises which facilitate supported employment or

Individual Placement Support (IPS), for example (Bond, 2004). Importantly, IPS is an acclaimed mode of vocational rehabilitation that ensures rapid access to work placements and ensures the availability of integrated psychological and employment support (Tsang, 2009). The practice of vocational rehabilitation, IPS in particular, is promoted in therapeutic rather than economic terms with statements such as Marrone and Golowaka's (1999); "Employment is healing regardless of the disease" (p. 7). This is in line with the advocating tone of vocational rehabilitative literature.

C.2.6.3.3 Practice: Transitions from incapacity benefits to ESA

In practice, the credence of disability as preventing an individual from gaining employment is increasingly challenged by the availability of vocational and educational programmes. Through the vocational rehabilitative activity of the Job Centre and DWP, those who previously qualified for incapacity benefits are now being thoroughly scrutinised. If the results of such scrutiny suggest that the individual is not categorically disabled, individuals who previously received incapacity benefits are moved as much as possible onto Employment Support Allowance (ESA) (Houston, and Lindsay, 2010). In order to maintain this stringent allowance these individuals must evidence employability enhancing behaviours. In the DWP's provision of an employment support *allowance* rather than an *incapacity* benefit is the assumption that the individual who is not categorically disabled is only prevented from finding employment because they lack the resources/resourcefulness required (Houston, and Lindsay, 2010). This movement from incapacity benefits to such an allowance thus reconstructs disability as disadvantage.   It is demonstrative of the post welfare reform designed to retract the welfare mechanisms by which "immoral dependence" is maintained (Larner, 2000).

In summary, the literature review argues that the highlighted discourses work together in such a way that the "reality" of disability/distress in relation to employment is increasingly met with scepticism (Houston, and Lindsay, 2010). However, disadvantage is permitted within the more interactive nations of employability and this disadvantage is met with institutional efforts to increase the probability of employment through practices of   ESA provision, activation

through vocational rehabilitation, lifelong learning et cetera, all of which the individual is responsible to maximise and optimise (McQuaid, 2005). On the flip side, the availability of these practices, vilify those who do not adapt or engage to alleviate their disadvantage (Wilton, 2011). Rights and responsibilities are thus kept in balance through stigmatisation and restrictions in the availability of benefits, particularly as the aging population places greater pressure on the welfare budget (Houston, and Lindsay, 2010).

C.2.7 Noteworthy Empirical Research

Having established a genealogical perspective on the use of employability in literature and its power-related implications, the literature review will now consider and critique empirical research on the topic. In light of the broad and multi-disciplinary interest in employability, the empirical research to be reviewed here will be limited to psychological interventions that have developed to support those with severe mental illnesses into employment. This research is considered most pertinent to the current research study because it demonstrates the forms of integrated psychological and vocational support that have established validity in the neo-liberal context.

C.2.7.1 Individual Placement and Support (IPS)

IPS has been described as a "carefully defined and tested variation of supported employment" (Lawlor and Perkins, 2008) that was conceived through research in the USA. It is of proven appropriateness for those facing complex employment barriers such as mental illness, homelessness, criminal history and is designed to meet employment needs in spite of these individual, psychosocial barriers (Lawlor and Perkins, 2008). Service users progress through the programme's steps with the integrated clinical and employment support. These are referral, building a relationship, vocational assessment, individual employment plan, obtaining employment, follow-up support (Bond, 2004). Individuals are supported to do so according to the principles of IPS; "goal of competitive employment, eligibility based on consumer choice, rapid job search, integration of vocational and clinical services, attention to consumer preferences, time-unlimited and individualised support and personalised

benefits counselling" (Bond 2004). Lawlor and Perkins (2009) show that of 11 randomized controlled trials conducted, all demonstrated the effectiveness of IPS in facilitating competitive employment when, compared with pre-vocational training. Together, these studies achieved an average employment rate of 60% among IPS service users, compared with the pre-vocational training's 23%.

Traditional vocational rehabilitation approaches are commonly criticised for their constructions of mental health difficulties as disrupting employment (Bond and Drake, 2014). These constructions have justified significantly precautionary, prevocational training or the institutionalized segregation in sheltered workshops, for example (Jackson, 1998). However, an alternative, recovery-oriented understanding encourages the denunciation of the above practices. Researchers of IPS enthusiastically argue against suggestions that early work placement and post-employment psychological support are irresponsible (Bond, 2001). They suggest that this approach is in fact facilitative of reduced symptoms (Bond, 2001). And in so doing, they point to the finding that employment builds self-efficacy in a manner that promotes recovery from mental health issues (Bond, 2001).

Multiple studies, as reported by Tsang et al. (2009), have sought to augment IPS. These particular researchers chose to do so by adding a social skills training focus. In spite of IPS' success, job terminations among service users were notably attributed to interpersonal communication issues. While Bond (2004)'s meta-analysis found an average employment rate of 60%, the studies that augmented IPS with an interpersonal training focus achieved 78.1% employment rates, with increases in the service users' average job tenure (Tsang et al., 2009).

IPS has been effectively implemented within Hong Kong with notable cross-cultural considerations. Tsang et al.'s (2007) study highlighted the need for those seeking to adapt the intervention cross-culturally to exercise awareness of how culture-specific values, particularly surrounding employment and mental illness, may create unique barriers to employment, which the intervention, in its original form, was not designed to address. For example, social skills training and communication were considered of higher priority within Hong Kong's

comparatively collectivist culture while in American task achievement were the terms within which barriers were perceived.

Further research has explored the implementation of IPS alongside Improving Access to Psychological Therapies (IAPT) mental health treatment (Steadman and Thomas, 2015). Importantly, the establishment of IAPT services is associated with Lord Layard, a social economist who prioritised mental health support access to manage the impact it had on individual and national economic productivity (Holland, 2009). The findings of Steadman and Thomas' (2015) research demonstrated that the length of IAPT waiting lists and the IAPT practitioners' limited knowledge of the IPS practice limited the extent to which participating clients benefited from the integration. Notably, those who only received IPS support felt that IAPT support was no longer necessary and some opted to receive IPS support alone for various reasons, such as previous engagement with IAPT (Steadman and Thomas, 2015).

The construct of recovery emerges as significant when looking at IPS critically. Slade et al. (2014) describe IPS as designed to meet employment needs in spite of individual, psychosocial barriers to employment. IPS is targeted to support those whose "citizenship" is disrupted by such barriers. It does so by ensuring that such individuals can participate in the competitive labour market, which is a significant dimension of citizenship, as shown by Larner (200). Citizenship is an objective of IPS, while recovery, is as Slade et al., (2014) demonstrate, an expectation of IPS. IPS is therefore a practice that aligns recovery and citizenship with one another. These constructs in turn validate participation in and contribution to society and IPS, as a dominant intervention for those with severe mental health issues, validates the construction that "Work is recovery" for these individuals. Slade et al., (2014) and vocational rehabilitation literature asserts that "recovery" is the "recovery of life" in promotional terms however, this construction also prescribes particular experiences of "recovery" to prioritise societal contribution above/in spite of recovery from mental health difficulties or distress.

Importantly this understanding of recovery, which is matched with the IPS' model of integrated psychological support, has significant power-related implications for the economically active subject who also has severe mental illness. This creates a subject who is

entitled to autonomy, by virtue of their economic activity, but challenges their citizenship by necessitating the subject's dependence upon (or obligation to) a mental health practitioner. Their economic activity and autonomy is useful to the extent that it furthers national agendas, but it is otherwise limited. Foucauldian thinking would encourage questions about IPS' ability to simultaneously facilitate governmentality within the homo economicus subject while also maintaining disciplinary social control of the subject who is recovered *enough to work*.

The financial relevance of IPS is significant. It integrates autonomy and disciplinary dependence within those individuals whose illness represents the "greatest burden of disease" (Bond and Drake, 2014) and is heavily taxing on the welfare system. A neo-liberal priority is the dismantling of the welfare system and so perhaps, it follows that within the neo-liberal context IPS is one of the most celebrated recovery practices with the largest evidence base among employment support practices. As newer research from IPS founders notably emphasises, IPS cost-effectively lowers the costs of dependence that come with mental illness (Bond and Drake. 2014). It does not eliminate this dependence but redefines where such dependence is permitted to exist in the neo-liberal society. Bond and Drake (2014), describe it as superior to employment/occupational support contexts that allow individuals to remain outside of the competitive labour market, such as day hospitals and sheltered workshops. However, as they decry these practices and contexts, their language strongly emphasises notions of ethics and morality, rather than the economic imperatives that IPS appeases. These practices are described as "completely ineffective and even harmful because they promote dependency and demoralisation" (Bond and Drake, 2014, p 70). Yet, this literature review argues that the clinical effectiveness and empirical strength of IPS is a function of its discursive, economic, and therefore political, utility.

Importantly, Jay Watts notes that the neo-liberal agenda has co-opted the recovery movement, ensuring that it conforms to market reality. Market reality is defined by Esposito and Perez (2014) as one where "all forms of intervention are based on issues related to cost-effectiveness and become centred on the individual irrespective of the social factors presumed responsible for the presumed deficiency" (p. 430). Yet, as Watts (2017) shows, this

market reality or, as she calls it neo-liberal fantasy, creates devastating effects on mental health treatment as it elevates the Tory belief in the "dignity of work" at the expense of those who cannot function as expected. She highlights that those individuals are punished as neo-liberal practices such as IPS "foreclose the reality of long-term impairment and structural disadvantage". This is evident in the changing mental health landscape wherein, the day hospitals and therapeutic communities are gone. But as Watts (2017) shows, it is these day hospitals etc. that offered important support to those who cannot function according to neo-liberal demands because of the most entrenched problems. It is significant that these, "less cost-effective interventions" represent the interventions that IPS founders deem completely ineffective and even harmful.

Returning to the issue of symptomology; symptoms are allowed to remain within the IPS constructions of recovery and employability. They do so to necessitate the support of a psy-practitioner who can safeguard the individual and/or their new working environment from the effects of those symptoms. However, taking a social constructionist view of the severe mental illness diagnoses that warrant support from psy-practitioner in IPS, diagnoses and related symptoms are products of social constructions, which in neo-liberal fashion use a biomedical model to individualise social problems. According to Esposito and Perez (2014), such constructions are effective in "necessitating political and/or profit driven objectives", such as IPS.

Challenging the "reality" of severe mental illnesses and focusing on the political utility of IPS offers an alternative understanding of the role of psy-practitioners in IPS. Arguably, psy-practitioners in IPS challenge thoughts and behaviours that deviate from the neo-liberal requirements of positive affect and economic productivity rather than "psychiatric normality". As U'ren (1997) suggests, psy-practitioners work to help individuals manage "symptoms" that could instead be understood as products of the loneliness, apathy and competition, which can be attributed to the neo-liberal demands placed on the individual (U'ren, 1997; Esposito and Perez, 2014), rather than constructs of "psychopathology".

C.2.7.2 Indianapolis Vocational Intervention Programme (IVIP)

Tsang (2009) also reports the research that has led to the Indianapolis Vocational Intervention Programme (IVIP) (Lysaker et al. 2005). This is an exclusive psychological intervention designed for integration with vocational programmes, including paid employment placements. Its implementation of individual and group Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) interventions presumes to tackle the effect of internal stigmatization, self-efficacy and dysfunctional beliefs on employment outcomes and echoes findings supporting a mutual relationship between employment and self-esteem. Tsang et al. (2009) reported that the IVIP approach was of similar effectiveness to their own enhancement of IPS.

Lysaker and France's (1999) research preceded the development of IVIP and suggested that generally, psychotherapy allowed vocational rehabilitation service users to "reframe old ideas, question inconsistencies and keep track of the structure and content of revised narrative until fully integrated into memory...within a reflective and non-hierarchical relationship". Furthermore, behavioural methods have been shown to be notably more effective for those experiencing mental health issues (Pruett et al., 2008). In spite of these promising results, the literature does not offer clear insight into the possibility of integrating the highly acclaimed IPS with CBT or the appropriate points of integration and yet the evidence-based status of each in rehabilitating mental health service users would necessitate such integration.

Kukla, Davis and Lysaker (2013) explore the effectiveness of IVIP among those concurrently engaged in CBT for work outcomes and in a work placement. They establish that existing literature explaining predictors of this programme's success is inconclusive. They show for example, that improvements in hope and self-esteem do not necessarily ensure positive work outcomes, as theoretically implied. Similarly, they argue that factors such as work history, positive/negative psychotic symptoms or verbal memory could not consistently explain the programme's effectiveness as other studies suggested. However, they formulate the importance of client engagement in predicting positive outcomes and thus explore the factors that could be said to influence engagement. They identify neurocognitive features,

self-esteem and educational/work history as influencing engagement in the IVIP programme and therefore work outcomes.

In this evaluative study, it is significant that the researchers construct work outcomes in a manner that reduces their focus to the individual's engagement within the IVIP programme. Work outcomes are thus transformed into an issue of client choice and individual responsibility, where instead the practitioner, context or intervention may be a significant predictor of engagement. In fact, the factors that are shown to influence engagement restrict the construct of engagement to highly individualised and medicalised factors such as the individual's neurocognitive function, self-esteem and educational attainment. The authors' emphasise self-esteem and human capital as they account for the differences in engagement noted among those with similarly significant symptoms. In so doing they highlight the effectiveness of one's socialisation to the neo-liberal context as influencing their capacity to engagement in this programme. Arguably, the program is itself a technology of neoliberal subjectivity claiming only to be effective to the extent that the individual takes responsibility for that subjectification. The responsibility or engagement the individual shows in the program is understood as generalisable to work outcomes and general self-management. Where clients do not demonstrate clinical change, in spite of engagement, similarly individualised constructs such as patient satisfaction or expectation are implicated. However, the roles of contextual or practitioner-related factors in these outcomes are not considered.

C.2.8   Relevance to the Counselling Psychology Discipline

The literature has thus shown that employability is increasingly constructed as internal to the individual in a manner that incentivises the individual to take responsibility for their own employability. This internalisation appears to become more acute as the labour market becomes less predictable, such that governmental practices are more suited to ensuring employability rather than employment outcomes. Such internalising constructions have justified the integration of individualising, psychological practice into employment support

and vocational rehabilitation. In the UK this integration is largely a noted practice within statutory settings.

This construction of psychological practice's role in employment support is evidenced in the Department of Work and Pensions' proposal to integrate with IAPT services (Gayle, 2015; Rhodes, 2015). Those faced with unemployment were to receive psychological intervention as part of their employment support. Ultimately, professional authorities in the psychological/psychotherapeutic disciplines decried this arguably coercive proposal to integrate psychological practice into employment support (Rhodes, 2015). However, the very fact that this practice became a matter of social dialogue demonstrates that internalising constructions of employability are active and have the potential to implicate psychological/psychotherapeutic practice in the pathologisation of unemployment. An individualising solution was proposed to solve a social a problem (Scanlon, 2015; Drucker, 1984). Importantly, the psychological professional was called upon to implement that solution.

It thus becomes important to ask what such discursive action implies about the psychological discipline's societal role. It is necessary to wonder how society—as represented by the participants of this research project—constructs employability's relationship with the psychological practice. Is it relevant/appropriate to integrate psychological practice within employment support, particularly in light of the potential for such practice to be imposed upon vulnerable individuals by virtue of their unemployment/"immoral dependence"? Furthermore, the economic imperative that appears to characterise governmental and national agendas regarding employability begs questions of social justice. These are questions psychologists must answer as they are commissioned to practice in those settings. But a return to the literature regarding the psychological disciplines' relationship with institutional practices highlights an even greater need for the discipline to remain reflexive as it supports neo-liberal state practices.

C.2.8.1 "Psy-Disciplines" and Neo-liberalism in Statutory Settings.

Bondi (2005) describes the psy-disciplines as affirming neo-liberal subjectivities as they work to align "political, social and institutional goals with individual pleasures and desires and with the happiness and fulfilment of the self" (p. 501). To similar effect, Nikolas Rose (1985) undertook a genealogical analysis of what he called the "psy-complex", which is said to characterise psy-disciplines. Psy-disciplines are all those concerned with the individual mind, behaviour and internal world. As such, this term will be used throughout the paper to refer to those disciplines and psy-practitioners will be used to identify those individuals representing the psy-disciplines. In his genealogy, Rose (1985) demonstrated that psy-disciplines are technologies of subjectivity that "most fully epitomise the logic of neo-liberal subjectivity in the priority accorded to individual liberty" (Bondi, 2005, p. 500). A technology, (i.e. "a matrix of reason) of self is described as permitting the following:

"Individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality (Foucault, 1988, p.16)

Psy-disciplines are said to do the above according to neo-liberal values. Psy-disciplines, suffer further criticism from those who describe them as "inherently individualising, psychologising and de-politicising (Lasch 1980; Rieff 1966; Sennett 1977; Turkle 1979)", which according to Bondi (2005) is exactly what neo-liberalism requires (Bondi, 2005). Within state institutions, such as the NHS and IAPT service, these effects on the individual are said to be charged, and then pressured, to produce "highly individualised consumer-citizens (Bondi, 2005, p. 499) in response to socioeconomic crisis (Triliva et al., 2014)

The research exploring the psy-disciplines work of facilitating neo-liberal subjectivities to the appeasement of neo-liberal practices is most critical where it explores the relationship between austerity and psychotherapy, particularly in the context of the Greek socioeconomic crises. Mentinis (2013), among others, demonstrates how psy-disciplines,

adapt too easily to the pressures of neo-liberal government practices and funding constraints to ultimately ensure the production of economically useful selfhoods. It does so by promoting social atomisation, de-politicalisation, social-selection based on individualised skills and capabilities (Mentinis, 2013) but at the expense of its capacity and, arguably its responsibility, to activate "emancipatory, resistance, and solidarity discourses" (Triliva et al., 2014). This is indeed a responsibility of the discipline given the uniquely intimate position practitioners are in, which makes them privy to the needs of clients and arguably responsible to highlight them, if not meet them. Mentinis (2013) relates this failure to an issue of the discipline's identity, or lack thereof, with the following:

> "Generic psychotherapy is totally deprived of a language of its own and parrots unashamedly the language of entrepreneurial neo-liberalism, showing both its theoretical and practical destitution, as well as its undisputable role as a state and corporate technology of control (Mentinis, 2013).

Moller (2011) also makes the psy-disciplines' ties to neo-liberal practice a matter of identity and criticises counselling psychology discipline for being parochial and rigid in its devotion to phenomenology (individualising) and humanism (autonomising). She highlights the potential that the discipline in Britain "may also be implicitly conveying certain values by not focusing its professed identity on issues around diversity" (Moller, 2011, p. 11). Yet she suggests that the discipline makes a shift towards American Counselling Psychology practice and commits to "diversity, vocational/career counselling, and political advocacy, for example" (p. 12). These are said to be absent from Britain's Counselling Psychology research, training and practice (Moller, 2011).

C.2.8.2   Social Justice, Neo-liberalism and Third Sector Settings

Meanwhile, the counselling psychology discipline has oriented itself toward social justice and recently developed the Social Justice Network (BPS, 2015). However, with the social critiques noted above, it seems that reflection upon or protection against neo-liberalism's distortive power is near impossible, at least in statutory settings. Yet, Bondi, (2005) demonstrates

differently, in her vital analysis of neo-liberal subjectivities and third sector counselling. Ironically, she finds that psy-disciplines' reliance upon neo-liberal assumptions regarding "the belief in the existence of forms of subjectivity that enable people to make choices about their lives" (p.499) aligns the psy-disciplines well with activism and empowerment. While the practice of counselling psychology encourages a dimension of neo-liberal autonomy, it maintains a "commitment to resist some features of this version of subjectivity, especially in its appeal to the bounded, self-made individual" (Bondi, 2005, p. 506).

C.2.8.3   Questions

C.2.8.3.1 Questions of "How"?

According to Bondi (2005), psy-practice in the third sector appears to light the way towards increasing counselling psychology's affinity to social justice and developing its identity, through the recommended focus of diversity and multi-culturism (Moller, 2011). Nevertheless, there is still the question of "how, exactly", given the discipline's undeniable openness to abuse by, and collusion with, neo-liberal governmentality, particularly in the neo-liberal area of vocational rehabilitation. This "how" question is asked most eloquently by career guidance practitioners:

> "[H]ow are we, as mediators between individuals and societies, to act ethically and how can we be socially just, in our effort to support the search for meaningful social being, when public troubles are experienced as private tragedies, and the culture of competitive capitalism, where the winner takes all, leaves individuals so damaged and crippled with self-hatred that the Socratic ideal of discovering and mobilising one's 'arete' in the service of the common good is barely conceivable, let alone realisable" (Sulatana, 2014)?

Similar critical research from within the counselling psychology discipline is needed to help clarify an answer. Then there is the question of whether psy-disciplines can be integrated to ensure social justice in the provision of vocational rehabilitative services. Arguably, this is dependent on how social justice is described. Cutts (2013), in her exploration of how a social

justice agenda might manifest in the counselling psychology discipline states that a concise definition does not formally exist within the field. However, she defines it in the following manner:

> "both a goal of action and the process of action itself, which involves an emphasis on equity or equality for individuals in the society in terms of access to a number of different resources and opportunities, the right to self-determination or autonomy and participation in decision-making, freedom from oppression and a balancing of power across society" (Cutts, 2013).

Neo-liberalism appears to influence this definition, but as Bondi (2005) shows, that is not to say that social justice cannot exist in spite of neo-liberalism. It may be that neo-liberalism is characterised by enough ambiguity that it can obligate the individual through its subjectification or it can facilitate activism in the space that neo-liberal governmentality allows for agency, and therefore resistance.

This research study therefore begins with the following question:

- Could psy-discipline practice in third sector, social enterprise settings, rather than statutory settings, enable practitioners to support clients in achieving their employability goals in a socially just, activist manner?

C.2.8.3.2 Questions That Have Not Been Asked

Ferguson (2012) shows that while social enterprises are particularly effective in engaging those at risk of social exclusion and developing the social and human capital required to enhance employability, there is a notable separation maintained between social enterprises and psy-discipline practice. She attributes this to the fact social enterprises are adopted in mental health to a limited degree. Additionally, there is limited state funding directed at establishing the validity of social entrepreneurship as a means of supporting those with psychological needs. Furthermore, research conducted by social enterprises themselves is

more concerned with business sustainability and social mission risk. Ferguson (2012) notes that the global lack in empirical data on pertinent social entrepreneurship outcomes and on the integration of mental health practice with social entrepreneurship makes it difficult to design an effective social entrepreneurial intervention, particularly one that also meets the requirements of funding.

There is limited research to suggest that such integration has otherwise been explored, other than in the form of social firms (Warner and Mandiberg, 2006) that employ individuals diagnosed with psychiatric illness. However, this practice is criticised for the cautiousness with which it inhibits the "psychiatrically disabled" from entering the competitive labour market (Marrone and Golowaka, 1999). There also appears to be an anecdotal absence of psy-practitioners from third sector, social entrepreneurial settings, in the UK. It could be argued that the lack of research to support such integration in practice is a consequence of complacence among mental health researchers, which restricts research and practices within the realm of what has already been established as valid i.e. integration with state institutional practices. However, an awareness of the power that discourse, as Foucault understood it, has to create and limit particular social realities suggests that this ostensible incompatibility/untapped potential for integration is ensured and maintained by discursive action. Abductive reasoning then leads to the question of whether the incompatibility exists because it is of particular, socio-political utility.

Mental health research on the topic (Bondi, 2005; Ferguson, 2012), though limited, suggests that the integration of mental health practice and social entrepreneurship is a worthy venture to be researched. However, such a possibility is seemingly omitted from social entrepreneurial research, which tends to focus on socio-economic performance rather than the wellbeing outcomes of their interventions. As such, it may be meaningful to explore from the perspective of social enterprise, the possibility of integrating psy-practice with social entrepreneurship. This is arguably an inevitable first step considering the power that Third Way Policy and New Public Management affords social enterprises. Furthermore, given the discipline's need to maintain reflexivity regarding its alignment with neo-liberal values, it may

be more meaningful to take an external perspective of psychological practice's role and relevance to employment support.

C.2.8.3.3   The Research Question

Having demonstrated in the literature review the far reaching implications of any given construction of a discursive object, e.g. employability, this research study will seek to address the questions outlined above by asking the following research question:

- How do leaders of third sector supporting individuals at risk for social exclusion in the enhancement of their employability construct employability?

C.3   METHODOLOGY

C.3.1   Introduction

This chapter will introduce the epistemological and methodological approaches that have guided this research study's design, which will also be described here. A rationale for these methodological choices will be offered followed by an exploration of the philosophical underpinnings and methodical considerations that were ultimately considered most appropriate to answer the research question. The chapter will then end with a section on methodological reflexivity and a concluding summary

C.3.2   Reminder of the Research Aims and Question

C.3.2.1 Research Aims

This research ultimately aims to determine the following:

- Could psy-discipline practice in third sector, social enterprise settings, rather than statutory settings, enable practitioners to support clients in achieving their employability goals in a socially just, activist manner

However, there is limited research to suggest that such integration has been explored, other than in the form of social firms that employ individuals diagnosed with psychiatric illness. Furthermore, there is an apparent absence of psy-practitioners from the third sector efforts, particularly the popular social entrepreneurial efforts to enhance employability. However, employability is commonly constructed in internalising/psychological constructions (Kim, et al. ,2015; Vanhercke et al.,2014), to an extent that psychological practice is implicated in employment support provided by statutory settings. Perhaps, such an absence of psy-practice is in the interest of social justice or an issue of funding on the part of the social enterprises. However, Bondi (2005) shows that counselling psychology practice maintains a capacity and a "commitment to resist some features of this [neo-liberal] version of subjectivity, especially in its appeal to the bounded, self-made individual of liberal theory" (Bondi, 2005, p. 506). She shows that the discipline's neo-liberal disposition ironically aligns it with resistance and activism and this is possible *in third sector settings*. But still, its potential

appears to remain unexplored in research and in practice. With a Foucauldian curiosity regarding the ability of discourse to create and inhibit various social realities, this research study thus aims to do the following:

- Set the stage for the question posed above by asking how discourse works to configure this apparent incompatibility between psy-practice and employability enhancing third sector settings, mainly social enterprises, in spite of the dominant internalising/psychologising constructions of employability.
- Explore the implications of the above for psy-practice and social justice in social entrepreneurial settings, and in so doing encourage reflection within the discipline

C.3.2.2   The Research Question

The research study will do so by asking the following research question:

- How do leaders of third sector organisations, particularly social enterprises, supporting individuals at risk of social exclusion in the enhancement of their employability construct employability?

C.3.3   Rationale For a Qualitative Approach

A philosophical consideration of Kuhn's work on scientific paradigms highlights that particular worldviews influence the accepted norms and assumptions of study in historical and culturally situated ways. One of the paradigms is that of the critical-ideological paradigm (Ponterotto, 2005), in which assumptions of reality and knowledge are seen as facilitated by dominant structures or meaning systems, which the associated critical-ideological research aims to challenge. The social constructionist epistemology that fits within this paradigm also conceives that any understanding of reality and knowledge is specific to a particular socio-historical context and is reflective of that context's values and norms. It is thus impossible for knowledge to be factual or ahistorical. The assumption is that any social reality, wherein certain knowledge is considered Truth, is only one among many possible social realities, each

of which is capable of many different truths. This paradigm understands power as capable of validating particular realites and of espousing particular knowledges as fact or truth at the expense of others (Burr, 2003).

As a study characterised by a research question concerned with the power relations that create the status quo by particular means, this study is epistemologically a consequence of the relativist, critical-ideological research paradigm described above. The research question does not ask "what is reality?" but "how one particular reality among all those possible is maintained and to whose benefit?" Who is consequently disadvantaged by the power relations that are at work? Within this paradigm it is also accepted that reality cannot be revealed through a particular approach to research, reality is created as research reifies its findings. This paradigm and the social constructionist epistemology within it, understands research as an inevitable product of social action, of language, subjectivity and interpretation (Burr, 2003). And so a qualitative approach was chosen because a quantitative approach is, within this paradigm, of limited epistemic value. Quantification is not the aim and objectivity, for the purposes of generalisability, is not useful, considering the qualitative concern with socially constructed meaning that characterises this research study (Yardley, 2000).

C.3.4   Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA)

FDA, which is the methodology chosen for this research study, is one among many qualitative methodologies. It is distinguished by its critical relativist concerns and social constructionist standpoint regarding reality, knowledge production, language and consequent power relations (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008). However, it is also representative of the qualitative paradigm in that it moves away from quantitative empiricism and epistemological assumptions regarding objectivity and generalisability. Instead, FDA and qualitative methodologies seek to offer idiosyncratic insight into the human experience.

FDA is also one methodology among discursive methodologies. As Hewitt (2009) states, discursive methodology takes on different meanings depending on the discipline within

which it is being applied and on the definition of "discourse" that is being assumed. However, there are various discursive analytic traditions that draw from a variety of social theorists such as Potter and Wetherell, Lacan, Mouff, Bourdieu and Foucault (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008). This methodology chapter will make a particular distinction between Foucauldian Discourse Analysis and Discursive Psychology's approach to discourse analysis (DA).

Discourse Analysis, attributed to Potter and Wetherell (Willig 2015), is concerned with the interpretative repertoires that are available to, and used by individuals, in interpersonal interactions. It focuses on the nuanced ways in which language is used in text and speech and aims to understand the specific objectives achieved in the individual's use of language Harkness et al., 2005). FDA, in contrast, assumes that a person's interests, intentions and worldview are limited by language through discourse (Hammersley, 2003). They only manifest as constructions of the discourses that are culturally available. As such, power takes on a comparatively greater role in FDA's macro-view understanding of how language affects culture, history, institutional practices and in turn, individuals (Hammersley, 2003). FDA therefore extends beyond DA's micro-view of language and its concerns with language in interpersonal interaction (Willig, 2015).

C.3.4.1 Philosophical and Theoretical Underpinnings

Foucault understood discourse as a form of language that "arranges and naturalises the natural world in a specific way and thus informs social practices" (Foucault, 1976, 1980; Alvesson, and Karreman, 2000). His understanding of language drew on the structuralist assertion that outside of language, which is an overarching structure, there is no meaning. However, as a post-structuralist, he went further and argued that meaning is not fixed or unconditional but socially mediated (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008). Foucauldian thinking in turn encourages scrutiny regarding ideas of truth and scientific objectivity. It exposes the socially constructed nature of knowledge. Epistemologically, scientific knowledge is thus proven to be a social creation of language and a social action, rather than a reliable reflection of reality.

Therefore, FDA methodology, and its social constructionist epistemology, is relativist in its philosophical recognition that knowledge and any expressed understanding of reality is produced but also restricted by the social action of language; by discourses (Burr, 2003). Also implicit in Foucault's definition of discourse is a conceptualization of, and a concern with, power, but not power that can be attributed to a singular or visible entity. Foucault argued that power is everywhere, "however, discourse transmits and produces power, it reinforces it but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart" (Foucault, 1990, p. 101). This alludes to the power and inescapabilty of discourse, or to the restrictive power of language that is inherent in Foucauldian understanding. It also assumes that there are conflicts and power struggles within and between discourses. An analysis of how discourses function demonstrates that in spite of the possibility of multiplicity and the instability of meaning, dominant discourses work to maintain a status quo that tends to appease the values of dominant social groups, to the extent where those values and their institutional practices are reified as singular truths. FDA methodology thus allows the problematisation of discourses and institutional practices that suggest the existence of such truths, challenging the social actors that insist upon their reality (Burr, 2003).

C.3.4.2   Foucauldian Genealogies as "Anti-Science"

Foucault's notion of epistemology, as it relates to the social sciences, is perhaps confined within a particular "ontological" understanding of the person whereby power "transforms persons into objects and subjects of knowledge" (Bastalich, 2009). Foucault (Bastalich, 2009) asserted that social sciences, via their production of knowledge regarding the subject, participate in the *creation* and reification of a situated construction of the subject i.e. person, individual, citizen, et cetera. In this manner, Foucault argued that social sciences are also creative of the realities, tenets and theories that justify a particular understanding of the subject. These social sciences facilitate the understanding that certain features of the mind and processes of interpretation or interpersonal relating exist as fact in the real world; outside of the scientific discourses that are mistakenly assumed to merely describe them (Burr, 2003).

Yet, as Foucault argues, these things do not exist independently of the discourses that create them.

The historical situated-ness of knowledge is thus exposed, which in turn exposes the reliance of knowledge on social agreement and particular paradigms. Yet social agreement is itself a consequence of power, which is in turn subject to history. Foucault thereby discredits the social theories that ascribe the historical situated-ness of knowledge to multiplicity or cultural interpretation, for example. Instead he returns to the centrality of power in this. He describes social sciences as mechanisms of power that enact the "aspirations of order, obedience, predictability, standardisation and regulation" (Bastalich, 2009). However the means and practices by which these are achieved may change but Foucault highlights that a "historical desire for control" (Bastalich, 2009) is maintained all the same.

An avenue to seeing past the claim that social sciences discover rather than create and to identifying the "historical desire for control" is to take a genealogical approach to research. As Bastalich (2009) shows the following of a Foucauldian genealogy:

> "It does not ask what does this knowledge reflect about its producer's intentions or desires (constructivism) or what is the cultural meaning of this event or experience for these persons (constructionism) or what political forces produce and reinforce unequal social relations (critical theory). The focus of investigation is not the meaning of individuals whether given by individual consciousness, cultural perspective of social structure or relations, but a history of practice and the discursive relations to the self they produce" (Bastalich, 2009).

It is thus described as an anti-science (Bastalich, 2009) and offers an important opportunity for reflexivity in social science such as counselling psychology.

C.3.4.3   Rationale for FDA

This specific methodology was ultimately chosen for its capacity to facilitate reflexivity, particularly given the research aim described above regarding reflection within the discipline

in mind. FDA also offers a uniquely and necessarily critical lens through which this study's concern with the psy-disciplines' role in creating a certain kind of subject can be explored. With FDA it is thus possible to remain cognizant of the extent to which psy-disciplines, through their capacity to regulate, participate in constructing the subject according to their obligations to society, economy and nation (Bastalich, 2009).

As shown in the literature review, Rose's (1985) genealogy of the psy-disciplines has revealed unique insights regarding the socio-political utility of human subjects that are autonomous and employable (Bondi, 2005). He highlights the role of psy-practice in this. Specifically, Rose shows that from their conception, psy-disciplines took up the responsibilities of social administration and of moralising/medicalising subjectivities that contradicted the eugenics discourses and threatened the validity of its institutional practices, which promoted well-being and good order (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008). These disciplines did so by drawing on a discourse of normality to create an understanding of abnormality that suggested degeneracy. As such, the social exclusion of such contradictory human subjects was justified, and enacted by the disciplinary power of the psy-disciplines (Bracken, and Thomas, 2005; Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's, 2008). A unique, historical relationship exists between the psy-disciplines and potentially disempowering governmental/institutional aims. As such, the Counselling Psychology discipline's commitment to social justice insists upon reflexivity and its own discursive undoing (Jones and Elcock, 2001).

