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A critical ethnographic study of the LEAP cash transfer programme in Ghana

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SOCIAL PROTECTION AND GENDER AT THE INTERSECTION OF DISCOURSES AND GOVERNMENTALITY

BY
DENNIS PUORIDEME

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2018

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

SOCIAL PROTECTION AND GENDER AT THE INTERSECTION OF DISCOURSES AND GOVERNMENTALITY

A CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE LEAP CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMME IN GHANA

by

Dennis Puorideme

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
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Dissertation submitted December 2018

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CV

Dennis Puorideme received a Master of Science degree in Development Planning and Management (SPRING Programme) from the Department of Planning, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in 2010. The SPRING Programme is an International Joint Master of Science on Regional Development Planning and Management between Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and TU Dortmund University. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Integrated Development Studies from the University for Development Studies in 2005, and a professional certificate as a trained social worker from the Department of Social Welfare, School of Social Work in 2000, Accra. As a lecturer in the Department of Development Studies, University for Development Studies, he taught courses in population and development, and programme/project planning, implementation and management.

He worked for private sector organisations, including women-owned associations, as a senior development planning and management professional, and as an advocacy specialist supporting citizen-government engagement and dialogue as well as public-private partnerships. In Ghana, he was a member of the core team of consultants that led a Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) funded advocacy programme, the Business Sector Advocacy Challenge (BUSAC) Fund, with support from the European Union (EU) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). As chief consultant, he managed the implementation of the BUSAC Fund programme activities in the northern sector of Ghana. The programme was DANIDA's initiative and provided support to the Government of Ghana in the creation of an enabling environment for private sector development.

In March 2016, he enrolled as a PhD student at the Department of Culture and Global Studies, Aalborg University to study interdisciplinary discourse studies. In his PhD thesis, he sheds light on governing practices, clashes of Western and local family values, counter-conducts and resistances, and problematises the clash of rationalities, in the translation of the LEAP cash transfer programme, a flagship of government social protection programmes in Ghana. His thesis is a Foucault-based analysis inspired by an interdisciplinary discourse studies framework in which he draws on the key features of critical discourse studies, conversation analysis and multimodal analysis to investigate the actions, accounts and practices of the key social actors of the social protection programme.

ENGLISH SUMMARY

This PhD thesis focuses on the governing practices of a social protection programme in Ghana, the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) cash transfer programme. Similar to social protection programmes in many developing countries, the LEAP programme is a public social protection programme that provides cash grants to poor households in the local communities of Ghana. The key social domains of power include transnational agencies, the government of Ghana and the "programmed households" in local communities. The key social actors in these domains of power include the Technical Officers of the transnational agencies, the Programme Officers of the LEAP programme, the community focal persons and the caregivers of programmed households and families in the local communities. These social actors and domains interact to make the translation of the programme in the local communities possible. However, the programme authorities and Technical Officers of the transnational agencies initiate these interactions at the national level. In that regard, the translation of the programme flows from the national level through meta-power networks to the level of the caregivers of programmed households in the local communities.

The central question of this study concerns how the authorities of the LEAP cash transfer programme construct and govern the community focal persons and the caregivers in relation to the programme; additionally, I ask how these focal persons and caregivers construct and govern themselves vis-à-vis the programme, the families and the local communities in which they live. This thesis is a Foucault-based analysis inspired by an interdisciplinary discourse studies framework, which draws on the key analytic features and imports of discourse studies approaches to investigate the governing practices of the key social actors in the domain of the programme. In this way, this thesis investigates the actions, accounts of practices and the practices of the Programme Officers in directing the actions of the community focal persons and the caregivers of the programmed households in the local communities. In a similar way, it investigates the actions, accounts and practices of these community focal persons and caregivers in relation to the authority of the programme and the moral values of the families and communities in which they live.

Thus, this study is a reflexive and critical ethnographic study, which uses in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and video recordings of naturally-occurring interactions to access empirical data. It draws on Foucault's concepts of discourse, power and governmentality, and uses the key features of critical discourse studies, conversation analysis and multimodal analysis to investigate the actions, accounts and practices of the key social actors in the domain of the programme as mentioned. In doing so, the analysis of this thesis focuses on objectivising practices of the programme apparatus, the clash of power and rationalities in relation to the rational, programmatic and prescriptive controls and the moral values of the families and local

communities. In addition, it focuses on the practical consequences of these objectivising practices and prescriptive controls on female caregivers and focal persons, and the counter-conducts, contestations and resistances of male focal persons and female caregivers to these rationalities and controls. In that regard, this thesis sheds light on the governing practices in the translation of social protection programmes.

This PhD thesis demonstrates the clash of power, rationalities, and values in terms of the traditional family and the Western or "modern" social structures and relations in regards to the prescriptive controls of the LEAP cash transfer programme. In this way, this study reveals that the programme authorities constantly monitored and reminded these caregivers, at the pay points and in their communities, about the "purpose" of the cash grants and the ways in which they must use these grants and conduct themselves. Such prescriptive and disciplinary control mechanisms without recourse to the subjective experiences of caregivers in the local communities and the articulatory practices of the traditional family systems limit the openings and opportunities of the caregivers to act and govern themselves in their own interest and the interest of other members of the family.

The thesis reveals the objectivising practices of programme constructs, which naturalise women as "natural caregivers" better managers of the cash grants, and use them as conduits for accomplishing the objective of the programme – "household consumption". It demonstrates the way female caregivers and focal persons "perform" and refer their conduct to the ways the programme objectivise and construct them. In contrast to the submissive performances of the women, it demonstrates that the male focal persons in the local communities are active in contesting the prescriptive and the taken-for-granted actions and practices of the programme. In this way, some of the caregivers and the focal persons, particularly the male focal persons, in the local communities do not want to conduct themselves in accordance with the "rational" expectations and obligations of the programme.

In addition, this thesis reveals the limits of social protection programmes in terms of the programmatic construction of actions, the prescription of conducts and the subjection of the participants in social protection programmes to the rationalities and apparatuses of the programme even though equity and social justice are the guiding principles and justifications for deploying these programmes. In this way, there is a need for a dynamic, bottom-up approach to translating social protection programmes. After all, the call for equity and social justice must not encourage top-down subjection or relations of domination in these programmes.

DANSK RESUMÉ

Denne ph.d.-afhandling fokuserer på styringspraksis i et program til social beskyttelse i Ghana, nemlig kontantoverførselsprogrammet *Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty* (LEAP). I lighed med programmer i mange andre udviklingslande er LEAP-programmet et offentligt program til social beskyttelse, der giver kontantoverførsler til fattige husstande i lokalsamfundene i Ghana. De væsentligste sociale magtsfærer i denne forbindelse inkluderer transnationale organisationer, regeringen i Ghana og de husstande, der er omfattet af programmet i lokalsamfundene. De væsentligste sociale aktører inden for disse magtsfærer er tekniske rådgivere hos de transnationale organisationer, programrådgivere i LEAP-programmet, lokalsamfundsrepræsentanter og omsorgsgivere i de husstande, der er omfattet af programmet, samt familier i lokalsamfundene. Disse sociale aktører og sfærer interagerer med hinanden med henblik på at gøre implementeringen af programmet i lokalsamfundene mulig. Det er dog programmyndighederne og de tekniske rådgivere hos de transnationale organisationer, der igangsætter disse interaktioner på det nationale niveau. I den henseende går implementeringen af programmet fra det nationale niveau gennem magtnetværk til omsorgsgiverniveauet i de husstande, der er omfattet af programmet i lokalsamfundene.

Det centrale spørgsmål i denne undersøgelse vedrører måden, hvorpå de ansvarlige for kontantoverførselsprogrammet LEAP konstruerer og styrer lokalsamfundsrepræsentanterne og omsorgsgiverne i forhold til programmet. Derudover undersøger jeg, hvordan repræsentanterne og omsorgsgiverne konstruerer og styrer sig selv i forhold til programmet, familierne og de lokalsamfund, som de lever i. Denne ph.d.-afhandling bygger på en Foucault-baseret analyse, der er inspireret af en interdisciplinær diskursiv tilgang, der trækker på grundlæggende analyseredskaber fra diskursstudier med henblik på at undersøge de centrale sociale aktørers styringspraksis inden for programmet. Afhandlingen undersøger således programrådgivernes handlinger, beskrivelser af praksisser og praksisser i deres styring af adfærd blandt lokalsamfundsrepræsentanterne og omsorgsgiverne i de husstande, der er omfattet af programmet i lokalsamfundene. På tilsvarende vis undersøges handlinger, beskrivelser og praksisser blandt disse lokalsamfundsrepræsentanter og omsorgsgivere i forhold til programmyndighederne samt de moralske værdier blandt familierne og i de lokalsamfund, hvor de bor.

Undersøgelsen er dermed et refleksivt og kritisk etnografisk studie, der anvender dybdegående interviews, fokusgruppediskussioner og videooptagelser af naturligt forekommende interaktioner som empiriske data. Den trækker på Foucaults begreber om diskurs, magt og governmentalitet og anvender de væsentligste elementer af kritiske diskursstudier, konversationsanalyse og multimodal analyse til at undersøge handlinger, beskrivelser og praksisser blandt de vigtigste sociale aktører inden for programmet. Afhandlingens analyse fokuserer således på programapparatets

objektiviserende praksisser, sammenstødet mellem magt og rationaliteter i forhold til rationelle, programmatiske og normgivende kontroller og familiernes og lokalsamfundenes moralske værdier. Dertil kommer, at undersøgelsen fokuserer på de praktiske konsekvenser af disse objektiviserende praksisser og normgivende kontroller i forhold til kvindelige omsorgsgivere og repræsentanter samt 'counter conduct', kritik og modstand blandt mandlige repræsentanter og kvindelige omsorgsgivere i forhold til rationaliteter og kontroller. Afhandlingen kaster med andre ord lys over styringspraksisser i implementeringen af programmer til social beskyttelse.

Ph.d.-afhandlingen viser sammenstødet mellem magt, rationaliteter og værdier i den traditionelle familie og de vestlige eller moderne, sociale strukturer og relationer, hvad angår normgivende kontroller af kontantoverførselsprogrammet LEAP. På den måde afdækker studiet, hvordan programmyndighederne ved udbetalingsstederne og i lokalsamfundene konstant overvåger og minder omsorgsgiverne om formålet med kontantoverførsler samt måden, hvorpå disse skal anvendes, og hvordan omsorgsgiverne skal opføre sig. Sådanne normgivende og disciplinerende kontrolmekanismer uden reference til omsorgsgivernes subjektive oplevelser i lokalsamfundene og det traditionelle familiesystems artikulatoriske praksisser begrænser omsorgsgivernes åbninger og muligheder i forhold til at agere og styre dem selv med reference til egne interesser og de øvrige familiemedlemmers interesser.

Afhandlingen afdækker de objektiviserende praksisser, der ligger i programmekanismerne, og som konstruerer kvinder som de "naturlige omsorgsgivere" og de bedste forvaltere af kontantoverførslerne samt bruger dem som kanaler til opfyldelse af programmets mål (dvs. husstandsforbrug). Afhandlingen viser, hvordan de kvindelige omsorgsgivere og lokalsamfundsrepræsentanter udøver deres adfærd og refererer den til den måde, hvorpå programmet objektiviserer og konstruerer dem. I modsætning til kvindernes submissive adfærd viser afhandlingen, at de mandlige lokalsamfundsrepræsentanter er aktive i kritikken af programmets normgivende handlinger og praksisser, der tages for givet. Nogle af omsorgsgiverne og repræsentanterne, og i særdeleshed de mandlige repræsentanter, vil således ikke regulere dem selv i overensstemmelse med de "rationelle" forventninger og forpligtelser, der ligger i programmet.

Ydermere viser afhandlingen de begrænsninger, der ligger i programmer til social beskyttelse i form af den programmatiske konstruktion af handlinger, angivelse af adfærd og underkastelse af deltagerne i forhold til programmets rationaliteter og apparater. Dette sker på trods af, at lighed og social retfærdighed er de styrende principper og det, der retfærdiggør implementeringen af disse programmer. Der er således behov for en dynamisk, 'bottom-up' tilgang til implementeringen af programmer til social beskyttelse. Når alt kommer til alt, må målet om lighed og social retfærdighed ikke motivere til 'top-down' underkastelse eller dominansforhold inden for disse programmer.

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First, special thanks go to all the caregivers, the focal persons, the LEAP programme officials, and the Technical Officers of transnational agencies for granting me interviews, and for allowing me to audiotape conversations and videotape key interactional events of the programme in local communities. Thank you for making this thesis possible. Without you, there would have been nothing to analyse and document.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the research question(s), the scope and focus of this study, and the gendered focus of the research question. It presents the social actors in focus and provides a summary of the findings of this study and the outline of this thesis. Finally, it present a brief context of this study below without pre-empting the detailed presentation of the state of the art and the overview of the Ghanaian context in the next chapter.

Fundamentally, like many human societies, Ghanaian society is not the same as it was before, during, and after colonial rule (Nukunya, 2016). Certainly, there have been shifts in social structure, organisation, and relations, and these shifts persist into the present. As Nukunya (2016) notes, in present-day Ghana traditional social structures such as the family,[1] in the extended sense, authority and relations have not disappeared with the advent of modern or Western forms of social organisation and government. In this way, the traditional and modern forms of social organisations and relations coexist in Ghana, and social protection discourse in the country appears to take two forms in terms of the family and the government of the state.

Accordingly, it appears as though the welfare of the population has become the dual responsibility of the family (mainly concerned with the lifeworld and kinship) and the government (based on technical systems, institutions, and scientific discourses) with different rationalities and power/knowledge technologies. On one hand, the traditional social institutions and structures emphasise the building of family ties and the strengthening of durable kinship practices for the benefit of the self and of family members, which is a kind of traditional moral subjectivation (Foucault, 1990b). By this, I mean the ways in which the family members refer their conduct or practices to the moral values of the family, in relation to tradition and culture. On the other hand, the modern system of government – biopower/biopolitics – emphasises the development of individuals as productive citizens for themselves, individually, the household, and the modern state in which kinship appears less relevant, which I will refer to as a techno-moral subjectivation, but in Foucault's sense, it is simply the "care of the self" (Foucault, 2005). In this way, the structuring and ordering of social life in present-day Ghana is not uniform; it is characterised by tensions, uncertainties, and contradictions. The social protection discourse of the family in the context of Ghana has its roots in kinship relations and organisations, whereas that of the state is anchored on the social welfare discourses of the state government.

[1] Even though there appears to be various descriptions of traditional societies (cf. Nukunya, 2016), in the context of this study, I use this concept to refer to the localised and persistent beliefs, relations, and social organisations at variance with Western or modern social structure and government.

Even though both discourses coexist in contemporary Ghanaian society, this study explores a key social protection discourse of the government of the state, the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) cash transfer programme, in relation to the discourse of the family. The government of Ghana touts the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) cash transfer programme as the flagship of social protection programmes in the country, which provides cash grants to poor households. The programme receives financial and technical support from transnational development agencies such as the World Bank, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and the Department for International Development (DFID). In addition, many institutions have conducted impact assessment studies since its inception in 2008. Notwithstanding these impact assessment studies, the ways in which the government conducts the conduct of the recipients of the cash grants, including the ways that these recipients conduct themselves in relation to the prescriptions and obligations of the programme, has not been investigated from a critical perspective. By this, I mean that these studies appear to have taken for granted the practices of both the authorities and the recipients in the domain of the programme as totalising, natural, unproblematic, and power-neutral.

However, a review of existing studies demonstrates the rapid spread and success of social protection programmes in developing countries (Barrientos, 2014; Barrientos & Hulme, 2009). These studies have revealed the calculations, techniques, apparatuses, documents, and procedures (Bhatia & Bhabha, 2017; Kidd, 2017), the constitution of subjectivities (Bradshaw, 2008; Molyneux, 2006), and the relations of power (Molyneux, Jones, & Samuels, 2016; Sabates-Wheeler & Roelen, 2011). Other studies have shown that the question of gender equality (Patel, 2012) in these programmes needs attention (Holmes & Jones, 2013). However, I argue that a reflexive and critical approach to investigating the translation of social protection programmes could concretely demonstrate and illuminate understanding concerning the ways the concrete actions and practices of actors in the domains of these programmes construct and constitute subjects to accomplish governmental rationalities in developing countries.

1.1. THE RESEARCH QUESTION(S)

The central question of this study is about how the authorities of the LEAP cash transfer programme construct and govern the community focal persons and the caregivers in relation to the programme. Additionally, how do these focal persons and caregivers construct and govern themselves in connection with the programme and the local communities in which they live? This question is twofold, and it is based on Foucault's notion of the conduct of conducts in the dual, active, and reciprocal sense of power relations and governmentality in context. In this regard, this study investigates the main research question in two parts. In the first part, I explore the concrete actions of the programme authorities on the actions of the focal persons and the caregivers in local communities. In the second part, I investigate the concrete

actions of the community focal persons and the caregivers in relation to themselves, the programme, and the practices of the family in the local communities.

Furthermore, I present below my research sub-questions, which are instrumental in providing answers to address the main research question above. The sub-questions of this study comprise the following:

1. How do the programme authorities objectivise poor communities and poor households, and construct focal persons and caregivers respectively?

2. In which ways do the programme authorities translate the programme in peripheral communities, and how do these authorities (re)produce and exercise power in these communities?

3. In which ways do community focal persons and caregivers conduct themselves in relation to the authority of the programme and the practices of the family?

4. How do the programme authorities construct women and men, and how do these men and women construct themselves and relate their performances to the authority of the programme or the practices of the family?

The above questions provide direction to the theoretical, methodological, and analytical frameworks and data requirements for this thesis. The next section outlines the scope of this study.

1.2. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The review of the literature in this field points to the fact that social protection programmes in developing countries have increased rapidly. However, these findings also indicate that the translation of these programmes is not without challenges. The deployment of disciplinary and regulatory mechanisms or technologies (Hickey & Mohan, 2008); the calculations, techniques, apparatuses, documents, and procedures (Bhatia & Bhabha, 2017; Kidd, 2017); the construction of subjects and the constitution of subjectivities (Bradshaw, 2008; Molyneux, 2006); and the relations of power (Molyneux et al., 2016; Sabates-Wheeler & Roelen, 2011) are all problematic. Scholars have criticised the narrow focus of assessing the impacts of these programmes (Holmes & Jones, 2013; McCord, 2012), the constitution of the recipients of these programmes as market subjects (Cannon, 2014), and the construction of women as "good" and "'bad' mothers" (Bradshaw, 2008, p. 201) within these programmes. Despite their success in reducing income poverty among

women in poor households, the voices and rights of women are marginal in these programmes and gender equality is in limbo (Patel, 2013).

However, it appears that these programmes are often designed and evaluated in a positivistic linear programmatic style by technical experts (Dahler-Larsen, 2012), and in a way, the problems that these experts claim to solve are reduced to numbers. The LEAP cash transfer programme, the flagship of social protection programmes in Ghana, is one such example, appearing to be technically programmatic and subjected to positivistic evaluations as a way of measuring impact. However, empirical studies of social protection programmes, and the LEAP cash transfer programme in particular, have not explored the ways in which public authorities seek to govern or influence the conduct of the focal persons and the caregivers of the programme (Miller & Rose, 2008). Additionally, the ways that these recipients conduct themselves or shape their own conduct in relation to the practices of the programme and the families in which they live remain unexplored.

The interference of the government in the lifeworlds of family members, the programmatic control of recipients of cash grants in programmed households, and the application of disciplinary power (Hickey & Mohan, 2008) can manipulate and impact the actions and decisions of households and families (Devereux, 2002). If governing people is not a matter of domination, but rather an exercise of relations of power in which the subject of power is "free" to act; and in turn, if morality, knowledge, and language are embedded in governmental rationalities and programmes (Miller & Rose, 2008), then it is possible to investigate the social domains of power within the LEAP cash transfer programme. In that regard, this study draws on Foucault's notion of discourse, power, and governmentality. In doing so, this study eschews "pure" governance theory,[2] which is a characteristic of "developmentalist political logic" because it legitimates "technocratic discourses of 'good governance' and the international policies that they affirm" (Walters, 2012, pp. 65–66). As such, the study is not intended to confirm the neoliberal governmental practices of social protection programmes, even though there could be some overlaps with critical studies of governmentality. Similarly, this project is not articulated to non-critical gendered notions or development theories.

Even though the previous literature on social protection programmes such as the LEAP programme focus on measuring the impacts of the programme in local communities, these studies scarcely implement a reflective or critical ethnographic methodology.[3] In this way, the concrete practices and actions of public authorities

[2] As Walters (2012) noted, such a theory "projects a consensual and technocratic image of the world in which it seems the major problems facing people can indeed be resolved getting all the relevant partners to sit around the table" (p.66).

[3] A reflexive and critical ethnographic approach enables this study to "go beyond relying solely on interview accounts" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018, p. 213), and not take actions and practices natural in the moments of their occurrence.

seeking to shape the conduct of the focal persons and the caregivers, and these focal persons and caregivers shaping their own conduct, go unnoticed and undocumented. For instance, the Institute of Statistical, Social, and Economic Research (ISSER), and North Carolina University in the United States, used a longitudinal propensity score matching (PSM) design combined with questionnaires in a joint impact assessment of the LEAP cash transfer programme (Handa et al., 2013). Such studies and the methods that they employ appear to reflect the "developmentalist political logic that the more critical versions of governmentality" (Walters, 2012, p. 65) as eschewed by discourse studies and ethnography. It appears that the implementation of non-critical studies legitimises and naturalises technocratic discourses in governance theory and the structural theories of families and kinship relations in Ghanaian society. On the contrary, a Foucault-based analysis inspired by an interdisciplinary discourse studies framework that draws on the analytic features and imports of discourse approaches, such as critical discourse analysis, conversation analysis, and multimodal analysis, can shed linght on governing practices. In this way, the concrete actions and practices of the programme authorities, the focal persons, and the caregivers in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme become visible and intelligible.

However, as McIlvenny (2016) noted, "it is rare to find a study of governmentality that attends to the [ethnographic or] *micro-ethnographic* [emphasis added] detail of actual practices, procedures and technologies of governance, especially, those practices that manifest as what Foucault called [conduct or] *'counter-conducts'* [emphasis added]" (p. 265). Thus, this study adopts an ethnographic strategy in a reflexive and critical sense as the methodological entry point for investigating governmentality in terms of the conduct of conducts by analysing in detail the concrete practices of Programme Officers, focal persons and the caregivers of the LEAP cash transfer programme. The ethnographic sites include the programme itself, the local communities, and the moments of the interactions in which the actors are co-participants.

There are multiple social domains of power, networks, and actors (national and transnational actors, focal persons, and caregivers) in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme. However, the programme itself encompasses key facets and activities in which the actors interact. In this regard, investigating the LEAP programme from the critical perspective of discourse and governmentality requires an interdisciplinary discourse studies framework, as mentioned above. As a Foucault-based analysis, then, this study relies on the analytic features and the imports of the discourse approaches mentioned above to investigate the concretes actions of the actors, and practices in the domain of the programme.[4] In this way, this study analyses the relations of power by examing the actions and relations between the programme

[4] In this regard, the study investigates the "dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings; (…) a network of relations, constantly in tension, [and] in activity" (Foucault, 1995, p. 26), at the site of practice.

officials in detail, the focal persons and the caregivers of the programmed households. In addition, this analysis captures the dual sense of the conduct of conducts; that is, the ways in which the programme authorities seek to govern the conduct of the focal persons and the caregivers, and the ways in which these individuals construct and govern themselves in relation to the practices of the programme and the local families in the communities in which they live.

1.3. FOCUS OF THE STUDY

As pure governance theory appears to be ideological and emphasises particular regimes of practices or government in ways that appear to block the persistence and nuances of alternative and dynamic ways of exercising power, it is important to employ reflexive and critical theoretical and methodological approaches and discourse analytical features in order to investigate novel forms of governing (Dean, 2010; Walters, 2012). After all, governing people must not be a way of forcing them to do whatever the governing body wants them to do, independent of their lifeworld experiences (Foucault, 1993). In this way, governing or the exercise of power does not necessarily mean total domination (Foucault, 1995, 2002e). For this study, the LEAP cash transfer programme is not considered to be a fixed and rational entity, but rather as the site through which the social actors (Programme Officers, focal persons, and caregivers) negotiate governing practices and accomplish actions. In a sense, the programme appears to be a product of multiple practices and actions enmeshed in a power struggle within the discourses of the community, transnational agencies, and the government as the initiator and the translator of the LEAP cash transfer programme.

The purpose of this study is to understand the ways that the government governs the community focal persons and caregivers in the domain of social protection as a disciplinary and regulatory programme, in which programme authorities shape and conduct the conducts of these individuals in the local communities of Ghana. In that regard, this thesis focuses on the account of practices, and the on-going concrete actions and interactions between the programme authorities, the focal persons, and the caregivers in local communities. Moreover, this work focuses on the moments of social interactions, the rationalities, the forms of conduct and counter-conducts, as well as the semiotic resources and technologies that these actors employ in order to accomplish actions and social interactions in context.

As mentioned above, this thesis presents a Foucault-based analysis informed by his notions of discourse, power, and governmentality, and inspired by an interdisciplinary discourse studies framework that aims at a critical understanding of the multiplicities of rationalities, governing practices, and the actions of programme authorities, focal persons, and caregivers in local communities. In this regard, the analysis is driven by a combination of key analytical features of three discourse approaches as mentioned above in order to access the concrete actions, accounts, and practices of the key actors

of the LEAP cash transfer programme. An understanding of the governing practices and actions of these social actors is generated by analysing accounts, actions, and interactions from in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and video recordings of naturally-occurring interactions.

1.4. THE GENDERED FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION

In questioning and subjecting the practices of the LEAP cash transfer programme to a critical analysis, it has become apparent that gender traverses key facets or activities of the programme in the ways in which men and women talk and are being talked about. In this way, this study takes into account the gendering or de-gendering of the actions of the community focal persons and the caregivers in the domain of the programme (Rolandsen Agustin, 2013). Thus, an analysis of the gendered actions of the actors in this study is linked with the analysis of the practices of the LEAP cash transfer programme. In that regard, although gender traverses the entire analysis of this study, a separate chapter is devoted to its analysis in order to suit the logical structure of this thesis. In doing so, that chapter investigates the ways that the actions of the programme authorities construct and represent the actions of men and women in relation to the authority of the programme, and the ways that these men and women perform actions in relation to the authority of the programme and the practices of the family. This also takes into consideration the ways that the technologies and mechanisms of the programme transform men and women into governable subjects.

In fact, overlooking the concrete practices of the programme authorities in relation to gender at the intersection of the programme obscures the unique concrete practices of men and women in the social domains of power relations that reinforce or challenge gendered subjectivities and gendered identities. A focus on investigating the production of gendered subjects through actions and practices embedded in power relations at the intersection of discourses highlights the instrumentality of governmental technologies in relation to gender. The disciplinary and regulatory mechanisms construct and constitute both men and women, and can have practical implications for the ways in which these men and women construct themselves in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme.

The gendered dimension offers potential for highlighting the fact that gender-based subjection and unequal relations of power in postmodern society have not disappeared (Sprague, 2016). Governmental initiatives such as the LEAP programme are not gender neutral, because governmental policies and programmes are either gendered or de-gendered along the rationalities of the government. Thus, I argue that gendering or de-gendering a policy or a programme does not necessarily benefit the gendered subjects in the discursive field. That being said, policy or programme gendering or de-gendering is a discursive strategy and a power mechanism which the government and transnational agencies mobilise and deploy in the domain of social protection toward accomplishing a governmental rationality (Rolandsen Agustin, 2012, 2013).

In addition, the traditional distinctions of men and women in many cultural contexts and social domains of power or social organisations are deeply rooted (van Dijk, 2008). However, the focus on gender in this project shifts away from a mere itemisation of the essential differences between men and women in order to explore the discursive practices—linguistic and contextual resources—that social actors employ in order to construct or produce gendered subjects and differences (Cameron, 1997) in the domain of the programme. In this regard, the gendered dimension of this thesis is reflexive and draws on a set of strategies and connections to "feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis" (Baxter, 2018, p. 14). Gendered relations of power, social struggles, contradictions, and the politics of distributing socio-economic resources (Gee, 2014) do have implications for men and women in the domain of social protection. In the next section, and in relation to the scope and focus of this study, I present the key social actors in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme.

1.5. THE SOCIAL ACTORS IN FOCUS

The social actors in the perspective of this study, and as outlined in this thesis, are those individuals whose practices relate to one another in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme. As I mentioned earlier, the LEAP cash transfer programme is a government social protection initiative with Programme Officers whose mandate is to translate the activities of the programme into the local communities. These authorities do so with the support of district and community focal persons, who are the intermediaries between the Programme Officers and the caregivers, who are the recipients of the cash grants on behalf of programmed households. By programmed households, I refer to those households in the local communities that are certified by the programme authorities to receive the cash grants from the government. The apparatus of the programme constructs and installs these focal persons, and in one way or another, their actions are dependent on this apparatus. In addition, the caregivers are members of families and representatives of the programmed households in the local communities. Thus, it is the constitution of these social actors, their practices, and relations to one another that are of interest in this study.

1.6. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This PhD thesis demonstrates governing practices in relation to social protection programmes in the context of a developing country, and the translation of the LEAP cash transfer programme in Ghana. It problematises the clash of power, rationalities in the domain of social protection, and the clash of values in terms of the traditional family and the Western or modern social structures and relations in the domain of the programme. In this way, this study demonstrates, as we observe in Chapter 10, that the programme authorities constantly monitored and reminded these caregivers, both at the pay points and in their communities, about the purpose of the cash grants and the ways in which they must use these grants and conduct themselves. Such

prescriptive and disciplinary control mechanisms without recourse to the subjective experiences of caregivers in the local communities and the articulatory practices of the traditional family systems limit the openings and opportunities of the caregivers to act and govern themselves in their own interests and in the interests of other family members.

This research reveals the ways in which the programme constructs and naturalises women in the domain of the programme as "natural caregivers", better mangers of the cash grants, and use them as conduits for accomplishing the objective of the programme – household consumption. It demonstrates the practical consequences of the actions of the programme in regard to these constructions in the way that these women perform and refer their conduct to the ways that the programme constructs and it represents them. In contrast to the submissive performances of these women, the male focal persons in the local communities are active in contesting the prescriptive and taken-for-granted actions and practices of the programme and how these actions bind the women to the LEAP cash transfer programme. In this way, some of the caregivers and the focal persons, particularly the male focal persons in the local communities, do not want to conduct themselves in relation to the rational expectations and obligations of the programme.

This demonstrates the problematics of social protection programmes in terms of the programmatic construction of actions, the prescription of conducts, and the subjection of the subjects of social protection programmes to the rationalities and apparatuses of the programme, even though equity and social justice are the guiding principles and justifications for deploying social protection programmes. Consequently, it reveals the manifestations of counter-conducts, contestation, and the resistance of the subjects of social protection programmes to unsettle and shed light on the taken-for-granted equity and social justice agenda of public social protection initiatives, such the LEAP cash transfer programme. In this way, there is a need for a dynamic bottom-up approach for the translation of social protection programmes. After all, the call for equity and social justice must not encourage a top-down subjection or relations of domination.

1.7. OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

This thesis comprises twelve chapters. It starts with Chapter 1, which presents a brief summary of the study in context, the research questions, scope, and focus of this study. It discusses the gendered dimension of the research question and the key social actors in the context of this study. The chapter ends with a summary of the findings, an outline of this thesis, and the brief narrative that inspired the researcher to conduct the study. Chapter 2 begins with a presentation of the state of the art, which briefly presents the concept of gender, social protection, and development, and discusses current studies in the field of social protection programmes, particularly in the context of developing countries and presents the positions of this study. The chapter presents

an overview of the Ghanaian context, the social structure and social relations, and the socio-political system. Lastly, it ends with a presentation of the conceptual model of this study depicting the social actors, the social domains of power, and the overlapping power relations within the LEAP cash transfer programme.

Chapter 3 is a presentation of the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of this study. In this chapter, the study explores the concepts of discourse, power, and governmentality from the perspectives of Foucault and other notable scholars in the field. It discusses governmentality, biopower, and the concepts of critique, counter-conducts, and resistance in power relations. The chapter presents the construction of the subject and the self in power relations and a discourse and governmentality perspective of gender. Finally, it closes with a presentation of an interdisciplinary discourse framework of this study, which draws upon the key features of three discourse approaches in order to analyse the concrete practice of governing. Chapter 4 provides detailed descriptions and explanations of the methodological and analytical considerations of this study. It discusses the link between discourse, ethnography, and governmentality as the starting point of the methodological considerations. It presents the ethnographic strategy of this study, contextualises the local settings of this study, and discusses the methods of gathering empirical data, and the transcription and translation strategies. In addition, it provides an exposition of the analytical framework of this study by presenting an interdisciplinary analysis model that indicates the social domains of power, the key features and analytical imports of the three discourse frameworks. Lastly, it presents a guide for reading this thesis.

Chapter 5 provides a brief genealogy of public social protection in Ghana's welfare discourse and discusses the genealogy of social protection programmes, and the market logic. It presents a preliminary analysis of the structural arrangements, key facets and practices of the ongoing LEAP cash transfer programme of the government of Ghana. Chapter 6 starts with an analysis of the process of constructing and objectivising the subjects of the LEAP cash transfer programme. It presents an analysis of the clash of power and ways of circumventing these clashes. Finally, the chapter discusses the dividing practices of the programme and counter-practices from below.

Chapter 7 outlines the analysis of the ways the programme constructs visible spaces in the local communities and acts on the actions of the subjects by asserting power in these spaces. It explains the power struggles between Programme Officers and the subjects of the programme in these spaces of power. In addition, the chapter provides an analysis of the clashes of rationalities in these spaces, and outlines the contestations of the subjects during the construction of these spaces in the local communities. Chapter 8 presents an exposition of the (re)production and exercise of power in the visible spaces of the programme, and provides an analysis of the ways in which the programme secretariat and the government exercise power at a distance through a "resemiotised handshake". In addition, it provides a thorough analysis of the

interactional moments of the cash payment event in the local communities, and elucidates the unsettling of the taken-for-granted exercise of official power in the interactional events of the programme, such as the cash payment activity. Finally, it provides an analysis of the ways that the programme authorities schematises and controls the actions of community focal persons in interactional events and the ways these focal persons resist official summons to act in a certain way.

Chapter 9 explicitly presents the competing forms of knowledge and power at work between the programme authorities and the community focal persons in the domain of the programme. It presents an analysis of the ways that these social actors mobilise and assert power in interactions during the cash payment event at pay points in the local communities. This chapter also outlines an analysis of the ways in which community focal persons assert "communal power" in the moments of the payment activity. Chapter 10 explains the ways that the programme acts upon the actions of the caregivers in the local communities, and presents the manifestations of the programme rationalities and the ways that the programme regulates the conducts of caregivers. In addition, it elucidates the translation of the programme rationalities and the enforcement of the ordered practices, including surveillance mechanisms within the programme. Finally, the chapter presents the conduct of caregivers and the manifestations of counter-conducts.

Chapter 11 is an exploration of the governing of women in the local communities as the subjects of the LEAP programme. It presents the ways that the programme authorities legitimise the control of women by constructing and naturalising them as caregivers and better managers of the cash grants in the local community in order to accomplish the goals of the programme. The chapter also explains the performances of women in the local communities in relation to the programme, and the contestations of men in relation to the ways that the programme constructs and naturalises women within the initiative. Chapter 12 presents the discussion of findings, an assessment of the theory, methodology, and limitations. Finally, the chapter ends with suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. THE STATE OF THE ART

This chapter is presented in three parts. First, it presents, in brief, the concepts of gender, social protection, and development discourses, and their interconnections concerning social protection programmes in the context of developing countries. Second, it presents relevant studies that focus on the translation of social protection programmes in developing countries, and the gender dynamics embedded in these programmes. The third part outlines the current standing of issues, and positions this study by questioning the taken-for-granted practice of social protection programmes to take the findings of these studies further from a reflexive and critical perspective.

2.1. GENDER, SOCIAL PROTECTION, AND DEVELOPMENT

The concepts of gender and social protections are not new in national and international development policies and programmes. These interwoven concepts have featured prominently in development literature over the past decades and continue to be prominent in development studies or research at present. Literature on the connections between gender and development continue to flourish since the inception of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in 1946 through to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action – the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. Similarly, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000, and recently the adoption of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in 2016, continue to push further discussions in regard to gender and social protection in national and international development. In spite of all these policies and declarations, there is little to show in regard to gender equality, rights and social justice, thus, there is the need to rethink the linkage between policy formulation and translation (Parpart, 2009; Parpart, 2014).

Gender does not lend itself to easy and straightforward definition. Apart from the varying philosophical strands that influence the different conceptualisations of gender, the shifts in the conceptualisation of the concept of development pose a challenge to a universal definition of gender. The shifts in gendered development approaches, for instance, from women in development (WID) in the 1970s to gender and development (GAD) in the 1990s (Holmes & Jones, 2013) unsettle attempts to promote a universal definition of gender.[5] These frameworks have influenced policy

[5] The women in development approach in the 1970s sort to promote women's access to practical needs such as income and consumption aimed getting women involved in development. On the other hand, the gender and development approach in the 1990s was much concerned with promoting the strategic needs in terms of rights and social justice, making getting women involve in decision making (Holmes & Jones, 2013).

formulation and translation in diverse ways (Connelly, Li, MacDonaU, & Parpart, 2000).

The World Health Organisation (2016) defines gender as "the socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men" (para. 2). Even though the defitinition of gender is predicated on culture and the binary categories of men and women, these binaries can no longer serve as universal containers for categorising individuals. In this regard, we need to question the taken for granted categorisation of individuals into men and women (Butler, 2006) in development policy, planning, programming, and translation.

As the declaration of rights, social justice, and sustainable development gain currency, providing social protection to the populations of both developed and developing countries is on the rise (Barrientos, 2014). The adoption of the International Labour Oraganisation (ILO) Social Protection Floors Recommendation (No. 202) in 2012 serves as catalyst for the provision of social protection in many countries (International Labour Office, 2011). [6] Like the concept of gender, social protection has been defined in diverse ways by scholars, development practioners, and national and transnational development agencies. The many views and ideologies in regard to the shifting conceptualisations of development and the binary categorisation of countries in terms of developed and developing might present multiple definitions of the concept of social protection, and varying approaches to policy and programmes designs and translations. However, social protection may refer to "public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society" (Norton, Conway, & Foster, 2002, p. 543). Their definition of social protection encompasses the contexts of both the developed and the developing countries in regard to the ILO social protection floor, and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which encompass gender equality, equity, and social justice.

Different conceptualisations and understandings of the concept of social protection have led to the development and the promotion of multiplicities of social protection frameworks and instruments across the globe. These frameworks are for formulating policies and translating programmes. Notable among these frameworks are the social risk management framework (Holzmann & Jørgensen, 2001), the transformative social protection approach (Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux, 2007), the gender-analytical framework (Kabeer, 2008), and recently, Holmes and Jones (2013) proposed a strategic social protection framework. Of course, the gender focus of social protection is quite explicit in the last two frameworks, which indicates gender is a

[6] According to the United Nations Chief Executives Board (CEB), social protection floor is "an integrated set of social policies designed to guarantee income security and access to social services for all, paying particular attention to vulnerable groups, and protecting and empowering people across the life cycle" (International Labour Office, 2011, para. 9).

crucial dimension of social protection. As I have mentioned, the shifts in national and international development discourses from a narrow focus on income and consumption to more broader human-centred development concerns must have acounted for in the significance of gender in social protection.

In developed countries, social protection appears to be estblished and well entrenched in the governing of the state, but it does not appear to be so in the context of developing countries (Barrientos, 2014). In that regard, social protection instruments, actors and the translation of programmes vary in these two contexts. In the developing countries, social protection instruments include social insurance, employment interventions, and social assistance (Barrientos, 2011). These instruments are combined in the delivery of some social protection programmes in these countries. As states in developed countries are solely responsible for the provision of social protection to its populations, social protection programmes in the developing countries appear be delivered by the state in collaboration with transnational agencies (donors) or instutions. Thus, contradictory and overlapping roles and the delimma of the governing of the state and donor agencies in regard to the design and translation of social protection programmes are visible (Hickey & Mohan, 2008). One of these programmes in which the state collaborate with transnational agencies in order to deliver social protection to poor households in Ghana is the LEAP cash transfer programme.

Similar programmes are wide spread in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America (Barrientos, 2014), and Barrientos and Hulme (2009) describe the rapid rise of these programmes as a "quiet revolution" (p. 440). Notable among these programmes apart from Ghana's LEAP cash transfer programme include: Bolsa Familia in Brazil, PROGRESA-Oportunidades in Mexico, National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme in India, DiBao in China, Productive Safety Net Program in Ethiopia, and Child Support Grant in South Africa (Barrientos, 2014) and many more. The status of social protection policies, programmes, and instruments are widely discussed by scholars, and in this regard, the next section is a review of literature in the context of developing countries that is relevant to this study.

2.2. SOCIAL PROTECTION: A REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES

The focus of this section is a review of existing studies connected to social protection programmes in the context of developing countries. The section is divided in three parts: the first part focuses on the status of studies about the translation of social protection programmes; the second part concentrates on more gender-focused studies about the translation of social programmes, and the third part positions this study in relation to the findings of existing studies.

2.2.1. TRANSLATING SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMMES

Beyond the frameworks of social protection that I outlined in section 3.1, at the meta-level of social protection discourses Barrientos (2014) noted that a "social policy/public finance approach" and a "development approach" (pp. 191-192) are the basis of translating social protection programmes. He pointed out that the social policy/public finance approach focuses on reducing the poverty and the vulnerability of poor households, whereas the development approach focuses on broader development concerns. In developing countries the social assistance instrument is characteristic of social protection, and cash transfer programmes have spread and risen rapidly (Barrientos & Hulme, 2009) in these countries. In this regard, Barrientos (2014) recommends social assistance programmes be linked to "productivist" interventions to improve the productive capacity of the members of households involved in the programme. (p. 200). However, he acknowledges the complexities in terms of conditions and prescriptions in regard to translating such linkages in developing countries. As Barrientos and Santibáñez (2009) noted, in Latin America social assistance programmes adopt sophisticated methods of ranking households in order to reach those in need of social assistance. They argued that for fear of "social unrest and opposition," governments in Latin America do not have another option but to provide social assistance to poor households.

The success of social protection programmes, particularly cash transfer programmes, continue to be visible in development research. Not only have social assistance programmes spread rapidly in developing countries, the success of these programmes have also been widely acknowledged and documented (Barrientos, 2014; Barrientos & Hulme, 2009; Davis, Gaarder, Handa, & Yablonski, 2012; Handa et al., 2013; Holzmann, 2009). Even though there are success stories across developing countries that demonstrate the impact of social protection programmes, some studies do criticise the methodologies and approaches of these impact assessment studies for narrowly focusing on measuring impacts in relation to income and consumption, and efficiency in terms of cost (Holmes & Jones, 2013; McCord, 2012). However, others have argued that social protection programmes in these countries are attempts to constitute recipients in relation to market ideology. In a study of Mexico's Orptunidades cash transfer programme, Cannon (2014) concluded that the subjects these programmes create in terms of recipients "consistent with the liberal economic figure of *homo economicus"* (p. 92).

The procedures of selecting poor households and recipients of social protection programmes have led to widespread discussion in regard to inclusion and exclusion (Bhatia & Bhabha, 2017; Kidd, 2017). Kidd noted that the mechanisms that these programmes use in developing countries to select recipients are not only problematic, but they appear to be inaccurate and arbitrary. He cited the proxy means test and community-based targeting mechanisms, and the entire process of selecting, registering, and paying the recipients of cash transfer programmes in developing

countries, as potential sources of exclusion. As Kidd is concerned about the ways in which the multiple mechanisms can exclude individuals from cash transfer programmes, Bhatia and Bhabha are concerned about the privacy of the participants of social protection programmes in India. They argued that using the biometric information of people in the Aadhaar Scheme without effective data protection legislation could compromise individual privacy. In addition, they observed that the Aadhaar is a surveillance mechanism of the state.

In terms of governing the translation of social protection programmes, the focus of a progressive or transformative programme on building state-citizen relations beyond the household and individual levels to promote accountability (Molyneux et al., 2016). Molyneux, Jones, and Samuels have argued in their paper that cash transfer programmes are adopting "social accountability and citizen engagement mechanisms" that position recipients as active rather than passive participants. They noted that the Bolsa Familia programme in Brazil combined monitoring and evaluation with fiscal transparency mechanisms in order to promote social accountability and citizen participation. However, like other scholars (Hickey & Mohan, 2008), they hold the view that social protection programmes that rely only on beneficiary participations to promote accountability could lead to programme failure. In remote local communities, "the scope for active and independent engagement is often limited as the most vulnerable are not always able or willing to provide feedback on programmes, let alone complain to higher authorities, often fearing reprisals" (Molyneux et al., 2016, p. 1093). In this regard, they argued that social protection programmes need to pay attention to the issues of politics and power to promote accountability between citizens and the state. Hickey and Mohan (Hickey & Mohan, 2008) have argued for the use of disciplinary power to promote accountability.

To conclude, the translation of social protection programmes in developing countries is greeted with praise, impact and success stories in development countries. In spite of this praise, scholars share varying perspectives in regard to complexities in terms of design and translation mechanism (Bhatia & Bhabha, 2017; Kidd, 2017), and the complexity of linking strategies and productivist recommendations to improve broader development outcomes (Barrientos, 2014). In addition, the political buy-in of the recipients of these programmes is noted (Barrientos & Santibáñez, 2009), and the scepticism surrounding recipient privacy and the state surveillance tactics (A. Bhatia & Bhabha, 2017) have not gone unnoticed. Similarly, scholars have criticised the narrow focus of assessing the impacts of these programmes (Holmes & Jones, 2013; McCord, 2012), the constitution of the recipients of these programmes as market subjects (Cannon, 2014), and the construction of women as good and bad mothers (Bradshaw, 2008) in these programmes. Finally, the need to pay attention to politics and power is acknowledged, and the call to use disciplinary power to ensure or promote accountability in social protection programmes is said to be vital (Hickey & Mohan, 2008; Molyneux et al., 2016).

As these perspectives and findings are interesting and contributes to what we know about these programmes, I argue that more reflexive and critical approaches combined with empirical data could have yielded more interesting, reflexive, and critical findings. For instance, although it is quite interesting to know that women in these programmes are constructed as "good" or "bad" mothers, the study did not demonstrate who constructs these women, and how the construction is done, or how these women participate in or perform such constructions. One can pose similar questions to the perspectives outlined above.

2.2.2. GENDER AND SOCIAL PROTECTON PROGRAMMES

As mentioned in section 2.1 above, gender and social protection are intersecting concepts of development discourses, and are as old as the concept of development itself. In this section, I present relevant studies about the ways gender connects with social protection programmes in developing countries. As I have already outlined above, the declarations and protocols make case for the visibility of gender in the process of development. I have clarified that the two out of four social protection frameworks above explicitly make gender a priority concept in formulating social protection policies and translating programmes.

In their book *Gender and Social Protection in the Developing World: Beyond Mothers and Safety Nets* (2013), Holmes and Jones proposed a strategic social protection framework that ecompasses gender. In this regard, based on their empirical study, they recommended social protection to be made gender-sensitive to address women's strategic needs. They argued that social protection programmes in developing countries have for a long time focussed on addressing "*economic* risks and vulnerabilities" at the expense of "*social* risks and vulnerabilities" but according to them, these two risks are interlinked (p. 209). In fact, they noted that the majority of social protection programmes they studied "largely served to reinforced women's traditional roles and responsibilities" (p. 210). Thus, many social protection programmes in developing countries reinforce the traditional role of women as carers of the households (Sabates-Wheeler & Roelen, 2011) mainly to achieve the goals of these programmes (Molyneux, 2006).

In addition, women are mostly the recipients of the cash on behalf of the households "because of accumulated evidence about their stronger preference for household consumption expenditure" (Barrientos & Santibáñez, 2009, p. 11). Innovative gender-sensitive social protection frameworks (Holmes & Jones, 2013; Kabeer, 2008) raise gender-awareness in social protection programming and translation (Molyneux et al., 2016), but the apparent presence of women voices in social protection policy making, programming and translating appears to be tokenism (Sabates-Wheeler & Roelen, 2011). Sabates-Wheeler and Roelen (2011) argued that social protection programmes promote "institutionalised disadvantage" in regard to the ways in which those in

power act in relation to the beneficiaries of these programmes or the poor on the basis of taken-for-granted dominant perceptions and beliefs in society.

As mentioned above, the translation of social protection programmes in developing countries is accomplished by inserting women into the market economy, and the regulation of mothers based on the "cultural norms of mothering" (Luccisano, 2006, p. 53). In a study of the Oportunidades programme in Mexico, Luccisano argued that the programme has succeeded in inserting women into "the economy and into political discourse not as citizens with rights, but as mothers with increased social responsibilities" (p. 53). As a result, she noted that women or mothers who are not willing to comply with the conditions of the programme have their grants suspended. In this way, then, the programme constantly reminded mothers to keep up with their responsibilities and obligations or face suspension.

Furthermore, even though social protection programmes contribute to poverty reduction among women, they do not "automatically lead to greater gender justice" in society (Patel, 2013, p. 118). Patel pointed out that for social protection programmes to lead to gender justice, an understanding of the local communities in which these programmes are deployed needs to be taken into account in the design and translation of these programmes. Social protection programmes in developing countries therefore need to take a radical relational approach to challenge unequal social relations and promote social justices (Hickey, 2011), and ensure gender sensitivity in these programmes.

To sum up, the findings of the above studies in relation to gender and social protection are quite interesting and illuminating. They point to the fact that gender is crucial in designing and translating social programmes, particularly cash transfer programmes in developing countries. The issues of gender equality, power, and social justice are highlighted in these studies. However, as mentioned in the previous section, reflexive, and critical theoretical and methodological approaches could have even yielded more interesting and fascinating findings. Even though their arguments are interesting, they appear to be one-sided in the sense that there appear to be so much focus on the way the programme conduct the recipients with little attention to the actions of these recipients in the domain of programme. For instance, it appears to be taken for granted that these programmes reinforce traditional gender roles without demonstrating how it happens or it is done. Sabates-Wheeler and Roelen (2011) were concern about "institutionalised disadvantage" without demonstrating in practical terms how that happens in their study. It is important to move the findings of these studies a step further without thinking structurally, normatively, and being ideologically entrapped. Thus, I argue for a discursive approach to understanding in detail the ways gender intersects with the translation of social protection programmes in developing countries.

2.3. POSITIONING THIS STUDY: QUESTIONING THE ASSUMPTIONS

As mentioned in the sections above, the findings of literature relevant to this study are interesting and well documented, and based on the findings I wish to contribute to research and knowledge in social protection policy and programmes by taking these findings a step further. As I have previously mentioned, I situate my argument below in a reflexive and critical perspective. In relation to the findings in the literature, I argue that social protection policies and programmes are problematic and indeterminate rather than universal and fixed, and must be studied reflexively and critically to open up these problems and indeterminacies for alternative views and understanding without fixing ideas.

Public social protection policies and programmes should be viewed in their contingency and historicity because of the discourses and regimes of power that engender them (Foucault, 1980), yet they invoke certain identities and produce certain social subjects and objects of knowledge, certain actions, and certain social practices. In this sense, public social protection loses its taken-for-granted universal quintessence and existence as a governmental programme for the poor. Not taking for granted the designs and translations of social protection programmes could create space for the analysis of power relations and the multiplicities of discourses that support, contradict, or contest its ontology and practice, as well as the actions of social actors in context. In this way, there is the need to question the deployment of disciplinary and regulatory mechanisms or technologies (Hickey & Mohan, 2008); the calculations, techniques, apparatuses, documents, and procedures (Bhatia & Bhabha, 2017; Kidd, 2017), the construction of subjects and the constitution of subjectivities (Bradshaw, 2008; Molyneux, 2006), and the relations of power (Molyneux et al., 2016; Sabates-Wheeler & Roelen, 2011). It is important to scrutinize the discursive practices and rationalities through which authorities within the domain of social protection programmes in developing countries seek to naturalise social protection practice and give effect to governmental ambitions (Miller & Rose, 2008).

In doing so, we could appreciate the ways in which these practices and technologies inform how social actors and subjects construct, perform, and position themselves within the discursive field – the domain of social protection as a governmental programme. The effects can be visible in local traditions and culture, and the accomplishment of every day life in the traditional sense of Ghana. In questioning the totalising and universal nature of social protection practice, we can access the multiplicities of practices, rationalities, and technologies at work in the site, and the ways that the subjects of these programmes conduct themselves in local communities.

A reflexive and critical stance is necessary given that evaluation is deemed a rationalistic and technocratic exercise, and in conducting programme evaluation, public sector institutions and agencies are inclined to use the “brainpower of scholars

and scientists" to further governmental interests (Vedung, 1997, p. 1). Evaluation involves complex social practices and social actors; it is contingent on deciding what is important, and how? Who decides? And who does what? For instance, in the evaluation of social protection programmes there are three major categories of social actors: the government (and in some cases donor agencies), the evaluating scholars, and the caregivers or beneficiaries of the programmes, all with overlapping and contradictory practices, relations, and identities.

Social protection programmes appear to be too complex to be subjected to "evaluation machines" (Dahler-Larsen, 2012, p. 170), but this is the case in most developing countries where these programmes are being translated. Evaluation practices do not only describe and measure phenomena according to templates and standards, these practices constitute their own standards, social actors, templates, and social reality (Dahler-larsen, 2015; Dahler-Larsen, 2012). In fact, such analysis blocks conditions of possibility and alternative interpretations and understandings because the programme is evaluated on the basis of "ideal type" or "rationality" and normative standarads (Foucault, 2002b). Sufice it to say that the indeterminate practices of social actors in the domain of the programme have found unity in the resting place of numbers, but unity and veracity are problematic in themselves because comon sense and taken for granted reality or practice is a resource of power and hegemony. On the contrary, this study views social protection policy formulation, programming, and evaluation as discursive practices (discourses) tied to a technology of power. Thus, it involves the relations of power and a struggle among social actors in defining who they are, what they do, and how they do what they do, under what circumstances.

Indeed, a watertight analysis tends to obscure the contingencies and the indeterminacies of these programmes, as well as the power struggles embedded in the design and translation of these programmes, but a reflexive and a critical analysis of these contingencies and power relations do open conditions of possibilities for the emergence of multiple discourses regarding the conduct of the social actors in the domain of these prorammes. In doing so, the practice of social protection in Ghana could engender a novel way of governing men and women in relation to themselves and the sociocultural practices of the family in which they experience everyday life.

In brief, as mentioned above, questioning the technocratic and programmatic design, and the translation and evaluation of social protection programmes in developing countries from the perspective of discourse and governmentality is a reflexive and critical practice. As a result, the concrete actions of social actors, the technologies and mechanisms of practice, the relations and networks of power are subject to investigation within the interdisciplinary discourse framework. In this way, it is possible to access the nuances of the actions and practices of actors in the domain of social protection programmes in developing countries without recourse to taken for granted ideas and governing structures. Thus, an understanding of the present society of Ghana is important to be able to do a reflexive and a critical investigation of the

translation of social protection programmes in Ghana, which I present in the next section below.