C.3.4.4   Doing FDA

With all of the above in mind, what interests the Foucauldian analyst are mechanisms of power and their histories, as well as the manner in which the subject makes use of discourses while negotiating the conflicts in and between discourses. That relates to how they position themselves in relation to a particular discourse and how they understand themselves given the subjectivities that are made available to them by a particular discourse (Burr, 2003). Equally important are the socio-political implications of these discursive activities (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's, 2008) i.e. what practices are made possible or inhibited through

discourse? How are they enacted from within the various subject positions characterising a discourse?

Willig (2013) devises a framework for engaging in FDA that has become pertinent to the psychological discipline. She formalises the focal interests described above and outlines 6 steps whereby the text is scrutinised for discursive constructions, discourses, action orientations, subject positionings, practices and subjectifications (Willig, 2015). However, as Willig (2015) states, these steps do not facilitate a full Foucauldian analysis. Alternative approaches exist such as Parker's approach, which constitutes 20 steps. However, Willig's (2015) 6 step analysis permits an exploration of what is considered pertinent to understanding the issues that are considered key to Foucualdian thought i.e. geneaology, governmentality and subjectification (Willig, 2003, p. 156)

Though Willig (2015) offers a detailed description of what each of the 6 steps asks of the data, a simplified description is presented here and reflects the questions I kept in mind while analysing the data, as I will show later. These questions are based on a presentation by Flexer (2014) that explains Willig's (2008) approach to doing FDA

1. Discursive constructions: *Instances of inferences*

2. Discourses: *Ways of seeing the world*

3. Action Orientation: *When the discourse is being used and to what purpose*

4. Subject positioning *What rights and duties are being ascribed to different* subjects

5. Practice: *What can be said and done from those positions*

6. Subjectivity: *What can be thought, felt and experienced from those subject positions*

C.3.5   Alternative Methodologies Considered

While FDA methodology allows the researcher to question "truths" and to expose the political utility of internalising/psychologising constructions of employability, for example, this methodology only offers the most economic explanation for the status quo (Lipscomb, 2012). Along with other approaches to social research, FDA is thus criticised for concerning itself

with description where tangible benefits are called for instead (Cameron and Gibson, 2005, p. 316). Perhaps with research aims regarding social justice, it is necessary for research to concern itself with tangible social action from the outset. As such, action research, particularly emancipatory action research methodology, was also considered appropriate for the research study. It is argued here that emancipatory action research could offer an adequately critical but more impactful approach to addressing this research problem.

C.3.5.1   Action-Oriented Emancipatory Research

A premise of action research is encapsulated in the idea that "action without theory is blind, just as theory without action is meaningless (Kagan et al., 2008). Meanwhile, according to Kagan (2008) emancipatory research is action-oriented research that "promotes a critical consciousness which exhibits itself in political as well as practical action to promote change" (Kagan, 2008, p.6) and social transformation. According to Lingard et al. (2008) the key features of emancipatory research include extensive collaboration, an egalitarian approach to education and knowledge, whereby the researcher avails of their skills to the interests of their research subjects (Kagan , 2008), and lastly, action.

Action research exists within multiple disciplines and thus draws on multiple worldviews and philosophies. Its epistemology is described as critical and transformational and is open to pragmatism, though it is "largely social constructionist" (Kagan et al., 2008). As described by Kagan (2008), action research allows the researcher to engage with data collected by various means. These include involvement in the participants' social reality and enquiry generating new data through interviews or examination of existing data sources. In this manner, action research is pragmatic, accommodating both qualitative and quantitative methods. Ultimately, it prioritizes those methods that best enable the researcher to engage with, and meet the participating stakeholders' interests (Kagan, 2008).

Emancipatory action research is more explicitly guided by social constructionist epistemology. Its concern with power lends itself to the modes of theorizing and analysis assumed in FDA methodology. Perhaps the ways in which their common epistemology

challenges methodical formality contributes to the methodologies' alignment with one another. Action research could in fact incorporate modes of FDA interpretation. While the analytical interpretations would likely be restricted by the interests and value positions of participating stakeholders, such an incorporation arguably increases the likelihood of an FDA leading to social action in a way that a "pure" FDA's singular goal of abductive problematisation does not (Kagan et al., 2008).

These "methodologies" share enough epistemological and political concerns such that applying an emancipatory action research approach would allow the critical kind of questioning that the existing research strategy has upheld as necessary. Emancipatory action research is suited, like FDA methodology, to the organisational/societal, rather than individual, concerns of the research problem explored here. However, it goes further than FDA methodology by empowering its participating stakeholders—who typically stand to lose the most—by raising critical consciousness, at least (Kagan et al., 2008). The decision, however, to apply FDA methodology, in spite of the greater impact that action research could have, is largely practical. The co-researching process requires resources that go beyond this level of study. Additionally, the aims of "setting the stage for an answer to a question" and encouraging reflection within the counselling psychology discipline are not sufficiently action-oriented to justify the application of this methodology.

C.3.6   Criticism of FDA and Discursive Analysis

C.3.6.1   "Discourse is everything"?

A typical criticism of FDA methodology is Foucault's dismissal of humanism and of stable individuality. Foucault is said to understand subjectivity only as "constituted by material/signifying practices" (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008). As such, selfhood is understood as merely a product of available discourses. However, the mantra that "discourse is everything" is challenged with the argument that there is a social actor with an "inner life" who is capable of action and operates with degrees of agency (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008). Lacanian psychoanalytic theory has been incorporated into discursive methodology to offer a framework of understanding how the inner life is

accounted for and how it is impacted by discourse. This offers a more nuanced account of how power "fabricates an inner life consciousness that is linked, in quite complex ways to the effects of power" (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008).

Still the criticism of Foucauldian thinking as deterministic is countered with the clarification that "discourses do not determine things, there is the possibility of resistance and interdeterminancy" (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008). Ultimately, however, the nature of the research question and the macro-level discourses (Alvesson et al., 2000) being scrutinised are such that concerns of the subjectivity are not particularly pertinent. And so it is not expected that this limitation of the Foucauldian methodology will be particularly impacting on the capacity of the research design.

C.3.6.2 "Discourse Stands For Nothing"

Critics have also noted the breadth of phenomena that constitute as "discourse". Some say that "sometimes, discourse comes close to standing for nothing" (Alvesson et al., 2000). There is ambiguity in the definition of discourse but also in the manner of conducting a FDA. This affects the potential for a research report's comparability, which Rawson (2016) asserts is the suggested alternative to quantitative reliability (Rawson, 2016). However, in response to such critique Gutting (1994) argues against the validity of FDA methodology that offers a unified framework. Armstrong (1997) echoes this and is noted to have said that Foucault would have deemed prescribing a distinct methodology as affording "a particular status to the position of truth in a perspective where truth is always conditional" (Gilbert et al., 2003).

Furthermore, abduction, rather than deduction or induction, is the aim of FDA investigation and so it could be argued that FDA philosophical accommodates such ambiguity. Only the best explanation for how specific social realities have been reified/rejected is sought, with little effort to guarantee any such explanations. Arguably, that is all that scientific inquiry can achieve within a social constructionist, critical relativist paradigm. Perhaps it is the practice of report writing in qualitative methodology, which rests on quantitative standards, that is the problem (Frost et al., 2010).

C.3.6.3   Deconstruction, Deconstruction, Deconstruction

Hammersley (2003) offers a broader critique of discursive methodologies and their constructionist epistemologies. If knowledge production is a social action and inevitably a consequence of discourse, can a discourse analysis, itself have any epistemic value? He presents the argument that any discourse analysis can be deconstructed to show the ways in which the deconstruction of the discursive object is itself limited by the discourses available to the analyst. As such it is necessary for each discourse analysis to include within it a reflexive analysis that makes clear how the discourse analysis itself is subject to discursive construction. To do so is to increase the validity of discursive research and as Creswell and Miller (2000) demonstrate reflexivity is an appropriately meaningful validity procedure available to qualitative researchers operating within the critical research paradigm. However, it remains that a deconstruction is open to further deconstruction and so the "moral and political authority" that discourse analysis aims to achieve may indeed be elusive.

Hammersley (2003) offers another criticism regarding the assumption that the use of a particular discourse during one specific occasion, e.g. the research interview, is reflective of the discourse's generalisability to other occasions and to other similar people. Hammersley (2003) argues that there is limited explanation from discourse analysts as to why, let alone if, such incidents of language use can be generalised in these ways. Yet in describing the reasoning underlying this research methodology as abductive, discursive analysts concede that the only possible aim of such research is limited to inference by the best explanation (Lipscomb, 2012). Though there could be many explanations, settling for the best is sufficient in orienting us toward the taken for granted nature of our surroundings, rather than specific generalisable notions, which is a sufficient aim.

C.3.7   Methods

According to McGregor and Murname (2010), methodology "refers to how logic, reality, values and what counts as knowledge inform the research". The methodology has thus been described above. The methods that were used to implement the research study will now be described. Importantly, methodology is distinct from method, which refers to the tools and

practicalities of the research process that are prescribed by the methodology (American Heritage Dictionary, 1992).

C.3.7.1 Research Design

This qualitative research is characterised by Social Constructionist Epistemology. The transcripts of 5 semi-structured interviews with leaders of third sector employability programmes were analysed using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. The aim of the analysis was to understand how the participants constructed employability and how this in turn informed their practice in relation to other professionals, particularly psy-practitioners.

I initially considered engaging both psychologists and third sector professionals working to enhance the employability of their clients in the study. The rationale was to contextualise the findings from both professions given the interest in potentially integrating practice. However, I ultimately decided not to with a concern that a wide variety of settings and organisational structures would potentially be represented by the combination of psychologist and non-psychological professional. I chose to focus the research and explore issues pertaining to psychological practice in one setting.

C.3.7.2   Inclusion Criteria

Methods of recruitment were targeted towards third sectors settings (non-profit organisations, social enterprises and social firms), mainly social enterprises, whose objectives included improving the employability of individuals at risk of social exclusion. In regards to the organisations' specific practices, there were no other criteria defined other than the organisation self-identification as promoting employability. Third sector settings, rather than governmental organisations, or those largely reliant on government funding, were considered because of the research study's "starting points":

1. The ostensible incompatibility between psy-practice and social entrepreneurship that is maintained by the limited research regarding integration and the apparent

absence of psychological practitioners from third sector employability programmes in spite of internalising/psychologising constructions of employability

2. The Foucauldian insights regarding the relationships shown to exist between state institutions and psy-disciplines

3. The potential for third sector settings to resist or deviate from institutional state practices by virtue of their social aims

The research aimed to explore the tensions seemingly complicating the integration of psy-practice with third sector employability practice, mainly social entrepreneurship. However the presence of a psy-practitioner in a potential, participating organisation, or the organisation's established relationship with external psychological (or governmental) parties, did not count as exclusion criteria. Of interest were constructions of employability that would or would not permit the integration with psy-disciplines, in whatever fashion.

That said, participants were recruited on the basis of their directorial or autonomous positions within these organisations. This was designed to ensure that they had decision-making/gate-keeping capacity in regards to the involvement of other professions. A related inclusion criterion was that each participant had to have been employed in the decision-making role for at least a year. These criteria regarding position and length of service were expected to ensure that the participants had a sufficiently coherent understanding of the organisation's philosophies, services and its relationship with other social entities, e.g. the psychological discipline and the welfare system.

C.3.7.3   Identifying Potential Participant Organisations

Potential participating organisations were initially identified through online searches using different combinations of key terms: "non-profit organisation" "social enterprise", "social firm", "employability", "employment", "social exclusion" and "UK". These searches yielded a list of potential participant organisations that had the resources to create and update individual websites. However, a useful website emerged through this search that served as an extensive directory of diverse, UK social enterprises, in particular. The social enterprises'

inclusion in this directory was not dependent on their ability to create and maintain a website. However, their inclusion suggested that there were notable enough to gain the attention of others and feature on a publicising website. As such, a limitation of this process of identification was in its restrictiveness. Potential participant organisations were shortlisted for further engagement if it was evident from the information available that employability was a primary objective of the organisation or of a department within it rather than an expected bi-product.

"At risk of social exclusion" (in the research question) was not specified to suggest particular demographics. The emphasis on third sector and employability in the online searches appeared to have a self-selective effect in that the organisations identified through this search typically supported those at risk of social exclusion. Client populations represented in the search results included long-term unemployed, young homeless people, individuals with criminal histories, individuals diagnosed with mental health difficulties or learning disability, individuals with physical disability or those who engaged in substance abuse behaviours. By not specifying the inclusion criteria this way the research design remained open to the potential that participating organisations were characterised by different variations of professional involvement reflective of the clients "non-employment" needs. That withstanding, the question of how decision-making leaders construct employability to enable, resist or define particular professional relationships with other disciplines (particularly psy-disciplines) would still be addressed.

C.3.7.4   Contacting and Recruiting Participant Organisations

Once I identified an appropriate organisation, I called and/or emailed the organisation to identify an individual within the organisation who would best meet the inclusion criteria. In some instances, this information was evident from the organisations' website. Where this was the case, I used the contact information available to send a brief, though unsolicited, introductory email (see Appendix C.3) with an explanation of the research and a request for them to contact me if they were interested in participating. I also called where it was possible and invariably left voicemails or messages that were unfortunately unanswered. Where such

direct contact information was not available, I called the organisation's main telephone lines. I was often directed to send an email to a generic information email with an assurance that my enquiry would be addressed appropriately.

These methods were successful in establishing contact with one participant who responded enthusiastically to an email invitation. Once she expressed her interest in participating, I sent her a copy of the participant information sheet (see Appendix C.5) which explained in greater detail, the aims of the study and what her participation would involve. We continued to arrange the participant interview via email.

Because of the limited results that the above method yielded, my supervisor and I attempted to engage an organisation by making use of the clout in my supervisor's professional identity and connections with the university. While she received a response to the participation invitation email that she sent, the organisation ultimately declined to participate, as they had done with a number of other interested researchers.

I then opted to make use of mutual acquaintances. I recruited 2 participants through mutual acquaintances who knew of my research and had professional relationships, of varied depth, with the leaders of appropriate organisations. These 2 participants were each then willing to refer me to other potential participants, thus making snowball sampling a significant part of my recruitment process. Those "snow-balled" participants both initiated contact with me via email (see Appendix C.4) after learning about my interests from the participants who had previously been interviewed and agreed to refer. I thus recruited and interviewed a total of 5 participants between February and September, 2016. The findings of 5 interviews were used to establish the findings of the research.

In summary:

- 1 participant was recruited by unsolicited email
- 2 participants were recruited with the help of mutual acquaintances who did not meet the inclusion criteria themselves

- 2 participants were recruited using snowball sampling whereby 1 participant who met the inclusion criteria referred me to another participant

I chose to recruit and interview these 5 participants with the understanding that my epistemological aim was not to establish generalizable results but to orient readers to the socially constructed "realities" and to the action of discourse. As such I established with my supervisor that a sample size of less than ten would be efficient to achieve these aims, which is in line with the findings of Marshall (1996). We also considered that the genealogical approach inherent in the literature review would itself offer a an opportunity for a Foucauldian analysis of meaning making, as it relates to employability practices

C.3.7.5 Participant demographics

The participants' demographics are described below. The names represented are pseudonyms used to ensure the participants' anonymity

- *Christopher* is a white, British-born, male director of a social enterprise that has won public sector contracts to support long-term unemployed individuals develop employability. Their clients are largely receiving benefits and a proportion of them were described as experiencing mental health issues. The social enterprise is staffed by a small number of employment specialists who may have been at risk of social exclusion themselves at one point. The social enterprise accepts self-referrals and referrals from other organisations. It maintains external relationships with IAPT, the Job Centre and other community resources, often acting in a mediatory role on behalf of mutual clients. The social enterprise uses an IPS model to place clients in work placements and offers flexible support in the areas of CV writing, vocational assessment, job search, interview preparation, job placement and coaching. It continues to offer employment support for a period after a client has been placed in a work placement. The social enterprise also performs other employability-related roles such as offering vocational training course to the public and organisational consultations

- *Adrian* is a white, British-born, male director of a social enterprise that has won public sector contracts to support long-term unemployed individuals with *mental health issues* develop employability. Their clients are largely receiving benefits and a proportion of them were described as experiencing mental health issues. The social enterprise is staffed by a small number of employment specialists who may have been at risk for social exclusion themselves at one point. The social enterprise accepts self-referrals and referrals from other organisations. It maintains external relationships with IAPT, the Job Centre and other community resources often acting in a mediatory role on behalf of mutual clients. The social enterprise uses an IPS model to place clients in work placements and offers flexible support in the areas of CV writing, vocational assessment, job search, interview preparation, job placement and coaching. It continues to offer employment support for a period after a client has been placed in a work placement. The social enterprise also performs other employability-related roles such as offering vocational training course to the public and organisational consultations

- *Richard* is a white, British-born male director of a social enterprise that has won public sector contracts to support long-term unemployed individuals with *learning and physical disabilities* develop employability. Their clients are largely receiving benefits and a proportion of them were described as experiencing mental health issues. The social enterprise is staffed by a small number of employment specialists who may have been at risk for social exclusion themselves at one point. The social enterprise accepts self-referrals and referrals from other organisation. It maintains external relationships with IAPT, the Job Centre and other community resources often acting in a mediatory role on behalf of mutual clients. The social enterprise uses an IPS model to place clients in work placements and offers flexible support in the areas of CV writing, vocational assessment, job search, interview preparation, job placement and coaching. It continues to offer employment support for a period after a client has been placed in a work placement. Richard emphasised that the organisation often

engaged members in social, confidence building activities such as football in addition to employability specific tasks

- *James* is a white, British-born, male director of an employability programme within a larger social enterprise. The organisation operates independently of government funding. This programme supports long-term unemployed or *migrant* individuals develop employability. Their clients are largely receiving benefits and a proportion of them were described as experiencing mental health issues. The programme is staffed by a small number of employment specialists. The programme accepts self-referrals and referrals from other organisation. It maintains external relationships with IAPT and the Job Centre and other community resources often acting in a mediatory role on behalf of mutual clients. The programme uses offers flexible support in the areas of CV writing, vocational assessment, job search, interview preparation, job placement and coaching. It continues to offer employment support for a period after a client has been placed in work placement. The charity is characterised by other programmes that, for example, support children in education, offer wellbeing and adult learning opportunities and engage women in empowerment programmes.

- *Marion* is a white, female, British-born director of a social enterprise that supports young homeless people in a supported accommodation scheme elsewhere to develop employability. The social enterprise does so by engaging the young people in collective and individual photography projects that culminate in a community exhibition. The social enterprise operates independently of the government and generates a significant proportion of its funding through the production and selling of preserved food. Employment opportunities that support this sale are offered to the young people that the social enterprise supports. There are few other professionals involved in the social enterprise's operation, other than the supported accommodation's key workers, who accompany the young people

C.3.8   Data collection

C.3.8.1   Interviewing

Once I established contact with the participants, a semi-structured interview was arranged. It was conducted at each participant's place of work. At the start of the interview, the participant information sheet that was previously sent to each participant was summarized. Each participant was then invited to ask any questions, with a reminder that they could withdraw at any point before the writing stages of the research beginning in mid-2017. They were also reminded that the research was concerned with the mission, practices and context that characterised their work rather than their own biographical/personal information, or that of their clients. Their consent to participate and to be recorded was then obtained. The interviews were then recorded using an Aketek Multifunctional Rechargeable 650HR 8GB Digital Audio Voice Recorder.

C.3.8.1.1.   Reflexivity on Formulating the Interview Questions

From a reflexive standpoint, it is important to note that the interview questions were formulated with an interest in the "inspiration", "creativity" and "innovation" that presumably characterise social enterprises and distinguish them from statutory/more formalised settings. These assumptions reflected my own positioning within a discourse that constructs "empowering" social entrepreneurship as superior to more formalised, seemingly disempowering approaches to employment support. Arguably, the affirmative position I took toward innovative, social entrepreneurship was aligned with Third Way policy which similarly promotes the social enterprises as a responsive means of addressing social problems. The promotional, aspirational language of the neo-liberalism is evident in some of the interview questions which included words reflective of neo-liberal values such as "inspired" (creativity and aspiration), "suited to meet needs" (flexibility) and "going well" (promotional without accounting for prescription).

The extent to which neo-liberal discourses interacted with my approach to conducting the research design is perhaps more notable if I consider the questions I might have asked

practitioners within statutory/governmental services. I would likely have constructed the interview questions in ways to suggest obligation/statutory responsibility/goals, outcomes and standards. Perhaps, therefore, each practice elicits the ways of speaking that both create it and are available to it.

That withstanding, the main aim of the interview schedule was to understand the participant's "social reality". I felt an exploratory approach to the interviews would be worthwhile with an awareness of how little I knew about the field. I found little in the literature about social entrepreneurial work that was not largely economical or constructed within the context of work integration social enterprises. Though the interview questions were purposed to understand how the participants constructed employability or how they perceive the relevance of psychologist to their work, those things were not explicitly asked. These aims were tempered with my concerns about how such questions would be received by the participants.

I sought to limit potential assumptions of my agenda as a researcher/trainee psychologist/questioning or challenging "expert", to in turn limit what I assumed would be consequent defensiveness on the participants' part. To a similar end, I chose not to ask explicit questions about the involvement of psy-professional, unless they spoke in psychological terms. I felt this would limit the potential of imposing a psychological way of speaking in case such language was not typical of their "social reality", given the absence of psychologists. I was aware of my power as a researcher to limit how people speak according to what I expected to find. And yet, it may have been that my own exclusion of those more explicit questions contributed to the exclusions noted in the analysis. That is not to say that exclusions within one's use of language are not meaningful sources of data in themselves. As such, I was satisfied with the questions' capacity to facilitate exploration, while also allowing the participants to exclude psychological constructions from their language, perhaps as they excluded psychologists from their practice.

It is also evident that the interview questions drew on organisational language. The questions were largely framed to understand the represented social enterprises' organisational

structures and functions. Such an organisational focus was deemed an appropriate way to understand how the social enterprises constructed employability (and in turn the relevance of psychologists in that work). After all, the research study's concern with employability was arguably organisational. The interest in employability as a topic emerged through considerations of organisational practices and it was felt that similarly organisational/practice-oriented questions would be sufficient to answer them. Questions about suitability and "doing well" were also organisational and arguably based on the assumption that specific constructions of employability defined the participation organisations'' objectives. Another assumption among the interview questions was that constructions of employability could in turn be understood by asking how the participants described their effective approaches to solving the social problems, i.e. unemployment, to which they were designed to respond.

While there are perhaps theoretical reasons for framing the interview questions in this seemingly organisation way, upon reflection, I sought to "speak their language", and not as a psychological researcher, in order to mitigate any defensiveness. This is perhaps suggestive of my own construction of the psy-disciplines' societal perception. With an opportunity to plan and implement the interviews again, I would pay greater attention to how the interests of the research project are aligned with neo-liberalism. With that awareness I would have been more inclined to seek a more balanced account from the participants. I may have been able to gain a fuller understanding of how they constructed and reconciled the more obligatory/punitive dimensions of neo-liberal practice that emerge when things "don't go well", even in their own services. I would have perhaps done so by following the exploratory interviews that were actually conducted with a second interview, asking the same participants questions informed by a deconstructive reading of initial interviews.

C.3.8.1.2. Conducting the Interviews

While these questions were prepared before the interview (see Appendix C.7), the participants were allowed freedom of expression and encouraged to clarify through elaboration, as necessary. These interview questions thus set the framework for all the

interviews; however, each interview was a unique co-construction between each participant and myself. The interviews varied in length lasting between 50 and 80 minutes. The quality of the interview was upheld according to Kvale's (1996) recommendations. Those include "shorter interview questions", longer/elaborated and spontaneous interviewee answers, clarification of meaning and interpretation during the actual interview and close attention to detail during transcription (Gilbert et al., 2003). I constantly assessed for any signs of distress during the interview and debriefed the interviewee afterwards. However, because the interview questions aimed to ensure that responses emphasised philosophical/organisational issues, rather than personal ones, distress was neither noted nor expressed by the participants, as expected. It was typically after the interviews and debrief sessions that I discussed the potential of recruiting other participant organisations through snowball sampling, where this mode of recruitment was necessary.

The interviews were then transcribed verbatim for the purposes of analysis. The transcripts were not made to reflect the linguistic details of the interview. These are not as pertinent to FDA, with its macro-level concerns regarding language and discourse, as it is within DA methodology (Willig, 2013). The participants and any clients that were mentioned were given pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. All data was stored securely and only I and my supervisor had access to the transcripts and recording. They will be destroyed one year after the research is submitted. The process of analysis followed the guidelines put forward by Willig (2013)

C.3.9   Analytic Strategy

I began analysing each interview transcript by simply reading the entire transcript on two separate occasions. After the second reading, I wrote freely about my impressions of the text in a reflective diary. These included the emotional responses and mental associations I experienced while reading. In this manner, I was able to explore how I had engaged with discursive activities effected by the text, though they had yet to be defined. During this phase of free-writing I was aware that common stories/cultural representations occurred to me in response to what I read, such as "the eagle who thought it was a chicken" or "wolves

in sheep's clothing". I kept these senses and cultural representations in mind and understood them to represent discursive action of different sorts.

C.3.9.1   Applying Willig's (2008) 6-step approach to doing FDA

I returned to the text and followed the 6 stages that Willig (2013) suggests. I mechanically went through the text line by line, highlighting instances where the discursive object of employability appeared or where something could be inferred as a determinant or an effect of employability (see Appendix C.10). At this stage and with each reference to employability, I tended to ask questions of the text that only reflected the first 3 steps of Willig's (2013) approach. This was my practice in the early stages of each analysis. I made notes of the following on the transcript itself:

1. Discursive constructions: *Instance of and assumption in inferences*

2. Discourses: *Ways of seeing the world*

3. Action Orientation: *When the discourse is being used and to what purpose*

With the literature review in mind, I also asked "where is employability in relation to the individual? Is it all or nothing? What does employability co-exist with? What contradicts the nature of employability? I then wrote potential answers nearby in the margins of the transcript.

The processes of moving along these steps, of identifying and deconstructing the discursive object and then of identifying the discourses or the action orientations were not linear or discrete as I went from page to page. Patterns and images would come to mind forming certain themes that only crystallised after identifying multiple related constructions or action orientations. Arguably, the formation of these images or the ability to recognise patterns was informed by my own location within macro-level discourses that were arguably also available to the participants during the interview. This process reflects my own interpretative processes in the analysis and thus highlights the need for reflexivity.

For example one pattern of speaking emerged as I noted more and more seemingly related constructions and action orientations. This pattern was suggestive of one's progression from one stage to a higher stage, of growth requiring stimulation from the environment, of one's success at each stage of growth ensuring more and more varied capacities, of varied capacities facilitating more and more dominance in the environment and of dominance being maintained through responsiveness to the ever changing environment. It brought to my mind evolution, natural selection and adaptability. And I thus settled on conceptualising the related constructions of employability and their action orientations as derived from an Evolutionary Discourse of Adaptability, which as a macro discourse, I could recognise.

All the while I remained sensitive to subject positions, practices and subjectivities made possible by my answers to the earlier 3 questions. I pencilled associated reflections into the margin in shorthand if they became apparent to me during the earlier phase of the analysis described above. When I made my way to the end of a transcript, having filled most pages with notes, I then transferred the themes of discursive constructions, discourses and action orientations into a table. Based on the information I had found in the text under those three headings, I inferentially made notes of the following:

1. Subject positioning: *What rights and duties are being ascribed to different subjects*
2. Practice: *What can be said and done from those positions*
3. Subjectivity: *What can be thought, felt and experienced from those subject positions*

I added those remaining 3 headings to the developing analysis tables (see Appendix C.11) and added my inferences regarding the last 3 steps of the analysis to the table. Then I went back to the text in search of the words I had highlighted or the initial impressions I had pencilled in regarding the subject position, practices and subjectivities. I added these reflections to the table as well.

The resultant analytical tables set a framework for the analysis that will soon follow, however, much of my thinking and synthesis occurred while I wrote the analytic chapter.

C.3.9.2 Reflexivity on Identifying discourses

As mentioned earlier, "discourse" can be understood differently across the various disciplines it spans. Unlike in Lacanian Discourse Analysis or Discourse Psychology, Foucault's conception of "discourses" is not limited to include a distinct few (Lacan) and is not identifiable as micro-events situated in interpersonal interaction. It is concerned with the power of language to create and limit various social actions and institutional practices within the social context. When considering Foucauldian discourse, the analyst is said to be concerned with the effects of language in terms of genealogy, governmentality and subjectification (Willig, 2003, p. 156).

Through the research process however, it appeared that a number of "ways of speaking" could mediate processes of governmentality or subjectification in various and nuanced ways, which, in my understanding reflected the action of different discourses. With this, it was challenging to establish the limits of what could be "legitimately" identified as a discourse. My identification of discourses began with a process of noting how particular ways of speaking of employability recurred within and among the transcripts. I grew confident in what I had identified as a discourse particularly when those patterned ways of speaking established coherent assumptions, requirements and possibilities for the employable individual. However, at this early stage of the analysis, I sought consensus only among the transcripts. I was not necessarily seeking to confirm discourses that have been said to exist in the larger social context. Furthermore, I acknowledged the interpretative nature of qualitative research, and therefore FDA, and considered my own responses to, and identification with, the discourses identified as suggestive of some epistemic value.

In spite of these steps, I was still found it challenging to satisfactorily establish what could be counted as a discourse. However, I maintained the understanding that discourse determines and is dependent on social consensus. As such, I sought to determine if the consensus established among the transcripts extended beyond the limitations of my own interpretation, which may have created "artificial" consensus. To challenge and/or contextualise the coherence I was able to create within my analysis, I returned to the literature seeking to identify if there were, for example, similarly philanthropic or humanistic yet economic ways of

speaking within the wider social context that echoed my situated findings and pointed to the work of discourse in knowledge production.

Finding that the patterns of speaking I had identified were echoed by existing literature (which I cited in the analysis) further affirmed my understanding of what I had identified could be counted as discourse. I was able to conclude that, whatever their dominance, these discourses existed within the larger social context and commonly acted on individuals within and beyond this particular research study to elicit distinct patterns of speaking about employability. Indeed, this 3rd step of returning to existing literature could be said to have limited the degree of original interpretation in the analysis. However, this step was a means of contextualising an interpretative process that was initially limited to the textual data and my immersion in it. A further response to this potential limitation/criticism is the discursive and social constructionist acknowledgement that research and knowledge production are expectedly limited by what is already agreed upon as known/knowable.

To further support these processes of identification, I returned again to existing literature, and found a more comprehensive, epistemological justification for these 3 steps in determining the discourses (i.e. (i) seeking consensus among transcripts (ii) employing my own identification with the discourses (iii) seeking echoes of the discovered discourses in existing literature). Galasinski and Opalinski's (2012) statements regarding the methodological aims of their discourse analysis offered this support. Like them, I took the position that finding the representativeness (or reality) of the discourses discovered was not necessarily the aim of the analytic strategy. And so the question of whether the discourses identified could be said to define the language of a statistically significant population was not of interest. I made an assumption similar to theirs, which was that people's discursive actions are rooted in social practices". As such the commonality of findings among the 5 participants interviewed was taken to suggest the availability of a discourse that acts upon them all by virtue of their participation in the social context. Therefore, the discourse analysis here points (rather than proves) the discourses that inform "the social and institutional context in which they are rooted" Galasinski and Opalinski's (2012).

These 3 "steps" were considered necessary to negotiate my particular challenge of conclusively defining what counted as a discourse. However, they worked together to suggest a particular understanding of discourse. Explicitly, I understood discourse as a patterned way of speaking that appears to create, and exist through, social consensus at various levels, some of which were represented by those aforementioned "measures". I understood the discourses' creative capacity and existence as consequences of the fact that they are socially active or available for use in language by means of social practices. Furthermore, I understood the discourses that are relevant to a Foucauldian analysis as those that create distinct possibilities regarding how the subject can understand themselves, as well as "truths" regarding the social realities in which those discourses act.

This understanding of discourse perhaps contributed to another challenge I had regarding the construct of discourse. The second challenge was in reconciling the finding that some discourses appeared more dominant or pervasive in their use, such that they appeared to define the realms of "common-sense" and "everyday life" to different degrees in the participants' language. As Carter (2014) describes it, neo-liberalism, for example, is "now the common sense way to interpret, live in and understand the world" (p. 24). However, these are not necessarily qualities that neo-liberalism shared with the other discourses discovered in the analysis. That withstanding, the construct of discourse described above suggests that in spite of such differences, the "fact" of their availability or incidence of their use warrants their identification as a discourse. Yet, I considered it misleading to suggest that within these participant's constructions of employability the evolutionary discourse of adaptation, for example, was used to similar degrees and according to the same scale of power related effects as when the neo-liberal discourse was used. And so I set neo-liberalism apart as a meta-discourse.

Yet, as Galasinski and Opalinski (2012) assert the issue of a discourse's dominance is beyond the remit of discourse analysis. To take this challenge on is to introduce further challenges of, for example, defining how such dominance may vary among discourses and defining the different levels of the discursive hierarchy that is implied with the term meta-discourse. The

suggestion that discourse exist in hierarchies and categories moves the analysis towards essentialising or validating particular discourses, as if they are not all equally socially constructed. In spite of that potential, this particular study's presentation of results aimed to offer an interpretation of the data that highlighted neo-liberalism as a seemingly inescapable discourse within the participant accounts. Though this seemed appropriate in representing the findings, the aim was not to suggest that a unique hierarchy of discourses exists beyond this analytic interpretation.

It was considered appropriate to separate the discourses into categories according to how they appeared to locate or attribute the employability of the individual. The hierarchy represented was deemed useful in suggesting that the participants' use of neo-liberal discourses were in some ways more dominant. This is not to say however, that the evolutionary discourse, which, for example, may be much more dominant in other topics, was not distinct from neo-liberalism. Yet, it seemed that the pervasiveness of the neo-liberal discourse underlined the ways in which the evolutionary discourse was repurposed and used by the participants, offering an evolutionary construction of how the neo-liberal, employable individual was expected to be. Establishing a hierarchy thus offered a means of acknowledging and then later "factoring out" the neo-liberalism that appeared to interact with all the discourses. But it was deemed necessary to do so without suggesting that those discourses cannot be used or understood independent of neo-liberalism elsewhere, beyond this study. As such the other discourses were not depicted as dimensions of the larger neo-liberal discourse, only discourses that were commonly interacting with a comparatively more pervasive neo-liberal discourse, at least in the participants' language.

Given the earlier mentioned challenge of identifying what counts as a discourse, identifying neo-liberalism as a meta-discourse perhaps raises questions about the justification and validity of this hierarchy. However, I identified neo-liberalism as a meta-discourse nonetheless, loosely viewing it as a "paradigm" that is relevant to this particular research study, thus aligning my notion of a meta-discourse with that of Cropper, Jackson and Keys (2012). I was further encouraged to make this claim by considering the example of researchers such as Butler

(2001) and Carter (2014) who have done the same. Indeed to conceive of a meta-discourse is, as Lytoyard is quoted, to "make an explicit appeal to some grand narrative" which in turn is said to suggest "something postmodern rather than modern" (Haber, 1994, p. 6). However, it is appropriately post-structuralist to do so (Haber, 1994), which is perhaps a more meaningful standard within this Foucauldian study. Foucault himself was not explicitly postmodern but post-structuralist. As Haber (1994) states, Foucault did not "think we can operate without grand narratives or legitimating discourses" (p.6). But we can be sceptical about them.

C.3.9.3   Analytic Results

Through this analytic process, I identified 2 categories of discourses that internalised and externalised employability but were confined within the meta-discourse neo-liberalism.

C.3.10   Ethical Considerations

This study received ethical approval (see Appendices C.1). Care was taken to ensure the participant's rights were upheld by the various considerations highlighted in the City University ethics form (see Appendices C.2). An important ethical consideration for me was to ensure that my behaviour during the interviewing process was in accordance with my researcher role; that is to avoid using "confrontation/counselling type techniques" during the interview (Gilbert et al., 2003). Otherwise, with the single contact and the organisational, rather than individual, interests of the interview, the boundaries of the research relationship were not difficult to maintain (Gilbert et al., 2003).

C.3.11   Research Validity

As shown by Yardley (2000), the social constructionist epistemology of the research renders objectivity, reliability and generalisability ineffective in meaningfully measuring the validity of qualitative research. Yardley (2000) highlights 4 qualities of "good" qualitative research that were used to assess the quality of this research. Yardley (2000) acknowledges that within a critical social constructionist epistemology, it may be inappropriate to assume that there are fundamental criteria that a research study must achieve. However, as she says, these criteria

offer a guide for the researcher that allows reflection and effective justification of the methodological choices made (Yardley, 2017). The four criteria are as follows: sensitivity to context (empirical and socio-cultural); commitment to rigour, transparency and coherence; and impact and importance.

In addition to aiming for these criteria, the research also relied on reflexivity as a means of enhancing the quality of the research study. As Creswell and Miller (2000) show, reflexivity is a meaningful assessment of validity in qualitative research.

C.3.12   Methodological Reflexivity

Attention was paid to the motivations for the research, the formulation of interview questions, the nature of interpretations made during the analysis, the texts chosen for analysis, as well as any other aspects of the research process I recognised as necessitating reflexivity i.e. accounting for "the psychological meaning-making of the individual" (researcher) (Frost et al., 2010). This is an expectation of qualitative methodology; however, I remained particularly sensitive to how my being a part of the psychological field and yet wanting to work in these third sector settings contributed to the co-constructions established between the participants and me during data collection and analysis. A reflective journal was kept to these ends and its reflections are summarised below.

C.3.12.1   Participant Sampling and Data Collection

The requirement that the participant organisations had to be "third-sector" or social enterprises may have been too broad and perhaps the inclusion criteria required specificity. This may have helped to ensure that such participating organization were more homogenous in their affiliation with governmental services, means of funding, provision of vocational rehabilitation services or identification as a social firm or CIC (community interest company). Homogeneity within the participant group is an expectation within qualitative methodology, so to allow the inclusion criteria to remain as broad as they were may have limited the transferability and comparability of the study. However, one aim of the inclusion criteria was to remain inclusive. Another choice to leave inclusion criteria as they were, however, was

driven by practical concerns given the initial recruitment difficulties and time constraints. There was a need to increase the probability of participation.

The social constructionist epistemological assumptions of qualitative research are such that homogeneity is expected among participants. However, within Foucauldian Discursive methodology, this requirement is tempered by the understanding that there is no true nature to discover, as may be the cause in IPA, for example (Yardley, 2000). Arguably, homogeneity is a consequence of social action and so insisting upon it limits the extent of knowledge production that is possible. Such limitations may be effective in ensuring that the research merely affirms what was sought out in the first place. Therefore, while these participants shared a particular position within the socio-political landscape of employment support provision, the methodology was able to accommodate the varied relationships that the participants shared with differing client groups and with other professionals or institutions. Their corresponding interview transcripts demonstrated meaningful multiplicity. While the research question asked about the construction of employability, it proved important to question how the power relationships between providers and clients informed the participants' constructions of their clients and inspired the consequent variety of discursive negotiations seen in the different texts.

My recruitment methods' reliance on snowballing sampling and on mutual acquaintances ensured that my relationship with each participant varied. As such the inevitable co-constructions that characterised each interview were rendered even more varied than they would "naturally" have been if I had approached each participant in the same fashion. My relationship with the participants also varied according to the depth of relationship shared between them and the third party involved in their recruitment. A similar source of "variance" that could have affected the interviewing process was the extent of my contact with the participant before the actual interview. While the participant information sheet demonstrated the study aims and the methodological assumptions, I found that different initial/introductory conversations characterised my encounters with the participants in ways that could have perhaps "primed" them for the interview in different ways.

Within FDA methodology there are a wide range of phenomena that could count as data sources. However, the general qualitative practice, and perhaps overuse, of interviews, creates a social impetus, reflective of the field, to include interview transcripts as a data source (Nunkoosing, 2005). Perhaps, individual accounts are useful in offering nuanced insights to discursive activity; however, the organisational and macro-level concerns of this research study might have been equally served by the consideration of policy documents and other diverse sources.

C.4   Analysis

C.4.1   Introduction

This chapter will now illustrate the findings of the analytic strategy that was described in the earlier section and applied in the analysis of 5 interview transcripts. However, before this illustration is a reminder of the research aims, question and design.

C.4.1.1   Research Aims

This research ultimately aims to determine the following:

- Could psy-discipline practice in third sector settings, particularly social enterprises, rather than statutory settings, enable practitioners to support clients in achieving their employability goals in a socially just, activist manner

However, there is limited research to suggest that such integration has been explored, other than in the form of social firms that employ individuals diagnosed with psychiatric illness. Furthermore, there is an apparent absence of psy-practitioners from the third sector efforts, particularly the popular social entrepreneurial efforts, to enhance employability. However, employability is commonly constructed in internalising/psychological constructions (Kim, et al.,2015; Vanhercke et al.,2014), to an extent that psychological practice is implicated in employment support provided by statutory settings. Perhaps, such an absence of psy-practice is in the interest of social justice or an issue of funding on the part of the social enterprises. However, Bondi (2005) shows that Counselling Psychology practice maintains a capacity and a "commitment to resist some features of this [neo-liberal] version of subjectivity, especially in its appeal to the bounded, self-made individual of liberal theory" (Bondi, 2005, p. 506). She shows that the discipline's neo-liberal disposition ironically aligns it with resistance and activism and this is possible *in third sector settings*. But still, its potential appears to remain unexplored in research and in practice. With a Foucauldian curiosity regarding the ability of discourse to create and inhibit various social realities, this research study thus aims to do the following:

- Set the stage for the question posed above by asking how discourse works to configure this apparent incompatibility between psy-practice and employability enhancing third sector settings, mainly social enterprises, in spite of the dominant internalising/psychologising constructions of employability.
- Explore the implications of the above for psy-practice and social justice in social entrepreneurial settings, and in so doing encourage reflection within the discipline

C.4.1.2   Research Question

The research study will do so by asking the following research question:

- How do leaders of third sector organisations, particularly social enterprises, supporting individuals at risk of social exclusion in the enhancement of their employability construct employability?

C.4.1.3   Research Design

This qualitative research is characterised by social constructionist epistemology. The transcripts of 5 semi-structured interviews with leaders of third sector employability programmes were analysed using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. The aim of the analysis was to understand how the participants constructed employability and how this in turn informed their practice in relation to other professionals, particularly psy-practitioners.

C.4.2   Discursive "Pillars" of The Analysis

Before illustrating the findings of the analysis, it is pertinent to highlight significant consistencies and seemingly overarching themes that emerged among the transcripts through the analysis. It is also worth mentioning at this stage that each of the discourses presented in the following analysis will be introduced with reference to existing literature to contextualise the discourse identified in the literature.

C.4.2.1   Neo-liberalism as A Meta-discourse

In spite of the multiplicity that was previously described to characterise this sample, the participants commonly employed discourse to maintain the relevance and competitive desirability of their represented service, i.e. social enterprises, especially in comparison to statutory agencies purposed to achieve similar employability goals. There was a distinct sense of each participant's work possessing a defining uniqueness and autonomy that required preservation and protection from the influence of other professionals or institutions. It could be argued that the discursive maintenance of their idiosyncrasies, in spite of their relative homogeneity as a sample, was perhaps a consequence of discourse in itself. The participants' inevitable positioning within the neo-liberal discourse was evident in their insistence on individualisation and competition, among other things. In fact, neo-liberalism emerged as a key discursive "pillar" of the analysis.

As a reminder, neo-liberalism is described as specifically introducing:

> Market and quasi-market arrangements into areas of social life which had hitherto been organized in other ways—the corporatisation and privatisation of state agencies, the promotion of competition and individual choice in health, education and other areas [regarded] as the proper sphere of social policy, the use of financial markets to regulate the conduct of states and so on (Hindes, 2002, p. 140)

Implicit in this topic of research is an awareness that employability is highly important within neo-liberal society. After all, the definition of Neo-liberalism shows that "common neo-liberal values" include an active engagement with the world of work, autonomy from social support, and entrepreneurial acumen" (Woolford and Nelund, 2013). Equally pertinent to this research topic is the neo-liberal practice of making social problems into business opportunities (Drucker, 1984) and in effect commodifying employability, despite employability's historical status as an assumption of social life. This transition is increasingly achieved by decentralisation and privatisation through the kind of services represented by these participants, which participate in this commodification of employability. They offer

alternative, choice-oriented means by which those who do not conform to the neo-liberal assumption of employability can realise or attain it. They do so as an alternative to the statutory entities typically responsible for the regulation of employability.

It is thus significant, in itself, that the services represented by the participants were indeed social enterprises and had become socio-politically relevant through neo-liberalism and Third Way policy. Their existence as largely self-funded, but in some cases, contractually bound to the state institutions—and in some cases not—introduces scrutiny to the obligations inherent in receiving public funding, for example, for service provisions. Their positioning as neo-liberal agents of the government highlights the conflicts that exist as a result of financial/organisational dependence on state practices. The conflict was particularly apparent where this dependence is juxtaposed with the neo-liberal assumption that social entrepreneurship ensures autonomous decision-making.

Furthermore, the analysis showed that neo-liberalism was particularly relevant in informing the participant's construction of the neo-liberal "citizen" as an employable individual. It was also effective in positioning the participants, esteemed citizens themselves, as responsible for, and effectively capable of, creating similarly responsible, neo-liberal subjectivities for their clients to embody. The neo-liberal discourse of citizenship was identified and presented here in the analysis as one discourse, among 4 others, used by the participants in their construction of employability. However, neo-liberalism's role in this analysis as a meta-discourse was such that the neo-liberal discourse of citizenship was understood to interact with all the other discourses in a similarly overarching fashion. For these reasons, and others that will emerge, neo-liberalism was identified as a larger discursive framework within which the participants' use of discourse could be contextualised.

C.4.2.2   Social Responsibility for Individual Responsibility

Expectedly, the participants' use of language was largely founded on Third Way policy and neo-liberal meta-discourse that uphold, privatisation, competition, social responsibility which transforms into individual responsibility and ultimately, citizenship. The notion of responsibility,

in particular, emerged as key within the participants' language. The discursive negotiations presented in the following analysis demonstrated the interplay among ideas of "individual responsibility", "social responsibility" and "statutory responsibility". A theme of "existing and operating in the gaps" was shared among the participants in a manner that echoes the arguably problematic neo-liberal transference of statutory responsibility to individual responsibility (which exists on the flipside of one's freedom of choice). The social entrepreneurial impetus to "fill the gaps", noted in this research and in existing literature, brings to light the fact that neo-liberalism offers itself and its embodiments as solutions to the problems it creates. In this case, neo-liberalism appears to uphold social responsibilities and social enterprises, which are celebrated as "filling the gaps" that neo-liberalism creates between statutory and individual responsibility. In this manner, these participants demonstrated neo-liberalism's capacity to adapt in manner of avoiding discursive dissonance. This discursive capacity is more evident in the second half of this chapter.

C.4.2.3 Neo-liberal Paternalism

In the second half of the analysis, the clients' vulnerability and dependence, particularly as benefit-claimants, was brought into sharper focus. As such, the use of the neo-liberal meta-discourse was further nuanced with paternalism to accommodate the clients' dependence. In this context of the results, neo-liberalism remained a "discursive pillar" but in the form of neo-liberal paternalism, which highlighted issues of morality in the participants' constructions of employability.

Kettl (2005) demonstrates below the ways in which neo-liberal paternalism is enacted through social entrepreneurs, such as the participants of this research study.

> ''Paternalism,'' has shifted welfare provision from an emphasis on rights and opportunities to a stance that is more directive and supervisory in promoting preferred behaviours among the poor. […] In the era of neo-liberal paternalism, lower level actors and private providers have been given greater policy discretion and have been called on to use their

discretion in ways that enforce obligations and curtail deviance among the poor. [This manifests as] ''the new public management (NPM)'' (Kettl 2005, p.3).

The aim of neo-liberal paternalism, as Suvarierol (2015) writes is to create citizen-workers through civic integration via mechanisms insistent upon the internalisation of moral codes that favour one's participation in redefined community as an employed, active agent.

In summary, I take this opportunity to highlight these discursive pillars before the analysis in order to demarcate the apparent limits of language that are available to these participants. Similarly, I aim to foreshadow the way in which the participants employ alternative discourses as they negotiate those limitations. They appear to do so in a manner that demonstrates resistance but is ultimately accommodated for by the adaptable meta-discourse, neo-liberalism.

C.4.3   Discursive Categories of the Analysis

Having established this discursive framework, this analysis will now demonstrate how what was seen to emerge in the participants' language fit—perhaps artificially—within 2 categories.

C.4.3.1   Category A: "Internalised"/"Optimisable" Employability

One of these categories constituted constructions of employability as fundamentally located within an individual i.e. an internalized, innate capacity or a constant dimension of being human. This was communicated in words and sentiments that can be summarized as "Anybody can work" and these sentiments at times went further to suggest that everybody wants to work.

Speaking in this way had particular implications that emphasised individual responsibility and justified employment enhancing practices that relied heavily on the individual taking responsibility. While the need for employment-specific interventions was described as minimal when these discourses were employed, the context within which they were implemented, was, in contrast depicted as vital. Emphasising the role of context in employability was

perhaps useful in offering an explanation for variations seen among individuals' employability, in spite of its constructed "universality". Furthermore, the equally important role of choice, and therefore (neo-liberal) responsibility, inevitably emerged within this category of discourses and offered a further explanation for variations seen in individual employability.

The context of employability enhancing services and of desirable employment were thus presented as possessing the capacity to optimise or inhibit employability. Nevertheless, the fact of employability's "reality" or constancy as an internal entity that is ever present to some degree, was maintained in spite of the acknowledgement that employability can interact with the external context for varying effects. This category of discourses thus allowed constructions of employability that were simultaneously internalising and context-specific. Such constructions of employability, with these somewhat paradoxical dimensions, have significant implications for the debate that argues for and against the individualisation of employability.

The discourses identified within this first internalizing category are as follows:

- A Neo-Liberal Discourse of Citizenship,

- An Humanistic/Economic Discourse of Human Resourcefulness

- An Evolutionary Discourse of Adaptability

C.4.3.2 Category B: "Externalised"/"Socialise-Able" Employability

The second category of discourses that will be presented did not construct employability as a constant, internal phenomenon that one chooses to engage or inevitably exhibits within the optimal environment. In contrast, this category of discourses constructed employability as a capacity of the human being that cannot be *assumed* to exist within the individual. Instead employability must be learnt, encouraged or modelled by specific means and characters that are external to the individual. Furthermore, the participant accounts suggested that it is possible for an individual's employability to be lost and require reinstatement, for which these participants positioned themselves as responsible. Through this category of discourses, the

participants positioned themselves as uniquely capable of perceiving, facilitating/ endorsing their client's undefined potential to establish or re-establish their employability with external support. This potential was depicted as achievable through the relationships that the client maintained with the participants. The participants, by virtue of their own employability, were in turn positioned as capable of encouraging, modelling or in some sense, redeeming their clients' employability.

A client's employability was thus constructed as dependent upon that of the participants. It was constructed as originating from somewhere outside of the client. In spite of this external starting point, the participants' constructions suggested that it was possible for their clients to internalise externally originated employability through the mechanisms of the relationships shared with the participants. Despite their subject positioning as vital and worthy of modelling, the participants importantly rejected the position of expert and emphasised that their relationships with the clients were vitally dependent on collaborating and empathising with their clients. This was perhaps in response to the vulnerable, dependent subject positionings made available to the clients. However their emphasis on developing a particular kind of relationship with their clients created certain limitations regarding who could offer the employment enhancing support.

While the neo-liberal assumptions of the "citizen"/employable individual were problematised, neo-liberalism remained a pertinent meta-discourse that manifested in this category of discourses as neo-liberal paternalism. The discourses presented in this category are as follows:

- A Social Capital Discourse of Social-Esteem
- A Paternalistic Discourse of Philanthropy

The analysis concluded with the understanding that the identified discourses interacted within the meta-discourse of neo-liberalism in the following manner

Figure 1. Relationships among discourses
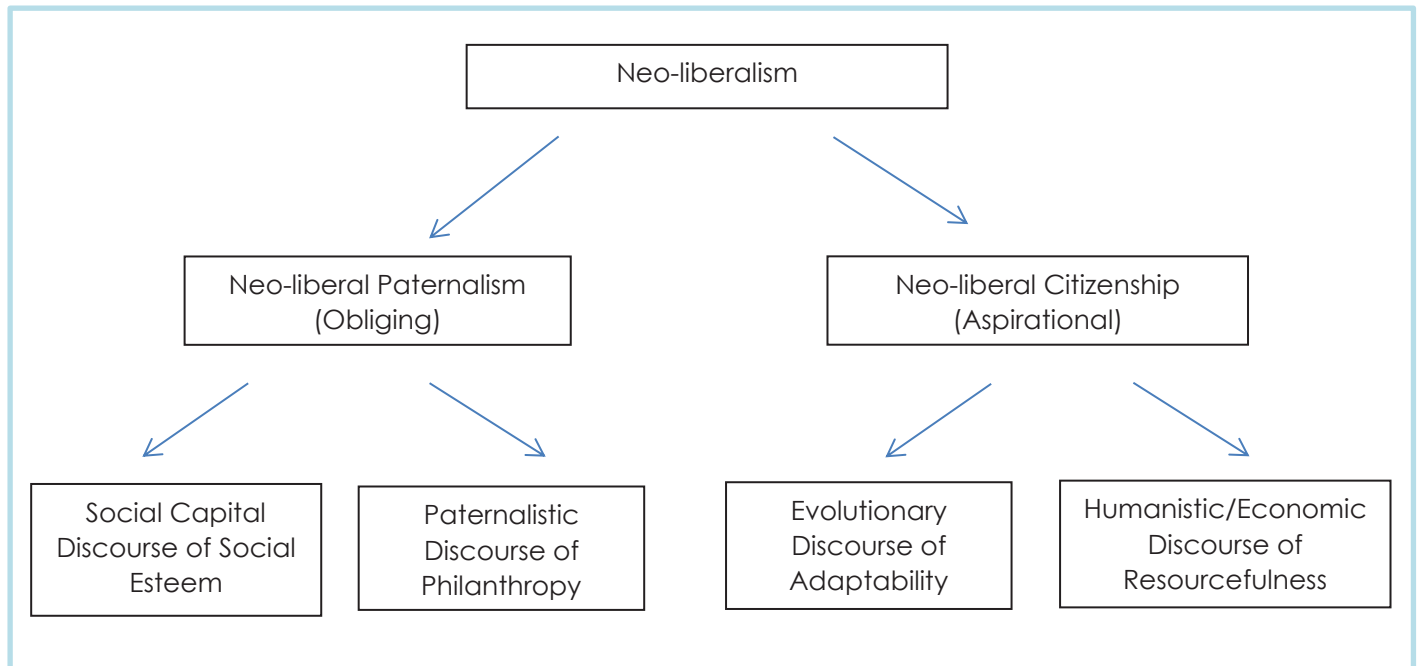
Source: Primary data

C.4.4   Category A: Internalising Discourses of Employability

C.4.4.1   A Neo-Liberal Discourse of Citizenship

Kock et al. (2014) illustrate that citizenship is both a discourse and a mechanism by which discourse is enacted. In that manner it appeared to interact with all the discourses presented here to ensure certain assumptions of the employable individual were maintained. According to Woolford and Nelund (2013), the neo-liberal citizen is active. Typically that is taken to mean employed. They are able to manage risks as an actuarial subject. They are capable of self-management and privatized responsibility. Importantly, given the client group that the participants support, neo-liberal citizens are not reliant on government or social services for survival but instead autonomous, self-reliant and empowered. Finally, the neo-liberal citizen is entrepreneurial in their ability to maximise personal interests. (Woolford and Nelund, 2013)

When the participants were asked to describe the aims of their work and ultimately the benefits, versus the costs, of promoting employability, self-efficacy, confidence and

constructs suggestive of self-investment emerged as worthwhile goals for any citizen, by which desirable rights and status became accessible.

> *"Self-efficacy…I wrote an article for the History of Employability professionals last year that really said, you can only really do one thing with an unemployed person. Increase their levels of self-efficacy around job searching and the job they want to do. Because if you don't address self-efficacy, you are forever pushing a person up a hill and the moment you let go, they are gonna roll back down again…[E]mployment allows them that overall self-confidence and self-belief. And the self-efficacy in the job they do and the self-efficacy as being* a role model to their kids. *So I think you've got all of those benefits of employment. (Christopher)*

Wouldn't a person want to be employed? Why wouldn't a person want to be a citizen? These were the questions that in effect, answered my question.

If self-efficacy is the only intervention necessary, that is establishing a client's self-belief regarding their abilities in relation to employment, the focus of intervention for these unemployed clients is not necessarily employment itself. Successful interventions are merely those that harness one's uncontested capacity to be employed (which is not necessarily evidenced by employment). Importantly, the goal is to ensure that the clients can take responsibility for themselves and their employment outcomes, which evidences their ability to meet the neo-liberal expectation of self-governing.

> *It's not explicit, it's implicit. It's not like, you know, I'm not like, "Today, we are going to be doing team working (laughter). Or something like that. There is none of that. So, you know…but they are at a very developed stage, I would say, in their personal development….And people have, you know, gone on and achieved. It's cumulative…it's not just because of the project. It's not just because of the project but the project is one of the trigger points that flips them into making that transition (Marion).*

The key to ensuring that the client does privatise responsibility is apparently to promote a process of "personal development" by which the clients engage their perhaps latent, though waiting, capacity for employability. Inherent in this process is the clients' internalisation of these neo-liberal aspirations, which when realised, catapult them into a seemingly automatic position of desiring activity and opportunities that maximise personal interests, e.g. through employment or entrepreneurship, as any neo-liberal citizen would. As Marion said, it is assumed to be an implicit, simplistic process evidenced by the mere fact of the clients' engagement with the service. The implication of this way of speaking is that the responsibility for engaging or demonstrating one's employability is securely with the individual.

Marion described the most engaged clients, who demonstrate the greatest employability, as those who responsibly position themselves among other citizens. They do so in communitarian fashion to offer other citizens the benefits of their own employable, enterprising behaviour i.e. through their photography and creativity. In this regard employability or seeking to engage with other citizens (e.g. those of the social enterprises) is put forward as a manifestation of their assumed citizenship. With this assumption of citizenship, those citizens who do not demonstrate the expected neo-liberal behaviour are thought to do so because they irresponsibly and wilfully choose to disuse their citizenship.

Importantly, however, with this construction, one can be employable (because of an assumed internal state and aspirational motivation) without being formally employed (an overt, changeable status). It offers those who have not been in employment the benefit of the doubt. It suggests that the *opportunity* to work and to exercise citizen-like self-investment, which is evidenced in employability, is all that is required. Practices such as sheltered workshops or intense pre-employment vocational rehabilitation work-settings are thus cast as superfluous, exclusionist and even discriminatory. Anybody can work and should be given the opportunity to do so. Therefore, the participants' work is vital to the extent that it provides opportunities for their clients to engage their merely latent employability. In this manner of speaking, the participants position themselves as nobly and innovatively offering those simple opportunities that are required to engage the employability of their clients, who are in turn

positioned as enthusiastic to undertake those opportunities. Perhaps this alludes to the paternalism that is explored further in the second category.

According to the participants' use of this discourse, there is little more for the participants to do towards the goal of employment once the clients have had opportunities to engage their aspirational motivation for employment. In fact, employment outcomes are rarely spoken of. This suggests that the participants' responsibility is merely to help the clients to position themselves within the larger society among other citizens in a manner that triggers the actualisation of their employability, which itself is an assumption and expression of their citizenship.

> *The beauty of this [service], of course, is it's directly addressing people who are coming through the JobCentre Plus. So we have everyone who may—a whole group of people who may be experiencing barriers due to benefits et cetera, together. To be able to address that, to be able to address issues around, you know, disclosure at work, issues around what to put on your CV, alongside the issues of transferring, managing your finances, for instance, as you come off of benefits and you maybe you have to wait a month or 6 weeks for your first pay packet. You know, who [else] do you go to see you through that. (Adrian)*

Adrian presents the intricate challenge of coming off of benefits and settling into employment. He thus demonstrates that the rights of citizenship are not easily regained if someone has appeared to default on the related responsibilities of citizenship by seeking benefits, for example. This discourse positions the individual as deserving of sustained, restrictive and stigmatising dependence if they choose not to act in line with neo-liberal values by seeking benefits, for example. It is as if to say, the benefit-claimant cannot be trusted with the neo-liberal citizens' right of freedom unless and until they overcome institutional challenges designed to test the individual's necessary capacities for self-management, risk management, self-interest, active productivity and autonomy. These institutions are positioned to protect the neo-liberal society from "immoral"/"untrustworthy"

dependence. In this sense, the discourse creates either ambitious or antisocial subject positions for the clients.

The discourse similarly appears to position the participants as protectors of the neo-liberal society. It ascribes to them the duties of gatekeepers who must manage the permeability of social boundaries distinguishing the socially excluded from those who maintain their eligibility for citizenship by proactively demonstrating the capacities that it assumes. As such the participants are positioned to demonstrate the kind of punitiveness that the participants ascribed to the Job Centre's treatment of clients who fail to engage according to their "innate" capacity. Though, they, the participants are aligned with the Job Centre and the subject positioning it reflects, they resist these requirements of that positioning to varying degrees.

It is worth noting that Adrian is bound to speak from within this discourse as it defines the field and motivation for his work in neo-liberal society. However in his resistance of the discourse he, along with most of the other participants, appears to make use of the perhaps accommodating discourses in the second externalising category that will be presented in this analysis. Those discourses offer alternative subject positioning from which it is possible for the participants to resist the punitive neo-liberal role they must play if their clients do not meet the assumptions of citizenship. The second category of discourse therefore accommodates for the potential that those assumptions in this first discursive category cannot be met by the clients.

This analysis argues that the participants therefore move between these categories of discourse as they manage the obligating and aspirational tensions within the subjectivity that neo-liberalism makes available to them. They appear to do so, particularly in resistance to the neo-liberal discourse of citizenship

C.4.4.2 A Humanistic Yet Economic Discourse of Human Resourcefulness

Another significant discourse within the first internalising category of discourses is that of Human Resourcefulness. This discourse appears to be an integration of what may be

understood as a humanistic discourse of actualisation with an economic discourse of rationality. Employability was thus constructed as an intrinsic orientation toward economic productivity, which is itself ultimately fulfilling for the humanistic individual because it taps into a waiting and humanistic "repository of human resourcefulness" (Costea, 2012) and facilitates self-actualisation. As Berglund (2013) quotes Rose (1996, p. 158) "we fulfil ourselves 'not in spite of work but by means of work". Though humanistic in its assumption that there is "everything to win and nothing to lose", this resourcefulness subjectifies the individual economically (Costea, Crump and Amiridis, 2007). Furthermore it represents the economic resourcefulness of the individual by which the individual wins everything that is available to be won and manages risks rationally so that there is nothing to lose.

The discourse was employed by the participants most notably within the discussion of what tends to prevent people from working when they are "innately" able to do so (given the aspirational dimensions of citizenship). The answer was that the clients' contexts disrupt this ability. It emerged in the participants' accounts that a necessary intervention was therefore to help the clients optimise their inner repository of human resourcefulness, by ensuring that the context was conducive to and encouraging of this. By doing so, the clients would be able to manage employment barriers and fulfil economic productivity. This in itself would mean that the participants had achieved their goal of enhancing their clients' employability. With that achieved, employment was an assumed end, with self-maintaining benefits.

> *"All the evidence shows that clearly, people are better off whilst at work than being out of work and that majority of barriers to support people to go back to work can be overcome" (Adrian).*

> *"[We] ended up building this thing called PAACEES. […] And it's a framework we give our practitioners as a way of doing vocational profiling and of identifying people's issues. […] There are seven aspects of PAACEES. We look at personality type. […]The "A"'s stand for abilities or skills the person's got against the job goals they have and attitude. The "C" is very nicely the middle letter because that's what everything else is pinned on, that's their circumstances. So what's in this person's life that could be of*

advantage in employment but mostly, what's going to get in the way of employment and specific jobs? "E" stands for ethics. What's important to that person? Environment, indoors, outdoors, regular hours etc., etc. And "S" stands for stimulation. So what types of work interests them and what sectors interest them". (Christopher)

The constructions of employability evident here suggest an innate propensity in individuals towards employment. They presuppose that it is best for people to work and that those people thrive in work if the repositories of infinite "resourcefulness" are matched with the appropriate job roles and organisational cultures. As such, any challenges that emerge around one's capacity to work appear to be functions of inefficient, ill-suited, non-optimising working environments. It may be because of a mismatch between the environment/job role and any of 7 the aspects of the vocational profile described above by Christopher. Importantly, this appears to place responsibility for employment outcomes on the organisation and employment support advisor to ensure an optimising match, which according to these participants is easily done through rational consideration of the client's strengths, specific resources and environmental demands. The emphasis on the environment is shown in the fact that the participants' work extends beyond improving unemployed clients' employability and into the realm of organisational consultancy or "in-work support programmes". The ultimate focus of their work is thus to maximise productivity, as is the case with wellbeing at work interventions. However, the individual's neo-liberal responsibility for self-management exists on the flipside of such vital notions of optimisation. The implementation of any and all efforts of optimisation e.g. training, mindfulness breaks, vocational profiling, organisational consulting certify that most barriers to employment are removable if the client engages the optimisation mechanisms available. As such there are negative implications for the client who fails to make use of all the opportunities made available to optimise the context and promote the client's ability to apply their resources in the management of barriers.

Christopher's language also shows how the discourse attributes such failure to the individual. The challenges in obtaining and maintaining employment, which often remain in spite of these efforts, are explained in terms of economically rational perspective taking.

> *"Many times, they will consider something an obstacle, "'I'm just a victim, a passive victim to it.' When actually, when we talk to them about it we can get them to see that it's actually a barrier and if we do something about it, we can get rid of it forever." (Christopher)*

While there is a superficial onus placed upon those who control the environment, this way of speaking does not allow the individual to externalise their locus of control or merely react to the environment. Instead, the individual who fails to thrive within an environment that has been optimised by the employer, to the extent that the employer is responsible, is unfavourably positioned as a "passive victim". Such an individual fails to engage the extent of their optimised humanistic and economic "resourcefulness", by which they are expected to eliminate employment barriers altogether. If they are complacent in the face of barriers when they could engage their innate "resourcefulness" to manage those barriers then they are understood to facilitate their un-employability.

From within this subject position one must operate on the assumption that any challenge can be overcome with the right, economically rational perspective and with the correct application of their inner resourcefulness. This appears to be the organisations' employability enhancement objective from within this discourse.

This discourse of inner/"human resourcefulness" also has punitive implications for those who fail to apply their inner/"human resourcefulness" or employability and instead seek to rely on "external resources" such as benefits. Below, Marion describes her experience of a young man who in spite of his "repository of resourcefulness" opted to claim housing benefits.

> *So you know, in the end, I got the whole story out of him as to why. And I used to look at him and I said to him, "You can get any job. You can get work". I mean, you know. You are a good looking guy, nicely spoken, intelligent. INTELLIGENT, right?! Such an*

angel. You can go and work in, "I don't know, Reiss. In retail, you know! You can do agency work, you know?"

"No, no. I don't want to be doing that" [he said]. You know, that sort of thing. And then I looked at him a little bit further and then I started to resent him. […] They have every skill and ability not to be [in supported accommodation]. And so there was something really warped going on there (Marion)

This highlights the punitive subject positioning that is available to the participants while operating within this discourse, where the feeling of resentment is justified. They are permitted to stigmatise the individual who immorally chooses not to engage their "resourcefulness". It suggests something of their role from within the subject position that they are invited to take within the humanistic/economic discourse of resourcefulness, which is similar to the subject positioning available in the neo-liberal citizenship discourse. They are invited (and not necessarily obligated, perhaps by virtue of their valuable economic identity) to function as gatekeepers operating at the boundaries of citizenship. They are expected to allow access only to those individuals who demonstrate values affirming of neo-liberal society. Arguably, this feeling of resentment suggests Marion's own internalisation/investment in the ultimately neo-liberal values of the discourse and consequent institutional practices.

Meanwhile, there is an implied conclusion that the unemployed individual/benefit-seeker actively and immorally chooses to forfeit their potential for productivity and fulfilment through work. After all, within this discourse these are potentials that the individual is intrinsically motivated to engage. Individuals who appear to disuse these potentials and complacently rely on external resources are thought to do so because of uneconomic, irrational thinking. This is in turn pathologised to take the form of mental health issues or benefit seeking. It has the potential to create a self-stigmatising or self-limiting subject positioning for the client. However, it is also discursively useful in motivating the individual towards the more meaningful/validating subject position of "employable" i.e. "oriented toward economic productivity by virtue of humanistic motivation and economic rationality".

C.4.4.3   An Evolutionary Discourse of Adaptability

> Whereas adaptation is a process, adaptability is a quality […] This personal
> adaptability is described as employability […] It is essential for skills to develop and
> evolve in order to improve adaptability and competitiveness and combat social
> exclusion' (European Council 2000b, p.14).

While this discourse maintains the important theme of internalisation to imply individual
responsibility, it offers a unique acknowledgement of the socioeconomic challenges inherent
in gaining/maintaining employment. Arguably it is used to manage the potentially punitive
subject positions that are available within the discourses described above. Christopher makes
use of the discourse in a manner that positions himself as an empathetic gatekeeper who
was also challenged to adapt once.

> *So just to tell you my background briefly for a moment. This is my 20th year of being in
> the employment sector. I fell into the sector through having a nervous breakdown.
> Saw a psychiatrist for some months and ended up staring at the walls 20 hours a day
> at home. Started claiming employment benefits. When I got to the 6 month stage, I
> got called into the Job Centre for a mandatory review and got sent on a course.
> Three weeks later, the course provider offered me a job as a trainer and I've been in
> the sector ever since. […] So first and foremost, we look at the circumstantial side and
> say, "Let's see if we can help this person have a lifestyle that is compatible with work".
> (Christopher)*

In the previous discourse of "resourcefulness", the initial suggestion was that fulfilment through
work is inevitable, if the working environment is optimised to that end. However, within this
discourse of "adaptability", it appears that a harsh and challenging environment may also
be valuable, to the extent that it stimulates the individual's ability to adapt (i.e. their
employability) and to evolve (e.g. in the forms of gaining employment/career progression).
Here, the individual is more explicitly responsible to adjust to the environment. However,
Christopher, and those who criticise the harshness of the Job Centre, for example, shows that

it is not meaningful or necessary for the individual to endure harsh environments that are not appropriately stimulating or pertinent to the desirable evolutionary effects. This emphasis on the importance of the environment allows the participants to argue that particular contexts maximise employability and others are simply not appropriate for this.