2.4 AN OVERVIEW OF GHANAIAN CONTEXT

This section begins with an overview of historical developments in the country of Ghana, including the dynamics of its social structure and relations, and the organisation and arrangement of the present socio-political system.

Historically, Ghana (previously called the Gold Coast) was a British Colony governed under a system of indirect rule, until 6th March 1957 when the country attained independence. Through the historical administrative system, the officials of the colonial government ruled the indigenous people of Ghana through the authority of the indigenous chiefs (Berry, 1995). Soon after independence, however, this system of indirect rule was abolished and Ghana as an independent nation became a republic in 1960 and practiced self-government. Although the policy of indirect rule disrupted cordial and democratic relations between the local chiefs and the indigenous people (Gocking, 1994), the institution of chieftaincy and the authority of chiefs continue to be relevant in the socio-political setting of contemporary Ghana.

Currently, traditional social structures, organisation and relations in terms of family and kinship, still persist. As an independent nation, Ghana underwent a series of political turbulence and socioeconomic upheavals from the mid-1960s until late 1980s, but it retains its historic pride as the first country in Africa to attain independence and total political freedom from colonial power in 1960 (Akonor, 2006). Furthermore, the 1992 constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana facilitated the nation's return to constitutional rule with a democratically elected government sworn into office in 1993. Thus, since 1993, Ghana has practiced a form of constitutional democracy.

In this way, it is possible categorise the historical development of the society of Ghana into three epochs: the pre-colonial, the colonial, and the postcolonial. In the context of this study, we group these epochs into the traditional social system (pre-colonial) in which the social structure and organisation is based on kinship and family systems, and the modern socio-political system (colonial and postcolonial) in which the socio-political organisation is based on Western forms of government or constitutional democracy. These two systems coexist and inform the socio-political organisations and structures that constitute the daily social life of individuals in the present history

of Ghana,[7] yet each of these systems and its associated practices are unique. The emergence shifts and development of the present society of Ghana is connected to these two systems, and as a result, the society does not appear to be simple in terms of its socio-political structures and organisation. Even in terms of social protection practice, there are numerous non-state actors that engage in social protection activities and practices in their own way (Awortwi, 2018) beyond the state and family. Thus, the social life of individuals is intelligible within these complex, yet ordered systems, and it is important to understand the interdependencies of these two systems and the ongoing socio-political and cultural dynamics in order to appreciate present-day Ghana.

Apart from the intricacy of Ghanaian society in relation to these two systems, there are further complexities related to different ethnic groupings in terms of language, lineage, and the practices of family and kinship relations. Even though the traditional concept of the family and kinship relations are common to the people of Ghana, there are dynamics and variations of traditional family practices and kinship relations that vary across diverse ethnic groups (Nukunya, 2016). The next section highlights the traditional concept of the family and kinship relations that underpin the traditional political systems that are common to the diverse ethnic groups of Ghana.

2.4.1. SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND RELATIONS

Currently, Ghanaian society retains its traditional sociocultural structures and organisations even though they may be shifts in the practices within these social structures and organisations (Nukunya, 2016). Traditional family structures and kinship relations persist in Ghana, and these are more visible in local communities. Family membership and relations are important to individuals as they openly express their affiliations and support to one another during cultural ceremonies, such as funerals (Boni, 2010). Traditionally, family memberships and social relations are based on lineage systems, and as a result, the concept of family in the present society of Ghana goes beyond the relations between husband and wife, or parents and children. Similarly, in the context of culture and tradition, it can be difficult to differentiate between the traditional family and a community. Traditionally, people in the same village or community may refer themselves as one family, with or without regard to binding lineage ties (Nave, 2016).

[7] It is challenging to draw clear lines or distinctions between what is traditional and what is modern in the present society of Ghana; in fact, the present society is "grafted onto traditional roots, and although traditional social relationships have often been partially transformed to fit the needs of modern life, they continue to endure. The result is that, even those who live primarily in the modern urban setting are still bound to traditional society through the kinship system and are held to the responsibilities that such associations entail" (Berry, 1995, p. 90).

Across the diverse cultures and ethnic groups of Ghana, family, kinship, and social relations are based on lineage systems, and these lineage systems vary across different ethnic groups. In Ghana, matrilineal and patrilineal descent are the two dominant systems that serve as fundamental structures for organising social relations among family members (Nukunya, 2016). In the matrilineal descent system, family members trace their lineage through the female line, whereas family members in the patrilineal system trace their lineage through the male line of descent. As mentioned above, kinship practices and relations between these two systems vary. In this regard, the definition of the family in the sense of the extended family system is highly favoured and jealously preserved.[8] Traditionally, the key roles of the family includes socialisation, procreation, and industrial corporation (Nukunya, 2016), and these roles are crucial for both enhancing kinship ties and strengthening social relations among family members in Ghanaian society. As a unit of socialisation, the extended family in the context of Ghana serves as a site for the (re)production and transmission of knowledge, the regulation of behaviour, and the protection of social life through social relations and interactions among members of the family and the community.[9]

As a corporate and social support unit, the family structures via these kinship systems are an overarching framework for overcoming socioeconomic deficit or ill health. In this regard, an individual's wealth is not meant to only fulfil personal or individual satisfaction, but to also fulfil corporate needs either in kind or in cash.[10] In fact, the fulfilment of the corporate need is evident in the actions and interactions of the members of families and communities during traditional social activities and rituals such as performing funerals (Boni, 2010), and the naming of new-borns. Furthermore, the family and kinship system provides support in resolving disputes or conflicts among members (Nave, 2016).

In the sphere of personal development and entrepreneurship, such as learning a trade or carrier development, family members rely on the benevolence of one another and are willing to support each other. Thus, family members think, act, and relate to one another in terms of "we" rather than "I" (Kuada & Chachah, 1989). In this regard, they view themselves are co-equals in terms kinship relations (Yelpaala, 1992) even though seniority is acknowledged and respected (Van der Geest, 1998). In fact, these

[8] In contemporary Ghanaian society, it is almost impossible to downplay the importance of the extended family system. It is not only "the hub around which traditional social organization revolved," it is also corporate and unilineal descent group, which operates under customary law (Berry, 1995, p.90).

[9] The absences of codified or genuine law does not undermine the functions of the traditional family system in the present society of Ghana (Bourdieu, 1977) even though there exist modern policies and regulations in this regard.

[10] In the sociocultural context of Ghana, kin groups provide support when their members are in danger because they are bound to each other by extended kinship ties (Murdock, 1949).

kinship systems serve as indigenous social protection systems that support and protect family members in Ghana (Jones, Ahadzie, & Doh, 2009).

Generally, in the Ghanaian context, families form alliances with other families, and the sense of community and cooperation among family members and between families gives effect to individual and family ambitions. As a result, extended families are social arrangements with extensive relations, obligations, and responsibilities (Nukunya, 2016) in connection to the care and protection of their members. Thus, the relations, obligations, and responsibilities of these families are irreducible to the Western concept of nuclear families. The welfare of members in these extended families is largely the responsibility of heads of the families who play supervisory roles other than the members' efforts to support themselves individually concerning the practices of everyday life. [11]

As mentioned above, the lineage system is the basis for social relations and the organisation of the family. It is in the lineage system and the family in which the traditional obligations and duties, the moral and practical responsibilities of men and women, boys and girls, as well as the young and aged are accomplished. In fact, gender discourses, the conduct of men and women in terms rights, duties, and obligations have traditionally been based on family and kinship systems. [12] The rights, duties, obligations, and responsibilities of men and women in the family vary in relation to variations in the descent and kinship systems in which the family is situated (Nukunya, 2016). In the case of tradition and culture, men are expected to provide diligent care and protection for their wife or wives, children, and other members of the extended family, and to uphold the moral order and virtues of the family. Similarly, the women are expected to be polite, virtuous, supportive of other family members, and "culture" the children, especially the female children, into adulthood. In this regard, the care and protection of the family members is collective responsibility of both men and women within the extended family.

2.4.2. THE PRESENT SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEM

As the present society social structure and organisation of Ghana is grafted onto an enduring traditional social organisation and system of relations, the traditional and modern social political systems of government coexist. These two systems are vital

[11] In the traditional society of Ghana, it is the traditional obligation and moral responsibility of the heads of families to provide support and security to the members of the family. The head and his elders ensure the security of the family and its members as custodians of the social arrangement and organisation of the family (Berry, 1995).

[12] In typical Ghana communities, the residential grouping of the family is characterised in two ways: "a woman, her husband, their children and their married daughters with their children; or a man, his wife (wives), their children and their married sons and their wives" (Nukunya, 2016, p. 62).

the smooth functioning of the present society of Ghana. In this way, governing the actions of individuals or collective actions is the responsibility of both the traditional social structures and institutions (chiefs, kings, and heads of families and clans), and the institutions of modern democratic government. The chiefs and heads of clans and families govern the actions of their members, whereas the government of the state governs the actions of a population. The relations between chiefs, heads of clans and families are therefore based on kinship ties and organisations, whereas the relations between the government of the state and the population is based on the principles of the rule of law as enshrined in Ghana's constitution.

Traditional political systems are either centralised or non-centralised depending the socio-political organisation and location of particular kinship relations of power, but the criteria and the degree of centralisation vary among different ethnic groups (Nukunya, 2016). For instance, the centralised political systems of the Asante and Mole-Dagbani ethnic groups vary in terms of practices surrounding the two lineage and kinship systems, whether matrilineal or patrilineal. However, the centralised and non-centralized political systems are the two most important traditional socio-political systems of present-day Ghanaian society.[13] The techniques of governing and the maintenance of social control in the non-centralised societies[14] are the responsibility of clan and family heads, or the elders of descent groups who do not owe allegiance to any king or higher authority outside of the group (Nukunya, 2016). However, these groups have normative schemes and rules of conduct, and the heads of clans and families, other than a king, enforce these schemes and rules of conduct (Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, 2004).

On the other hand, a king or a sovereign governs the centralised societies and exercises authority over the subjects and community resources under "well-entrenched, highly structured and sophisticated political authorities" (Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, 2004, p. 2). Furthermore, traditional political authorities exercise power within the framework of the kinship system, the major narrative that prescribes the limits of social practices and defines the object of knowledge within the major narrative. It is imperative to note that these traditional political systems and ways of governing did not disappear when the modern (Western) form of government emerged as a result of colonialism; rather, there is an integration of the two systems in the Ghanaian context as mentioned above. In fact, there exists a subtle difference between the two systems—governing the family in the name of tradition and culture as well as governing individual or

[13] For example, the centralized societies in Ghana are the Asante (in the south) and the Mole-Dagbani (in the North), and the non-centralized societies include the Tallensi (in the Upper East) and other smaller groups in the north eastern and north western parts of Ghana.

[14] The non-centralized societies have a "network of kinship ties which make possible the functioning of a lineage system as the framework of political structure" (Evans-Pritchard, 1946, p. 906).

population in relation to the state. In this regard, the practices associated with these two systems are enacted and performed differently, but concurrently.[15]

The modern system of government regulates individuals and the nation's resources by bringing populations under control across regions, districts, communities, and households. These practices and the ways of acting upon communities and individuals—the population of the nation—are quite evident in the governing practices of the state through institutions such as the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) established by PNDC Law 135, which is responsible for collecting, analysing and disseminating statistical information (Ghnana Statistical Service, 2017). Other governmental programmes such as the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme and the social protection policy (Government of Ghana, 2015) play key roles in governing the population in local communities.

Unlike the traditional socio-political system, the exercise of political power in a modern democratic system of government depends on the Western forms of power/knowledge structures. The constitution of the state, legal provisions (common law), the institutionalised practices of state agencies and knowledge about the population are undoubtedly visible. In this regard, the actions of individuals appears to be constituted by the institutions that emerge and render the everyday life and actions of individuals knowable, calculable, and programmable. Thus, the government has been playing a key role in governing the many calculable and programmable aspects and actions of fixed entities alongside the traditional social structures such as the family and kinship systems.

As mentioned, the family and the population act in concert concerning the welfare of the population, but not in the same ways. The family and kinship systems are primarily concerned with the lifeworld of kin groups and individual members, whereas the government oversees the actions of individuals based on modern technical systems, institutions, and scientific discourses. In this regard, the modern system of government emphasises the development of individuals as productive citizens for themselves, the household, and the nation in which kinship is less relevant, whereas the traditional social institutions and structures emphasises the building of family ties and the strengthening of durable kinship practices for the benefit of self and family members. The coexistence of these two ways of governing suggests that the social life of individuals in Ghanaian society today is not uniform, because these individuals are never fully and independently integrated into these two separate systems. There

[15] Family heads and "chiefs have the moral obligation to contribute to the lives of their individual citizens" (Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, 2004, p. 4). This is similar to the art and rationality of state government in many aspects. In addition, they initiate projects that improve the welfare of the people, but "these institutions and programmes are not intended to replace those that must be provided by the central and regional government, but rather to supplement them" (p. 4). Poor individuals, especially widows, still rely on Chiefs and the kindness of other community/family members and religious groups for virtually everything (Mahama, 2016).

actions of these individuals within these two systems appear to be characterised by tensions, uncertainties, and contradictions. Further, the coexistence of these two systems and the governing of the family members in relation to the technical systems of modern government is not power neutral.

In the domains of modern government programmes such as the LEAP cash transfer programme, the relations of power, tensions, and contradictions are visible. In this way, the actions of family members and kinship systems in the lifeworld are entangled in power relations within domain of the programme. The programme appears to take the embedded power relations for granted, along with the actions of family members in the lifeworld. In doing so, the programme priorities the actions of government over the moral obligations and the practical responsibilities of the members of the family. The model presented below shows the complexities and the intersecting actions of social actors in social domains of power concerning the practice of the LEAP cash transfer programme in the Ghanaian context.

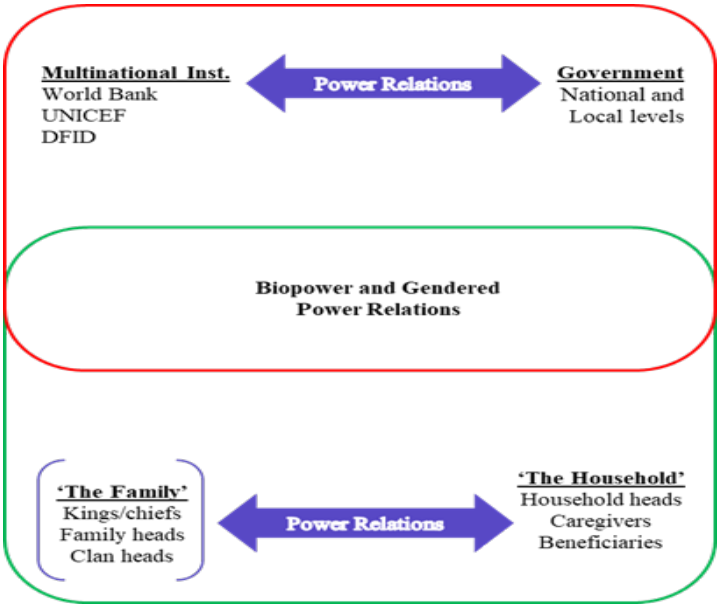


Figure 1. A conceptual model of the interplay of power relations and intersecting discourses within the domain of social protection in the context of Ghana.

The model above suggests that the practice of public social protection in Ghana is not power neutral. Instead, it is evident the caregivers of programmed households are entangled in the deployment of public social protection programmes through the interplay of discourses and power in relation to both family and government. Of course, the caregivers of the programmed households come from families in the local communities, and in turn they have historical ties with these families. Since the

introduction of the Western democratic system of government in Ghana, the government tends to objectivise the members of the families in local communities through the individualising practices of the government of the state as a certain kind of population in relation to themselves (Cocco & Cava, 2018), and a governmental rationality. By this, I mean a certain "truth" imposed by the government of the state for the conduct of the population. These individuals and the population more broadly have become the target of the government and its technologies of power—the application of disciplinary and regulatory power mechanisms in directing their way of life.

Consequently, the variables of populations are rendered quantifiable, calculable, and programmable within a regime of practice and truth discourses that claim to objectively know the social life of actors in complex postmodern societies. For instance, public social protection is a governmental programme through which the government objectifies and regulates the social life and practices of a segment of the population in the name of making the life of those actors in a programmed household worth living. The actions and practices of these individuals, however, transcend the boundaries and intelligibility of the programmed household to a plethora of traditional obligations, moral responsibilities, as well as family values and kin networks (Nave, 2016).

In the model above, the family is a form or structure of government in which the actions and practices of social actors, particularly, the caregivers in this context materialise, and as a durable arrangement, it is responsible for the protection and welfare of all members who are linked together by kinship ties. It signifies the identity and position of every member in relation to one another, and it is within the family that social actors accomplish their actions and practices by arranging and distributing sociocultural goods and economic resources. In addition, it is within the family practice that members determine their eligibility for leadership positions such as Kings, chiefs, clans, and family heads (Nukunya, 2016). Thus, the caregivers appear to govern or conduct themselves through practices embedded in the concept of the family and the community, or the solidarity of lineage systems (Nave, 2016). In doing so, these caregivers are constitutive of the family discourses through the governing practices of the family in time and place, but not strictly subjected to Western scientific discourse and the practices of objectification (disciplinary and regulatory power) by the government.

In addition, the interest and discourse of neoliberal transnational institutions cannot be downplayed regarding the practice of social protection in Ghana (Hickey & Mohan, 2008). Transnational institutions such as the World Bank, UNICEF, and DFID have developed an interest in the variables of populations and the practices of peripheral democratic economies (such as Ghana) as agents of national, transnational, and global economic transformation. In this sense, family members are not only objectified by the government in relation to the interest of transnational agencies, but the individuals

in households also are expected by these agencies to work on themselves as "industrial bodies" and to play key roles in the processes of the economic transformation (Molyneux, 2006), especially, through a bottom-up approach. Therefore, these transnational institutions and national governments have teamed up to provide a support system—social protection—to the populations of peripheral economies, such as Ghana, and as a form of governmentality that seeks to transform the actions and practices of social actors in these economies.

Even though the traditional social structures of Ghana embody such a support system or form of social protection by the nature of their arrangement, practices, and structuring, it does not necessarily project the governmental rationality of the state. Thus, the emergence of public social protection system as a regulatory programme in 2007, namely the National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS) of Ghana, sets a different path of governing the conduct of family members as individuals within households in contemporary Ghana. In doing so, the government tends to participate actively in the welfare and the practices of a segment of the population that it determines to be vulnerable, marginalised, or excluded even from their own families and communities. In the following chapter, I present a detailed discussion of the theoretical underpining below.

CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS

In this chapter, I rely on Foucault's notion of discourse, power, and governmentality, and the poststructural feminists' notions of gender to elucidate the fundamental and pertinent concepts, which provide a direction to understand and clarify the epistemological and ontological stance of the study. The theoretical position offers space and a fertile ground to articulate the research questions for the methodological and analytical framework of the study. Even though the study does not necessarily demarcate strict philosophical boundaries for itself, poststructuralism is the approach and point of departure to analyse and investigate how the LEAP cash transfer programme constitutes and governs caregivers and focal persons and the ways these caregivers and focal persons govern themselves in the domain of the programme.

Within poststructuralist and critical social theorist perspectives, the ongoing social interactions in the domain of the programme and the relations of power in the discursive field cannot be taken for granted as a universal system or the normative paternalistic responsibility of the state devoid of governmental rationality. Thus, it is possible to question the interaction and relations of power and the practices of the programme and the subjects (men and women) in the local communities, and to account for the ways of (re)producing power and directing the conduct of these men and women. In a sense, the common-sense knowledge of the state as a paternalistic entity with passive subjects loses anchor and familiarity. Consequently, it is unhelpful to turn to isolated classical language and social theories for theoretical inspiration and direction. That being so, I present the chapter in three main parts. First, I explore the concepts of discourse, power, and governmentality from the perspectives of Foucault and other scholars who came after him; second, I present the concept of gender from the poststructural feminism and governmentality perspectives; third, I present an interdisciplinary discourse studies framework for this study.

3.1. FOUCAULT'S CONCEPT OF DISCOURSE, KNOWLEDGE AND POWER

In his major works such as *The Order of Things, The Archaeology of Knowledge* and the inaugural lecture he delivered at *Collège de France* in 1971 titled "Orders of Discourse," Foucault elaborates succinctly his understanding about discourse which has been widely discussed by scholars in the field of discourse studies (McIlvenny, Zhukova Klausen, & Bang Lindegaard, 2016). In each of these works, Foucault explains the concept of discourse. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, he is interested in "the rules and practices that produced meaningful statements and regulated discourses in different historical periods," thereby going beyond the conventional

notion of discourse as a linguistic concept, which "simply means passages of connected writing or speech" (Hall, 2001, p. 72). As Foucault (2002d) explains, "it would be quite wrong to see discourse as a place where previously established objects are laid one after another like words on a page" (p.47). Inspired by this broader and more open understanding of discourse, he proposed an archaeological approach as one of his methodologies to analyse discourses to account for the meaning of social practices and taken-for-granted knowledge in society.

As McIlvenny et al. (2016) pointed out, in Foucault's book, *The Order of Things,* it is evident that an illuminating critique of the classical views of language, which was understood as a "mirror of mind," took place. For Foucault, discourse is not purely a linguistic concept; it defines ways of talking and conducting oneself in relation to rules and (re)produces knowledge through language and social practices (Hall, 2001). Discourse is contingent, and it is imbued with systems of rules and relations beyond words and the transparent use of language. It means that we cannot only treat

> discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that renders them irreducible to the language (*langue*) and to speech. It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe (Foucault, 2002d, p. 54).

It is worth noting that Foucault did not limit discourse to language. Thus, it is "difficult to draw a stable, de-contextualised definition of discourse" (McIlvenny et al., 2016, p. 7) from *The Archaeology of Knowledge* in which Foucault (2002d) progressively and systematically defined discourse as "statements different in form, and dispersed in time, form a group if they refer to one and the same object" (p.35).

> Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a *discursive formation* (Foucault, 2002d, p. 41).

Foucault's concept of discourse directs our attention to the fact that language is a tool for performing actions, accomplishing practices, and delimiting spaces, objects and subjects. Language is constitutive of power (Fairclough, 2015), and its deployment brings objects and subjects into the domain of reality. In this way, language and social practices are not power neutral because they give rise to the domains of knowledge that includes new subjects, objects, concepts, and techniques (Foucault, 2002b). In discourse, the interplay of language and rules "make possible the appearance of objects during a given period of time: objects that are shaped by measures of

discrimination and repression, objects that are differentiated in daily practice" (Foucault, 2002d, p. 36). Consequently, meaning or knowledge and practices about specific objects and subjects are historically and culturally specific, and cannot meaningfully exist outside context-specific discourses (Hall, 2001), yet "any given statement always *is* at the expense of other statements, where this existence depends on the power that disperses discursive formations" (McIlvenny et al., 2016, p. 6). Thus, Foucault (2002d) proposed a definition of discourse:

> We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation; it does not form a rhetorical or formal unity, endlessly repeatable, whose appearance or use in history might be indicated (and, if necessary, explained); it is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined (p.131).

Discourse does not only tell us what is desirable or undesirable by defining statements, the conditions of the appearance of objects and subjects and our understanding of reality is the site of power struggles and an object of conflict (Foucault, 1971). Thus, statements and discursive formations in time and space are constitutive of power insofar as they define the conditions of existence and our knowledge about reality.

Foucault understands discourse as a site of struggle and an object of power and knowledge, which marks a shift from his archaeological to genealogical studies of discourses. This shift from the archaeological to the genealogical method of analysing discourses appears to be a way of understanding the meaning and value of present happenings and accounting for the role power play in discourse. As McIlvenny et al. (2016) stated,

> in his archaeological works, Foucault is prominently concerned with the examination of what appears to be unquestionable truths, critiquing (if only implicitly) all such naturalised contingencies, such as the appearances of certain objects, subjects, concepts and strategies... in his genealogical works, he expands this examination, as just seen, with studies also of how power is intertwined in the contingent and disruptive emergence of one or another discourse (p.9).

Power is entangled in discourse and is responsible for the formation of objects, subjects, concept and strategies. For Foucault (1971), we need "to question our will to truth; to restore to discourse its character as an event; to abolish the sovereignty of the signifier. These are the tasks, or rather, some of the themes which will govern my work in the years ahead" (p. 21).

Consequently, Foucault outlined four methodological principles to guide the themes he sets out to investigate: *reversal*, *discontinuity*, *specificity,* and *exteriority*. First, the principle of *reversal* questions the uninterrupted and positive role of the "will to truth"

and reminds us to "recognize the negative activity of the cutting-out and rarefaction of discourse" (Foucault, 1971, p. 21). In this sense, we must investigate the universal affirmation of discourse to account for its conditions of possibility. Second, the principle of *discontinuity* calls to our attention to treat discourse as a "discontinuous activity, its different manifestations sometimes coming together, but just as easily unware of, or excluding each other" (Foucault, 1971, p. 21). Thus, discourses are constantly in flux as a result of the relations of power and social struggles in the form of contestations that aim at rectifying meaning in a semiotic sense. Its certainty is an illusion despite its temporal permanence in the case of hegemonic discourses such as hegemonic masculinities which culturally legitimise the relations of power that subordinates femininity (Connell, 2005; Messerschmidt, 2016). For Foucault (2002d), "there is not (or, at least, as far as the historical description whose possibility we are tracing here is concerned) a sort of ideal discourse that is both ultimate and timeless" (p.78).

The third principle, *specificity,* reminds us "that a particular discourse cannot be resolved by a prior system of significations; … there is no pre-discursive fate disposing the word in our favour" (Foucault, 1971, p. 22), and we must understand and treat discourse as a practice that we impose on things or events. As Foucault (1971) pointed out, "it is in this practice that the events of discourse find the principle of their singularity" (p.22). Similarly, as he explained, there are not any 'seeds' or discourses, but there are "regulated ways (and describable as such) of practising the possibilities of discourse" (Foucault, 2002d, p. 78). Fourth, the principle of *exteriority* directs our attention to the discourse itself, its appearance and regularity, and its external conditions of existence as the basis for investigating and understanding the series of events that constitute and define its limits (Foucault, 1971). Also, this principle opens up discourse and directs us not to search beneath discourses for *meaning*, but to concentrate on the observable series of events and practices on "the surface of discourse" for meaning (Rasmussen, 2016, p. 187); it is entangled with knowledge and power on the outside.

Thus, these principles mark Foucault's genealogical studies of discourse and offer discourse analysts novel ways of critically analysing discourses, and investigating their connections with knowledge, power and the "discursive formation sustaining a regime of truth" (Hall, 1997, p. 49). These principles shifted Foucault's attention to consider a detail analysis of the workings of power by studying the "practices of imprisoment," which was later translated and published as *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Foucault (1995) was more concerned about the analysis of "a micro-physics of power" (p.26), which operates within the institution of the prison. As Foucault (1995) argued,

> the study of this micro-physics presupposes that the power exercised on the body is conceived not as a property, but as a strategy, that its effects of domination are attributed not to 'appropriation,' but to dispositions,

> manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings; that one should decipher in it a network of relations, constantly in tension, in activity, rather than a privilege that one might possess that one should take as its model a perpetual battle rather than a contract regulating a transaction or the conquest of a territory. In short this power is exercised rather than possessed (p. 26).

Just as power is produced and legitimised through discourse, discourse is produced and legitimised by power and through relations of power. Power and discourses are always sites of struggle to (re)produce truth or reality; in this way, truth or reality and power are discursive constructions, which elements of discourse are constantly transforming and emerging. The process of emergence and transformation makes reality or truth a historical variable because it varies in place and time. Thus, "reality" is the product of power-discourse interplay, but these two conceptual categories should never be recognised as separate concepts. They are inseparably woven together to be able to function in a given society; power cannot function without discourse, and discourse cannot function without power. In addition, the power-discourse relationship gives rise to multiple ways of knowing and being and makes the claim to universal truth "problematic" and unintelligible in a given society. In fact, "power is transmitted and practised through discourse" in which language plays a vital role (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 4).

In his genealogical studies, Foucault was more concerned with the ways in which power connects with knowledge and discourse. He does not speak of discourse as a neutral object of investigation, but conceives it as implicated in knowledge-power relations. Foucault was more concerned with knowledge as a form of power, the way power is implicated in the questions of how and under what conditions or circumstances knowledge is applied or not (Hall, 2001). For Foucault, "on one level, discourse is a regular set of linguistic facts, while on another level it is an ordered set of polemical game and strategic facts" (Foucault, 2002f, pp. 2–3). In this context, it always involves power and legitimises the exercise of power at various levels of society by drawing on or creating forms of knowledge based on the problematization of existing forms of knowledge (Death, 2013; Foucault, 1997). Power produces discourse, discourse legitimises the exercise of power, thus power creates a "regime of truth" to enable it to function (Foucault, 1980, p. 131).

"Power and knowledge directly imply one another… there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (Foucault, 1995, p. 27). For Foucault, knowledge and power cannot be conceived of as separate concepts, but both are the constitive elements of discourses and social practices. Foucault does not give power the primacy of universal essence. Power is not a totalizing essence, repressive and classically ideological; it is the essential resource of neither the capitalists' class in society nor certain individuals, groups or collectives in any society.

> What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only *weigh* on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression (Foucault, 1980, p. 119).

Power is not entirely located in the apparatus of state or any class or group of people; it criss-crosses, (re)produces, and assumes a vital role in discourse and social practices and constitutes objects, subjects and their relations in the discursive field. His understanding of power reminds us to study power in its multiple material and productive forms, locations, networks, and relations rather than an invisible or intrinsic ideological apparatus or absolute entity. These relations are relations of power or, in other words, they are the "ensemble of actions that induce others and follow from one another" (Foucault, 2002e, p. 337). Accordingly, power forms "an assemblage where discourses, practices, forms of knowledge, and institutions intersect, and where the type of objective pursued not only is irreducible to domination but belongs to no one and itself varies historically" (Revel, 2016, p. 40). Thus, power and discourse are intricately linked.

Problematising the traditional notion of power as pure domination, and an ideal fixed resource of dominant class in society, made it possible for Foucault to extend the analysis of power to the very basic site of practice and relations between objects and subjects of discourse; "these relations go right down into the depths of society" (Foucault, 1995, p. 27). In his later works and series of lectures at the *Collège de France,* Foucault elaborated upon his novel conception of power to include multiple forms of power and the many ways in which the exercise of power has changed overtime; he introduced the concepts of biopower and biopolitics as forms of governmental power (Foucault, 1995, 2002a, 2007a),

3.2. BIOPOWER: DISCIPLINARY AND REGULATORY POWER

Foucault (1980) argued that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a new form of exercising power emerged in which power is conceptualised in

> its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives […] a regime of its exercise 'within' the social body, rather than 'from above' it (p. 39).

Power operates on individuals through networks and practices and creates several opportunities and possibilities for not only free subjects on whom power can be exercised but in the creation of innovative ways of governing the lives of individuals

or the population. Foucault (Foucault, 2007a) coined the term biopower to mean "the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power" (p.1). He reminds us that analysing the concept "involves investigating where and how, between whom, between what points, according to what processes, and with what effects, power is applied" (p.1).

Foucault's definition appears to include discursive practices or configurations that render it visible at the site of the governed. A focus on the subjectivity and subjectification, the practices of social actors and the relations of power points to the exercise of governmental power as a discursive practice which manifests in text, talk, and the "here and now" moments of social interaction and relations. Thus, the project draws on linguistic and contextual resources in analysing the relations of power. As Lyotard (1984) pointed out, "… one is always located at a post through which various kinds of messages pass. No one, not even the least privileged among us, is ever entirely powerless over the messages that traverse and position him at the post of sender, addressee, or referent…" (p. 15). In this way, social actors in social interactions or discourse and practices are entangled in these relations of power.

Biopower evolved in two interrelated poles. The first of these two poles, according to Foucault, is the "*anatomo-politics of the human body*" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 139). For Foucault(1995), the human body is the focus of exercising power. "Disciplinary power" emerged to discipline the body into an efficient and capable object through a series of detailed procedures and mechanisms in the disciplinary institutions of our contingent society (Foucault, 1995, p. 153). Disciplinary mechanisms in institutions such as pedagogy and medicine among other social domains make it possible to exercise disciplinary power over the human body. It renders the body calculable, programmable, and amenable to analysis and normalisation. It involves a process of employing prescribed methods and techniques of power in order to transform individuals (Foucault, 1995) in a way deemed acceptable within a "regime of practice" (Foucault, 2002b, p. 225).

The second pole of biopower is the "*biopolitics of the population*", which focuses on the supervision of the species body through a series of interventions and regulatory mechanisms for the health of society (Foucault, 1990a, p. 139). Foucault (1990a) explains the species' body is "imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes" (p.139). These include fertility rates, mortality rates, economic and poverty statistics, and the level of health and morbidity "as well as all of the various factors that influence these aspects, operate within a power centered not on the *individual* living body but on the *species-body*" (Cisney & Morar, 2016, p. 5). Furthermore, biopower becomes the configuration of *"*disciplinary power mechanisms*"* and "regulatory mechanisms" that enable institutions in modern societies to discipline and to normalise individuals, and in order to make people

productive (Cisney & Morar, 2016, p. 5). According to Rabinow & Rose (2006), it comprises of elements that include

> a form of truth discourse about living beings and an array of authorities considered competent to speak that truth; strategies for intervention on collective existence in the name of life and health; and modes of subjectification, in which individuals can be brought to work on themselves, under certain form of authority, in relation to truth discourses, by means of practices of the self, in the name of individual or collective life or health (pp. 203-204).

The emergence of disciplinary and regulatory power mechanisms made possible the development of a new form of exercising power which Foucault calls "governmentality," or "the art of government" which, according to him, is concerned with governing the actions of the population in society (Foucault, 2002a, p. 205). The biopolitics of the population as the second pole of biopower is particularly relevant in the context of this study, as it presents "a new way of governing, new practices, verification criteria, and techniques with which the management of the living gains and maintains effectiveness" (Cocco & Cava, 2018, p. 4). In other words, it involves the means of disciplining, normalising, and supervising the actions and practices of individuals or the population in relation to the practices of governmental power structures and institutions.

3.3. THE ART OF GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENTALITY

Largely, government does not refer "only to political structures or to the management of states," but also involves "the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups" are shaped for a specific purpose by the multiple calculated actions of designated groups of people and individuals that are backed by a regime of power in which governing is tactically permissible (Foucault, 2002e, p. 341). Dean (2010) provided an expanded definition of the term government in relation to the conduct of conducts:

> Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through the desires, aspirations, interest and beliefs of various actors, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes (p. 18).

Government involves guiding and shaping the multiplicity of attitudes including the beliefs of individuals or groups that are governed, and as Foucault (Foucault, 2002e) pointed out, government includes "modes of action, more or less considered or calculated, which were destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people" (p. 341). For Foucault, government in this sense does not involve violence, but is an

activity, which is directed at structuring the possible field of action of others within a regime of power.

Foucault uses the concept of government in a critical sense; he is more concerned with the art of government or governmentality than with abstract or universal political structures and ideologies. Dean (2010) states:

> If government involves various forms of thought about the nature of rule and knowledge of who and what are to be governed, and it employs particular techniques and tactics in achieving its goals, if government establishes definite identities for the governed and the governors, and if, above all, it involves a more or less subtle direction of the conduct of the governed, it can be called an art. The object of our studies, then, is not the simple empirical activity of governing, but the art of government. To refer to the art of government is to suggest that governing is an activity that requires craft, imagination, shrewd fashioning, the use of tacit skills and practical know-how, the employment of intuition and so on (p. 28).

As Gordon (1991) has noted, Foucault "was interested in government as an activity or practice, and in art of government as ways of knowing what that activity consisted in, and how it might be carried on" (p. 3). Foucault expanded his concept and analysis of the art of government beyond the confines of sovereign power, but he focused on the rationalities and techniques of governing the actions of others. In other words, "governmentality is about how to govern" (Gordon, 1991, p. 7). Historically, at the end of Foucault's lectures series at the *Collège de France* from 1977 to 1978 on "Security, Territory and Population", he coined the term "governmentality" to mean three things:

> The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit very complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. The tendency that, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the preeminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, and so on) of this type of power – which may be termed "government" – resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of knowledges [*savoirs*]. The process, or rather, the result of the process through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gradually becomes "governmentalized" (Foucault, 2002a, pp. 219–220).

Consequently, these three conceptualisations of governmentality form the historical basis of studies of governmentality, which we can trace to Foucault's lecture series at

the *Collège de France* in 1978 (McIlvenny et al., 2016). For Foucault, government is about the management of "men and things," or men in their relations to economic resources, customs, and morals, including the accidents and misfortunes that befall individuals or the population(s) of any society (Foucault, 2002a, p. 208). Thus, governmentality as an art of government combines disciplinary and regulatory techniques of power in order to to achieve certain governmental rationalities, and the population has become the target of governmentality rather than territory and individual bodies. In this sense, Foucault created a space for thinking about government as not just the maintenance of territorial power and domination, but the conduct of conduct—guiding others' actions and practices.

As McIlvenny et al. (2016) described: "Foucault's main point was that a new art of governing had emerged after the Greeks, through its predecessors pastoralism, police and *raison d'état*" in which the arts, practices and techniques combine to make government thinkable (p. 14); it involves governing the population as an active agent at a distance. "without the full awareness of the people" being conducted and to govern it effectively through a myriad of rationalities, technologies and programmes (Foucault, 2002a, p. 217; Miller & Rose, 2008). Of course, those two concepts, biopower and biopolitics, provide a foundation for the studies of governmentality to flourish. However, Foucault does not provide governmentality a single consistent definition, but governmentality is not absolute, and the conduct of conduct is not entirely an exercise of domination (McIlvenny et al., 2016; Walters, 2012).

3.4. GOVERNMENTALITY: THE "CONDUCT OF CONDUCTS" AND RELATIONS OF POWER

As I mentioned in my above discussion about governmentality, Foucault uses the term in different ways, but his novel conception of power and its connection with his understanding of knowledge and discourse appear to drive his appetite for the analysis of the relation to oneself and rules as a form of governmentality (Foucault, 1984a). As Foucault explained, it is important to look at the ways in which power works by investigating the elaboration and installation of techniques for governing and guiding the conducts of individuals in social domains. In this sense, the use of the term fosters links with the many forms of power relations involved in the process of governing (Walters, 2012). For Foucault (2002e), the relations of power is connected to the exercise of power in which "some act on others" (p. 340). Thus, "power exists only as exercised by some on others, only when it is put into action" (Foucault, 2002e, p. 340). As Foucault (2002e) emphasised, to "conduct" means to "lead" others, and in this sense, governementality concerns itself with the "conduct of conducts" (p.341). Foucault used the word "conduct" in his lecture series at the *Collège de France* in 1978 to mean two things:

> Conduct is the activity of conducting (*conduire*), of conduction (*la conduction*) if you like, but it is equally the way in which one conducts

> oneself (*se conduit*), lets oneself be conducted (*se laisse conduire*), is conducted (*est conduit*), and finally, in which one behaves (*se comporter*) as an effect of a form of conduct (*une conduite*) as the action of conducting or of conduction (*conduction*) (Foucault, 2007a, p. 193).

We can observe from the above quote that Foucault did not limit the definition of the conduct or the conduct of conducts to a person acting on the actions of others; in a comprehensive sense, it includes others acting on themselves in relation to the actions of others or the rule. For Dean (2010), conduct "refers to our behaviours, our actions and even our comportment, i.e the articulated set of our behaviours" (p. 17). Thus, the sense of articulation presupposes the presence of a "moral code" which regulates the sets of our behaviours. In this, Foucault recognises a space available to "others" as "acting subjects by virtue of their acting and being capable of action" (Foucault, 2002e, p. 341). An analysis of the conduct of conducts or governmentality is not limited to investigating the exercise of power as total domination. As Foucault reminds us,

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

Insofar as governmentality is not limited to the analysis of total domination, we can also observe from the quote that governing the conduct of others or onself without assuring an element of coercion does not exist; governing is always the intersection of freedom and domination. As the conduct of conducts, governmentality finds itself in between the two poles of "strategic relations" and forms domination in the sense that it comprises of "a much wider variety of forms of rule and strategies of power" (McIlvenny et al., 2016; Walters, 2012, p. 10). It is not about total domination or allowing people to go unconducted, but putting the "techniques of government" to work, and opening the conditions for possibilities in the relations of power in terms of the conduct of conducts (Foucault, 1997, p. 299).

3.5. CRITIQUE, COUNTER-CONDUCT, AND RESISTANCE

Critique has received many definitions in social theory and in discourse studies; Reisigl & Wodak (2016) describe critique as "the examination, assessment and evaluation, from a normative perspective, of persons, objects, actions, and social institutions" (p.24). In this sense, critique is used as a "diagnostic tool" for assessing certain aspects of social and political actions against ideal types and standards. In other words, critique implies a suspicion of ideal types, totalising and universal entities, and the taken-for-granted practices or discourses of the present. As Jäger & Maier (2016) pointed out, in discourse studies, critique is not about stating which discourse is good or bad, but rather:

> It means to expose the evaluations that are inherent in a discourse, to reveal the contradictions within and between discourses, the limits of what can be said, done and shown, and the means by which a discourse makes particular statements, actions and things seem rational and beyond all doubt, even though they are only valid at a certain time and place (Jäger & Maier, 2016, p. 119).

Although these definitions of critique appear to have some links with the critical work of Foucault on discourse, knowledge, and power, his notion of critique centres on counter-conducts (McIlvenny et al., 2016). The notion of counter-conduct signifies that "the will not to be governed is always the will not to be governed thusly, like that, by these people, at this price" (Foucault, 2007b, p. 75). For Foucault (2007b), "critique is the movement by which the subject gives himself the right to question truth on its effects of power and question power on its discourses of truth" (p.47). Though he explained that he "was not referring to something that would be a fundamental anarchism," the quote below supports his notion of critique as "the art of voluntary insubordination," which "insure the desubjugation of the subject," and in the core of critique, power, truth, and the subject are tied together in a bundle of relationships (Foucault, 2007b, pp. 47, 75). Rhetorically, Foucaults (2007b) ask:

> If we were to explore this dimension of critique, would we not then find that it is supported by something akin to the historical practice of revolt, the non-acceptance of a real government, on one hand, or, on the other, the individual experience of the refusal of governmentality? (p.75)

Thus, critique is a constitutive element of governmentality insofar as the exercise of governmental power involves the conduct of conducts, which is made possible by the application of multiplicities of techniques and rationalities of government. Foucault (1997) states:

> Governmentality should not be exercised without a "critique" far more radical than a test of optimization. It should inquire not just as to the best (or least costly) means of achieving its effects but also concerning the possibility and even the lawfulness of its scheme for achieving effects (p. 74).

Foucault attends to critique in its instrumental sense, but not hidden or intrinsic, which questions the ways in which certain practices of government are taken for granted in our present society. In a sense, the notion of critique for Foucault is also an ethical issue; if we agree that governmentality is "the group of relations of power and techniques which allow these relations of power to be exercised" as the conduct of conducts, then we could say the critique of governmentality or conduct of conducts ethically nurtures and gives rise to Foucault's notion of counter-conduct (Foucault 2007b, p. 135; Foucault, 2007a). He states:

> What I will propose to you is the doubtless badly constructed word "counter-conduct" – the latter having the sole advantage of allowing reference to the active sense of the word "conduct" – counter-conduct in the sense of struggle against the processes implemented for conducting others (Foucault, 2007a, p. 201).

From a governmentality perspective, Foucault's notion of counter-conduct is a form of struggle in which the subject practically questions or refuses certain modes of conducting oneself and others. According to Foucault (2007a), "counter-conduct is not the same as "misconduct (*inconduite*)," which only refers to the passive sense of the word, of behaviour: not conducting oneself properly" (p. 201). In conducting, and within the practices of conduct, there is the presence of counter-conduct because the techniques and practices of conduct or conducting in relation to the subject and power implicate a struggle. For Foucault (1990a), "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (p. 95). In other words, he reminds us that "power relationship and freedom's refusal to submit cannot therefore be separated" (Foucault, 2002e, p. 342). As McIlvenny et al. (2016) notes, in discourse studies, an understanding of resistance and counter-conduct lies at the intersection of the government, of the self and others, which implies power relations. In other words, counter-conduct and resistance are embedded in the techniques of subjection and the practices of subjectivation, and the analysis of forms, counter-conducts, and resistances illuminate the multiplicities of power relations and their modes and points of application. As Foucault concludes (2002e),

> To sum up, the main objective of these struggles is to attack not so much such-or-such institution of power, or group, or elite, or class but, rather, a technique, a form of power. This form of power that applies itself to immediate everyday life categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him that he must recognize and others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power that makes individuals subjects (p. 331).

The quote draws our attention to the fact that counter-conduct and resistance revolve around the multiplicities of power relations that are characteristic of our present society, and for Foucault, an analysis of power in relation to the practices of everyday life would enhance our understanding of the struggles of subjects and counter-conducts.

3.6. FORMATION OF SUBJECT AND TECHNOLOGIES OF SELF

Throughout his work, from archaeology to genealogy, Foucault is concerned with the relations between discourse, the subject, power, and the production of knowledge. In

the later stages of his genealogical studies, a history of the present, the subject became his prime concern. As Foucault (2002e) asserts, "it is not power, but the subject, that is the general theme of my research" (p. 327). In relation to this general theme of the subject, Foucault (2002e) stated:

> My objective, instead, has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects. My work has dealt with three modes of objectification that transforms human beings into subjects. The first is the modes of inquiry that try to give themselves the status of sciences; for example, the objectivizing of the speaking subject in grammaire générale, philology, and linguistics. Or again, in this first mode, the objectivizing of the productive subject, the subject who labors in the analysis of wealth and of economics. Or, a third example objectivizing of the sheer fact of being alive in natural history or biology. In the second part of my work, I have studied the objectivizing the subject in what I shall call "dividing practices." The subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. This process objectivizes him. Examples are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals and the "good boys." Finally, I have sought to study – it is my current work – the way a human being turns himself into a subject (pp. 326 – 327).

In fact, the subject is produced by discourse entangled in power relation, and these subjects operate within the limits of discourses. As Hall (1997) pointed out, these subjects operate "within the limits of the *episteme*, the *discursive formation*, and the *regime of truth*, of a particular period and culture" (p. 55); they are never outside the boundaries of discourses. Indeed, Foucault was much concerned with the processes and procedures by which individuals become the products or the subjects of discourses. According to him, the human subject is situated in a complex power relations. In the quote, Foucault provided an analysis of the subject in three ways: the scientific production and understanding of the subject as a speaking, living, and working being. Thus, the understanding of the subject as an object of knowledge and an object of domination produced by the practices of institutions or the social domains of power and the moral or ethical understanding an individual creates about himself or herself as a subject (Foucault, 2005, 2007b). For Foucault (1997), within these three modes of objectivsing the subject lay "techniques of production, techniques of signification or communication, and techniques of domination" (p. 177). He had developed interest in analysing the genealogy of the subject, which focused on the "technologies of the self" as the domain of analysis (Foucault, 1997, p. 177). Foucault (1997) also states that

> I became more and more aware that in all societies there is another type of technique: techniques that permit individuals to effect, by their own means, a certain number of operations on their own bodies, their own souls, their own thoughts, their own conduct, and this in a manner so as to transform

> themselves, modify themselves, and to attain a certain state of perfection, happiness, purity, supernatural power (p. 177).

He emphasized that an analysis of the genealogy of subject requires that the analyst takes into consideration both the techiques of the self and techniques of domaintion. In others, to arrive at the genealogy of the subject or the present history of the subject, we need to analyse all those objectification practices of the social domains power, which draw on scientific practices and knowledge, and finaly, the practices of the self, which is directed at the self. Specifically, the analyst must take into account the interaction between the technologies of the self and the technologies of domination, and investigate their points of overlap and integration (Foucault, 1997). Indeed, the genealogy of the subject is not to be found beyond these discourses; it is the intersection of these two technologies—the technology of the self and the technology of domination—that Foucault calls "governmentality" (Foucault, 1997, p. 225). Taking the subject as the focus of his later research project, Foucault (1997) insisted that he was more interested "in the interaction between oneself and others, and in the technologies of individual domination, in the mode of action that an individual exercises upon himself by means of the technologies of the self" (p. 225). Thus, he investigated a set of practices in relation to the "care of the self" in late antiquity (Foucault, 1997, p. 226).

In this way, it is possible to understand the way the practices of the self for the care of the self—the technology of the self—become an important component of governmmentality by investigating the forms and transformations of "morality." Foucault defined "morality" interms of a "moral code," or a prescripitive set of values and rules of action, and the actions of individuals in relation to these rules, which they comply or resist (Foucault, 1990b, p. 25). As he notes, these "acts [*conduites*] are the real behavior of people in relation to the moral code [*prescriptions*] imposed on them" (Foucault, 1997, p. 263). On the other side of the moral code, the individual must develop a relationship with himself or herself, "which I call ethics, and which determines how the individual is supposed to constitute himself as a moral subject of his own actions" (Foucault, 1997, p. 263). Accordingly, in investigating the "rule of conduct" and the conduct itself, it is equally important to consider "the manner in which one ought to 'conduct oneself' – that is, the manner in which one ought to form oneself as an ethical subject acting in reference to the prescriptive elements that make up the code" (Foucault, 1990b, p. 26).

According to Foucault, one can "conduct onself" morally not just as an acting individual who only acts according to the prescriptive rule of conduct, but as an ethical subject of one's action. In other words, the subject is formed at the intersection of the rule of conduct and the conduct itself. The different ways of conducting onself, according to Foucault (1990b), include "the *determination of the ethical substance;* that is, the way in which the individual has to constitute this or that part of himself as the prime material of his moral conduct" (p.26); the aspect of our behaviour that is

primarily concerned with the moral code (Foucault, 1997); "the *mode of subjection (mode d'assujettissement)*, or the way in which the individual establishes his relation to the rule and recognizes himself as obliged to put it into practice" (Foucault, 1990b, p. 27); "the way in which people are invited or incited to recognize their moral obligations" (Foucault, 1997, p. 264); "the *forms of elaboration*, of *ethical work (travail e'thique)* that one performs on oneself, not only in order to bring one's conduct into compliance with a given rule, but to attempt to transform oneself into an ethical subject of one's behaviour" (Foucault, 1990b, p. 27); "the self-forming activity [*pratique de soi*] or *l'ascétisme*" (Foucault, 1997, p. 265); "the *telos* of the ethical subject: an action is not only moral in itself, in its singularity; it is also moral in its circumstantial integration and by virtue of the place it occupies in a pattern of conduct" (Foucault, 1990b, pp. 27–28).

Thus, a moral action or conduct is not limited to the rule of conduct, but it includes a relationship with the self, a practice of forming the self "as an "ethical subject," a process in which the individual delimits that part of himself that will form the object of his moral practice, defines his position relative to the precept he will follow, and decides on a certain mode of being that will serve as his moral goal" (Foucault, 1990b, p. 28). Foucault argues that the code of conduct and the practices of the self which leads to self-formation are not totally independent of each other. However, subjectivation occurs in two forms: first, if the emphasis of moral behaviour is placed on the elaborations and enforcement of rule of conduct instead of the practices of the self, then "the subjectivation occurs basically in a quasi-juridical form, where the ethical subject refers his conduct to a law, or set of laws, to which he must submit at the risk of committing offenses that may make him liable to punishment" (Foucault, 1990b, pp. 29–30). On the other hand, subjectivation can occur in the form of the practices of the self, or how an individual relates to himself or herself as an ethical subject:

> Here the emphasis is on the forms of relations with the self, on the methods and techniques by which he works them out, on the exercises by which he makes of himself an object to be known, and on the practices that enable him to transform his own mode of being (Foucault, 1990b, p. 30).

In the forms in which subjectivation occur, one finds on each of the sides some combinations of practices of coercion or control and "practices of freedom" (Foucault, 1997, p. 282). The degree in which these practices are emphasized or carried out is related to the ends that one wants to achieve within a specific regime of truth. Subjectivation involves some forms of "coercive practices" which Foucault conceives as "the problem of the relationship between the subject and games of truth" and practice of the self which he calls "an exercise of the self on the self by which one attempts to develop and transform oneself, and to attain to a certain mode of being" as an ethical subject (Foucault, 1997, p. 281-282). It suggests that the practices of the self are not replacements of the coercive practices which was Foucault's main project

until his lectures at the *Collège de France in* the early 1980s about the government of the self when he introduced the term subjectivation (Foucault, 1997). Milchman and Rosenberg (2009) state,

> While 'assujettissement' or subjectification pertains to how one is objectified as a subject through the exercise of power/knowledge, including the modalities of resistance through which those power relations can be modified or attenuated, 'subjectivation' pertains to the relation of the person to him/herself; to the multiple ways in which a self can be fashioned or constructed on the basis of what one takes to be the truth (p. 66).

Subjectivation creates space for the subject to play a key role in transforming and forming oneself, though it should not be understood as a concept that grants the subject an escape from the "regime of truth." Rather, the subject constitutes and transforms itself within the "regime of truth." Subjectivation neither promises an "idea" of autonomous subjectivity nor discourages the "reality" of heteronomous subjection (Oberprantacher & Siclodi, 2016); it creates the conditions of possibility for the manifestation of an active ethical subject who is capable of "disturbing" the "regime of truth" which includes the governmental rationalities and the taken for granted practices of power relation.

Also, we must note that Foucault did not introduce the term in order to write a total history of the human subject, but rather a general history of the formation of the human subject that demonstrates "the ways in which human beings are individuated and addressed within the various practices that would govern them, the relations to themselves that they have taken up within the variety of practices within which they have come to govern themselves" (Rose, 1999, p. 43). However, subjectivation and subjectification are not mutually exclusive; the presence of one implies the other, and within a governmentality perspective, they materialize in the regimes of practices or regimes of government. Thus, it is possible to identify and analyse on both sides the ways in which individuals "may be subjectified, in the sense of being invited to enter given subject positions, and how they subjectivate themselves by inculcating, resisting or reworking these subject positions" (Lassen & Horsbøl, 2016, p. 80).

3.7. PERSPECTIVES OF NOTABLE SCHOLARS IN THE STUDIES OF GOVERNMENTALITY

Since Foucault coined the term *governmentality*, notable scholars have extensively explored and contributed to its study and interpretation by providing valuable conceptual and analytical insights (Dean, 2010; Rose & Miller, 2010; Walters, 2012). Scholarly work about governmentality including that of Foucault and subsequent scholars point to the practice of government or the conduct of conducts in relation to certain objectives. As indicated in Section 3.4, the conduct of conducts is accomplished in two dimensions: conducting the conduct of others, and conducting

the conduct of oneself. Rose and Miller (2010) have proposed political rationalities, governmental technologies and programmes as conceptual tools for understanding how authorities in modern democratic societies seek to govern economic activity and conduct the conducts of individuals.