As mentioned earlier, the discourse appears to offer a less punitive subject position for the participants. It constructs the client's unemployment or non-engagement as an issue of lacking opportunity, exposure or internally located capability. Unlike those above, this discourse is less reliant on notions of morality and therefore does not require the participants to negatively enforce immorality with similar punitiveness. Instead, it requires that the participants use their power to positively reinforce adaptability. As such, they must ensure the client's exposure to necessary challenges and stimulation. It is the context, environment or the labour market that is positioned to punish. The context is powerful to such an extent that everyone must submit and be subjectified by it. There is, however, room for the individual to demonstrate responsibility in this. They must choose to expose themselves to the right environments.

There is an oppressive fairness in the evolutionary notion that those who are intrinsically able to adapt desirably are naturally selected to survive social/employment challenges. These are the employable individuals who demonstrate neo-liberal governmentality and are rewarded for it. Those who do not demonstrate this intrinsic capacity are vulnerable to social extinction in the form of social exclusion. Despite the less punitive subject positioning of the participants, this discourse's action orientation is much more brutal. Its brutality is perhaps in its necessity. It ensures that the challenging and unpredictable status quo of the labour market, for example, remains intact.

Adaptability, and therefore employability, is also constructed to facilitate economically rational choices as to what one feels and does in a given environment.

> *So what our guys do is a lot of work on challenging attitudes and behaviours, modelling the attitudes and behaviours they should be displaying and giving clients*

the opportunity to develop those attitudes over a period of time. To be able to switch an attitude on in an appropriate environment and go back to normal self when out of that environment. So that's really vital for me. […] No one is going to on a two day course and have an attitudinal shift. […] That's why I say again just being able to help choose the attitude they show in a work environment. (Christopher)

This use of language suggests that adaptability ensures evolution, which takes the form of increasing, rational emotional intelligence; the ability to rationally manage one's emotions according to the environment. With Christopher's own experience and entrepreneurial position in mind, he positions himself as an evolved survivor of unemployment and as an entrepreneur, his experience epitomises economic rationality. His rationality could be understood as a consequence of his evolution, which is described in the previous quote. As the quote above shows, the ideally employable/appropriately "evolved" individual is ultimately capable of economic rationality.

Earlier, economic rationality featured in the "resourcefulness" discourse as necessary for managing barriers to employment. In fact, it was suggested that any obstacle could be rendered a solvable barrier with economically rational perspective-taking. Furthermore, economic rationality was highlighted as an assumed capacity that only requires application. Here, the adaptability discourse ensures evolution in the form of increasing rationality (and self-actualisation).

Arguably, the "human resourcefulness" and "adaptability" discourse work together to insist that any barrier can be overcome with rationality. They ensure an understanding of rationality as inevitably available by various means. If one's inner repository for it cannot be accessed, it will develop if the individual engages with challenges, e.g. the participant's programmes, which promise desirable evolution. Through that development, the evolved individual will ultimately have access to the rationality required to overcome barriers to employment. Put simply, there are no barriers that cannot be overcome. The sentiment conveyed through the action of these humanistic/economic and evolutionary discourses is:

"You can do it; so just do it. And even if you can't do it at first, you will figure out how to do it".

This particular excerpt is also significant because it demonstrates a construction of employability that draws on psychological language, i.e. attitude and behaviour. However, his use of the adaptability discourse alludes to the evolved, employable individual's ability to apply their meta-psychological rationality (described by Christopher elsewhere) to "turn attitudes and behaviours of and on".

Yet, this psychological construct is, as this analysis argues, non-psychological. Psychological discourse suggests that attitudes and behaviour are relatively sedimentary thus justifying psychological interventions that engage the individual in a process of "excavation" and restructuring for long-term change, and resolution. Even CBT which is rationalising and suitable for short-term implementation assumes a degree of cognitive restructuring, of change. To *temporarily* disengage from unhelpful attitudes and behaviours by means of calm rationality for context-specific change, rather than long-term resolution, is seemingly non-psychological. However, as a point of reflexivity, I am aware of the fact that I arrive at such conclusions while operating from within the psychological discourse myself and may be positioned to insist upon the "true" nature of psychological practice, as one who must defend it and maintain its integrity.

Finally, a number of the participants highlighted their role in helping their clients identify their transferable skills. They insisted that while a person may have never worked, they may still be employable. Their construction of transferable skills suggested that these skills are valuable to the extent that the client can innovate and adapt them to any job role. In fact the attitudes and behaviours the participants try and encourage among their clients are transferable ones such as time-management, teamwork, emotional intelligence and communication. Arguably, these attitudes and behaviours uniquely ensure an individual's capacity to successfully adapt to any given working environment.

C.4.4.4   Conclusion

There are a number of consistencies and points of interaction among these discourses. They similarly privatise/individualise responsibility by locating it within the citizen who is obligated to aspire for work. Yet it appears that the participants, to varying degrees, seek ways to manage the aspirational and obligatory tensions within the neo-liberal subject positioning that neo-liberalism makes available to them. This is evident in their consistent resistance of the DWP's institutional practices, which are arguably similarly informed by neo-liberal citizenship discourse.

These participants are located at the borders of this neo-liberal society and respond to the socially excluded individuals that they find there in different ways. Superficially, most of these social entrepreneurs, insist that the pendulum of responsibility swings more towards the "social" than the "individual". Yet, the practices that become possible through their particular use of language puts much of the responsibility on the individual. Importantly, employment is distinguished from employability and the former is presented as comparatively less valuable. With this distinction, employment support professionals need only take responsibility for the individual's internalisation of neo-liberal subjectivities (employability). However this process of internalisation is so steeped with notions of self-motivation that no one can take responsibility for it but the individual. Where these organisations will not take responsibility for employment outcomes, the state is equally evasive, so only the individual is available to take that responsibility on.

That withstanding, the participants do not fully inhabit the subject positioning that is thus available to them. They often described their relationships with the DWP in terms of "them and us". What permits this discursive distinction, given their seemingly common roles within neo-liberalism?

Again, the participants highlight the importance of context and insist that treatment spaces such as psychiatric wards or Job Centres are just not aligned with constructs of employability, that call for actualisation, optimisation of productivity and evolution. In fact, the participants'

protective roles as gatekeepers of neo-liberal society appear to involve managing the *external world's access* to their clients in their optimising work spaces (where it was the other way around before). This emphasis on the context appears to suggest the meaning of an intervention changes depending on the context where it is implemented. For example, talking about someone's story can be invasive and excessively clinical in one setting and relationship-building in another sense. There is indeed something incompatible about this suddenly protective subject positioning, which leads the analysis into a description of the second category of discourses.

C.4.5   Category B: Externalising Discourses of Employability

What follows is an illustration of the discourses that constitute the second category identified in this analysis. These are arguably counter-discourses that allow the participants access to subject positions and alternative subjectivities that are more accommodating/less punitive of their clients' dependent subject positioning. Though they have been separated from the previous discourse in a categorical way, the two discourses are intertwined. The participants' positioning as uniquely vital to the clients was evident even in the category of discourses that emphasised self-reliance. However, this categorisation is useful in showing that the clients' inabilities/disability cannot be entirely spoken away. Where these issues of ability must be confronted or accommodated, the participants are forced to speak in different ways. This is what this second category aims to show.

As mentioned earlier, these discourses locate employability outside of the individual. They highlight the discursive mechanisms by which the participants' employability, or their comparative power, facilitates a "redemptive" substitution or socialisation of employability. While the previous category of discourses was context-specific, these discourses are commonly provider-specific. As shown earlier, neo-liberalism remains a meta-discourse that frames the discourse analysis and the categories identified within it. However, in this category it takes the nuanced form of neo-liberal paternalism.

C.4.5.1   A Paternalistic Discourse of Philanthropy

The philanthropy discourse is arguably one of the seminal discourses available to social enterprises purposed to respond to social problems. Yet as Dean (2007, p. 4) states, "the essential nature of philanthropy is paternalism". In describing this discourse, he shows that "upper" social orders position themselves as responsible for the "lower" individual's wellbeing, but more importantly, for their morality (Dean, 2007)

> "The philanthropist was to mediate between the antagonistic social classes by describing the potential - but not yet visible - humanity of the pauper and developing their moral standards (Villasden, 2007)."

Within this discourse, the philanthropist is a judge, mediator and pastoral carer for the poor. They take on responsibility for the poor individual's morality, in service of larger societal goals of ensuring the individual's capacity for self-policing.

> *There is one particular client of mine who I have to…every phone call to anywhere for him because as soon as anyone starts asking kind of official questions he just can't…he gets really angry. […] He is the nicest man in the world. But as soon as he gets asked any sort of official questions, he just…he just can't manage it. And often it takes me to be in a meeting with him and either talk for him or say, "Look, he's not an angry guy. He gets really worked up, he is in a really difficult financial situation and he's fallen into a bit of bad luck et cetera". But if I wasn't there for that…dunno…he would probably get arrested, barred from places or whatever it might be but no one knows why he is like that. I know why he is like that and there are reasons why he is like that. But no one else has that relationship so they just see him as an angry guy (James)*

In response to a clarifying question from me about his role as perhaps mediating or socializing, James described instances such as this, wherein a client behaved unfavourably but was seemingly rescued from his immorality by James. This description positioned James as uniquely vital to his client, as if he was the only one able to truly understand the client and to

perceive the client as the "nicest guy", despite the client's questionable behaviour. Other clients were described as engaging in illegal activities but were then vindicated by the participant, who understood that this client was only trying to "nobly" avoid seeking benefits. Another client was shown to demonstrate antagonistic behaviour, but was again vindicated by the participant's unique understanding that the client was disoriented.

Morality is key in this use of discourse. Within this discourse, James takes the position of the moral, uniquely perceiving and therefore paternalistic philanthropist. His client on the other hand is positioned to fail, helplessly, at acting according to the moral code of behaviour prescribed by the prescriptive agency e.g. the "official others".

The participants' unique ability to perceive the client's needs or motivations also positions the participants as empathetic to an extent that ensures the clients' dependence on the participant. It is implied that the client is not able to navigate social relationships or the society effectively. The client therefore requires the support of the socially and morally apt participant, who can effectively help clients meet their social needs. This dependency is perhaps maintained by the clients' persistent employment needs. However, it also suggests the client moral needs.

In a neo-liberal sense, the client's unemployment is a stigmatising, arguably immoral choice. As such, the participants are not only positioned by neo-liberal paternalism to take responsibility for the client's employability; responsibility for the client's questionable morality comes with it. In this manner, there appears to be a moral construction of employability.

Yet even with a client's limited morality/employability, certain freedoms/concessions remain available to the client, highlighting the significance of the (participant's) provider's morality/employability in conferring some of his own (neo-liberal) rights to his beneficiary. For example, James' clients would have been subject to restrictive consequences if James had not been there. However, business is permitted to go on as usual, as if the provider's presence, in some way or another, atoned for/blotted out the clients' immoral behaviour. This echoes the redemptive quality of the paternalistic philanthropist's pastoral roles

Importantly, there is no talk, on the participants' part, of building upon the client's behaviour or of modelling an alternative. It seems that the participant only (but vitally) perceives it and accepts it. This may be all that is necessary for them to do if the participant's own morality/employability is enough to substitute what may be lacking in the client. However, this arguably reinforces that there is limited need or incentive for the client to adjust their behaviour, which in turn makes the paternalistic relationship, even more vital. Meanwhile, the participants appear to charitably embrace their role in atoning for and redeeming the clients' employability, particularly in the eyes of the "official others"/prescriptive agencies. Arguably, to be viewed in that light may be of particular usefulness to the participants, whose work relies on social trust. According to Hearn (1997, p. 97), social trust arises in "communitarian interdependencies and social institutions that instil in people habits of reciprocity and responsibility and the sense of moral obligation whose presence affords the strongest grounds people have for trusting in one another". Hearn (1997) describes that social capital originates and only becomes abundant where social trust prevails.

Another example of this paternalism, whereby the clients' dependence is permitted in spite of neo-liberalism's demands, is evident in the choice among the participants to use IPS. IPS and the practitioners that use it are commonly commended for their empathetic sensitivity to the clients' limited access to economical resources (an acknowledgement that challenges the "resourcefulness" discourse). This acknowledgement is important to the extent that welfare provision is an assumed dimension of IPS. Yet this provision maintains the clients' vulnerability to stigmatisation because neo-liberalism obliges aspirational self-investment/individual resourcefulness rather than dependence on external resources. Perhaps the participants would consider it a stigma worth evading. But as shown in the earlier category of discourses, the clients' choice to engage in these employability enhancing programmes is a sufficient demonstration of their employability/"aspiration self-investment". In choosing to engage with aspirational organisations like these, the clients assume the power to fend off likely stigmatisation regarding sustained dependence. As such, welfare provision is constructed differently; as an assumed and validated part of IPS. But again, these social "threats" are only manageable because of the clients' relationship with the social

enterprises, which signifies employability-enhancing behaviour and ultimately, neo-liberal citizenship. The clients are thus obligated to maintain the relationship, particularly in light of how those who are not acting within this paternalistic dimension of neo-liberalism would disregard the dependent client.

> *And the work providers, generally, not naming names here, I am being recorded, generally identified that they can get a greater return by getting a maximum number in, so maximise engagement units and then work with the people who are easiest to get into work, to get the work payment and the sustainable work payment. They find that a more effective model than trying to support everyone and finding that they are not able—in their time—they are not able to get results their way with people with mental health problems. So they ignore them. They park them. […]So yes, again, [there is a] direct need for charities like us to step into this role. (Adrian)*

Within the dominant discourse of neo-liberalism, it is particularly easy to make binary distinctions between who is poor and deserving or just poor. However, these clients problematise the dominant discursive practice, which assumes that engaging in employment support will optimise an available capacity for employability, for inevitably positive results. Somehow aspirational self-investment can fail to trigger desired changes. There is a discursive gap and these individuals are "parked" in it. However, this gap is filled and discursive dissonance is resolved by the participants. They instead, highlight their own pivotal role in enhancing the employability of others and become the answer to the social problem by filling the gaps themselves. These clients who are seemingly unable to demonstrate citizenship, despite their efforts, are positioned as hopelessly vulnerable. But they are capable of redemption, only through the work of the participants, who are positioned as highly sensitive and compassionate. This is reminiscent of paternalistic, biblical notions such as Jesus being the only way to the Father.

Overall, it appears as if there is a binary reality maintained; one is either employable themselves or covered by the employability of someone else. And that covering can only be maintained if the client maintains his dependent position. Paradoxically, perhaps, this is

permitted through the action of a neo-liberal, though paternalistic, discourse. Employability is allowed to originate externally to the individual and remains externalised as long as the client remains within the confines of the pastoral relationship. Importantly, the immoral and thus unemployable (or vice versa) client must stay close to a philanthropic, morally responsible provider thus positioning both subjects to ensure the client's social control, while their morality/employability remains uncertain.

C.4.5.2 A Social Capital Discourse of "Social-Esteem"

There was a consistent emphasis throughout the accounts on flexibility, choice and informality in regards to the client-participant relationships. These dimensions of the paternalistic relationship were consistently celebrated as key factors that ensure the participants' meaningful engagement with clients. Importantly, the participants identified this emphasis as distinguishing their service from that of the Job Centre. As they spoke in this manner, they seemingly employed what is identified here as a social capital discourse of social-esteem. Below is a description of processes that lead to social-esteem.

> "To become integrated, effective, competent members of UK society involves the process of assimilating into social networks, developing cultural understanding and knowing the rules of social engagement. Often it is through informal and non-formal learning opportunities that these implicit rules, norms and tacit knowledge are picked up and developed (Morrice, 2007)."

This discourse is used to demonstrate that an informal learning environment is the most appropriate for the vital process of socialisation and "social-esteem" that are commonly required in the workplace and the community. Formalized approaches to developing skills or engaging, such as Job Centre interviews or clinical therapy sessions, are rendered ineffective in enhancing employability. However, it is not the physical environment (as in the first category) that is of significance here. It is the social processes that characterise informal learning spaces. Within them, "ordinary" people establish community or group memberships through "ordinary"/informal means via relational processes of socialisation/modelling.

But with all of our candidates, they don't even feel confident about coming into our doors to begin with. So we actually need them to sort of…so offering things like doing the football and doing other sports and the trapeze and the drama is a way of engaging with them and not actually putting employment straight away to them but actually about saying, "Listen, try it and see how you feel", get that relationship going. […] So it's about starting to build a relationship so that eventually they feel better about themselves and feel that they can actually take on people…and take on…because it's quite a very…it's a very hard journey for anyone who's not worked for a number of years to suddenly feel like they can get a job again. (Richard)

Employability was thus constructed as a product of socialisation to the surrounding society, to people. It is closely linked with self-esteem and self-confidence. But this is distinct from a previously identified understanding of employability as "self-efficacy", which was more indicative of aspirational motivation and of self-management. Arguably it was a function of human capital, rather than social capital, which it is here.

It appears that these clients problematise assumptions of human capital and of consequent self-investment. The neo-liberal expectation that the individual is oriented towards esteeming their "self" is not evidenced in the clients' behaviours, which are instead, self-limiting. Processes that ensure the external or social "esteeming" of the client's self are thus required. In this manner, employability is constructed as a measure of "esteemability", which is achieved through "esteeming" processes of socialisation to the community. This generates social capital, which is constructed to indicate employability and it is achieved through community participation/membership, which is itself representative of their effective socialisation.

The participants reportedly encouraged clients to engage in opportunities for socialisation by playing football, visiting Buckingham Palace, going to free social events, talking with strangers, taking their pictures or merely having a chat with employment advisors. The participants constructed the objective of these other-oriented and esteeming activities as learning new socially-oriented skills and "taking on people" without the formality of

standardised processes. However, this does not appear to be social interaction for its own sake. It is a way of de-subjectifying these clients whose vulnerabilities have likely been subjected to pathologising, isolating or censuring disciplinary powers. Such powers are stigmatised by the participants and considered stigmatising because they socialise individuals to the formality inherent in being intervened upon or standardised. They are constructed to create self-limiting dependence. In this manner of speaking, the participants demonstrate resistance against institutional practices, such as the psychiatry or Job Centre practice, which are effective in pathologising, isolating and censuring the individual. As shown below, formal interventions are constructed as inhibiting the clients' already limited self-expectation, which restricts the extent to which one can learn or develop.

> *You've got low self-expectation, low-self because they have been out of work for a long time, you're feeling depressed, you're dealing with many other challenges. How much are you going to give the 4 sessions if you don't think they can help you. The other charity comes along and says to you, the service is time-unlimited. No obligation. Let us know when you are ready to start. We will work with you. If it's working out for you, we will work with you as long as you want us to. And that could involve supporting through some other steps such as volunteering or training, keeping in touch with you so we are there to support you into employment when you are ready to take the next steps. You are going to engage with that and you are going to give it a go. The reality is that in 4 sessions you will have progressed far further with that second service than you will have done with the first one because your expectation is that it's going to be able to achieve something for you. So confidence is absolutely vital to our service. Giving people that confidence. Enabling them to have confidence that with our support they will be able to achieve it for themselves, which is fundamentally vital (Adrian)*

These providers not only engage clients' in activities that position them as capable of community participation or membership. They also offer the clients choice and flexibility, in a manner of esteeming them. Here, the participants, who are ordinary (non-experts) yet unique

(by virtue of being exemplary), are able to recognise the client's potential "esteemability" and so they are uniquely capable of transmitting anticipatory confidence in the client, which is then internalised by the client. This externally mediated, anticipatory confidence acts as a platform upon which the client can engage with the wider social environment and expose themselves to broader opportunities for esteeming socialisation. Therefore, even while the client is enabled to generate social capital by engaging in multiple, esteeming, socialising relationships, the paternalistic relationship that the client shares with the participant remains the most important. It is uniquely vital to triggering that initial generation of social capital. But this relationship is also dependent on the client and provider maintaining a particular proximity. The client is in a way, intimately positioned to be seen and to see the world specifically through the provider's eyes. The participants contrast this with the distanced, though paternalistic relationships they understand the blinded expert professionals to share with the clients.

> There is, there is documented evidence that the average level of expectations of clinical workers. Uh. Not all. Obviously. You can't generalize. But the more severe and enduring, um, diagnoses category of illnesses that they work with typically the lower expectations are in terms of work and recovery.[…] Why would a psychiatrist, who only ever sees people on a ward, have any idea of what they are capable of achieving at work. They only ever see people when they are referred to them which is when they are hospitalized and after they have been given medication. That's when they first get to see. Whereas—to have people who see it from the other side and are conscious of the work side of managing mental health, as opposed to the clinical and the, um, incarceration, and the in-patient aspect of it. It's absolutely vital—if you only ever see people at their worst, you will never, never, be able to complime— comprehend what they could potentially achieve at their best (Adrian).

This reflects a significant implication for psychological practice. Superficially psychological constructs such as socialisation, social learning, self-esteem, self-confidence are converted into constructs that psychological professionals don't have the sensitivity to engage. As such,

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the participants suggest that those professionals, therefore, do not have the right to work on these things with their employability enhancing clients. Their argument is not so much an issue of context and optimisation (as it was previously) but perhaps an issue of subjectivities and of economics. The expert's blinded/insulated subjectivity doesn't allow them to demonstrate the degrees of engagement and encouragement that facilitate "social esteem" or favourable socialisation. Ultimately, they do not build social capital.

The action of the discourses used by participants appears to facilitate a separation of psychological practice from employment support because of the potential that psychology's disciplinary power has to standardise/formalise their practice and maintain paternalistic, psychiatric-like and therefore self-limiting dependence among the clients. Consequently, statutory, standardising services are constructed as inappropriate for enhancing employability. They cannot accommodate the informality, and therefore freedom, that neo-liberalism espouses. The participants speak to suggest that the most appropriate interventions are those that esteem the client who is low in self-esteem (or human capital) as capable of community membership (different from citizenship though similarly neo-liberal) by the flexible, informal modes of social learning/social-esteem. The participants show that these opportunities are organically available in the community but their capability to esteem the client and mediate social capital is dependent on the participant triggering social-esteem (with their capacities to infuse/confer their clients with anticipatory confidence). It is in this neo-liberal, paternalistic manner of mediating social capital, that the organisations begin enhancing the client's employability.

C.4.5.3   Conclusion to the Category

With this category of counter-discourses, the participants were able to inhabit very different subject positions from the ones that are available through the first category of discourses. In this manner, they manage to resist punitive aspects of the neo-liberal discourse of citizenship. However, neo-liberalism proves to be inescapable, even as the participants try to use these counter-discourses. Arguably, this is because neo-liberal constructions of individual responsibility, of maintaining the status quo and of quasi-marketisation/marketisation are

present in both categories. The main distinguishing factor between the two categories is the extent to which the clients' vulnerability is acknowledged and constructed as an issue of choice. In the first category, which disavows the clients' vulnerability and renders it an issue of irrational choice, the participants are positioned to respond punitively. In the second category, where vulnerability is constructed to suggest moral inability and calls for/creates the risk of subjectification by disciplinary powers, the participants are positioned to compassionately "cover" in a redemptive and protective sense. What is emphasised in these secondary discourses is the effects of constructions of "helpless immorality" and "absent self-esteem", which contradict employability but implicate practice that is moralising and esteeming. The punitive requirements of the participants' neo-liberal subject positioning thus go in and out of focus in the transcripts analysed. At times, this gives way to something that feels empowering and challenging of the status quo.

C.5   DISCUSSION

C.5.1   Reminder of analytic results

The participants' language was deconstructed to show that they drew on a meta-discourse of neo-liberalism to construct employability. They appeared to construct the "employable" individual as a "neo-liberal citizen" who is obliged to aspire for work. This individual was, therefore, constructed to internally possess seemingly humanistic and evolutionary motivation for self-actualisation, in the form of work. This construction presumes that the individual uses economic rationality to achieve economic productivity, which is the goal of their intrinsic motivations. According to Palmer (2015) the term economic rationality broadly refers "conceptions of rationality used in economic theory". However, of relevance to this particular research study is the neoclassical conception of economic rationality. This takes "rationality to consist primarily of the maximisation of subjective utility—that is the maximisation of one's own personal desires (n.p.)"

However, these clients' long-term unemployment problematised this dominantly used construction of employability. The assumptions described above suggest that engaging in employment enhancing programmes will efficiently optimise an individual's available but latent capacity for employability. However, these clients showed that aspirational self-investment (e.g. in the form of engagement in employability programmes) can fail to trigger desired changes in regards to employment/employability outcomes. These individuals expose a discursive gap and are at risk of being "parked" in it (i.e. socially excluded) through the action of dominant employment enhancing practices that for example work on a payment by results basis. Yet with the social agenda for full national employment and social inclusion, these clients cannot be left in those gaps. As such, social entrepreneurs, like those interviewed for this study are commissioned to locate themselves in those gaps and in proximity with those at risk clients (Kettl, 2006).

These participants appeared to resist the punitive dimensions of neo-liberal citizenship's discursive construction of employability. Instead they drew on the discourses of neo-liberal paternalism to accommodate for the ways in which the clients problematised assumptions of

citizenship. The participants used neo-liberal paternalistic discourses to construct their own social value or intrinsic capacities (which reflect their own employability) as capable of ensuring their clients' eventual employability. In so doing, they were shown to take responsibility for their clients' employability while obligating the clients' unique, though socially esteeming, dependence on them. Paradoxically, perhaps, this particular variation of dependence is permitted within the neo-liberal framework but only through the action of the more nuanced neo-liberal paternalistic discourse.

During the analysis process of this research, it was considered meaningful to divide the discourses identified into 2 categories according to how employability was constructed to exist or develop. The first category of discourses constructed employability as an assumed internal state that interacts with environmental stimulus or opportunities, for various employment outcomes. According to these constructions, employability can be optimised within particular contexts. The second category of discourses located employability outside of the individual and constructed it as a function of the paternalistic, socialising yet obliging relationships that the participants shared with their clients. While the first category of discourses emphasises the role of context in enhancing employability, the second discourse emphasises the role of the participant social entrepreneur in achieving the same goal within their clients. The discourses were thus divided in the following manner

Category A: Internalised/Optimisable Employability

- A Neo-Liberal Discourse of Citizenship,

- An Humanistic/Economic Discourse of Human Resourcefulness

- An Evolutionary Discourse of Adaptability

Category B: Externalised/"Socialise-able" Employability

- A Social Capital Discourse of Social-Esteem

- A Paternalistic Discourse of Philanthropy

With these results established, the discussion will now demonstrate their relevance to the aims of the research study, which were to do the following

- Illustrate how discourse works to configure this apparent incompatibility between psy-practice and employability enhancing third sector settings, mainly social enterprises, in spite of the dominant internalising/psychologising constructions of employability.

- Explore the implications of the above for psy-practice and social justice in social entrepreneurial settings and in so doing encourage reflection within the counselling psychology discipline

However, the discussion will first argue that the social entrepreneurial practices and the ways in which they are described are very much issues of power. As the participants moved between the two categories of discourse, they were either in a state of resistance or obligation in relation to the neo-liberal discourse of citizenship. The analytical findings of this research are notable for what they suggest of the subject positioning, subjectivities and the potential power relations that are available to social entrepreneurs. These participants' movements between the two categories described above could be understood as their attempts to negotiate and manage the obliging and aspirational tensions of their neo-liberal subject positioning, that of a potentially punitive gatekeeper/protector of neo-liberal society, in relation to their client's dependent subject positionings.

The first category of discourse renounces the clients' vulnerabilities and renders them as issues of irrational choice. As such, the participants were positioned to punitively reinforce the values of aspirational citizenship in clients who did not engage appropriately. But the participants, in light of their social mission, appeared to resist this positioning by using the discourse in the second category. The second category of discourses constructed the clients' vulnerability unfavourably, to suggest that they required support because of moral inability or a lack of "esteem-ability", which the participants could uniquely remedy. It appeared that within these discourses, the participants were able to position themselves in neo-liberally paternalistic and esteeming ways, which affirmed their redemptive and protective abilities to

compassionately "cover" their clients' initial un-employability. It is significant that in using these discourses, the participants integrated their own employability/morality/esteem-ability with that of their clients as they constructed their clients' employability to originate externally. In so doing they appeared to appease neo-liberalism and were not required to respond to the clients' vulnerability as punitively.

C.5.2   Points of Discussion

With these results in mind, this discussion will explore the related discursive activity further with consideration of Foucauldian and extra-discursive theory such as those of Lacan and systems psychodynamics. It will do so with the understanding that it is necessary to explicate the power relations and socio-political positioning that characterise social entrepreneurship   in order to understand how they could interact with psychological practice or how they maintain the apparent incompatibility. These arguments will then be taken together to explore the implications for social justice and for the integration of psychological practice into social entrepreneurial settings.

There were multiple instances where the participants showed that psy-practice was not appropriate for employability enhancement objectives. They suggested that psy-practitioners are limited in their ability to work with these clients in a way that does the following; anticipates/optimises humanistic potential, stimulates meaningful evolution, empathetically esteems and confers/generates social capital. Yet, in their constructions of employability, they showed that these processes were vital to enhancing employability. The discussion will therefore focus on how the social enterprises positioned themselves in relation to psychological practice. It will apply an understanding of Foucault's conceptualisations of power and discourse to explicate the utility of speaking in this way. It will ask how this incompatibility is maintained through the work of discourse and whether the participants' construction of psy-disciplines is to ensure particular power relations. In so doing, the discussion aims to explore the apparent incompatibility that appears to exist between social entrepreneurship and psy-practice. Beyond that, the discussion aims to demonstrate how neo-liberalism necessitates what is seen in discursive and extra-discursive ways. In so doing it

will consider Bondi's (2005) finding that neo-liberalism can facilitate activist potentials in spite of the subordination that it entails. Ultimately, the discussion seeks to explore the implications for social justice and the integration of psychological practice into social entrepreneurial settings

The discussion, therefore, works toward the aims of the research study by focusing on the following points of discussion

I. The discursive mechanisms by which psychological practice is rendered inappropriate for employability enhancement, in spite of psychological humanistic and evolutionary constructions of motivation in relation to employability

II. The ways in which psy-disciplines' potential for disciplining interacts with the neo-liberal social agendas to mediate the "social exclusion" of psy-disciplines that is demonstrated in the participants' language

III. Neo-liberalism's reliance on social exclusion and the ways in which its exclusionary processes implicate social entrepreneurship

IV. The implications for practice regarding social justice and the integration of social entrepreneurship with psychological practice

C.5.3   Discursive Integrations and Practical Implications for Practice

The participants drew on psychological discourses of humanism and evolution to construct their clients/humans as intrinsically motivated towards particular behaviours conducive to employment. However, the exclusion of psy-practitioners that was noted in their practice suggests that these discourses were ultimately used in ways that did not justify psy-practice. This section argues that the participants censored aspects of the psychological discourse that perhaps problematised the neo-liberal assumptions of the "employable citizen". As this discussion argues, the participants then integrated what remained of these psychological discourses with economic discourses, inclusive of the social capital discourse in the analysis' second category. As such, the participants appeared to transform initially psychological

constructions of employability. Their "economisation" and neoclassical "rationalisation" of psychological constructs was then effective in upholding the appropriateness of economic practice. This in turn rendered formalised psychological intervention inappropriate.

This section of the discussion also argues that their censoring, neo-liberal use of psychological discourse permitted similarly censoring constructions of their clients' (psychological) needs. It will conclude these arguments with consideration of social enterprises' positioning within the social economy to highlight the associated potentials regarding socially just practice.

C.5.3.1 "Economisation" of Humanistic Motivation

The humanist discourse exemplified in Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1943) assumes that the individual possesses an innately valuable personhood that is capable of actualization if the appropriate needs are met (Binkley, 2011). The use of this discourse was evident in the participants' own language. This permitted constructions of their work as valuable because it would mediate actualisation, which the clients were obliged by neo-liberalism to desire. However, the participants showed that self-esteem was a challenging construct to assume among their long-term unemployed clients. In fact, the participants upheld self-esteem and self-efficacy as the main areas for development if their clients were to achieve employability. Literature focusing on the importance of one's internal state as it relates to employability suggests the same (Tseng, M. S. 1972; Vanhercke, et al., 2014; Kim, 2015)

The participants appeared to acknowledge that self-actualisation will not be achieved if self-esteem is not intact. Humanist psychological practice similarly assumes that one's agency, which is related to self-esteem, must be fully engaged if one is to self-actualise (Binkley, 2011). This is evident in Rogerian psychological practice, for example, which aims to facilitate a process of self-actualisation, by which one recovers their sense of agency to overcome the incongruence that maintains distress (Rogers, 2012). Rogers is known to be a champion of the therapeutic relationship, which has established near revered status in literature exploring the common factors among the various models of therapeutic practice. Importantly, in Roger's

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construction of the therapeutic relationship, the expert therapist makes use of themselves and draws on theoretical, phenomenological understanding of humanity to encourage and model to the client the agentic personhood that is required for self-actualisation and for the resolution of distress (Rogers, 2012). Therapy is thus a process of humanistic socialisation (Rogers, 2012) and as such, a technology of neo-liberal subjectification (Binkley, 2011; Dafermos, 2013).

Arguably, the socialising, moralising, paternalistic relationships that the participants and clients maintained are purposed to facilitate similar effects. The participants suggested that they "used their selves" to promote a relationship that encourages the client's actualisation of choice and freedom. They showed that ultimately, they work to encourage the client's self-actualisation, which is in turn expected to take the form of self-enterprising, economic productivity. However, in a manner that is, as argued here "non-psychological", these participants separated themselves from the expert positioning that is available to the therapist in a discourse of humanistic psychological practice. In fact the participants' resistance towards that position is reflective of a new frontier in "psy-industries", as described by Binkley (2011), whereby "semi-professional" life coaches help their clients work towards happiness. They are equally resistant of encouraging "disabling introspection and dependence on an overweening psychological expert" (Binkley, 2011, p. 95). The participants embodied this as they insisted that their position in relation to their clients was not one of expertise but of affiliative "anti-knowing" or "not needing to know". They showed that this was advantageous compared to the expert positioning of the therapist in humanistic psychological discourse because it ultimately benefited and maintained the vital philanthropic, paternalistic relationship.

Importantly, the two practices appear to share paternalistic relationships, of varying qualities, with their clients; one is constructed by the participants as affiliative and the other as enabling docile dependence (Nys, Denier, and Vandevelde, 2007; Binkley, 2011). However, the anti-knowing position that the participants commonly took challenges the humanistic psychological assumptions of how psychopathology/incongruence is undone (Roger, 2012)

and how agency is thus engaged. Perhaps, this challenging is more reflective of the differences between psy-practice and social entrepreneurs in their abilities or choices to see (and therefore find) pathology. From a discursive perspective it appears that the participants were specifically resistant toward the disciplinary power that Foucault identified as coexisting with the expert power-knowledge (Bastalich, 2009).

The participants censored the aspects of the humanistic discourse that implicated disciplinary expertise in light of the neo-liberal requirement that employability enhancement social enterprises create aspirational selfhoods (Kelly et al., 2008). Dependence on disciplining, disciplinary power problematises the self-management that is inherent in neo-liberalism. Instead, the participants made the humanistic constructions that reify intrinsic, self-actualising motivations interact with economic discourses of rationality and of social capital. This was effective in "economising" psychological constructs, which were in turn effective in positioning the participants, who themselves demonstrated notable economic rationality and possessed significant social capital, as those most qualified to enhance the clients' employability. The participants highlighted that it was their unique ability to establish such a charitable, paternalistic, anti-expert but humanist-like relationship that distinguished them from institutions like the Job Centre and from psy-practitioners. They suggested that it also facilitated their clients' meaningful socialisation to the neo-liberal society to degrees that other professionals were not able to achieve. Furthermore, they demonstrated the effectiveness of this relationship was in its capacity to help the client build necessary social capital. For these reasons, they established their practice as the most appropriate for employability enhancement. This is in keeping with the finding that social entrepreneurs in particular possess significant social capital, which provides them "a favourable   social identity that   can   be converted   into significant tangible benefits" (Baron, and Markman, 2000, p.107). The participants of this study appeared able to transfer those benefits onto their clients to mitigate the stigma of their dependence. Psy-practitioners, however, were positioned as incapable of doing the same.

As mentioned earlier, the censored use of psychological discourse led to censorship regarding the potential psychological needs that the humanist psychological discourse otherwise accommodates and reifies. The participants suggested that the actualisation of one's sense of rational agency could limit the limiting effects of psychopathology, distress and disability on employability. Maladaptive behaviours that are otherwise constructed to complicate employability/employment or necessitate psychological intervention were shown by the participants to be a matter of choice that the emotionally intelligent, adaptable and therefore employable individual is able to master.

Perhaps this is, to some degree, in line with humanist psychological practice in the form of coaching. Coaching is criticised by Binkley (2011) for creating entrepreneurial subjectivities in times of austerity and crisis to promote positive affect above all else but at the expense of allowing the status quo to be maintained. Similarly, disability literature espouses a widely-criticised assumption that positive affect, in spite of disability, limits the capacity of the disability to limit the individual (Fritsch, 2013).

C.5.3.2 "Rationalisation" of Evolutionary Motivation

The individual's employability was also constructed as intrinsically motivated through the use of evolutionary psychological discourse. Within this construction, the individual is driven to seek safety and the resources that are necessary for survival. In the context of neo-liberalism, such survival is ensured through employment and reliant on the individual's ability to adapt to the labour market demands. Importantly, the participants asserted that those individuals who have achieved the highest level of evolution are above all, rational. The participants demonstrated that the rational, employable individual is able to analyse and maximise internal and external resources to resolve both internal and external barriers to employment. This limits what can be acknowledged as barriers to employment that exist outside of the clients' control.

According to cognitive psychology, however, theories of bounded rationality suggest that decision-making is achieved through the action of a dual information processing system

(Conlisk, 1996). One aspect of this dual information processing system is characterised by heuristics. According to Dequech (2001, p. 913) bounded rationality is associated with the use of heuristics and it is adopted in environments that are "too complex relative to the limited mental abilities" of an individual or organisation. And "so the decision making process is instead characterised by heuristics such that in the end the decision-maker adopts a satisficing rather than optimising strategy searching for solutions that are good enough or satisfactory". Heursitics and bounded rationality are thus used to explain the irrational decisions humans tend to make (Conlisk, 1996; Cosmides, L., and Tooby, 1994). Heuristics are said to be a consequence of evolution that permitted early humans to process the most important environmental information by the quickest means to ensure survival in much less controllable environments (Cosmides, L., and Tooby, 1994).

It seems, however, that this dimension of the evolutionary psychological discourse was often censored in the participant's language. Instead, the neo-liberal-affirming constructions of intrinsic motivations were again, integrated with, in this case, neoclassical economic assumptions of rationality. Neoclassical economic rationality asserts that "human action is necessarily rational [in the sense of Weberian instrumental rationality]" (Zafirovski, 2003). This construction of rationality, in the context of evolutionary psychology discourse suggested that neoclassical economic rationality is intrinsically available to the individual as a consequence of evolutionary, natural selection processes (Cosmides, L., and Tooby, 1994). The participants constructed this economic rationality to suggest that the individual is intrinsically motivated to rationally maximise available resources for the effective management of environmental barriers and for self-actualising survival, (i.e. through employment). As above, a psychological construction was used to reify intrinsic capacities of the individual but was also censored in some parts. It was then made to interact with an economic construction of the individual for an economic action orientation, rendering the discourses "non-psychological".

Importantly, however some participants resisted this construction of economic rationality as a basic intrinsic assumption. Instead they maintained a hierarchical understanding of human

evolutionary capacities, which is reminiscent of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The participants appeared to place economic rationality (which facilitates self-actualisation) at the top of this hierarchy. This allowed an alternative understanding of economic rationality as something to work towards and steadily develop through exposure to the environments that would foster increasing rationality as the individual continued to evolve. Therefore, the clients' lack of economic rationality, as evidenced by long-term unemployment, could be understood as a consequence of ineffective, uninitiated evolution, positioning them at the bottom of the evolutionary hierarchy. While the participants' use of this discourse was in one sense more accommodating, it made the clients' responsible to seek and invite opportunities for their evolution (McQuaid, 2005; Wilton, 2011) despite what the clients may have seemingly lacked in terms of ability or human capital.

This integrative construction of the clients' capacities was further integrated with the economic discourse of social capital, which creates the possibility for these individuals to achieve the rationality that they intrinsically lack through a process of appropriate socialisation. Once again, the paternalistic relationship, with the participants' noteworthy economic rationality and social capital (Baron, and Markman, 2000), positioned the participants as the most qualified to model and enhance their clients' employability. Importantly, this discursive activity appears to manifest in the necessarily socialising practice of lifelong learning, which is an expectation of the active citizen (Fejes, 2008) and is facilitated by the social enterprises in the form of vocational and educational training (Doyle, 2003).

Psychopathology or psychological distress was also reconstructed through the integration of psychological discourse with economic discourses of economic rationality and social capital. The participants encouraged their clients to engage with IAPT service, for example, but because it was at the participants' encouragement, rather than that of a psy-practitioner, such engagement was constructed as an economic choice rather than a psychological, and therefore, stigmatising need. It was in fact an "esteem-able" choice demonstrating one's ability to resourcefully make use of available resources, in this case IAPT, to manage

the internal barrier to employment represented in their psychological distress. Ultimately, the participants demonstrated that the resourceful individual, who is intrinsically motivated to survive, is capable of resourcefully overcoming such internal barriers through rational processes of resource and risk management. As such a mental health diagnosis, in this construction, does not necessarily render the diagnosed individual "un-esteem-able". The "esteem-ability" of clients who engage in IPS, for example, appears to exist by virtue of their aspirational engagement in the programme. That esteem-ability is suggestive of neo-liberal values and is thus able to limit the stigmatising effects of a mental health diagnosis that would otherwise necessitate disciplinary subjectification and preclude an individual from employment (Lam et al., 2006).

C.5.4   Neo-Humanistic Economics

The exploration above regarding the participant's use, censorship and integration of psychological discourses sheds light on how nuances in the use of language cause notable implications for practice. This discussion will now consider how the discursive integrations noted in the participants' language relate to practices that can be generalised to social entrepreneurship. It will locate social enterprises within the neo-humanistic economics discourse, which represents an integration of the discourses identified in the analysis and importantly characterises social economy.

As shown in the literature review, complex management processes characterise social entrepreneurial practice and this is required if they are to balance the demands of their multiple stakeholders. Doherty et al. (2014) show that where stakeholders agree on the goals of the social enterprise's work, but not on the means, social enterprises must manage this and may do so through "compromise and avoidance" (Doherty et al., 2014). Arguably, the integration of psychological and economic discourses noted in the participants' use of language could be viewed as a process of compromise to satisfy the demands of neo-liberalism and of varied stakeholders, such as the Department of Work Pension and Department of Health, who also share relationships (though more disciplinary) with the participants' clients.

It is also important to consider that social enterprises are located within the social economy. The following OECD definition describes the social economy as, "an entire segment of the economy that is composed of entities that aim to increase social inclusion and reduce inequalities, while simultaneously creating economic value" ("Social Economy", n.d).

Scaperlanda (1985) poses the question, "Is neo-humanistic economics the new paradigm for social economists?" He writes in reference to Lutz and Lux' (1979) formulation of economics as requiring a greater sensitivity to the ways in which social inequality complicates the individuals' capacity to live up to the expectations of neoclassical economics (Zafirovski, 2003). More recent neo-humanistic economics purport the following:

> "Neo-humanist economics expounds that the goal of economics must be to enable every human being to be free from mundane problems so that they can have greater opportunities for intellectual and spiritual growth…Economic freedom requires that the purchasing power of the masses must be raised…The wealth of society must be shared among one and all through a cooperative economy…When we begin to recognize that all creatures have both existential value and utility value, we shall begin to lay the foundations for a Neo-humanist economy. (Shambhushivananda, 2017)"

Scaperlanda (1985) shows that economic productivity, as a self-actualising right for all, is an important assumption of humanistic economics. However, he writes to demonstrate that self-actualisation is more appropriately understood in an evolutionary sense, and not according to the "all or nothing" principles of classical economics. This section of the discussion argues that this evolutionary and humanistic view of the individual from within an economic discourse, characterises the integration of discourses that was evident in the participants' language. Neo-humanistic economics allows social enterprise to politicise and humanise economic theories (Lutz and Lux, 1979) as they draw on humanistic notions demonstrating human values and rights to unfairly inhibited actualisation. And so employment enhancement programmes draw those at risk for social exclusion into an importantly *social* economy's goal to ensure social inclusion by equalising the availability of opportunities.

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It may be that the participants' integration of humanistic and economic (implicating rationality) discourses was not only a consequence of their resistance against disciplinary power. It appears that these participants were in fact located within a formalised discourse of (neo)humanistic economics that characterises the social economy (and resistance).

C.5.4 Socially Excluding Disciplinary Power

Considering this location of the social enterprises within a (neo)humanistic economic discourse, it may also be useful to consider if, and how, this location within the neo-humanistic discourse interacts with discourses that the participants used when speaking of psy-practices. This may contextualise the resistance noted toward psychological practice. Importantly the participants resist psy-practice in spite of the established utility of constructing employability in psychological terms that suggest intrinsic, aspirational dispositions towards employment (Morreau et al., 2006). Therefore, the discussion now considers the power relations that could be said to permit the use of language seen above and to establish the related practices.

As shown by the participant accounts, psychological interventions are commonly thought to undermine the self-managing capacities that neo-liberalism requires because, as Binkley (2011) confirms, a state of dependence and docility is assumed in the therapeutic relationship. Psy-intervention connotes subjectification by disciplinary power (Binkley, 2011; Thomas and Bracken, 2005) and in the language of the participants, stigmatising paternalism. Nys et al. (2007) show that disciplinary paternalism is a potential within therapeutic relationships constituting an expert with power-knowledge and an unknowing client. Binkley (2011) in turn contrasts potentially paternalistic therapy from coaching, which is more aligned with the participants' practice. Importantly, while coaching is conceived of by humanistic psychological discourse, it renounces professionalisation, like these participants do, and disdains docility within the client (Binkley, 2005). Instead, coaching explicitly celebrates self-enterprising and economically valuable subjectivities. It moves away from clients' past and focuses on their choices for the future. As such, coaching—a psychological practice—and employability enhancing social entrepreneurship are aligned in (neo-liberal economic)

purpose. They are therefore capable of integrating in practice. That alignment is evident in the fact that coaching features in the support that many of the participants offer their clients. With such alignment possible, it follows that the incompatibility seen between professional psy-practice and the participants' social entrepreneurship is an issue of professionalisation and disciplinary power.

The resistance against disciplinary power seen among the clients can be traced back to the institutionalising powers of the psychiatric discourse which permitted psy-disciplines to institutionalise all those ways of being/feeling that threatened the rational functioning of the modernist society (Thomas and Bracken, 2005). However, in light of postmodernism and the anti-psychiatry movements it has espoused, the psychiatric discourse, its disciplinary power and apparently all related psy-disciplines face resistance in light of their disciplining, limiting capacities. The participant Marion demonstrated that psy-practice is perceived as interruptive within a socio-economic context that is reliant on the development of social capital and social bonds. She alluded to the isolating potential that comes with the psy-practice's individualising, introspective and intrapsychic focus (Binkley, 2011).

This resistance is galvanised by postmodern thinking, which has similarly conceived the post-industrial, national, economic agendas described in the literature review. The Third Way policy agenda suggests that the social exclusion that historically psy-disciplines functioned to facilitate is now simply too costly (McQuaid, 2005; Houston and Lindsay, 2010). Instead, the adaptable post-industrial society offers *everyone* an avenue by which they can circumvent those outdated institutional structures/practices that once precluded them from participation. It would seem that in this post-industrial society, the psy-disciplines' disciplinary, exclusionary power cannot serve economic objectives as it did before and it is seemingly excluded by the participants on those grounds. These participants suggested that even in this post-institutionalisation era, the psy-discipline disrupts economic objectives by isolating the individual in unproductive introspection. Yet the development of social capital is vital in post-industrial society, particularly for those whose disadvantage has complicated their opportunities to develop human capital (Doyle, 2003). The inclusion of psy-practitioners in

these organisations, which rely on economised constructions of the individual and of employability, was thus constructed as discursively discordant.

These contrasts between psychological practice and social entrepreneurship appear to emphasise incompatibilities between disciplinary power and neo-liberal self-management in relation to economic productivity. Yet, Foucauldian critique, in fact insists, upon the psy-disciplines' inherent alignment with neo-liberalism and their role as technologies of neo-liberal subjectivities that create subjects who are useful to neo-liberalism. This similarity between social entrepreneurship and psy-practice notwithstanding, the participants suggested that their practices would not benefit from professional psy-practice within their work setting. The following psychoanalytic insight may offer an explanation for resistance, in spite of the similarity in neo-liberal function. It highlights the self-investing capacities of neo-liberalism.

> "The exclusions under neo-liberalism do not only relate to the kinds of subjects that do not have the resources to become entrepreneurial…If the constitution of entrepreneurial subjectivities involves othering, exclusionary processes may lie at the heart of neo-liberalism (Scharff, 2016).

This suggests that exclusion is not only a matter of resisting those who are not capable of self-management. Exclusion is seemingly a requirement of neo-liberalism that facilitates the neo-liberal agent's individualisation through "othering" processes that work to mediate self-validation at the expense of "other-validation". The discussion will now go on to consider how this psychoanalytic notion of othering (?) might relate to the work of social enterprises, only as a point of discussion.

C.5.5   Extra-Discursive Considerations

Thus far, the analytic results and discussion have suggested that discourse, issues of power and conflicts in practice maintain the incompatibility seen between social entrepreneurship and psy-practice. This may be attributed to the psy-disciplines' construction as a "disciplinary power". These participants appear to commonly resist disciplinary power and criticise the

ways in which it creates dependent, self-limited clients, who are in turn not viable to function within neo-liberal society.

In a manner of seeking "consensus, the discussion aimed to contextualise the participants' resistance through a lightly genealogical analysis of the psy-discipline/practice role in society and in social exclusion. Taking this perspective emphasised that psy-disciplines have historically served a modernist function of excluding "irrational" individuals from society. The participants' resistance suggests that this history of psy-practice perhaps continues to influence the psy-disciplines' perceived identity, and unfavourably so in postmodern, neo-liberal society. Yet, Foucauldian critique, in fact insists, upon the psy-disciplines' inherent alignment with neo-liberalism and its role as a technology of neo-liberal subjectivities that creates individuals who are particularly useful to neo-liberalism.

With this alignment in mind, the othering noted among the participants does not seem to be adequately accounted for through purely discursive means. But FDA only aims to facilitate abductive explanations i.e. the most economic explanation. Explicitly, such an explanation could be summarised in the following manner: the incompatibilities seen between psy-practice and social entrepreneurship reflect discursive tensions between the psy-disciplines' disciplinary identities and the neo-liberal demand for autonomisation without standardisation, which manifests in social enterprises.

Still, Foucault criticises the psy-discipline for their capacities as technologies of neo-liberal subjectivity. With Scharff's (2016) psychoanalytic statement regarding neo-liberalism's inevitable othering or exclusion, it may be possible to identify a "better" explanation through an extra-discursive, similarly psychoanalytic consideration of the social enterprises organisational motivation—assuming that there is indeed an inner life to house it—and its interaction with discourse. The choice to focus on psychoanalytic considerations in particular is also informed by the fact of psychosocial studies.

Controversially so, psychosocial methodologies validate the reinsertion of psychanalysis into social sciences. It is controversial because post-structuralism "resists the top-down, expert-

knowledge epistemological strategies of psychoanalysis with their apparent certainties about the true nature of human subjectivities" (Frosh and Baraitser, 2008). However, as these authors go on to show, a psychoanalytic perspective may be useful in the "sophistication of its ideas about emotional investment and fantasy which can offer thickening or enrichment of the interpretative understanding brought to bear on personal narratives arising out of interview situations" (Frosh and Baraitser, 2008, p. 351). Importantly, it may offer conscious and unconscious reasons behind specific individuals' investment in any rhetorical or discursive position.

In spite of the philosophical tensions between social constructionist discourse and psychoanalysis, their methodological integration, which is exemplified in Lacanian discourse analysis, makes it possible to confront the limitation of FDA regarding its dismissal of agency or subjectivities that interact with, rather than rely upon, discourse. However, the psychoanalytic considerations that follow are only presented as a point of discussion, like the rest of this discussion chapter. It does not aim to present any one contextualising explanation as true but seeks to highlight points of alignment or consensus between the results of this research and existing literature. The turn to psychoanalytic thought allows some exploration of how the results align with existing literature that is similarly concerned with neo-liberal discourse and its pervasive influence on the social context. To have considered other theories would have allowed an appreciation of alternative explanations, such as social identity theory. However, it was considered more meaningful to seek "deeper", rather than alternative, explanations that seemingly pick up where FDA explanations are content to end. Furthermore, my own exposure to psychoanalytic thinking on this Counselling Psychology course has informed my own understanding of subjective experience and has offered a subjectively meaningful lens through which to view practice.

C.5.5.1   New Public Management of Anxiety

Lacanian theory offers the opportunity to take an extra-discursive perspective (Sjöholm, 2013) on these inter-institutional power dynamics and allows a construction of what potentially motivates the social enterprises' work to create the effects seen. These may highlight

important contextual factors that would influence the potential for social justice if psychological practice were to be integrated into social entrepreneurial settings. Using Lacan's construct of "fantasy" (Sjöholm, 2013), it is possible to see how social enterprises may in fact be complicit in important "othering", exclusionary processes facilitated by neo-liberalism. Gunder (2016) applies this kind of analysis to affordable housing and civil planning in a neo-liberal context. His application of Lacanian theory to such societal dynamics, which is relatively uncommon (Gunder, 2016), will be considered in an effort to understand the societal roles that social enterprises undertake in relation to social inclusion, to their unemployed clients and to neo-liberalism.

Firstly, it is necessary to acknowledge that there is significant societal anxiety at work. This Lacanian-derived approach exposes the fact that society is in fact driven to simplify "anxiety-provoking complexity as well as its many inconsistencies and uncertainties" (Gunder, 2016). Gunder (2016) attributes some of this anxiety-provoking complexity to the trauma of separation that the neo-liberal society has suffered following the dismantling of the welfare state. He shows that this dismantling has brought on a unique societal anxiety related to the trauma of abandonment separation. It is sustained by neo-liberalism's insistence upon decentralisation, fragmentation and individualisation. As Kummitha (2016) states, the gap in welfare provision that followed this dismantling triggered the social enterprise movement and so it follows that the societal role of social enterprises is in response or relation to this societal anxiety.

Layton (2014) highlights that there are additional sources of societal anxiety. She shows that while the neo-liberal fantasy is primarily one of independence, it coexists with a secondary and contradictory fantasy of dependence. However, this fantasy of dependence is damning, within the context of neo-liberalism and so exists as yet another source of anxiety. The trauma of separation and the damnation associated with dependence/interconnectedness work together to create this societal anxiety. Both can be attributed to neo-liberal agendas. Therefore, it is argued here that social enterprises participate in the management of societal anxiety brought on by neo-liberalism's dismantling

of society. It could be said that as agents of neo-liberalism, the social enterprises are relied upon to resolve the issues that neo-liberalism provokes.

Social enterprises work toward an impossible, Lacanian fantasy of societal wholeness/social inclusion. The kind of utopian fantasy that social enterprises commit to is as Lacan purports, specifically borne out of and reliant on lack. It allows the maintenance of a desire that is impossible to fulfil. Within this theory, this desire, which requires lack in order to be maintained, relates back to the lack that an infant experiences after the fiction of wholeness with its mother gives way to the "trauma of separation from the mother" (Gunder, 2016) as the child is increasingly socialised to the symbolic order of language. The experience/awareness of this separation is traumatic to such an extent that the infant continually tries to re-create that lost wholeness/fulfilment but continually fails (Gunder, 2016). That separation will never be undone. In this failure, the infant then resorts to fantasies of wholeness that protect against the "anxiety associated with the idea that there is no ultimate guarantee" (Gunder, 2016) of reinstated wholeness. Gunder (2016) demonstrates that the societal trauma of separation and its protective fantasies of social inclusion can be understood in the same way as described above. Like the infant, the dismantled, neo-liberal, post welfare state maintains an expectation that similar wholeness will eventually be established, even if it does not appear presently possible. In fact according to Lacan, the elusiveness of this desire is paradoxically satisfying because it maintains the requirement of the fantasy.

However, Gunder (2016) highlights the following:

> "The more invested we are in the guarantee that fantasy conjures, the more susceptible we become to what we could call the 'theft of enjoyment's temptation'", which "involves projecting the inherent impossibility... onto an external figure who is then treated as an obstacle to the realisation of our ideals (Glynos, 2012, p. 312).

This "thieving other" is subjectified as a scapegoat who functions to account for the current and inevitable failure of the fantasy. In so doing, the scapegoat makes it possible for the societal fantasy's possibility of future fulfilment to remain intact, though it is constantly

postponed. The scapegoat also functions to explain and preserve the state of lack that is required to maintain the fantasy. In fact, the failure that is attributed to the scapegoat is required to maintain the impossible fantasy, which is itself vital as it defends against the terrifying "Real" (Gunder, 2016). Within this conceptualisation, this section of the discussion argues that the unemployed benefit-seeker functions as "nothing but a fetishistic embodiment of a certain fundamental blockage" (Zizek, 1989, p. 127) to the fantasy of social inclusion.

According to systems psychodynamics, a larger system, such as a society, that is unable to contain its overwhelming anxiety relies on anxiety management processes of expulsion or exclusion, which rid the system of the entities that cause anxiety (Obholzer and Roberts, 2003). In this case, the elusiveness of the (infantile) desire for wholeness and the related secondary fantasy of dependence described by Layton (2004) cause significant societal anxiety but/because they cannot be explicitly acknowledged. As such, these sources of anxiety are projected into the excludable, unemployable scapegoats who can already identify with unacceptable dependence, having been disabled by social inequalities themselves. Though these scapegoats are relied upon by the system to embody what cannot be consciously experienced through projective identification (Obholzer and Roberts, 2003), they are expelled from the system because of that embodiment. The social exclusion that is therefore seen in the society can, according to systemic applications of psychoanalytic theory, can be conceived of as a means of anxiety management (Rizq, 2011) designed to rid the system of these individuals who instigate societal anxiety as they embody the system's damning, uncontainable desires of dependence. However, the scapegoats are also kept in proximity for the purposes of scapegoating through the social inclusion efforts of social enterprises.

Social enterprises and third way policy maintain that this fantasy will be achieved through processes of activation and reattachment to the labour market (McQuaid, 2005). The related practices, which manifest in lifelong learning and vocational rehabilitation, promise that humanistic potentials will be effectively and adequately maximised. It is argued here that

these agendas rely upon processes that expand and blur those societal boundaries to ensure full employment/inclusion. However, in so doing, they limit what systems psychodynamics (Obholzer and Roberts, 2003) would identify as the societal systems' capacity to contain its overwhelming anxiety.

For the purposes of social inclusion, the boundaries at which the social enterprises operate as gatekeepers must remain permeable. However, this complicates the societal boundaries' capacities to contain its overwhelming anxiety (Obholzer and Roberts, 2003), thus necessitating exclusion. Meanwhile, the social enterprises must draw the "unemployable" scapegoats into obliging, paternalistic relationships to ensure that the scapegoat is in near enough proximity to embody the elusive fantasy's fundamental blockage, which the society requires in order to manage the otherwise uncontainable trauma of separation/the "Real".

This discussion therefore argues that neo-liberalism causes and maintains uncontainable societal anxiety. However, social enterprises are relied upon through neo-liberal Third Way discourse to work towards a fantasy of inclusion. The social enterprises participate in this by ensuring that the required scapegoat, i.e. the unemployable client, is available to account for the failure of the fantasy. However, in blurring the boundaries toward fantasies of wholeness, the society's abilities to contain its related anxiety are decreased, such that exclusion is even more necessary. Social enterprises thus play a role in maintaining the tenuous equilibrium that is exists between social inclusion and exclusion on account of societal anxiety.

In this illustration of extra-discursive mechanisms, there is a risk of undermining the social enterprises' (situated) capacity for resistance (Dey, 2014). For example, Gunder (2016) demonstrates that despite the unacceptability of dependence, the primary fantasy of independence permits "new sublimations for alternative [dependence] fantasies" (Gunder, 2016) that can be accommodated within neo-liberalism. And so fantasies of becoming autonomous may be innovated to take the form of neo-liberal paternalistic practices, whereby dependence is constructed as a necessity that serves autonomy. As such the

paternalistic relationship that characterise the social enterprises' work can be viewed in multiple ways, which is important to maintain, as the discussion will now show.

C.5.6   Social Entrepreneurship, Governmentality and Social Justice

Kelly et al., (2015) argue "social enterprise-based transitional labour-market programmes (TLMPs) [such as those represented by this project's participants] can be understood, following Foucault, as neo-liberal technologies of the self". That notwithstanding, Dey (2014), like Gunder (2016) proposes that it is naïve to think of social enterprises only in negative terms or to be seduced by the idea that social entrepreneurship is a deterministic mechanisms of dominant discourse that can only oblige neo-liberalism and create enterprising subjectivities aligned with the interests of dominant groups. As Foucault (1982) was well aware 'there is no relationship of power without the means of escape or possible flight' (p. 225).

The neo-liberal intentions designed for social entrepreneurship to implement are shown to differ from the reality of the social enterprises' practice (Dey, 2014). The social entrepreneurs' agency, though not total, is active to the extent that "practitioners in the social enterprise sector choose or *creatively combine* discourses which are available to them at any given time" (Dey, 2014), as the participants have done. This assertion importantly contextualises the combination of psychological and economic discourses seen in the participants' language and discussed earlier.

 Dey (2014) continues

> "Such discursive processes can be seen as acts of resistance as practitioners achieve to appropriate the initial intent of "social entrepreneurship" so as to produce alternative forms of identity (Dey and Teasdale, 2013). Consequently, although it may be impossible to completely step outside of the influence of "social entrepreneurship", practitioners in the social sector might nevertheless find ways to create meaning which transgresses the programmable reality of governmental reason (Dey, 2014, p.11)"

Dey (2014) shows that macro-perspectives and micro-perspectives of social enterprises' governmentality exist and importantly, conflict. And so it is possible to take a multi-dimensional view of the powers that motivate the social entrepreneur to form those paternalistic relationships that subject their clients to disempowering power relations. Dey (2014) echoes Nealon's (2008) assertion that "resistance is everywhere" and a product of the same governmentality that is understood to limit subjects within their own subordination.

This is in line with Bondi's (2005) suggestion that, neo-liberalism is not inevitably deterministic and that activist practice is possible within social enterprises because of the governmentality afforded to them by their neo-liberal agency. She echoes the assertion that where there is power, there is a fragile space for resistance (Dey, 2014), even within the limits that neo-liberalism and discourse sets around the subject's understanding of themselves and of the world. Therefore, despite the disempowering neo-liberal practices that social enterprises are capable of facilitating, it is still meaningful to ask if, in spite of all that has been discussed, social justice can be upheld by psy-practitioners working in social enterprise settings to enhance employability.

Perhaps, the social justice question is in part answered by understanding what happens in that fragile space wherein a subject can resist dominant discourse for alternative discourses, as the participants of this study did. As Cech (2013), states social justice requires cultural space in order for a greater awareness. Arguably, this is to reflexively manage the discursive action in that space.

C.5.6.1   Resistance Requires Reflexivity

In his criticism of neo-humanistic economics, Scaperlanda (1985) highlights the capacities of discourses that resist neo-liberalism to ultimately serve the neo-liberal subordination they set out to resist. For example, he demonstrates the economic determinism that is maintained in neo-humanistic economics as he challenges the Lutz and Lux' (1979) suggestion that actualisation is limited to economic productivity. He continues by showing that neo-humanistic economics suits a model of government that obligates aspiration in the form of

work. He criticises them for constructing the relationship between the individual and society as uncomplicated by the unpredictability with which humans and institutions interact. This discussion's application of psychoanalytic theory to understand the dynamics created by societal anxiety suggests that these relationships are not at all uncomplicated. However, the participants' position of "not wanting to know", of disavowal, of "knowledge divorced from understanding" (Hoggett, 2010) in relation to the likely complexity of their clients' vulnerability, for example, is reminiscent of Scaperlanda's (1985) criticism of Lutx and Luz' (1979). He insists that they take an idealising, deterministic position of knowing that disavows the societal unpredictability that in turn remains preferably unknown but undermines neo-humanistic assumptions of social justice.

Scaperlanda's (1985) analysis, and that of this study, aim to demonstrate the enigmatic mechanisms of discourses that can colour the most altruistic of intentions in one way but mask their underlying presumptions, which thus maintain various power differentials. When they are deconstructed, the ways in which they justify paradoxical consequences in practice becomes evident (Burr, 2003). For example, it is evident that even in the action of resistant discourses, like the neo-liberal paternalistic discourses used in this study and the neo-humanistic discourse that Scaperlanda (1985) describes, the individual remains subjectified by dominant powers, which in the end maintain the status quo and related inequalities. It appears that the mission among neo-humanistic economists is resistant in its intent but effective in making the economic productivity of the whole population a business enterprise that serves a larger national agenda for competitive ability in the global market. Furthermore, the paternalistic discourses that the participants use may not only be a resistant validation of dependence in spite of neo-liberalism. It may be the only form of dependence that neo-liberalism endorses. After all, it ensures that the dependent, unemployable, un-socialised individual is under effective surveillance, but not institutionalised to such confining degrees that they cannot somehow evolve through social processes that ensure externally-mediated neo-liberal subjectivity. This discussion argues that these instances where activist potentials are usurped by neo-liberal agenda are mediated by "not needing to know" (perhaps,

disavowal on account of a societal anxiety) and a lack of reflexivity, which leaves those fragile spaces for resistance vulnerable to neo-liberalism adaptable, yet obliging power.

Social enterprises, by virtue of their governmentality, have a unique capacity for resistance (Dey, 2014). It is seen in their rejection of psy-disciplinary formality and standardisation. However, it is argued here that if unexamined, the fragile spaces for resistance are acted upon by neo-liberalism, which promotes self-interest to an extent that limits self-reflexivity. Reflexivity is defined as "an explicit evaluation of the self… '[R]e-flexivity' involves looking again, turning your gaze to the self; in effect, reflexivity involves reflecting your thinking back to yourself" (Shaw, 2010, p. 236). It is significant that within the examples of resistant discourses described in this study, the social mission or the ideal, socially just reality is constructed through the same discourse that created the initial injustice. As such, discursive potentials to disempower remain. Irrational, neoclassical economics is resisted through neo-humanistic economics; however, the latter obliges everyone to aspire for collective economic productivity and makes everyone's employability everybody else's business (Dean, 2007). Neo-liberal citizenship is resisted by neo-liberal paternalism; however, the latter ensures that those who do not demonstrate neoliberal citizenship choose to oblige themselves to a moralising relationship effective in ensuring affiliative social control. With a lack of such awareness of how that fragile space for resistance is being acted on by discourse, efforts of resistance can be distorted to become disempowering themselves.

This discussion argues there is an almost heuristic process by which those fragile spaces are filled with constructions of social justice or resistance that are self-affirming or familiar and so unexamined. This is why self-reflexivity is so vital. It asks questions regarding the extent to which thinking is reflective of the thinking self. It challenges the potential that the disempowering forms of "resistance" made available to us via neo-liberalism will be so familiar/self-affirming that they will go unchallenged. Self-reflexivity requires "self-challenging" in the first place.

For social enterprises a humanistic, yet economic discourse of social justice means everyone should work because everybody inherently desires and deserves it. It is characterised by

humanistic and economic constructions that demonstrate how discourse can constrain possible social realities. This constraint is not challenged however, because it is affirming of the discourse. Using similar reasoning, this discussion's abduction is that social justice in psy-disciplines is similarly constructed in self-affirming ways. For example Bondi's (2005) research about social justice and psychological practice in third sector settings is significantly concerned with identity, particularly the disciplines' identity. Research regarding the "therapisation" of social justice also constructs social justice to emphasise identity and vulnerability (Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015). As Ecclestone and Brunila (2015) describe it, the therapisation of social justice "encourages welfare professionals and educators to adopt practices that listen to the pain" and emphasise the "ethics of otherness and politics of recognition", where "recognition is seen as a socially just end in itself. It thereby creates a challenge where valuable "recognition displaces calls for economic redistribution...In a therapeutic culture those barriers are cast as predominantly psycho-emotional" (p. 491).

Arguably, the discourses drawn upon by welfare and psy-professionals to construct social justice orient socially just practice towards the potentials that those disciplines can specifically and uniquely achieve themselves. The same discursive tendency is shown in the language of the participants regarding their unique relevance to employability enhancement. As such social justice outcomes and social missions are constructed in individualising ways that validate one focus of social justice without an opportunity for other-validation/multiplicity. Unexamined, individualised social missions present challenges to integration, as shown by this research study, where perhaps the integration of practices and validation of multiplicity could promote social justice.

This discussion therefore concludes that social justice is a matter of awareness regarding the availability of choices (regarding subjectifcation, perhaps) within the fragile space that governmentality leaves for resistance. This act of choosing is in turn mediated by self-reflexivity, which may involve taking a deconstructionist approach to understanding the discourses within which practice is embedded (Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015). However, the extent to which neo-liberalism insists upon self-interest, self-enterprise or self-affirmation limits

the reflexive "self-challenging" and radical agency (Ewen 1976; Binkley, 2011) that can, as this discussion argues, be applied to limit the vulnerability of social justice to neo-liberal distortion.