Drawing on Foucault, they construed governmentality as "a certain way of thinking and acting embodied in all those attempts to know and govern the wealth, health and happiness of populations" (Rose & Miller, 2010, p. 272). They argued that the technologies of government are complex assemblages which enable authorities to govern at a distance by seeking to create locales, entities and persons who can operate a "regulated autonomy" or engage in subjectivation practices (Rose & Miller, 2010, p. 271). For Rose and Miller, in order to understand the technologies of government, "we need to study the humble and mundane mechanisms by which authorities seek to instantiate government" (p. 281)[16]. In addition, they insist governmental technologies are linked to political rationalities—the moral justifications for exercising power. Thus, it is by analysing the linkages between these two concepts that we can understand the multiplicities of networks, procedures, aspirations and the practice of governing or conducting conducts (Rose & Miller, 2010, pp. 273–274).

In using these conceptual tools, Rose and Miller (2010) investigated "welfarism as a mode of 'social' government" in Western societies (p.271)[17]. According to Rose (1999), governmentality takes place through a process of "translation" (p. 48), a concept he borrowed from Latour's *Action-Network Theory* (Latour, 2005). For Rose, "in the dynamics of translation, alignments are forged between the objectives of authorities wishing to govern and the personal projects of those organizations, groups and individuals who are the subjects of government" (Rose, 1999, p. 48). These perspectives provide a useful conceptual understanding and analytical potential for the studies of governmentality (McIlvenny et.al, 2016). These are useful for investigating and understanding the practices of government in democratic societies; they focus more on governing the conduct of individuals in "micro-spaces." Thus, the concept of translation does not appear to emphasise the ways in which the subjects of government conduct themselves in relation to the rationalities, programmes, and technologies of government in time and space. The concept of translation appears to

[16] As Rose and Miller (2010) explained, these mechanisms are extensive and heterogeneous, and they include "techniques of notation, computation and calculation; procedures of examination and assessment; the invention of devices such as surveys and presentational forms such as tables; the standardisation of systems for training and the inculcation of habits; the inauguration of professional specialisms and vocabularies; building designs and architectural forms – the list is heterogeneous and in principle unlimited" (p. 281).

[17] According to Rose and Miller (2010), the "term 'welfarism' is constituted by a political rationality embodying certain principles and ideals, and is based upon a particular conception of the nature of society and its inhabitants" (p. 289).

be an end in itself, but as Foucault (1997) points out, governmentality occurs at the intersection of "the technologies of domination of others and those of the self" which should be the focus and the point of departure in the studies of governmentality (p. 225). Like Foucault (1997), we should be "more interested in the interaction between oneself and others, and in the technologies of individual domination, in the mode of action that an individual exercises upon himself by means of the technologies of the self" (p. 225).

Earlier in this chapter, particularly in the section on the art of government and governmentality, I introduced Mitchell Dean by drawing on his definition of "government." In this section, I will expand the discussion of his contribution to the studies of governmentality. Drawing on Foucault's notion of governmentality and taking the conduct of conducts as a point of departure in his thought-provoking book *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (2010), Dean succinctly elaborates on the concept of governmentality and provides analytical tools for analysing "government." Dean understood government as the conduct of conducts which evoked two meanings for him: to lead, direct or guide—to conduct, or self-direction appropriate to certain situations—to conduct oneself. The latter he claims, has moral or ethical implications (Dean, 2010, p. 17).

In this way, we can say that governing or the practice of government is a politico-moral activity in which individuals engage in the practices of subjectivation as a way of governing themselves. Thus, the surface of activities or actions the code and morality meet and give rise to governmental ambition. Morality is understood in relation to the actions or the practices of people.

> If morality is understood as the attempt to make oneself accountable to one's own actions, or as a practice in which human beings take their own conduct to be subject to self-regulation, then government is an intensely moral activity… it seeks to engage with how both the 'governed' and the 'governor' regulate themselves (Dean, 2010, p. 19).

Though Dean (2010) explains in his book that he will "discuss practices concerned to conduct the conduct of others rather than those concerned to conduct one's own conduct," he acknowledges the practices of the self as a constitutive element of governmentality, which is central to Foucault's later works (p. 20). For Dean (2010), the analysis of the ethical government of the self involves four aspects:

> First, it involves ontology, concerned with what we seek to act upon, the governed or ethical substance. … Second, it involves ascetics, concerned with how we govern this substance, the governing or ethical work. … Third, it involves deontology, concerned with who we are when we are governed in such a manner, our 'mode of subjectification', or the governable or ethical subject…. Fourth, it entails a teleology, concerned with why we govern or

> are governed, the ends or goal sought, what we hope to become or the world we hope to create, that which might be called the telos of governmental or ethical practices (Dean, 2010, pp. 26–27).

However, Dean was more interested in analysing government in its complex and variable forms in relation to what he calls "regimes of practices" or "regimes of government," or the organised ways and practices of governing one's own conduct and the conduct of others. In fact, he introduced an analytics of government, a framework for investigating "the specific conditions under which particular entities emerge, exist and change," but he warned that "it does not treat particular practices of government as instances of ideal types and concepts" (Dean, 2010, p. 30). Rather, he emphasised that the framework "examines the conditions under which regimes of practices come into being, are maintained and are transformed" (Dean, 2010, p. 31). According to him, the framework emphasises the questions of governing in four different but interrelated dimensions.

First, the characteristic forms of visibility, ways of seeing and perceiving; second, the distinctive ways of thinking and questioning, relying on definite vocabularies and procedures for the production of truth (e.g. those derived from the social, human and behavioural sciences); third, the specific ways of acting, intervening and directing, made up of particular types of practical rationality ("expertise" and "know-how"), and relying upon definite mechanisms, techniques and technologies; fourth, the characteristic ways of forming subjects, selves, persons, actors or agents (Dean, 2010, p. 33). In focusing on what he calls "regimes of practices" (p. 32), an analytics of government presents an opportunity for investigating governmentality by drawing on other interdisciplinary frameworks in discourse studies in which practice or practices is the object of study or the point of departure. Thus, the framework presents a pontential for investigating governmentality from a genealogical perspective as William Walters (2012) proposed in his book, *Governmentality: Critical Encounters* (2012).

In his book, Walters (2012) argues that, with a few exceptions, in current studies of governmentality "virtually is the sense, so central to genealogy, that things refuse to march in steps; of the present not as an epoch, an age, or answerable to a singular logic or zeitgeist, but as a pluralized entanglement of many times" (p. 113). For Walters, a genealogical approach to the studies of governmentality is necessary to register the subtle forces of shifts in the knowledge of government by investigating the regimes of practices, technologies, expert knowledge, and counter-conducts. Thus, Walters (2012) proposed a three style genealogical approach to the studies of governmentality: "genealogy as the tracing lines of descent … genealogy as genealogy as counter-memory and reserialization… and genealogy as the recovery of forgotten struggle" (p.116). His proposed genealogical method presents a methodological potential for studying governmentality from many angles, but it is particularly useful for the

empirical studies of regimes of practices or governmental practices beyond the limits of the state, which is relevant for the current project.

Other scholars have contributed to the study of governmentality by investigating governmentality in terms of the conduct of conducts, or the government of the self and the government of others in many different fields. These studies include practices relating to the governmentality of climate change (Lassen & Horsbøl, 2016; Paterson & Stripple, 2010; Stripple & Bulkeley, 2014), transnational governmentalities (Death, 2013; Ferguson & Gupta, 2002), gender and feminism (Oksala, 2013; Repo, 2015, 2016; Sauer & Penz, 2017; Taylor, 2013; Teghtsoonian, 2017) as well as disability and governmentality (Hughes, 2005; Jolly, 2003; Tremain, 2005). Thus, it is very common to find scholars across many disciplines drawing on Foucault's notion of governmentality or studies of governmentality in order to investigate regimes of practices or regimes of government in modern democratic societies. In spite of the proliferation of literature on studies of governmentality in many disciplines and fields of study, a productive relationship between discourse studies and governmentality has been little explored. McIlvenny et al. (2016) state:

> Within discourse studies, there have not been many attempts to connect up the notion of discourse with the later work of Foucault and even fewer have attempted to explicitly investigate discourse and governmentality. Thus, there is a strong demand for interdisciplinary research that focuses on both the refreshed studies of governmentality and the richer discursive and interactional analyses of the forms, practices, modes, programmes and rationalities of the conduct of conduct today (p. 3).

A careful observation of their call to consider connecting and exploring discourse studies and governmentality is deeply rooted in Foucault's notions of discourse, power, and governmentality. Although not very explicit, Walters' (2012) call for genealogical studies of governmentality opens up the possibility of connecting discourse studies and governmentality, insofar as these domains take the ways of conduct or practices as the starting point of empirical investigations. Similarly, the analytics of government proposed by Dean (2010) for analysing regimes of practices or regimes of government offer fertile ground for combining discourse studies and governmentality in empirical investigations. As the perspectives of the scholars above appear to echo an intractable link between governmentality and practice(s), the following section provides an elucidation of the concept of practice in the context of the study.

3.8. PRACTICES, "REGIME OF PRACTICES," AND PRACTICE THEORY

A careful study of Foucault's *oeuvre* shows his affinity for the concept of practice. Even though he explicitly indicates the objectives of his work at various stages, such

as from archaeology to genealogy, Foucault's *oeuvre* is a "history of practices" at best. While delivering his inaugural lecture at the College de France in 1970, Foucault emphasised that "we must conceive discourse as a violence that we do to things, or, at all events, as a practice we impose upon them; it is in this practice that the events of discourse find the principle of their regularity" (Foucault, 1971, p. 22). Foucault not only drew from the concept of practice in order to show the limits and indeterminacies of "words and things" in themselves, but he conceived "discourse itself as a practice" as well "as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 2002d, pp. 51, 54). In analysing power, and on the studies of the prison, Foucault (2002b) points out that the elaborations of schemas and the programmings of behaviours corresponds to a wide range of practices, which was the target of his studies. He states:

> In this piece of research on the prisons, as in my other earlier work, the target of analysis wasn't "institutions", "theories" or "ideology", but *practices* – with the aim of grasping the conditions that make these acceptable at a given moment; the hypothesis being that these types of practice are not just governed by institutions, prescribed by ideologies, guided by pragmatic circumstances – whatever role these elements may actually play – but, up to a point, possess their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence, and "reason". It is a question of analyzing a "regime of practices" – practices being understood here as places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken-for-granted meet and interconnect. To analyze "regimes of practices" means to analyze programs of conduct that have both prescriptive effects regarding what is to be done (effects of "jurisdiction") and codifying effects regarding what is to be known (effects of "veridiction") (Foucault, 2002b, p. 225).

As observed in the quote above, Foucault (2002b) accords priority to the study of practices while emphasising that "these programmings of behavior, these regimes of jurisdiction and veridiction aren't abortive schemas for the creation of a reality" because they induce reality in "the ways men "direct," "govern," and "conduct" themselves and others" (p. 233). For Foucault (2002b), his primary objective was to write a history of the "*practice of imprisonment"* to show how this way of doing things appears to be a "natural, self-evident, and indespensable" part of the penal system (p.225). In line with Foucault, Dean (2010) states that "regimes of practices are simply fairly coherent sets of ways of going about doing things" (p. 31).

Following from Foucault's conception of practice, we could say practices are institutionally induced and discursively grounded in the everyday life of the subjects of those institutions; the subject is "constituted in real practices – historically analysable practices" (Foucault, 1983, p. 250). Foucault's interest in showing how this way of doing things appears to have some overlap with practice theory, yet it is unique in the sense that he places emphasis on the "how" of doing things and making

this way of doing things seem natural, self-evident, and indispensable the focus of his genealogical studies. Foucault understands practice in an instrumental sense, thereby establishing a link between practice and power and not just an effect of some structures or grand rationalities or programmes. In other words, practice is not limited to the here and now actions of people, but is a productive part of the sociopolitical context in which it is embedded.

In practice theory and practice-based studies, the term *practice* or *practices* is understood as a "set of doings and sayings" (Schatzki, 2002, p.73). As Nicolini (2012) pointed out, "when I speak of practices I refer to 'practising', real-time doing and saying something in a specific place and time" (p.219). For Nicolini (2012), practices are enacted and re-enacted. They take the form of social and material doing, and in a sense, practice shares affinity with discourse, which is understood as "a form of action, a way of making things happen in the world, and not a mere way of representing it" (p.189). For Schatzki and Nicolini, we need to understand practice or practices in their concrete manifestations and "micro-actions," that is, what people actually say and do in everyday life is tied to time and place, which suggests that practices do vary, and involve bodily doings and sayings, which are actions that people perform in different contexts (Schatzki, 2002). In these bodily doings and sayings, "people apply resources (material or symbolic) to act together in the world" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 21). Mobilizing reources and acting together involves the production of relationships in which a particular practice becomes meaningful to people. Thus, practices are more than just doing and saying things. In themselves, according to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), practices are productive because

> they constitute a point of connection between abstract structures and their mechanism, and concrete events – between 'society' and people living their lives. A particular practice brings together different elements of life in specific, local forms and relationships – particular types of activity, linked in particular ways to particular materials and spatial temporal locations; particular persons with particular experiences, knowledge and dispositions in particular social relations; particular semiotic resources and ways of using language (p. 21).

These connections and relations of symbolic and material resources to the sayings and doings of people in space make practices productive. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) see "all practices as practices of production" in which the symbolic and metrial resources are combined in varying degrees according to the rules of production for various accomplishments in the world (p.23). In addition, practices are located in the nexus of practice or "networks of practices," which are held and maintained by power relations in which the "shifting articulations of practices within and across networks are linked to the shifting dynamics of power and struggles over power" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 24; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Thus, power or relations of power is indespensable in the (re)production and maintainance of social practices or

practices. In this sense, Foucault's concept of practice and governmentality in terms of the conduct of conducts become intelligible.

As Gordon (1991) pointed out, Foucault "was interested in government as an activity or practice" (p.3). In a way, Foucault's notion of practice or practices do create space for investigating governing practices about conducting the conduct of others and those practices concerned with conducting oneself – the practices of the self in relation to the rules of conduct or moral code (Dean, 2010). However, with very few exceptions, current studies in governmentality focus on investigating practices about conducting the conduct of othersthe former (McIlvenny et al., 2016). In this way, it is also possible to investigate governing practices in relation to the categories of subjects, such as the practices of and in relation to gendered categories (women and men) within a regime of practice such as the LEAP cash transfer programme.

The critical and reflexive stance of this study indicate that the social actors in the social domains of power are not passive but active participants within the LEAP cash transfer programme. In the next section I present a theoretical understanding of the ways social actors construct the subject and the self in social practices in order to situate the actors in the domain of the programme as active participants. In this regard, these social actors are capable of acting on the actions of one another in relation to the programme and the resources available to them in the Ghanaian social context.

3.9. CONSTRUCTING THE SUBJECT AND THE SELF

Contrary to the notion of the self or the subject as an autonomous entity, social actors construct who they are through social practices; that is, socially sanctioned actions, articulations, and interactions in context (Foucault, 2005; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Foucault is well noted in this regard for his work on the subject of power and the concept of self-formation in which the political and the ethical practices of the subject are interconnected (Foucault, 1997, 2002e, 2005). It suggests that our knowledge about social actors is shaped by social practices, actions, and interaction in the context of their occurrence. These actors do so by drawing on the semiotic resources and repertoires available to them in interaction within the discursive field and the socio-political context in which they are embedded. In so doing, "people construct not only a personal Self, but also a social self as member of – various – groups" (van Dijk, 2009, p. 71).

> People create and continually re-create themselves in contact with others; indeed, this self *is* ultimately a process. The self is not a passive medium or arena between internal and external stimuli and behaviours, dependent and independent variables, but a highly productive phenomenon of its own, the engine of the entire social process. The self is also a world of meanings, not an external structure or a set of variables (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018, pp. 71–72).

The construction of self or selves manifests in the utterances and expressions of social actors in terms of the "I" and "We," which indexes multiple and complicated identities and subjectivities for these selves in a discursive field. Indeed, in discourse theory, the notion of "self" goes beyond the limited notion of the endowment of self, and in the broader perspective, it embraces the Saussurean *langue* and the Foucauldian *discourse* theorisations of the subject beyond language as a transparent medium; thus the self is a product of history (De Fina, 2011), struggle, and power relations. Consequently,

> individuals are never outside cultural forces or discursive practices but always 'subject' to them. Their identities are governed by a range of 'subject positions' ('ways of being'), approved by their community or culture, and made available to them by means of the particular discourses operating within a given social context (Baxter, 2016, p. 37).

More so, in a discursive field and in social interaction, social actors construct themselves by drawing on discursive resources such as language, power, and knowledge within a relevant context of practice (Fairclough, 2015). For Gee (2014) practice is "a socially recognized and institutionally or culturally supported endeavor that usually involves sequencing or combining actions in certain specified ways" (p. 32) in relation to the individual, the family and the community – i.e. self and other. In other words, practices are the doings and sayings of social actors in context (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2002) and for Foucault (2005), the care of the self and "techniques of the self" (Foucault, 1990b, p. 251) are self-practices and the practices of self in the interest of the self.

> The self is the definitive and sole aim of the care of the self. Consequently, under no circumstances can this activity, this practice of the care of the self, be seen as purely and simply preliminary and introductory to the care of others. It is an activity focused solely on the self and whose outcome, realization and satisfaction, in the strong sense of the word, is found only in the self, that is to say in the activity itself that is exercised on the self. One takes care of the self for oneself, and this care finds its own reward in the care of the self. One takes care of the self for oneself, and this care finds its own reward in the care of the self. In the care of the self one is one's own object and end (Foucault, 2005, p. 177).

The subjects of public social protection programme engage in constructing themselves by drawing on cultural and linguistic resources, experiences and technologies—techniques and procedures available to them as actors of the LEAP cash transfer programme. Baxter (2016) emphasises that "the formation and reformation of identity is a continuous process, accomplished through actions and words rather than through some fundamental essence of character" (p. 38) such as nondurable and abstract entities. In this regard, the essentialist view of identities is problematic; identities and

subjectivities are products of actions and accounts of practices embedded in context. In this sense, social actors become the objects of knowledge for themselves and for others by rendering themselves calculable and knowable through their subjective performances and objectivising practices of the LEAP cash transfer programme. The subjectification and objectification (these concepts will be discussed in the next chapter) of social actors in interactions, especially, men and women "has a distancing effect that can lead to justifying exploitation and abuse" (Sprague, 2016, p. 22) or domination.

Poststructural feminists and gender discourse theorists, such as Butler, Fraser, and Cameron, among others, have embraced the non-essential view of self in gender discourse and our contingent present. Consequently, it makes sense to question and investigate the disciplinary and regulatory power technologies that the programme authorities mobilise to construct or constitute men and women as subjects of the programme. These disciplinary and regulatory mechanisms of power in the domain of public social protection programmes appear to have implications for constructing and representing men and women in the field of discursivity. Regimes of practices, mechanisms, rationalities, and programmes (Dean, 2010; Rose & Miller, 2010) engender new domains of knowledge by bringing into being new subjects, concepts, and techniques, and for Foucault (Foucault, 2002a), regimes of practices are programmes of conduct, which prescribe what is to be done and codify what is to be known. In a sense, these programme authorities construct subjects and shape 'selves' in relation to the mechanisms and technologies of the programme that is deployed in specific contexts. Thus, it is difficult to analyse the subjects or the programme in the context of this study as absolute and pre-given entities, but as products of discourses.

The construction of subjects occurs at many levels in the field of discursivity. For instance, the caregivers appear to construct themselves in the context of the self (subjectivity) and tradition, on the one hand, while on the other, the programme authorities construct the caregivers and focal persons within a regime of practice or discourse – the practices of the LAEP cash transfer programme (Gordon, 2015). These caregivers and focal persons appear to subject themselves to the rationalities, technologies, and mechanisms of the programme in an attempt to shape and transform their subjectivities. It is at the intersection of these discourses, the moments of subjectivation in which rationalities and relations of power manifest in social practices and interactions in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme.

In this way, it is possible to observe and investigate practices constituting, constructing, and representing men and women in the domain of the public programme, and in the ways that it plays out in various moments in local communities. In doing so, it becomes possible "to locate the emergence of new forms of subjectivity" (Foucault, 2002f, p. 4); that is, "the constitution of the subject as an object for himself: the formation of procedures by which the subject is led to observe himself, analyse himself, interpret himself, recognize himself as a domain of possible

knowledge" (Foucault, 1998, p. 461). Thus, the subjectification and subjectivation of the subject is realised in intersecting and multiple discourses that constitute these men and women, which involves relations of power and contestations arising from some form of self-reflexivity and "lived contradictions" (Harré, 1991, p. 56).

Subjects may construct themselves by interacting with the programme at the local level, and the forms of understanding they create about themselves (subjectivity): "techniques or technology of the self" (Foucault, 1993, p. 203). Kelly's theorisation of self in relation to social context recognises the interplay of two issues that are important to our conceptualisation of subjectivity in context:

> First, that man might be better understood if he were viewed in the perspective of the centuries rather than in the flicker of passing moments; and second, that each man contemplates in his own personal way the stream of events upon which he finds himself so swiftly borne (Kelly, 1991, p. 3).

More so, the emphasis is on investigating the concrete practices, social interactions, and the relations of power, the struggles of the subjects (men and women) of the LEAP programme since "social identities are constructed via discourses which proffer subject positions which people may take up or reject" (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 135). At the site of social interaction, the processes of negotiating and performing flourish. It is possible to observe the concrete actions of the social actors at the site of the LEAP programme and the ways "they are doing being governable subjects in terms of their negotiation of knowledge, rights and obligations" (McIlvenny et al., 2016, p. 50). Thus, these actions become meaningful and intelligible rather than a search for pre-existing, natural, essential practices of these social actors.

Even though there appears to be a duality of self—the decontextualised self and the contextualised self (see Van Dijk, 2009 for elaboration on these concepts)—the subjects "performative accomplishments" (Butler, 1988, p. 520) are compelled by the discourses of society in time and place. Also, the performance of social practices require the participants or subjects to behave in a certain way, and it does not matter what and how the participants truly feel (subjective) insofar as they act out their feelings in accordance with the expected practice and accepted discourse of a given society or regime of practice (Van Leeuwen, 2008a). For Goffman (1959), performance is "the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants" (p. 15). In this sense, he is referring to other subjects who share in the regime of practice, the situation and occasion of the performer, and contribute to the other performances than that of the performer as the audiences, observers, or co-participants. Therefore, I argue that the subject's performative accomplishment is a co-operative accomplishment because it is historically contingent and relevant in context.

The above theoretical discussion suggests that we cannot understand individuals, persons, or selves as total entities and take for granted their capacity to construct and re-construct themselves in social contexts. In this regard, constructing the subjects and the self in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme is not a mere abstraction; instead, it involves concrete practices entangled in power relations and struggles at the intersection of discourses. In so doing, the construction of the subject and the self has implications for the practices of everyday life, experiences and performances of the subjects, as they are socially required to act out as subjects—whether positive or negative as mentioned above. As gender does not appear to be pre-determined in discourses but discursively enacted in actions, interactions, practices and social domains such as the LEAP cash transfer programme, I present the theoretical perspective of gender in this study in the section below.

3.10. GENDER: DISCOURSE AND GOVERNMENTALITY PERSPECTIVES

In development literature, gender is often conceived as "the socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men" (World Health Organization, 2016, para. 2). In a sense, this suggests that gender is something that is constructed and held by social structures, and that it is independent of the strategic interventions of the already gendered binary categories of men and women in society. Although critical feminist theorists do agree with the constructivist epistemology, they often deny the universal or totalising essence of gender and its being a sole product of social structure, which is perpetually held by society. For instance, Butler (2006) argued for strategic intervention in the concept of gender with "the theory of performativity" (p. xv) by drawing on Austin's speech act theory in linguistics in order to deconstruct gender as totalising. Butler thus recognises the ontology of a gendered subject (ontological categories, e.g. man and woman), and she tries to account for the gendered subject in terms of performances relating to the materiality of the cultural context.

Of course, a connection exists between doing or performing gender and being a gendered subject (Butler, 2006; Messerschmidt, 2009; West & Zimmerman, 1987) in the socio-political context. Similarly, Foucault emphasises the connection between self and power in terms of the multiple socio-cultural relations and the rule(s) that support and shape these (Foucault, 1997). In this way, it is interesting from the perspective of Foucault that being a gendered subject or gendered self as an essence is problematic, because it is politically and historically contingent yet a discursive practice (it is (re)produced at the intersections of discourses and practices in context). In his book, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* Vol. 1 (Foucault, 1990a), it is possible to genealogically trace and link gender with sex. Foucault reminds us that the deployment of sexuality is caught up in a discourse, power, and knowledge assemblage; that is, it is produced and regulated by a technology of power (*technē*) and a regime of truth (*epistēmē)*. Therefore, sex, like gender, is not an essence but

rather relates to discourse and power. It is on this note that I draw on Repo's argument that

> gender, like sexuality, is a historically specific discourse of sex. If gender is a discursive event of sex, and if we accept Foucault's analysis of sexuality as an apparatus of biopower, then it follows that gender too should be submitted to a similar genealogical analysis that examines its entanglements in the same web of biopolitics in its own historical context (Repo, 2015, p. 2).

As mentioned above, in line with Foucault's genealogical analysis of the discourse of sex, in this study gender is understood at the intersections of discourses and power. As a result, we must subject to scrutiny the discursive construction and constitution of the binary categories of men and women, the social relations, and the struggles and dilemmas that these gendered categories face in relation to modern power mechanisms and the ethos of the family and culture in the local communities. Thus, gender does not appear to be pre-determined (an essence) in the context of socio-cultural structures; it is done or performed (Butler, 2006).

In fact, it is not the structure of gendered relations (particularly, how men relate to women or vice versa) that is important in this project, but how the ordering of interactions and relations is done, by whom, and based on which rationality or irrationality in the domain of a social protection programme. The gendered dimension of this study argues that the discursive construction, constitution, and ordering of men and women by social actors in the domain of public social protection is a mechanism of power; how these gendered subjects act, interact, and relate to the mechanisms of power deployed in the programme is the gendered focus of this project. Similarly, it is important to note in the project that gender is not just an object, but is in itself an instrument, a technology, and an effect of power in the domain of social protection, which in turn the social actors within the programme construct and deploy through interactions. Indeed, it is fruitful and nuanced to investigate gender and its intractable relations with discourse and governmentality in a reflexive and critical sense, rather than as a mere variable.

> Discourse analysis looks at how reality is constructed in fine-tuned ways in language, Feminism studies the arbitrary construction of gender and gender differences disadvantaging females. Foucauldian power analysis shows how what is often understood as knowledge reflecting the world, and/or providing us with valuable tools for handling it, means the imposing of order and other power effects, leading to the construction of specific institutions and norms which in a sense function as reality-producing (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018, p. 281).

Thus, it is not enough to understand gender as a discourse within the practice of social protection stemming from fixed biological or physical differences between the anthropological categorization of men and women. It is about "historically specific social practices through which cultural descriptions of gender are produced and circulated" (Fraser, 2013, p. 140) as discursive truth within the regimes of practice or the regimes of government (Dean, 2010). In fact, "these truth discourses may not themselves be 'biological' in the contemporary sense" of gendered practices (Rabinow & Rose, 2006, p. 197). The discussion of gender as a biopolitical concept is inspired by poststructuralist and feminist understandings and the theorizations of gender discourses (Fraser, 2013) in modern societies and socio-political organisations as the social domains of power relations.

Furthermore, gender as a discursive event or practice and a biopolitical concept is to be understood in the new ways, practices and techniques of governing women and men in a direction and in accordance with the rationality of government (Cocco & Cava, 2018). In doing so, the essential anthropological and indigenous categories of men and women in postmodern society have become problematic, thereby shifting the focus of gender to the ways in which gendered categories are (re)produced by social actors in interactions and a regime of practices. In this sense, gender features as relations of power, a discursive practice, and a governmental technology and rationality, not merely an anthropological essence or technically programmatic category (not just an innocent category or a problem lying in wait for a solution).

In line with Foucault's notion of governmentality and the conduct of conducts, an analysis of gender in the context of this project is provided in two ways. First, it is analysed in relation to the ways that public authorities discursively (re)produce and conduct the conduct of gendered categories (men and women) within the LEAP cash transfer programme; second, it is analysed in how men and women conduct themselves within the regimes of practices and the moral values of the families in the local communities. However, the literature on gender, feminism, and governmentality (Bradshaw, 2008; Molyneux, 2006; Oksala, 2013; Repo, 2015, 2016; Teghtsoonian, 2017) with few exceptions (e.g. Taylor, 2013) has focused on exploring the former.

From the perspective of discourse and governmentality, gender is a discursive practice embedded in the relations of power and the intersection of discourses. Discursively, gender is done and talked about as well as enacted in interactions and policy, as well as deployed in governmental programmes and at the level of social domains of power relations, rather than only seen "as a set of ideas" in the minds of people (Wodak, 2015, p. 699). Subjecting gender to a discursive analysis in relation to the notion of the conduct of conducts creates space for unpacking the gendered politico-moral questions embedded in the practices of governmental programmes, such as the translation of the LEAP cash transfer programme in local communities. The discursive constitution and construction of gender (as men and women) is an important issue in the art of governing men and women, as are the ways in which these

women govern themselves because this division impinges resource distribution, power struggles, and contestations.

Governmental rationalities and programmes are not gender neutral, but they are "gender coloured", and thus can be analysed reflexively and critically to account for their role in either challenging or reinforcing the taken-for-granted gendered relations of power in time and space. Although Foucault did not explicate gender as a concept relevant to his genealogical studies, the importance of the gendered relations of power is never downplayed in biopower and governmentality. As Taylor (2013) pointed out in relation to the work of Foucault on ethics, subjectivity, and care of the self:

> Foucault's critique of subjectivity as such facilitates his articulation of alternative ways of constituting, understanding, and relating to ourselves. Insofar as this is the case, his view of subjectivity as simply one possible mode of self-constitution, -understanding, and -relation does not undermine but rather helps to define and further the political import of his work for emancipatory movements like feminism (Taylor, 2013, p. 404).

A critical engagement with Foucault's genealogical studies reveals the problematics and indeterminacies of governmental rationalities and the technologies of regimes of practices. For instance, according to the World Health Organization (WHO), "gender requires us to ensure that health policy, programmes, services and delivery models are responsive to the needs of women, men, girls and boys in all their diversity" (World Health Organization, 2016, para. 1). Accordingly, gender is categorised and reduced to the essential categories of men, women, girls, and boys and rationalised through the practices of objectification and subjectivation to make it amenable and programmable in line with political rationalities, governmental programmes, and technologies, which is not far from disciplinary and normalising practices (Foucault, 1995). Thus, the programme claims to know the needs of these gendered categories. In this sense, these gendered "individuals are brought to work on themselves, under certain forms of authority, in relation to truth discourses, by means of practices of the self, in the name of their own life" (Rabinow & Rose, 2006, p. 197).

As mentioned, the present society of Ghana is complex and comprises elements of traditional and modern (Western) social structures and institutions. In this regard, gender in Ghana is intelligible at the intersection of traditional and modern social relations. Thus, gender cannot be understood solely in terms of traditional or Western social relations between men and women. Typically, traditional descent systems and kin relations are rooted in the matrilineal and patrilineal descent systems along the female and male lines, respectively (Nukunya, 2016). In these descent systems and kinship relations, gendered practices differ. Of course, within these descent systems and kinship institutions such as marriage and family, there are traditional gendered practices that are known to the members of particular descent systems (see Nukunya, 2016 for an elaborate discussion concerning the rights and responsibilities of men and

women within the institutions of marriage and the family). In contemporary Ghanaian society, some married couples do cooperate and engage in joint income generating activities, which leads to joint spending and decision-making in connection to the household (Kent, 2018).

In brief, there are gendered relations of power implications embedded in political rationalities, governmental programmes, and technologies. This project does not treat gender as an essence or a pre-given status. Instead, it approaches gender from the 'outside' by emphasising or focusing on the discursive practices of social actors in the social domains of power relations (which allows for the construction and deployment of gender in public social protection programmes) that create gender subjectivities and categories (Foucault, 2008). Additionally, any gender subjectivities or categories that are (re)produced are not fixed but historically contingent on the trajectory of power relations and the art of government. The disciplinary and regulatory mechanisms of power create space for the discursive construction of men and women as subjects and objects of knowledge amenable to programming. Thus, this study explores the discursive production and deployment of gender, and the performances of gendered subjects in terms of the ways that they act on their own actions in the local communities in relation to the LEAP cash transfer programme, and the contestations and counter-conducts within the programme.

Investigating governmentality from a discourse perspective requires a combination of discourse frameworks or approaches that fit together and connect with a detailed and critical analysis of the governing practices of social actors within a regime of practice. Similarly, these frameworks work well together if they attend to the analysis of the conduct of conducts in a dual sense. By this, I mean governing the conduct of others who are free to govern themselves in alternative ways, and by their own ways, how they mobilise to govern themselves in their own interest. In the next section, I present and discuss frameworks that offer relevant analytical features for investigating the practices of government and the concrete actions of social actors with the LEAP cash transfer programme.

3.11. AN INTERDISCIPLINARY DISCOURSE RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

In line with extensive discussions of discourse and governmentality in the previous sections, as mentioned above, the overall analysis of this study is based on a Foucault's analysis of discourse, relations of power, and the practice of governing. However, "we cannot look to Foucault for much guidance in the analysis of actual practices" (McIlvenny et al., 2016, p. 36), and the "analytics of government" framework (Dean, 2010, p. 33) offers limited analytic potential and this study seeks to access and analyse concrete actions, and accounts of practices. As Dean (2010) noted, he is not necessarily concerned about the ways one conducts one's own conduct. In that regard, this section focuses on introducing and discussing discourse

studies approaches that offer relevant analytical features for a Foucault-based analysis' quest to access, analyse, and investigate the governing practices of programme authorities, focal persons, and the caregivers of the LEAP cash transfer programme. Thus, I present three discourse studies approaches: critical discourse studies (CDS), conversation analysis (CA), and multimodal analysis (MMA), which can provide analytical insights about "the forms, practices, modes, programmes and rationalities of the conduct of conduct" (McIlvenny et al., 2016, p. 3) in connection with the LEAP cash transfer programme.

As discussed in the previous sections, in this thesis we can understand the set of doings and sayings of social actors as practices that "constitute further actions in the contexts in which they are performed, the set of actions that composes a practice is broader than its doings and sayings alone" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 73). In this regard, analysis and interpretation in this thesis "require much more than a body of well-defined empirical material which rarely addresses the social context as well as meaning/consciousness on an individual level" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018, p. 206). Thus, these discourse studies approaches take into account language use, the sociocultural context, and the semiotic resources—the multimodal aspects of the regime of practice. That being so, I outline and discuss each of these approaches and analytical principles below and the relevant analytical features of the phenomena they offer for analysing talk, actions, accounts, and practices in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme.

3.11.1. CRITICAL DISCOURSE STUDIES (CDS)

Critical discourse studies (henceforth, CDS), and subsequently critical discourse analysis (CDA), emerged in the early 1990s as a network of scholars with critical orientation toward social research. It evolved as a school or paradigm which is characterised by approaches that are problem-oriented, interdisciplinary, and eclectic; it aims at "deconstructing ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual)" (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 4). Thus, it takes a firm interest in the critique of discourses or social practices that are naturalised and taken for granted but also perpetuate unequal power relations and struggles in society. As Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 271–280) pointed out, a CDS analysis follows eight principles:

1. CDS addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

These multifaceted principles make CDS approaches adaptable to CDS-oriented research in many different ways, depending on the focus of the research objective without abandoning its critical impetus. The critical impetus implies that social phenomena could be different or altered, but it does not necessarily mean critique in the negative sense; rather, human beings are meaning-making subjects who are capable of acting and reacting in different ways. Thus, within the realm of critique, CDS shares connections with many discourse studies approaches, which gives CDS an interdisciplinary and eclectic character. For instance, it is argued that CDS and mediated discourse analysis (MDA) have different analytical focuses, and although mediated discourse analysis focuses on social action rather than discourse or language, it shares CDS goals (Scollon, 2001). The relations between language, power, discourse, and the social context are central to CDS; thus, CDS is much interested in the language-society mediation.

> CDS sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them. To put the same point in a different way, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is socially influential, it gives rise to important issues of power (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258).

CDS investigates social practice from a critical and an interdisciplinary perspective by paying close attention to language use and the context or background information of the moments of social practices or discourses, and critically investigates the relationships between discourses, power, and the moments of social interactions. In analysing these complex relationships and processes of making-meaning, CDS has "moved beyond language, taking on board that discourses are often multimodally realized, not only through text and talk, but also through other modes of communication such as images" (Van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 168). Similarly, CDS shares some affinity with conversation analysis, even though it does not subscribe to what Billig (1999) refers to as a traditional conversation analysis. For Billig,

> CDA, like CA, encourages the close examination of spoken interaction; indeed, CDA often uses the methods and findings of CA. However, there are differences between CDA and 'traditional' CA. The specific tasks of CDA are frequently part of a wider analysis of social inequality. Moreover, CDA wishes to theorize the presuppositions that must be brought to the micro-

> analysis of interaction. CDA does not claim epistemological naivety in the fulfilment of its methodological tasks, but explicitly wishes to incorporate insights from social theory and other social sciences, including macro social science, into the analysis of particulars (Billig, 1999, p. 576).

Furthermore, CDS approaches draw on diverse notions of discourse and power, but central to these notions are the explicit connections to Foucault's important work on the relations between discourse and power in society. Foucault's archaeological and genealogical discourse studies methods are important to the critical agenda of not only CDS approaches, but also most critically oriented social research, particularly in the studies of discourse and governmentality (McIlvenny et al., 2016), language, power, and politics (Fairclough, 2015; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), and gender and politics (Lazar, 2005, 2007). For Wodak and Meyer (2016) "power and domination are embedded in and conveyed by discourse" (p. 11) in social relations and practices; thus, CDS is oriented towards critiquing and changing the unequal relations of power in society (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). However, CDS must not only focus on analysing unequal power relations and ideologies at the macro-levels of society, it should also pay attention to the concrete practices and relations of power at the micro-level that participants in social interactions employ in order to perform power and accomplish actions.

In this sense, I draw on the following analytical features of CDS to conduct an analysis of the actions, accounts, and practices of social actors in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme. The analytic features relevant to the purpose of this study comprise: *modes*, *modality,* and *pronouns* (Fairclough, 2015); *nomination*, *predication*, *perspectivisation*, *mitigation,* and *intensification* strategies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), and *authorisation*, *moral evaluation,* and *rationalisation* (Van Leeuwen, 2008a). These features offer relevant analytical insights for the investigation of the actions, interactions, and practices of government authorities, and the focal persons as intermediaries between the government authorities and the caregivers who are the subjects of a governmental programme in the local communities. In this sense, a CDS perspective on the relations of discourse and power is useful for the analysis of language realised in in-depth interviews with government authorities, Technical Officers, and in the interaction between these authorities and the subjects of the programme in local communities.

Even though the analytical features above rely heavily on the linguistic analysis of discourse, the understanding in the context of this study is that discourse is more than language, which is just one semiotic aspect. However, a detailed linguistic analysis of text creates space for identifying the concrete manifestation of the meaning-making practices of government authorities and the subjects of the programme. Whether text is realised concretely in oral utterances (interviews or other forms of social interactions) or written documents (policy texts or programme documents), CDS can subject it to detailed linguistic analysis and render the meaning-making practices of

social actors visible from the contexts in which they manifest. Thus, in this project, I rely on text arising from the concrete oral utterances of programme authorities and subjects in social interactions in which language and semiotic resources play a role in conversation.

3.11.2. CONVERSATION ANALYSIS (CA)

As human beings, our togetherness, sayings and doings or actions are meaningful and accomplished in our interactions with one another in the context. In interacting with others, we use language and other semiotic resources relevant to the context of the interaction, and talk in these interactions is central to the ways in which we organise our social world. Thus, we construct social order in the moments of interacting with one another by employing linguistic and semiotic resources that our culture makes available to us. As Sacks (1995) pointed out, "culture is an apparatus for generating *recognizable* actions" (p. 226), which humans draw on to make social interaction and actions meaningful and intelligible, and participants in interaction can orient themselves to the actions of each other in the context. As the co-presence of humans in an interaction sustains their ways of acting and creating social order with recognisable actions, it becomes apparent that a "culturally contexted conversation analysis" (Moerman, 1988, p. 6) – a "critical conversation analysis" – can provide insights into the ways participants perform actions and accomplish social order. By critical conversation analysis, I mean a kind of CA that commits to the detailed analysis of talk-in-interaction, which is responsive to the "messiness" of talk occurring in ethnographic settings without ripping the talk from the socio-political context in which it occurs.

> Whatever their other characteristics, it appears that all societies and sub-units of them have as a central resource for their integration an organization of interaction – an organization of interaction informed by the use of language (Schegloff, 2007b, p. xiii).

Conversation analysis examines talk-in-interaction in which language and other semiotic resources are used to perform and accomplish actions and order (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). CA originated in the mid-1960s from Harvey Sacks' work on audio-tape recordings of telephone calls to suicide prevention centres, which he analysed in close collaboration with Emanuel A Schegloff and Gail Jefferson (Pomerantz & Fehr, 2011). Sacks' investigations into the conversations of the callers was inspired by Erving Goffman's study of interaction—namely the interaction order (1983)—and Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology—the study of members methods for making sense and sense-making (1967). The sociological perspectives of Garfinkel and Goffman provide the foundation for the development of CA, which focuses on investigating the ways in which people co-produce social order and a shared understanding of their everyday actions and social interactions in a context.

The investigations of Sacks and his collaborators into the telephone conversations showed that talk-in-interaction is sequentially and socially organised and a structured means by which participants construct and accomplish actions with one another. For these scholars, social order or action is accomplished through talk-in-interaction. In everyday interactions, then, participants organise and perform actions or activities together through talk, embodied actions, and other semiotic resources.

> As people coordinate their conduct together, they constitute the social world as we know it. The living human being produces conduct through the deployment of the human body with all its capabilities and resources – thus we speak of 'embodied' action and interaction. Talk is obviously a defining capability of human beings and talk is a central component of much human action and interaction (Pomerantz & Fehr, 2011, p. 166).

The ways that participants organise and produce talk to accomplish social order by interacting with one another and managing their co-presences in their everyday lives and the ways these participants act together to "produce an understanding of their own and their co-interactants' conduct" is the main interest of conversation analysis (Pomerantz & Fehr, 2011, p. 166). A conversation analysis-oriented investigation describes the actions and analyses the practices which participants in the moments of social interaction mobilise in order to accomplish the practical actions and activities of everyday life (Pomerantz & Fehr, 2011). It explores the intersubjective understandings of participants by analysing how participants orient themselves toward each other in their turns at talking, the sequences of actions, the pairs of actions, and the embedded context of these actions (Drew, 2004).

Fundamentally, Peräkylä (2004) outlined three assumptions of CA: that "talk is action," that "action is structurally organized," and that "talk creates and maintains intersubjective reality" (pp. 154-155). In these ways, CA does serve as a tool for analysing the conduct of conducts by focusing on the "micro-practices" that caregivers and community focal persons in communities mobilise to govern themselves, and the actions of the programme authorities for governing these caregivers and focal persons. As Moerman (1988) noted, "conversation analysis is central to understanding the social order" in the sense that "its procedures and findings provide our best access to the features of face-to-face interaction" (p. 2) in these communities.

If CA relies on the members' method of ethnomethodology in investigating the ways that participants accomplish social order, and if Foucault's archaeological and genealogical approaches to discourse focus on investigating the practices that social actors mobilise to produce and sustain certain discourses in society as the point of departure, then certainly CA and the analysis of the conduct of conducts in terms of governmentality are complementary and cognate approaches. Certainly, Michel Foucault, Harold Garfinkel, Harvey Sacks, and his collaborators have a lot in common

"about both 'local rules' as opposed to 'transcendent laws' and the prioritising of 'surfaces' over 'depths'" (Laurier & Philo, 2004, p. 421). They are primarily concerned with the ways in which social order articulates to the concrete actions and practices of social actors in everyday life.

> That is, like ethnomethodology, Foucault never searches for truth behind the surface of actual observable interaction, but rather approaches the domain of the true or the socio-factual as the domain of the contingently accomplished at a given time and place (McIlvenny et al., 2016, p. 23).

It is clear from the quote above that Foucault and Garfinkel share interesting similarities in the sense that they both search for a meaning in or understanding of the working of social order by observing concrete actions and practices in social interactions. Similarly, it appears that Goffman's order of interactions shares closer connections with Foucault's concept of the conduct of conduct in the sense that

> we can think of the interaction order as anchoring the actors as they enact social roles by providing for a fine-grained order of accountability, in terms of which they produce and regulate their own [conduct] and understand and evaluate the [conduct] of others as a way of governing themselves and others in social interaction (Heritage & Stivers, 2012, pp. 662–663).

The quote above demonstrates that we can observe and investigate the actions of social actors in social interactions, or the order of interactions (Goffman, 1983) in which "the normative order of interaction could be conceived as a social institution in its own right" (Heritage & Stivers, 2012, p. 662). Like Foucault, Garfinkel, Goffman, Sacks and his collaborators, in this project ethnographically empirical observations of social interactions in which the actors in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme use talk, embodied actions, and other semiotic resources to accomplish actions and social order is the primary focus of the investigation. It is for this reason that CA is a promising and complementary methodology, which offers analytical features such as *membership categorisation* (Schegloff, 2007a), *sequence organisation*, and *adjacency pairs* (Schegloff, 2007b) for investigating the ways in which social actors in interaction perform and accomplish social action and order by assigning categories, and ordering actions in talk and interactional events. As "actions and interactions are inextricably tied to their context of production" (Pomerantz & Fehr, 2011, p. 166), this study follows Moerman's recommendation by adopting a "culturally contexted conversation analysis" in which "the materials of all conversations analysis are inextricably cultured" (Moerman, 1988, p. 4). Unlike "traditional" ethnographers, culturally contexted conversation analysts do not "comment on, translate, and embellish the native world" in which talk, actions and practices emanate (p.5).

> The transcripts will anchor us in that world. Rather than pretending to read a culturally standardized finished text over the shoulder of an imagined native, we will be living in the line-by-line production of ongoing actual native talk (1988, p. 5).

The cultural setting of social interactions supplies social actors meaning-making resources for performing actions and accomplishing social order. Since social actors are embedded in a cultural context, their talk and actions, practices and other semiotic aspects are culturally contexted, thus a culturally contexted conversation analysis creates an opportunity for a rigorous and culturally informed analysis of native talk in interaction.

3.11.3. MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS

Multimodality is influenced by Michael Halliday's systemic functional theory of language or functional grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Halliday, 1994), which links language to society. Halliday's theory accounts for meaning beyond grammar by incorporating the social system as a resource for meaning-making. In this sense, we cannot look for meaning in grammar or sign isolated from the social context in which they are (re)produced and deployed. In the sense of the SFL, social context in multimodality refers to the three levels of the metafunction of language; that is, the ideational, interpersonal, and textual, which are the components of the semantic system in which we make meaning (Halliday, 1994). Unlike other theories of language, Halliday's approach does not lay so much emphasis on the restrictive and formal character of grammar. Rather, it makes available a system of semantic choices or alternatives that speakers use in specific contexts to meet their communicative needs (Machin, 2016).

Undoubtedly, SFL has contributed greatly to an increasing interest and use of multimodality by academics and other research professionals in the field of language and discourse studies. Influential SFL-based multimodality works include Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) on *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* and *The Language of Displayed Art* by O'Toole (1994), which in many ways have spurred research in multimodality, or the ways speakers or participants in social interaction draw on more than one semiotic resource or mode to communicate or make meaning. As Jewitt (2014) puts it, "multimodality approaches representation, communication and interaction as something more than language" (p. 1). Indeed, it extends meaning-making beyond language by drawing on several semiotic resources or modes including image, text, gaze, speech, and other embodied actions such as bodily movements in order to make meaning in specific social contexts.

> Like linguistic structures, visual structures point to particular interpretations of experience and forms of social interaction. To some degree, these can also be expressed linguistically. Meanings belong to culture, rather than to

> specific semiotic modes. And the way meanings are mapped across different semiotic modes, the ways somethings can, for instance, be 'said' either visually or verbally, others only visually, again others only verbally, is also culturally and historically specific (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 2).

It is clear in the quote above that multimodality is not a replacement of language, but it is one of the many meaning-making resources embedded in the wider semiotic frame (Jewitt, 2014) that is available to participants in social interactions. Thus, from a multimodal perspective, language, culture, and other context-specific semiotic resources or modes and their interrelations are important for the process of making meaning. Fundamentally, the concept of 'mode' is central to multimodality, yet debatable and problematic (Machin, 2013). For Kress (2014), "*mode* is a socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning", and he sees language as "one means among others for making meaning" (p. 60). Each mode is specific in the sense that they offer "different potentials for making meaning" by providing choices for speakers or participants in specific social interactions or communicative situations (p. 61). Machin (2016) argued that "modes are impossible to isolate," and that "different semiotic resources produce meaning together, but each bring different affordances," and argued that "it is possible to say something with one kind of semiotic resource that you cannot say with another" (pp. 326 - 327).

In whichever ways a mode is defined, however, we need to pay close attention to the *affordances* or *meaning-potentials* (Kress, 2010) of the modes because these modes are not just things in themselves; they are meaning-making resources in cultures which are available to speakers or participants in specific communicative situations. In this way, we must pay attention to some fundamental assumptions of multimodality, as pointed out below:

> that meanings are made, distributed, received, interpreted and remade in interpretation through many representational and communicative modes – not just through language – whether as speech or as writing … that all modes have, like language, been shaped through their cultural, historical and social issues to realize social functions … that people orchestrate meaning through their selection and configuration of modes … that the meanings of signs fashioned from multimodal semiotic resources are, like speech, social (Jewitt, 2014, pp. 15–17).

As presented in the above quote, in multimodality, language should be treated as just one mode of the "multimodal ensemble" or collection, which are socially, culturally, and historically shaped for different purposes. Therefore, people make choices from among many modes, but in combination with other modes to make meaning in a given occasion or social interaction. Thus, multimodal resources are meaningful, and both socially conditioned and situated. For Kress (2014), cultures select and use materials

such as body movements and gaze, among others, that appear useful and necessary in specific instances for making meaning.

> The term *multimodal* here indicates that different semiotic modes (for instance language and image) are combined and integrated in a given instance of discourse or kind of discourse: spoken discourse, for instance, integrates language with intonation, voice quality, facial expression, gesture, and posture as well as aspects of self-presentation such as dress and hairstyle; written discourse integrates language with typographic expression and increasingly also with illustration, layout, and color. As a field of study, multimodality therefore focuses on the common properties of, and differences between, these different semiotic modes, and on the ways in which they are integrated in multimodal texts and communicative events. In doing so it borrows concepts and methods from linguistic discourse analysis but also takes inspiration from other relevant disciplines, such as art and design theory (Van Leeuwen, 2015, p. 447).

So far, this discussion has demonstrated that multimodality is an interdisciplinary research field with many different approaches to social semiotics, discourse, and interaction analysis from a multimodal perspective. These approaches are interdisciplinary in and of themselves as they draw theoretical perspectives from linguistics, sociolinguistics and sociology, among others. However, this study focuses on and draws analytical perspectives from multimodality for a more critical analysis of the conduct of conducts in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme. This study draws on multimodal analytic features such as *affordance* and *meaning-potential* in order to analyse the multimodal or semiotic resources that the social actors or participants mobilise in interactions to accomplish actions and social order.

> Multimodality includes all relevant resources that are mobilized by participants to build and interpret the public intelligibility and accountability of their situated action: grammar, lexicon, prosody, gesture, gaze, body postures, movements, manipulations of artifacts (Mondada, 2018, p. 86).

Although multimodal discourse analysis is not necessarily critical in the sense of critical discourse analysis, Van Leeuwen (2013) asserted that a section of their book, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (2006, pp. 45–47), "demonstrated the potential of their methods for critical discourse analysis" (p.6041). Consequently, some critical discourse analysts have applied multimodality to critical discourse analysis (for example, (Chouliaraki, 2010; Ledin & Machin, 2018; Machin, 2004; Van Leeuwen, 2008a). Thus, multimodality and critical discourse studies appear to flow into and through one another quite rapidly, and we now talk about multimodal critical discourse studies (MCDS) as a way of "telling [critical discourse analysts and] linguists that there is more than language" (Machin, 2013, p. 347), and that "communication is multimodal" (Van Leeuwen, 2013, p. 6040). In this way, there

appears to be a consensus among scholars that a multimodal approach to semiotics, discourse, and interaction analysis goes beyond the analysis of speech, grammar, or language to include other modes. Similarly, the field of conversation analysis, in which interaction analysis is a subfield, has moved beyond language or speech in order to embrace an embodied turn (Mondada, 2016; Nevile, 2015) which is certainly multimodal.

Quite recently, however, Ledin and Machin (2018) have drawn the attention of critical discourse analysts and linguists to what they regard as the SFL-based grand theory of multimodality.

> As regards the SFL based grand theory of multimodality the notion of context and of text, we have shown, are simply not suitable for carrying out problem-driven critical research. We cannot use a model that seeks context from within the text. Nor can we remove texts from their complexity at the macro and meso level, which links them into social practices and how the world and forms of social relations are already to some extent mapped out for us. And for CDS one crucial aim is to discover just this, pointing to the power relations which these legitimize and maintain (Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 14).

The quote above suggests that it is not possible to pursue the agenda of critical discourse studies research by strictly applying the SFL-based meta-function of text at separate levels and the notion of context at a different level, as taken up in multimodality. In doing so, they argued that "emphasis has been more on situated meaning and on the affordances of semiotic resources than on the system itself" (Machin, 2016, p. 325), as it is the focus of CDS. His concern for context in the wider and interwoven sense is reminiscent of Fairclough's (1992) notion of discourse as social practices, as he indicates in his dialectical relational approach, and the notion of Reisigl and Wodak (2016) about context in critical discourse studies, as they showed in their discourse-historical approach to critical discourse studies. Consequently, Ledin and Machin (2018) "suggest that instances of multimodal texts should be seen as semiotic materials located in social practices and as part of canons of use" (p. 14), but not isolated from the context or social practices in the sense of critical discourse studies. It is in their suggestion that I situate the way in which I analyse multimodal and semiotic resources that participants mobilise to accomplish actions in context.

In brief, throughout the discussions of these approaches, there appears to be a consensus that discourses manifest in several forms across actions and interactions. Participants may use speech or embodied action, text, practices, artefacts, or images, among others, which are socially and culturally shared and specific in context, in order to participate in interaction and enact social relations. As people, act, relate, and use shared semiotic resources to communicate with one another and make meaning of their actions and relations in specific situations within societies and cultures, it is

possible to access and analyse these actions. As described above, this thesis is a Foucault-based analysis inspired by an interdisciplinary discourse studies framework that draws on the analytic features of critical discourse studies, conversation analysis and multimodal analysis.