C.5.7   Conclusion of the Discussion

The discussion has attempted to conceptualise the dilemmas that must be considered if psychological practice is to be integrated into employability enhancing enterprises with the view of promoting and pursuing social justice. It has done so using the accounts of social entrepreneurs who work to enhance the employability of those at risk of social exclusion. Yet despite their psychological constructions of motivation in relation to employability and the existing, though limited, research promoting the benefits of such integration, these entrepreneurs appeared to resist such a potential for integration. Based on this study's finding that the participants were most opposed to introducing the formality and standardisation that characterises psychology into their practice, this discussion argues that the incompatibilities seen are an issue of the two practices' individualising, professional identities, which are constructed to ensure the rights of self-determination and societal status, to the extent that integration cannot be considered. The practices then appear to construct social justice in individualising ways that complicate potentials for integration.

In their accounts, the participants showed that what they resisted in psychological practice were the following; a professional title (by virtue of chartership), the psy-practitioners' rights to know and necessitate confession (justified by expert status), and standardising practice (professional regulation). Yet chartership or registration, expert status and regulated practice by self-regulatory power have been constructed to guide ethical psy-practice, which is a requirement of helping professions (Austin et al., 2006). They are key identifying facets of the psy-discipline. They are constructed as ensuring the disciplinary boundedness, which (systems psychodynamically speaking) the psy-disciplines require if they are to fulfil their apparent role of containing societal anxiety (Obholzer, and Roberts, 2003; Rizq, 2011). These objects ensure boundaries but also point to the disciplines' protection of its right and responsibilities, regarding self-determination.

That notwithstanding, these objects are also all products of social construction and social agreement. Social psychological literature (Jones, and Elcock, 2001) shows that the psy-disciplines' unique professional identities are not fundamentally vital but related to the circumstances of the psychological discipline's conception. Psy-disciplines developed at a time when the natural sciences had already established notable status as scientific authorities. Out of what could be understood as disciplinary self-consciousness, the psy-discipline aimed to establish similar status as a science (Jones, and Elcock, 2001). As such, the psy-discipline defined itself with "objective" practices and institutional relationships that promised scientific status but were contrary to the study of their subject, the human being, which was represented in each psy-practitioner, complicating the potential for objective study. Kitzinger (1991) strongly criticises the professionalisation of the discipline that has been conceived out of this self-conscious' aspiration to achieve status as a scientific authority on the human subject. She describes that as a result, the psychological discipline has become positivist, depoliticising and individualising to such an extent that it censors the messiness that often brings clients to therapy (Kitzinger, 1991; Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015). Professional self-interest is shown to undermine social justice. In fact, the challenge in integrating social entrepreneurship with psychological practice may also be in the psy-disciplines' investment in its right to self-determination and in maintaining the individualising boundaries of its professional identity.

That notwithstanding, there is a critical curiosity, particularly from feminist psychology, at least regarding the ways in which issues of power in psychological practice can be brought to the fore (Kitzinger, (1991). Feminist critique first highlights that the issues of power in practice are only spoken of in terms of empowerment, which again is an issue of personal, private and subjective experiences (Kitzinger, 1991). Feminists therefore argue that in the face of such powerlessness, psychological practice must do more than convince an individual of their empowered state because experiences of powerlessness are not all in the mind and are not necessarily undone by one person reorganizing their mind to undermine intrapsychic faults (Kitzinger, 1991). It is, as these feminist critics suggest, important for the forces that mediate their powerlessness to be known so that ways of fighting them can be devised (Kitzinger,

1991). This may be possible through a greater awareness of the discourses at work in practice (Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015). Kitzinger (1991) suggests that such awareness could equip the powerless to fight back. However questions remain as to how professionals who are in a position to encourage this resistance support such individuals to fight? Importantly, which setting would be most effective in this regard? The social entrepreneurial context, arguably serves too many masters; meanwhile the psychological discipline seeks to be its own master. The statutory settings are so pressurised (Scanlon, 2013; Rizq, 2011) that it may be impossible to create the "cultural space" (Cech, 2013) that is required if social justice is to be reflexively considered.

The Greek socio-economic crisis sheds light on politicising potentials in psychological practice in spite of austerity. Authors on the topic, such as Dafermos (2013) echo the assertion that individualisation is depoliticising and contrary to political action. In contrast, they show that political action is, in fact reliant on collective efforts to challenge and change the social/political structures of oppression (Dafermos, 2013). It appears that the Counselling Psychology Division's Social Justice Network represents increasing awareness in that regard. Politicised solidarity, rather than private practice, is said to be a potential answer. This may increase the sustainability of social critique and action. As the authors on the "therapisation" of social justice write, "to elevate collective and mutual vulnerability is a progressive/radical act that celebrates connectivity" (Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015).

With an understanding of how neo-liberalism dismantles collectivity (Gunder, 2016) to limit its political potential, it is perhaps expected that this research regarding integration of practice concludes with multi-dimensional reasons for the noted incompatibility rather than definitive answers toward the question of "How to integrate?" As Ewen (1976) describes, the neo-liberal requirements of self-enterprise and success (found among the two practices studied here) obfuscates "the critical capacities that inform radical agency" (Binkley, 2011) and individualise discourses of social justice to suggest that integration is difficult or devaluating to conceive. However, an understanding of discourse and how multiplicity is undermined may allow this obfuscation to be taken as evidence of the fact that such integration is indeed

likely to instigate resistance. The potential for multiplicity, however, may require further reflexivity to be appreciated.

It may be that the "fallabilistic pluralism" that Safran and Messer, (1997) apply to clinical practice needs to be applied to professional practice. This is described as "resolving that however much we are committed to our own styles of thinking, we are listening to others without denying or suppressing the otherness of the other" (Safran and Messer, 1997, p.147). Perhaps, it is necessary to continue asking these questions regarding integration of practice, though they may be too difficult to conceive. An awareness of the ways by which discourse maintains the status quo allows us to respond to this with scepticism and to consider it possible evidence of arguably necessary political potentials.

C.6   Conclusion of the Empirical Research

This research study has demonstrated the following.

- A genealogical exploration of existing employability literature showing that employability is constructed in increasingly internalising ways within the context of neo-liberalism for political purposes.
- Internalising constructions of employability are suited to particular socio-political agendas. They implicate psychological practice, among other practices, that participate in the creation of neo-liberal subjectivities through employability enhancement practices.
- Efforts to support individuals through social action and socially just practice are possible through the governmentality that neo-liberalism ensures, however without reflexivity, these efforts may in fact facilitate further oppression of those who require such support by virtue of their failure to govern themselves

The research aimed to understand if the integration of psychological practice with social entrepreneurship can support individuals at risk for social exclusion in enhancing their employability while enabling psychological professionals to remain sensitive to social justice, while participating in the client goals that involve employment. The emphasis was on third sector settings in particular because this appears challenging to do in state funded, institutional settings (Scanlon, 2015; Rizq. 2011). However, there is limited evidence to support the potential for such integration and the consequent challenges in planning how it could be achieved have been reported (Ferguson, 2012). As such the research then focused on the potential incompatibilities that may underlie the lack of research and apparent absence of psy-practitioners in those settings.

In light of the above aims, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis was preliminarily applied to explore how social enterprises that are characterised by an apparent absence of psychological professionals, constructed employability in spite of dominant psychological constructs of employability. The research study was concerned with the implications for psychological

practice in enhancing employability, for the integration of professional practices and for social justice. The participants appeared to draw on discourses of neo-liberal citizenship and neo-liberal paternalism. They constructed employability using psychological constructions of motivation to internalise employability as an assumption and responsibility of the individual. However, they also resisted aspects of these neo-liberal citizenship and psychological discourses. They did so by integrating them with economic and neo-liberal paternalistic discourse to manage the aspirational and obligating tensions of their neo-liberal subject position. The participants' constructions of the contexts and practitioners most appropriate for the implementation of employability enhancement interventions had particular implications for the practice. These were in turn shown to challenge the possibility of integrating psychological practice with social entrepreneurship. This resistance toward integrating psy-practice was credited to the participants' resistance of the psy-disciplines' perceived capacity for disciplinary power, which, as they suggested is not aligned with the social enterprises' own neo-liberal function in society or their governmentality. The social enterprises' governmentality was then discussed further to highlight the resistant potentials that it mediates and the importance of reflexivity, if pursuits of social justice are to remain resistant towards the adaptable subordination of neo-liberalism.

Further research, implications and applications of the study and issues of quality, validity and reflexivity will be explored to suggest how to continue working towards these answers.

C.6.1 Implications and Application of Research

Perhaps the greatest implication of this research is in what it suggests of the psy-disciplines' disciplinary power and the adaptability of neo-liberalism. The psy-disciplines appear susceptible to being drawn into social agendas that they do not explicitly espouse. This may be related to the fact that therapy often remains confined to the consulting room. As such, it may be considered difficult, or less "effective", for psy-disciplines to think about what goes on outside of the room as a result of what happens within it. However, the counselling psychology discipline's concern with social justice in practice requires consideration of the interactions between context and practice and of the intersubjectivity that exists between

the therapist, client and larger social context (Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015). Could collectivity in psy-practice be increased, and not just in the form of membership subscription, so that political/collective vulnerabilities "come into the consulting room" and challenge depoliticising individualisation? Could fostering such collectivity somehow encourage a greater interest among psy-practitioners in taking the work achieved with clients beyond the consulting room, and in ways that are conducive to social action?

There are half-answered questions about the ethics of psy-practice in IAPT services, of the discipline's role in employment support, of its production of neo-liberal subjectivities, for example. How could cultural space (Cech, 2013) be established to encourage dialogue that works to define socially just answers for practice? It is first necessary to consider how deconstructionist dialogues regarding power (going beyond empowerment) could practically, explicitly and increasingly be integrated into therapeutic practice and in supervision (Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015). Indeed discourses of social justice itself require continued, reflexive deconstruction to maintain an awareness of what its practice in the Counselling Psychological discipline may inevitably serve and must resist.

The terms psy-discipline/psy-practice/psy-practitioners have largely been used to collectively present psychological, psychiatric and psychotherapeutic disciplines, practice and identities. However, this research study suggests that such blanket terms may be misleading. Some forms of psychological practice appear to be more amenable to integration with economic discourses or to "therapisation", for example. Furthermore, there is an understanding within the psychological discipline that it is quite distinct and even resistant towards the psychiatric discipline. Yet, when this research study implicitly asked those outside the discipline about itself, those individuals did not make the distinction that psychological disciplines do in defining themselves. In fact, in terms of societal role and identity, it appears that psychology is positioned alongside psychiatry. It seems that these disciplines are collectively defined by the larger society as "psy-disciplines" encompassing any disciplining profession concerned with the mind, internal world and behaviour. This raises even further questions about the purpose/effectiveness on professional identity.

A related question: is it necessary for the discipline to be concerned with the society's perception of it and with how the society invites the discipline to participate? This research study argues that it is indeed necessary. Social justice and politicisation, which are concerned with how people are able to relate and engage in an inevitably political context, may rely on it. Collectivity is described as conducive to political action (Dafermos, 2013). As such, it may be necessary to consider how the discipline can increasingly and meaningfully develop its identity while also establishing greater interconnectedness within and outside of the discipline. This may importantly introduce greater multiplicity, diversity and collective reflexivity, which are all meaningful to social action/social justice.

C.6.2   Further Research

This study shows that there are significant challenges to remaining socially just while working to enhance clients' employability. Furthermore, there are organisational and disciplinary challenges to integrating with social enterprises, which seem to be equally challenged to uphold social justice themselves, though this is their social mission. Further research is required to elicit more definitive answers to questions of how, where, and indeed if psychological practice in employability enhancement can remain socially just. However, this research study concludes with a statement advocating for the integration of discursive thinking into psychological practice. As Ecclestone and Brunila (2015) show taking "therapeutic power relations seriously" is reliant on greater awareness of how psy/therapeutic practice is embedded in particular discourses, for particular implications.

Further research would explore, in discursive fashion

- The work of counselling and clinical psychologists working towards definitive employment goals, with the results of this study in mind. It would consider how differences in practice setting influence the practitioners orientation to social justice. Are there settings that allow or have within them the cultural spaces that social justice requires (Cech, 2013)? This research would also consider how these psychologists

engage with other relevant professional entities from within the various practice settings, if at all.

- The discourses that define the BPS Division of Counselling Psychology's Social Justice Network and the political concerns that have been galvanised to facilitate its creation and action. How does the collectivity that it allows sustain political concerns, in spite of the apoliticisation that has accompanied the psychological disciplines' professionalisation? This would be significant, in light of Counselling Psychology's identity as a relatively young discipline.

- The work of psychologists in social entrepreneurial settings, rather than a third sector voluntary setting (Bondi, 2005), in light of the apparent issues regarding organisational compatibility. As Ferguson (2012) demonstrates there is limited research exploring social entrepreneurial outcomes regarding the mental health of clients supported by social enterprises. This has diminished the potential to understand and plan integration between psy-practice and social enterprises.

- The readiness within the psy-discipline to consider working in social entrepreneurial or third sectors settings to ensure/pursue/explore possibilities of social justice practice. A related concern is the degree of awareness that psychological professionals have regarding the discursive action that creates disempowering potentials for psychological practice. How does such awareness/negotiation relate to psychoanalytic findings that psy-practitioners in state institutions serve a societal purpose of containing anxiety? How could the varying degrees of such awareness and discursive negotiation affect psychologists' interests in social entrepreneurial practice?

- The construction of social justice discourses within and outside of psychological disciplines to explore the possibilities of integrating different discourses of social justice at a discursive level, to influence and politicise practice

As shown in the methodology section, action oriented emancipatory research emerged as an appropriate methodology by which the research study could have explored and addressed some of the concerns established here. Action oriented research could:

- Engage individuals who require support to enhance their employability and are challenged by the welfare reform in order to establish how they understand the relevance of psy-practice to their employability goals. How could psy-professionals ensure that these individuals' desires or subjectively-identified psychological needs, in relation to employability, are meaningfully deconstructed, upheld and addressed, in a socially just manner? How would issues regarding context/"cultural space" and the involvement of other institutions be managed and addressed to ensure social action

- Engage social enterprises to explore their potential reluctance or resistance to such integration with the view of ensuring that the mental health needs of those clients are understood and addressed in a manner that is reflexively meaningful to social entrepreneurial practice and to their clients

C.6.3   Research Validity: Evaluating Strengths and Limitations

As shown previously in the methodology section (C.3.11), Yardley (2000) highlights 4 qualities of good research that will be used to guide the following discussion of this research study's quality and validity. Yardley (2000) acknowledges that within a critical social constructionist epistemology, it may be inappropriate to assume that there are fundamental criteria that a research study must achieve. However, as she says, these criteria offer a guide for the researcher that allows reflection and effective justification of the methodological choices made (Yardley, 2017). The four criteria are as follows: sensitivity to context (empirical and socio-cultural); commitment to rigour, transparency and coherence; and impact and importance (Yardley, 2000).

C.6.3.1   Sensitivity to context

C.6.3.1.1   Context of existing literature and research

The research study took a genealogical approach to exploring the literature, which was a relevant way of formulating the existing literature, in light of the chosen research paradigm and methodology. Within this analysis of the existing literature, there was an insistence on establishing past trends in research/policy on the topic, as well as their socio-political effects.

This genealogical approach helped ensure that the research was "philosophically grounded" and contextualised within the "intellectual history" of the topic (Yardley, 2000). Perhaps, however, the emphasis on taking a genealogical approach was at the expense of establishing the breadth of empirical research on the topic in psychology and beyond. This then limited the potential of the research to then critically evaluate the research practices that have characterised employability research. This could be attributed to the assumption within this research paradigm that the context of knowledge production is more telling than the knowledge produced. That withstanding, a greater consideration of empirical research from psychological disciplines and beyond would have strengthened the foundation of the research.

The discussion offered a further opportunity to contextualise the data and to corroborate the findings of the analysis. It was significant that this study's discussion was mostly concerned with the participant's apparent disavowal regarding the role and relevance of psychological practice in their work. This was perhaps informed by the larger aims of the research to explore how/where psychological practice toward employability enhancement could participate in the work while maintaining an awareness of social justice. As such it was necessary to explore the power relations characterising the social enterprises' work, their capacity to pursue social justice and how these would interact with psychological practice. Literature regarding the professionalisation of psychology was then considered to explore how the seemingly problematic professional identity, according to the participants, might interact with social entrepreneurship and social justice. Ultimately, these things set the stage for the argument that reflexivity regarding practice, as it relates to power and context, is vital. These points of discussion were also significantly guided by what was not said or validated in the participants' accounts. Such a focus is meaningful within the post-structuralist understanding (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008) that the things that are *not* said are equally important. But it could be argued that there were very different directions the discussion could have taken.

C.6.3.1.2   Socio-Cultural Context

My identification of the research problem was informed by Foucauldian critique of the literature and of psy-practice, as well as an anecdotal awareness of a separation between psychological and social entrepreneurial approaches to supporting similar clients towards similar goals. This was corroborated by confirmation in the literature that this kind of integration is not largely evident or evidenced by research, though there were assumed benefits.

Inherent within this methodology is an opportunity to consider the socio-cultural context and how it changes over time for particular effects. Furthermore, through the requirement of reflexivity, I was also able to account for my motivation and expectations in relation to this process of knowledge production.

With the concept of co-construction in mind, I was also conscious of how the participants would respond to me, an aspiring psychologist and researcher (therefore, "expert"?). I was self-conscious, in fact, about the potential that they would perceive me as critical of their apparent exclusion of psychologists and demanding justification. The curiosity that motivated this research could be conceived as criticism. I make this suggestion because as Yardley (2000) shows, interviews are more constructions whereby the interviewee (and interviewer) speak to produce a certain effect in the other. Perhaps the explicit and implicit rejection of psychological practice in the participant's account is in response to how I, and my motivations, may have been perceived, in spite of my efforts not to explicitly introduce psychological practice in the interviews. It is possible that the critical tone of this research study is in response to a construction of the participants as rejecting what I have been working to become (Kacen and Chaitin, 2006; Berger, 2013).

C.6.3.2   Commitment to Rigour

"Immersion in data", levels of analysis and competence were achieved by following the 6-step approach to FDA (Willig, 2013) and through developmental opportunities that were

available during the course of study. I also kept a reflective diary, which was very useful in allowing me a multi-layered approach to the analysis (Yardley, 2000).

The sampling criteria may have been too broad and there are some concerns regarding generalisation or a lack of clarity in my use of the term "social-enterprise" in this study. Much of this research study is in general reference to social enterprises, yet the participant accounts that I ultimately considered represented different models of social enterprises.

C.6.3.3   Transparency and Coherence

Reflexivity has importantly allowed me to account for the construction of this study's narrative. Though the consistency within the narrative is evident it is also able to accommodate multiple perspectives. For the purposes of further transparency, the methods section demonstrates how the methods were identified, negotiated and carried out.

The coherence between the research question and the philosophical underpinnings is apparent. Where I noticed philosophical/theoretical tensions, I aimed to acknowledge them from the postmodern pluralist standpoint I described in the preface of this portfolio. From this standpoint, it is possible to accommodate multiplicity and the consequent tensions (Cooper and McLeod, 2007) which is in line with postmodern FDA. The tensions that I noticed in this study were those between Foucauldian theory and psychoanalytic theory. However, I did find that taking an extra-discursive, psychoanalytic perspective offered multidimensional explanations of unexpected findings. As such, I drew on psychoanalytic theory to build upon the discursive findings of the study. However, it may have been more beneficial to anticipate this possibility in the methodology section.

C.6.3.4   Impact and Importance

The research study is concerned with socially just practice, the role of psychological practice in society, as well as its effect. As such it is a study about how discipline's need to remain aware of its impact and reflexive about its importance. I hope that that in itself establishes the impact and importance of the study.

C.6.4   Reflexivity

As this research has progressed, I have found myself challenged to decide where I stand on the issues of whether psy-practice should be concerned with employability enhancement or with social entrepreneurial practice at all. Yet, I began this research because I had experienced social enterprises as incredibly necessary and inspiring and I wanted to be a part of them, as a psychologist. I aimed to understand how I could go about moulding myself, and the professional identity I would gain, to suit a social enterprise. I end the research with more questions about whether I should want to. How exactly could I achieve socially just and effective integration while upholding the Counselling Psychology identity?

Understanding just how all-encompassing discourse is and how it embeds even the most "well-intended" practice in power relations has been a somewhat disillusioning process. Perhaps that in itself demonstrates how I had been acted upon by discourses that were able to inspire the illusion in the first place. The following analogy comes to mind as I think about how I have been changed by the process of this research. It has been like seeing a live, beating heart for the first time after only knowing of hearts in the way that Hallmark cards depict them. The subject is nothing like I expected it to be and now that I have actually seen the heart of it (to some extent); how riddled it is with interconnected agendas and demands, it seems too delicate and interconnected to take apart. I feel that trying to *really* grapple with any one of the interconnected parts could effect changes with wide reaching, interrelated effects that are too difficult to know all at once but will manifest in political ways. So it seems important to *know* even more first.

I apply this analogy in another sense. Social action in the form of social entrepreneurship, through the application of psychological knowledge has been an issue of passion for me. Until now. Through this research project, the messiness of the power relations that appear to define the topic of employability and of social enterprise has come to the fore. I feel a need to seek more knowledge/expertise (as a heart surgeon, for example, should) to respond to these issues meaningfully or perhaps, powerfully. Having just completed a FDA, I am aware that there is significance in my choice of words. But my intent is to show that an issue of

somewhat ignorant passion has become an issue of knowledge, which in itself is related to a question of power (or powerlessness). It seems that pressing concerns regarding knowledge and power have emerged in relation to my own practice and to the agendas that I will inevitably serve as a Counselling Psychologist.

Perhaps it is this preoccupation with "becoming a Counselling Psychologist" that has effected what I have felt in relation to the tone of this research study. As I read through the literature and wrote the research, I was very aware that at every stage, something was being rejected, criticised, subjectified, pathologised, or censored. Something unwanted and often unexpected, or even unknown, was being done to something else. And in some ways, I felt myself retreating to a witnessing position amidst all the critical findings presented here, assuming that I was merely reporting on a critical topic. In part, that may be the nature of research but it is also a positivist assumption. The social constructionist epistemology of this research, insists that mere witnessing and reporting in research are impossible. With that logic, I have played a creative part in this research. Undoubtedly, I have rejected, criticised, subjectified, pathologised and censored through this research process. Perhaps that is an extension of the disillusionment I have experienced through this research.

But as I alluded to earlier, it may also be reflective of the fact that I will "become a Counselling Psychologist". The critiques of the discipline that have emerged show that it is well within the capacity of psychologists to reject, criticise, subjectify, pathologise and censor. How does that align with the ambitions that set me on this course in the first place? I am aware that within my writing there is a sense that some party is in the wrong and again I have to decide how to position myself because as a Counselling Psychologist, I could, and will be, a part of the debate. Even as I argued that professional identity may in fact be limiting, I noticed myself taking a strong position in this research to delineate, and arguably, protect what is "psychological" from what is not. It may be that I have internalised the values and reality of the discipline, as, perhaps, is the goal of training. But in a manner of protecting those values, I seem to take on the responsibility, to some degree, of maintaining those professional, distinct boundaries.

It goes without saying that employability is a highly important topic for me as I come to the end of my training. I am aware that I have aligned my own employability with neo-liberal constructions of a good employable citizen. After all, I am a doctoral student. Furthermore, as a trainee, I have the demonstrated the adaptability and resourcefulness that is required to find, maintain and pass the trainee placements. Yet, despite doing what neo-liberalism has asked, in a manner of speaking, I am of limited employability in the UK. I am an international student. My "rights *to* citizenship" are literally in question. Perhaps it is this experience of being failed by a discourse, seeing it for what it is, a trick of the tongue, which has inspired my resistance.

The act of researching on employability from a socio-political perspective and not on a more clinical topic, like many of my colleagues have done is arguably, an act of resistance. While this study represents a personal aspiration, it is also a product of the tensions that have emerged between my desire to work in the creative arts and the necessity of "going to school and getting a good job", which is important to immigrant parents. The need to reject, but also conform to, constructs of employability is thus personal (perhaps because it was political first) and so this research study, which has taken on the function of exposing power relations in relation to "employability", is itself a form of resistance.

But again, discursive power is everywhere. Though this study may be an act of resistance, the fact of its creation means that discursive action accommodates it somehow. It is likely to be in service of an agenda that is beyond me and yet encompasses me. That said, 'There is no relationship of power without the means of escape or possible flight" (Foucault, 1982 p. 225) which I hope this research has shown.

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Section D: Publishable Article

Employability as a Treatment Goal? A Foucauldian Critique Demonstrating the Conflicts and Dilemmas in Integrating Psychological Practice into Social Entrepreneurial Settings

Employability as a Treatment Goal? A Foucauldian Critique Demonstrating the Conflicts and Dilemmas in Integrating Psychological Practice into Social Entrepreneurial Settings

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This article is a summary of the research study completed in fulfilment of City University of London's Counselling Psychology Professional Doctorate. It asks if psychological practice in social enterprise settings, rather than statutory settings, could enable practitioners to support clients in achieving their employability goals in socially justice, activist manner. It seeks to answer this by first asking how leaders of third sector construct employability and explores social justice implications.

The research aimed to understand if the integration of psychological practice with social entrepreneurship can support individuals at risk for social exclusion in enhancing their employability while enabling psychological professionals to remain sensitive to social justice. This appears challenging to do in state funded, institutional settings (Scanlon, 2013; Rizq. 2011). However, there is limited evidence to support the potential for such integration and the consequent challenges in planning how it could be achieved have been reported (Ferguson, 2012). In light of the above aims, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis was preliminarily applied to explore how social enterprises that are characterised by an apparent absence of psychological professionals, constructed employability in spite of dominant psychological constructs of employability. The research study was concerned with the implications for psychological practice, the integration of professional practice and social justice.

A genealogical exploration of existing employability literature shows that employability it is constructed in increasingly internalising ways within the context of neo-liberalism. Constructions of employability are suited to particular socio-political agendas. They implicate psychological practice, among others, that participates in the creation of neo-liberal subjectivities through employability enhancement practices. The research aimed to understand if the integration of psychological practice with social entrepreneurship can support individuals at risk for social exclusion in enhancing their employability while enabling psychological professional to remain sensitive to social justice.

However, there is limited to research to suggest that such integration has been explored, other than in the form of social firms that employ individuals diagnosed with psychiatric illness. Furthermore, there is an apparent absence of psy-practitioners from the third sector efforts, particularly the popular social entrepreneurial efforts, to enhance employability. However, employability is commonly constructed in internalising/psychological constructions (Kim, et al.,2015; Vanhercke et al.,2014). Perhaps, such an absence is in the interest of social justice or an issue of funding. However, Bondi (2005) shows that counselling psychology practice maintains a capacity and a "commitment to resist some features of this version of subjectivity, especially in its appeal to the bounded, self-made individual of liberal theory" (Bondi, 2005, p. 506). She shows that the discipline's neo-liberal disposition ironically aligns it with resistance and activism and this is possible *in third sector settings*. But still, its potential appears to remain unexplored in research and in practice. With a Foucauldian curiosity regarding the ability of discourse to create and inhibit various social realities, this research study thus aims to do the following:

- Set the stage for the question posed above by asking how discourse works to configure this apparent incompatibility between psy-practice and employability enhancing third sector settings, mainly social enterprises, in spite of the dominant internalising/psychologising constructions of employability.
- Explore the implications of the above for psy-practice and social justice in social entrepreneurial settings and in so doing encourage reflection within the discipline

RESEARCH QUESTION AND DESIGN

The research study asked the following:

- How do leaders of third sector organisations, particularly social enterprises, supporting individuals at risk for social exclusion in the enhancement of their employability construct employability?

This qualitative research was characterised by Social Constructionist Epistemology. The transcripts of 5 semi-structured interviews with leaders of third sector employability programmes were analysed using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. The aim of the analysis was to understand how the participants constructed employability and how this in turn informed their practice in relation to other professionals, particularly psy-practitioners.

ANALYTIC RESULTS

The results of the analysis showed that the participants operate within a meta-discourse of neo-liberalism. Specifically, they appeared to draw on discourses of neo-liberal citizenship and neo-liberal paternalism. They constructed employability using psychological constructions of humanistic and evolutionary motivation to internalise employability as an assumption and responsibility of the individual. However, they also resisted aspects of these neo-liberal citizenship and psychological discourses and integrated them with economic and neo-liberal paternalistic discourses to manage the aspirational and obligating tensions of their neo-liberal subject position. Where long-term, unemployed clients problematised the assumption of an intrinsic motivation for work, the participants emphasised their ability socialise their clients' employability. They constructed the externally mediating processes of socialising employability as reliant on an affiliative yet obliging and paternalistic relationship that the clients were responsible to maintain with the participants. In doing so the clients maintained access to the benefits that the participants could confer by virtue of their own notable social capital and their economic rationality. The participants' constructions of the contexts and practitioners most appropriate for the implementation of employability

enhancement interventions had particular implications for the integrating psychological practice. These will be discussed in the following sections.

The figure below (Figure 1) below demonstrates how the discourses identified in the analysis were understood to interact within the meta-discourse of neo-liberalism
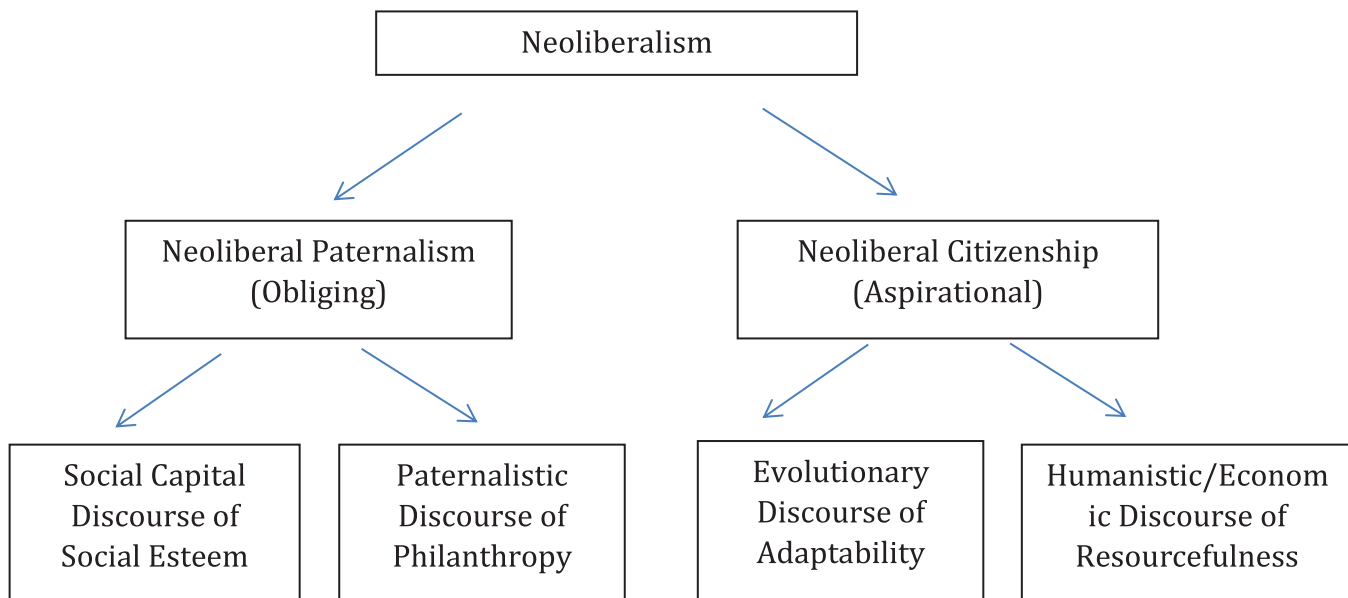
Figure 1. Relationships among discourses identified

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

There were multiple instances where the participants showed that psy-practice was not appropriate for employability enhancement objectives. They suggested that psy-practitioners are limited in their ability to work with these clients in a way that does the following; anticipates/optimises humanistic potential, stimulates meaningful evolution, empathetically esteems and confers social capital. Yet, in their constructions of employability, they showed that these processes were vital to enhancing employability. The article will therefore focus on how the social enterprises positioned themselves in relation to psychological practice. It will apply an understanding of Foucault's conceptualisations of power and discourse to explicate the utility of speaking in this way. It will ask how this incompatibility is maintained through the work of discourse and if that the participants' construction of psy-disciplines ensures particular power

relations. In so doing, the article aims to explore the apparent incompatibility that appears to exist between social entrepreneurial and psy-practice. Beyond that, the article aims to demonstrate how neo-liberalism necessitates what is seen in discursive and extra-discursive ways. In so doing it will consider Bondi's (2005) finding that neo-liberalism can facilitate activist potentials in spite of the subordination that it entails. Ultimately, the article seeks to explore the implications for social justice and the integration of psychological practice into social entrepreneurial settings. However, it begins by locating social enterprises within the neo-humanistic economics discourse, which represents an integration of the discourses identified in the analysis and importantly characterises social economy.

Neo-Humanistic Economics

Complex management processes have been shown to characterise social entrepreneurial practice and this is required if they are to balance the demands of their multiple stakeholders. Doherty et al. (2014) show that where stakeholders agree on the goals of the social enterprise's work, but not on the means, social enterprises must manage this and may do so through "compromise and avoidance" (Doherty et al., 2014). Arguably, the integration of psychological and economic discourses noted in the participants' use of language could be view as a process of compromise to satisfy the demands of neo-liberalism and of varied stakeholders, such as the Department of Work Pension and Department of Health, who also share relationships (though more disciplinary) with the participants' clients.

It is also important to consider that social enterprises are located within the social economy. The following OECD definition describes the social economy as, "an entire segment of the economy composed of entities that aim to increase social inclusion and reduce inequalities, while simultaneously creating economic value" ("Social Economy", n.d.)

Scaperlanda (1985) poses the question, "Is neo-humanistic economics the new paradigm for social economists?" He writes in reference to Lutz and Luz' (1979) formulation of economics as requiring a greater sensitivity to the ways in which social

inequality complicates the individuals' capacity to live up to the expectations neoclassical economics (Zafirovski, 2003).

Scaperlanda (1985) shows that economic productivity, as a self-actualising right for all, is an important assumption of humanistic economics. However, he writes to demonstrate that self-actualisation is more appropriately understood in an evolutionary sense, and not according to the "all or nothing" principles of classical economics. This article argues that this evolutionary and humanistic view of the individual from, within an economic discourse, reflects the integration of discourses that was evident in the participants' language. Neo-humanistic economics allows social enterprises to politicise and humanise economic theories (Lutz and Lux, 1979) as they draw on use humanistic notions demonstrating human values and rights to actualisation, which are unfairly hindered by economic inequalities. And so these employment enhancement programmes draw those at risk for social exclusion into an importantly *social* economy's goal to ensure social inclusion by equalising the availability of opportunities.

Socially Excluding Disciplinary Power

Considering this location of the social enterprises within a neo-humanistic economic discourse, it may also be useful to consider if, and how, this discourse interacts with the discourses participants used when speaking of psy-practices. This may contextualise the resistance noted toward psychological practice, which co-exists with the established utility of constructing employability in psychological terms that suggest intrinsic, aspirational dispositions towards employment (Morreau et al., 2006). Therefore, the article now considers the power relations that could be said to permit the use of language seen above and to establish the related practices.