Using the interdisciplinary frame, a conversation analysis of talk-in-interaction provides ways to map out and investigate the sequential organisations of interactions in regard to "the ways in which fields of visibility and modes of rationality are sequentially organised" (McIlvenny et al., 2016, p. 54). In this way, we can investigate the actions, the modes of actions, and the relationships among the actors in the social context. In a multimodal sense, then, conversation analysis and interactional analysis as a subfield have both embraced the embodied turn in social sciences, which provides a more detailed account of the ways in which participants in a communicative situation or interaction make meaning by drawing on embodied actions such as gaze, gestures, and other body movements (Mondada, 2016; Nevile, 2015; Norris, 2004). Similarly, the CDS features outlined above offer this study the means to investigate the utterances and actions of the actors in interaction and their relations in the domain of the programme. The importance of multimodality in the analysis of this thesis is to take inventory and investigate the affordances and meaning-potentials of the modes and semiotic resources that participants in interactional events mobilise to accomplish actions. In this way, it helps to locate and investigate these modes and semiotic resources "both as *motivated* and as having *form*" on the one hand, and the ways that they shape and present reality to social actors in the social domain of power relations on the other (Machin, 2016, p. 332).

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the previous chapter, I outlined the theoretical approach taken into consideration through the interdisciplinary character of the study. The questions of this study require a combination of approaches connected to discourse studies and governmentality in order to analyse the conduct of conducts in a dual sense, as I elaborated in Chapter 3. Indeed, doing an analysis of the conduct of conducts means that I have access to the real, material, or concrete actions and practices of the programme authorities, the caregivers, and the focal persons at the level of the programme secretariat and the local community. However, it is at the community level that the actions and practices of the programme authorities, the focal persons, and the caregivers meet and connect. Thus, the community is the point where these social actors come face-to-face with each other, and a point where governmentalisation occurs concerning the LEAP cash transfer programme. By governmentalisation, I mean the multiplicities of actions, techniques, and practices that inform and make the translation of the programme possible. In effect, pursuing the ways that things occur during interactions at the point of the interaction itself is a feasible and viable choice of obtaining the data I require in order to investigate the ways in which the conduct of conducts plays out in materiality.

As a result, then, an ethnographic strategy in a reflexive and critical sense asserts itself as not only a viable approach, but also as being inherently compatible with the discourse approaches outlined in Chapter 3. In short, this study is ethnographically grounded; that is, it is based in local communities and collects data by observing the ongoing interactions, actions, and activities of the actors in the domain of the programme. In this chapter, I present an ethnographic approach as a methodological entry point for the investigation of the governing practices of programme officials in the domain of a social protection programme, and the ways that the programme focal persons and caregivers govern themselves in relation to the programme within the local communities. As an interdisciplinary project that is a Foucault-based analysis, in this chapter I therefore present the ways in which ethnography connects with discourse studies and the discourse analytical approaches I explained in the previous chapter. I provide a detailed description of the fieldwork by outlining the location and the interdisciplinary techniques of collecting data based on ethnographic-discourse studies. This chapter concludes with a brief technical guide for reading the analysis of the thesis.

4.1. ETHNOGRAPHY, DISCOURSE, AND GOVERNMENTALITY

Ethnography is often caught up in the language-society-context debate of discourse studies approaches. As Goodwin and Duranti (1992) described, "context has long been a key concept both in the field of pragmatics and in ethnographically oriented studies of language use" (p. 1). The concept of context is still debatable in discourse studies, and although there appears to be some level of consensus among discourse analysts regarding the role of context in discourse analysis, the degree to which it does play a role varies across the different discourse analysis approaches and the nature of the research project in question. Also, in many of the approaches context is defined in different ways. Thus, it is a matter of the extent to which these approaches regard the role of social context or other semiotic resources in the construction of discourses (Bhatia, Flowerdew, & Jones, 2008). For instance, the discourse approaches that I presented in the previous chapter do not all agree on a common definition of context, even though none of the approaches disregarded the importance of context. Research works in the relationship between language use and context have

> made it clear that it would be blatantly absurd to propose that one could provide a comprehensive analysis of human social organization without paying close attention to the details of how human beings employ language to build the social and cultural worlds that they inhabit (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992, pp. 1–2).

The quote above provides a convincing argument for the choice of an ethnographic-based discourse study, which regards the relationship between language use and context as crucial for investigating and understanding the means by which social actors construct and make meaning of their world. Thus, the ethnographic-discourse strategy empirically grounds this study concerning collecting data from ongoing interactions in the context without imposing any preconceived ideas on the content of the interaction. In this way, it becomes possible to combine the ethnographic-conversation analysis with multimodal data collection techniques. Of course, Moerman (1988) clearly demonstrated the benefits and complementarity of ethnography and conversation analysis in his book *Talking Culture: Ethnography and Conversation Analysis,* in which he studied Thai conversation and found the Thais did not only talk in their native language, they were also "being Thais together" (p. 4). In this way, their way of speaking is based on the context of their culture and needs to be understood from within that context. In that regard, ethnography is important for understanding the ways of speaking and conversations that occur in the ethnographic spaces of the LEAP cash transfer programme.

However, the ethnographic strategy in the context of this study is not the same as traditional ethnography, but is rather a discourse studies-based ethnographic strategy. By this, I mean that this study appropriates techniques and methods of traditional ethnography that are useful for doing discourse studies in a reflexive and critical sense.

After all, ethnography and critical discourse studies are closely linked (Krzyżanowski, 2011) in the sense that CDS combines the analysis of language use and social analysis in order to understand the practices of actors in socio-political contexts, which is quite clear in the approaches of Fairclough (1992), Reisigl and Wodak (2016), Van Leeuwen (2008a) among others. In addition, "ethnography can illuminate multiple aspects of practice, both synchronically (at the time of the field work) and historically" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 62) by providing the context for assessing the articulatory process and practices of programme authorities, the focal persons, and the caregivers of the programme. Multimodal or semiotic resources are embedded in the context of their occurrence, in which their affordances and meaning-potentials are intelligible.

Furthermore, scholars have demonstrated the compatibility and profitability of combining discourse studies and governmentality with ethnography (Bang Lindegaard, 2016; Lassen & Horsbøl, 2016; McIlvenny, 2016) with varying discourse approaches, while other scholars have combined ethnography with governmentality to explore government projects, including welfare reforms and programmes (Brady, 2011; Ferguson & Gupta, 2002). Similarly, other scholars have made explicit and convincing arguments for combining ethnography and governmentality in the exploration of governmental practices (Brady, 2014, 2015; McIlvenny et al., 2016; Teghtsoonian, 2016). Walters (2012) encourages scholars not to devote too much attention to neoliberal governmentality to the neglect of researching the possibilities of other forms of governmentalities embedded in the governing practices of social actors, and advises scholars to situate their studies of governmentality within Foucault's archaeological and genealogical methodological pieces. For Walters (2012), governmentality is not necessarily the same as the neoliberal notion of good governance, or a theory of good governance in itself.

I argue that Walters' appeal is well situated in genealogically informed ethnographic-based studies of the governing practices of social actors in specific contexts of time and space. In addition to Walters (2012), other scholars have argued that there is neither a pure nor a universal kind of governmentality anywhere in the world, but that it is an analytical tool for investigating governing practices. Like power in the sense of Foucault, the conduct of conducts and counter-conducts traverse human society in various ways, forms, and places that are meaningful for (re)organising social life. For instance, Death (2016) investigated the counter-conduct of a "protest and township youth movement known as "izikhothane" or "pexing" (p. 201) in South Africa.

4.2. THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STRATEGY

Emerging in the 1890s in the field of anthropology and initially traversing the field of sociology, ethnography is "swallowed up in a general multidisciplinary movement promoting qualitative approaches" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 2) as it has been influenced by many theoretical and philosophical traditions in recent time.

Hammersley and Atkinson assert that as a widely recontextualised term in qualitative research across disciplines in the social sciences, it lacks a standard meaning, as one may have to take into consideration the philosophical and theoretical context in which the term ethnography is used. It suggests that we can talk about the "pragmatic meaning" of ethnography rather than its "semantic meaning". In spite of the multiplicities of its meaning, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) pointed out that "the term 'ethnography' still retains some distinctive connotations" (p. 2).

For instance, one of the connotations of the term ethnography, as Silverman (2014) explains, is the "social scientific writing about particular folks" (p. 230), or in a more elaborate sense, it is a thorough and systematic account of the actions, interactions, sense-making, and meaning-making practices of specific people in specific cultures in a time and place. Of course, such a definition is embedded in some theoretical and philosophical traditions, which places some ethical and practical obligations on the researcher and the process of the research.

> In all these respects, ethnography is a demanding activity, requiring diverse skills, including the ability to make decisions in conditions of considerable uncertainty … ethnography is not far removed from the means that we all use in everyday life to make sense of our surroundings, of other people's actions, and perhaps even of what we do ourselves. What is distinctive is that it involves a more deliberate and systematic approach than is common for most of us most of the time, one in which data are specifically sought to illuminate research questions, and are carefully recorded; and where the process of analysis draws on previous studies and involves intense reflection, including the critical assessment of competing interpretations. What is involved here is a significant development of the ordinary modes of making sense of the social world that we all use in our mundane lives, in a manner that is attuned to the specific purposes of producing research knowledge (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 4).

The quote above points to the fact that implementing an ethnographic methodological strategy in qualitative research requires the researcher to follow a series of meticulous procedures. Fundamentally, ethnographic strategy comprises a set of methods, namely field work and participant observation, and "they can all mean spending long periods watching people, coupled with talking to them about what they are doing, thinking and saying, designed to see how they understand their world" (Delamont, 2004, p. 206). It means that these terms are not discrete units; instead, they flow into and through one another. For instance, participant or ethnographic observation implies the presence of the researcher in the field or the location of those people to be observed, whether they are natives of a particular community or an agency with employees, or a variety of places where observable actions and activities take place. Thus, in an ethnographic study the field work, observation, and data collection are not to be seen as separate activities, but rather as occurring concurrently in the research process,

which makes ethnographic fieldwork a very demanding activity (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

4.2.1. THE ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELD OR SETTING

"'The field' is metaphorical: it is not a real field, but a setting or a population" (Delamont, 2004, p. 206). In this section, and contrary to Delamont's metaphorical field in traditional ethnographic research, I prefer to refer to my ethnographic strategy as "focused ethnography" with defined theoretical and analytical frameworks as well as precise data requirement (Knoblauch, 2005, p. 70). I argue that the field in my ethnographic approach is a real setting in time and place, in which I observe and record the concrete actions, interactions, and practices of people that take place there. Thus, the ethnographic field is the specific place or social context that is identified for observing and collecting data.

> Regardless of where we want to investigate interactions – in the world of physicists or in the domain of midwives, in meetings or at the construction site, while people are dancing or playing music – the interactions always take place in a context, which we must understand, just as we must understand what is happening in that context. There are certain architectonic features of the location, institutional rules, and possibly specific specialized knowledge that the actors contribute to the interaction. The prerequisite for every video analysis, therefore, is an intimate knowledge of the field in which the recording is to take place (Knoblauch, Schnettler, & Tuma, 2018, pp. 362–363).

Ethnographically, then, there are two settings: the LEAP cash transfer programme secretariat and the local communities in which the caregivers and the focal persons in the domain of the programme are located. However, I have chosen to present the context of the programme as a preliminary analysis in the following chapter, but the following section is set out to contextualise the local setting in which I observed and collected data.

4.3. CONTEXTUALISING THE LOCAL SETTINGS

This section discusses the context in which the actions and practices of social actors within the social domains of power and power relations are intelligible. These actions, practices, and relations of power are embedded in the sociocultural, historical and political structures of society, which appear to be taken for granted as natural and common sense. For instance, in the context of Ghana, gender is commonly understood in terms of binary categories of man and women with specific roles and responsibilities in the institutions of marriage and family (Nukunya, 2016). Thus, the concept of gender is taken for granted as categories of men and women in relation to the expectations of the social structure. In this study, the relevant social practices of

actors are contextualised and made open to account for the ways such practices or discourses influence the construction and the constitution of the subjects of the LEAP cash transfer programme and the power relations in social domains. In fact, such a contextual trajectory enhances intelligibility and enriches the analysis of the actions, practices, and socio-cultural competences of the actors, which shapes the governmentalisation of the caregivers and focal persons, especially men and women in the local communities.

As mentioned, the present society of Ghana is complex. Apart from the coexistence of traditional and modern social institutions, Ghana is a multi-ethnic and multicultural society. There are differences in socio-cultural practices and languages spoken and used across the ten regions of the nation (Kropp Dakubu, 1997). Although there are many languages and dialects spoken in Ghana, only eleven of these languages, including Asante Twi and Dagaare, are government-sponsored languages (The Bureau of Ghana Languages - BGL, 2006). The Asante Twi is the native language of the Asante ethnic group in the south of Ghana, but it is widely spoken across the country, while Dagaare is the native language of the Dagaaba ethnic group, and it is spoken in the north-Western part of the country.

In the context of this study, the ten regions were regrouped into two clusters comprising the north and the south clusters of Ghana.[18] In doing so, data collection at the local level is done at two separate sites, that is, the northern and southern parts of the country. The north cluster comprises three administrative regions, which include Northern, Upper West, and Upper East. In addition, these three regions share some cultural similarities, such as the patrilineal descent system and kinship practices (Nukunya, 2016), as mentioned in Chapter 2. Specifically, the study is implemented in the Upper West Region, which appears to be one of the most underdeveloped of the three regions with a despairingly low quality of life in most rural communities (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). On the other hand, the southern cluster comprises seven regions, and these regions (except few ethnic groups, particularly, Ewe and Ga) share some cultural similarities regarding the matrilineal descent system and kinship practices (Nukunya, 2016). The Ashanti region of Ghana is selected as the second site of the study, inhabited by the Asante ethnic group with a matrilineal descent system.

The selected sites from the two clusters are not meant to advance arguments and reasons about differences in spatial development or to make a space comparison of the successes and the failures of the LEAP cash transfer programme in these two clusters. On the contrary, the multi-site design is implemented to capture the nuances of social protection practices in a multi-ethnic context and to elucidate the art of

[18] There are ten (10) administrative and political regions (Greater Accra, Ashanti, Eastern, Western, Central, Volta, Brong Ahafo, Northern, Upper East and Upper West) and two hundred and sixteen (216) districts in Ghana. Also, two hundred and seventy-five (275) constituencies elect representatives to parliament, which is the law-making body of the state (see the Local Government Act (Act 462), 1993).

governing men and women in their natural setting, linked to a governmental rationality by power grid at the level of national government. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Ghanaian society of today is grafted onto traditional social structures and practices, such as the two descent systems and kinship practices.[19] However, the modern system of government does not necessarily govern men and women in relation to those two systems.

These sites are purposefully selected in regard to my familiarity with the languages spoken, the practices of ethnic groups, and the socio-cultural norms of the two sites, which enhances "conversational involvement" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 4) and "contextualised understanding" (van Dijk, 2008, p. 3). These understandings facilitate the process of eliciting relevant contextual data during interviews and the recording of naturally-occurring interactions (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008) at the local level. In this way, it facilitates access to the ways in which social actors do and say things, and how these are talked about furnishes the ground for a social reality (Garfinkel, 1967).

4.4. METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA

As a Foucault-based study inspired by an interdisciplinary discourse framework, this study involves a quest for empirical data for the analysis of actual practices. In this regard, this section discusses the specific methods for collecting data, and the ways of collecting the data in the ethnographic settings for analysis. In addition, this chapter outlines the methods of data collection and discusses the preparation of the data in terms of content listing, transcribing, and translating procedures.

4.4.1 SELECTING LOCATIONS AND CATEGORIES

The theoretical and interdisciplinary discourse framework for this study does not allow for strict demarcations and rigidities in the sense of a positivist approach, which appears to obstruct detailed ethnographic observations, sites, and the collection of ethnographic data. Such an approach undermines the detailed analysis of the sequential ordering of actions, moments, interactions, and relations between categories of actors within the domain of the social protection programme. In order to be methodologically transparent and systematic, yet remain theoretically and contextually sensitive, field locations, categories of social actors, and activities are theoretically sampled for observing and collecting data as well as for further scrutiny. Theoretical sampling is:

> a method of data collection based on concepts/themes derived from data. The purpose of theoretical sampling is to collect data from places, people, and

[19] These systems serve as relevant cultural resources or cultural rules for regulating kinship and family relations as the basic unit of social relations and as the model of government at the local level, including the conduct of men and women (Murdock, 1949).

> events that will maximize opportunities to develop concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions, uncover variations, and identify relationships between concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 2008b, p. 143).

The approach to gathering data is quite fluid and recursive. In the context of this study, the analysis of the initial data gathered through in-depth interviews with the Programme Officer at the programme secretariat indicated the direction to the next data. An initial analysis of programme authorities' accounts of programme-related activities and interactions with the caregivers in the local communities pointed to theoretically and contextual sensitive categories and practices, which are worth further investigating. For instance, the short extract below is taken from an in-depth interview in which a Programme Officer gave an account of the practices of men and women that he observed during field visits (In-depth interview with Programme Officer, 2017).

1 PO: men have been more vocal down south yes
2 so in terms of gatherings so they would like to represent more
3 but down south things are a bit different like i said
4 the women are more plain and open
5 and the men are also like err into affairs more than up north

In the narrative above, we observe many categories that are theoretically and contextually sensitive and relevant to the research question, linked to the conduct of conducts in the dual sense in which gender, power relations, and struggles are implicated. Thus, we can map out categories in relation to theory and context. For instance, it is apparent that fieldwork "down south" (line 3) and "up north" (line 5) could illuminate relations of power, and the ways in which "men" (line 1 and 5) and "women" (line 4) conduct themselves in the local communities and in relation to the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme. Similarly, it is clear that separate focus groups of men and women present a feasible method of observing and recording the ways that these women and men interact and conduct themselves within the local communities. Even though the sites and gender were initially conceived as categories in the preliminary design of this study, it became obvious after the initial in-depth interviews with the Programme Officer which communities to include and how to design the focus groups of men and women to the specific needs of this study.

The accounts of the in-depth interviews did reveal additional categories of persons such as "community focal persons", "district focal persons", and "caregivers" of the households involved in the programme that are theoretically and contextually sensitive to the focus of the research. In this way, these categories are theoretically sampled for observation. In addition to all those categories, the initial analysis of the Programme Officers' accounts of practices brought to light the various activities that the programme secretariat regularly deploy in the local communities. Key among those activities include "pay point inspections" and "bimonthly cash payments" to

caregivers in the local communities, which are both relevant to this study. The key feature of these activities are that they are interactionally accomplished in the local communities with all the categories of actors (Programme Officers, caregivers, and focal persons) present and interacting. As these activities present theoretical and analytical relevance in relation to the research question, they were theoretically sampled for observation and data collection and further analysis. In doing so, the importance of a theoretical sampling method for selecting categories and activities within the theoretical and contextual scope and focus of this study is much clearer (Schubert, 2006).

4.4.2. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH PROGRAMME AUTHORITIES

As a governmental programme, the programme secretariat as an entity is the place where the programme activities are planned and deployed to the people in the local communities, and it is formally and bureaucratically organised. Like many bureaucratic organisations, internal management meetings appear to be the preserve of core team members, including Technical Officers from transnational development partners (DFID and UNICEF), and in consequence I did not have the opportunity to sit in on any of those meetings in order to observe and record any naturally-occurring interactions. However, I had the opportunity to talk with the programme authorities and Technical Officers, and I was allowed to record our conversation using an audio recording device, which I did with these officers over a period of three months in the field.

Although I cannot mention the names of these officers or disclose their identities in connection with different departments/units due to requirements of anonymity, I can generally refer to them as Programme Officers (POs), and on the other hand refer those from transnational agencies as Technical Officers (TOs). After establishing contact with one Programme Officer at the programme secretariat, I was linked to the other POs at the district and national level and the Technical Officers of transnational agencies. The total time or duration of the discussion I recorded within the period reached six hours, thirty-three minutes, and forty-nine seconds (06:33:49), which includes three hours, twenty-six minutes, and nineteen seconds (03:26:19) of conversation with four Programme Officers; one hour, forty-four minutes, and fifty-four seconds (01:44:54) talk with two Technical Officers from two transnational development partners of the programme; and one hour, twelve minutes, and thirty-six seconds (01:12:36) with two district programme focal persons. As it was an in-depth talk with these officials to produce accounts of the ways in which the programme governs men and women in the local communities, I categorised our collaborative encounter as an in-depth interview. The discussion was about the practices and actions of the POs as the key category of persons at the programme secretariat who act in relation to the government of the caregivers and the focal persons of the programme in the local communities in which the program is translated.

Describing the in-depth interview as a collaborative encounter signals the fact that it is a social exchange in which accounts are collaboratively produced, and of course, it signals analytic implication (Rapley, 2004). Fundamentally, these in-depth interviews are a point of departure for tracing the concrete actions and practices of the programme authorities through to the caregivers and focal persons of the programme in local communities. I acknowledge that it would have been impossible to intelligibly observe the ongoing actions, interactions, and practices of caregivers, focal persons, and programme authorities in the local communities without first having an in-depth social encounter with the Programme Officers at the programme secretariat. However, just as I had in-depth interviews with the POs at the programme secretariat, it was equally necessary to have in-depth interviews with the district focal persons in the districts in which collected data, which I also recorded using an audio device.

4.4.3. FOCUS GROUPS DISCUSSIONS WITH COMMUNTY FOCAL PERSONS AND CAREGIVERS

In the local communities, I conducted focus group discussions in order to observe and record the ongoing talk-in-interaction and actions of community focal persons and caregivers using an audio and video recording device. These focus group discussions and interactions with the community focal persons, as well as male and female caregivers, yielded three hours, fifty-nine minutes, and twenty-eight seconds (03:59:28) of talk-in-interaction. These focus groups were organised into four communities in the Upper West and Ashanti regions of Ghana. In the two regions, there were six groups with a total of forty-five participants, and each group had an average number of six participants. The focus groups comprised, two separate male caregivers focus groups, two separate female caregivers focus groups, one separate male community focal persons group, and one mixed community focal persons focus group. The caregivers focus groups were organise separately to access separate accounts of females and males about the practices of the programme.

On the contrary, the gendered combination of the community focal person's focus group allows for a way of accessing how men and women talk about and relate to the translation of the LEAP cash transfer programme in the local communities. In this way, it is a helpful technique in order to access the actions and accounts of both men and women in a specific local context, and without limiting the interpretation of the analysis in one direction or another. In terms of gender, there were twenty females and twenty-six males from the two regions that participated in the focus groups discussions. I relied on the district focal persons for the selection of the community focal persons and the caregivers to participate in the focus groups discussions. As previously mentioned, the district focal persons act as intermediaries between the programme secretariat and the beneficiary communities. In a way, then, they are the gatekeepers of the beneficiary communities. However, data from only three focus groups (two separate female caregivers groups and one mixed gender community focal persons group) in the two regions with twenty-five participants were used in the

analysis of this thesis. It was not possible to analyse all the data from the six groups, and therefore the data used for the analysis were selected in relation to the research questions.

The focus group discussion as the preferred method of interacting with the community focal persons and caregivers is tied to the focus of this study, as it investigates the actions of these actors in relation to the ways that they conduct themselves in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme. It allows for the observation of interactional exchanges, actions, accounts and practices, and aids the investigation of power relations embedded in the sequential organisation of talk-in-interaction (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). Of course, in this way, it signals some analytic implications that must be noted immediately. That being so, I prefer to call the method of focus group discussion that I implemented with the community focal persons and caregivers at the community as an "ethnographic-conversation analytic focus group discussion". By this, I mean talk-in-interaction that is intelligible in the cultural context of the community in which they live, yet "doing being caregivers" in the context of the LEAP cash transfer programme.

In these focus group encounters with the focal persons and caregivers, the researcher facilitates the interaction among participants by encouraging everyone to speak, interact, share, and comment on one another's points of view rather than using the group simply as a quick and convenient way to collect data from the participants (Kitzinger, 1995). In this way, the sociability and relatedness of the focus group discussion method provides the researcher with the opportunity to deeply engage and sustain discussions with participants involved in the interaction (Neimeyer & Torres, 2015). It is clear right away that it differs from a traditional qualitative research focus group discussion method. As the focus of this study is on investigating the concrete manifestations of governmentality (the conduct of conducts and the relations of power), a detailed ethnographic observation of ongoing activities, actions, and practices is central.

The focus group discussions in the context of this study are understood as interactional events in which the caregivers and focal persons draw on their cultural knowledge and the practices in the communities in order to make meaning in relation to the ways that the programme authorities conduct them (Bang Lindegaard, 2014). In the next section, I present accounts of the ways and methods used for recording naturally-occurring interactions, activities, and practices of the programme authorities, focal persons, and caregivers in the local communities.

4.4.4. VIDEOGRAPHY: OBSERVING AND FILMING NATURALLY OCCURING INTERACTIONS

Advances in digital technology, particularly video technology, present opportunities for researchers in the social sciences to record and investigate naturally-occurring

interactions and the concrete actions, activities, and practices of social actors in ethnographic settings (Heath, Hindmarsh, & Luff, 2010). Videography as a method for recording the ongoing actions and practices of social actors takes into account the types of actions and activities as they happen, and links them to the analytic focus of the research project as informed by its objectives (Schubert, 2006). Although handling and operating video devices such as cameras may present technical challenges, a successful handling of this technology offers enormous potential for capturing the fine-grained details of ongoing interactions for analysis.

A key feature and advantage of this method rests in its focus on the interaction itself, which links the ethnographic fieldwork with the analyses of the video recordings of natural interactions, and this feature distinguishes it from conventional video documentaries or film making (Knoblauch et al., 2018). Videography offers a detailed form of observing and collecting data in local communities, which is crucial to the interdisciplinary stance of this study.

> In this regard the video record allows the analyst to consider the resources that participants bring to bear in making sense of, and participating in, the conduct of others, to take a particular interest in the real-time production of social order. Video can also enable the analyst to consider the ways in which different aspects of the setting feature in the unfolding organization of conduct. These aspects include not only the talk of participants, but their visible conduct, whether in terms of gaze, gesture, facial expression, or bodily comportment. Furthermore, video data enable the analyst to consider how the local ecology of objects, artefacts, text, tools and technologies feature in and impact on the action and activity under scrutiny (Heath et al., 2010, p. 7).

As Schubert (2006) notes, unlike traditional ethnography, which insists on openness, videography is considered as a way of focusing, and the fieldwork process is more of a "partial immersion" rather than a "total immersion" (p. 115), whereby the latter demands that the researchers move to live in the field and remain as open as possible in the process until data collection is complete (Delamont, 2004). This study focuses on discourses and the conduct of conducts in relation to the LEAP cash transfer programme; that is, the ways in which the programme regulates the conduct of the caregivers and the community focal persons and the ways these local actors conduct themselves in relation to the programme and the traditional family system. In line with the focus of this thesis, the videography approach presents a way of focusing on the actions and practices to account for the conduct of both programme authorities and the caregivers and focal persons of the programme. Videography as a method of observing and collecting data in ethnographic settings is used by scholars in the field of discourse studies for various research projects (Bezemer, 2014; Bezemer, Murtagh, Cope, Kress, & Kneebone, 2011; McIlvenny, 2016; Mondada, 2016, 2018).

In effect, ethnographic fieldwork is the basis of applying the videography method by using a video device to record the ongoing interactions in the communities that I visited for data. Specifically, I recorded naturally-occurring interactions in the communities that are linked to two major activities of the LEAP cash transfer programme, which include pay point inspections and bimonthly cash payments to caregivers of the programmed households in the local communities. I have explained these activities in detail as part of the preliminary analysis in the next chapter. These activities are the interactional "hot spots" (Jordan & Henderson, 1995, p. 43) in which video recordings of ongoing interactions between programme authorities, focal persons, and caregivers promise productive outcomes. The pay point inspection is done by the programme secretariat in order to select places in the communities where the caregivers go to receive cash payment, while the cash payment to the caregivers is another separate activity and involves a process of identifying the caregivers and handing over physical cash to them.

It is important to state that the in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions preceded the video recording of these interactions and activities in the local communities. I recorded fifty-seven minutes and two seconds (00:57:02) of the naturally-occurring interactions of those two key activities across four separate communities in the two regions as mentioned. I did the recording of pay point inspections in three communities in the Ashanti region, and the recording of cash payments in one community of the Upper West region. I did not select these communities; I followed the activity schedule of the programme secretariat and coordinated with the Programme Officers and district focal persons in order to get access to these communities to record the interactions as they happened. In addition to the recordings of focus group interactions, I recorded a total of four hours, fifty-eight minutes, and thirty seconds (04:58:30) of video data involving talk-in-interaction, actions, and practices from the fieldwork.

Although I used the video camera for recording focus group discussions and the two key naturally-occurring interactional activities in the field, the procedures for doing those recordings were different. The interactions occurred in different contexts and modes with varying constraints and opportunities, which informed the choice of the most appropriate procedures of handling the camera and recording the details of the ongoing interactions in the field. For instance, in recording focus group discussions, the camera was mounted on a tripod with an operating assistant who monitored the device in the process of recording in order to capture the interaction, and an audio recording device was placed in close proximity to the participants. Thus, the devices complemented each other in the process in terms of audio quality, but not pictures. This suggests that using one camera presents a challenge in capturing the interaction from different angles.

However, it was not possible to adopt the same procedure in recording the interactional hot spots of the pay point inspections and the physical cash payment

activities in the local communities. The actions were temporally fluid and movement was intense with fleeting sequences, such that the only productive procedure was for the researcher to handle the camera and follow the interactions in order to capture in detail the moments and sequences of the actions of participants. Similarly, the researcher carried along with the camera an audio device as a means of complementing the process and to backup the sound quality. Notwithstanding, it is very challenging to do video recordings of naturally-occurring interactions in ethnographic settings, as the researcher does not control the actions of participants and the other environmental factors of the setting. However, I argue that all those uncontrollable actions and interactions add to the originality of ethnographic video data. In recording such large amounts of audio and video data, the next step in the next section describes the ways the data is initially prepared for transcription and analysis by applying the process of "*content log* or *content listing"* (Jordan & Henderson, 1995, p. 43).

4.4.5. CONTENT LISTING OF AUDIOVISUAL DATA

The process of content listing serves as a prelude to a detailed transcription and analysis of theoretically and contextually sensitive audio-visual data. As Jordan and Henderson (1995) noted, content listing provides a quick view of the data corpus in which the researcher locates sequences and issues and then proceeds to develop full transcripts of focal segments. The listing of events is an important starting point of a process that enables the researcher to subsequently pay close attention to the segments and episodes of these events. As the process leads to a form of microanalysis of the event segments, it becomes necessary to introduce open coding, which in turn enables the researcher to break open the data for subsequent analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008a). Using the content log for the video data from those two interactionally hot spot activities, I identified a lists of events, which include labels such as "site inspection" and "payments", and for the focus groups discussion I have a list of various meeting events labelled "caregivers meeting" and "focal persons meeting". Additionally, at the programme secretariat there were "Programme Officers meetings" and "Technical Officers meetings". As explained in the theoretical sampling section, an initial analysis of the meetings with the Programme Officers and Technical Officers provided direction for the following data requirements.

The initial analysis of these meetings involves searching for themes, categories, and phrases that are theoretically and contextually sensitive to the main research question. The segments of these meetings or in-depth interactions containing theoretically and contextually sensitive themes, categories, and phrases formed the selected chunks of the in-depth interview for full transcription, and for further analysis. Similarly, the content listing labels of the video data, that is, site inspection and payment, are further scrutinised and broken into identifiable units of actions, which Jordan and Henderson (1995) refer to as "*ethnographic chunks*" (p. 57). These are the basic units of actions that form the structure of the event under observation. The ethnographic chunks

provide a clearer segmentation and sequential organisation of the interactional events, which are transcribed in relation to the content listing labels for a rigorous and systematic investigation.

4.4.6. TRANSCRIBING AUDIO-VISUAL DATA

Transcription is a key tool for analysing and representing spoken language (Bucholtz, 2007), but over the years studies have indicated that speech or spoken language is only one mode of communication and meaning-making in human society (see Section 3.11.3. of Chapter 3 in this thesis for details). The recent connection between language and context or society, and other modes of communication, has shifted the task of transcription to include spoken language, embodied actions, and other semiotic resources for meaning-making.

> Over time, and with the improvement of recording technologies, transcription has come to be understood as the transformation of either analogical or digital recordings of sounds or moving images into some kind of "text" that can be later examined and/or displayed as evidence of a particular phenomenon under investigation (Duranti, 2006, p. 301)

Advances in the technology, multimodal communication, and the embodied turn have combined to make transcription and transcripts more complex. A number of transcriptions systems have been developed over the years to analyse and represent talk-in-interaction as well as embodied actions in communicative situations or encounters. Some of these systems are very specific to the needs of certain approaches for discourse studies, such as conversation and/or multimodal analysis. As transcription is created in order to analyse and represent the details of the interactional event under observation, it should not be so complex that it becomes "difficult to follow and assess" (Ochs, 1979, p. 44). Rather, it is fruitful to select transcription systems that are theoretically and contextually sensitive to the objective of this study.

The transcription system developed by Gail Jefferson for transcribing talk or conversation and Lorenza Mondada's conventions for multimodal transcription are well known and used by many scholars in the field of discourse studies. Even though there is not a consensus among scholars about the state of the perfect transcription or transcript, in conversation analysis and multimodal analysis these two transcription systems offer enough details for the purpose of this study. They are used in different instances for transcribing talk and interaction in relation to the analytical needs of this study. For instance, the transcripts of in-depth interviews with Programme and Technical Officers' talk-in-interaction do not contain visible embodied actions, however, relevant multimodal embodied actions and semiotic resources that are present in the video data of interactions are included in the process of transcription and on the transcripts for analysis. Thus, in these instances, frame grabs are included

in transcripts, and the actions and interactions of participants are displayed and visibly described.

4.4.7. TRANSCRIBING AND TRANSLATING NATIVE LANGUAGES

Transcribing and translating native languages that are spoken in interactions present some difficulties to both linguistic and non-linguistic researchers (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017), yet striving toward scientific accuracy is dependent on the quality of the transcripts and the transcription strategies and procedures of the researcher. Unfortunately, there is not a one-size-fits-all or a perfect "transcription and translation template" for researchers. This is not to say, however, that researchers can transcribe and translate as they wish without paying attention to certain standards in the field. At the same time, in many instances the goal of the research project creates space for selecting appropriate procedures and strategies for making the transcription and translation of a multilingual talk-in-interaction context sensitive and intelligible. In this section, I aim to present as clearly as possible the contextually-relevant transcription and translation strategies of talk-in-interaction in which participants spoke different native languages at different sites.

As I stated in Section 4.3, there are many native languages and dialects in Ghana, but only eleven are government-sponsored written local languages. Asante Twi is spoken in the south (specifically in the Ashanti Region) while Dagaare is spoken in the north (precisely in the Upper West Region). Even though English is the official language of the state,[20] the participants of this study at the local level were unable to speak or write in the English language. Therefore, the participants (men and women) of the focus groups spoke in their respective native languages, and depending on the location/site of the interaction, participants spoke Asante Twi or Dagaare. In line with the analytical framework of this study, I have transcribed the talk-in-interaction to capture what is said, including the visible conduct and gestures of the participants, and translated these native languages into the nation's official language of English for analysis and for the understanding of an English-speaking audience.

This research project is not a purely linguistic study, despite its affinity with language and interaction and Moerman's approach to conversation analysis within ethnography. Therefore, interlinear text[21] and glosses that show detailed linguistic features in a three-line transcription format are not adhered to in transcribing and

[20] The official or national language of Ghana (English) is an inherited language from Britain during the period of colonial rule. Ghana, then called the Gold Coast, was a British Colony until it gained independence in 1957.

[21] "Interlinear Text (IT) is a style of transcription of spoken language widely used in Linguistic fieldwork to record utterances in a language under study along with some analysis and a gloss or loose translation into another language" (Ide & Pustejovsky, 2017, p. 90).

translating the native languages. However, what is considered relevant to the understanding of the transcript of this "non-linguistic analytic" focussed study is the two-line format in which the transcription of the native language in the first line and directly below it is an idiomatic English language in the second line. By non-linguistic analytic, I mean that the focus of this thesis is not to analyse words and meanings devoid of context. Thus, in the process of translating the spoken native languages into the English language for analysis, I am interested in the ways that participants use utterances in communicative situations and the ways that they interpret these utterances (Baker, 2011) in the local context. The extract below is an example of the transcription format for this thesis, which shows the native language of Asante Twi in the first line and the corresponding idiomatic English language translation in the second line.

Sample Excerpt 1:

1	CW3:	**mbaa no a**
		the women normally
2		**na wɔmo hwɛ wɔmo mba**
		take care of their children
3		**woyi w'ani ↑pɛ**
		you take your eyes off ↑immediately
4		**wo mma no nyinaa bɛbɔ asesa**
		your children all will become wayward

Therefore, the interlinear texts and glosses are not included in the transcripts. As a matter of fact, the English translation that is provided on the transcript is not "completely faithful to the original language", yet it is of pragmatic and contextual relevance because it makes little sense to be faithful but opaque to a non-native speaking audience (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017, p. 145). For instance, line 3 of Sample Excerpt 2 is a completely faithful translation of the original language, yet very opaque to a non-native language speaking audience. However, the idiomatic English translation of the same line 3 in Sample Excerpt 1 appears more transparent to the audience. Therefore, it is more useful to provide the idiomatic English language translation of the native language.

Sample Excerpt 2:

1	CW3:	**mmaa no ara**
		the women normally
2		**na wɔhwɛ wɔn mma**
		take care of their children

3 **woyi w'ani ↑pɛ**
you remove your eyes ↑immediately

4 **wo mma no nyinaa bɛbɔ asesa**
your children all will become wayward

Furthermore, the exact transcription of the spoken native Asante Twi language as uttered by participants in interaction (for example, lines 1 and 2 of Sample Excerpt 1) could be opaque because of the inappropriate orthography. So, in order to be transparent in representing the spoken words of the Asante Twi language in a transcript for analytical purposes, and to remain relevant and sensitive to the orthography, the spoken words of the participants are represented in the standard orthography of the native language, as shown in lines 1 and 2 of Sample Excerpt 2 above. In doing so, the Asante Twi speaking audience can understand the transcript of the interaction and its analytical relevance in this study without difficulty.

In the Upper West Region, there are many ethnic groups that speak different local languages and dialects. Dagaare is widely spoken among the Dagaaba ethnic group, but there are several dialects of the Dagaare language that are spoken by different ethnic groups such as the Waala and the Lobi, who speak in Wale and Birifor dialects, respectively. In addition, these two dialects are not government-sponsored languages, and they are not officially written. Therefore, the data elicited from the Wa west district where these dialects are spoken are subsequently transcribed in Dagaare without losing the meaning of the words and the utterances in context. For instance, in the Wale dialect "**neɛjaa**" means everyone in the English language, and in transcription process, the word "**neɛjaa**" in Wale is transcribed as "**neɛzaa**" in Dagaare, which has the same meaning as everyone in the English language just as it is use in the Wale dialect.

Moreover, codeswitching is noticeable in conversations and other forms of social interactions, and is very common among bilingual speakers (Aronoff & Rees-Miller, 2003). In this study, although participants opted to speak in the two native languages (Asante Twi and Dagaare) in their respective sites of interaction, there were instances when these participants codeswitched between the native languages and English, which is the second language. Generally, it appears that codeswitching between languages in Ghana, especially between various native languages and English, is very common, regardless of the level of formal education of the participants in social interactions. In this study, for instance, codeswitching occurred during data collection from social actors at the national level through to the local level—including the researcher. Government officials who visited the local communities to inspect cash transfer pay points did a lot of codeswitching as well, as did local participants of focus group discussions. Even though this study is not researching codeswitching in social interactions, it is widely acknowledged by linguists and sociolinguists that bilingual speakers use codeswitching for various purposes. Thus, it is worth acknowledging the

practice of codeswitching in the interactional moments of this project to support the analysis as it manifests in the data gathered from the field. In so doing, I represent borrowed language or words within curly brackets (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017) in transcripts and in the turn constructional units of participants in interaction.

In addition to the complexities of these native languages in both the spoken and written forms, gestures, visual conduct, and embodied actions and practices are meaningful cultural resources not only in the immediate context of interactions, but also hold relevance in the broader social political context and the traditional social structure of Ghana. Embodied actions and practices are highly valued in their temporality and enhance interactional accomplishments. Similarly, there is consensus among scholars regarding the importance of combining spoken language, gestures, visual conduct, and other relevant embodied actions in making rich analytical claims based on data arising from social interaction (Goodwin, 2000; Hepburn & Bolden, 2017; Kendon, 1997; Mondada, 2011). Therefore, in this study I aim to remain sensitive to the transcription of relevant gestures, visual conducts, and embodied actions as they occur in social interactions that are the sites of accessing data. As social actors appropriate and exploit semiotic resources in order to make meaning in social interactions, I deem it central and relevant to capture multimodal resources within these interactions in order to enhance the analytical content of the study. It is in this regard that I find the interdisciplinary discourse framework of this study robust and useful.

4.4.8. DATA SESSIONS AND SEMINARS WITH RESEARCH GROUPS

Being reflexive and open to the nuances of the visual data from video-graphic ethnographic fieldwork and without imposing any preconceived notions of sense and meaning-making in ongoing interactions, presenting data to the members of affiliated research groups in seminars and data sessions is a useful strategy for ensuring analytical transparency.

> Collaborative viewing is particularly powerful for neutralizing preconceived notions on the part of researchers and discourages the tendency to see in the interaction what one is conditioned to see or even wants to see (Jordan & Henderson, 1995, p. 43).

Data sessions and seminars present opportunities for cross-checking transcripts and opening up segments of data in the sense of *ethnographic chunks* to research group members for closer observations based on the content of the data without speculation. As Jordan and Henderson (1995) describe,

> we attempt to keep our work, to the largest extent possible, free from predetermined analytic categories. We expect such categories to emerge from our deepening understanding of the orderliness of the interaction as

> participants on the tape make this orderliness visible to each other. In the course of multiple replayings, finer and finer levels of participants' social competence and their resources for mutual construction of meanings become apparent (p 43).

In this study, presenting data and transcripts at data sessions and seminars is a way of enhancing the content of the transcript for further analysis. It is quite clear that an interdisciplinary analytical framework requires comprehensive, detailed, yet transparent transcripts that attend to the goal of the study and address the research questions. In this regard, I presented preliminary transcripts and data at data sessions for scrutiny and feedback from research group members. Thus, data sessions were valuable for detecting, minimising, and eliminating noise in the transcripts, so to speak, and anchoring these transcripts to the data and to the analytical needs of this study.

4.5. ANALYTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this section, I present and explain the analytical considerations of the study in relation to the interdisciplinary discourse studies framework, which I discussed in Chapter 3. It is clear from the theoretical chapter that this study examines the LEAP cash transfer programme from the perspective of discourse and governmentality, and in that sense, it investigates the programme as a practice of the conduct of conducts in the dual sense. The analytical perspective considers the ways in which the government governs the conduct of caregivers and focal persons in the local communities, and the ways that these caregivers and focal persons govern themselves in relation to the programme and the traditional family structures in which they live.

Thus, an analysis of the conduct of conducts in the sense of power relations in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme as a regime of practice also draws on the "analytics of government" framework (Dean, 2010, p. 33). Drawing on the analytics of government, Death (2013) suggests that the analysis of regimes of practices is done in four ways: by analysing the production and legitimation of *forms of knowledge* that ensure the maintenance and sustenance of relations of power; by analysing the ways regimes of practice or government produce *subjectivities* through free subjects; by analysing *techniques and technologies* invested in the regime of practice or the conduct of conduct; and finally, by analysing the *fields of visibility* and the governing spaces of a regime of practice in which there are competing rationalities. As practices and actions manifest in interactions, it is possible to investigate power relations by analysing the concrete actions and accounts, the sequences of interactions, and the embodied actions of participants using the key features of critical discourse studies, conversation analysis and multimodal analysis.

In this way, analysing concrete practices appears to be a key feature of the analytics of a government framework for analysing the relations of power because governing

or the conduct of conducts manifests in the concrete practices of the governor and the governed. As outlined in Chapter 3, power relations and knowledge forms are sustained by discourses, and in that sense, discourse approaches can provide relevant features for accessing and investigating the concrete practices of social actors and their relations within the regime of practice that gives rise to means of exercising power. Thus, the study considers governance or the conduct of conducts as taking place in social domains in which social relations and practices are common features, and language and semiotic resources have become the modes of sense-making and meaning-making. In this way, it is necessary to turn to the discourse studies approaches, and because language or speech is not the only mode of communicating sense and making meaning in society, we need a combination of discourse analysis features in order to analyse concrete practices of governing and relations of power from the perspective of critical discourse studies in an interdisciplinary manner.

In the next section, I present the critical discourse analytical framework and features from an interdisciplinary perspective. I must emphasise that a critical discourse approach is the main analytical framework of this project, but conversation analysis and multimodal analysis frameworks and features are drawn upon as complementary resources to enhance the critical discourse analytic framework and features by scrutinizing the analysis and investigation of discourse beyond words or language. Such an interdisciplinary frame seeks to make the connection between micro and macro analysis of discourses (Fairclough, 1992), the focus of analysis on the conduct of conducts in terms of power relations. In doing so, a combination of both linguistic and social analysis is central to the critical framework of this thesis.

4.5.1. THE ANALYTICAL MODEL AND FEATURES OF THIS STUDY

As mentioned above, this thesis is a Foucault-based analysis inspired by an interdisciplinary discourse studies framework, drawing upon the analytic features of critical discourse studies, conversation analysis and multimodal analysis. Thus, this section is a synthesis of the interdisciplinary discourse studies framework and analytical features discussed in the previous section. In addition, I present a model of the analytical framework detailing the social domains of power, the categories of social actors, the data types, the analytical methods, and the features and imports of this study. In discussing the interdisciplinary discourse studies framework of this study in the previous sections, it apparent that discourse is not only spoken language or speech, but also involves practices in societies or social contexts. In this way, sense-making and meaning-making as well as social order are accomplished by combining language or speech with other semiotic resources or modes of communicating and interacting.

This extended notion of discourse as we have discussed so far constitutes social practice in a dialectical relation, and for Fairclough (1992), discourse is a form of social practice. In addition, as we observed in Chapter 3, Foucault (2002b) noted that

he was interested in investigating the "*practice of imprisonment*" (p. 225) but not the prison institution as an entity. In this way, he conceived government as the practice of acting on the actions of others, as they act on themselves. If we agree that governing is a practice and discourse is a form of social practice, then it is quite possible to analyse discourse as social practice by investigating the elements of actual social practices such as the governing of caregivers of programmed households in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme.

For Van Leeuwen (2016), actual social practices will always contain elements such as actions, actors, interactions, and semiotic resources toward sense-making. In the figure below, I outline the social domains of power and the categories within the LEAP cash transfer programme. In this way, we can analyse and investigate the accounts of practices, talk, actions, interactions, and the practices of actors in each of the domains within the LEAP cash transfer programme, and account for the ways in which the conduct of conducts in the dual sense of the government of others and the government of selves manifest. I present below the analytical framework of this thesis.

Social Domains of Power	**Categories of Social Actors**	**Data Types**	**Analytical Methods**	**Analytical Features or Phenomena**	**Analytical Import**
UNICEF, DFID & World Bank	Technical Officers	Audio recording of talk	Conversation Analysis	Membership categorization, Adjacency pair, Sequence organization	Accounts of practices & talk
			Critical Discourse Studies	Modality Nomination, Predication, Mitigation or Intensification, Authorization, Moral Evaluation, Rationalization	
Government Ministry and Department	Programme Officers & focal persons	Audio recording of talk	Critical Discourse Studies	Nomination, Predication, Mitigation or Intensification, Authorization, Moral Evaluation, Rationalization	Accounts Practices, Actions & Talk-in-interaction
		Video recording of actions and interactions	Conversation Analysis	Membership categorization, Adjacency pair, Sequence organization	
Kinship and Family	Community focal persons & caregivers		Multimodal Analysis	Affordances and Meaning-potentials of semiotic resources	

Figure 2. The analytical framework of this study.

Although the LEAP cash transfer programme appears to be construed as a single domain of power, there are two other domains of power that are worth noting. These are the transnational agencies (DFID, World Bank, and UNICEF) and the traditional family and kinship systems of the local communities. However, the intention of the study is not to investigate these domains as discrete institutions in themselves, but rather to investigate the interconnected practices and actions of the actors in these specific domains of power, and the ways in which they mobilise and deploy these practices and actions within the LEAP cash transfer programme as a site of interconnected domains of power. In these three domains, there are categories of actors: the Technical Officers of the transnational agencies, the Programme Officers of the government ministry and department, and the caregivers and community focal persons of the traditional family systems. Like in many social practices, these actors perform different actions within the programme in relation to their respective domains and their interconnections with others.

In this way, the domains and actors mobilize and deploy varying practices, actions, and interactions within the LEAP cash transfer programme. These practices are realised in conversation, actions, and interactions, and as elements of social practices, they form the basic units of investigation, and as Van Leeuwen (2016) noted, "the core of a social practice is formed by a set of actions" (p. 141). Social actors are always involved in and perform many actions in a particular social practice, and on most occasions, these actors interact with other social actors to accomplish the actions they perform (Norris, 2014). It is in this regard that the analytical features of the discourse approaches presented above are relevant for accessing and analysing the actual actions and interactions of social actors in the domain of the programmes.

4.6. TECHNICAL INSIGHT INTO READING THE ANALYSIS

As a Foucault-based analysis inspired by an interdisciplinary discourse frame, the data of this thesis comprise audio recordings of in-depth interviews and video recordings of focus group discussions and naturally-occurring interactions in the local communities, which I recorded in two local languages: Dagaare and Asante Twi. Thus, I first transcribed the original language and provided a pragmatic English translation directly below the original line of text in the native language, and without interlinear glosses. The omission of the interlinear glosses and the inclusion of pragmatic translation makes the reading of the thesis and the embedded transcripts easy to understand. Codeswitching between the native languages and English language is maintained in the original lines of transcription and the English translation is provided directly below; however, only the English translations are quoted during analysis for ease of reading.

Furthermore, in this thesis the recipients of the cash grants are referred to as caregivers, and the district and community focal persons are representatives of the programme in the districts and communities respectively. The Programme Officers

work at the programme secretariat at the national level, whereas the Technical Officers are consultants of transnational agencies that collaborate with the government of Ghana and the programme secretariat in translating the LEAP cash transfer programme.

Frame grabs of naturally-occurring actions in interactions are embedded in transcripts as "frames", and the times at which an action occurs in the episode of the interaction provided underneath the frame. For example, Frame 1 (0.32) of excerpt 7.1 in Chapter 7 is the time at which the actions in the frame occurred in the stretch of the interaction. However, in order to make the transcripts less complex and more reader-friendly, I have not included time codes in the transcript. Additionally, I have used directional arrows and circles on frame grabs embedded in the transcripts to indicate the direction of actions or interactions, and to emphasise the visible embodied actions of social actors in these interactions. In addition, the names of persons and villages in the transcripts are not real names; they are altered for the purposes of anonymity.

CHAPTER 5. PRELIMNARY ANALYSIS: A BRIEF GENEALOGY OF WELFARE DISCOURSE IN GHANA

As a Foucault-based analysis, in this chapter, I provide a brief sketch of the genealogy of public social protection in Ghana's welfare discourse as a prelude to the analysis of the practices of the social actors in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme. By doing a genealogical sketch, I mean a brief tracing of the connections and conceptions of public social protection programmes in the social welfare discourse of Ghana. The first section of this chapter traces how the concept of public social protection entered the social welfare discourse, and in doing so, it opens the condition of possibility in order to analyse and to account for its presence and ways of practice in the present. Thus, the second section provides a preliminary analysis of the structural arrangements, key facets, domians, and practices of the ongoing LEAP cash transfer programme of the government of the state.

5.1. A GENEALOGY OF PROGRAMMES AND MARKET LOGIC

In Ghana, many governmental policies and programmes and accompanying disciplinary techniques and regulatory mechanims have been implemented since independence to govern the population. One such programme that bears a resemblance to the current national public social protection policy and ongoing programmes (Government of Ghana, 2015) is the Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD), which was implemented in 1987 after Ghana accepted the IMF and World Bank structural adjustment policy in 1983 (Akonor, 2006). It is worth mentioning that Foucault's lectures on biopolitics and neoliberalism at the Collège de France in 1978-79 closely preceded the period of adjustment and stabilization policies and programmes in Ghana. Accordingly, neoliberal policies and programmes have been implemented in the country since the 1980s. The IMF, the World Bank flagship economic stabilisation and adjustment policies, and the ten policy prescriptions in Washington for the economies of developing countries had taken root. The Washington consensus was spearheaded by the IMF, the World Bank, and the US Treasury (Williamson, 2005). The Washington consensus made it possible for the economies of developing countries to have a relationship with the IMF and the World Bank, which pushed the agenda forward by implementing economic stabilization and adjustment policies and programmes in developing countries such as Ghana.

In doing so, the government has tightened expenditures in order to reduce national budget deficit and to fulfil the IMF and the World Bank neo-liberal policy conditions

(Frimpong-Ansah, 1991; Hutchful, 2002); it has also withdrawn subsidies for social services and reduced the size of the civil service. In contemporary Ghana, the neoliberal "market-driven logic" (Krzyżanowski, 2016, p. 310) has fully been introduced into the public domain and the privatisation of vital public services is being intensified by the state government. Thus, it appears that the traditional family is under intense pressure from the apparatuses of both government and transnational institutions to bend to the neoliberal rationality, which pushes the family as a social domain into the domain of the market in which personal care and protection becomes a private responsibility (Lemke, 2001). The disciplinary and the regulatory powers of neoliberalism have become the new forms of governing individuals and families, controlling populations, and a way of producing responsible individuals (Jessop, 2006) in relation to the rationality of the government. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly clear that the practices of the family and the governmentalisation of the population in a neoliberal market-driven polity are back-to-back. The government of the family in relation to neoliberal market logic does not appear to be necessarily and mutually beneficial to the government and the family.

The translation of the free market policies of the IMF and the World Bank in Ghana appear to pose some difficulties and failures for the governing of the population regarding unemployment, the lack of access to social services, and mass poverty (Donkor, 1997; Rose & Miller, 2010). Therefore, the government and the transnational institutions claim to respond to these difficulties and failures by designing and implementing public social protection programmes such as the Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) and the Ghana-Vision 2020 in 1987 and 1995, respectively. Since the 1980s, Ghana has been signing various international protocols and commitments, but the most fertile ground of the genealogical discussion of public social protection in Ghana is the Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS) of the Bretton Woods Institutions – the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which were launched in 1999 (World Bank, 2004). Similarly, in the year 2000, the World Bank developed a social risk management (SRM) framework for social protection (Holzmann & Jørgensen, 2001), which was intended to provide a framework for low-income countries in order to implement social protection programmes as part of the poverty reduction strategy framework.

These neoliberal discourses trigger and play key roles in the design and implementation of public social protection policies as well as poverty reduction programmes in Ghana. Some of these programmes were the government of Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I) from 2003 to 2005 and the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) from 2006 to 2009. Additionally, in 2007, the government designed the National Social Protection Strategy, and subsequently, implemented a social assistance programme – the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme in 2008 (Government of Ghana, 2015). These programmes have evolved and transformed since they were adopted and implemented.

For example, the National Social Protection Strategy that was prepared in 2007 and implemented in 2008 has been replaced with the National Social Protection Policy of Ghana (Government of Ghana, 2007, 2015), which provides a new framework for developing and implementing social protection programmes such as the LEAP cash transfer programme. In the next section, I present a preliminary analysis of the ongoing LEAP cash transfer programme by zooming in on the structural arrangements, its key facets, and the practices of the programme authorities.

5.2. THE LEAP CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMME IN CONTEXT

In this section, I provide a contextual overview and understanding of the government social protection programme, the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) cash transfer, which is often touted as the government's flagship social protection programme. In doing so, I use national policy texts as the starting point to elaborate and provide a succinct description of the programme, its purpose and practices in Ghana. However, I draw on empirical material from recent ethnographic interviews with the programme officials and representatives of transnational agencies at the LEAP secretariat in Accra, Ghana. I conclude this section with a brief commentary on the practices of the programme as a governmental rationality and a regime of power. The basic idea in this section is to provide a sketch and preliminary understanding of the structural arrangement, the key facets and the practices of the programme in light of Foucault's notions of discourse, power and governmentality.

Generally, the national development-planning framework provides the starting point for the design and implementation of the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme in 2008. These frameworks include the "Coordinated Programme of Economic and Social Development Policies (Transformation Agenda) 2014-2020 and the National Medium-Term Planning Framework or the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA II) 2014-2017" (Government of Ghana, 2015, p. 9). The Transformation Agenda prescribes social protection for Ghanaians, especially "the less fortunate" (p. 9), while the GSGDA provides social protection and identifies it as an imperative for the people of Ghana. It is against this background that the National Social Protection Strategy was prepared in 2007 and established the LEAP cash transfer programme in 2008, revised in 2012, and became the National Social Protection Policy of Ghana in 2015. Currently, the policy serves as the basis for public social protection programmes in Ghana, especially the LEAP cash transfer programme.

The LEAP cash transfer programme is an ongoing government social assistance and cash transfer programme in Ghana, which was established in 2008 in order to provide cash grants to persons who live in extreme poverty, vulnerability, and exclusion. "The main objective of the Programme is to reduce poverty by increasing consumption and promoting access to services and opportunities among the extremely poor and vulnerable" (LEAP Programme Ghana, 2016, para. 1). Since its inception in 2008, the

LEAP programme has provided cash support to over 213,000 such households with eligible persons in Ghana. These persons go through a targeting process before they are enrolled as caregivers or beneficiaries who receive cash support from the government on behalf of the programmed households.

Extreme poverty is defined in the Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 6 (GLSS6) report as "those whose standard of living is insufficient to meet their basic nutritional requirements even if they devoted their entire consumption budget to food" (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, p. 12). The GLSS6 report is a documented "analysis of the living conditions of Ghanaian households and the poverty profile" (p. ii) upon which national development decisions are enacted. It is this definition of poverty that the LEAP programme team at the secretariat uses for targeting poor households and enrolling eligible persons in these households in order to receive the cash grant. Interestingly, the LEAP cash transfer programme receives support in the form of grants, loans, and technical assistance from renowned transnational agencies (sometimes referred to as development partners [DPs] in global development governance) such as the British Department for International Development (DFID), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the World Bank. The figure below is a representation of the fundamental structure of authority and the social domains of power within the operations of the LEAP cash programme.

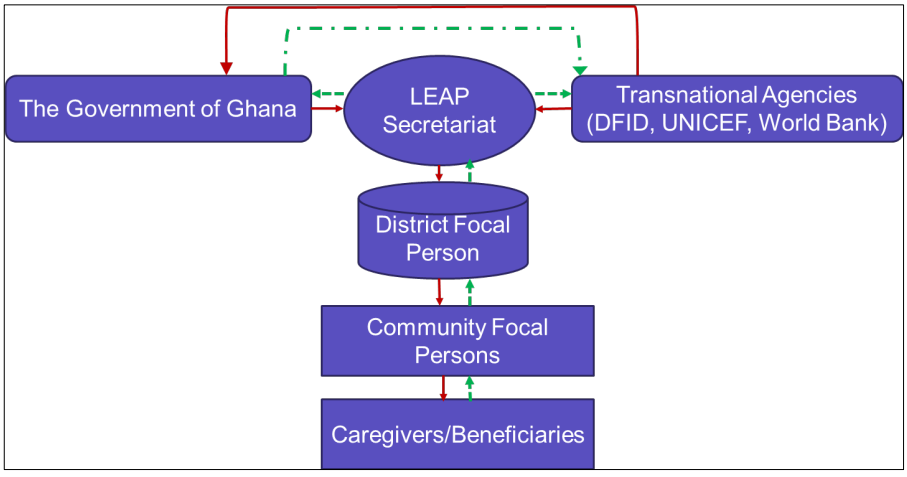


Figure 3. The structure of authority within the LEAP cash transfer programme.

Until December 2015, when the cabinet approved the establishment of a national secretariat for the LEAP cash transfer programme, it was hosted by the Department of Social Welfare, which clearly indicates the status of the programme in the public social welfare discourse of Ghana. Currently, there is a separate LEAP secretariat in Accra, Ghana, but it reports directly to and takes instructions from the Chief Director of the Ministry of Gender Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP). The secretariat

is managed by a team of government officials and technocrats who are under the direct supervision of a programme manager and deputy director. In addition, it receives technical assistance and support from transnational agencies, particularly DFID and UNICEF, and in doing so, it reports to these agencies, primarily on the key issues of implementation for which it received support.

Furthermore, the secretariat is linked to the metropolitan, municipal, and district assemblies in Ghana where the social welfare officers of these assemblies serve as focal persons of the programme and report directly to and take instructions from the LEAP secretariat. These officers work with community focal persons who are the liaisons between the caregivers and the authorities of the programme. The liaisons are volunteers who are residents and members of the beneficiary communities; the programme secretariat nominates them, but the members of the community confirm the community focal persons at a community forum in the presence of the chiefs and family heads of the community.

Ultimately, the beneficiaries are the targets and recipients of the LEAP programme, and in situations where the beneficiary is a minor or too weak to care for themselves, the programme assigns caregivers to the households in consultation with its members in order to care for such individuals. These caregivers are usually family relations, but in extreme cases where the beneficiary cannot find any relations to assume the role, the programme secretariat recommends a "total stranger" with the consent of the programmed household and the LEAP focal person of the community (field interview with a Programme Officer, 2017).

As we observe in the model above, the LEAP cash transfer programme does not appear to be autonomous, as it is flanked by both government ministry and transnational development partners. In this regard, we cannot rule out the fact that these two domains have their own interests, which may contradict one another with regard to the translation of the programme in the local communities (Miller & Rose, 2008). Furthermore, as we can observe in the model, the domains and actors below the programme secretariat serve as capillaries of power (Foucault, 1980) for the translation of the programme into the local communities. Thus, power traverses the entire domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme, although some actors may appear "powerful" by virtue of their positioning along the power grid as the structure demonstrates above. In this regard, each of the domains or actors in with the apparatus of the programme acts in relation to one another—but not in the same ways. In fact, the programme secretariat performs key processes ranging from targeting, enrolment, and pay point inspection and selection, and finally the payment of cash to the caregivers of programmed households in the local communities. I will discuss these practices and processes below, with a more thorough analysis and logical presentation of these practices in the following chapters of this thesis.

5.2.1. THE PRACTICE OF TARGETING

The targeting process in the context of the LEAP cash transfer programme fundamentally involves searching for and selecting extremely poor households with eligible persons (the categories of persons who are described as poor and vulnerable in the policy document) to receive the cash grants from the government. The concept of targeting as a practice in the domain of the programme appears to be passive, but the translation of the practice betrays its unproblematic nature. By this, I mean that it appears as though there is a category of persons already out there waiting and it is this *a priori* category of persons to whom the concept is applied. In fact, the programme secretariat starts the process by mapping out extremely poor communities in the districts using data from the GLSS6 report prepared by the Ghanaian statistical service.

The targeting practices of the programme secretariat marks the start of the ways that the programme divides and differentiates among households in local communities, marking those which are poor or not (Foucault, 2002e). Thus, the inscription of the poverty mark on a household rests on the authority of the programme (Foucault, 1995) after the head of the household confesses to the poverty situation by providing answers to a special questionnaire, which becomes an instrument for decision-making and translating governmental actions (Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999). In this way, becoming a poor household that is subject to the programme does not appear to be the voluntary action of the head of the household, but rather a "regime of veridiction" operating beyond the head of the household (Foucault, 2017, p. 239).

In this regard, the programme marks and maps poor communities, and the communities with the highest scores alongside an incidence of poverty criteria are selected. A third-party organisation is then contracted to survey and enumerate eligible households (the deserving households) for verification and enrolment into the programme. This enumeration is part of the targeting practice and process, and it is done electronically using mobile tablets with an electronic proxy means text (PMT) questionnaire for each household. The questionnaire consists of three sections: the location and identity of the heads of household are recorded in the first section; the biodata and demographic characteristics of members of the household can be found in the second; and the housing characteristics and asset ownership information is recorded in third section. In doing so, the PMT activates the biodata of the head of the household for the constitution of programme subjects (Cisney & Morar, 2016). These verification techniques and practices appear to be central to the effective management of the population concerning the rationality of the government (Cocco & Cava, 2018). Furthermore, all the heads of households in the selected communities are given the opportunity to participate in the enumeration exercise in order to determine their eligibility for enrolment onto the programme. The eligibility of these households in the targeting process is based on the information recorded in the PMT questionnaire

using scoring and ranking criteria. Only the households that attain the eligibility rank and score are enrolled in the LEAP cash transfer programme.

5.2.2. THE PRACTICE OF ENROLLING HOUSEHOLDS

Enrolment in the context of the LEAP cash transfer programme involves the process of verifying households that have successfully gone through the targeting process and are waiting to be enrolled in the programme to receive cash support from the government. After a successful targeting and enumeration exercise, officials of the LEAP cash transfer programme secretariat visit the communities in which the enumeration of households was performed, in order to verify and confirm the eligibility of the potential beneficiaries to be enrolled. It is apparent that the practices of programme authorities mark the initial stages and instances of surveillance in which they closely monitor the practices of the potential subjects of the programme (Foucault, 1995). As a result, the enumerated households are scrutinised for individuals who meet the eligibility criteria to qualify the household for receiving support. Thus, the LEAP programme secretariat requires the heads of households to endorse a consent form by appending their signature or thumbprint to indicate their agreement to allow the officials to enrol the household and the caregiver into the programme. After the verification and the endorsement of the form are successfully done, the biometrics of the caregiver or beneficiary are taken. These caregivers and beneficiaries are electronically registered with the National Switch & Biometric Smart Card Payment System – e-Zwich platform of the Ghana Interbank Payment and Settlement Systems Limited (GhIPSS) to receive cash.

5.2.3. THE PRACTICE OF PAYING CASH TO THE CAREGIVERS

As the programme authorities finalise the process of targeting and enrolment, the LEAP cash transfer programme secretariat accrues the benefits of eligible households bimonthly and forwards them to a third-party organisation and a capillary of power within the programme network. The GhIPSS makes cash transfers or payments to the caregivers of programmed households in local communities by using the e-Zwich device in which the caregivers of programmed households were enrolled. Thus, on the day of payment, GhIPSS officials move to the communities with officials from selected banking institutions and an armed police officer in order to make the payments. However, caregivers and beneficiaries that live very close to GhIPSS accredited banking institutions do visit the banking halls to receive the cash. In any case, the e-Zwich device must authenticate the fingerprints of the caregiver or the beneficiary of the household before the cash is paid to them. These beneficiaries or caregivers are not able to receive cash without completing the authentication process. Thus, it appears that the caregivers have autonomy to decide how and where to receive the cash, but a detailed analysis of accounts from an interactional event reveals that they have limited choices (see Chapter 10 below).

Accordingly, before the LEAP programme secretariat approves the dates of cash payments to caregivers and beneficiaries, the LEAP officials visit the beneficiary communities in order to do pay point inspection and certification as part of the surveillance practices. Pay points are selected places in the communities that are deemed fit for the payment of cash to beneficiaries and caregivers; that is, it is a kind of remote but safe place for "banking transactions" in the community. Furthermore, prior to their inspection, these payment sites are proposed by the LEAP community focal persons and subsequently inspected by the LEAP district focal persons. However, the programme officials from the LEAP secretariat appear to have the right to determine the appropriateness of these sites for the payment of cash. The commitment of resources to the surveillance of these payment sites affirms this fact. Thus, the payment of cash to caregivers and beneficiaries in remote communities commences upon a successful completion of pay point inspection and certification by the LEAP cash transfer secretariat.

Since the 1980s, state agencies and institutions have claimed to govern the "problems" of indigenous populations as based on the Western form of knowledge – scientific discourses and governing tactics. As I have already mentioned in the first two sections of this chapter, it appears that governing practices take place within a certain "regime of truth" (Foucault, 1980, p. 131) akin to neoliberalism and the market-driven logic as the chief rationality of government, which is in turn rooted in transnational political rationality. By this statement, I refer to the need for a market economy and the labouring subject (Foucault, 2017, p. 294). In the context of Ghana, it appears that the presence of the programmes outlined in this chapter, the actions and practices of governing the subjects of these programmes in local communities, appear to contradict the moral values and practices of the traditional family in the lifeworld. Thus, we cannot take for granted the relations of power and struggles and contradictions in the domain of public social protection programmes such as the LEAP cash transfer programme. A preliminary analysis of the structural arrangements, facets and practices of the programme indicates the relations of power and the deep involvement and extension of governmental control as well as the governing of the lifeworld of local families and communities in relation to a certain rationality.

CHAPTER 6. CONSTRUCTING AND OBJECTIVISING SUBJECTS OF THE LEAP PROGRAMME

The analytical focus of this chapter is on what I call the key discursive moments of constructing and objectivising the subjects of the LEAP cash transfer programme. This is the flagship of public social protection discourse in Ghana, which the programme secretariat has passively labelled as 'targeting' and 'enrolment'. The main argument in this chapter is that the subjects of the programme were not already set before the programme and instead lay in wait for targeting and enrolment, they are produce in and by a "regime of truth" (Foucault, 1980). By a regime of truth, I mean the mandatory practices and obligations of governmental authorities in the domain of the LEAP programme, and the international development discourses and frameworks (International Labour Office, 2011) that allow the national government to objectivise and subject individuals to the programme.

These moments are the discursive spaces of the programme in which the subjects and the government officials of the programme interact. I will rely on excerpts from ethnographic interviews with the LEAP cash transfer programme officials at the LEAP secretariat in order to explore the relations of power in terms of the ways in which the programme constructs and objectifies members of the traditional families in local communities as its subjects. The analysis in this chapter takes as its point of departure the accounts of practices from the realisation of conversations from in-depth interviews as the data of the investigation. Specifically, the aim of this chapter is to investigate the relations of power in terms of power technologies and discursive features and strategies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) as well as in terms of language use and the exercise of power (Fairclough, 2015). It appears that the programme secretariat mobilises these strategies in order to construct and objectivise the traditional family members in the local communities as subjects of the LEAP programme.

6.1. CONSTRUCTING "EXTREMELY POOR" HOUSEHOLDS: "THERE IS SOMETHING CALL GLSS"

In the social protection policy of Ghana, the officials of the LEAP programme have the mandate to decide and determine who can or cannot receive the cash as government support for the poor households in local communities. In doing so, the programme secretariat relies on governmental institutional apparatuses such as the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) and its accompanying techniques and mechanisms

such as the Ghana Living Standard Survey and the community ranking techniques of the programme (Foucault, 2007a). In addition, these mechanisms are verification techniques (Cocco & Cava, 2018) that the programme secretariat uses to nominate (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) households in regard to an "extreme poverty" criterion. In this way, the programme secretariat initiates the process of constructing and objectivising poor households by using extremely poor communities as a category device (Schegloff, 2007a) and for the individuals in these poor households to serve as category devices.

According to the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS6) report, extreme poverty is defined "as those whose standard of living is insufficient to meet their basic nutritional requirements even if they devoted their entire consumption budget to food" (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, p. 12). The LEAP programme secretariat in Accra uses the latest report of the 2012/2013 GLSS6 produced by the Ghana statistical service as the starting point for constructing the subjects of the programme. The excerpt I present and analyse below is the realisation of a conversation in an in-depth interview with a Programme Officer (PO) of the LEAP cash transfer programme at the programme secretariat. In the excerpt, I investigate the ways in which the programme officials at the secretariat construct "extremely poor" households within the regime of practice.

Excerpt 6.1:

```
1   R: there is one one interesting thing that
2      also came out of your discussion err
3  PO: mm
4   R: the household must be poor
5  PO: ↑yes
6   R: ha-
7  PO: [↑extremely]poor
8   R: [how do    ]
9      how[do you determine ]
10 PO:    [((clears throat))]
11  R: that a who:le
12 PO: ok
13  R: and who qualifies to be poor
14 PO: ok(.)so before we go out
15     we actually take data
16     from the ghana statistical service(.)
17     there is something call glss
18  R: yeah(.)ghana living standards survey
19 PO: survey
20  R: ↓yeah
21 PO: ok so we take the latest information from glss
22     so we take that data
23     now we use the poverty incidence map
24     to be given to the districts
```

```
25      so if you look at our data
26      where you have a lot of beneficiaries
27      you can actually map it
28      to the incidence of poverty(.)of the country
29   R: yeah i i've seen that
30  PO: you've seen that
31   R: yeah
32  PO: ok so that is how we target
33      so we target from the poorest districts
34      up to the poorest communities
35      using the poverty map and
36      then when you go into the poorest communities
37      we also do community ranking
38      glss give us data (.)now
39      you can get the poorest communities
40      from that data
```

The members of the "extremely poor" (line 7) households are not *a priori* subjects of the programme, but the programme secretariat constructs poor households by drawing on the authority of "the ghana statistical service" (line 16) as a legitimate government institution (Van Leeuwen, 2007). It mobilises and uses institutional technologies and mechanisms (Foucault, 1995) such as the "glss" or "ghana living standard survey" (lines 17, 18), and "the poverty incidence map" (line 23) to legitimise its actions; that is, the process of constructing the households as "extremely poor", which appears to be the membership device of the categories of persons. In addition to using legitimation strategies and the institutional technologies of the Ghana Statistical Service, we observe the ways in which the programme secretariat negatively qualifies households, communities, and districts as poor (lines 7, 33 and 34, 36, 39), which serves as a justification for making them subjects of the programme. The excerpt clearly indicates the relations of power between the actors, the actions, and the practices of the programme. For example, we observe the ways that the PO uses the pronoun "we" to qualify the programme as the agent, and on the other hand uses "target" to depict the individuals, households, and communities who are being acted upon.

However, it is clear in line 37 that the statement of "we also do community ranking" is another way that the PO asserts the authority of the programme secretariat in constructing these extremely poor households, communities, and districts as the subjects of the programme. Clearly, the repetitive use of the pronoun "we" in the excerpt foregrounds the authority of the programme secretariat in the process of constructing the subjects of the programme, even though the authority of the Ghana Statistical Service is the point of departure. As we can observe in the above excerpt, the existence of governmental apparatus and technologies do not by themselves produce subjects of the programme or construct relations of power. Instead, they are drawn into action and relations of power by discourse in time and place to act on the

actions of others (Foucault, 2002e). Consequently, constructing men and women in the local communities as subjects is the starting point of conducting their conduct within the LEAP cash transfer programme.

6.2. ATTRIBUTING AUTHORITY TO THE PROGRAMME: "WE HAVE TO GO IN"

In the previous fragment, we observed the way that the PO initiated the process of shifting authority from the Ghana Statistical Services to the programme secretariat in the construction of the subjects of the programme. In the next excerpt of the interview, I investigate the ways the PO accomplishes the attribution of authority to the programme yet installs and articulates other power apparatuses at the district level in order to accomplish the rationalities of the programme.

Excerpt 6.2:

```
41 PO: now there are instances where
42     we pick the data from glss and read it
43     it's not up to community level
44     just up to district level
45     so when it happens like that
46     we have to go in and
47     do what is now community selection
48     now when you want to select communities
49     we form what is known as
50     the district leap implementation committee

51 PO: made up of the coordinating director
52     the district social welfare officer
53     agric extension officer
54     the planning officer
55     ghana health personnel from the health service
56     education and then err an ngo
57     of course if you understand our setting well
58     and the way things happen in the districts
59     these are the people who do the community work
60     so we go in for our documents and then
61     we ask them to give us
62     say fifty poorest communities ok
63     so when they give us these communities
64     then we pull out indicators
65     access to portable water
```

The "extreme poverty line" (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, p. 7) is the main determiner, which qualifies households to be subjects of the programme. Thus, households that are above the line are excluded while those below the line are

included. Even though the programme secretariat relies on the Ghana Statistical Service and its instruments as the point of departure for constructing and qualifying men and women as subjects, for the PO it is obvious that those techniques have limitations (lines 41 to 44). The PO uses such a formulation in these lines (Fairclough, 1992) to legitimise the attribution of authority to the programme secretariat (Van Leeuwen, 2007). The imperative statement, "we have to go in" (line 46), appears to demonstrate the programme secretariat as the alternative and independent source of authority that in turn constructs the subjects of the programme (Fairclough, 2015). In doing so, the programme secretariat creates and uses new or modified technologies or apparatuses in time and space, such as "the district leap implementation committee" we observed in the line 50 of the excerpt above.

Interestingly, there is evidence in the excerpt to suggest that the limits of an apparatus of power or governmental technology do mark the point of departure for the installation of a new power apparatus and the use of new techniques and practices (Cocco & Cava, 2018). The programme secretariat installs a series of power networks or capillaries (Foucault, 1980) in order to accomplish the construction of subjects in relation to the rationalities of the programme (Miller & Rose, 2008). The PO constructs the actions of the programme secretariat as a moral obligation and emphasises the necessity of a new mode of power and practice (lines 44 to 46). In other words, the use of the phrase "we have to" indexes an obligation with very limited choices of action, and so it becomes necessary to install these power networks, yet still draws upon the indicators in the GLSS6 report, which serve as the basis for measuring extreme poverty in the country (lines 64 and 65).

Consequently, the programme secretariat accomplishes the action by installing a new network of power (lines 49 and 50). In doing so, the LEAP programme breaks or disconnects itself, spatially and temporarily, from the power technologies or instruments of the GSS apparatus, and reconnects with the power apparatus of "the district leap implementation committee" (line 50). These dynamic processes, actions, and practices of the secretariat could be described as a process of governing itself in order to govern the actions of others. This is because the ways that it governs itself are crucial to the success of the programme as far as the domains (households and communities) of the subjects it seeks to construct are located at the district level. Furthermore, the PO outlines the list of authorities that make up the new power network, which the programme secretariat installed at the district level (lines 51 to 56), and these authorities are connected to the institutional apparatuses of national government. The PO's expression of certainty (line 57) about the new network of power appears to be based on experiences or common knowledge about the list of authorities that he outlined. He justifies the actions of the programme secretariat by rhetorically appealing to the common-sense knowledge of any citizen in Ghana or the authority of custom and tradition (Van Leeuwen, 2007) about "our setting" and "the way things happen in the districts" (lines 57 and 58). In this way, he positively

evaluates (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) the actors and the actions of the new power network (line 59).

In addition, the PO uses the deictic expressions of "our setting" and "the districts" to refer to the way the local government system of Ghana works in the districts and local communities, which are beyond the core region of national government. As previously mentioned, the present society of Ghana is complex and this complexity is characteristic of present governing practices on which the programme draws. For instance, "the district social welfare officer" (line 52) connects to the department of social welfare at the regional and national levels. Thus, the district social welfare officer is the liaison between the people at the district and community level and the government at the national level. In this way, the district officer is responsible for the translation of government policies and programmes at the local level of governance (see Local Government Act of Ghana, ACT462, 1993 for a detailed explanation of the local government system of Ghana). The workings of the decentralised local governance system of Ghana appears to create space for the programme secretariat to install a new apparatus and network of power to construct and govern the actions of the subjects of the LEAP cash transfer programme in local communities. Thus, the subjects of the LEAP cash transfer programme are at the intersection of the practices of the programme secretariat and the modern system of government (Cocco & Cava, 2018), which extends itself into the local communities (Miller & Rose, 2008).

In line 59, "these are the people who do the community work", we observe the declarative utterance and an imperative statement (Fairclough, 2015), which the PO mobilises to attribute authority to the newly-formed apparatus of the programme at the district level. By declarative utterance, I mean the ways that the PO uses the "statement" (Foucault, 2002d, p. 55) in order to construct the reality of the new apparatus or power network, and enacts relations of power between the authorities of the new power network and the "community" (Fairclough, 2015). In this instance, the PO substitutes the subjects of the programme with the "community" in which these subjects live (Van Leeuwen, 2016), foregrounding the authority of the new committee and widening the scope of the exercise of power. Interestingly, we can observe the efforts of the PO to make it clear that the individual is not so much the focus as the "community" in the principal objectives of the programme or government (Cocco & Cava, 2018; Foucault, 2002a). In this way, "the community work" appears to go beyond the construction of subjects to include acting on the actions of members in the local community. Thus, the pervasive use of "we" in the fragment creates space for the PO to activate, articulate, and attribute authority to the committee in relation to the programme, thereby making such an attribution a corporative accomplishment varying from the unilateral imposition of the apparatus of the Ghana Statistical Service.

Additionally, we can observe an unequal relation of power in the above excerpt (lines 60 to 64), which is particularly evident in the ways that the PO constructs the relations

(Fairclough, 1992) between the officials of the LEAP programme secretariat and the new network of power installed at the district level. For instance, "we ask them to give us" is a command to subjected individuals and "they give us" by obeying the command. Again, it is the officials at the LEAP programme secretariat that "pull out the indicators" in order to construct and determine the communities and household based on the extreme poverty criterion, even though the members of the new network of power are "the people who do the community work" (line 59). Indeed, there is a contradiction of power relations between the officials of the programme at the secretariat, and the members of the new apparatus of power at the district level. The manifestation of the power asymmetry and contradiction between the centre (national) and periphery (district) suggests that the district committee may only exist at the district level as a conduit for translating (Lassen & Horsbøl, 2016) the practices or actions of the programme secretariat to the constructed households and communities, toward the accomplishment of a governmental rationality.

6.3. CLASHES OF POWER: "WE COULDN'T TARGET"

The installation of "the district leap implementation committee" as a power network is connected to the programme secretariat in order to construct the subjects of the programme who did not totally or necessarily clear or appropriate existing community power structures, in the sense that the power of the programme secretariat is not absolute in itself (Foucault, 1995, 2002e). In the accounts of the Programme Officer, it appears that the leaders of some communities did refuse to be drawn, so to speak, into the category of "extreme poverty" or "extremely poor" communities and households subject to the apparatus of the programme. In the Ghana Living Standards survey, the poverty incidence map and the raking system of the programme secretariat confirmed that those communities are indeed below the extreme poverty line, but the leadership of the community did not allow the programme officials to enter into the community in order to enumerate potential subjects in households for the LEAP programme. The excerpt below is a realisation of talk in an in-depth interview with a Programme Officer at the programme secretariat. In this excerpt, I investigate the accounts of the PO in relation to the means by which the leaders of a local community resist the apparatus of the programme.

Excerpt 6.3:

```
66 R:  but the community matching to you and
67     telling you like i am talking about
68     those that have actually been listed
69     as poor based on your glss data and
70     then your ranking also then
71     you go to the community and
72     those people tell you NO
73     we don't want to do it
74 PO: yes yes yes oh yes
```

```
75      last targeting ashanti region
76      we went to a community they said
77      we do not want to be on the programme
78      we don't want any intervention
79      that was the opinion leaders
80      chiefs opinion leaders
81      we couldn't target
```

In the LEAP programme, it is required that cash goes out to the heads of the programme households only when the caregivers of the households of the subjected communities become caregivers in relation to the obligations of the programme; that is, by accepting to be a subject of the programme through the process of enumeration and enrolment as discussed. Notwithstanding the 'normal' practices or requirements of the programme, there are instances when "those that have actually been listed" (line 68) based on "glss data" (line 69) and the LEAP programme secretariat "ranking"(70) refuse to be the subjects of the centralising power apparatuses of the governmental programme (Foucault, 1980). In doing so, they openly declare, "we don't want any intervention" (line 78). In this way, the local power structure comprising the "chiefs" and the "opinion leaders" (line 79 and 80) of the community do reject the power mechanisms of the programme. They rejected the programme outright, saying, for instance, that "we do not want to be on the programme" (line 77) and refusing to be governed according to the rationalities of the LEAP cash transfer programme (Rose & Miller, 2010), which we will observe further in the subsequent chapters. The "glss data" and the programme secretariat "ranking" are the objectivising techniques and mechanisms of the LEAP programme (Foucault, 2002e), but the programme cannot continue without mobilising the local power structures of the communities (Miller & Rose, 2008). In other words, "we couldn't target" (line 59) without the support of the chiefs and opinion leaders.

Furthermore, on account of the evidence in the excerpt above, we could say that the actions of the community leadership are manifestations of counter-conduct, a form of resistance to the extension of governmental apparatus into the space or domain of the political structure of the community (Foucault, 1997, 2007a). Thus, there is a resistance to conduct themselves in the community in relation to the expectations and obligation or the rationality of the programme. These regimes and spaces of power, meaning the programme and the community, differ from each other, and therefore a recognition of the local power structures is necessary for the translation of governmental programmes into the local communities (Miller & Rose, 2008). It is evident that the checks of the local power structures did expose the limits of the apparatus of the LEAP cash transfer programme. After all, to govern is not to force the rationality of the government upon the governed (Foucault, 1993). The exercise of power is limited in time and space, and it is for this reason that power carries with it possibilities of resistance and fractures (Foucault, 1995), as we observed in the excerpt and analysis above. In the following section, I investigate the ways that the

programme authorities circumvent the limits of the programme apparatus and the force of the local regime of power that exists in the communities.

6.3.1 CIRCUMVENTING POWER LIMITS AND CLASHES: "WHO LEADS THAT PROCESS"

As power carries with it possibilities of resistance, it equally needs networks or "capillaries" in order to traverse spaces, domains, and boundaries, and to be able to (re)produce itself and the subjects of the programme. These capillaries and networks are key to making power relevant in accomplishing the rationalities of the LEAP cash transfer programme. As a result, the local power structures comprising the "chiefs" and the "opinion leaders" of local communities appear to be a necessary power apparatus that the programme secretariat needs to mobilise within the network of power, in order to deploy and translate the LEAP cash transfer programme in households and in the local communities. The excerpt below is a realisation of a talk in an interview with a Programme Officer at the programme secretariat. In this excerpt, I investigate the ways that the programme secretariat mobilises and installs another network of power at the community level to enable it to proceed with the construction of subjects and households as "extremely poor" to receive cash support from the government.

Excerpt 6.4:

```
1 PO:  the person who leads that process is actually
2      the community leap focal person
3 R:   ok(.)you have community focal persons
4 PO:  yes(.)we have community[focal persons]
5 R:                          [leap focal persons]
6 PO:  yes(.)focal persons
7 R:   ok(.)mm(.)ok
8 PO:  so these are people
9      who are well known in the community
10 R:  mmm
11 PO: opinion leaders sometimes(.)
12     health care er health personnel(.)so these
13     these people are very known in the community
14     and people take their words serious
15     so when they lead the processes(.)it's easier

16  R: it means you rely on institutions
17     within the community
18     governmental institutions within the community
19     aside the family the health centre

20 PO: we actually recruit the focal persons ourselves
21     if you are coming from an institution good
```

```
22      but if not and it's still somebody whom
23      everybody knows in the community
24      who is respected
25      yes we take you as a focal person
26      because you are the person who talk to them
27      and then you lead them
28      and we also train you to train them
29      on certain aspects of the programme
30      so initially we use to call them clic
31      community leap implementation committee
32      we use to have about four

33   R: have you got some cases
34      where family members come to tell you
35      i don't want this person
36      to be on this particular programme

37 PO: err(.)no
```

At the community level, we observe in the excerpt above that the programme secretariat installs a new apparatus, the "community leap implementation committee" (CLIC), which it articulates to the power network of the programme (line 24). The members of the committee are focal persons who lead the processes of the programme secretariat at the community level for the construction of subjects and the translation of the programme (line 1and 2). It appears that the programme secretariat exercises power in the local communities through these persons without necessarily relying on the existing power structure of the community, such as the "chiefs" and the "opinion leaders". The members of the CLIC are drawn from the community's meta-power structure (Foucault, 1980), to which the PO attributes authority other than the chiefs and opinion leaders of the community (lines 9, 13 and 14). By meta-power, I refer to those persons in the community who have won the trust of the leaders and members of the community by the way that they conduct themselves: "they are well known in the community" and the members "take their words serious" (lines 9 and 14). However, the articulation of the focal persons to the programme apparatus does not mean a de-articulation of the community meta-power from the authority of the community chiefs and opinion leaders in which it takes its roots. Again, the PO indicates that there is an affinity between the programme focal persons and the traditional community leadership, yet they are not necessarily the same (line 11).

Even though the focal persons do not form the core of the traditional power structure of the local communities, they command authority by their affinity to the local authority, and drawing upon this affinity the PO positively evaluates these focal persons and the actions they take in the community (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). We observe positive attributions and evaluations such as "well known", "very known" and "respected" in the community (lines 9, 13 and 24). The focal persons are the

people who lead the processes and make it easier for the programme secretariat at the local community level to construct the subjects of the LEAP cash transfer programme. Thus, the PO attributes authority to the CLIC members or focal persons as the third way in which the programme secretariat gains access or entry into local communities with the LEAP programme.

In addition to these attributions of power and the positive evaluation of the focal persons, we observe a form of prefiguration of conduct by creating alternative arrangements and ways of governing within the regime of practice (Yates, 2015). This is particularly evident in the ways in which the PO mobilises and builds on the community meta-power apparatus in the sense of focal persons (line 20, 28 and 29), and articulates it to the power structure of the programme secretariat for the deployment of the LEAP programme in local communities. The focal persons appear to be indispensable to the translation of the programme in the community because they have links with the community leadership as members of the communities, which makes it easier for the government to stretch its long arm into these communities. I present here below a model of the domains and apparatuses of power to enable us to visualise and appreciate the diverse power networks which the programme secretariat installed and used in the processes of translating the programme in the local communities.

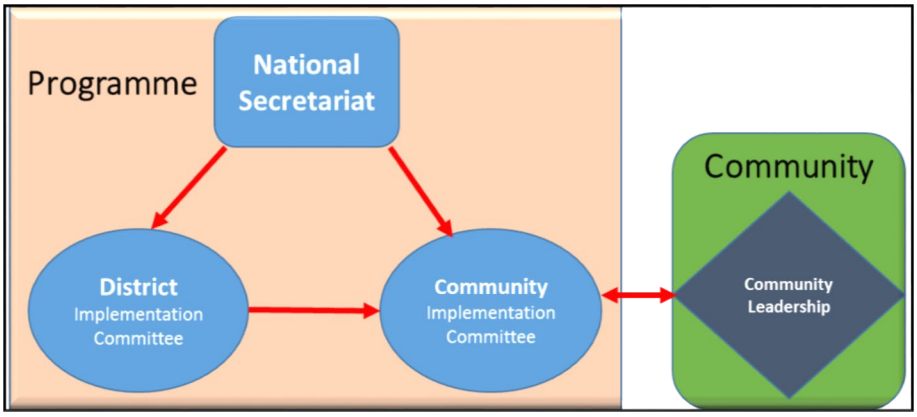


Figure 4. Domains and apparatuses of power installed and articulated into the programme.

In Figure 5, the programme secretariat successfully installs two power networks, that is, the "district leap implementation committee" in order to evade the limitations of the technologies of the Ghana Statistical Service. However, upon clashing with the traditional authorities of communities, it installs "the community leap implementation committee" as a means of circumventing the limits of its power and the subsequent clashes of power in order to gain access to local communities for the construction of the subjects of the LEAP cash transfer programme. In doing so, the LEAP focal persons are articulated into the programme network, but these focal persons serve as

the interface between the traditional authorities, the people of the local communities, and the programme secretariat.

6.4. THE "DIVIDING PRACTICES": "WE HAVE TO TAKE FINGER PRINTS"

The "dividing practices" (Foucault, 2002e, p. 326) mark the terminal point at which the individual at the household level is separated from other members of the families and communities and connected to the LEAP cash transfer programme apparatus in relation to the rationalities of the government, and become a subject of the programme (Foucault, 2002e). The dividing practices follow immediately after the programme secretariat constructs households as "extremely poor" in the first step of a series of actions using data it gathered through the application of techniques and mechanisms—as we observed in the previous sections of this chapter. The excerpt below is a realisation of an interview with a Programme Officer in relation to the ways in which the programme determines and differentiates the subjects from the other members of the traditional families within the communities in which they live and conduct themselves, in relation to the discourse of the traditional family system (see Chapter 2 for overview). In this excerpt, I investigate the mechanisms, techniques, and processes that the programme secretariat mobilises to accomplish the dividing practices – the separation and transformation of members of families into subjects of the LEAP programme.

Excerpt 6.5:

```
1    R:    so after the household qualifies
2          you still need to go in there
3          you now pick the individual
4          who are eligible and
5          qualified the household
6          to be part of the programme

7   PO:    so when you qualify
8          we have to go back
9          and do some form of verifications
10         we go back and make sure that indeed
11         these people are from the community

12  PO:    so you go back and do
13         verification of the household and
14         the data in terms of households members
15         and all that ok(.)so when you get there
16         and you append your err
17         the household head append his signature
18         on the document that is
```

```
19        to accept to be on the programme
20        then we do another enrolment
21        which is the electronic enrolment

22 PO:    so what we do is that the
23        we register them using the biometric
24        that is their finger prints
25        so we make sure that
26        before you collect the data
27        the system is able
28        to read the fingerprints
29        and then it will tell instantly
30        that you are the one for the money
31        before the money is given to you yes

32  R:    so so the finger prints you are able
33        to take every beneficiary finger print

34  PO:   we have to take finger prints of
35        caregivers not beneficiaries
36        some caregivers are beneficiaries
```

It is obligatory for the programme secretariat to go into the communities and households in which it constructs the subjects to verify the identities and real presence of these subjects in time and place (line 8 to 11). It suggests that the first action of separating these subjects from the families is to ascertain the simple fact of the family members being alive (Foucault, 2002e). However, the actions and accounts of the PO in lines 8 to 11, particularly, "we have to go back", depicts the assertiveness and the necessity of the programme apparatus in implementing or performing the separation of subjects from families (Fairclough, 2015; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). These actions appear to separate and bind the members of the families to the apparatus of the programme or the government (line 34). It is quite clear that the utterances of the PO in lines 17 to 20 affirm this argument. The head of household appending his/her signature to accept being on the programme is a way of consenting to the terms and conditions of the programme, which binds the subjects to a system of obligations (Foucault, 1997) and rules.

However, this consent appears to dissolve the relations of power in the sense that the subject on whom power is exercised is reduced to a mere passive object, and without space for acting. To put it directly, "power is not a function of consent", and consent is not "a renunciation of freedom" (Foucault, 2002e, p. 340). Thus, I argue that the head of the household appending his/her signature "to accept to be on the programme" limits him/her from acting in other ways apart from that prescribed by the programme (lines 17 to 19). The programme accomplishes the dividing practices and the objectivising process by taking the fingerprints of the objectified subject with a biometric machine as an apparatus of the programme (lines 23, 24 and 34).

6.5. COUNTER PRACTICES IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES: "WE ARE NOT POOR"

The discussions in the previous sections of this chapter point to the fact that "extreme poverty" is not a universal label of individuals and households in traditional families and local communities. The application of governmental technologies and the power mechanisms of the LEAP programme appear to objectivise and subject individuals and households in the regime of practice even though "they don't want to be seen as poor" within the families and communities in which they live (line 2). The excerpt below is a realisation of an in-depth interview, a conversation between the researcher (R) and a Programme Officer (PO) of the LEAP programme at the programme secretariat. The conversation is about the way in which the objectivised individuals of local communities react to the technological constraints of the programme on their conduct (Van Leeuwen, 2008a, 2016). In this excerpt, I investigate the PO's account of the counter practices of individuals in families and local communities in relation to the "extreme poverty" label or the "extremely poor" household or community category device (Schegloff, 2007a), and the objectivising practices of the programme.

Excerpt 6.6:

```
1   PO: some people also
2       they don't want to be seen as poor
3       like you are saying

4   R:  mm

5  PO:  WE ARE NOT POOR
6       WE DON'T WANT ANY INTERVENTION
7       meanwhile they are(.)

8   R:  mm(.)ok
9       Based on the data you have

10  PO: ↑yes

11  R:  ok

12  PO: so there are interesting dynamics when you
13      go [out there into er]

14  R:      [and and do you   ]
15      i mean(.)it's very interesting(.)
16      do you mark those communities
```

```
17      and try to take interest in them
18      [and monitor      ] the progress

19 PO:  [oh certainly yes]
20      yes we do(.)we do

21 R:   year by year

22 PO:  we do(.)

23 R:   mm
```

In the traditional families and local communities of Ghana, the principles of classification and ordering (Foucault, 1971) are not determined according to labels such as "extreme poverty" or poverty more generally. I am not claiming that the discourse of poverty does not exist in these families and communities, rather I suggest here that individuals and families do not explicitly classify one another based upon these labels. Socio-political and economic relations are determined by kinship or family systems (Nukunya, 2016), so these individuals and families "don't want to be seen as poor" (line 2) according to the classification mechanisms of the programme. Accordingly, the programme secretariat appears to distance itself from those families and individuals who object to the poverty labels of the programme. This is particularly clear in the modal expression and comparisons (Fairclough, 1992) that the PO employs to distance himself, such as "like you are saying" (line 3). It is evident in the tone in which the PO quotes the counter actions of these individuals (lines 5 and 6) to express his position in relation to those actions (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). However, the PO maintains the position of the programme secretariat based upon the information they have about these individuals in the communities by applying the objectivising technologies of the programme, which we observed in the previous sections of the chapter.

Thus, the PO declares and maintains that "they are" poor according to the data (lines 6, 9, and 10), but as Fairclough (1992) points out, the use of such epistemic or objective modalities implies the exercise of power (Fairclough, 2015). Again, such classification and categorisation shapes the ways in which the programme officials, the caregivers, and the community focal persons act in relation to each other (Fairclough, 2003). There appears to be tension at the point in which the planned (apparatus of the programme) and the taken-for-granted (the principles of families or kinship) meet or interconnect (Foucault, 2002b). Consequently, I present the continuation of the conversation between the researcher (R) and the Programme Officer (PO) and investigate the ways in which the programme secretariat circumvents the counter practices of the individuals and families and communities in order to accomplish the actions of the LEAP programme in these communities.

Excerpt 6.7:

```
24     (0.39)((R&PO discuss another agency's involvement))

25 PO: we take active interest because
26     we have to find out the reasons
27     why you do not want to(.)
28     and there have been cases also whereby
29     they will tell you
30     they don't want to be

31  R: uhu

32 PO: but then after talking to them(.)
33     now they said ok=

34  R: i am very interested in that

35 PO: =we want the intervention

36  R: how do you talk to them

37 PO: huhuhu

38  R: how do you talk to them
39     so that they change their minds

40 PO: £yes so they change their minds

41  R: huhuhu

42 PO: so we have people(.)
43     social workers like i said earlier
44     that know how to communicate with people
45     that is their job(.)Psychologists
46     and all that amongst us
47     so they talk to you(.)explain to you
48     that this is for your good
```

The counter practices or actions of the individuals, families, and communities is a way of questioning the governing practices of the programme in local communities in relation to 'universal' or 'absolute' rationalities (Foucault, 1997). In the excerpt above, it is evident that there are competing rationalities (Death, 2013) in relation to the individuals, families, and the LEAP programme even though the programme

secretariat struggles to appropriate these other rationalities, which appear as counter practices and actions. The ways in which the programme secretariat mobilises and deploys expert knowledge and power mechanisms are particularly important (Foucault, 1980) in determining what is good for individuals and families in the local communities (line 48). The epistemic modality or claim and the moral evaluation (Van Leeuwen, 2007) of the PO that "this is for your good" (line 48), signifies reality and enacts a form of unequal power dynamics (Fairclough, 1992, 2003) in the domain of the programme or regime of practice.

As a result, the programme secretariat imposes some form of rationality upon the individuals and families in local communities. Certainly, the expertise and the micro-techniques or instruments (Miller & Rose, 2008) of the "social workers" and "psychologists" "amongst us" (line 43, 45 and 46) at the programme secretariat make it possible for the programme to govern the actions and counter practices of individuals and families in local communities by imposing universalities. However, the imposition of universalities and moralisation, and making them operable, does limit the agency of the individuals and families in their decisions, actions, and practices in relation to the governing practices of the programme, and the ways that they conduct themselves in the regime of practice.

CHAPTER 7. CONSTRUCTING SPACES FOR ACTING ON ACTIONS IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate and investigate the materiality of governmental practices and actions on the activities of the focal persons and caregivers in local communities. Specifically, I investigate the ways in which the programme secretariat produces visible spaces to govern the actions or conducts of the caregivers of programmed households in families, and the focal persons of the programme in the local communities. However, before I start the detailed investigation of the data I present below, I will provide a brief contextual overview of the purpose of the chapter in which the analysis is situated.

One of the key activities or moments of the practices and actions of the programme secretariat is the inspection of pay points or the sites at which partner financial institutions physically hand out the cash to the caregivers of the programmed households in local communities. The district and community focal persons who are also liaisons or intermediaries between the programme secretariat and the caregivers have to propose sites for the programme authorities to inspect and certify as pay points. Even though the programme authorities are to be seen as inspecting and accessing these pay points, I argue that they construct these sites by acting on the actions of the district and community focal persons in relation to the expectations and obligations of the programme. Consequently, these sites do not lay in wait for use in the domain of the programme; they are arenas of power, which manifest in their production and use.

The data of this chapter is a naturally-occurring interaction between Programme Officers from the programme secretariat, the district, and the community focal persons. I recorded four interactions from four different sites, but only interactions at two sites fit the purpose of this chapter. The data of one of these interactions is set aside for further analysis in Chapter 9. Apart from the fact that the fourth interaction is very brief, it does not add much analytical value to any of the chapters. It is also important to point out that the discussions, accounts, and interactions at each of these sites were different. Thus, in this chapter I analyse two excerpts from two different sites. As indicated earlier, the participants of the interaction include two Programme Officers (G and J) from the programme secretariat, the district focal person (SWO) and the community focal persons (AM and W), although AM was not part of the interactions at the second site because he is not the focal person of that community (B). I will refer to the first and second communities as (A) and (B), respectively, and the excerpts in this chapter will be characterised accordingly in order to avoid any

confusion or misrepresentations. Thus, I start the analysis with data excerpts from community (A), which did not meet the official requirements of the programme secretariat as a pay point.

7.1. ASSERTING AUTHORITY: "SO THIS IS THE PLACE"

I start this section by drawing our attention to the fact that all social events or actions such as inspecting pay points are key components of social practices, particularly the LEAP cash transfer programme, because these activities or events are also articulations of social actions, relations, and actors (Fairclough, 2003; Van Leeuwen, 2008). As a component of social practice or the practices of the LEAP programme, the construction of these sites is embedded in a power struggle since it involves the actions and practices of different social actors and domains in the interaction. Thus, I present and analyse an excerpt of the data below in order to investigate the ways in which the programme officials and district focal persons assert authority in the construction of visible spaces (Dean, 2010) to govern the actions of caregivers in the domain of the programme at a distance (Miller & Rose, 2008).

Excerpt 7.1:

```
1 SWO:  so this is the place
2       (.)if you have any reservation
3       [you think it is not conducive {a}

4 J:    [((walks into the building))

5 G:    ((steps back to the entrance))
6       [((looking outside of the building))
```

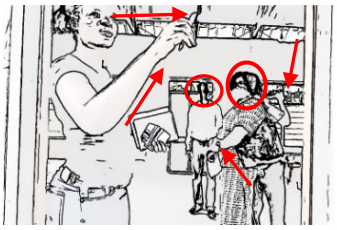
frame 1 **(0.32)** frame 2 **(0.39)**

```
7 G:    [it is in the bush
8       it is the surrounding i am looking at

9  SWO: [mm
10      [((folds hands and looking at G))

11 AM:  [((looking at G))
```

12 J: [((taking photo inside the room))

13 G: [it's so much bush

12 [((waves right hand and looks outside))
13 ((turns,looks inside the room, flips notepad))



frame 3 **(0.40)**

frame 4 **(0.41)**

16 J: the surrounding(.)there's so much bush
17 it's[risky]

18 G: [calls AM]

19 AM: uuh
20 ((walks close to G))

21 G: [can we get an alternative to this place
22 [((flipping pages of notepad and smiling))

frame 5 **(0.45)**

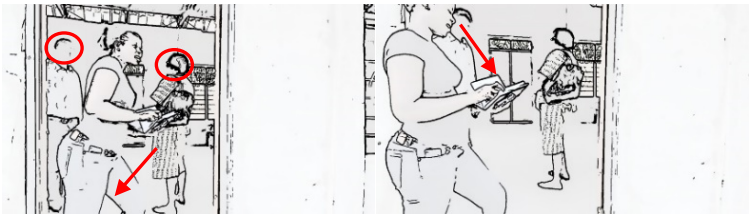
frame 6 **(0.47)**

23 SWO: **[babiaa nni hɔ bio**
is there is no other place again

24 **[(((ɔrehwɛ AM))**
((looking at SWO))

25 AM: **[(((ɔrehwɛ SWO))**
((looking at SWO))

26 G: [((takes a backward step out of the entrance))
27 [((looking in her notepad and smiling))



frame 7 **(0.49)** frame 8 **(0.50)**

28 ((looking into her notepad))

29 =or we can't we get any open public place
30 [apart from here]

31 ((flipping notepad, [looking away))]

frame 9 **(0.51)** frame 10 **(0.52)**

In the excerpt above, we observe SWO taking the lead and opening the conversation at the proposed site instead of AM, who is the community representative or liaison. Most importantly, we observe the ways that SWO formulates the proposed site in the opening of the conversation as a problem (lines 2 and 3), which forces G to respond to the formulation. Such formulations serve as interactional controls, thereby limiting the possibilities of participants or the addressee to act otherwise (Fairclough, 1992). Thus, G orients to SWO's utterances as a call to offer evaluations about the conduciveness of "the place" as a pay point; that is, a suitable place for conducting payment.

However, G produces a negative evaluation of the site (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), "it is in the bush" (line 7), and even though she initiated a form of self-repair in line 13 (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977), her utterances in these lines appear to assert her authority as a Programme Officer. In the same fashion, J confirms the allusions of G's utterances (Schegloff, 1996) and evaluates the proposed site as unsafe and declares it risky (line 17). Even though such evaluations appear to be in line with the imposition of authority from J, I argue that when this kind of declaration is connected

to the apparatus of programme, it tends to implicate power relations. In such a case, it is possible temporally to trace such evaluations to the authority of the sign maker in the person of J as a representative of the programme and who has the authority to assess and evaluate the pay point in this moment.

It is also interesting to note the ways that G asserts authority by shifting power and attributing authority to AM, and addressing him directly (line 18) even though SWO initiated the conversation at the site; the action of G appears to bring to light the normative practices in local communities, which I pointed out in the opening sentence of this section. We also observe some category work going on (Schegloff, 2007a) as AM orients to summon G (lines 19 and 20), in which G places obligations on AM to provide "an alternative to this place" (lines 21 and 22). G uses the deictic expression "this place" to refer to the site AM offered for "inspection", which receives negative evaluations from both G and J. Again, in line 23, SWO produces a first pair part utterance (Schegloff, 2007b), which appears to intensify the utterances of G, thereby putting much pressure on AM. However, AM does not produce second pair parts except the gaze at SWO (line 5), which suggests some form of resistance to the decisions of the Programme Officers about the present site that he has offered.

Furthermore, G produces another first pair parts utterances in line 29 and explicitly states; "apart from here" in line 30, but AM does not produce a second pair parts utterance. Thus, I argue that AM appears to be acting in ways that suggest a form of counter-conduct (Foucault, 2007a) in the sense that the actions of AM appear to block the flow of conversational activity. However, as Schegloff (2007b) points out, conversation sequences such as first pair parts and second pair parts are designed to accomplish an action or activity. The point is that counter-conducts are not necessarily violent. Rather, they can manifest in subtle ways, such as the refusal to produce second pair parts, or in embodied actions, such as the gaze as we observed in the actions of AM, which we may take for granted.

The next excerpt is a continuation of the interaction between the focal persons and the Programme Officers at the site that AM proposed. In the excerpt, I investigate the ways that SWO and G mobilise a response from AM by employing negative attribution to qualify the site as a "risky place" for the activities of the programme in the local community.

Excerpt 7.2:

32 SWO: **woahunu sɛ [ɛha ɛha]**
you see that this place this place

33 **[((ɔhim ne nsa na ɔrehwɛ abontene))**
((waves hand while looking outside))

34 AM: [mm

35 **[(((ɔrehwɛ SWO))**
((looking at SWO))

36 SWO: **ebia na [armed robbers bi abɛtetɛ ha]**
may be armed robbers can hide here

37 **[((ɔhim ne mmienu na ɔrehwɛ AM))]**
((waves hands while looking at AM))

38 G: **[{the way} aa {armed robbers}]**
the way the armed robbers

((looking into notepad and then looking away))

frame 11 **(0.55)**

frame 12 **(0.57)**

39 SWO: **((ɔka ne nsa gu ne bo na ɔrehwɛ AM))**
((fold hands while looking at AM))

40 AM: **((ɔrehwɛ SWO))**
((looking at SWO))

frame13 **(0.58)**

41 AM: **ɛno nso yɛ {problem}**
that is also a problem

42 SWO: **ɛno nso yɛ {problem}**
that is also a problem

43 AM: ↓mm

In the excerpt above, we observe how SWO employs embodied actions such as gestures, gaze, and body posture together with utterances (Lorenza Mondada, 2018; Nevile, 2015) to mobilise a response from AM in the ongoing interaction in which the negative representations and attributions of the Programme Officers (G and J) appear to discredit the site in context. Even though we may suggest that SWO is acting to lessen the pressure on AM by mitigating the forces of power in the interaction between him and G, I argue that the actions of SWO serve to mobilise a favourable second-pair part response from AM in order to unblock the conversational flow and to accomplish an action. In a way, SWO steps in at the limits of the apparatuses and technologies of the programme secretariat. As Foucault (2002e) notes, power is not absolute and does not belong to a particular class, rather it traverses and manifests in different forms. AM's apparent refusal to produce a preferred second-pair part is in itself a counter-response to the authority of the programme.