As shown by the participant accounts, psychological interventions are commonly thought to undermine the self-managing capacities that neo-liberalism requires because, as Binkley (2011) confirms, a state of dependence and docility is assumed in the therapeutic relationship. Psy-intervention connotes subjectification by disciplinary power (Binkley, 2011; Thomas and Bracken, 2005) and in the language of the participants, stigmatising paternalism. Nys et al. (2007) show that disciplinary paternalism is a potential within therapeutic relationships that are constituted by an

expert with power-knowledge and an unknowing client. Binkley (2011) shows the contrasts that distinguish potentially paternalistic therapy from coaching. Importantly, while coaching is conceived of by humanistic psychological discourse, it renounces professionalisation, like the study's participants did, as well as the docility within the client (Binkley, 2005). Instead, coaching explicitly celebrates self-enterprising and economically valuable subjectivities. It moves away from clients' past and focuses on their choices for the future. As such, coaching—a psychological practice—and employability enhancing social entrepreneurship are aligned in (neo-liberal economic) purpose. They are therefore capable of integrating in practice. That alignment is evident in the fact that coaching features in the support that many of the participants offer their clients.

The resistance against disciplinary power seen among the clients can be traced back to the institutionalising powers of the psychiatric discourse which permitted psy-disciplines to institutionalise all those ways of being/feeling that threatened the rational functioning of the modernist society (Thomas and Bracken, 2005). However, in light of postmodernism and the anti-psychiatry movements it has espoused, the psychiatric discourse, its disciplinary power and apparently all related psy-disciplines are resisted in light of their disciplining, limiting capacities. The participant Marion demonstrated the perception of psy-practice as interruptive within a socio-economic context that is reliant on the development of social capital and social bonds. She alluded to the isolating potential that comes with the psy-practice's individualising, introspective and intrapsychic focus (Binkley, 2011).

This resistance is galvanised by postmodern thinking, which has similarly conceived post-industrial national economic agendas described in the literature review. The Third Way policy agenda suggests that the social exclusion that psy-disciplines functioned to facilitate is now simply too costly (McQuaid, 2005; Houston and Lindsay, 2010). Instead, the adaptable post-industrial society offers *everyone* an avenue by which they can circumvent those outdated institutional structures/practices that once precluded them from participation. It would seem that in this post-industrial society, the psy-disciplines' disciplinary, exclusionary power cannot serve economic objectives as it did before and it is excluded on those grounds. These participants suggested that even in this post-institutionalisation era, the psy-disciplines disrupt economic objectives by isolating the

individual in unproductive introspection. Yet the development of social capital is vital in post-industrial society, particularly for those whose disadvantage has complicated their opportunities to develop human capital (Doyle, 2003). The inclusion of psy-practitioners in these organisations, which rely on economised constructions of the individual and of employability, was thus constructed as discursively discordant.

These contrasts between psychological practice and social entrepreneurship appear to emphasise incompatibilities between disciplinary power and neo-liberal self-management in relation to economic productivity. Yet, Foucauldian critique, in fact insists, upon the psy-disciplines' inherent alignment with neo-liberalism and their role as a technologies of neo-liberal subjectivities that create subjects who are useful to neo-liberalism. This similarity between social entrepreneurship and psy-practice withstanding, the participants suggested that their practices would not benefit from the involvement of a psychologist within their work setting. The following psychoanalytic insight may offer an explanation for resistance, in spite of the practices' similarity in neo-liberal function. It highlights the self-investing capacities of neo-liberalism.

["The exclusions under neo-liberalism do not only relate to the kinds of subjects that do not have the resources to become entrepreneurial…If the constitution of entrepreneurial subjectivities involves othering, exclusionary processes may lie at the heart of neo-liberalism." (Scharff, 2016)]

This suggests that exclusion is not only a matter of resisting those who are not capable of self-management. Exclusion is seemingly a requirement of neo-liberalism that facilitates the neo-liberal agent's individualisation through "othering" processes that work to mediate self-validation at the expense of "other-validation". The article will now go on to consider how this might relate to the work of social enterprises, only as a point of article.

New Public Management of Anxiety

Lacanian theory offers the opportunity to take an extra-discursive perspective (Sjöholm, 2013) of these inter-institutional power dynamics and allows a construction of what potentially motivates the social enterprises' work to create the effects seen. These may

highlight important contextual factors that would influence the potential for social justice if psychological practice were to be integrated into social entrepreneurial settings. Using Lacan's construct of "fantasy" (Sjöholm, 2013), it is possible to see how social enterprise may in fact be complicit in important othering exclusionary processes facilitated by neo-liberalism. Gunder (2016) applies this kind of analysis to affordable housing and civil planning in a neo-liberal context. His application of Lacanian theory to such societal dynamics, which is relatively uncommon (Gunder, 2016) will be considered in an effort to understand the societal roles that social enterprises undertake in relation to social inclusion, their unemployed clients and neo-liberalism.

Firstly, it is necessary to acknowledge that there is significant societal anxiety at work. This Lacanian-derived approach exposes the fact that society is in fact driven to simplify "anxiety-provoking complexity as well as its many inconsistencies and uncertainties" (Gunder, 2016). Gunder (2016) attributes some of this anxiety-provoking complexity to the trauma of separation that the neo-liberal society has suffered following its dismantling of the welfare state. He shows that dismantling has brought on a unique societal anxiety related to the trauma or abandonment separation. It is sustained by neo-liberalism insistence upon decentralisation, fragmentation and individualisation. As Kummitha (2016) states, the gap in welfare provision that followed this dismantling triggered the social enterprise movement and so it follows that the societal role of social enterprises is in response or relation to this societal anxiety.

Layton (2014) highlights that there are additional sources of societal anxiety to consider. She shows that while the neo-liberal fantasy is primarily one of independence, it coexists with a secondary and contradictory fantasy of dependence. However, this fantasy of dependence is damning, within the context of neo-liberalism, and so exists as yet another source of anxiety. The trauma of separation and the damnation associated with dependence/interconnectedness work together to create this societal anxiety. Both can be attributed to neo-liberal agendas. Therefore, it is argued here that social enterprises participate in the management of societal anxiety brought on by neo-liberalism dismantling of society. It could be said that as agents of neo-liberalism, they are relied upon to resolve the issues that neo-liberalism provokes.

Social enterprises work toward an impossible, Lacanian fantasy of societal wholeness/social inclusion. The kind of utopian fantasy that social enterprises commit to is as Lacan purports, specifically borne out of and reliant on lack. It allows the maintenance of a desire that is impossible to fulfil. Within this theory, this desire, which requires lack in order to be maintained, relates back to the lack that an infant experiences after the fiction of wholeness with its mother gives way to the trauma of separation from the mother"(Gunder, 2016) as the child is increasingly socialised to the symbolic order of language. The experience/awareness of this separation is traumatic to such an extent that the infant continually tries to re-create that lost wholeness/fulfilment but continually fails (Gunder, 2016). However, that separation will never be undone. In this failure, the infant then resorts to fantasies of wholeness that protect against the "anxiety associated with the idea that there is no ultimate guarantee" (Gunder, 2016) of reinstated wholeness. Gunder (2016) demonstrates that the societal trauma of separation and its protective fantasies of social inclusion can be understood in the same way as described above. Like the infant, the dismantled, neo-liberal, post welfare state maintains an expectation that similar wholeness will eventually be established, even if it does not appear to presently possible. In fact according to Lacan, the elusiveness of this desire is paradoxically satisfying because it maintains the requirement of the fantasy.

However, Gunder (2016) highlights the following:

[*"The more invested we are in the guarantee that fantasy conjures, the more susceptible we become to what we could call the 'theft of enjoyment's temptation", which "involves projecting the inherent impossibility... onto an external figure who is then treated as an obstacle to the realization of our ideals (Glynos, 2012, p. 312).]*

This "thieving other" is subjectified as a scapegoat who functions to account for the current and inevitable failure of the fantasy. In so doing, the scapegoat makes it possible for the societal fantasy's possibility of future fulfilment to remain intact though it is constantly postponed. The scapegoat also functions to explain and preserve the state of lack that is required to maintain the fantasy. In fact, the failure that is attributed to the scapegoat is required to maintain the impossible fantasy, which is itself vital as it defends against the terrifying "Real" (Gunder, 2016). Within this conceptualisation, this

section of article argues that the unemployed benefit-seeker functions as the scapegoat; as"nothing but a fetishistic embodiment of a certain fundamental blockage" (Zizek, 1989, p. 127) to the fantasy of social inclusion.

According to systems psychodynamics, a larger system, such as a society, that is unable to contain its overwhelming anxiety relies on anxiety management process of expulsion or exclusion, which rid the system of the entities that cause anxiety (Obholzer and Roberts, 2003). In this case, the elusiveness of the (infantile) desire for wholeness and the related secondary fantasy of dependence described by Layton (2004) cause significant societal anxiety but/because they cannot be explicitly acknowledged. As such, these sources of anxiety are projected into the excludable, unemployable scapegoats who can already identify with unacceptable dependence, having been disabled by social inequalities themselves. Though these scapegoats are relied upon by the system to embody what cannot be consciously experienced through projective identification (Obholzer and Roberts, 2003), they are expelled from the system because of that embodiment. The social exclusion that is therefore seen in the society, according to systemic applications of psychoanalytic theory, can be conceived as a means of anxiety management (Rizq, 2011) designed to rid the system of these individuals who instigate societal anxiety as they embody the systems damning, uncontainable desires of dependence. However, the scapegoats are also kept in proximity for the purposes of scapegoating through the social inclusion efforts of social enterprises. It is argued here that social enterprises and these agendas rely upon an expansion and blurring of those societal boundaries that limit the societal systems capacity to maintain its overwhelming anxiety.

The boundaries at which the social enterprises operate as gatekeepers must remain permeable however, this complicates the societal boundaries' capacities to contain its overwhelming anxiety (Obholzer and Roberts, 2003), thus necessitating exclusion. Meanwhile, the social enterprises must draw the "unemployable" scapegoats into obliging paternalistic relationships to ensure that the scapegoat is in near proximity to embody the fundamental blockage of the elusive fantasy, which the society requires to in order manage the otherwise uncontainable societal anxiety.

This article therefore argues that the neo-liberalism causes and maintains uncontainable societal anxiety. However, social enterprises are relied upon through neo-liberal Third Way discourse to work towards a fantasy of inclusion. The social enterprises participate in this by ensuring that the required scapegoat, i.e. unemployable client, is available to account for the failure of the fantasy. However, in blurring the boundaries toward fantasies of wholeness, the society's abilities to contain its anxiety are decreased, such that exclusion is even more necessary. Social enterprises thus play a role in maintaining the tenuous equilibrium that is exists between social inclusion and exclusion on account of societal anxiety.

In this illustration of extra-discursive mechanisms, there is a risk of undermining the social enterprises (situated) capacity for resistance (Dey, 2014). For example, Gunder (2016) demonstrates that despite the unacceptability of dependence, the primary fantasy of independence permits "new sublimations for alternative [dependence] fantasies" (Gunder, 2016) that can be accommodated within neo-liberalism. And so fantasies of becoming autonomous may be innovated to take the form of neo-liberal paternalistic practices, whereby dependence is constructed as a necessity that serves autonomy. As such the paternalistic relationship that characterise the social enterprises' work can be viewed in multiple ways, which is important to maintain, as the article will now show.

Social Enterprises, Governmentality and Social Justice

Kelly et al., (2015) argue "social enterprise-based transitional labour-market programmes (TLMPs) [such as those represented by this project's participants] can be understood, following Foucault, as neo-liberal technologies of the self". That withstanding, Dey (2014), like Gunder (2016) proposes that it is naïve to think of social enterprises only in negative terms or to be seduced by the idea that social entrepreneurs are deterministic mechanisms of dominant discourse that can only oblige neo-liberalism and create enterprising subjectivities aligned with the interests of dominant groups. As "Foucault (1982) was well aware 'there is no relationship of power without the means of escape or possible flight' (p. 225).

The social entrepreneurs' agency, though not total, is intact to the extent that "practitioners in the social enterprise sector choose or *creatively combine* discourses which are available to them at any given time" (Dey, 2014), as the participants have done. This assertion importantly contextualises the combination of psychological and economic discourses seen in the participants' language and discussed earlier.

Dey (2014) continues:

["Such discursive processes can be seen as acts of resistance as practitioners achieve to appropriate the initial intent of "social entrepreneurship" so as to produce alternative forms of identity (Dey and Teasdale, 2013). Consequently, although it may be impossible to completely step outside of the influence of "social entrepreneurship", practitioners in the social sector might nevertheless find ways to create meaning which transgresses the programmable reality of governmental reason" (Dey, 2014, p.11)]

Dey (2014) shows that macro-perspectives and micro-perspectives of social enterprises' governmentality exist and importantly, conflict. And so it is possible to take a multi-dimensional view of the powers that motivate the social entrepreneur to form those paternalistic relationships that subject their clients to disempowering power relations. Dey (2014) echoes Nealon's (2008) assertion that "resistance is everywhere" and a product of the same governmentality that is understood to limit subjects within their own subordination.

This is line with Bondi's (2005) suggestion that, neo-liberalism is not inevitably deterministic and that activist practice is possible within social enterprises because of the governmentality afforded to them by their neo-liberal agency. She echoes the assertion that where there is power, there is a fragile space for resistance (Dey, 2014), even within the limits that neo-liberalism and discourse sets around the subject's understanding of themselves and of the world. Therefore, despite the disempowering neo-liberal practices that social enterprise are capable of facilitating, it is still meaningful to ask if, in spite of all that has been discussed, social justice can be upheld by psy-practitioners working in social enterprise settings to enhance employability.

Perhaps, the social justice question is in part answered by understanding what happens in that fragile space wherein a subject can resist dominant discourse for alternatives discourses, as the participants of this study did. As (Cech, 2013), states social justice requires cultural space in order for a greater awareness. Arguably, this is to reflexively manage the discursive action in that space.

Resistance requires reflexivity

In his criticism of neo-humanistic economics, Scaperlanda (1985) highlights the capacities for discourses that resist neo-liberalism to ultimately serve the neo-liberal subordination they set out to resist. For example, he demonstrates the economic determinism that is maintained in neo-humanistic economics as he challenges the Lutz and Lux' (1979) suggestion that their construct of actualisation is limited to economic productivity. He continues by showing that neo-humanistic economics suits a model of government that obligates aspiration in the form of work. He criticises them for constructing the relationship between the individual and society as uncomplicated by the unpredictability with which humans and institutions interact. This article's application of psychoanalytic theory to understand the dynamics created by societal anxiety suggests that these relationships are not at all uncomplicated. However, the participants' position of "not wanting to know", of disavowal, of "knowledge divorced from understanding" (Hoggett, 2010) in relation to the likely complexity of their clients' vulnerability, for example, is reminiscent of Scaperlanda's (1985) criticism that Lutx and Luz' (1979) take an idealising, deterministic position of knowing that disavows societal unpredictably, which remains preferably unknown but problematises neo-humanistic assumptions of social justice.

Scaperlanda's (1985) analysis, and that of this study, aim to demonstrate the enigmatic mechanisms of discourses that can colour the most altruistic of intentions in one way but masks assumptions that maintain various power differentials. When they are deconstructed, it the ways in which justify paradoxical consequences in practice becomes evident (Burr, 2003). For example, it is evident that even in the action of resistant discourses, like the neo-liberal paternalistic discourses used in this study and the neo-humanistic discourse that Scaperlanda's (1985) describes, the individual remains subjectified by dominant powers, which in the end maintain the status quo and

related inequalities. It appears that the mission among neo-humanistic economics is resistant in its intent but effective in making the economic productivity of the whole population a business enterprise that serves a larger national agenda for competitive ability in the global market. The paternalistic discourses that the participants use may not only be a resistant validation of dependence in spite of neo-liberalism. It may be the only form of dependence that neo-liberalism endorses. After all, it ensures that the dependent, unemployable, un-socialised individual is under effective surveillance, but not institutionalised to such confining degrees that they can't somehow evolve through social process that ensure externally-mediated neo-liberal subjectivity. This article argues that this is mediated by wilful unknowing and a lack of reflexivity, which leaves those fragile spaces for resistance vulnerable to neo-liberalism adaptable, yet obliging power.

Social enterprises, by virtue of their governmentality, have a unique capacity for resistance. It is seen in their rejection of psy-disciplinary formality and standardisation. However, it is argued here that if unexamined, the fragile spaces for resistance are acted upon by neo-liberalism, which promotes self-interest to an extent that limits self-reflexivity. Reflexivity is defined as "an explicit evaluation of the self... '[R]e-flexivity' involves looking again, turning your gaze to the self; in effect, reflexivity involves reflecting your thinking back to yourself" (Shaw, 2010, p. 236). It is significant that within the examples of resistant discourses described in this study, the social mission or the ideal, socially just reality is constructed through the same or similar discourse that created the initial injustice. As such, discursive potentials to disempower remain. Irrational, neoclassical *economics* is resisted by through neo-humanistic *economics*; however, the latter obliges everyone to aspire for collective economic productivity and makes everyone's employability everybody else's business (Dean, 2007). *Neo-liberal* citizenship is resisted by *neo-liberal* paternalism; however, the latter ensures that those who are dependent choose to oblige themselves to a moralising relationship effective in ensuring affiliative social control. With a lack of such awareness of how that fragile space for resistance is being acted on by discourse, efforts of resistance can be distorted to become disempowering themselves. This article argues there is an almost heuristic process by which those fragile spaces are filled with constructions of social justice or resistance that are self-affirming or familiar and so unexamined. This is why self-reflexivity is so vital. It asks questions regarding the extent to which thinking is only

reflective of the thinking self. It challenges the potential that the disempowering forms of "resistance" made available to us via neo-liberalism will be so familiar/self-affirming that they will go unchallenged. Self-reflexivity requires "self-challenging" in the first place.

For social enterprises a humanistic, yet economic discourse of social justice means everyone should work because everybody inherently desires and deserves it. Using similar reasoning, this article's abduction is that social justice in psy-disciplines is similarly constructed in self-affirming ways. For example Bondi's research about social justice and psychological practice in third sector setting is significantly concerned with identity, particularly the disciplines' identity. Research regarding the "therapisation" of social justice also constructs social justice to emphasise identity and vulnerability (Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015). These discourses therefore orient socially just practice towards the potentials that the disciplines can specifically and uniquely achieve, as shown in the language of the participants. As such social justice outcomes and social missions are constructed in individualising ways that validate one focus of social justice at the expense of all others. As this research has shown, unexamined, individualised social missions are not amenable to integration.

This article therefore concludes that social justice is a matter of awareness regarding the availability of choices (regarding subjectifcation, perhaps) within the fragile space that governmentality leaves for resistance. This act of choosing is in turn mediated by self-reflexivity, which may involve taking a deconstructionist approach to understanding discourse that within which practice is embedded (Ecclestone and Brunila, 2015). However, the extent to which neo-liberalism insists upon self-interest, self-enterprise or self-affirmation limits the reflexive "self-challenging" and radical agency (Ewen 1976; Binkley, 2011) that can, as this article argues, be applied to limit the vulnerability among resistant pursuits social justice to neo-liberal distortion.

Autobiography

Nobuhle is a Counselling Psychology trainee at City University of London. She has recently completed all the requirements of the course and is looking forward to

undertaking further research regarding the potential for social justice, political action and community development through innovative psychological practice.

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APPENDIX C.1: City University ethics form

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON

**Psychology Department Standard Ethics Application Form:
Undergraduate, Taught Masters and Professional Doctorate Students**

This form should be completed in full. Please ensure you include the accompanying documentation listed in question 19.

Does your research involve any of the following? *For each item, please place a 'x' in the appropriate column*	Yes	No
Persons under the age of 18 *(If yes, please refer to the Working with Children guidelines and include a copy of your DBS)*		No
Vulnerable adults (e.g. with psychological difficulties) *(If yes, please include a copy of your DBS where applicable)*		No
Use of deception *(If yes, please refer to the Use of Deception guidelines)*		No
Questions about potentially sensitive topics		No
Potential for 'labelling' by the researcher or participant (e.g. 'I am stupid')		No
Potential for psychological stress, anxiety, humiliation or pain		No
Questions about illegal activities		No
Invasive interventions that would not normally be encountered in everyday life (e.g. vigorous exercise, administration of drugs)		No
Potential for adverse impact on employment or social standing		No
The collection of human tissue, blood or other biological samples		No
Access to potentially sensitive data via a third party (e.g. employee data)		No
Access to personal records or confidential information		No
Anything else that means it has more than a minimal risk of physical or psychological harm, discomfort or stress to participants.		No

If you answered 'no' to <u>all</u> the above questions your application may be eligible for light touch review. You should send your application to your supervisor who will approve it and send it to a second reviewer. Once the second reviewer has approved your application they will submit it to psychology.ethics@city.ac.uk and you will be issued with an ethics approval code. <u>You cannot start your research until you have received this code.</u>

If you answered 'yes' to any of the questions, your application is NOT eligible for light touch review and will need to be reviewed at the next Psychology Department Research Ethics Committee meeting**.** You should send your application to your supervisor who will approve it and send it to psychology.ethics@city.ac.uk. The committee meetings take place on the first Wednesday of every month (with the exception of January and August). Your application should be submitted at least <u>2 weeks</u> in advance of the meeting you would like it considered at. We aim to send you a response within 7 days. Note that you may be asked to revise and resubmit your application so should ensure you allow for sufficient time when scheduling your research. Once your application has been approved you will be issued with an ethics approval code. <u>You cannot start your research until you have received this code.</u>

Which of the following describes the main applicant? *Please place a 'x' in the appropriate space*	
Undergraduate student	
Taught postgraduate student	
Professional doctorate student	**X**
Research student	
Staff (applying for own research)	
Staff (applying for research conducted as part of a lab class)	

| **1. Name of applicant(s).** |
| Nobuhle Dedani Dlodlo; Julianna Challenor |
| **2. Email(s).** |
| ██████████████████████████████ |
| **3. Project title.** |
| Employability as a Psychological Treatment Goal? A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis |
| **4. Provide a lay summary of the background and aims of the research.** (No more than 400 words.) |
| This study aims to explore how professionals, psychological and otherwise, who support individuals at risk for social exclusion through employment preparation interventions, construct employability as a psychological treatment goal. This study is concerned with the influence of discourses such as workfare, social justice, citizenship, vocational rehabilitation and social enterprise inform the participant responses.

Responses from psychological professionals and non-psychological professionals will be analysed separately to gain an understanding of, and then to compare, the perceived relevance of psychological interventions in employment preparation among both participant groups. In this manner, the study seeks to present psychological professionals' perception of how psychological interventions might/should contribute to employment preparations interventions. Meanwhile, it aims to gain insights from senior non-psychological professionals into the apparent preference among existing employment preparation programmemes not to incorporate psychological interventions

The study will draw on existing information regarding psychotherapy/psychology's historic and topical association with ideas of employability and with the employment-related demands placed on individuals within advanced capitalist contexts in degrees of socioeconomic crisis, such as the UK. |
| **5. Provide a summary of the design and methodology.** |
| A Foucauldian discourse analysis will be conducted based on primary data collected via one round of audio-recorded, semi-structured interviews with 8 participants, ideally. Half of the participants will be senior, non-psychological professional of decision-making capacity in employment preparatory social enterprises supporting those at risk for social exclusion. The other half of the participants will be comprised of psychological professionals providing psychologically-based employment preparation interventions to the same client population. The accounts from each participant group will be analysed separately. The results from both will then be discussed comparatively.

The study will be guided by relativist, social constructionist epistemology, which assumes the socially creative and active capacities of language and discourses, which in turn create, confine or presume consistent knowledge, practices and ways |

of understanding selfhood.

6. Provide details of all the methods of data collection you will employ (e.g., questionnaires, reaction times, skin conductance, audio-recorded interviews).

Ideally, 6-8, audio-recorded, exploratory semi-structured interviews of 1-hour duration will be conducted with the participants, at the participants' work premises. The interviews will be conducted in no particular order. Only one round of interviews with each participant will be required.

Informed consent will be obtained and the participant's right to withdraw, as well as the study's aims, will be verbally communicated at the start of each interview. Each participant will be reminded that the research focus is not on specific client information experience but more generally on the organization's ideologies. Therefore, where necessary, participants will be advised to speak of individual cases/personal information in general or unidentifiable terms.

At the end of each interview, participants will be debriefed for their feedback and to explore potentially negative psychological effects, though none are expected given the nature of the interview questions.

The interview transcripts will be transcribed and de-identified, rather than anonymized, should any participant desire to withdraw after data collection. The transcripts will then be stored in on a password-secured computer, which the researcher alone will be able to access.

7. Is there any possibility of a participant disclosing any issues of concern during the course of the research? (e.g. emotional, psychological, health or educational.) Is there any possibility of the researcher identifying such issues? If so, please describe the procedures that are in place for the appropriate referral of the participant.

As the nature of the study's interview questions and foci are largely organizational, ideological and socio-political, it is not expected that concerning or sensitive information will be disclosed during the interviews

8. Details of participants (e.g. age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria). Please justify any exclusion criteria.

The general inclusion criteria for both the psychological and non-psychological professional participant groups will be employment, paid or unpaid, in a, service supporting employment preparation for those at risk of social exclusion, i.e. those who are homeless, mentally ill, disabled, previously convicted etc.. Tenure of office that is less than 1 year will be an exclusion criterion for both groups to ensure that participants are relatively well socialized to their role, the needs of their client group and the organization.

Psychological professionals will be offering an intervention explicitly related to employment preparation or assistance, whether it is government funded or not. They may work independently or within a larger organization.

The non-psychological professionals will not work with psychological professionals for the same objectives or population. They will be engaged in a senior role which confers them with them some degree decision-making power regarding the nature

of the service offered. This thereby excludes board members who are not directly active in the operations of the organizations.

9. How will participants be selected and recruited? Who will select and recruit participants?

Various organizations will be initially contacted according to the presence of psychological or non-psychological professionals who work with the previously specified objectives and population. Organizations with both groups of professionals collaborating to meet these objectives, and for the same population, will not be contacted. The executive leaders of organizations will be approached for permission to contact their employees for their individual participation. Once the conditions of the organization's cooperation have been negotiated, the possibility of recruiting consenting psychological professionals or senior non-psychological professionals, selected on the basis of their employment title, through individual participation invitations will be explored. The individually selected individuals who have met the criteria for participation will then be sent individual invitations to participate. Psychological professionals who may work independently will be contacted directly with the invitation to participate.

10. Will participants receive any incentives for taking part? (Please provide details of these and justify their type and amount.)

No

11. Will informed consent be obtained from all participants? If not, please provide a justification. (Note that a copy of your consent form should be included with your application, see question 19.)

Yes

12. How will you brief and debrief participants? (Note that copies of your information sheet and debrief should be included with your application, see question 19.)

Participants will be briefed with the information on the participant information sheet, which will be sent to individually selected participants during the recruitment process. This information will be verbally repeated at the start of each interview. It will detail the purpose of the study, the participant's role in the study, the rights as participants, issues of confidentiality and data protection, factors to consider regarding the costs and benefits of participating as well as my contact information and that of my supervisor and of Anna Ramberg's in case any concerns arise.

Participants will be debriefed after the interview and given the opportunity to offer feedback or highlight experiences of distress during the interview. They will be informed of the aims and expectations of the study in slightly more detail. They will also be signposted to their GP and the Samaritans support line in case they do experience any address as a result of their participation. Once again, they will be provided with my contact information and that of my supervisor in case any issues arise.

13. Location of data collection. (Please describe exactly where data collection will take place.)		
The participating organization's premises, in an allocated room.		

13a. Is any part of your research taking place outside England/Wales?		
No	**X**	
Yes		If 'yes', please describe how you have identified and complied with all local requirements concerning ethical approval and research governance.

13b. Is any part of your research taking place <u>outside</u> the University buildings?		
No		
Yes	**X**	If 'yes', please submit a risk assessment with your application or explain how you have addressed risks.

13c. Is any part of your research taking place <u>within</u> the University buildings?		
No	**X**	
Yes		If 'yes', please ensure you have familiarised yourself with relevant risk assessments available on Moodle.

14. What potential risks to the participants do you foresee, and how do you propose to deal with these risks? These should include both ethical and health and safety risks.

There is a possibility that the senior position of the participating non-psychological professionals may make them identifiable, particularly if the social enterprise they represent is quite unique in its service. This risk will be addressed by making the participants aware of their rights while participating in the research, such as the right to confidentiality and the right to withdraw, particularly in light of this risk. Where such idenitfying information is decipherable, at least within the researcher's judgement, these aspects of the account will not be included in the final presentation as excerpts. Once the project is submitted, the data will be destroyed.

The reality is that the service's focus is to meet the needs of vulnerable clients. The discussion of such needs, without the service users' input or awareness, is very possible and this may violate the client's right to confidentiality etc. It will thus be stated in the invitation letter that the focus of this study does not include sensitive client information and as such, participants will be encouraged not to include identifiable information regarding their clients. They will be reminded of this requirement at the start of the interview

15. What potential risks to the researchers do you foresee, and how do you propose to deal with these risks? These should include both ethical and health and safety risks.

The interviews will be conducted away from the university and at the participants' work premises. The researcher will also be conducting the interviews independently. There is a health and safety risk as this environment is not familiar and the researcher may be unaware of necessary procedures should a risk arise. These are issues to be discussed in the early stages of the research when the conditions of participation are being negotiated, particularly where the participants represent larger organizations.

16. What methods will you use to ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity? (Please note that consent forms should always be kept in a separate folder to data and should NOT include participant numbers.)

	Please place an 'X' in all appropriate spaces
Complete anonymity of participants (i.e. researchers will not meet, or know the identity of participants, as participants are a part of a random sample and are required to return responses with no form of personal identification.)	
Anonymised sample or data (i.e. an *irreversible* process whereby identifiers are removed from data and replaced by a code, with no record retained of how the code relates to the identifiers. It is then impossible to identify the individual to whom the sample of information relates.)	
De-identified samples or data (i.e. a *reversible* process whereby identifiers are replaced by a code, to which the researcher retains the key, in a secure location.)	X
Participants being referred to by pseudonym in any publication arising from the research	X
Any other method of protecting the privacy of participants (e.g. use of direct quotes with specific permission only; use of real name with specific, written permission only.) ***Please provide further details below.***	

17. Which of the following methods of data storage will you employ?	
	Please place an 'X' in all appropriate spaces
Data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet	
Data and identifiers will be kept in separate, locked filing cabinets	
Access to computer files will be available by password only	X
Hard data storage at City University London	
Hard data storage at another site. *Please provide further details below*.	

18. Who will have access to the data?	
	Please place an 'X' in the appropriate space
Only researchers named in this application form	X
People other than those named in this application form. *Please provide further details below of who will have access and for what purpose.*	

19. Attachments checklist. *Please ensure you have referred to the Psychology Department templates when producing these items. These can be found in the Research Ethics page on Moodle.*

Please place an 'X' in all appropriate spaces	Attached	Not applicable
***Text for study advertisement**		X
***Participant information sheet**	X	
***Participant consent form**	X	
Questionnaires to be employed		X
Debrief	X	
Copy of DBS		X
Risk assessment	X	
Others (topic guide for interview)	X	

20. Information for insurance purposes.

(a) Please provide a <u>brief</u> abstract describing the project

This project seeks to explore the role and relevance of counselling psychology in the vocational rehabilitation of individuals at risk for social exclusion. This project particularly explores the discipline's relevance to the personal development needs of this population given their experience of social exclusion and its psychological effects, with the assumption that the meeting of such needs characterizes counselling psychology's identity as a discipline. These considerations of counselling psychology's relevance will be explored from the perspective of psychological professionals engaged in employment preparation interventions supporting the aforementioned population group. Specifically, they will be asked to discuss their understanding of employability as a psychological treatment goal. Their accounts will be compared with those of senior non-psychological professional also engaged in employment preparation programmemes, whose vision and personal development objectives for service users do not appear to accommodate psychotherapeutic/psychological practice. These participants will be asked to discuss the same issue of employability as a psychological treatment goal. A Foucauldian discourse analysis will be conducted on each group's accounts to explore the ideologies and discourses regarding citizenship, vocational rehabilitation and psychotherapeutic/psychological practice that are at work.

Please place an 'X' in all appropriate spaces		
(b) Does the research involve any of the following:	**Yes**	**No**
Children under the age of 5 years?		X
Clinical trials / intervention testing?		X
Over 500 participants?		X
(c) Are you specifically recruiting pregnant women?		X
(d) Is any part of the research taking place outside of the UK?		X

If you have answered 'no' to all the above questions, please go to section 21.

If you have answered 'yes' to any of the above questions you will need to check that the university's insurance will cover your research. You should do this by submitting this application to ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, <u>before</u> applying for ethics approval. Please initial below to confirm that you have done this.

I have received confirmation that this research will be covered by the university's insurance.

Name **Nobuhle Dedani Dlodlo**   Date**15/10/15**

21. Information for reporting purposes.		
Please place an 'X' in all appropriate spaces		
(a) Does the research involve any of the following:	**Yes**	**No**
Persons under the age of 18 years?		X
Vulnerable adults?		X
Participant recruitment outside England and Wales?		X
(b) Has the research received external funding?		X

22. Declarations by applicant(s)		
Please confirm each of the statements below by placing an 'X' in the appropriate space		
I certify that to the best of my knowledge the information given above, together with accompanying information, is complete and correct.		X
I accept the responsibility for the conduct of the procedures set out in the attached application.		X
I have attempted to identify all risks related to the research that may arise in conducting the project.		X
I understand that **no** research work involving human participants or data can commence until ethical approval has been given.		X
	Signature (Please type name)	**Date**
Student(s)	Nobuhle Dedani Dlodlo	15/10/15
Supervisor		

Reviewer Feedback Form

Name of reviewer(s).

Email(s).

Does this application require any revisions or further information?

Please place an 'X' the appropriate space

No Reviewer(s) should sign the application and return to psychology.ethics@city.ac.uk, ccing to the supervisor.		Yes Reviewer(s) should provide further details below and email directly to the student and supervisor.	

Revisions / further information required
To be completed by the reviewer(s). PLEASE DO NOT DELETE ANY PREVIOUS COMMENTS.

Date:
Comments:

Applicant response to reviewer comments
To be completed by the applicant. Please address the points raised above and explain how you have done this in the space below. You should then email the entire application (including attachments), with tracked changes directly back to the reviewer(s), ccing to your supervisor.

Date:
Response:

Reviewer signature(s)
To be completed upon FINAL approval of all materials.

	Signature (Please type name)	**Date**
Supervisor		
Second reviewer		

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON

Psychology Research Ethics Committee
School of Arts and Social Sciences
City University London
London EC1R 0JD

12th November 2015

Dear Nobuhle Dedani Dlodlo
Reference: PSYETH (P/L) 15/16 69
Project title: Employability as a Psychological Treatment Goal? A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

I am writing to confirm that the research proposal detailed above has been granted approval by the City University London Psychology Department Research Ethics Committee.

Period of approval
Approval is valid for a period of three years from the date of this letter. If data collection runs beyond this period you will need to apply for an extension using the Amendments Form.