Similarly, one must not forget that the actions of SWO aim at mobilising and eliciting a response (Stivers & Rossano, 2010) from AM in themselves constitute an exercise of power in the sense that her actions and position in relation to AM enacts power relations. Clearly, we observe the evocations and allusions (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) not only in the utterances (line 36), but also in the embodied actions of SWO (lines 33, 37 and 39), which in turn modify the actions of AM (line 41 and 43) in the ongoing interaction. The confirmation of allusions in the utterances of G and SWO in lines 38 and 42 affirm the actions of SWO in mobilising favourable responses from AM in order to accomplish the ongoing interaction in time and place, but not a mitigation strategy to lessen the illocutionary force of the ongoing interaction (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). Consequently, the community focal person did provide an alternative place for inspection and assessment (line 44). I investigate similar power struggles between the Programme Officers and focal persons in the next section in order to illuminate the precariousness and pervasiveness of power in constructing visible spaces for acting on the actions of caregivers within the regime of practice – the LEAP cash transfer programme.

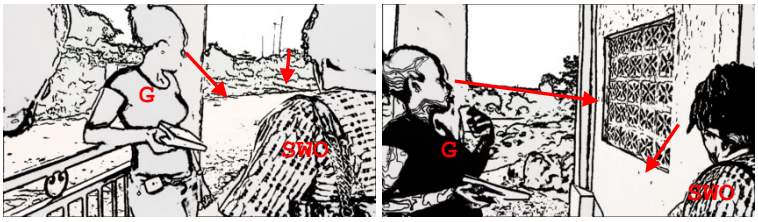
7.2. POWER STRUGGLES AT SITE INSPECTIONS: "AS FOR THIS PLACE IS FINE"

In this section, I investigate the struggles of power between the Programme Officers (G and J) and the district focal person in the ways they construct and represent social reality in an ongoing interaction about the proposed pay point in the local community. I present an excerpt of naturally-occurring interaction or moments of pay point inspection at community B, in which the Programme Officers (G and J) inspect and evaluate the appropriateness of the pay point site for conducting the cash payment to caregivers of the LEAP programme in the local community. As I have indicated in the previous sections, the community focal person proposes the site in consultation with

the district focal person. The main aim of this section is to investigate and demonstrate the shifts in power and power struggles as the Programme Officers, the district focal person, and the community focal person contest each other's authority and representations of social reality. By this I mean the ways that they both orient toward the appropriateness of a site for governmental action, but the imposition of each other's reality or standards for constructing and assessing a visible site implies a power struggle (Dean, 2010; Foucault, 2002e).

Excerpt 7.3:

1	SWO:	**sɛ ɛha deɛ [fine]**
		as for this place is fine
2	G:	[but your people] yes
3	J:	mm
4	G:	if you if you have err
5		[beneficiaries
6	W:	[((door shut loud))
7	J:	yer they ca they cudav even done(.)
8	G:	your beneficiaries are all of them
9		able to go or some are-
10		((looking down on the stairs))
11	SWO:	ehhn
12		[they are able to
13	G:	[ANY WHEEL
14	SWO:	=NOO
15		here we don have the disable
16		[((looking down on the stairs))
17	G:	[ehhn
18		[((looking at SWO))



frame 14 **(0.17)** frame 15 **(0.21)**

```
20 SWO:     mmm
21          those that are very old
22          they have caregivers

23 G:       ↓<ok>
```

The way SWO formulates the opening of the conversation in line 1 demonstrates a high degree of epistemic modality, which attempts to control or "police" the ongoing interaction to her advantage in the sense that such formulations signify reality and enact relations of power in a interactional encounter (Fairclough, 1992). We observe the way that such control appears to force G and J to produce favourable second pair parts utterances (Schegloff, 2007b) in lines 2 and 3. Even though they both appear to have some reservations about the appropriateness of the site, they appear to be unsuccessful either in reversing their responses or in imposing their reality on SWO. There appear to be some shifts in power relations in favour of the district focal person in the ongoing interaction, even though the Programme Officers belong to the upper echelons of the programme apparatus – the programme secretariat. As Foucault (2002e) notes, the exercise of power is not an absolute institutional right, but it traverses, transforms, and adjusts itself to different situations in many ways as we observe in these ongoing interactions in the local community.

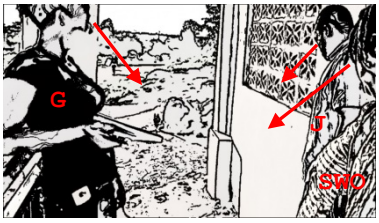
Equally interesting are the ways that SWO continues to contest the powers of the Programme Officers in the ongoing interaction, even though they make attempts to mobilise the meaning potential of semiotic or multimodal resources (O'Halloran, 2011; Van Leeuwen, 2005), particularly regarding the physical design of the staircase of the proposed pay point, to assert power. For instance, we observe the high tone in which G produces a first pair part utterance in line 13, which is hearable to SWO as a request to give an account of disable and aged people in the community among the subjects of the programme who may have some physical or physiological challenges in accessing the pay point. Consequently, SWO produces a dispreferred second pair part utterance with a similar tone in line 14 with elaborations (line 15, 21 and 22) in relation to the hearable request of G. The act of producing such dispreferred second pair part utterances is a concrete action that blocks the sequential flow and organisation of conversation and interactional accomplishments (Schegloff, 2007b).

The temporal and sequential position of the action of SWO affirms the power struggles that it brings to bear on the sequential organisation of the ongoing interaction. The shift in power relation is particularly evident in the linguistic production of those situated tokens that we observe in lines 17 and 23 (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), as the Programme Officer appears stuck within the formulation of SWO in line 1, which serves as an interactional control in the ongoing communication.

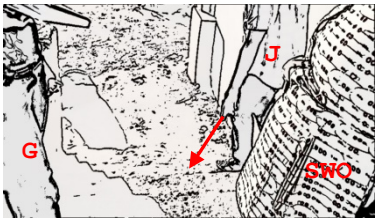
The next excerpt is a continuation of the interaction between the Programme Officers and the district focal person at the pay point in Community B. It is realised in a temporal shift of episodes in interaction, but it is not necessarily a shift in the subject matter: an assessment of the appropriateness of the proposed pay point. In the next excerpt below, I investigate the ways in which the Programme Officers attempt to reclaim and assert the power of the programme apparatus in the ongoing interaction. The analysis focuses on the ways that the Programme Officers mobilise and connect together moral judgements and authority to act upon the actions of the district focal person.

Excerpt 7.4:

```
24 J:       ((walking down on the stairs))
25          at least if they can also do
26          if they can also do

27          [((points down on stairs))

28          [half of it

29  G:      ((looking down on the stairs))

30  SWO:    ((looking down on the stairs))

31   J:     [((looking on the stairs))
32          [it can also help their church
```



frame 16 **(0.23)**

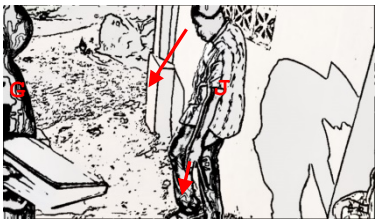


frame 17 **(0.25)**

```
33 J:       [((looking at SWO))
```

34 [at least helf half

35 ((pointing down the stairs))



frame 18 **(0.26)** frame 19 **(0.27)**

36 SWO: errhn

37 G: uhu

38 J: if they can also make it disable
39 half of the steps

40 SWO: ehhe

41 J: would be disable

42 SWO: **aahn**
yes

43 J: so recommend to them

44 SWO: errhn

45 J: it will even help their church
46 and help our [beneficiaries as] well

47 SWO: **[aahn ok]**
yes ok

48 G: uuh

It appears evident in the excerpt above that a combination of moral evaluations and the authority of the Programme Officer (Van Leeuwen, 2007) are core elements for legitimising the exercise of power or acting on the actions of SWO in relation to the programme. The utterances of J in lines 32 and 45 have moral implications, thereby creating space for him to assert authority (line 43) by summoning SWO to recommend his representation of reality to the community focal person (W), who is a member of

the church that owns the building. Clearly, these moral evaluations and recommendations are intertwined and embedded in the relations of power and are implicated in the requirements of the programme, and in that sense, the act of moralisation takes a quasi-juridical form (Foucault, 1990b) because the Programme Officers represent an apparatus to which the district and community focal persons must submit.

In addition, we observe the ways J mobilises and invests embodied actions in the ongoing interaction (Mondada, 2018), particularly gestures, gaze, and body postures (Schegloff, 1998), along with the production of second-pair part utterances, which is hearable as a summoning of SWO to perform an action. Similarly, the actions of J appear to represent the physical design of the stairs as a problem. It is not surprising, however, because governing involves a continuous problematisation of actions or activities (Miller & Rose, 2008), which suggests a constant opening of spaces for acting on the actions of others. In that regard, to govern is to problematise certain aspects of social reality – the staircase in particular, and in a wider sense, peripheral spaces such as the local communities beyond the core region of government in which the translation of governmental programmes takes place.

It is also important to document the category work or practices of the ongoing interactions as concrete manifestations of governmentality or as conducting the actions of others. For instance, we observe the ways that the Programme Officers, particularly J, transmit the representations of reality to the community focal person through the district focal person (line 45), even though the community focal person is a participant in the ongoing interaction. The actions of the Programme Officers, the district and the community focal persons at the moment enact category-bound actions and practices (Schegloff, 2007a), which appear to signify the ways in which concrete governing practices play out in local communities in relation to the LEAP cash transfer programme. The analysis of the next excerpt investigates the ways in which SWO translates or resemiotises (Iedema, 2003) the actions of J by representing to the community focal person (W) based upon the first pair part utterance of J in the ongoing interaction (line 45).

Excerpt 7.5:

49	SWO:	**((dane ne ho hwɛ W))**
		((turns and looks at W))
50		**wokɔ asɔre ha bi**
		do you attend church here too
51	W:	**aane**
		yes

52 SWO: **((dane ne ho))**
((turns))

53 [((**tene ne nsa kyerɛ {stairs} no so))**
((points hand at the stairs))

54 [**yei na yɛka ɛho asɛm**
this is what we are talking about


frame 20 **(0.36)** frame 21 **(0.43)**

55 SWO: **sɛ obi a ɔyare te {wheelchair}**
that a sick person in wheelchair

56 **ɔntumi mma asɔre no bi**
cannot also come to this church

We observe a continuation of categorical work in the excerpt above, which is realised in the utterances of SWO (lines 50 and 54). SWO clearly draws the pronouns "you" and "we" to enact the relations of power between the community and district focal persons and the Programme Officers from the secretariat. She uses deictic expressions "here" and "this" to refer to the building and the stairs of the building, respectively; but it appears she uses the latter to signify a real problem that needs a form of solution. The representation of the stairs as a problem is apparent in the ways that SWO draws on moral evaluations and allusions (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016; Van Leeuwen, 2007) in order to act on the actions of the community focal persons in relation to the apparatus of programme. However, these representations of universal realities or rationalities during site inspections do not go unchallenged or uncontested by the community focal persons. Analysing and investigating the clashes of multiple realities or rationalities, particularly the ways in which community focal persons contest the impositions of these absolute realities or rationalities in the local communities during the inspections of pay points, illuminates the ways in which these competing rationalities take shape and root.

7.3. OFFICIAL REQUIREMENTS VERSUS EMPIRICAL REALITY: A CLASH OF RATIONALITIES

Throughout the analysis of the preceding excerpts in this chapter, we observed three categories of social actors (Programme Officers and the district and community focal persons) in the ongoing interactions at the pay point inspection and assessment event in local communities. It appears that these three categories of actors represent two different social domains (the government and the families in local communities) even though they are all connected to the apparatus of the LEAP cash transfer programme, as explained above. Among these categories of persons, it is suggested in the analysis of the excerpts in the preceding sections that there is some form of power relation in which there are struggles and contestations.

There are struggles over the representations of the aspects of social realities, rationalities, control over spaces, and acting on the actions of others (Foucault, 1997, 2002e). There are ways of doing things in the domains in which these categories of persons are placed, and each of these domains have their own narratives or discourses (Foucault, 1971). For instance, the socio-cultural arrangements and kinship systems of local communities place moral obligations on the actions and practices of individual members, and the network of social relations serve as social support and control mechanisms (Nukunya, 2016). In this way, the everyday practices of the caregivers and the members of the programmed households in the local communities appear to be contingent on the moral values of the families and communities rather than on the rigid official rules and laws of the programme (Foucault, 1990b).

Thus, the practices of individuals and families and the ways that they relate to themselves are different from the practices of the programme apparatus, which appears to take as its point of departure the official rules and regulations of the programme. Even though these two domains meet and interconnect in ongoing interactions, such as pay point inspection and assessment in local communities, it does not suggest less governmental or official involvement in acting on the action of caregivers and focal persons in the local communities (Miller & Rose, 2008). This section focuses on analysing and investigating the competing rationalities and struggles over constructing the appropriateness of spaces for conducting the cash payment activities of the programme in local communities. Here, I will present and investigate two excerpts from two different communities (A and B). First, I present and investigate an excerpt from Community A.

7.3.1. CONTESTING THE LOCATION OF EVENT IN SPACE: "THEY LIKE IT IF IT IS HERE"

As I have already indicated in the preceding section, the excerpt I present and investigate in this section is a realisation of a naturally-occurring interaction between Programme Officers (G and J) and focal persons during a pay point inspection and

assessment event in the local community. I will briefly provide some context as a starting point in my analysis and investigation. Prior to the inspection and assessment of the pay points in local communities, and per the power networks that the programme secretariat installed, which I explained earlier, the community focal person (AM) in consultation with the district focal person (SWO) proposes a site for the Programme Officers to inspect and assess. There are instances where the community focal persons propose sites to serve a cluster of communities, which involves ordering, timing, and locating events.

In this way, the caregivers of more than one or two communities visit the same pay point in order to access cash. As we will soon observe in the analysis, the community focal person takes into consideration the issue of proximity when proposing a pay point. By proximity, I mean the minimum time and distance that caregivers have to travel to access a particular pay point; that is, the *time summon* in relation to the payment activity of the programme secretariat (Van Leeuwen, 2008a) at particular locations. Of course, the caregivers and focal persons of local communities have their own ways of ordering everyday activities and intelligible practices, which is contingent on their subjective experience of time (ibid 2008a), and the location of these activities. However, during pay point inspection and assessment, it appears the approval of a pay point is the decision of the Programme Officers, notwithstanding the subjective experience of timing and the locational intelligibility of the caregivers and focal persons in peripheral districts and communities.

Excerpt 7.6:

44 **(0.47)**((AM&SWO discuss distance & locations))

45 AM: **nti ɛwɔ ha no a wɔpɛ**
they like it if it is here

46 SWO:**me ne no kasaa anɔpa yi**
i talked with him this morning

47 **ɔsee ɛha deɛ wɔpɛ ha kyɛn ofokuro**
he said they like here than ofokuro

48 AM: **mmm**

49 J: **ɛha nsoso(.)ɛyɛ sɛ wɔhunu sɛ**
this place also(.)they have to know that

50 **security wise no(.)it's not safe**
it is not safe (.)in terms of security

51 W: **na sɛ yɛn koraa no sɛ ɛba sɛ**

even us if it happens that

52 **yɛpɛ baabi na yɛfrɛ joint a**
we need a place to call a meeting

53 **sɛ yɛfrɛ joint wɔ ofokuro**
if we call meeting at ofokuro

54 **kɔkurofoɔ no a wɔnkɔ**
the kɔkuro people will not go

55 **yɛfrɛ {joint} wɔ ha nso a**
we call a meeting here also

56 **kwan biara so no wɔbɛba**
in any case they will come

57 **yɛsee ofokuro no kwan ware ma wɔn**
they say ofokuro is far for them

58 SWO:**yoo yɛnhwɛ**
ok let's see

The practice of constructing and rendering pay points and visible sites in the local communities in which the programme apparatus acts on the actions of caregivers and focal persons is not without contestation (Death, 2013) in a form of counter-conduct from the focal persons and caregivers, over whom the programme authorities exercise power (Foucault, 2007a). I argue that the counter-conducts of the focal persons I analyse and investigate during pay point inspections in the local communities are concrete manifestations of competing rationalities in relation to the imposition of programme requirements, and in turn, of the ways in which focal persons conduct the actions of caregivers in relation to time and their intelligibility of locating activities and actions. In line 45, we observe the way that AM contests the decision of the Programme Officers (G and J) to reject a site he proposed based upon its proximity to caregivers in the local communities.

A further investigation of the semantic relations of the utterance of AM (Fairclough, 2003), "they like it if it is here" (line 45), points to a fact that the rejection of a site based upon the rationality of the programme appears to pose a problem to the caregivers in relation to proximity. In a sense, the rational requirements of the programme appear to disrupt the ordered intelligibility of activities and the ways in which they conduct themselves within the local community. If it is not "here", they do not like it; thus, AM action is a manifestation of counter-conduct in the sense that they do not want to be governed in that way in relation to the imposition of rational requirements. However, the second pair part utterance, "he said they like it here than

ofokuro" (line 47), appears to distance SWO from the action of AM (line 45), which is hearable to SWO as counter-conduct. Thus, the action of SWO appears to be a representation of the counter-conduct of AM and the caregivers in the local community rather than a joint instantiation of counter-conducts, but it appears as though SWO shares some form of common knowledge in the actions of AM as she recounts her interactions with another community focal person.

Moreover, the actions of AM in line 48 are hearable to J as an agreement in response to SWO in line 47 (Goodwin, 2009). Consequently, J produces a counter-argument (lines 49 and 50) contesting the action of AM by asserting and foregrounding the authority and rationality of the programme through moral evaluation: "it is not safe in terms of security" (line 50). The actions of the Programme Officer (J) suggest an imposition of the programme requirements or rules (Foucault, 1990b) against certain empirical realities, such as the ways in which these caregivers and focal persons meaningfully order and locate actions and activities in the local communities. However, the actions of a caregiver (W) in line 54 is an instant of contestation in relation to the programme rationality, which appears to defy the empirical reality of the caregivers in the local communities. The argument of the caregiver suggests that the caregivers do not accept the impositions of programme rationalities (lines 54 and 57) without taking into consideration the empirical realities and experiences of caregivers and focal persons in the local communities. Thus, the ordering, timing, and location of the actions of the programme in local communities implicate power and enact power relations (Foucault, 1995; Van Leeuwen, 2008a), and trigger contestations between caregivers, focal persons, and Programme Officers.

7.3.2. CONTESTING THE MODIFICATION OF A STAIRCASE AT A PAY POINT: "THERE IS NONE HERE"

There are other ways in which competing rationalities and contestations manifest in the ongoing interactions between the district and community focal persons (SWO and W) and the Programme Officers (G and J). In the next section, I present an excerpt from Community B, in which I analyse and investigate the manifestation and contestation of competing rationalities during pay point inspection. There appears to be tension between the focal persons and the Programme Officers regarding the representation of reality in relation to the official rules and regulations of the programme, and the empirical reality or experiences in the local communities. Indeed, the representation of different realities in the ongoing practices of the programme often appear to be in mutual opposition, and as a result things do not appear to work for the programme as planned (Foucault, 2002b).

Excerpt 7.7:

57 **(0.14)**((J,W&SWO talk about staircase))

58 W: **mm(.)↑ɛha deɛ ebi nni ha**
mm(.)there is none here

(0.5)

59 J: **((ɔrenante kɔ))**
((walking away))

60 SWO: **ɛbia daakye bi ɛbi bɛ ba**
maybe someday some will come

61 SWO&W: [hahahaha

62 J: **[wonnim daakye asɛm(.)uhhu**
you don't know about someday(.)uhhu

63 **nti ɛyɛ {better}**
so it is better

64 **sɛ wobɛyɛ ato hɔ**
that you do put there

65 SWO: **[ebia daakye**
maybe someday

66 W: [huhuhu

67 SWO: [huhuhu

68 **[((siane stairs no))**
((walking down on the stairs))

69 SWO: **sesei ghana ha nyinaa**
now the whole ghana

70 **yɛse dan biaa yɛbɛsi**
they said every building we build

71 **yɛmma no nyɛ disability friendly**
we should let it be disability friendly

72 W: **yɛmma no nyɛ deɛ wɔn ayi no**
we should let it be that their thing it

73		**((him ne nsa hwɛ stairs wɔfam))**
		((waves hands downwards the stairs))
74		**afa so**
		move on it
75	SWO:	**ahaahn,**
		that is it

As Foucault (2002b) points out, programme rationalities do not always take effect or work out as planned. In the excerpt above, we observe the manifestations of contestations and competing rationalities as official requirements (disability friendliness of pay point buildings) and empirical reality (no current practical need) stand in mutual opposition. In the ongoing interaction at the pay point, the Programme Officers summoned SWO to recommend to W to modify the staircase into the building at the pay point in relation to the official laws and requirements of the programme. However, the tone in which W produces the utterance, "there is none here" (line 58) is a concrete manifestation of actions, which appear to contest the rationality of the programme. It is an epistemic modal expression (Fairclough, 2003), which appears to signify reality in the community; that is, people with accessibility needs do not live in the community. The use of "none here" in her utterance is a deictic expression, and it refers to people with accessibility needs in the community in which the building is located. It is also clear that the utterance of W is hearable to SWO as an action contesting the rationality of the programme.

Consequently, SWO produces an utterance in line 60 to represent the rationality of the programme by alluding to temporal dimensions in order to regulate the actions of W within the programme, without expressing explicit commitment to it: "maybe someday some will come" (line 60). In line 62, J produces an utterance confirming the temporal allusions of SWO's utterance (Schegloff, 1996) as SWO repeats these allusions for emphasis (line 65), amidst overlapping laughter with W in order to mitigate the tension or illocutionary force in the ongoing interaction (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). This creates space for SWO to prescribe to W the requirements of the programme in relation to the rules and laws of the government of the state (Foucault, 2002b). For instance, we observe the utterances of SWO (lines 69, 70 and 71) as acts legitimating authority and conformity to official rules and policy requirements of the state (Van Leeuwen, 2007), and as ways of acting on the conduct of W in relation to the rationality of the programme. She uses the pronouns "they" and "we" to qualify the government and the people of the state, respectively. In other words, the government (Programme Officers) says the community focal person should let the building at the pay point "be disability friendly" (line 71).

Summarily, the actions of the Programme Officers and the district focal person is a way of subjecting the everyday empirical reality of caregivers and community focal

persons to the rules and regulatory apparatus of the governmental programme. In doing so, the everyday empirical reality of these caregivers and focal persons in the local communities take a "quasi-juridical form" or "subjectivation" (Foucault, 1990b, p. 29). By these terms, I refer to the ways in which these caregivers and focal persons act or conduct themselves based upon the recommendations, rules and regulations of the governmental programme.

In summarizing this chapter, I suggest that the district and community focal persons do not have control in the ways that the government translates the programme in the local communities, and to the extent that it constructs spaces and locations in the communities in relation to the rationality of the programme for conducting the conduct of caregivers. These focal persons appear to be the conduits or "capillaries of power" for the operations and deployment of the programme; thus, matters about the programme, even at the community level, lay in the domain and control of the programme secretariat at the national level. The rational subordination and the usurpation of the power of these focal persons at the local level is quite ironic and a sign of mistrust, because in the previous chapter these focal persons are regarded by the programme secretariat as people who "do the community work" and facilitate the translation of the programme at the community level.

Additionally, the actions and practices of the national officials demonstrate the extension of the power of the state in space, and the ways that the long arm of government reaches out and makes decisions for local communities in Ghana. In this way, there appears to be constraining relations of power, which leaves little or no room for autonomy on the part of the governed to govern themselves without having to be overweighed by the apparatus at the centre of government. Thus, the event of pay point inspection appears to be a power technology for the translation and the deployment of governmental rationalities and programmes because it serves as a concrete manifestation of the state as it extends itself into the local communities in order to accomplish governmental rationality.

CHAPTER 8. THE (RE)PRODUCTION AND EXERCISE OF POWER IN "VISIBLE SPACES"

In Chapters 6 and 7, we observed how the programme secretariat constructed the subjects and created visible spaces (Dean, 2010) in order to exercise power by acting on the actions of caregivers and focal persons in the local communities. Specifically, beyond the construction of "extremely poor" households and communities as spaces for conducting caregivers – the subjects of the programme – we observed the creation of other visible spaces in the communities such as pay points, which are places where the programme conducts cash payment activities by handing over physical cash to caregivers. The main goal of this chapter is to unpack the actions and interactions of caregivers, district and community focal persons, and the programme secretariat in these spaces. To this end, I investigate the ways in which the programme (re)produces and exercises power, and how the community focal persons in relation to communal moral values contest the rational power of the programme during the cash payment event in the local community (Foucault, 1980). I have split the theme of (re)production and exercise of power in visible spaces into two chapters, that is, Chapters 8 and 9, to be able to provide a broader context and a specific analysis, respectively, in these two chapters. Thus, in Chapter 8, I investigate the ways that the apparatus of the programme reproduces and exercises power over domains other than itself. On the other hand, Chapter 9 focuses on the specific workings of power and forms of knowledge in visible spaces, such as the payment event in the local communities.

It is already clear that I am not interested in assessing how "good" or "bad" the programme secretariat conducts the cash payment activities, but I am interested in the interplay of power and power relations in domains or spaces where "the planned and the taken-for-granted meet and interconnect" (Foucault, 2002b, p. 225). By "domain", I refer to the entire process and the ongoing activity of paying cash in space and time at the local communities as a social practice in which actions and actors are connected and relations of power are enacted (Fairclough, 2003). Domains or space in this context are the fields of visibility, which are also sites of power struggles and competing rationalities (Death, 2013). In the domain or field of visibility, there are moments connected to the discourse of the LEAP cash transfer programme (Gee, 2014; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Even so, within the domain or space of payment, there are other micro-moments, which I call "phases", in the process of payment, and in these phases I pay close attention to the dynamics of power.

Furthermore, in order to render the articulatory practices of the apparatuses of power within the domain of payment visible, I draw on naturally-occurring ethnographic audio-visual data from the local communities of the subjects where the programme apparatus meets the caregivers who receive the cash on behalf of the programmed households. At the point of the meeting, the participating financial institutions (PFIs) pay the money in cash to the caregivers and beneficiaries of eligible households. Thus, the PFIs accomplish cash payments by relying on the biodata of the caregiver and payment reports that the programme secretariat gives them. As I have explained earlier in Chapter 6, the biodata appear to be a component of the "regime of truth", which objectivises the caregivers of the programme. However, there are two modes of payment: online payment and offline (manual) payment. During online payment, it is necessary to use internet connectivity to link the e-Zwich – the biometric verification device – directly to a central server, but in the offline payment, GhIPSS requires the ten-digit code of each caregiver or beneficiary on the payment report or payroll that is generated by the programme secretariat in relation to the objectivised biodata.

The report contains the detailed list of the caregivers of the programmed households, and most importantly, it has the ten-digit code that the e-Zwich device uses in order to authenticate the offline payment. In the domain and moments of the payment event, the three apparatuses of power must identify and verify the eligibility of the caregivers of the programmed households before the PFI makes cash payments to them. Clearly, we observe the presences of a plethora of technologies and techniques within the spaces or moments of payment, which include payroll, codes and digits, e-Zwich devices, offline and online systems, and authentication practices. The ways in which the programme constructs and assigns these codes linked to the biodata of the caregivers is comprehensively explicated in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

The moment of payment marks the climax of the operations of the programme at the local level, and through the joint efforts of the three apparatus of power, the payment of cash to the caregivers of the programmed households is accomplished at this moment. The apparatuses of power that are visible within the domain of payment include the programme secretariat at the national level, the district focal person of the programme at the district level, and the community focal person at the community level. However, an electronic device called the e-Zwich, which does the biometric verification of the caregivers of programmed households, physically represents the government or programme secretariat. In a sense, we observe a form of translation or resemiotisation in which the e-Zwich device and the payment report replace the physical presence and involvement of the government officials from the programme secretariat (Iedema, 2003). Thus, the governing of the payment process is mediated by these semiotic resources, which is a clear manifestation of governing the actions of caregivers of the programmed households at a distance (Miller & Rose, 2008).

These caregivers are the subjects of the programme, and for this reason, the government or the programme secretariat requires them to be physically present for an identification and verification process before the cash is paid to them. As the physical representation of the government or the programme, the e-Zwich device makes the final decision on who is paid what amount, and who does not receive payment. It does this through a process of a resemiotised handshake with the caregiver of a programmed household. I say resemiotised handshake because the e-Zwich device must give a red-light signal upon contact with the finger of the caregiver to show that the process is successful; so the resemiotised handshake is not successful without the red-light signal from the device.

In this chapter, I rely on the excerpts from video transcripts of naturally-occurring interactions during a cash payment activity in a local community. The social actors or participants of the ongoing interaction are the district focal person (SWO) and the community focal persons (CM1-CM4). The analysis focuses on the utterances and embodied actions of participants in the situated interaction (Goodwin, 2000), including semiotic resources such as the payment reports and the e-Zwich device, in order to investigate the (re)production and exercise of power in visible spaces or domains of the programme. As a point of departure, I take the ways that the government or programme secretariat summons the caregivers of programmed households to a central point in a particular community to receive the cash. As mentioned, these visible spaces are key resources for (re)producing and exercising power within the LEAP cash transfer programme as a social practice (Foucault, 1995; Van Leeuwen, 2008a). Thus, the summoning of caregivers to a central pay point to receive cash is an exercise of power, reflecting the concrete manifestation of power in the moments of situated social practices such as the cash payment event at the pay point, which I investigate in this chapter.

8.1. EXERCISING POWER AT A DISTANCE: A SUMMON TO A RESEMIOTISED HANDSHAKE

When (time) and where (place) to pay cash to caregivers of the programmed households lies in the domain of the programme secretariat and the apparatus of the government. In Chapter 7, we observed the ways in which the government or programme secretariat moved into local communities to construct spaces (pay points) in local communities for the payment of cash. In this chapter, we observe the ways that the community focal person, in consultation with the district focal person upon the recommendations of the programme secretariat, clusters the caregivers of different communities at a particular pay point to conduct the cash payments. The figure below is a manifestation of such a clustering of caregivers at a pay point in a local community where the government or programme secretariat summons them to receive cash.

Figure 5. A cluster of caregivers waiting to receive cash from the government, and the district focal person (SWO) standing in the middle.

I refer to the summons of the cluster of caregivers to a pay point as an exercise of power at a distance for two reasons. First, the programme secretariat summons these caregivers through the district and community focal persons as the power capillary of the programme secretariat, which accords them the power to communicate the "co-responsibilities" and "soft conditionalities" of the programme to the caregivers (Field interview with Technical Officers, 2017). Second, the government shakes hands with these caregivers through the e-Zwich devices – a resemiotised handshake – through which they renew their vows to receive cash from the government (Foucault, 1997). Thus, the government does not only pay cash to caregivers at this point, it also establishes or enacts a form of relationship with the caregivers and the focal persons, still governing the conduct of caregivers of programmed households in local communities at a distance (Miller & Rose, 2008), as mentioned above.

In the next sections of the cash payment process, I investigate the ways in which power (re)produces and asserts itself in situated social interactions beyond the core region of the programme secretariat or government. In accomplishing this task, I divide the payment moment into two phases comprising identification, and verification and payment. In the identification phase, I analyse and investigate the ways in which the apparatuses prefigure a form of governmentality by schematising spaces of action and linking these spaces as well as mobilising and asserting power. In addition, in the verification and payment phase, I analyse and investigate the ways and processes of verifying and paying the caregivers. The analysis focuses on the actions, utterances or talk, and the meaning-making resources, including the tools, embodied actions, and interaction, which the participants of the interactional event mobilise in order to (re)produce and exercise power (Jewitt, Bezemer, & O'Halloran, 2016). Thus, focusing on the combination of language, bodily movement of actors in the moment of interaction, and the historical context offer analytical insights (Mondada, 2016;

Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) into the ways that the interaction and actions are sequentially organised and coordinated.

8.2. THE NAMING AND IDENTIFICATION PHASE OF THE PAYMENT MOMENT

The naming and identification phase marks the moment of cash payment to caregivers of the programme households in the community, and in this process, the identification of a caregiver depends on the payment report. The programme secretariat, acting upon government directives during the period of payment, accrues the benefits of programmed households and generates a payment report for paying cash to the caregivers of these households. Technically, the programme makes cash payments to caregivers on behalf of the programmed households, but not the families and communities in the socio-political context of Ghana. Contextually, the programme does not recognise the traditional conceptualisation of the family; rather, it appropriates the Western sociological concept of a household in the domain of the programme. That being so, the caregiver of the programmed household is not necessarily the head of the family (Field interview with a Programme Officer, 2017).

Accordingly, the payment report contains the names of all the caregivers of the programmed households that are enrolled in the LEAP cash transfer programme and on the e-Zwich device, which is the electronic platform for identifying the caregivers for payment. The programme secretariat share the report with the district focal persons of the programme at the district level. In doing so, the district focal persons liaise with the community focal persons who mobilise the caregivers of programmed households to converge at the approved pay point to receive the cash. In the previous chapters, I have done an extensive analysis of these categories of persons within the programme's power network, and the ways that the programme secretariat constructs and approves pay points for doing the payment. In what follows, I present and investigate the ways that the district and community focal persons (re)produce and exercise power in an ongoing payment event in a local community. The excerpts of transcripts are realisations of naturally-occurring video recordings of the ways payment activity is carried out openly in the local community setting.

8.2.1. UNSETTLING OFFICIAL POWER: "I THINK THEY HAVE ARRANGED THE PLACE"

The caregivers of two communities converged in an open place where the district focal person (SWO), who doubles as the representative of the programme secretariat, and the community focal persons (CM1, CM2, CM3, and CM4), who are the intermediaries of the programme secretariat and the liaisons of the community, jointly identify the caregivers of the local programmed households. It is at this stage that the three apparatuses of power within the programme network identify the caregivers to receive cash payment from the government. As I have explained in the previous

section, the ongoing payment event brings together categories of social actors, and as a social practice, it enacts some form of power relations between the district and community focal persons (Fairclough, 2003). However, as the planned and taken-for-granted meet and interconnect at the site of social practice in the local community, the power apparatus of the programme or government begins to lose its rational control as it comes face to face with the actions of the community focal persons (Foucault, 2002b). I analyse the excerpt below and investigate the ways in which the community focal person initiates actions, which appear to challenge and unsettle the "universal" apparatus of the programme at the point of practice.

Excerpt 8.1:

```
1    SWO:        so the arrangement
2                [they will sit there as usual ehh
3    SWO:        [((pointing in a direction))
4                [((and looking at CM1))

5    CM1:        [i think they have arranged the place
6                [((looking away))
7    SWO:        they have arranged it
8    CM1:        because of the work
9    SWO:        so we will just be issuing
10               the this thing here

11   SWO:        [((turn to put bag down))
12               [so that they go
```

frame 22 **(0.5)** frame 23 **(0.8)**

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13               (0.10) ((camera focuses on caregivers))
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At the opening of the interaction, we observe the ways SWO mobilises talk and embodied actions such as gaze and gesture (Goodwin, 2000) to address CM1. In formulating the opening of the interaction in this way, SWO sets the agenda and controls the topic of the interaction (Fairclough, 1992), "the arrangement" (line 1), which places an obligation on CM1 to produce a second pair part utterance. However, the actions of CM1 in lines 5 and 6 appear to be asymmetrical to the summons of SWO in lines 1 and 2 in the sequential and simultaneous unfolding of the interaction (Jewitt et al., 2016). We observe a manifestation of resistance in line 6, in which CM1

is looking away while responding to SWO's interrogative statements (lines 1 and 2), even though SWO was looking at CM1 while talking. CM1's actions compelled SWO to reframe CM1's response in line 7 to make sure that indeed, the place for payment is actually arranged as CM1 claims in line 5; thus, CM1's utterance in line 8, "because of the work" appears to enact an agreement between the two power apparatuses. Thus, it is important to note that SWO did not just reframe CM1's answer as a question because he has the right to do so, but it is a way of drawing a conclusion or arriving at decision (Sacks, 1995). It was at this point that SWO agreed through embodied actions that the identification of caregivers could proceed (lines 9 to 12) by bringing down his bag in line 11.

It is quite important at the point of the identification exercise to note that SWO has the final say in decisions regarding payment because the payment report or payroll, which the programme secretariat generated for the payment of cash to the caregivers of the programmed households, is inside his bag, so he appears to be in control of the moment. In this way, he has the authority to instruct and "conduct the conducts" of the community focal persons and the caregivers of the programmed households because he is the direct representative of the programme secretariat at the district level and within the power network of the programme. Even though the interaction between SWO and CM1 in Excerpt 1 shows some form of unequal power relations that appear to shift in favour of SWO, we observe the ways in which SWO struggles to assert authority by mobilising utterances and embodied resources (Mondada, 2013) to assign roles to the focal person. For instance, there are the manifestations of bodily movements in the form of gestures and establishing eye contact to negotiate a response from CM1. As the community focal person, CM1 has an understanding and control of the local knowledge, which SWO must mobilise to govern himself to be able to conduct the conduct of the focal persons and caregivers and the process of payment in the community. Thus, it is a way of seeking authority from CM1 to assert his own authority as the direct representative of the government or programme secretariat (Rose, 1999). However, it appears CM1 is aware of SWO's strategy to access his locally-situated knowledge and authority. So, CM1 initiated resistance by looking away while responding to SWO's questions; indeed, power carries with it diverse forms of resistance that may eventually reverse power relations (Foucault, 1990a), which manifest in the identification phase where the focal persons finally took over the process.

8.2.2. SCHEMATISING AND CONTROLLING INTERACTION: "THEY WILL SIT THERE AS USUAL"

The location and distribution of people and things in the cash payment event in the local community is a way of exercising power or control over the actions and conduct of caregivers and focal persons in social practice in the sense that space and social actions are power contingent and reinforce one another (Foucault, 2002c; Van Leeuwen, 2008a). In the payment event as social action within a social practice, that

is, the LEAP cash transfer programme, SWO enacts a hierarchical organisation and relations, locating participants in space in relations to one another in the ongoing interaction (Foucault, 1995, 2002c). Schematising and controlling the ongoing interaction as a way of exercising power and control over the actions of caregivers and community focal persons is accomplished through linguistic realisations and embodied actions (Goodwin, 2000). For instance, as a direct representative of the national programme secretariat, SWO schematically delineated the spaces of action with words such as "they" and "there" in line 2 and "we" and "here" in lines 9 and 10.

In doing so, SWO is constructing the visible spaces by referentially linking categories of persons to spaces in the moments of interaction (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016); by implication these spaces are sites of power relations. The linguistic realisations of actions, particularly the use of pronouns "they" and "we" in the ongoing interaction, enact some form of social hierarchies and social distances (Fairclough, 1992) among the participants of the interaction, and this implicates power relations. The use of "they" and "there" is a deictic expression, which refers to the representatives of the participating third-party financial institutions (PFIs) and GhIPSS who have come to the community with the cash just to do payment. Therefore, they take instructions from the programme power apparatuses; "they will sit there as usual" to make payments, that is all what they are instructed to do in the moment of payment. In a way, that is the designated area for their operation. In contrast, SWO uses "we" and "here", referring to himself as the district focal person of the programme and the community focal persons of the programme who are part of the programme power apparatus. These persons have the mandate of the government to identify the eligibility of the caregivers of the programme in the community to receive the cash. Thus, "we" will do the identification "here" under this tree, and issue the ten-digit code to caregivers "here" under this tree to go "there" and cash their monies. Clearly, SWO uses these deictic expressions and embodied actions, and experiences from previous payment activities to accomplish the payment moment as a practically organised and ordered activity in which the programme conducts the conduct of caregivers in social interaction (McIlvenny, 2016).

In doing so, schematically and spatio-temporarily, SWO delineates two open-space offices within the community for the conduct of government business, and in each of these offices, the government and the apparatuses of power in the domain of the programme are either physically present or resemiotised in the ongoing interaction (Iedema, 2003). The e-Zwich device, the payroll or payment report represent the apparatus of the government and the programme secretariat, which enable and constrain the actions of the caregivers, the district and the community focal persons of the programme (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). By enabling and constraining, I mean those actions of the focal persons that these technologies or apparatuses legitimise and delegitimise the payment moment; for instance, the district focal person takes custody of the payroll and leads the process of identifying the caregivers. However, the way SWO exercises power over the actions of focal persons and caregivers by schematising and controlling the spatial organisation of the ongoing interaction does not appear to be a completely smooth process (Death, 2013); it does appear the

community focal persons do not want to be conducted in that way (Foucault, 2007b, 2007a).

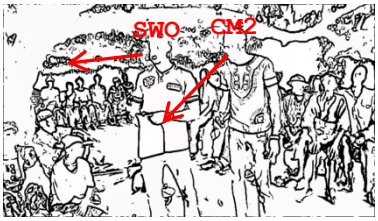
8.2.3. RESISTING OFFICIAL SUMMONS: "YOU CAN USE YOUR MIND"

In the previous section, we observed the ways that SWO exercised power and enacted social hierarchies and distances among participants in the ongoing interaction in which he schematised and controlled the actions of the participants including the community focal persons. In this section, I analyse and investigate the ways in which the community focal persons conduct themselves in relation to the ways that the district focal person in turn directs the actions of the community focal persons in the ongoing interaction. The excerpt below is a continuation of the excerpt that I presented above, and focuses on the interactions between the district focal person (SWO) and the community focal persons (CM1 and CM2) regarding which community they start with. It is a realisation of a naturally-occurring interaction during a payment activity at a pay point in the local community.

Excerpt 8. 2:

14	SWO:	**err wɔɔkura and err dolinguo**
15		which one do we start
16		**(.3)**((camera focuses on caregivers))
17	CM2:	this err(.)
18	CM1:	£hu you can use your mind
19	SWO:	my mind
20	CM2:	**yeng ka fo boɔrɔ ka fo piili**
		where do you want to start
21	CM1:	**°ehhe° £mãã gba mba lɛ**
		£ as for me i don't even
22	CMs:	[((laughs quietly))
23	CM1:	[£some of these questions
24		[((laughs quietly))
25	CM2:	if you answer
26		you will cause trouble
27		**(0.38)** ((camera focuses on caregivers))

28 SWO: **>aaah yɛ gaafora yaa<**
>ok excuse please<



frame 24 **(1.22)**

29 **te boɔrɔ ka te piili neng**
we want to start with

30 **err dolinguo**
err dolinguo

31 **[{so}yɛ kyenlɛ a yɛ yoe yaa**
so you listen to your names okay

32 SWO: [((holding a document with names))
33 [((looking at caregivers))

34 CM2: [((looking at document in SWO hand))

Comparable to everyday interactions in office environments in modern bureaucratic societies, in these open-plan offices, there are categories of people and there are rules of conduct (Goffman, 1956) which guide or order the ways that participants conduct themselves in social interactions and relate to one another in a sequentially organized manner (Schegloff, 2007b). We observe the way that SWO initiates the question-answer rule in the excerpt above (line 14), which appears to place the community focal persons in a subordinate position and an obligation to answer questions. The question-answer sequence of interaction is not just a sequence of conversation, it is also a strategy of asserting power because the one who asks the questions does have control over the conversation or the process of interaction (Sacks, 1995), thereby placing demand on the addressee to provide an answer. The participants in the interaction are the district focal person, who has custody of the payroll or payment report, the caregivers and the community focal persons, with whom the former interacts.

In lines 14 and 15, SWO duly acknowledged the presence of the community focal persons and the caregivers by making a cooperative and interrogative move in line 15; that is, among the two communities gathered here under this tree, “which one do we start” with in the process of identification. In order to involve the community focal persons in the identification process, SWO uses “we” to refer to the power apparatus of those focal persons that are present at the moment. In doing so, it appears as though

SWO is foregrounding the auxiliary role of the community focal persons in relation to the programme. Nevertheless, as indicated above, such a move is not power neutral. Instead, it is a way of asserting power and seeking the authority of the community focal persons for the exercise of power over the process, and to govern the conduct of the caregivers and the focal persons in the local community (Rose, 1999).

However, the community focal persons had to contend with the ethical dilemma in which they found themselves (Lassen, 2018), namely, on whose side do they belong, and for whom do they speak or act: the government or the family members who are the caregivers of the programmed households in the communities? A mutation of the official rule and the moral values of the families in the community appears to be a source of tension (Foucault, 2002b). These dilemmas of the community focal persons manifested in lines 17 and 18, when they were unable to provide a direct response to SWO's interrogative statement in the presence of the families and the communities that they represent. Such dilemmas remind us that in the traditional social setting, it is difficult to totally subject the members of families to governmental apparatuses or technologies because of the presence of traditional apparatuses, which regulate the conducts of members in local communities escape them (Foucault, 1990a). By traditional apparatuses, I refer to the traditional discourses that regulate the social life or conduct of members of the family in the local community (Nukunya, 2016). Thus, the focal persons appear to construe themselves and the members of families and communities present under the tree as one community, so there is not any need for differences that would create disharmony in their relationships with one another (lines 21 to 26).

Furthermore, the utterance of CM1 in line 18, "you can use your mind", is an initiation of resistance, even though SWO appears to be in control of the situation and can make the decision regarding the community with which to start. However, "you can use your mind" is a dispreferred utterance, which signifies CM1's disagreement with the summoning of SWO in line 14 (Schegloff, 2007b). The utterance of CM2 in line 20, "where do you want to start", affirms the disagreement between the district and community focal persons, which appears to block the flow of the ongoing interaction. Interestingly, SWO did not respond to CM2's interrogative statement in line 20, and in line 19 he responded to CM1 interrogatively, and it appears he is not obliged to take instructions from the bottom of the power network. Furthermore, it suggests that answering the questions of these community focal persons means a violation of the sequence of the conversation and the power implications (Sacks, 1995), which he initiated in the previous section to assert power by placing these focal persons in a subordinate position. The utterances of the community focal persons appear to problematise or trouble the top-down summon-answer sequence of the interaction, however, and therefore the blocking of the sequences of the interaction is an example of resistance that amounts to counter-conduct (Foucault, 2007a). In a way, it is clear that in unequal relations of power, the power apparatus at the top of the power network directs and conducts the conduct of the power apparatus at the bottom of the network.

Indeed, it does not necessarily accept interrogations from the bottom of the power network as a way of maintaining the existence of power relations.

Even though the community focal persons do resist the official summons of SWO as a form of counter-conduct, SWO announces the start of the identification process (line 27) as a collective decision between himself and the community focal persons (line 28). The action of SWO in line 28 appears to be a persistent effort to seek the authority of the community focal persons to exercise control over the actions of both caregivers and the community focal persons themselves (Rose, 1999). The gaze of CM2 in line 33 appears to affirm SWO's claim of a collective decision, yet we observe SWO holding the payment report (line 31), which is a major instrument or technology of power at this moment for conducting the conduct of caregivers. Thus, SWO is seeking authority for himself without releasing the authority within his domain, thereby blocking openings to any power sharing between himself and the community focal persons. In this, the payment report is the fundamental instrument for controlling the process of the payment, and as far as it remains in the custody of SWO, he has control over the entire process and the ways things transpire at the pay point.

Consequently, the document is both an instrument and a desire of power as far as it functions as a system of exclusion (Foucault, 1971). I mean the ways it determines who accesses the cash from the government, and the ways it allows the programme secretariat and the district focal person to conduct the conducts of both caregivers and community focal persons in relation to the rationalities of the government. The district and community focal persons represent different domains of power and forms of knowledge even though they are both connected to the apparatus of the programme secretariat. The next chapter is devoted to investigating the ways these forms of power and knowledge are (re)produced and put to work or concretely manifest during the cash payment event of the LEAP programme as a social practice.

CHAPTER 9. COMPETING FORMS OF KNOWLEDGE AND POWER AT WORK

Forms of knowledge and power are (re)produced as the programme apparatus comes face-to-face with the focal persons and caregivers in the local community, and in events or moments of the programme. One of the key moments in the programme during which these forms of knowledge and power are (re)produced and exercised is the event of payment. In the moments of the payment activity, both district and community focal persons appear to (re)produce and exercise different forms of knowledge and power through utterances and embodied actions by drawing on the technologies and resources of the ongoing interaction, and the socio-political and historical context in which it is embedded (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). Thus, the analytical focus of this chapter is not only on the (re)production and exercise of power, but also includes the contestations and resistance to the exercise of power to conduct oneself and others that appear to be obligatory in the domain of the programme (Foucault, 1990a, 2007a).

In the excerpt below, I analyse and investigate the ways in which the district and community focal persons (re)produce and exercise power, the power struggle, and the competing forms of knowledge in the ongoing interaction as a social practice. The excerpt is a realisation of the actions and interactions of the district focal person (SWO) and the community focal persons (CM1, CM2, CM3, and CM4) during a payment event as a key moment of the LEAP cash transfer programme, in which the government pays cash to caregivers of programmed households in the local community. In a systematic way, I investigate the actions of both the district and the community focal persons toward accomplishing the (re)production and exercise of power in relation to the forms of knowledge at work. First, I investigate the ways in which the district focal person employs schematic and rational control in relation to the rationality of the programme, in order to conduct the conduct of community focal persons and caregivers at the payment event. Second, I investigate how the community focal persons employ local knowledge as a form of counter-conduct in order to govern themselves and the caregivers at the payment event.

9.1. THE SCHEMATIC AND RATIONAL CONTROL: “HAVE YOU HEARD”

As we observed in the previous chapter, space is a resource for exercising power, and in particular, the spatial arrangement and distributions of men and things (Foucault, 1995, 2002c). Thus, it is not separate from the payment event as a social practice (Van Leeuwen, 2008a). In addition to using space as a power resource, social events and practices such as the cash payment event in the local community offer a site for

constructing and enacting social relations (Fairclough, 1992). During this event, it appears that SWO employs actions such as utterances, embodied actions, and programme technologies such as the payment report in order to construct social relations and exercise power. In the excerpt below, I analyse the ways in which SWO exercises power by investigating the actions that he employs to conduct the conduct of community focal persons and caregivers.

Excerpt 9.1:

35 SWO: **ka mãã wa bɔɔle**
if i call

36 **fo na wa la pɔlii**
you will come to this young man

37 **[a pɔl a dɔɔ nga zie**
the young this man place
38 SWO: [((pointing to CM2))
39 [((holding and looking at a paper))

40 CM2: [((looking at SWO))

41 SWO: **[ka o kobo gane bile kanga**
then he gives you some small paper
42 [((points small paper to caregivers))

43 CM2: [((looking at SWO))

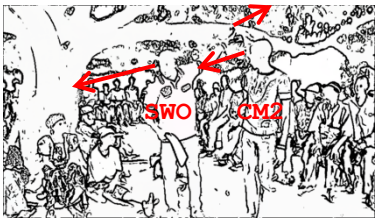
44 SWO: **[ka fo de gɛrɛ a kyɛ ngaa na**
then you take it to this direction

frame 25 **(1.26)** frame 26 **(1.28)**

45 SWO: [((pointing to the direction payment))
46 [((looking at caregivers))

47 CM2: [((looking at caregivers))

48 SWO: **[a te deɛ fo libiri**
and go and collect your money



frame 27 **(1.30)**

49 **fo wonno a wɛ**
have you heard

50 Cs: **mmm**
yes

51 SWO: **aheeehn**
that is it

In the initial instances of the interaction between the district and community focal persons and the caregivers, as seen in the excerpt above, we observed the ways in which SWO uses the pronouns "I" and "you" and the deictic expression "this young man" (lines 35 and 36) in order to qualify and construct the participants in the ongoing interaction. Nominating and predicating the social actors of the ongoing interaction appears to be a way of establishing social relations and enacting hierarchies between these actors (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). Of course, the social relations between the participants in the ongoing interaction or payment event does not appear to be equal in the sense that the "I" is articulated to the apparatus of the programme and the government. As I indicated earlier, the affordance and meaning potential (Jewitt, 2014; Kress, 2010) of the resemiotised payment report at the moment implicates a shift in power toward SWO (Iedema, 2003).

In this way, there is more power attribution in the "I" than it may ordinarily suggest. It is for this reason that there is power in the actions and utterances of SWO in the sense that it is the programme secretariat and the government that speak (Foucault, 2002d). SWO's utterance, "have you heard" (line 49), indeed affirms the voice of the power apparatus of the programme or government in and behind the actions that he performs. His statement appears to be interrogative, but his position in the context of the interaction makes the utterance an imperative statement in the sense that it implicates authority and relations of power (Fairclough, 2015). In this way, the utterance appears to be a question-answer interaction in which the addressees (caregivers) are expected to produce a preferred second-pair part utterance (Schegloff, 2007b) in line 50 to seal an agreement (line 51) and enable the flow of the interaction.

Furthermore, the mutual elaborations of SWO's utterances, embodied actions, and the payment report in the ongoing interaction appear to be constructing a "rational instructional manual" for conducting the conduct of community focal persons and caregivers in the ongoing interaction. By rational instructional manual, I mean the elaboration of the obligatory practices of the programme for conducting the conduct of the caregivers and focal persons in the domain of the programme. However, such a calculated, schematic, and rational control or exercise of power does not always guarantee a smooth take up (Foucault, 1997, 2007a) because it comes face-to-face with "what we normally do", which I investigate in the next section. It appears to be the taken-for-granted local knowledge, power, and experiences of the community focal persons in relation to the moral apparatus of the families in the local communities.

9.2. RESISTING "RATIONAL CONTROL": "WHAT WE NORMALLY DO"

In terms of governing, exercising power does not mean forcing people or individuals to do what one wants them to do. Instead, it involves tactical manoeuvres on the actions of others (Foucault, 2002e). Acting on the actions of others implies competing ways of acting in so far as the individual or persons upon whom the action is directed are free to act. After all, as Foucault (1980) explains, relations of power do not encompass a relation of domination in the sense that power does not constitute absolute control. The power apparatus of the community focal persons articulated to the local knowledge, experiences, and moral apparatus of the family in the community appears to be inherently resistant to the schematic and rational control of the district focal persons in relation to the obligatory practices of the programme secretariat and the government. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the present society of Ghana is complex, and it appears problematic to reduce the actions of the caregivers and the community focal persons to a rational and schematic control or apparatus of the programme or government. In this section, I analyse and investigate the ways in which the community focal persons appear to resist such schematic and rational controls in the ongoing interaction of the payment event in the local community. The excerpt is a realisation of the ongoing interaction at the payment event in the local community; it focuses on the actions of the community focal person that appear to be an instance of counter-conduct and resistance to the apparatus of the district focal person.

Excerpt 9.2:

```
52 CM2:     what we normally do
53          [we normally arrange
54          [the benches for them to sit
```

frame 28 **(1.36)** frame 29 **(1.42)**

55 CM2: [((pointing to a direction))
56 [((looking at SWO))

57 SWO: [ok
58 [((nods))

59 CM2: when you mention their names
60 then they go and collect the money

61 CM1: ((nods his head))

62 SWO: [so]

63 CM2: **[{so}] yɛ nyɛ a lɛ te nang dang e**
so you have seen what we did before

64 **[{so} a {benches}ama yɛ bare a**
so these benches you leave them

65 CM2: [((looking at caregivers))
66 [((points and waves his hands))

67 **a kyɛ lɛ boɔlɔ a lɛ**
then mention it like

68 **te nang dang boɔlɔ bang zeng**
we use to mention and they sit

69 **a toorɔ tara=**
and shift closer

70 SWO: ((looking and fidgeting with document))
71 ((containing the names of caregivers))

72 CM2: **={so}yɛ bare a {benches}ama**
so leave these benches

73 **noba banee na te nang wa boɔle**
the people that we will call

74 **[ka ba te zeng a be**
then they go and sit there

75 [((points in the left direction))

76 **ka bane wa gaa a be**
then they go there

77 **kyɛ ka bama ka te tagra tara**
then these will then shift closer

The narratives and practices of the family and the community, as well as the conventions of social practices such as the cash payment event in the community, appear to be the orders of discourses in the local communities (Foucault, 1971), which in turn insulate the apparatus of the community focal person against the rational control of the apparatus of the programme and the government. This assertion is evident in CM2's utterance, "what we normally do" (line 52), which suggests the ways in which the forms of knowledge, conventions, and power structures of the local community regulate the actions of community focal persons and caregivers in the moments of social practices, such as the cash payment event. The accounts of practice and the actions of the community focal person suggest a sequential organisation of actions in social events in which order is accomplished. Furthermore, we observe the way in which CM2 draws on local knowledge to construct and represent a form of social reality. For instance, CM2's use of the pronoun "we" (line 52) to distinguish the way in which the community focal persons conduct the actions of the caregivers, which is different from the rational control that SWO initiated in the previous section, is an exercise of power in relation to the obligations of the programme.

The utterances and embodied actions of CM2 (line 52 to 60) enact social relations between himself as the community focal person and the district focal persons as the auxiliaries and liaisons of different domains; that is, the family and the government. In these lines, we observe the actions of CM2 as a way of giving information to SWO or informing him about what they "normally do" (line 52). In doing so, CM2 constructs himself as someone who has local knowledge, thereby positioning himself as someone who knows—in contrast to SWO, as someone who does not know (Fairclough, 2003)—the ways in which caregivers and community focal persons conduct themselves at the payment event. CM2's action suggests that SWO does not have local knowledge about the ways that the community focal persons and caregivers conduct themselves, even though he appears to have some experience in the ways the programme conducts the conducts of caregivers. Consequently, CM2 switched the conversation between him and SWO to a non-native language (English), which the

caregivers of the local community did not understand. In doing so, he is able to inform SWO about the "normal" way of doing things.

Clearly, the limits of SWO's knowledge about the ways in which these caregivers and the community focal persons conduct themselves create a space or an opening for a power shift and the community focal persons' refusal to be governed by the schematic and rational controls of the apparatus of the programme (Foucault, 1997, 2007a). By shifts in power, I am referring to the ways in which CM2 unsettles or "denaturalises" (McIlvenny et al., 2016) the supposedly schematic and rational controls of SWO, as articulated to the apparatus of the government, which appears to be a form of counter-conduct. I do not mean a total refusal of being governed; after all, SWO is still part of the process as is evident in the utterance of CM2, "when you mention their names" (line 59). The pronoun "you" in CM2's deictic expression refers to SWO. The point I am emphasising is that the resemiotised payment report or document might require local knowledge and experience in order to act on the actions of caregivers and community focal persons.

The actions of CM2 in lines 52 and 63 suggest a commitment to articulate himself with the apparatus of the community focal persons as auxiliaries of the programme secretariat and the family in the community as a moral subject (Foucault, 1997). CM2 uses the pronoun "we" in these lines to identify with the community focal persons and caregivers (Fairclough, 2003), and to refer his conduct and the conduct of the caregivers to the ethical and moral values of the family and the community in which they live. Thus, the "what we normally do" and the "so you have seen what we did before" statements appear to be the manifestations of the ways CM2 conducts the actions of focal persons and caregivers in relation to the local knowledge and experiences rather than the rational control of SWO in relation to the apparatus of the programme and the government.

Furthermore, lines 52 and 63 suggest some underlying or "normal practices" at the payment event and the domain of the family, which regulate the conduct of caregivers and focal persons during the cash payment event. Such normal practices appear to be on the exterior or outside of the knowledge/power domain of the government or the programme secretariat (Foucault, 1971), yet unique to the members of the community in time and space (Foucault, 2002c; Van Leeuwen, 2008a) as constitutive elements of social practices. It is their own way of conducting and governing themselves during the cash payment event; the dominant discourse referred to as the normal practice offers CM2 the opportunity to speak (Foucault, 2002d) and to conduct the actions of participants, particularly caregivers at the moment of payment.

9.3. MOBILISING AND ASSERTING POWER AT A CASH PAYMENT EVENT

It is increasingly clear from the onset of the analyses of the data that there seems to be tension and struggle every time the apparatus of the programme or government intersects with the apparatus of the family in the community at key moments of the LEAP cash transfer programme. As we are informed in the theoretical section, power is not an absolute possession of a particular group, class, or even an institution, but rather shifts and traverses; thus, it is everywhere (Foucault, 1980, 1995). It appears to be this character of power that enables governing at a distance through the translation of governmental programmes, and the resemiotisation of governmental practices in peripheral regions and communities (Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1999). Consequently, the deployment and translation of the LEAP cash transfer programme depends on power networks or "capillaries" of power articulated to meta-power structures (Foucault, 1980), as explicated in Chapter 6. In this section, I analyse and investigate the ways in which the district and community focal persons representing the domains of the government and the family respectively mobilise and assert power in governing the actions of caregivers, and in controlling the cash payment event. In two ways, I illustrate, the ways in which power is associated with or attributed to the resemiotised document, and the local knowledge in the respective domains of power.

9.3.1. AN ACT OF ASSERTING POWER: "JUST HOLD IT LIKE THIS"

As I indicated in the previous sections, the payment document or report is a resemiotised or translated apparatus of the programme or the government, through which the district focal person (SWO) asserts and exercises power at the payment event. Although unsuccessful in the previous sections, the actions of SWO in this section appear to exercise control over the actions of community focal persons and caregivers during the payment event. It appears as though SWO continues to assert power in relation to the apparatus of the programme or the government. The excerpt I present and investigate below is the realisation of an ongoing interaction of a payment event at a pay point in a local community, and the participants in the interaction comprise the district focal person (SWO), the community focal persons (CM1 and CM2) and the caregivers of the programmed households.

Excerpt 9.3:

frame 30 **(1.56)** frame 31 **(2.0)**

78 SWO: ((flips pages of document))

79 SWO: [so(.)just hold it like this
80 [they are numbers =
81 [((gives tiny sheets to CM2))

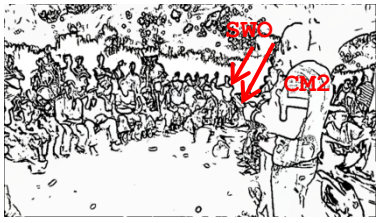
82 CM2: [((receives tiny sheets from SWO))
83 [((nods))

84 SWO: =[from this document
85 [((pointing in the document))

86 SWO: so if i call the person
87 you you just issue the person
88 the this thing

89 CM2: ((repositions himself))
90 ((and cleans his eyes))

91 SWO: **>aah<(.)>yɛ kyenlɛ a yoe yaa<(.)err**
>ok you listen to your names ok< err

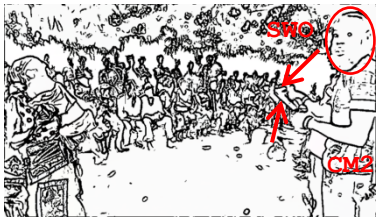


frame 32 **(2.14)**

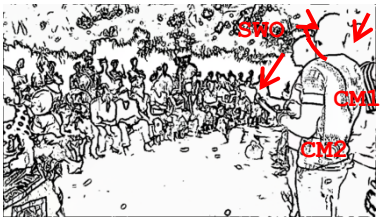
92 SWO: (.4)((struggle to mention the local names))

93 CM2: ((looks closely into the document))

94 SWO: ((mentions name one wrongly))



frame 33 **(2.17)**



frame 34 **(2.19)**

95 CM2: ((turns and looks at CM1))

96 CM1: let's [let's assist him]
97 [((moves closer to SWO and CM2))]

98 CM1: ((looks into the document))
99 ((and corrects SWO))

100 SWO: **o be la be**
is the person there

The ways in which SWO orients to the document in the production of the first pair part utterance (lines 78 and 79) appears obvious, instantiating and signifying power and power relations in the opening of the ongoing interaction at the pay point. For instance, the embodied actions of CM2 suggest that SWO's utterance in line 78 is hearable as an instruction to CM2, and a way in which SWO appears to set interactional controls on CM2's actions (Fairclough, 1992) in relation to the apparatus of the programme or the government. The assertion is even more visible in the ways in which SWO emphasises the relevance of "this document" by drawing the mutual elaborations of the utterance and embodied action in lines 84 and 85 (Jewitt et al., 2016). The use of deictic expressions such as "this document" and "this thing", respectively, refer to the payment report and the ten-digit code of the caregivers in the payment report, which positions SWO in relation to the apparatus (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). Therefore, it suggests that SWO is instructing CM2 on the authority of the programme apparatus, and as a capillary of governmental power network (Foucault, 1980).

As mentioned previously, the document or payment report is generated by the programme secretariat for the purposes of payment, and it contains the ten-digit code for identifying and paying specified amounts of cash to caregivers of the programmed households. This indicates that SWO is not the author but rather the custodian of the payment report, which affords him the right to speak, instruct, and conduct the conduct of community focal persons and caregivers at the payment event: for example, as seen in the "you listen to your names ok" statement (line 91). To put it directly, the voice of SWO is the voice of the programme secretariat or the government (Foucault, 2002d) in the ongoing interaction and at the moment of the payment event.

Moreover, the ways in which SWO constructs relations of power and assigns roles to CM2 in the ongoing interaction are evident (lines 86 and 87). The "you" and "I" expressions in the utterances of SWO distinguish and construct unequal relations between himself and CM2 as representing different domains of power. He puts himself in a position of authority and the knower, "I call the person" (line 86), and instructs CM2: "you just issue" (line 87). Therefore, it suggests that SWO mobilises the pronouns "I" and "you" to construct social hierarchy and distance between him and CM2 in the ongoing interaction (Fairclough, 2003), which implicates an exercise

of power in relation to the power apparatus of the government. The fact that CM2 never produces any utterances except the minimal display and orientations of bodily movement in the ongoing interaction (Schegloff, 1998) affirms the dominance of SWO and the programme or government apparatus; thus, we observe the manifestation of power in and behind the payment event as a social practice (Fairclough, 2015).

Even though SWO appears to be in control of the ongoing interaction at the payment event, the limit of the programme or government apparatus becomes evident as SWO does not have control over the workings of the local knowledge and power structures of the community. For instance, it appears as though SWO struggles to recognise and express the names in the document, and even when he does mention a name, he gets it wrong (lines 92 and 94), so none of the caregivers display orientation to the actions of SWO as he initially instructed them to act. That being so, the coordination of actions (Jewitt et al., 2016) in the interaction at the pay point toward the completion of the payment appears to be a challenge for SWO in relation to the apparatus of the programme or the government, because CM2 is unable to issue the code as SWO initially instructed him to do.

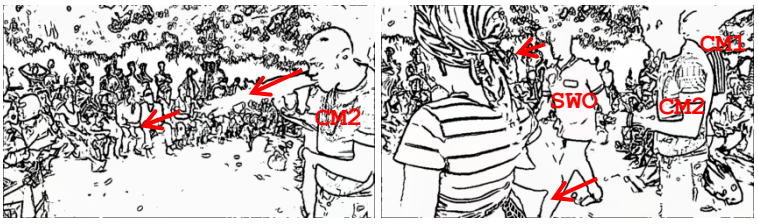
Similarly, being conscious of the space of action and SWO's instruction, CM2 is unable to lend any support to SWO because he cannot hold the document for examination even if he wants to do so. Rather, the embodied actions of CM2 in line 95 are hearable by CM1 as a call for assistance (Goodwin, 2009); so, CM1 orients to the actions of CM2 in order to lend support: "let's assist him" (lines 96 and 97). This is a sign of relief for both SWO and CM2, as CM1 strategically moves closer and lends support to them (lines 98 and 99). Interestingly, it is important to note that CM1 could strategically intervene because he is a "free" (Gordon, 1991, p. 5) focal person at that moment. I say free focal person because SWO did not define any specific space of action for CM1 in the ongoing interaction at the payment event.

Therefore, I argue that the actions of both CM2 and CM1 are the concrete manifestations and ways of mobilising alliances in the form of local knowledge and communal power, and initiating counter-conducts (Foucault, 2007a) against a form of "rational conduct". For instance, CM1's actions in lines 98 and 99 put him in a position of someone who knows, which appears to unsettle the initial power relations between SWO and CM2 in different domains (Fairclough, 2003), and poses a challenge to the rational authority of the apparatus of the programme or the government. Even though it is evident that space and the distribution of actions is a resource for exercising power (Foucault, 1995, 2002c; Van Leeuwen, 2008a), the exercise of power in relation to the apparatus of the programme or government is ineffectual without the articulation of local knowledge and communal power within the situated environment. By communal power, I am referring to the power structures of the community beyond the rational and obligatory practices of the programme.

9.3.2. ASSERTING COMMUNAL POWER: "YOU OBSERVE"

The limits of the apparatus of the programme or government in exercising rational control over the actions of caregivers and community focal persons in the ongoing interactions create space or an opening for alliance building and subsequently the initiation of counter-conducts. The problematics of the programme apparatus is a possible condition for articulating and exercising communal power by drawing on local knowledge and power (Foucault, 1980) in relation to the "ethical practices" (Foucault, 1997, p. 116) of families and the community in which the conduct of caregivers and community focal persons appear to take roots. Consequently, there appear to be power shifts in the ongoing interaction at the pay point and the payment event, and the social relations between the key domains of power continue to assert power independently. This section investigates the ways in which the community focal persons appear to assert power by putting the key power capillary of the programme (SWO) in the ongoing interaction in an observer position (Foucault, 1980). The excerpt below is the continuation of the ongoing interaction at the payment event in the local community.

Excerpt 9.4:



frame 35 **(2.26)** frame 36 **(2.56)**

101 CM2: **{number one}**
number one

102 **[gaa te zeng kyɛ**
go and sit here

103 [((looks and points to a direction))

104 SWO: ((mentions name two and three wrongly))

105 **(.7)**((camera focuses on caregivers))

106 CM1&CM2:((looking into the document))
107 ((they figure out the correct name))

108 CM1: ((mentions name two and three correctly))

109 **(.3)** ((negotiates with SWO to take over))
110 ((the mentioning of the names))

111 CM1: i will be mentioning the names
112 while you observe

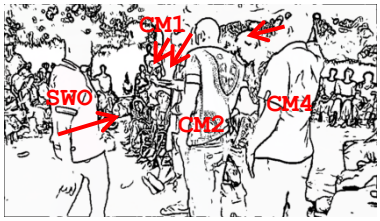
113 CM1: ((takes over the document from SWO))

114 SWO: **[yɛ gaafora yaa**
excuse please

115 [((walks to the waiting seat))

116 **yɛ sɛre gaa ngaa**
you shift this way

117 **kyɛ kyɛre a kyɛ ka bama zeng**
then leave here for these to sit



frame 37 **(3.13)**

118 CM4: ((walks close to CM1 and CM2))
119 ((and looks into the document))

120 SWO: ((walks back to CM2 and CM1))

121 **(.9)** ((CMI, CM2, CM4 and SWO crosscheck))
122 ((the names on the document))

123 CM1: ((mentions names four to nine))
124 ((mentions name ten with difficulty))

125 CM1: **aha=[a lɛ yoe nang be a kyɛ=accra er tɔ]**
aha=the way the names are but=accra er ok

126 CM1: [((points to document and waves hand))]

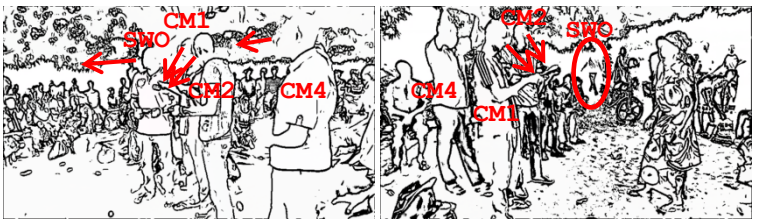
127 ((mentions names eleven and twelve))

128 CM2: is it your mother or you

129 CM1: you give it to her
130 she will give it to the mother

131 ((mentions name thirteen))

132 **yɛ bang la a noba nang seng ka ba wa**
you know those that should come forward



frame 38 **(3.40)** frame 39 **(5.24)**

133 SWO: ((looks in the direction of payment))
134 ((and walks away))

135 CM1: ((mentions names fourteen to seventeen))

136 CM2: [you take this
137 [((handing over code sheet to CM1))

138 [let me help you(.)I know my people
139 [((taking over the document from CM1))

140 CM1: you be calling

141 CM4: you call(.)yes

142 CM2: [((nods))
143 [((looks into the document))

Comparatively, whereas it appears that SWO is struggling to mobilise and assert power in the ongoing interaction, CM2 appears to not have any difficulty in conducting the actions of the caregivers, whom he represents on the power grid of the programme. He appears to know exactly what to do and how to conduct the conduct of the people he represents (lines 101 and 102) by identifying and directing them in the ongoing interaction. The turning point of the shift in the power dynamic sets in as SWO struggles for the second and third time to pronounce the names of the caregivers in the document (line 104). As we observed in the previous section, however, in which the actions of CM1 afforded CM2 an expanded space of power, both CM1 and CM2

intervened to figure out the names, which CM1 pronounces correctly (line 108). It is at this point the rational control of SWO in relation to the apparatus of the programme and the government appear to be problematic (Miller & Rose, 2008). Obviously, the apparatus seems to miss the local situation or context in the sense that SWO could not connect the faces of the caregivers with the names in the document.

I argue that names are semiotic codes, which identify or locate physical bodies and instantiate actions; thus the correct identification of caregivers by name is fundamental in the ongoing interaction, and requires intervention to accomplish the payment event in the local community. Consequently, the articulation of local knowledge to the apparatus of the programme or government is a prerequisite to accomplishing the payment event. The community focal persons appear to possess local knowledge, and while they represent the government on the power network of the programme, they are still members of the families in the communities. Thus, the community focal persons know the caregivers of the programmed households by their names and faces, and they can easily connect the faces of the caregivers to the names in the document (lines 124, 125, 126, and 128), which appears to be an impossible task using only the document (line 104).

As a free community focal person in the ongoing interaction at the pay point, CM1 initiates and accomplishes a takeover of the process from SWO (109 and 113). We observe the ways in which the actions of CM1 (lines 111 and 112) reconstruct a shift in the relations of power between the community focal persons and the district focal person, as the primary power capillary of the programme or government apparatus. In doing so, CM1 reconstructs the relations of power by in turn asserting power, which puts him in a position of authority with “I will be mentioning the names” (line 111), and assigns SWO an observer position, as in “while you observe” (line 112). Obviously, such a reconstruction and qualification of the “I” and “you” enacts social hierarchy and distance (Fairclough, 2003), which appears to dismantle the rational control of SWO and brings to light the local knowledge and communal power that is necessary for accomplishing the payment event in the local community. It is worth noting that the “I” appears to take the position of authority and is insubordinate to “you” in power relations because both SWO and CM1 used them to construct and reconstruct relations of power in the ongoing interaction. Thus, as CMI takes over the process, SWO becomes an observer (112), however, it appears SWO is resisting the observer position by walking away (line 115) instead of observing the process. Although SWO resists the position of observer because of the shift in relations of power, we observe SWO looking for opportunities to assert power in the ways he struggles to direct the seating arrangements of caregivers (lines 116 and 117), which had already been designed and installed by CM2.

The takeover of the document and the conduct of caregivers at the payment event marks the real point of contact between the apparatus of the programme or government, the apparatus of the family, and the local community in which the

caregivers live. Governing the actions of caregivers of the programmed households at a distance through the resemiotisation (Iedema, 2003) and translation of governmental apparatus in the name of programmes such as the LEAP programme (Miller & Rose, 2008) is ineffectual without the real point of contact between the apparatus of the government and the apparatus of the family or the local community. Even between CM1 and CM2, the document traverses the detail of local knowledge, as we observe in line 138, "I know my people". The articulation of these two apparatuses and domains of power is the basis of governing at a distance in its finest detail within the LEAP cash transfer programme. Again, I argue that governing the actions of caregivers in the local communities in relation to schematic rational control, which privileges the apparatus of the programme or the government like the way SWO demarcated the space of action for CM2, appears to be domination (Foucault, 1980). The fact that CM2 could only act with the intervention of the free focal person (CM1) affirms my argument. Moreover, we observe how CM2 invests the details of local knowledge after SWO walks away from the point of identifying caregivers to the point of payment (line 134).

Consequently, these dynamics of power point to the fact that governing caregivers and families, particularly at the local level and in relation to the LEAP programme cannot be reduced to the apparatuses or the power and knowledge domains of the government. In any ways the government of the state schematises and governs the actions of caregivers and families, it makes sense to say that the local knowledge and communal power is necessary to accomplish the rationality of the government of the state. The assertion of power and the articulations of communal power is a clear manifestation of the limits of governmental technologies and power mechanisms of the state for accomplishing governmental rationality outside the core regions of the state. Without recourse to the traditions and culture (the family and the traditional social structures) of the caregivers and families it governs, it becomes problematic.

9.4. THE VERIFICATION AND PAYMENT PHASE OF THE PAYMENT EVENT

In the previous section, we observed the ways that SWO asserted power by attempting, albeit unsuccessfully, to identify the caregivers in relation to the document or payment report as merely an apparatus of the programme or the government. Eventually, SWO relied on local knowledge and the communal power apparatus of the community focal persons to accomplish the process of identifying caregivers. The process of verifying and paying caregivers is a key step of the payment event, in which the representatives of the programme or government apparatus and the community focal person verify the caregivers of programmed households, in order for these to receive the cash from the government. As in the identification process, the local knowledge and communal power of the community focal persons are indispensable in accomplishing the verification of caregivers to receive the cash from the government, even though the presence of the apparatus of the programme or the

government in this step appears evident in the biometric verification machine (e-Zwich). In the verification and payment "office", the officials of the Ghana Interbank Payment and Settlement Systems (GhIPSS) and the e-Zwich device represent the government or the programme secretariat. In addition, there is a representative of the participating financial institution (PFI), and the community focal person is the interface between the government or the programme secretariat and the caregivers of the programmed households in the local communities.

Consequently, these persons play varied but specific and interconnected roles in the process of verifying and paying cash to the caregivers. In this section, it is important to recognise the multimodal ensemble at work (Kress, 2010). The coordination of the verification and the payment of cash to the caregivers is contingent on bodies, the arrangement of the space of the interaction, and the use of semiotic resources such as e-Zwich cards, the ten-digit code from the payment report and the e-Zwich devices (Goodwin, 2000; Jewitt et al., 2016). The focus of this section is not on what amount of cash the programme pays to the caregivers, but rather on how the programme pays the cash to the caregivers of the programmed households in the local communities as an organised and intelligible social practice. Thus, I am interested in analysing the articulatory practices of the participants and investigating the ways in which the actions, interactions, and embodied actions of the apparatuses of the programme or the government articulate or connect with the local knowledge and actions of the community focal person in order to accomplish the payment event.

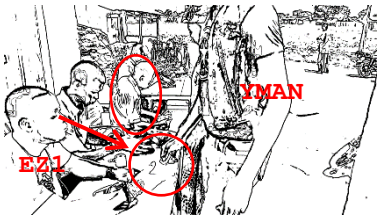
9.4.1. THE "RATIONAL ENSEMBLE" OF POWER: "BRING YOUR CARD"

The rational ensemble of power in the verification and payment process of the payment event comprises all those tools and technologies of the programme or government (Foucault, 1980), which work in concert with actions, bodies, and embodied actions in order to accomplish the event. The ensemble reproduces the imposed truth about the caregiver as a subject of the programme to receive cash from the government (Foucault, 1997). By the imposed truth, I refer to the ways in which the programme secretariat and the government make men and women in the local communities subjects or caregivers of the programme through forms of knowledge and objectivising practices, such as the application of the community ranking and the proxy means test questionnaires (PMT). As we observed in Chapter 6, the apparatuses of the programme secretariat and the government constructed these men and women as caregivers and as the subjects of the programme. Within the rational ensemble of power, GhIPSS and the e-Zwich device represent the government or programme secretariat, and it uses the e-Zwich cards and the unique ten-digit codes of caregivers to identify each one of them.

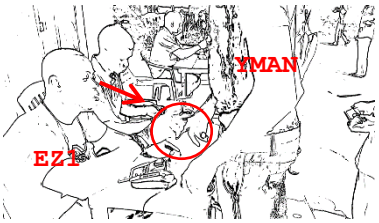
Consequently, it is in the process of verifying caregivers for payment in which the government "physically shakes hands", so to speak, with these caregivers of the programmed households, which is a signification of governing at a distance (Miller &

Rose, 2008). In the excerpt below, I analyse and investigate the ways in which these tools and technologies, as the rational ensemble of the programme or the government, articulate with the local knowledge and communal power apparatuses of the community focal persons in accomplishing the payment event. The excerpt is a realisation of the ongoing interaction of participants during the verification and payment of cash to the caregivers of programmed households at the payment event in the local community. The participants of the interaction comprise the e-Zwich devices (EZ1 and EZ2), the PFI (BANK), the community focal person (CM3), caregiver one (YMAN) and caregiver two (OMAN).

Excerpt 9.5:



frame 40 **(1.55)**



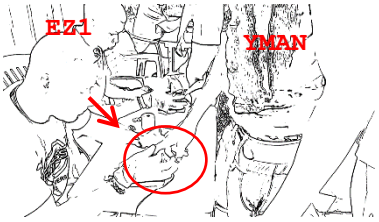
frame 41 **(2.11)**

1 EZ1: bring your card

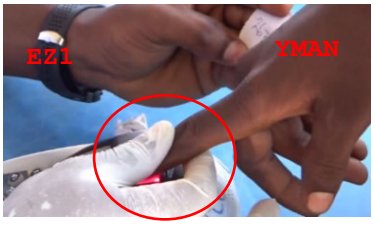
2 YANM: ((gives card and code to EZ1))

3 EZ1: bring your finger

4 YMAN: ((stretches figure towards EZ1 hand))



frame 42 **(2.14)**



frame 43 **(2.18)**

5 EZ1: [((places finger on e-zwich))
6 [((looks closely on e-zwich))

7 CM3: ↑**ah nyɛ**
↑*ah look*

8 CM3: ((gets up from his seat))

9 CM3: **[ka fo ong wa wa fo iri a fo gane**
when you come you remove card

10 CM3: [((pointing to caregivers queuing))

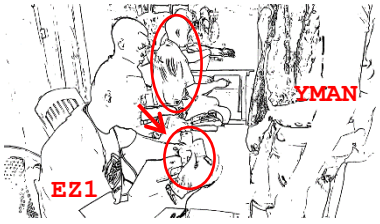
11 EZ1: ((e-Zwich verifies fingerprint))

frame 44 (2.24)

frame 45 (2.36)

12 EZ1: ((types in ten-digit code))

13 EZ1: ((e-Zwich generates pay voucher))



frame 46 **(3.03)**

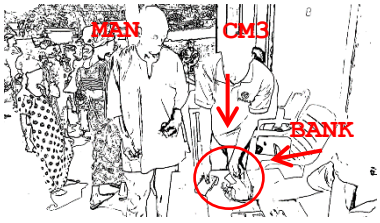
frame 47 **(3.56)**

14 EZ1: ((tears pay voucher for YMAN))

15 CM3: ((crosscheck and gives cash to YMAN))

16 YMAM: ((receives cash from CM3))

frame 48 **(4.33)**



frame 49 **(4.34)**

17 OMAN: ((gives pay voucher to CM3))

18 CM3: ((gets up and receives voucher from OMAN))

19 ((presents pay voucher to BANK))

20 BANK: ((receives pay voucher from CM3))]

frame 50 **(4.37)** frame 51 **(4.59)**

21 CM3: [((crosscheck pay voucher))

22 BANK: [((crosscheck pay voucher))
23 ((gives money to CM3))

24 CM3: ((receives money from BANK))

frame 52 **(5.03)** frame 53 **(5.04)**

25 CM3: ((counts money))
26 ((gives money to MAN))

27 MAN: ((receives money from CM3))

In analysing the first excerpt of the interaction at the payment event in this chapter, we observed the actions and interactions of both SWO and CM1 in relation to the arrangement of "the place" for the verification of caregivers and the payment of cash to these caregivers. In addition, at the start of this chapter, I argued that space is a resource of power as it is crucial in the distribution of participants in social interaction in relation to the actions of one another (Foucault, 1995, 2002c; Van Leeuwen, 2008a), as in the payment event. Consequently, we cannot take for granted the spatial arrangements of bodies, tools, and apparatuses in the moment of verifying caregivers and making payments to them. These semiotic resources are imbued with affordances and meaning potentials (Kress, 2010) that cannot be taken for granted concerning the arrangement of the place.

Thus, I argue that it is an intentional practice of counter-conduct, which creates an opening in the rational ensemble or governmental apparatus for the articulation of local knowledge and communal power to accomplish the payment event in the community. For instance, in frames 40 and 41, we observe CM3 sitting in-between GhIPSS e-Zwich devices (EZ1 and EZ2) and the participating financial institution (BANK), and without a table in front of him. As part of the rational ensemble, EZ1 employs utterances, tools (lines 1 and 2), and embodied actions (lines 5 and 6) in order to initiate the verification of YMAN, which is accomplished in lines 13 and 14, but the payment of the cash to YMAN is accomplished in line 15 as CM3 hands over the cash to him. It is clear at the moment that the spatial arrangement of the participants in the interaction by the community focal persons is a motivated practice and a social control mechanism (Van Leeuwen, 2008b) for conducting the actions of caregivers, EZ1 and EZ2, and the BANK, and a way of unsettling the rational control and arrangement of the apparatus of the programme.

Furthermore, it appears that the spatial arrangements afford CM3 an opening in which he performs a multiactivity (Mondada, 2011). For example, we observe CM3 directing caregivers (lines 8, 9, and 10), standing up, receiving, and crosschecking the pay voucher from MAN and presenting it to BANK (lines 18 and 19), and we observe him receiving money from BANK, counting it and presenting it to MAN (lines 24, 15, and 26). In so doing, he momentarily orients his body towards co-participants in the ongoing interaction to accomplish actions (Schegloff, 1998). However subtle this may be, it is quite evident that creating openings in the rational ensemble or the apparatus of the programme and making local knowledge and communal power visible in the ongoing interaction at the payment event is the point at which the governing of oneself and others is accomplished. Thus, the community focal persons are "doing being governable subjects" by governing themselves and the caregivers of the programmed households in their own interests (McIlvenny et al., 2016, p. 50).

In brief, it is important to note the ways in which the community focal persons mobilise and assert power in the ongoing interaction at the payment event in the local community as they come face-to-face with the rational apparatus of the programme or the government. Even though SWO's actions at the start of the payment event appear to initiate a form of rational control over the actions of caregivers and community focal persons in the process, as an outsider SWO has limited access to the workings of local knowledge. Consequently, the capacity to accomplish the payment activity or event in the local community based on rational control with the rational ensemble – namely, the document and other governmental tools and technologies – is undermined. In taking advantage of such an opening, the community focal persons expanded their space of power by resorting to local knowledge and communal power, which afforded them the opportunity to articulate the two domains of power in order to conduct themselves and the actions of caregivers during the payment event in the local community.

Eventually, the community focal persons are the first and last persons and points of contacts with the caregivers in the payment event as they take over the payment report to identify caregivers and ultimately crosscheck and hand over the cash to the caregivers. In this way, governing the caregivers and programmed households in the local communities is not reducible to the apparatuses or the power and knowledge domains of the government. In addition, in any of the means by which the state government schematises the governing or the conduct of these caregivers and households, it makes sense to say that the strategic intervention of the local knowledge and communal power structures is necessary for accomplishing the rationality of the state government. The assertion of power and the articulations of the community focal persons is a clear manifestation of the limits of governmental technologies. In this way, the limits of the power mechanisms of the state toward accomplishing governmental rationality outside the core regions of the state is ineffectual without local knowledge and communal power.

CHAPTER 10. ACTING ON THE ACTIONS OF CAREGIVERS

The caregivers of eligible households of the LEAP cash transfer programme are the representatives of the government or the programme secretariat at the household level in the local communities. As we observed in Chapter 6, the programme constructed these caregivers as the interface between the government or the programme and the members of programmed households in the local communities. Furthermore, in Chapters 8 and 9, we observed the interplay of the forms of knowledge and the dynamics of power between the power apparatuses (the programme secretariat, the district and community focal persons) of the programme and the ways in which the representatives of these apparatuses of power mobilised and asserted power in order to accomplish the payment event. In this chapter, I analyse and investigate the ways in which the representatives of the programme's power network, particularly the programme secretariat and the transnational agencies (TNAs), and the government act on the actions of the caregivers and the programmed households in the local communities through the cash payments.

This exploration focuses on the forms of rationalities accompanying the cash that they deploy and the ways in which they conduct the conduct of the caregivers and the programmed households in local communities (Foucault, 1997, 2007a). By rationalities, I mean the planned reason, activity, and the forms of knowledge that engender these plans and activities, and the technologies and mechanisms of power that they employ in order to translate these plans and actions into local communities (Death, 2013; Miller & Rose, 2008). In a similar fashion, I investigate the ways in which the caregivers of these eligible households react to the planned actions and practices of the programme (Van Leeuwen, 2008a) or the rationalities of the programme, and the ways they conduct themselves in relation to the traditional family or kinship systems in which they are embedded. Thus, I am interested in the performative accomplishments of the caregivers in local communities (Butler, 1988), specifically the ways in which they relate and react to the programmed rationalities and the ways that these rationalities manifest in the actions or conducts of the caregivers in the local communities.

It is important to note that the governing practices of the programme in relation to programmed households are limited to the Western sociological concept of a household (Field interview with a Programme Officer, 2017). It is for this reason that the caregivers, who are mostly women, are neither heads of households nor heads of families in the traditional context. In contrast, however, I argue that the sociocultural practices of the families in the local communities cannot be reduced to the practices of the government as envisaged in the concept of the household, because the social practices of the family are historically contingent (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). For

instance, the caregivers and beneficiaries are embedded in the kinship practices of the local settings (Assimeng, 1999), and therefore they have moral or sociocultural obligations to fellow relatives who are not necessarily part of the cash transfer programme. Thus, the dilemmas of caregivers manifest at the intersection of the two discourses, since they are the immediate representatives of the governmental programme and the households as the basic unit of the programme, yet also part of the traditional family systems in the local communities.

In fact, within these broad social domains of power (the governmental programme and the traditional family system), there appear to be diverse social practices and rationalities. For instance, we observed the practices of the programme in Chapter 6, which individualised and objectivised the family members as subjects of the programme (Foucault, 1995, 1997). By individualising and objectivising, I refer to the calculated and reasoned ways in which the programme secretariat separates individuals from families by the application of certain techniques and rationalities, and holding them accountable to the programme. On the other hand, in Chapters 8 and 9 we observed the ways that the community focal persons, who are members of the families in the local community, exercised control during the cash payment event by drawing upon local knowledge and power resources in order to build alliances and conduct the actions of caregivers.

Furthermore, these individualising and objectivising practices of the programme appear to be the means of binding the caregivers and the programmed households to the apparatus of the programme. In doing so, the government or the programme secretariat in collaboration with the transnational agencies (TNAs) direct the ways in which these caregivers and the households can use the cash. Thus, the use of the cash must conform to the reasons or rationalities of the programme. In this way, the programme secretariat places "soft conditionalities" and "co-responsibilities" on the caregivers and the programmed households who are already members of families in the communities (Field interviews with a Technical Officer, 2017). On the other hand, the caregivers and the members of programmed households within the larger families of local communities have sociocultural, epistemic, and pragmatic responsibilities toward each other as members of households and families, such as those manifestations we observe in Chapters 8 and 9, during the payments. Therefore, the members of families in the context of Ghana, particularly in the local communities, are still bound together by the values of the traditional family system (Berry, 1995). I argue that these sociocultural responsibilities do inform the ways in which the caregivers use the cash that they receive on behalf of the programmed households. It suggests that the caregivers only act in a special capacity as representatives of the programme, in which their actions and conducts are bound to the expectations and obligations of the programme (Goffman, 1956).

10.1. MANIFESTATIONS OF PROGRAMME RATIONALITIES: GIVING PEOPLE "THE ABILITY" AND "THE OPPORTUNITY"

Notwithstanding the sociocultural obligations of the caregivers to the members of their households and families in the local communities, the government and the transnational agencies construe the programme as an investment and springboard. In this way, these agencies appear to act in ways that build the productive capacities of the caregivers to work their way out of poverty (DFID, 2005; Government of Ghana, 2015; Winder & Yablonski, 2012; World Bank, 2001). For instance, the caregivers putting part of the cash they receive into business or livelihood activities (Field interviews with a Technical Officer, 2017) appears to be one of the primary rationalities of the government and TNAs in the domain of the programme, yet appears opposed to the communal values of the traditional family. As mentioned, in the traditional setting, an individual's wealth is meant to fulfil the family needs, so sharing among members of the family is highly valued (Kuada & Chachah, 1989). Thus, the ways in which each of these social domains (government and family) construe the cash transfer programme do vary in connection to the discourse of the family, the rationality of the government and TNAs within the socio-political context of Ghana, and a "regime of truth" at the intersection of practices and discourses (Cocco & Cava, 2018).

Consequently, the government or the programme secretariat and the TNAs encourage and direct the caregivers of programmed households to invest in businesses or livelihood activities for the maintenance of the households, thereby moving the households out of poverty. I present and analyse empirical evidence in the next section to elaborate and illuminate the practices of TNAs and the government in relation to the ways that they direct caregivers to use the cash in local communities. The excerpt I present and analyse below is a realisation of an in-depth face-to-face conversation in interaction between the researcher (represented as R) and a Technical Officer of the TNA (represented in the excerpt as TO) who has been working with transnational agencies in the design and implementation of public social protection programmes, such as the LEAP cash transfer programme. The discussion in the face-to-face interaction is about the interest of the development partner – transnational agency (TNA) – in the domain of the programme.

Excerpt 10.1:

```
1  R:  i mean your position as development partners
2      because you have bought
3      into livelihood empowerment
4      you must have seen
5      something interesting in empowerment yes

6  TO: you know this errhm
7      government's idea of how to empower
```

```
8       vulnerable and very poor households
9       and the errh errh the empowerment is
10      giving you the ability to meet
11      your consumption needs
12      your basic consumption needs
13      giving you the ability to be able
14      to:: put some resources away
15      and utilised it in the future on business
16      or some other livelihood activity
17      giving you the opportunity
18      to send your child to school
19      giving you the opportunity
20      to feed your child with the right food
21      in other to make sure
22      the child is not stunted
23      and in the future can be educated
24      and change the course of that household
25      these are very SERIOUS forms of capacitation
```

In the excerpt above, it appears that the transnational agencies in collaboration with the government use the cash as an instrument of governing the conduct of caregivers and members of the programmed households in the local communities. It does so by delineating and defining the ways (lines 11 and 15) in which these caregivers must conduct themselves in relation to themselves, the household, and the state government (lines 10 and 17). That being so, the government directly deploys the cash to the caregivers on behalf of the programmed households, and in the local communities, amidst conditions, "rules of conduct", and responsibilities (Goffman, 1956). By rules of conduct, I refer to the ways in which these caregivers are expected by the government to conduct themselves in order to conduct members of the households in relation to the obligations and requirements of the programme[22].

The government and the transnational agencies direct the actions of caregivers and the members of the programmed households to use the cash in ways that are consistent with the planned purpose of the programme (Field interview with a Programme Officer, 2017). Thus, the programme secretariat and the TNAs expect the caregivers of the programmed households to act objectively and reflexively. This act of objectivity and reflexivity, I argue, is a form of governing oneself (the caregiver) in order to govern others (members of the programmed household) at the level of the

[22] As Goffman (1956) points out, rules of conduct form a guide for action, which are "recommended not because it is pleasant, cheap, or effective, but because it is suitable or just" (p. 473), that is, these rules are bound to some rationalities. In the context of the programme, these rules are "obligations" and "expectations" that are infused in the conduct of caregivers and programmed households in the local communities.

household (Foucault, 2010), and reporting to the upper echelons of the power network of the programme, which is the secretariat.

In line 7, the TO of the TNA construes the cash to caregivers of eligible households as the "government's idea of how to empower" people in the households. In Chapter 6, we observed the ways in which the programme secretariat objectifies and categorises these households as "vulnerable and very poor" (line 8) by using specific objectivising mechanisms. Even though it appears that the cash is a "tool" of empowerment from the government to the households, it is clear that the government's idea of empowerment is a way of constructing socio-economic relations with the programmed households through which it conducts the conduct of the caregivers in the local communities. Thus, it appears as though the programme is governing the caregivers and programmed households to in turn govern themselves by engaging in "business" to be able to meet their "consumption needs" (lines 11 and 15).

Therefore, TNAs define the parameters of empowering those people to mean a way of "giving you the ability" (lines 10 and 13), and "giving you the opportunity" (lines 17 and 19) to "change the course of that household" (line 24). Clearly, these imperative statements of the TO suggest the TNAs and the government use the cash as a form of a "capacitating mechanism" to regulate the conduct of caregivers and households through a governmental empowerment rationality. In this manner, the "giving" of cash is not an end in itself, but is rather a medium or mechanism for inculcating "self-discipline" and "self-management practices" (Rose, 1999, p. 44) in the conduct of these caregivers and the programmed households in the local communities. For instance, the TNAs direct these caregivers to feed children with the right food and send them to school as well as invest in business (lines 15, 18, and 20). Clearly, lines 14, 15, and 21 are manifestations of the ways that the TNAs deploy these self-disciplining and self-management directives to the caregivers of the programme households.

Furthermore, the government and the TNAs organise, schematise, and deploy the capacitating mechanism within the sociocultural, economic, and political domains of the programmed households, and these schematisations may contradict the values of the family in the context of tradition and culture. In a sense, the individualising and objectivising practices of the programme oppose the communal values of the traditional family; for example, the communal sharing of resources and helping family members in the local communities (Kuada & Chachah, 1989). In contrast to the traditional sharing arrangements of families in local communities, the capacitating mechanism of the programme suggests that the caregivers and the programmed households put resources aside and use them for business and other livelihood activities in the future (lines 14 to 16). Additionally, by putting resources aside for investment, these households are able to meet their consumption needs (lines 12 and 13). In doing so, the TNAs accomplish the rationality of providing social protection

not only as a safety net, but also as an investment and a springboard, which provides men and women with the capacity and mobility to move out of poverty (World Bank, 2001). In the same fashion, within the social domain, these agencies and the programme secretariat deploy the cash to the caregivers and the members of the household to educate their children (line 23) as a way of disciplining the members of the households on their way out of poverty.

Politically, in Chapter 6, we observed the ways in which the caregivers and programmed households were constructed as programme "tools" and separated from the family in the sociocultural context of Ghana, and of course, the communities in which the programme is translated. The separation led to the installation of the caregivers, and as the heads of these new programmatically-constituted households, these caregivers assume new identities as their administrators. Even though some family heads double as the caregivers of the programmed household, it is clear that the political structure of the programmed household is different from that of the family in the context of tradition and culture (Field interview with district focal person, 2017).

In this way, the programme does not rely on the sociocultural and political setup, or on the social practices and moral values of the traditional family in conducting the conduct of caregivers and members of the programmed households in the local communities (Field interview with a Programme Officer, 2017). By programmed households, I refer to those households that the programme secretariat constitutes as the official households for deploying the cash transfer programme into the local communities, which differ from the households of the traditional family system (Nukunya, 2016, pp. 62–63). Consequently, it is the conviction of the government and the TNAs that in deploying the capacitating mechanism into the domain of the programmed households, social protection does serve as a springboard that could change the course of these households (line 24). Indeed, the TNAs construe the cash as a form of capacitating mechanism because they see it as a "very SERIOUS form of capacitation" (line 25) to those households that receive it.

It appears that the rationality is to transform the caregivers and the members of the households into "entrepreneurial subjects," and drive the pursuit of their individual interests along the market logic of the state. In a way, the utterance of the TO in line 25 is a manifestation of the way in which the TNAs and the government rationalise their actions in the domain of the LEAP programme. Even though the TO accounts appear to legitimise actions and rationalities for deploying the programme, such rationalities crystallise on the issue of governing the population (Foucault, 2007a, 2008). In this sense, I refer to the ways in which the government or the programme governs caregivers and programmed households, which in turn creates openings or conditions of possibility for them to govern themselves purposefully (Foucault, 1997); that is, in their own interests and in the interests of others (the state government and the family). To put it directly, the programme conducts the actions of the caregivers

and the members of the programmed households without imposing "universals" or "rationalities" (Foucault, 1984b), and exercises absolute control over the actions of these people. However, the ways in which the TNAs rationalise and moralise (Van Luuewen, 2007) their actions in order to direct the actions of the caregivers and the programmed households are clear in the TO's accounts. These caregivers and programmed households are expected to conduct themselves in relation to a certain "regime of truth" that aims at maintaining effectiveness in regard to the management of the life (Cocco & Cava, 2018), and in relation to market logic.

10.2. REGULATING CAREGIVERS CONDUCTS THROUGH "CO-RESPONSIBILITIES" AND "SOFT CONDITIONALITIES"

In order to accomplish the rationalities of the programme as explicated above, the transnational agencies and the government or programme secretariat employ regulatory mechanisms via surveillance and disciplinary technologies (Foucault, 1995), by delineating and installing "rules of conduct" to regulate or guide the actions of the caregivers and programmed households. In this section, I investigate the ways in which the apparatus of the programme or government direct the actions of the caregivers and the programmed households in the local communities. The excerpt I present and analyse below is a realisation of conversation in a face-to-face interview with a Technical Officer (TO) of a transactional agency. The discussion focuses on the relations and responsibilities in the domain of the programme, particularly the relations between the caregivers and the LEAP cash transfer programme.

Excerpt 10.2:

```
72 R:  so given this way of explaining empowerment
73     does the programme place a kind of
74     responsibility on the beneficiaries or
75     they just passive recipients

76 TO: responsibility yes in the design(.)no
77     in the design in the design of the programme
78     there is what they call co-responsibilities
79     for example households that
80     have got children less than five years are
81     expected to take their children for vaccination
82     they are expected to take their children
83     out of child labour(.)they are expected
84     to send their kids to school(.)you know
85     errhm they expected to use the transfers
86     to improve the nutrition of the household
87     these are things that are communicated to them
88     and they are encouraged to do(.)you know
89     soo errhm i would say these are kinds of
```

```
90      co-responsibilities we called them
91      they are like some soft conditionalities
92      that you encourage households to do
93      as a way of fully utilising the transfer
94      that comes to them(.)so this is what
95      errhm households are immediately expected to do
96      and this is what has been communicated
```

In the excerpt above, we observe TO "prefiguring and staging" (McIlvenny et al., 2016) a form of governmentality by evoking the self-management practices and responsible conduct of caregivers, a governmental rationality that is embedded in the deployment of the cash to the caregivers of the programmed households[23]. Similarly, the TO's utterances in lines 76 and 77 are clear manifestations of the ways that TNAs employ "responsibilisation" mechanisms "in the design of the programme" to direct the conduct of caregivers and households. In this way, the practices of the programme do not suggest naïve responsibilisation (Foucault, 2017). Responsibilisation mechanisms refer to taking responsibility for one's own actions as a practice of being responsible for acting on the actions of oneself, yet bound to the apparatus of the programme (Foucault, 1997, 2005; Miller & Rose, 2008). In this context, responsibilisation does not mean a practice of de-subjectivation in which the subject is detached from the "truth" that constitutes it from the outside (Foucault, 2017, p. 10). In doing so, the TNAs and the government clearly lay out the rules that appear to define and direct the conducts of caregivers and programmed households.

Furthermore, lines 81 to 85 are manifestations of the ways in which the government and TNAs direct the conduct of the caregivers and programmed households in relation to the cash. Even though the utterances of the TO, "they are expected," appear to express the expectations of the programme, the utterance in line 95, "households are immediately expected to do" appears to have driven expectations into the domain of obligation (Fairclough, 2003), and implicate authority and relations of power (Fairclough, 2015). Expectations and obligations are fundamental elements of rules of conduct to which infractions receive negative sanctions (Goffman, 1956). In this way, the caregivers and programme households appear to be bound by the rules of the programme, which block openings to alternative ways of conducting themselves in relation to the subjective experiences that they appear to have about themselves, which is independent of the prescriptive practices of the programme. To put it directly, the caregivers and programmed households have limited choices in governing their own

[23] According to McIlvenny et al. (2016), prefiguration in relation to governmentality is "the circulation and performance of specific discursive rationalities, programmes, routines, etc. in order to make subjects aware of how their conduct is being or needs to be conducted" (p. 51). In the specific case of social protection, the TNAs and the government employ this form of discursive practice as a way of making caregivers conduct themselves and the programme households responsibly, in relation to the expectations and obligations of the programme as we observed in the excerpt above.

actions in the local communities, which of course is not limited to obeying the rules of the programme. As mentioned above, present-day Ghana is complex, and therefore the actions of the caregivers cannot be conducted in a linear and programmatic way. Social lives, and for that matter the actions of the caregivers, are intelligible at the intersections of the family and kinship systems with modern government.

However, I must note that the TNAs direct the conduct of these caregivers through a network of power (the government or the programme secretariat) and at a distance (Miller & Rose, 2008). In this way, the programme regulates the conduct of caregivers in the local communities without being physically present in those communities. Interestingly, we observe the ways that the TNAs deploy government at a distance (lines 90 and 91) by utilising power mechanisms and technologies that in turn manifest in the form of "soft conditions" and "co-responsibilities". Thus, it suggests that the ways in which the government or the programme secretariat conducts the conducts of caregivers and programmed households in the local communities is a manifestation of the translations of the TNAs' rationalities in the domain of the programme. Thus, the manifestations or concrete practices of governing men and women in the programme appear to be a reflection or projection of the rationalities of the TNAs.

Therefore, in this manner, the TNAs not only employ prefigurative performances and the staging of governmentality, they also inscribe these performances and rationalities onto the actions of caregivers through a form of conditioning technology, which the TO describes as "soft-conditionalities" (line 91). In fact, the TNAs and the programme secretariat engage with a combination of the "self-management" and conditioning mechanisms in order to accomplish the rationalities for deploying social protection (Rose, 1999, p. 44). The programme secretariat communicates these conditions and responsibilities to the caregivers of the households (lines 87 and 96) with the aim of transforming them into somewhat "proper governable subjects" within the domain of programme, and they are expected "to climb out of poverty" (McIlvenny et al., 2016; World Bank, 2001). For instance, these caregivers and households are "immediately expected to do" or act and take up the conditions and responsibilities of the programme in order to make full use of the cash that they received (lines 93, 94 and 95). In the next section, I investigate the ways in which the programme secretariat translates governmental rationalities and actions in the local communities by directing the conduct of caregivers and programmed households.

10.3. "TRANSLATING" PROGRAMME RATIONALITIES: DIRECTING THE CONDUCT OF CAREGIVERS

The analysis of the previous section suggests that the apparatuses of the programme prefigure governmentality by communicating governmental rationalities, conditions, responsibilities, and "the rules of conduct" – the obligations and expectations of the programme to the caregivers of programmed households. This section focuses on the ways in which the programme secretariat translates the rationalities of the programme

into the local communities by directing the conducts of the caregivers of programmed households through an educational technology. I am interested in investigating the ways in which the apparatus of the programme or government translate the diverse rationalities that we observed in the previous section by directing the actions of the caregivers in the local communities at a distance (Miller & Rose, 2008). Thus, I present and analyse below an excerpt of a video recording of a naturally-occurring interaction during a pay point inspection in a local community. In the ongoing interaction, the district and community focal persons demonstrate to the Programme Officers from the programme secretariat the ways in which they direct the conducts of the caregivers of programmed households during the cash payment event. The participants in the interaction include the district focal person (represented as SWO), the community focal person (represented as CM) and the Programme Officers from the programme secretariat (G and J).

Excerpt 10.3:

```
1    J:     ((taking photos and videos of the room))

2  SWO:     [((moves backwards))
3           [so when they come they sit here
4           [((points to the left of the room))

5    G:     mmm

6   SWO:    ((points to the floor of the room))
7           [we set our table to do the payment
8           [((turns and faces the back of the room))

9           and we do the education
10          ((walks forward))

11          last payment {koraa}
                         indeed
12          we came here with the

13 J:       ((takes photo))

14 SWO:     the health

15   G:     ahh yeah=yeah=yeah=yeah

16 SWO:     personnel-

17   G:     [who did the](.)education on

18  SWO:    [uhuh       ]
```

```
19   J:    [please come and stand here
20         [((stretches hand in a direction))

21   G:    ok° ok° ok°

22   J:    ((steps forward))

23  CM:    ((walks towards a direction))

24 SWO:    they did(.)they talk
25         ((waves hand, turn and looks at CM))

26         [they educated them on the nutrition
27         [family planning and then malaria
28         [((looking at G))

29 SWO:    the causes and prevention of malaria
30         i have some of the pictures {koraa}
                                       indeed
31         [on my phone
32         [((pointing to the phone))
```

As mentioned, space is a resource for constructing, performing, and representing and governmentalising social actors and actions in social practices (Foucault, 1995, 2002c; Van Leeuwen, 2008a). In the excerpt above, we observe the assembling of space and the virtual positioning of bodies in space (lines 3 and 7) in what appears to be a classroom arrangement, which is a resource for exercising power and disciplining caregivers in the context of the programme. It is obvious that from line 2 to line 10, SWO and G are jointly schematising and staging a "virtual class room" by demarcating spaces in which the inculcation of self-management and responsible conduct is communicated to caregivers during the payment event (Rose, 1999).

Furthermore, SWO is recounting to G the ways in which the programme "normally" directs the conducts of caregivers by coupling the payment of cash and education (lines 7 and 9). I say normally because the accounts of SWO with regard to the practices of payment and education are a way of translating the programme rationalities through the anchoring of cash payments to a technology of education and appear to be a routine practice. For instance, SWO's utterance in line 3, "when they come they sit here", suggests that the practice of coupling payment with education is a fixed and ordered practice based on past experience (Foucault, 1971) in which the programme acts on the conduct of the caregivers in the local community. Similarly, SWO envisions the scene and constructs a hierarchical social relationship and distance between the social actors in the event or practice (Fairclough, 2003) by using the pronouns "they", "we", and "our" (lines 3, 7 and 8) at different times in the interaction. Thus, it appears to be a mechanism of exercising power in terms of owning the process

of programme translation and acting on the conduct of caregivers in the local communities during the cash payment.