Project amendments
You will also need to submit an Amendments Form if you want to make any of the following changes to your research:
      (a) Recruit a new category of participants
      (b) Change, or add to, the research method employed
      (c) Collect additional types of data
      (d) Change the researchers involved in the project

Adverse events
You will need to submit an Adverse Events Form, copied to the Secretary of the Senate Research Ethics Committee (███████ ▁ ███████ ▁ ████████ , in the event of any of the following:
      (a) Adverse events
      (b) Breaches of confidentiality
      (c) Safeguarding issues relating to children and vulnerable adults
      (d) Incidents that affect the personal safety of a participant or researcher
Issues (a) and (b) should be reported as soon as possible and no later than 5 days after the event. Issues (c) and (d) should be reported immediately. Where appropriate the researcher should also report adverse events to other relevant institutions such as the police or social services.

Should you have any further queries then please do not hesitate to get in touch.

Kind regards

Hayley Glasford   Katy Tapper
Student Administrator   Chair
Email: ██████████ ▁ ████████ ▁   Email: ██████████ ▁ ████████ ▁

Appendix C.3: Initial introductory email to potential participants

Dear ██████,

I would like to invite ████████ to participate in a doctoral research project exploring interventions promoting employability and the work of third sector settings supporting people enhance their employability.

I am a Counselling Psychology doctoral student and am doing this research under the supervision of City University London. I would like the opportunity to meet with a senior professional representing ████████ for a single interview in order to discuss what the organization seeks to do, the sociopolitical context of your work and the unique client needs the organization is structured to meet. To clarify, I am not seeking to gain any information about individual client or employee experiences.

I look forward to hearing from you, and to identifying the best person for such an interview. Please do not hesitate to contact me for further information. I would more than happy to specify the nature of the research and the terms of participation in greater detail.

Thank you in advance.

Kind regards,

Dedani N. Dlodlo
Doctoral Counselling Psychology Student
Counselling Psychology DPsych
City University London
████████████████████
████████████

Appendix C.4: Sample of introductory email to participants recruited via snowballing

sampling

Dear ████,

Thank you very much for getting in touch with me. I appreciate your willingness to participate. You will find attached a participant information sheet that details the aims of my research, your rights as a participant and the parameters of our research relationship.

Essentially, I am hoping that we can meet with for an hour and a half to discuss, as Andy mentioned, what your organization seeks to do, the sociopolitical context of your work and the unique client needs your service is structured to meet.

I would be happy to meet you at the organization premises. May I suggest that we meet on ██?

Thank you again. I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,

Dedani Dlodlo
Trainee Counselling Psychologist
Counselling Psychology DPsych
City University
████████████████████
07891422767

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON

Title of study: Employability as a Psychological Treatment Goal? A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

We would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether you would like to take part it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the purpose of the study?
First and foremost, this research is being undertaken as a requirement of City University's Counselling Psychology Professional Doctorate. The expected end date of the research study is September, 2017, however, your participation from the time of this contact will not be expected to go beyond 3 months.

This study aims to explore how non-psychological professionals who support individuals at risk for social exclusion through employment preparation interventions, construct employability as an intervention goal. Responses from senior non-psychological professionals will be analysed to gain an understanding of how this participant group constructs the relevance of psychological interventions to employment preparation/assistance goals. In this manner, the study seeks to explore how senior social entrepreneurial professionals working in non-psychological employment preparation programmes understand psychological practice, as it relates to employability and social justice.

Why have I been invited?
You have been selected primarily on the basis of your professional participation in an employment preparation programme supporting those at risk for social exclusion. More specifically, you have been invited to participate because of your role as senior non-psychological professional supporting the aforementioned client group.

Do I have to take part?
Participation in the project is voluntary. You can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalized or disadvantaged in any way. It is up to you to decide whether or not to

take part. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw up until the write up of the study begins and without giving a reason.

What will happen if I take part?
The main request is that you engage in a single semi-structured interview on the organization's premises. Questions pertinent to the research aims will be asked of you. Before the interview is conducted you will be asked to consent to having your responses audio-recorded, transcribed, analysed after the interview appointment.

Following your affirmative response to this invitation, your consent will be obtained and the interview will be conducted, within a period of 3 months. The first 1-to-1 meeting between yourself and the researcher will ideally occur on the day of the interview.

Your name and title will be noted and linked with your interview responses by means of a participant-selected number such that interview responses can be easily identified should you choose to withdraw. However, personal information will be stored safely on a secure computer, as will the transcript of your recorded responses. When the research is written up, your responses will be de--identified and a pseudonym will be used in the analysis to ensure the confidentiality of your identity.

The researcher and the identified supervisor will be the only individuals with access to the original transcripts and the corresponding participant's identity. Unless, you choose to withdraw before the deadline for withdrawal, which is up until the write up of the study begins, the data will be destroyed after the submission of the final presentation in September, 2017. All paper versions of the data will be shredded and electronic data will deleted from all platforms.

Should you choose to withdraw before this deadline, please do so via email. Your relevant account and personal information will be deleted upon request. This action will be confirmed via email. All contact information will then be deleted.

The transcripts will finally be analysed using a technique known as Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, which is interested in the ideologies and discourses that are employed in the way we are encouraged to speak of phenomena and our relationship to them. There is an interest in how language creates unique implications for various ways of being and actions.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

One identified risk is that of disclosing personal or clinical information that can be identified as unique to an individual service user or employee participant. This risk, at present, is perceived to be minimal, as the interests of the research are organizational and ideological, rather than specific to unique client or employee experiences. You are encouraged to ensure that any client (or personal) information that is deemed worthy of inclusion in the interview is as unidentifiable as possible. If, according to the researcher's judgement, aspects of your account do identify clients, and indeed yourself, these will be excluded from the final presentation, as much as possible, and otherwise pseudonymised.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

This research has important implications for the counselling psychology discipline as it seeks to align itself with principles of social justice, however, it may also present a platform for collaboration between counseling psychology practitioners.

What will happen when the research study stops?

In a similar manner to that described above in response to the question of "what will happen if you do take part?"

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Yes, in the manner detailed above regarding "what will happen if you do take part?"

What will happen to the results of the research study?

Once the study is finalized those who were eligible for participation at the time of recruitment will be informed of the study's completion in the same way they were initially contacted. They will be offered a final presentation of the results from the researcher.

There is the potential that the research will be published in academic journals concerned with issues regarding counselling psychological practice, critical social psychology, social justice and vocational rehabilitation. In the event of publication, your identity will be anonymous, as all data and personal information would have been destroyed. Alternative pseudonyms will be used in such journal publications.

What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

There is no penalty whatsoever for not continuing with the study. It is strictly voluntary and it is within your right to withdraw without explanation up until the write up of the study begins. If you feel the need to withdraw, please contact the researcher using the contact details below and all data pertaining to you will be removed and destroyed upon request. As

mentioned earlier, you will receive email confirmation of its destruction and your contact information and emails will then also be destroyed.

What if there is a problem?

If you have any problems, concerns or questions about this study, you should ask to speak to a member of the research team. If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can do this through the University complaints procedure. To complain about the study, you need to phone 020 7040 3040. You can then ask to speak to the Secretary to *Employability as Psychological Treatment Goal? A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis*

You could also write to the Secretary at:

Anna Ramberg

Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee

Research Office, E214

City University London

Northampton Square

London

EC1V 0HB

Email: ███████████████████████

City University London holds insurance policies which apply to this study. If you feel you have been harmed or injured by taking part in this study you may be eligible to claim compensation. This does not affect your legal rights to seek compensation. If you are harmed due to someone's negligence, then you may have grounds for legal action.

Who has reviewed the study?

This study has been approved by City University London Counselling Psychology Research Ethics Committee.

Further information and contact details

Dedani Nobuhle Dlodlo

Doctoral Trainee Counselling Psychologist

Department of Psychology

City University

10 Northampton Square

London

EC1V 0HB

███████████████████████

Dr. Julianna Challenor

Lecturer/ Research Supervisor

Department of Psychology

City University

10 Northampton Square

London

EC1V 0HB

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON

Title of Study: Employability as a Psychological Treatment Goal? A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Ethics approval code: [*Insert code here*]
Please initial box

1.	I agree to take part in the above City University London research project. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the participant information sheet, which I may keep for my records. I understand this will involve • being interviewed by the researcher • allowing the interview to be audiotaped	
2.	This information will be held and processed for the following purpose(s): To answer the research questions I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party. No identifiable personal data will be published. The identifiable data will not be shared with any other organisation.	
3.	I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw up until the write up of the study begins without being penalized or disadvantaged in any way.	
4.	I agree to City University London recording and processing this information about me. I understand that this information will be used only for the purpose(s) set out in this statement and my consent is conditional on the University complying with its duties and obligations under the Data Protection Act 1998.	
5.	I agree to take part in the above study.	

_____ _____ _____

Name of Participant   Signature   Date

_____ _____ _____

Name of Researcher   Signature   Date

When completed, 1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher file.

Note to researcher: to ensure anonymity, consent forms should NOT include participant numbers and should be stored separately from data.

Appendix C.7: Semi-structured interview guide

1.   Could you tell me about the organisation and how you fit within it?

2.   What initially inspired or motivated your work?

3.   How do you understand your clients' employment needs?

4.   How would you say the organisation and its services or programmes suited to meet those specific needs?

5.   How do you know when the work you are doing is going well.

6.   Could you describe the socio-political context of your work and the relationships you have with other services, professionals and systems

7.   In terms of your ideals, mission or guiding philosophy, what makes it important for you to do this work?

Ethics approval code: *[Insert ethics approval code here.]*

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON

Employability as a treatment goal? A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

DEBRIEF INFORMATION

Thank you for taking part in this study. Now that it's finished we'd like to tell you a bit more about it.

This study aims to explore how non-professionals who support individuals at risk for social exclusion through employment preparation interventions, construct employability as a psychological treatment goal. This study is concerned with the influence of discourses such as workfare, social justice, citizenship, vocational rehabilitation and social enterprise inform the participant responses.

Responses from non-psychological professionals will be analysed separately to gain an understanding of, and then to compare, the perceived relevance of psychological interventions in employment preparation among both participant groups. In this manner, the study seeks to present psychological professionals' perception of how psychological interventions might/should contribute to employment preparations interventions. Meanwhile, it aims to gain insights from senior non-psychological professionals into the apparent preference among existing employment preparation programmes not to incorporate psychological interventions

If any concerns or experiences of distress should arise as a result of the interview or research procedure, it suggested that you contact your GP or the Samaritans support line by phone on 08457 90 90 90 or visit their website at http://www.samaritans.org/how-we-can-help-you/contact-us.

We hope you found the study interesting. If you have any other questions please do not hesitate to contact us at the following:

Dedani Nobuhle Dlodlo

DPsych Trainee Counselling Psychologist

City University

10 Northampton Square

London

EC1V 0HB

███████████████████

Julianna Challenor

Lecturer/ Research Supervisor

City University

10 Northampton Square

London

EC1V 0HB

███████████████████

Ethics approval code: *[Insert ethics approval code here.]*

Appendix C.9: Risk Assessment Form

Psychology Department Risk Assessment Form

Please note that it is the responsibility of the PI or supervisor to ensure that risks have been assessed appropriately.

Date of assessment: 15/10/15

Assessor(s): Dedani Dlodlo; Julianna Challenor

Activity: Academic Research

Date of next review (if applicable): October, 2015

Hazard	Type of injury or harm	People affected and any specific considerations	Current Control Measures already in place	Risk level Med High Low	Further Control Measures required	Implementation date and Person responsible	Completed
Lone working	Lack of familiar support		Ensuring that supervisor or safety contact is aware of planned visits to the organizations and their purpose Notifying supervisor or safety contact upon arrival at participant organization and then upon departure Noting security contact information within the organizations visited Ensuring personal mobile phone device is functioning correctly during visits to participant organizations	Low	To be assessed	15/10/15	

Contacts

School Safety Liaison Officer: Chantal Hill, chantal.hill.1@city.ac.uk

University Safety Manager: Mohammad Torabi, safetyoffice@city.ac.uk

Appendix C.10: Sample of analysis (textual "deconstruction")

52 KM: Umm. No. What Public Health asked for when they put it out to tender was a psychoeducational

53 model. They did want it to include motivational interviewing but it wasn't very prescriptive at all. What

54 we have got is a product unique to us called PAACEES. So PAACEES was borne out of about 12 years

55 ago, I was really interested in some thinking and some modelling on what makes a person right for a

56 particular job and what makes a particular job right for the person. So out of that did a lot of model.

57 finding, training programmes and ended up building this thing called PAACEES. PAACEES is an

58 acronym as well except the A and the E actually stand for two things. So it would be P-A-A-C-E-E-S,

59 really. And it's a framework we give our practitioners as a way of doing vocational profiling and of

60 identifying people's issues and then over to you to use your professional judgment on how you use it.

61 There's seven aspects of PAACEES. We look at personality type, whether that's quite an informal way

62 of doing it or more commonly, we will use the disc profiling system. The A's stand for abilities or skills the

63 person's got against the job goals they have and attitude. The C is very nicely the middle letter

64 because that's what everything else is pinned on, that's their circumstances. So what's in this person's

65 life that could be of advantage in employment but mostly, what's going to get in the way of

66 employment and specific jobs? E stands for ethics. What's important to that person? Environment,

67 indoors, outdoors, regular hours etc, etc. And S stands for stimulation. So what types of work interests

68 them and what sectors interest them

P - PERSONALITY
A - ABILITIES
A - ATTITUDE
C - CIRCUMSTANCES
E - ETHICS
E - ENVIRONMENT
S - STIMULATION

253

69 So there is a framework there that gives the guys some tools. It is wholly black-box but if they know

70 that they can follow that path that can lead them to make a lot of decisions. Now within that middle

71 one, that C for circumstances, a really important one for me, and I think this was unique to us but we

72 are kind of spreading the love now. When we look at people's limiting circumstances, what's going to

73 get in the way of full employment, we break into two categories: barriers and obstacles. And the

74 reason we do that, we label something a barrier if it is getting in the way but with the right support it

75 can be completely removed. Easy example, substance misuse. An obstacle, something getting in the

76 way that can't be removed. You need to either minimize its effect or work around it. Easy example.

77 childcare commitments. And we find that by using that language with the clients, it empowers them

78 more. Many times they will consider something an obstacle. "I'm just a victim, a passive victim to it."

79 When actual when we talk to them about we can get to see that it's actually a barrier. And if we do

80 something about that, we can actually get rid of it forever. And that's been really empowering for the

81 clients.

82 DO: You mentioned before when you were describing MAPS, there is a motivational aspect a

83 psychological aspect. Self-efficacy is very important

84 KM: Yes

254

85 DD: And even in what you've been saying now about obstacles rather than barriers, there might be

86 something...psychological in terms of intervention, or whatever the word is, that you're doing.

87 KM: Hmmm

88 DD: So I am wondering, maybe, who does that, considering that they are not, correct me if I am

89 wrong, explicit psychological, you know, professionals?

90 KM: Yeah sure. About the half the staff are from mental health backgrounds but not psychologists. We

91 have strong relationships with the IAPT provider. We have an arrangement where we can do direct

92 referrals on the client's behalf. So we will do GAD and PHQ at the initial assessment. If they score 10 or

93 more on either or both, we will have a conversation about taking therapies. If they do want, we will

94 submit on their behalf. We have an arrangement with IAPT that we receive updates, status updates. Is

95 the person still engaging? Have they disengaged? Nothing more detail than that. We have no

96 honorary contracts in place.

97 Side by side with that we actually build IAPT into the council building to deliver stress and low mood

98 workshops just for our clients. So they come out into the community rather than that more clincal

99 environment at the mental health trust. Plus, the guys use a range of techniques. I mentioned

100 motivational interviewing. Interesting to see ??? I think of the two dominant staff for this, with a mental

101 health background. One of them uses a lot of CBT, NLP, he's got a lot of counselling background and

102   he will put those skills to good use in a very in-your-face, hyper-positive manner, ...e other one is

103   really...mindfulness sums up her approach. She is very much about a calm approach, standing back

104   and objectifying things and really does a lot of good work with clients. Not to replace talking

105   therapies but alongside that to help clients cope better while they are waiting for IAPT's waiting list

106   and while they are receiving therapy.

107   So yeah. It's not a clinical service and I would never ever tried and label it as such, it is actually quite

108   an everyday man's approach to just helping people to rationalize and find some calmness as they

109   are dealing with what can be quite stressful support sessions that they receive. We have a number of

110   clients and it took our funder a little while to get their head around this. They did a...MDTI did an

111   interim evaluation and they were really surprised to see that some people's GAD and PHQ scores

112   went up while they were with us. And we said to the funder ????, some of these people, you're

113   gonna do GAD and PHQ when you've just met them, defense mechanisms go up, they may be in

114   denial or maybe they are just not gonna tell that they are not sleeping very well. So they will falsely

115   score very well. If my guys are doing their job right and building the rapport and that with these

116   people, actually 3 months down the line, they are more honest, they score higher and as a result of

117   that we uncover the issues, we help them get the support they need and isn't that a good thing.

118   And to Public Health's credit they are right behind that thinking, even though in some ways, in this

119   time of austerity sometimes you get to think funders would rather you didn't help people identify their

120 support needs because then it's gonna cost money to receive the support. But our funders on board

121 to that one.

122 DD: Mmmm. Yeah. Ok. So just so I understand, there is collaboration between this service, you know,

123 and the IAPT service but you're careful, or it's important that this is not understood as an clinical

124 service.

125 KM: Absolutely. If I was to look at our performance stats, and we track a lot of data, and one of the

126 things we constantly, despite a lot of hard work to the contrary, is poor take up of talking therapies. So

127 the database allows us to track what someone's current IAPT status is from "score to low, doesn't

128 need it", right the way through to "completed". So often, the guys will scare someone GAD, PHQ, tak

129 to them about talking therapies in a very unclinical way, will get buy-in, will submit the referral. The

130 moment IAPT get in touch with that person and it comes across as clinical, they run a million miles

131 And, you know, a lot of our people have come from war-torn countries. They do want help. They do

132 need help. But there is no way you could telephone someone in quite a formal manner and have

133 them engage with it. You know, we have got anecdotal stories of actually some really brutal

134 psychological treatments in those countries. So for some of them, actually the thought of seeing a

135 therapist terrifies them.

136 Pause.

Appendix C.11: Samples of preliminary analysis table

Constructions (Instances of reference)	**Discourses** (Ways of seeing the world)	**Action Orientation** (When is a discourse used and to what purpose)
- Employability as whatever funders will pay for/a free market merchandise - Employability as marketable gap (?)	Capitalistic (Laissez-faire) Discourse	- Used to validate the service as relevant in meeting the needs of the chronically unemployed clients in spite on the lack of clarity regarding the work done by these organization - Used to undermine arguments of regulation and standardization, which would invite subjectification to regulatory bodies - Used to highlight gaps in the socio-politically context and thus establish the service's relevance/monopolistic position as providers responding to a unique market need while also validating the maintenance of those gaps for competitive advantage

Subject Positioning (What rights and duties are being ascribed to different subjects)	**Practice** (What can be said and done from those positions)	**Subjectivity** (What can be thought, felt and experienced from those position?)
-	- They can argue for the utility and competitiveness of a decentralized, non-standardized model of practice that is less scrutinized (black box) and equally less costly to implement - Practice in governmental settings is specifically contrasting the practice of governmental settings such as the JobCentre (competition)	

Constructions (Instances of reference)	Discourses (Ways of seeing the world)	Action Orientation (When is a discourse used and to what purpose)
		- The choice to integrate services would jeopardize the competitive advantage that is created by the construction of employability as a gap (not the work of DWP or the NHS) and so it is necessary to maintain those gaps. The maintenance of gaps is achieved by ensure the flexibility that NHS and DWP cannot afford, which lends the organization's practice further to capitalistic practice
- Employability as resilience/resourcefulness to overcome and survive barriers - Employability as context-specific attitude/behaviour that is most conducive to the working environment - Employability as adaptability	Evolution/Natural Selection Discourse (And Rationality)	- Used to highlight that social/environmental factors complicate employment but those with the capacity (innate) to minimize/navigate those barriers (rather than obstacles) are capable of employment, which is inherently stressful. - Used to demonstrate that we are all interacting with the (socio-political) environment but are different in our degrees of motivation to adapt to or adjust to the environment, particularly through employment. Those with the most evolved capacity for managing barriers/surviving do so with calmness, objectivity and rationality - Used to simplify the extent of psychological input that one might require in employment support (an everyday man's approach), which is sufficient in promoting employability given that evolution and natural selection are not reliant on expert knowledge but responsiveness to the

	environment. - Used to suggest that employability is not intrinsic or constant (the aim of change is not at the intrinsic level) but the ability to choose and adapt one's responses to the environment so psychological phenomena (attitudes) are made non-psychological by emphasizing their inflexibility and highlighting them as internal barriers to be managed with an awareness of the environment

Subjectivity
(What can be thought, felt and experienced from those position?)

Practice
(What can be said and done from those positions)

- The responsibility of the employment support service is thus to identify barriers and increase their capacity to overcome them within particular environments rather than changing the intrinsic nature of the individual, which will happen with increased exposure: CHOICE RATHER THAN CHANGE IS THE GOAL
- Psychological support (IAPT) may be a means of unblocking one's capacity to manage barriers (alternative construction of the relationship between employability and psychology). The appropriate interventions are therefore those that increase rationality, objectivity and calmness in relation to the environmental challenges posed i.e. seeking out psychological support to better manage barriers can be evidence of employability

Subject Positioning
(What rights and duties are being ascribed to different subjects)

- Those who are not able to rationally adapt are naturally selected for social exclusion
- Those who are more evolved demonstrate the capacity to master internal and external barriers for survival (employment) and the most evolved do so with emotional intelligence and rationality
- Psychologists are positioned as inhibiting evolution because of their working environment and their

Constructions (Instances of reference)	Discourses (Ways of seeing the world)	Action Orientation (When is a discourse used and to what purpose)
- undermining of choice and primal programming	- Psychological aims to change attitudes and behaviours (rather than master) are irrelevant suggesting a 3rd Wave CBT approach, which is open to outsourcing (everyday man's approach) - Appropriate interventions place an individual in the best environment for their desire evolution (PAACEES, IPS, chatting with an ESA), not a white-walled, formal clinical environment (ANTI-EXPERT) which offers encouragement for prosocial evolution - Evolution and interventions that promote it are essential prosocial (encouraging a particular kind of citizen) whereas psychological interventions are antisocial (removes an individual from the social) and are legitimately excluded	
- Employability as a function of a place (not a regressive, harsh and unengaging environment) - Employability as a lifestyle that is compatible with employment (e.g. wellbeing at work) - Employability as context-dependent - Employability as productivity	- Economic	- Used to suggest that a regressive, harsh, treatment-oriented and unengaging environment e.g. a psychiatric hospital or stressful, unsupportive environments and interventions inhibit an individual (like wards)while positive socioemotional environments improve confidence and therefore productivity - Used to suggest that lifestyle is a necessary target for intervention; lifestyle being something all-encompassing and reflective of a certain subjectivity and mindset - Used to suggest that with the right lifestyle, everyone is employable i.e. employability is

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universal with each person choosing if their lifestyle is conducive to employment and applying their capacity for removing barriers i.e. employability (ECONOMIC?).
- Used to argue for a context and specificity of job that increases passion, confidence and purpose and thus locates employability outside of the individual to a point....but then returns it to individual in the form of self-efficacy

Subjectivity
(What can be thought, felt and experienced from those position?)

Subject Positioning
(What rights and duties are being ascribed to different subjects)

Practice
(What can be said and done from those positions)

- A number of interventions are possible and applicable in improving one's lifestyle to thus improve their employability yet they do not have to directly affect employment outcomes because that is ultimately the individual's responsibility when they have been supported in establishing a lifestyle conducive to productivity.
- Interventions that do not enable the individual to develop their lifestyle i.e. those that confine them to a regressive, harsh and unengaging hospital are not effective to help the person ultimately develop an appropriate lifestyle (ANTI-PSYCHIATRIC). Interventions will not have any effect if the context is wrong (must be flexible and encouraging: SOCIAL LEARNING)
- Enables employability to be spoken of in psychological terms (e.g. attitudes and

behaviours) without implicating psychologists because psychologists are bound to a particular context. The CAPITALISTIC discourse used to measure validity of a discourse by the funders willingness to pay is such that the psychological can be removed from psychologists who are too expensive

Constructions
(Instances of reference)

- Employability as social responsibility

Discourses
(Ways of seeing the world)

Citizenship

Action Orientation
(When is a discourse used and to what purpose)

- Used to navigate the divide between the social and the individual, making the individual nobly responsible to the social.
- Used to demonstrate the inadequacy of the current system

Subject Positioning
(What rights and duties are being ascribed to different subjects)

- Positions every citizens as either responding/requiring investment or incentive (depending where they are on the welfare spectrum) from the dominant powers to ensure

Practice
(What can be said and done from those positions)

- The ES organizations make socially oriented provisions however, they do so in a way that ultimately obligates the individual/removes any social excuses. Unemployment, a social issue becomes individual and the choice not to respond to that social responsibility (created by the welfare system?) is grounds for social exclusion. (Rather than "the sick won't work", "it's sick not to work")
- Constructing employability as requiring easy intervention makes employability so easy that it can't be hard for any other reason but the individual choice/complacency. It's social only to the extent that it creates social responsibility/social control

Subjectivity
(What can be thought, felt and experienced from those position?)

Constructions	Discourses	Action Orientation
(Instances of reference)	(Ways of seeing the world)	(When is a discourse used and to what purpose)
- Employability as an investment - Employability as wellbeing (in the workplace)	Economic/Human Resources Discourse	- Used to argue that everybody is employable to the extent that their employer is willing to invest in them as a human resource - Used to define the relationship between work and mental health emphasizing the impact of work on mental health rather than the impact of mental health on work suggesting employability interventions are effective in the workplace - Used to locate responsibility for an individual's degree of employability within the employer and employing organization, rather than in the individual

Subject Positioning	Practice	Subjectivity
(What rights and duties are being ascribed to different subjects)	(What can be said and done from those positions)	(What can be thought, felt and experienced from those position?)
- Positioned in the gaps between extremes (discursively and institutionally) where nothing is regulated and where flexibility is greater - Positioned as an innovative, charitable expert with a	- The workplace can be adapted to optimize an individual's assets in spite of their mental illness - Employability efforts can be taken away from treatment/intervention spaces to business settings where the individual's assets are of greater focus and can be optimized rather than overshadowed by their limitations	

Constructions		
responsibility to respond to limitations of available services	- The statutory settings in which the chronically unemployed find themselves "parked" (DWP and NHS) can be depicted as irrelevant if work settings can be adapted to nullify employment/mental health interventions implemented by statutory bodies by focusing on wellbeing to work to optimize the individual's aptitudes, assets and ultimately achieve the employment objectives of both bodies - As the innovator in the gaps Twinning have the flexibility to offer clients the best of both worlds (DWP and NHS) and reframe the MHSU's relationship with ES provider so dependence and choice are not mutually exclusive - Creates interest/need for insight into the relationship between work and mental health	

Constructions (Instances of reference)	**Discourses** (Ways of seeing the world)	**Action Orientation** (When is a discourse used and to what purpose)
- Employability as self-enterprising/an inner resourcefulness and contrasted to being on benefits (an external resource) - Employability as innate and	- (Anti-)Citizenship (?)	- Used to highlight the sociopolitical role of benefits - Used to show the polarizing distinction between employment and employability whereby a person who required benefits and proved to lack the internal resources that citizenship assumes does not easily come off benefits (external resource), which in turn entitle

universal	dominate powers to maintain social control over that individual, even if they are employed - Used to explain that the gradual and difficult process by which someone is permitted to work if they have been on benefits, i.e. required external resources, is a defeating test of a person's eligibility for the rewards of citizenship/employability/internal resources
Subject Positioning (What rights and duties are being ascribed to different subjects)	**Practice** (What can be said and done from those positions)	**Subjectivity** (What can be thought, felt and experienced from those positions?)
- Positioned as critical of and against the citizenship discourse which makes benefits and choice mutually exclusive - Positioned as ethically and uniquely sensitive to the challenges of those who are chronically unemployed and dependent on statutory bodies	- It is possible for someone to be fully employed without jeopardizing their benefits - There is an ethical necessity for a provision that allows a person to exercise choice while acknowledging their need for support	
Constructions (Instances of reference)	**Discourses** (Ways of seeing the world)	**Action Orientation** (When is a discourse used and to what purpose)

- Employability as redeemable in spite of lost citizenship with the right redeemer	- Used in light of the citizenship discourse's construction of employability as innate nature of employability and not requiring intervention to challenge the notion that those who show a lack of internal resources (by being on benefits) do not in fact have a fixed/deviant un-employability. - Used to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of employment support efforts at the extremes (DWP/NHS) which are condemning
- Redemption/Saviour discourse	

Subject Positioning (What rights and duties are being ascribed to different subjects)	**Practice** (What can be said and done from those positions)	**Subjectivity** (What can be thought, felt and experienced from those position?)
- Positioned in the middle/in the gaps and is worthy of unique trust because Twinning can confer social value and redeem one's citizenship (their only hope) - Positioned as "standing at the door and knocking" like Jesus, offering a free/charitable gift which clients must choose - Positioned as "not called but qualified" to "make disciples of	- Similar employment support efforts become distinct from one another based on the character of the entity offering support; DWP and NHS, though equally "interventionist" cannot be redemptive because fault (?), on the part of the individual, is assumed and maintained - Intervention and dependence for the redemption of one's employability/citizenship, in spite of employability's innate nature, is possible/necessary because of Twinning's charitable benevolence - The service provided emphasizes choice,	

Constructions (Instances of reference)	Discourses (Ways of seeing the world)	Action Orientation (When is a discourse used and to what purpose)
men flexibility, non-standardization but ultimately places responsibility for engagement with the individual - The best people to help redeem their client's employability are those who have had similar redemptive experiences, not professionals		
- Employability as "in the eye of the beholder" - Employability as modelled/implicitly learned/encouraged	- Anti-expert discourse of social and emotional learning: Jennings and Greenberg (2009); (Pianta and Bruce, 2002; Pianta and Stuhlman, 2004).	- Used to suggest that an individual's potential is like a blank slate and a function of those around them i.e. (the other's social/emotional competence; the other's esteem of the individual) - Used to suggest that the most effective employment support professionals are those who have faced similar challenges, rather than expert professionals, and who are able to model a capacity to overcome similar challenges - Used to suggest that stressful, unsupportive environments and interventions inhibit an individual's capacity to learn and recover (like wards and Job Centres)while positive socioemotional environments improve confidence and therefore productivity - Used to show that fostering choice and self-management is more meaningful than coercion

		because the outcomes of the intervention are more sustainable, even if the only outcome is wellbeing in order to work
Subject Positioning (What rights and duties are being ascribed to different subjects)	**Practice** (What can be said and done from those positions)	**Subjectivity** (What can be thought, felt and experienced from those position?)
- Positioned as close enough in experience and empathy to see potential within the individual - Positioned as favourably "blind" (like their clients) to expert knowledge which limits an expert professionals esteem of client; positioned as the blind leading the blind	- No particular intervention is required, rather the encouraging capacities of the surrounding people and of the environment are necessary to improve the individuals perceived capacity making it possible to take the work that psychological professionals could do away from them and moving that work away from the spaces in which they typically work (e.g. wards) - The emphasis on implicit learning, self-management and wellbeing in order to work limits the responsibility Twinning is required to take for individual's measureable employment outcomes	

Appendix D.1: Psychology and Society article submission guidelines

Information for contributors

The Psychology and Society journal invites submissions from students, post-docs, and academics studying psychological phenomena in wider social context. Though our scope is broad, we are particularly interested in theoretical or empirical work that looks at the interface of psychology and societal processes (e.g., history, ideology, culture, institutions, political and economic structures).

Papers must be original and not published or currently under consideration in any other journal. Papers may be empirical (quantitative or qualitative), or centre on theory development, methodological critique, or literature review. There is no restriction on the type of methodological enquiry or data analysis.

The word limit is flexible, but should normally be not more than 6,000, including abstract, notes, and references.

Since the journal is open access and run solely by academics, authors are asked to assist with copy editing by submitting papers in the correct, publish-ready format. Guidelines for how to do this are given below, and there is an example paper for reference.

How to submit:

1. Submit papers in Word format (.doc or .docx) via email to the editors at editors@psychologyandsociety.org

2. Include a cover sheet giving the names, affiliation(s), and status (e.g. Lecturer, PhD student) of each author, along with full contact details of the first or corresponding author. If you wish, you may also include a list of researchers with the knowledge and experience to act as reviewers on the topic of your manuscript.

3. As we operate a double-blind, peer review process, it is important that the manuscript itself *does not contain author names or identifying information*.

4. In addition to the abstract, please include with the title page/cover sheet a short (max. 70 words) summary of the paper to orientate readers to its content. This is to be included with the title on the contents page, and need not detail the results or findings.

Special Issues

In addition to standard individual papers, we invite suggestions for special issues in which a whole issue can be devoted to a particular theme or event. Special issues may bring together a series of papers and commentaries on a particular topic or theme, or may be centered around an event such as a postgraduate conference. Normally the person proposing the special issue will take on the role of handling editor and will undertake the call for papers and review process. If you wish to propose a special issue please contact the editors.

GUIDELINES FOR THE PREPARATION OF MANUSCRIPTS:

All papers are to be written in English and formatted according to the APA publication manual (6th Edition).

Please use Cambria font for all text. Cambria has been specially designed for on-screen reading and is available with Windows Vista, Office 2007, and Office 2008 for Macs. If you do not have Cambria, use Times New Roman.

All text, except title, authors, and reference list, is single spaced, justified, and 12 point Cambria font.

Title, authors, and reference list are left-aligned.

Title is in 18 font, bold, and Title Case

AUTHORS ARE 12 FONT, REGULAR, and UPPER CASE.
Author affiliation(s) in title case below authors.

FOR AUTHORS WITH DIFFERENT AFFILIATION
Use separate lines

Use a horizontal line to separate Title and author(s) as shown above.

Abstract (~150 words) is justified and 11 font. Start the abstract three single line breaks after the (last) author line.

Start main text three single line breaks after the abstract. No 'Introduction' heading is required.

Separate paragraphs by a single blank line. Do not indent first line.

"Long quotes are in italics and parentheses", and separated from main text by single line breaks above and below quote. Short quotes are embedded in text, within parentheses, and not italicised. Quote citations must include page number(s).

Citations, statistics, tables, figures, etc. all follow APA (6th) format.

Do not use colours in figures as they may not reproduce well in print. For bar graphs, use black and white, or shades of grey in the case of clusters of more than 2 bars. For line graphs, use solid and dashed/dotted lines in black. Increase line thickness from default to ensure clarity.

FIRST LEVEL HEADINGS are in 12 font, upper case, bold, left aligned.

Second Level Headings are in 12 font, Title Case, bold, left aligned.

Third level headings are in 12 font, Lower case, bold, italics, left aligned.

Footnotes are inserted using Word's footnote function, and are indexed numerically. Footnotes should appear at the bottom of the relevant page.

References
References are single spaced with no line break. Second and subsequent lines of
   a reference are indented.

APPENDIX
If an appendix is to be included, it comes after the reference list.

AUTHORBIOGRAPHIES
Include a short author biography for each author at the end of the paper. State affiliation, status, research interests, and contact email