In the ordered payment and education event, SWO sets out the space in which the translation of the programme rationalities in terms of self-management and responsibilities as a way of directing the caregivers in local communities is accomplished through the cash payment and education activities. Interestingly, we observe the ways in which SWO foregrounds the education activity by elaborating upon it (lines 26, 27 and 29) in relation to the ways that G produces utterances that appear to foreground her interest and recognition of the education activity in the domain of the programme (lines 15 and 17). In addition, we recall that in the previous section, TO placed emphasis on the claim that "these are things that are communicated to them and they are encouraged to do". Thus, it appears that the moment of cash payment presents an appropriate opportunity to inculcate in the caregivers the conditions, responsibilities, and the rationalities of the government programme as well as self-management and self-discipline practices through the "education" (line 8).

Similarly, in the moment of constructing the caregivers as subjects of the programme, there is a form of communication and education in which the Programme Officers "tell them about the programme", which suggests the ways these caregivers conduct themselves in relation to the expectations and obligations of the programme (Field interview with a Programme Officer, 2017). Consequently, the acceptance of "responsibilities as a caregiver" suggests that the caregivers transform themselves into "governable subjects" (McIlvenny et al., 2016) in order to govern themselves as "the caregivers of the household" (Field interview with a Programme Officer, 2017), and the actions of members of the programmed households. By transforming themselves into governable subjects, I refer to the ways in which the caregivers articulate their subjective experiences and moral practices through the expectations and obligations of the programme. In this way, transforming oneself into a programmable, governable subject in the domain of the programme appears to have nothing to do with the apparatus of the families, even though the ethical or moral practices of the caregivers in the local communities are conditioned by the moral values of the families in which they live. Thus, the caregivers of the programme appear to be detached from the moral values of the family in the local community.

The link between education and payment suggests that these moments are not just designed for deploying cash grants to caregivers of programmed households; rather, it is also important to note that the ordered practice of coupling cash payments and education is a "discursive practice" (Foucault, 2002d, p. 60). As a discursive practice, it constitutes and transforms the subjects of the programme as it manifests in the actions and practices of social actors in the ongoing interaction. In this way, the conversation in the ongoing interaction is more than just the sum of the utterances of all the participants in the interaction. For instance, the utterance of G in line 21 appears to be an expression of satisfaction in relation to the accounts of SWO about the way

that the education is coupled with the payment activity (lines 7 and 9). The affirmative acknowledgement of G in line 15 presupposes a contextual (historical) understanding of the education activity as a requirement during the moment of cash payment to caregivers. Thus, I argue that "the education" activity (line 9), the communication and encouragement to discipline and manage the caregivers to manage themselves, as we observed in the previous section, is a biopolitical rationality of the government and the TNAs (Cocco & Cava, 2018). The education of the caregivers can be understood as a biopolitical technology (Foucault, 2008) because it is a way of bringing caregivers under close supervision through explicit mechanisms that discipline and transform them into governable subjects (Rose, 1999), within a regime of practice (Dean, 2010).

Interestingly, SWO demonstrates epistemic authority and responsibility as a supervisor of the education activity by keeping records for inspection and being willing to offer these records for verification (lines 30, 31 and 32). As a power capillary of the programme that acts on the actions of caregivers in the local communities, we can observe SWO negotiating her efficiency, visibility, and commitment to educating and transforming caregivers (lines 7, 9 and 12), as she demonstrates in the ongoing interaction. In this way, SWO is doing being a district focal person and intermediary apparatus of the LEAP cash transfer programme (Bang Lindegaard, 2014). The actions of SWO and G suggest that the payment and education events are by themselves power apparatuses in the sense that there is a combination of knowledge (rationality), power (the apparatus of the programme), and language use (education) at work in order to (re)produce governable subjects (Fairclough, 2015; Foucault, 1980). Thus, in the above excerpt we can observe biopolitics in its concrete manifestation in local communities in terms of governmental rationality – conducting the conduct of the caregivers in relation to ordered and institutionalised practices, expectations, and obligations of the programme.

10.4. ENFORCING THE ORDER OF PRACTICE: "WE WARNED THEM"

In Chapters 8 and 9, we observed a detailed account of the ways in which the government accomplishes the cash payment event through the biometric devices when paying the cash to the caregivers of programmed households in local communities. Furthermore, I gave an account of the two ways (offline and online payments) in which the government administers and accomplished the cash payment event by paying the cash to caregivers in local communities. The accounts and actions of SWO in the previous section suggest that it is at the payment event that the apparatus of the programme communicates its rationalities and the responsibilities of self-management to caregivers of the programmed households. Certainly, it is a way in which the government directs the actions of the caregivers at a distance, through the programme (Miller & Rose, 2008). In this section, I analyse the actions and accounts of participants in interaction in order to investigate the ways in which the programme conducts the actions of caregivers in relation to the ordered and routine practices of

the education and payment activities in local communities. The data excerpt is a realisation of conversation in a naturally-occurring interaction during a pay point inspection and assessment in a local community. The participants of the interaction comprise two Programme Officers (G and J) from the programme secretariat, the district focal person (SWO) in the district in which the interaction takes place, and the community focal person (CM) of the programmed community in which the pay point is located.

Excerpt 10.4:

```
1    G:    [so::
2          [((looking away))

3          the bank has come here to pay before
4          or not yet
5          [((turns and looking at SWO))

6   SWO:   [((looking at G))
7          [↑oh yes

8    G:    aha
9          ((nods, turns and looks away))

10  SWO:   [((looking at G))
11         [we've been coming here

12   G:    [so they know this place(.)ok
13         [((walking away))

14 SWO:    [we've been coming here
15         [((looks at G))

16         ((then looking away))

17 SWO: the biometric [we told them that when you come]=

18  J:                [((looking at SWO))             ]

19  SWO:             =[and because of something       ]=
20                   =[you are not able to come       ]=

21   J:     [((walking and looking at SWO))

22  SWO:   =[you can go to the bank later

23  G:     yes
```

```
24  J:      [((looking at SWO))

25  SWO:    ↑[so later on] before you come
26           [((nods))   ]

27          [they have all gone to the bank
28          [((points finger upwards, looking at G))

29          ↑[so we warned them
30           [((waves hand and looking at G))

31   G:     huhuhuhu

32   J:     ((repositions himself and looking at SWO))

33  SWO:    that is not the purpose
34          [because when we come we do the education  =

35   J:     [((moves a little closer and looks at SWO))
36          [((nods))
37          [ok°

38   G:     [eehh

39 SWO:     and when they go to the bank
40          they miss the education=

41  J:      ((looking at SWO))

42 SWO:     so last time when we came

43          [they were all there in their numbers
44          [((pointing to the building))

45   J:     [ok°
46          [((nods))

47   G:     [ookay

48 SWO:     only that there few people here
49          who cannot receive the cash
50          because it it's very frustrating

51 SWO:     [but as i said     =
52          [((looking at J))
```

```
53   J:    [((looking at SWO))

54  SWO:   =we are making the[follow up          ]
55                            [((looking at CM)) ]

56  CM:                       [((looking at SWO))]

57  J:     ok°

58  SWO:   [he was just telling me that
59         [they worry him as if                 =

60         [((pointing to CM while looking at J))

61   J:    [((looking at CM))

62  CM:    [((looking at J))

63  SWO:   ↑one of them spoke to me as if
64         i'm sitting on his money
```

The actions and accounts of G and SWO from lines 1 to 16 in the excerpt above appear to be clear manifestations of the ways in which the rationalities and ordered practices of the programme are translated over space, that is, beyond the core regions of government into local communities to act on the actions of caregivers. It is clear that G pursues an interest in the ways in which SWO conducts the conduct of caregivers in the local community (lines 3, 4 and 12). In these lines, we observe the way G sets controls and relations between herself and SWO in terms of the question-answer pairing (Schegloff, 2007b). In line 12, G uses "they" and "this place" to refer to the caregivers and the pay point, respectively, where "the education and payment" events happen. In this way, it appears that there is a routine and ordered set-up in which G expects SWO to act on the conduct of caregivers, as there is a relation between "they" the caregivers and "this place" in terms of the pay point. Consequently, the utterance of G in line 12 is hearable to SWO not only as a question, but also as a request to give an account of practice in relation to the ways she conducts the conduct of caregivers during the education and payment event (Heritage, 2013).

SWO's utterance in line 17 suggests that "the biometric" plays a key role in determining the ways in which the programme acts on the actions of the caregivers in the local communities, particularly during the payment event. I gave a vivid description and explanation of the biometric device and the way it works as a programme technology in Chapters 6, 8 and 9. In simple terms, the programme secretariat uses the biometric device in order to identify caregivers and authenticate cash payments to these caregivers. Thus, it is a device for conducting or acting on the conduct of caregivers in relation to where and how they receive the cash grant from the government. As the biodata of the caregivers are stored in the biometric device –

the e-Zwich – this suggests the caregivers "can go to the bank later" (line 22) if they "are not able to come" (line 20) to the pay point during payment (Fairclough, 2003); clearly, the affirmative response of G in line 23 supports this point. Even though the caregivers appear to have some choices in relation to where and how they can receive their cash payments, the expectations and obligations of the programme appear to have blocked these choices. For instance, it is mandatory that the caregivers visit the pay point "because when we come we do the education" (line 34) before they receive the cash. This is clear in the utterance of SWO (line 33); education is a technology that the government or the programme uses to direct the actions of caregivers through the payments. In other words, the education and the cash payment are inseparably connected in order to direct the actions of caregivers in local communities in relation to the rationalities of the government.

Furthermore, SWO orients to the actions of the caregivers and the choices that they make as counter-conducts or resistance to conducting themselves in relation to the expectations and obligations of the programme. The visit to the pay point to receive the cash after they have gone through the education about the ways to conduct themselves as governable subjects (McIlvenny et al., 2016) appears to be mandatory and non-negotiable. Her accounts of the caregivers' actions indicate that "they have all gone to the bank" (line 27), but not to the pay point, suggests that the caregivers are resisting "the education" activity (line 34) of the programme which is imposed on them. Indeed, the caregivers miss the education activity when they go to the bank directly instead of going to the pay point, where the education activity takes place (lines 39 and 40). It is for this reason that "we warned them" (line 29) when "they have all gone to the bank" (line 27) instead of going to the pay point. The laughter from G in response to the ways that SWO manages caregivers' resistance by warning them appears as though the programme secretariat shares the common knowledge about the ways in which caregivers conduct themselves in relation to education (line 31). Thus, issuing the warning to caregivers as a way of directing their conduct or actions does not appear to G as a surprise (line 38).

However, as I mentioned previously, the actions of SWO as a way of directing the conduct of the caregivers appears to block the caregivers' choices and actions of governing themselves. Thus, SWO's action appears to be an extreme disciplinary mechanism because "we cannot force you to be a caregiver" (Field interview with a Programme Officer, 2017). Similarly, governing the conduct of caregivers must not be a way to force them to obey the mandatory requirements of the programme outside of themselves (Foucault, 1993); rather, it should be a way of acting upon their actions, in order to in turn act on themselves in their own interest. As we observed earlier, just giving out cash is not the single reason or "purpose" (line 33) of deploying the programme, but a way of educating the caregivers of the programme, and ensuring that they govern themselves and the members of the programmed households by transforming them into responsible, disciplined, and governable subjects. In the following section, I investigate the ways in which the programme secretariat monitors

and directs the conduct of caregivers and the programmed households in the local communities in relation to the apparatus of the programme.

10.5. SURVEILLING CAREGIVERS CONDUCT: "THE COMMUNITY MEMBERS ARE ALSO WITNESSES"

In Chapter 6, we observed the ways that the programme secretariat installed diverse apparatuses along the power network of the programme in order to accomplish the deployment of the programme into the programmed households in local communities. In a sense, then, the power network of the programme in itself is a surveillance mechanism (Foucault, 1995) in which social actors of diverse domains within the nodes and links of the programme metaphorically keep an eye on their own actions and the actions of others in the domain of the programme. Furthermore, it appears that the caregivers and the members of the programmed households and the community in which the programme operates are surveillance nodes within the programme apparatus. Apparently, in the previous section we observed how SWO and the Programme Officers (G and J) jointly demonstrated the ways caregivers are conducted through the pairing of education and payment.

Thus, the caregivers are transformed into disciplined, responsible, and governable subjects, who are able to govern the conduct of the members of the programmed households in line with the expectations and obligations of the programme. In this way, it suggests that the caregivers not only exist to take money on behalf of the programmed households in the local communities, but they also work to promote the purpose of the programme articulated to the rationalities of the government and the affiliated TNAs. In this section, I investigate the ways in which the programme secretariat surveys and directs the actions of the caregivers of programmed households. The excerpt I present and analyse below is a realisation of face-to-face conversation in an interview with a Programme Officer (PO). The talk is about the ways in which the programme secretariat monitors the actions of caregivers in relation to the cash grants that they receive from the government.

Excerpt 10.5:

```
78 R:  have you got some cases where
79     family members come to tell you
80     i don't want this person to be on
81     this particular programme

82 PO: err no(.)ok there was an instance
83     not actually on a particular programme
84     but they report that
85     i don't want this caregiver because
86     number one probably ok
87     there are various reasons ok
```

there was one case that we had
so the household came(.)they report to our
they have a channel of reporting
they can report to us direct or
to social welfare on the ground(.)so
they reported to the social welfare officer
that they didn't want the caregiver
the reason is that
the caregiver takes the grant
instead of spending it on the household
she spends it on herself
so they wanted the caregiver removed

PO:the community members are also witnesses
in the community sometimes
the community members come
to report caregivers to us
that this person takes the money
and all he does is may be go to the next spot
and buy some drinks(.)so when it comes to us
we investigate and if we find out
that its true(.)we tell we talk to
the household to nominate a new caregiver
so that we enrol and replace the caregiver

The excerpt above suggests that the programme secretariat employs both direct and indirect surveillance mechanisms as a means to "keep an eye" on the conduct of caregivers at the community level. By direct surveillance mechanisms, I refer to the ways in which the programme secretariat performs and accomplishes surveillance by having a direct means of contact with caregivers, through the institutionalisation of monitoring as a governing mechanism. In deploying monitoring as both a surveillance mechanism and a governing mechanism, the programme secretariat deploys its officers to the local communities to have direct interaction with the caregivers (Field interviews with a Programme Officer, 2017).

In doing so, the programme secretariat directly conducts and monitors the conduct of the caregivers in the local community regarding the use of the cash, via the rationality of the government and the TNAs as embedded in the programme. On the other hand, by indirect surveillance, I mean the ways in which the programme secretariat monitors the conduct of caregivers in the community setting at a distance as a way of regulating their autonomy (Rose & Miller, 2010). In this way, the programme governs their conduct through a mechanism of reporting in which the members of the programmed households and the communities send oral reports to the programme secretariat as "witnesses" (line 100) of the conduct of caregivers in the community.

There are two channels available to members of these households and communities for reporting the conduct of caregivers (line 90). In that sense, "they can report to us direct" (line 91), and they can report "to the social welfare officer" (lines 92 and 93). As we observed in Chapter 7, the social welfare officer is actually the district focal person and acts as a "power capillary" of the programme secretariat in the district. It is obvious in lines 97 and 98, as well as in lines 105 and 106, that these households and communities report diverse conducts to the programme secretariat through either of these direct and indirect channels. In doing so, these households and communities have succeeded in having caregivers either removed or replaced (lines 99 and 110) after an investigation into the reports by the programme secretariat (line 107).

The indirect surveillance mechanisms appear to be the manifestations of the ways in which the programme deploys mechanisms of self-government and the governing of others (Foucault, 2010) by allowing both the caregivers and the members of programmed households to manage themselves and others in relation to the "soft conditions" and "co-responsibilities" that the programme imposes on them. However, I argue that these technologies of self-management, self-discipline, and responsibility (Rose, 1999) are limited to the programmed households, and are outside the domain of the traditional family system. However, as we observed above, the indirect surveillance mechanism does not grant autonomy to the caregivers and programmed households outside the expectations and obligations of the programme. Similarly, it does not suggest the decreased involvement of the programme secretariat or the government in the everyday life experiences of the caregivers and the programmed households. Consequently, the surveillance mechanisms of the programme appear to reinforce the universal obligations of the programme and limit the conditions of possibilities for the government of self (the caregivers) and others (the members of programmed households) in the local communities (Foucault, 2010).

10.6. THE SUBJECTIVATED CONDUCT OF CAREGIVERS: "LITTLE MONEY TO WORK"

As we observed in the previous sections of this thesis, the caregiver of the programmed household is constructed as "the person who is in charge of all activities in the house" (Field interview with a district focal person, 2017). In addition, we observed that these caregivers receive cash on behalf of the programmed households, and for the same reason, they must participate in "the education" activities at pay points, and refer their conduct to the "soft conditionalities" and "co-responsibilities" of the programme or the government and the affiliated TNAs (Foucault, 1990a, 2005). Thus, it appears that the caregivers of the programmed households are bound to the expectations and obligations of the programme, and in doing so they conduct themselves and the members of the programmed households in line with the rationalities of the government and the TNAs. The practice of articulating actions appears to be the means by which the government and the TNAs translate the LEAP cash transfer programme in order to govern the caregivers and members of the

programmed households in the local communities (Rose, 1999). Interestingly, it is clear now that the caregiver is the "administrator" of the programmed household, and in a sense, the same caregiver is the "spending officer" of the cash grants that they receive on behalf of the programmed households—and not the traditional family.

This section focuses on the ways in which the caregivers of the programmed households direct their own actions in relation to the cash that they receive from the government, meaning how they respond to the expectations and obligations of the apparatus of the programme or the government. Thus, I present and analyse the excerpt below in order to investigate the discursive practices of these caregivers. In this context, I use the discursive practices of caregivers to indicate not only the rules of the practice in which they are embedded, but also to include the actions and accounts as they construct and perform the ways in which they use the cash (Van Leeuwen, 2008a). In short, I mean speaking and doing things in context (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) in relation to the expectations and obligations of the programme. The excerpt is a realisation of conversation in interaction during a focus group interview with female caregivers in a local community. The group comprises seven (7) female caregivers (represented in the fragment as FC1 and FC2-7), one (1) female participant doubled as a caregiver and a beneficiary[24] (represented in the excerpt as BF) and the researcher (represented as R).

Excerpt 10.6:

1 R: **mepɛ sɛ mebisa(.)saa sika no**
i want to ask(.)that money

2 **deɛbɛn ntease na monya fa ho**
what understanding do you have about it

3 **obiara nkabi(.)yɛredi nkɔmmɔ**
everyone should talk(.)we are discussing

4 **obiara mfeeli {free}**
everyone should feel free

5 FC4: **edikan yɛda aban ase**
first of all we thank the government

6 R: **ɛyɛ a na woakasa den kakra woate**
its good you talk a little harder you hear

7 FC4: ↑**yɛda aban ase sɛ wahunu yɛn mmɔbɔ**

[24] A caregiver doubles as the beneficiary in special situations such as a one-member household. In a one-member household, the individual takes care of herself/himself without the assistance of a caregiver (Field interview with Programme Officer, 2017).

we thank government for having mercy on us

8 **wɔn nso kaee yɛn kurom hafoɔ**
they also remember the people of our village

9 **na yɛn nsoso yɛanya biribi**
and we too we got something

10 **sika kakra deyɛ adwuma**
little money to work

11 **hwɛ yɛn mma**
care for our children

12 **first no nso yɛnni adwuma yɛ**
also previously we don't have work to do

13 **ɛnna yɛde sika yi yɛde yɛ adwuma**
and we take this money we do work with it

14 **yɛnni sika a yɛde adwuma**
we don't have money to work with

15 R: **mmm**

16 FC4: **nti aban nso ɔde yei baeɛ no**
so when the government brought this

17 **yɛn nso yɛda [no ase]**
we also thank it

18 **[((ɔbɔ ne tiri nko))]**
((nods))

In the above excerpt, we observe the ways in which FC4 is staging differential relations of power, or power relations based on differences, such as the relations between subject and authority (lines 7 and 8). In these lines, FC4 draws on "we", "us", "they", and "our" in order to construct the relations of differences between caregivers (the subjects) and the government or the programme (the authority) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). It suggests that the caregiver is construing her conduct in relation to the authority of the government and the practices of the programme, which in turn manifest a practice of "self-subjectivation" (Foucault, 2005, p. 214). In this sense, the caregivers understand themselves in relation to the apparatus of the programme. Similarly, the actions and accounts of FC4 in the excerpt above are typical of a "presentational ritual" (Goffman, 1956), which is in line with the practices of subjectivation because the subject is drawing upon authority in order to relate to the

self. By presentation ritual, I refer to the ways in which FC4 makes an attestation or pledges allegiance regarding the ways caregivers relate to the programme. For instance, “we thank government for having mercy on us” as well as “we take this money we do work with it” and “care for our children” (lines 7, 11, and 13) are manifestations of such presentational rituals. It suggests that the caregiver is conscious of the “soft conditionalities,” “co-responsibilities,” and subjectivation practices of the government that accompany the cash they receive as a token, in the sense of which FC4 describes it as “little money” (line 10).

As a caregiver, FC4 construes the cash they receive from the government as “little money to work” with and “care for our children” (lines 10 and 11). In this way, we observe the gendered biopolitics at work (Repo, 2015) as FC4 appears to construct her relation with the cash grants or the LEAP cash transfer programme in line with the care and market rationality of the government, in terms of effective life management (Cocco & Cava, 2018). The accounts of FC4 suggest that the gendering of the cash transfer programme (Rolandsen Agustin, 2013) in terms of care and work does not appear to be a practice that is pre-determined in the domain of gender (Butler, 2006) or a naïve responsibilisation, but it is discursively mobilised to accomplish a governmental rationality within a “regime of truth” (Foucault, 1980). Consequently, in lines 12 and 13, FC4 constructs the caregivers and members of the programmed households in the community as capable; they would like to work but they do not have any work to do, and additionally, they do not have money or cash to engage in any work. It is for this reason that FC4 thanked the government for being merciful and giving them the cash, which would enable them to work and care for their children (lines 7 and 16 to 18). Thus, FC4’s accounts appear to reinforce the biopolitical regime at work in the local communities.

However, as the self is not totalising and passive (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018), we observe how FC4 negotiates responsibility and presents caregivers as morally governable subjects (Rose, 1999). In addition, it appears that FC4 is resisting the ways in which the apparatus of the programme constructs and categorises the caregivers and household members as “extremely poor” and “vulnerable”, which suggests a relation of domination (Sprague, 2016). Consequently, the actions of FC4 and the female caregivers of the programme in the local community do not suggest a counter-conduct or resistance to conduct themselves in relation to the expectations and obligations of the programme; rather, their actions and accounts appear to be ways of negotiating their identities in the domain of the programme (Butler, 2006). However, this does not mean that there are not manifestations of real counter-conducts; the fact that the expectations and obligations of the programme lie beyond the moral values of the family in the local community appears to create a gap of tension, and potential resistance to the rational conduct of the programme.

10.7. MANIFESTATIONS OF COUNTER-CONDUCTS: "I TAKE IT TO HIM"

As we observed in the previous section, the ways that the caregivers conduct themselves appear to be articulated to the expectations and obligations of the programme. As I indicated above, however, it appears that a total "subjectivation" of these caregivers to the apparatus of the programme or the government is not possible without the practices of coercion. As we observed in the enforcement of the ordered practices of education and payment, the district focal person warned the caregivers when they chose to go to the bank rather than to the pay point to cash their monies. Even though such practices of coercion and subjectivation exist in the domain of the programme, the ethical practices of the caregivers of the programmed households in relation to the moral values of the traditional family and kinship systems in the local communities (Nukunya, 2016) create openings and initiates counter-conducts. Thus, the caregivers resist conducting themselves in relation to the apparatus of the programme or government.

This section focuses on the actions and accounts of the caregivers of the programmed households that create openings and initiates counter-conducts. In this way, they appear to conduct themselves and the members of the programmed households by not submitting to the obligations of the programme, but rather by reinforcing the moral values of the family. Thus, I present and analyse the excerpt below in order to investigate the actions and accounts of counter-conducts, de-subjectivation practices of these caregivers and the members of the programmed households in the local community. The excerpt is a realisation of conversation in interaction during a focus group discussion with female caregivers in a local community. The focus group comprises ten (10) females (represented in the excerpt below as FC1, FC2 to FC10) and the researcher (represented as R), and the discussion is about the ways in which the caregivers and members of the programmed households use the cash grants.

Excerpt 10.7:

1 FC2: **((o tɛ̃ɛnɛ la nu tɔgle o menga))**
((pointing to herself))

2 R: **ɛhɛ**
yes

3 FC2: **ka mãã te deɛ a libiri wa**
when i go to collect the money and come

4 R: **mm**

5 FC2: **n maŋ wa yeli ka n beɛremine**
i come and say my brothers

6 **ba ena bie ane o kyɛraa**
they are two brothers

7 **kanga zaa kong bang yi**
none of them can go out

8 R: **okee**
ok

9 FC2: **ba nang e bie ane o kyɛraa**
as they are siblings

10 **kanga zaa kong bang yi na**
none of them can go out

11 **ka mãã wa te deɛ a libie**
when i go and collect the money

12 **n mang wa yeli ka yidaandɔɔ=**
i then come and say landlord

13 R: **uhu**

14 FC2: **=ba nembaalba sombo na**
their vulnerable persons support

15 **ona na nga(.)ong yeli ka ↑okee**
this is it(.)he says ok

16 **seidu yɛlɛ mang be la tuo**
seidu is the one who is always difficult

17 **a zung de gaa te wuli o**
so go and show it to him

18 **((goge zu))**
((nods))

19 R: **mm**

20 FC2: **mang de gaa te ko o**
then i take it to him

21 **ong nyɔge boɔrɔ turi(.)a nyɔge iri**
he takes 20ghs(.)takes it out

22 **a de boɔrɔ kɔɔraanuu a ko=**
he give 10ghs to

23 FC10: **[o beɛre**
his brother

24 FC2: **=[o naa-pɔge =**
his daugther inlaw

25 FC10: **↑ah ↑ah**
really

26 FC2: **=a leɛ de boɔrɔ kɔɔraanuu a ko nga**
and again gives 10ghs to this one

27 R: mm

28 FC2: **kyɛ bon na nang kyɛre na**
but for what is left

29 **ong yeli ka yidaampɔge gaa te da kamaana**
he says landlady go and buy maize

30 **a ne kponkpo(.)a wa song ne fob a**
and cassava and come help your father

31 **(0.12)**

32 FC2: **ka o yaangaa kanga te yi sakuuri wa**
if grandchild comes from school

33 **ong ka n saakoma n boɔrɔ la pɛɛn**
and says grandpa i want pen

34 **oŋ nyɔge a libiri a ngmare=**
he changes the money

35 **[boɔrɔ kɔɔ=5000=5000**
50 pesewas 50 pesewas

36 FC10: **[((laara baalong))**
((laughs quietly))

37 FC7: **[((laara baalong))**
((laughs quietly))

38 FC2: **a yeli ka zagla de zagla de**

and says this one take that one take

39 **ana yɛng daagbuli na paati teŋ mang dire**
as for that week we always have a party

40 FCs: ↑hahahaha

As we observed in the accounts of the Technical Officer in the previous sections, the programme secretariat and the transnational agencies expect the caregivers of the programmed households in the local communities to invest in businesses or livelihood activities in order to climb out of poverty. Again, in the accounts of the Programme Officer and the district focal persons, the caregiver of the programmed household is in charge of all the activities of the house and conducts the conduct of the members of the households. In spite of these accounts, the excerpt above appears to be a clear manifestation of the way that the caregivers and the members of the programmed households conduct themselves in relation to the moral values and obligations of the traditional family and kinship systems in the local communities (Nukunya, 2016). These caregivers and the programmed households do not appear to conduct themselves in relation to the obligations and prescriptions of the programme, which in turn bind them to the receipt of the cash grants (Foucault, 2005). For instance, in line 20, the action of FC2 is bound to the moral values of the family and kinship system, in which the obligations of caring and sharing appear to be a communal value (Kuada & Chachah, 1989).

Even though FC2 is the recipient of the cash on behalf of the household (lines 3 and 11), the "landlord", who is the head of the family (line 12), in consultation with his brother (16 and 17) distributes the cash to the members of family. The head of the family does so according to sociocultural practices and kinship relations outside the constituted powers of the caregiver, who is the "landlady" of the family (line 29). In doing so, it appears as though the household diminishes and the powers of the caregiver are submerged. However, the conduct of the caregiver in relation to the conduct of the head of the family is a manifestation of the counter-conduct of caregivers in the domain of the programme as it translates its rationalities in the local community. Thus, the constitution of gendered subjects and the gendering of the programme (Rolandsen Agustin, 2013) in the service of care and work in a biopolitical regime (Cocco & Cava, 2018) without recourse to the present complexity of Ghanaian society appears to lose its familiarity.

Furthermore, in the excerpt above, we observe how FC2 constructs and represents social relations with "I," "they," "he," and "him" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), which appear to be different from the typical caregiver relations with the members of the households as prescribed by the programme, as we observed in the previous chapters. The programme redefines the identity of the landlady – or caregiver (line 27) – as someone who ought to conduct herself and the programmed household in relation to the obligations of the programme, whereas the actions and accounts of FC2 in lines 5,

12, and 20 appear to reconstitute and reconstruct her (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018) in relation to the family (Fairclough, 1992). Undoubtedly, it appears as though the sociocultural practices and relations of the family and kinship system define the ways in which the cash grants are used. For instance, in the actions and accounts of FC2 (lines 20 to 22 and 24), we observe the ways that the landlord, in consultation with his brother, distributed the cash to the members of family. Ironically, the landlord and the brother did not keep part of the cash grant for themselves (lines 28 and 29), even though in the accounts of FC2 it appears that the cash grant is for these two brothers who are the vulnerable and the aged (lines 14 and 15). The action of FC10 affirms the argument (line 25).

Consequently, the actions of these family heads, as we observe in the accounts of FC2, appear to contradict the accounts of the Technical Officer of the transnational agency that "in typical settings where the women are not the heads of households, they may never be the ones who would be receiving this cash" (Field interview with Technical Officer, 2017). As mentioned, present-day Ghanaian society is complex, and as a result, it needs to be understood at the intersections of traditional and modern social structures and relations in an indeterminate fashion. Thus, the discourse of the family and kinship systems in the local community cannot be reduced to the expectations and obligations of the programme (Foucault, 1971), which prescribes the conduct of caregivers and members of the programmed households in local communities.

In brief, throughout the analysis in this chapter, it is clear that the accounts of the Technical Officers of transnational agencies and the Programme Officers legitimise the multiplicity of actions on the actions of the caregivers of programmed households. We observed the ways that these agencies appear to regulate the autonomy of the caregivers (Rose, 1999) and programmed households in their everyday life experiences in order to accomplish the effective management of life (Cocco & Cava, 2018) in the local communities. The deployment of "co-responsibilities" and "soft-conditionalities" and the translation of rationalities through the pairing of education with cash appear to be the manifestation of disciplinary and regulatory techniques for directing the actions of caregivers and the programmed households. In a similar way, the institution of indirect surveillance mechanisms in the local communities is a way of acting on the actions of the caregivers and the households at a distance, in an attempt to produce responsible and governable subjects in the domain of the programme.

Furthermore, we observed above the ways in which the caregivers of programmed households act in relation to the cash grants they receive. In a way, they appear to conduct themselves in relation to the programme's biopolitical campaign and the gendering of care and work in the domain of the programme. However, it appears as though these caregivers resist the ways that the programme categorises them and the programmed households as "extremely poor" and "vulnerable" by negotiating agency in terms of work and care. It is important to note the ways that some caregivers initiate

a form of counter-conduct by acting in relation to the moral values of the traditional family and kinship system, rather than the programmatic prescriptions deployed together with the cash grants. In this way, the programme appears to be caught up at the intersections of the traditional and modern social structures and relations in present-day Ghana.

CHAPTER 11. GENDERING THE LEAP PROGRAMME: GOVERNING WOMEN IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

In Chapter 6, we observed how the programme employs instruments and technologies of power for constructing the programme's subjects. Currently, we focus on the materiality of gendering in the domain of the programme. Thus, this chapter focuses on the gendered dimensions of the LEAP programme from a discourse and governmentality perspective; the ways in which the authorities within the domain of the programme discursively construct, represent, and govern women in the local communities, and the ways in which these women perform or act in relation to the these constructions, expectations, and obligations of the programme and the moral values of the families in the local communities (Van Leeuwen, 2008a). As a social practice and a domain of power, the programme appears to construct subjects and shape their actions in relation to the rationalities of the government (Foucault, 2002e, 2002d). One such category of subjects in the LEAP programme consists of women at the intersection of the programme apparatus and the moral values of the family in the local communities. In this way, the analysis of gender is not necessarily about an assessment of the impact of the programme on men and women or the bridging of differences between men and women, but rather the ways in which the programme constructs and governs the actions of women in the local community in relation to government rationality. Thus, I am not assuming the "essence" of gender differences or gender equality.

I divide the analysis of this chapter into three parts, through which I focus on the construction and performances of women and, in connection, the contestations of male community focal persons. The first part of the analysis focuses on the ways in which the Technical Officers of transnational agencies, the Programme Officers at the programme secretariat, and the district focal persons at the district level govern women by constructing and acting upon the actions of these women as caregivers of the programme. The second part of the analysis focuses on how these women act in relation to the official prescriptions and representations of the programme and the moral values of the families and the communities in which they live. In a sense, the second part investigates how these women act on themselves at the intersection of the political and the ethical (Foucault, 1997), in which their performances manifest. The third part of the analysis focuses on how the male focal persons in the local communities contest the construction and performances of these women in the domain of the programme. The first part of the analysis uses data from in-depth interviews with the officers of the LEAP cash transfer programme, the district focal persons and the Technical Officers of transnational agencies, and naturally-occurring interactions

at a pay point inspection in local communities. In addition, the second and third parts of the analysis use data from focus group discussions with women and men in a local community. Throughout the three parts of the analysis, I investigate actions, interactions, and accounts of practices of the Programme Officers, the Technical Officers, and the female and male caregivers and community focal persons.

11.1. LEGITIMISING THE CONTROL OF WOMEN: "BREAKING THE DIFFERENCES"

Governing the actions of women in local communities in relation to institutionalised forms of power such as the LEAP cash transfer programme (Death, 2013) appears to be possible in the ways in which the programme authorities construct and legitimise the breaking of gender differences as an object of intervention. Constructing and legitimising the practice of acting on the actions of women in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme as an intervention strategy appears to be dependent on the relations of power and the forms of knowledge at work (Foucault, 1980, 2002e). In this section, I analyse the practices of transnational agencies by investigating the ways in which the accounts and actions of a Technical Officer appears to legitimise the control of women in relation to the practices of the LEAP cash transfer programme. The data excerpt that I present and analyse below is a realisation of conversation in an in-depth interview with a Technical Officer (TO) of a transnational agency. The discussion focussed on how the TNA takes up the issues of gender in the domain of the LEAP programme; however, the TO appears to put emphasis on women as a category of interest in the LEAP cash transfer programme.

Excerpt 11.1:

```
1  R:  gender has featured
2      very strongly in leap
3      is TNA in any way interested in
4      this issues of gender and
5      all that within the leap programme

6 TO:  very much(.)you know i told you that
7      one of the driving
8      the key driving force of
9      the work of TNA is equity and
10     when you look at inequities
11     gender is one dimension
12     one source of inequity
13     so you may go and take attendance
14     or enrolment or learning achievements
15     and you see that there are differences
16     between males and females
17     you take poverty and
```

18 you see that there are differences
19 between males and females
20 so gender is one of the
21 the dimensions in which
22 inequality expresses itself

23 TO: so gender influences a lot of err
24 and gender is one of the
25 key consideration of the work of TNA
26 both in how we formulate our programmes
27 and how we implement them we
28 we try to help to breakdown
29 some of the barriers that impede
30 you know the misuse and
31 impact of services on women
32 so specifically on the leap programme
33 through the initial advocacy of TNA
34 another category of eligible beneficiaries
35 was added to leap which was pregnant women
36 and then lactating mothers
37 with infants less than a year(.)you know

38 R: was that your idea

39 TO: initially this was one of the categories
40 that was identified in the design
41 but as i was telling you about
42 sometimes prioritization
43 this category was not prioritized

44 **(0.55)**((TO expands prioritization discussion))

45 so that is one way in which the
46 looking at things about
47 breaking the differences
48 between men and women(.)you know

In the excerpt above, the practices of a transnational agency and the actions and accounts of the TO appear to construct gender as an object of governmental programming and intervention. The TO's account appears to be a way of gendering the LEAP cash transfer programme (Rolandsen Agustin, 2013). By this, I refer to the construction and representation of gender as a problem – "there are differences between males and females" (lines 15 and 16), which appears to legitimise an action on women as a solution to "breaking the differences between men and women" (lines 46 and 47). Fairclough (2003) points out that such problem-solution relations are pervasive in policy, but as we observe in the excerpt above, it is equally present in

governmental initiatives, such as the LEAP cash transfer programme, in the sense that problematisation makes governing possible. After all, governing is a problematising activity (Miller & Rose, 2008). For instance, the TO's epistemic claims in lines 11 and 12 about gender as "one source of inequity" appear to problematise gender, and assert differences between men and women (18 and 19), which in turn constructs a hierarchical relationship between men and women (Fairclough, 1992).

It is important to note that the TO's actions are based on forms of evidence or knowledge in relation to "enrolment or learning achievements" and "poverty" (lines 14 and 17), which function as the techniques of dividing and problematising the differences between men and women in gendered discourses. These dividing and problematising techniques and forms of knowledge (Death, 2013; Foucault, 2007a) appear to be the ways in which gender as a dimension of "inequality expresses itself" (lines 20, 21 and 22) in discourse rather than in the abstract claims and representations of "differences between men and women" (lines 18 and 19). I say abstract claims and representation because the limits of the apparatus of power and knowledge neutralise the hierarchical relations and differentiations of men and women, as we observed in Chapter 9. In fact, the power/knowledge apparatus of the TNAs in relation to gender (Repo, 2015) nominates and problematises women (lines 35 and 36) in the domain of the programme (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), which also has consequences in the distribution of the cash (Gee, 2014) and the legitimisation of domination in relation to women (Sprague, 2016). The membership categories of "women" or "mothers" (Schegloff, 2007a) appear to gender the programme, inserting women in the biopolitics of care and binding them to the apparatus of government.

As I indicated earlier, problematisation creates space for formulating and justifying solutions. In the excerpt above, we observe the problematisation of gender is a "key consideration of TNAs," and the ways in which these agencies formulate and implement initiatives such as the LEAP cash transfer programme (lines 25, 26 and 27). The problematisation of gender differences legitimises the formulation and implementation of a form of solution. TO appears to combine the authority of the TNA and moral evaluations (Van Leeuwen, 2007) in lines 28 and 29, "we try to help to breakdown some of the barriers," in order to legitimise the actions and practices of the TNA as it acts upon the actions of women in the domain of the programme. The TO uses "we" to refer to the apparatus of the TNA, and of course "help" as in the case of helping to break down barriers appears to be a moralisation of the actions of the TNA in which the TO constructs the action of the TNA as a recognition of a moral obligation (Foucault, 1997).

In addition, there appears to be some form of contradiction here, or the women appear to be mere instruments for accomplishing the rationalities of governments. For instance, the TO presents the problem of "barriers" (line 29) as external to the women; that is, the "impact of services on women" (line 31), but the agent responsible for erecting those barriers appear to be missing in the TO's utterances. In this way, the

TO's formulation in lines 30 and 31 appears to be vague (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) in the sense that gender differences or inequality are assumed. Thus, it is not surprising that the women appear to be both the "agent" and the "patient" at the same time (Van Leeuwen, 2008a). However, it appears as though the programme constructs and nominates women themselves as the problem, and this is evident in the ways the programme directs women's actions.

It is possible to analyse the TO's accounts and the actions and practices of the TNAs as an honest interest in reversing gender inequality by focussing of reducing women's poverty. However, the TO's accounts in the excerpt above suggest that there is a legitimation of interest and actions directed at gendering the programme in order to optimise care and manage lives (Cocco & Cava, 2018), in the biopolitical sense. To buttress this point, in Chapter 6, we observe the process of constructing the subjects of the programme in which the "truth" about the subjects or the women is imposed from the outside (Foucault, 1997). By truth, I am referring to the multiplicities of practices, requirements, and obligations of the programme for the conduct of the subjects, particularly the women. Thus, in the TO's accounts, the women appear to not have any truth about themselves aside from the truth imposed from the outside.

11.2. CONSTRUCTING AND OBJECTIVISING WOMEN AS SUBJECTS OF THE LEAP PROGRAMME

As mentioned above, gendering the programme (Rolandsen Agustin, 2013) is a biopolitical act, and the actions directed at transforming the actions of women in the domain of the programme implicates a relation of power (Repo, 2015). In this way, the production of the subject as an object of governing practice takes place in a dual form; that is, the exercise of power, and the way in which the subject of power recognises himself or herself in relation to the programme apparatus (Foucault, 2005). I focus on the former in this section, but I will return to the latter in the second part of the chapter as initially outlined. As we observed in Chapter 6, the subjects of the programme are produced by the programme apparatus, which points to the productive character of power in concert with the forms of knowledge about the subject (Foucault, 1995, 2002d). In addition, as a social practice, an investigation of the actions and representations of actors in the practice illuminates the relations of power (Repo, 2015), and the ways in which these actions and representations accomplish the rationalities of the programme or the government in a gendered dimension. In this section, I investigate the ways in which the apparatuses of the TNA and the government or programme secretariat construct and objectivise women as subjects of the LEAP programme.

11.2.1. "THEY ARE THE NATURAL CAREGIVERS"

In the previous sections of this chapter, we observe how the actions and accounts of the TNA appear to problematise gender based on the differences between men and

women, which in turn serve to legitimate an action on the actions of women in the domain of the programme to break down barriers and differences between men and women. Again, as I argued in the previous section, the "agent" that appears to erect the barriers and create the differences is missing in the actions and the TO's accounts even though the elimination of the "agent" appears crucial in accomplishing the gender equality argument in the accounts of the TO. As governing involves the ways of forming subjects (Dean, 2010). In this section, then, I explore the ways in which the TNA constructs women in the local communities and in relation to the apparatus of the LEAP cash transfer programme. The data excerpt I present and analyse below is a realisation of conversation in an interview with a Technical Officer (TO) of the TNA. The discussion in the episode of the interview centres on how women are subjects in relation to the LEAP cash transfer programme.

Excerpt 11.2:

```
49 TO:  you try to incorporate one category of
50      households that would help
51      to address some of the need
52      that women in particular
53      may be facing in the households
54      so gender is a key component

55 TO:  even in terms of who the caregivers or
56      who the recipients of the cash grants are
57      we have tried to again using evidence
58      from other programmes elsewhere
59      to show why it may be useful to allow
60      the women in the households
61      the mothers in the households to be
62      the ones who may receive the cash
63      on behalf of the(.)you know
64      on behalf of the households(.)ahaa
65      so because this is one way of ensuring
66      that the cash reaches-

67   R: that women become caregivers and
68      receive cash on behalf of
69      the households=

70 TO:  receive(.)yeah
71      they are the natural caregivers

72   R: instead of men

73 TO:  if they are not receivers if they
74      if the conception is that
```

```
75      it is only the heads of the households
76      who can receive this cash and
77      not any other household member
78      then you find out that in
79      typical settings where the women are not
80      the heads of households
81      they may never be the ones
82      who would be receiving this cash and
83      the intentions for for giving the cash
84      which is to support may be
85      household consumption may be lost out
86      if the ones who are directly responsible
87      for using this resource for
88      the benefit of the entire household
89      are not the ones who receive this cash
90      so in very significant and subtle way
91      you find how you try to put
92      your gender lenses on and ensure that
93      women are involved(.)
```

As governmental initiatives such as the LEAP programme produce and work through subjects (Death, 2013) for accomplishing governmental rationalities, we observe the ways in which the actions and accounts of the TO in the excerpt above construct women as "the natural caregivers" (line 71). Consequently, "the women" and for that matter, "the mothers" (lines 60 and 61) appear to acquire a new identity in the domain of the programme as "the caregivers" (line 55) in the sense that they are the "ones directly responsible" for taking care of the programmed households in the local communities (line 86). In this way, we observe how the TO appears to draw on the taken-for-granted cultural depictions of women and motherhood (Fraser, 2013) in order to construct a position for women and mothers in the programme. This is evident in the ways in which the TO articulates the authority of the TNA and epistemic claims in lines 57 and 58, and moral evaluations "to show why it may be useful to allow" (line 59) women and mothers to be the caregivers. Thus, there is an articulation of authority, evidence, and moral evaluations as forms of knowledge and techniques (Death, 2013; Foucault, 2002a), which legitimise the actions of the TO and the practices of the TNA that construct women as the caregivers of the programmed households (Van Leeuwen, 2007).

However, we must not take the construction and subjectivation of women as caregivers in the domain of the programme for granted (Foucault, 2017; Repo, 2015), in the sense that governing subjects or acting on the actions of others is a motivated practice. By motivated practice, I mean governing the actions of oneself or others is always articulated to accomplishing certain rationalities and apparatuses of power. Even though the actions and accounts of the TO in the previous section appear to foster an argument for gender equality, it is clear in this section that the TNA

constructs women as caregivers and instruments or conduits for accomplishing the rationality of the programme, which is to stimulate "household consumption" (line 85). In this way, it suggests that the programme is a biopolitical apparatus and practice that seeks to ensure the effective management of living (Cocco & Cava, 2018). Consequently, women or mothers as "the natural caregivers" and the subjects of the programme have become the capillaries of the governmental apparatus (Foucault, 1980) in the programmed households for realising "the intentions of giving the cash", in order to support "household consumption" (lines 83 and 85). In doing so, the gendering of the LEAP cash transfer programme (Rolandsen Agustin, 2013) in relation to "household consumption" by using the membership categories of "women" or "mothers" appears to be fully established.

In this way, the women serve as the conduits for translating and governing the actions of the programmed households in the local communities at a distance (Miller & Rose, 2008). Semantically, it appears that household consumption is an elaboration of the intentions of giving the cash to the caregivers of the programme (Fairclough, 2003), but not of gender equality. This argument becomes more evident in the next section as the apparatus of the programme or government constructs women as caregivers because "the women manage the money better than the men". Thus, I argue the gender dimension of the programme has much to do with women as instruments of governing with cash in local communities rather than addressing gender inequalities or "differences between men and women" as the problem.

11.2.2. "THE WOMEN MANAGE THE MONEY BETTER"

It appears clear that the articulation of "evidence" as power technologies and epistemic claims as forms of knowledge in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme construct and objectivise women as subjects and instruments of the programme. For instance, in the previous section, the actions and accounts of the TO constructed women as caregivers for accomplishing the rationality of the programme in terms of "household consumption". In this section, I further analyse and investigate the ways in which the actions and accounts of the Programme Officer (PO) construct women in the programmed households. The data excerpt I present and analyse below is a realisation of conversation in an interview with a Programme Officer at the LEAP cash transfer programme secretariat. The talk in the interview is about the ways in which women are constructed as the caregivers of the programme.

Excerpt 11.3:

```
1  R:  do you prefer any of them
2      like you prefer female
3      to be a caregiver or male

4  PO: there have been instances
```

where people have advocated
we use females

PO: hahaha

R: £not you but people
who are those people

PO: err err well
the past minister was advocating
that we try and get females
like the women to be caregivers(.)ok
but like i said when we go we do not
like ask(.)we do not
put it on you that
we want a female to be a caregiver
probably(.)we will ask you who do want
to be a caregiver(.)so base on your answer
male or female we are ok with it

R: and looking at the err
the err cultural settings
like you rightly mentioned
are there any issues
apart from the minister's insistence
that you use females
taking the north and the south
because of the cultural dynamics

PO: actually from investigations and
then field work as well as
interaction with the households
we realised that the women manage
the money better than the men

R: uhu(.)from your monitoring report

PO:yes(.)from my reports where
the women manage the money better
than the men(.)ok
i believe that is how come
the minister was advocating
that we try and then may be let them
use females or the women as caregivers
am sure that is angle
she was coming from yeah

The actions and accounts of the PO in the excerpt above suggest that the apparatus of the programme or government constructs women as caregivers because "the women manage the money better than men" (lines 36 and 37). In this section, it appears that the construction and subjectivation of the women as the caregivers is a product of the articulation of the power/knowledge interplay within the domain of the programme (Foucault, 1980). In this way, the PO appears to create hierarchies in social relations between men and women in the household (Fairclough, 1992) as a way of legitimising the actions and practices of the programme. It is evident in lines 11 and 35 that the PO draws on the authority of the "minister" and on the authority of evidence from reports constructing women in local communities as caregivers and representing them as better managers of the cash grants.

In doing so, the programme "use females or the women" in the programmed households to manage the cash grants in the local communities and to support household consumption as we observed in the accounts of the TO in the previous section. The modal expression (Fairclough, 2003) of the PO in line 18 suggests it is unlikely that the Programme Officers would ask the heads of families in the local communities about the gender preferences in terms of who could be a caregiver in the programmed households. Even though the PO's accounts may suggest a deliberate strategy to empower women, the stimulation of household consumption is equally prominent in TO's accounts. However, it appears that the Programme Officials nominate "the women as caregivers" (line 41) because of the claim that "the women manage the money better than the men" (lines 36 and 37). Similar to my argument in the previous section, it is clear in the account of the PO that he is constructing women as caregivers in the programme, which has little to do with gender equality agenda.

Furthermore, in order to buttress the argument above, I investigate the ways that the programme constructs and represents women in the local communities who are caregivers or instruments for accomplishing governmental rationalities. The excerpt I present and analyse below is a realisation of talk in an interview with a district focal person (DF) of the programme. The discussion is about the ways in which women in the local communities become caregivers of the programme.

Excerpt 11.4:

```
1   R: and given our cultural setup
2      if you allow the household
3      to choose their head(.)

4  DF: [not their head

5   R: [i think

6  DF: but [their caregiver]
```

7 R: [their caregiver]

8 DF: ↓ahaa

9 R: i think there will not be
10 any household where you find
11 a woman as a caregiver
12 because [they will always]

13 DF: [but most of the]-

14 R: they will always think that
15 the household heads
16 should be the caregiver

17 DF: but most of our caregivers are women
18 ((laughs quietly))
19 (.)that is-

20 R: how how did they become
21 how did it work that way

22 DF: they they-

23 R: because it's not cultural

24 DF: mmm
25 (.)what happens is that eh
26 if you are a caregiver(.)you are not
27 (.)you are not the head of the family=

28 R: uhu

29 DF: =that is one thing
30 that must be clear

31 **(1.45)**((discussion about women involvement))

32 R: and and how do you err see
33 men as caregivers
34 men are also caregivers
35 and women are caregivers

36 DF: just that the women are more
37 you see
38 we have more widows than widowers
39 that is one(.)then two

```
40      women are poorer than men(.)because
41      men have access to resources than women
42      natural resources(.)land everything
43      in some communities
44      women don't even own cattle
45      they don't own land
46      they don't own land
47      they don't own anything and by
48      the questionnaires they have designed
49      it will pick more women than men
50      because men will tell you that
51      i have land(.)i have cattle i have sheep
52      but the women will answer no no no no
53      to these questions ehehh
```

In the excerpt above, we observe multiple epistemic claims in the accounts of the DF about women in the local communities, which he summarises into a single statement in line 47: "they don't own anything". I want to emphasise that the claim or statement or such representations of women cannot be taken for granted. The desire to use women as caregivers (line 17) and instruments for governing at a distance is motivated by the observation that these women do not own anything. As mentioned, gendering the LEAP cash transfer programme and the circulation of gendered discourse in the socio-cultural setting (Fraser, 2013) appears to be a resource for making claims, distributing resources, and translating the programme (Wodak, 2015) as we observe in the accounts of the DF. These discourses and observations inform the design of governing technologies and the translation of the programme (lines 48 and 49). In this way, it appears that the actions of the programme in relation to women implicates a relation of power (Repo, 2015) in which the programme objectifies women as programmable and governable subjects (Rose, 1999).

As I have elaborated in Chapter 1, the socio-political and socio-economic organisation in the local communities is based on kinship relations and descent structures such as the matrilineal and patrilineal descent and kinship systems (Nukunya, 2016). The district and local communities in which the data is realised practice the patrilineal descent and kinship system. In that system, immovable family property such as land, cattle, and other natural resources are transmitted through the male line of descent (ibid 2016), and in these local communities, the family head is the custodian or administrator of such properties on behalf of the family. Thus, many times, "the women will answer no" (line 52) to questions about their status regarding property ownership in the family in the patrilineal society.

However, individually, both men and women can acquire property, but in the traditional sense the wealth of an individual (man or woman) is for the benefit of the entire family (Kuada & Chachah, 1989). Consequently, it is quite difficult to separate individual wealth, male or female, from that of the family without recourse to Western

forms of knowledge and governmental technologies because the wealth of the family in terms of the patrilineal descent system in these local communities is for the benefit of all the members. In this way, it is difficult to make epistemic claims as we observe in the DF's utterances in lines 40, 41, and 42. Furthermore, in order to construct women as caregivers and represent them as "poorer than men" as we observe in the utterances of the DF in line 40, and to use these women as instruments for governing programmed households in local communities at a distance depends on the imposition and application of governmental technologies such as "the questionnaires[25] they have designed" (line 48).

The use of "they" in the DF's utterance refers the programme authorities in the domain of the programme. Thus, the programme secretariat accomplishes the construction and representation of women in the local communities as poor based on the interplay of power relations (for example, the Programme Officers and the district focal persons) and the Western forms of knowledge within the domain of the programme. The Programme Officers and the district focal persons play key roles in constructing and representing women as caregivers, but the community focal persons act as the power capillaries or networks of the programme in the community (Foucault, 1980) to accomplish the rationalities of government such as acting on the actions of programmed households through the cash grants.

However, from the perspective of gender equality, it appears that the DF is positioning his argument to break male dominance, but the evidence in his accounts does not suggest this. For instance, the modal expressions (Fairclough, 2015) in the accounts of the DF "if you are a caregiver", "you are not the head of the family" (lines 26 and 27), and "that is one thing", "that must be clear" (lines 29 and 30). Again, as mentioned above, the households in which these women are caregivers are programmed, and in actual practice and local context, these households may be very difficult to identify except as captured in the programme database. In this way, it appears these women are objectified using "the questionnaire" for the purpose of the programme. Moreover, it appears these women are naturalised and taken for granted as natural caregivers and better economic managers. In this way, we observe the ways in which the programme appears to break differences by establishing new categories of gendered subjects in programmed households. Consequently, the promotion of gender equality in the accounts of the TO, PO, and DF in the domain of the programme appears to be an unconvincing argument. In the next section, I investigate the ways in which the Programme Officers and district focal persons act in concert to construct and represent female community focal persons in the domain of the programme.

[25] The proxy-means test (PMT) questionnaire is a tool that the programme secretariat uses to enumerate and subsequently enrol the programmed households. It is a technology of the programme used for constructing and representing women as we observe in the accounts of DF.

11.2.3. "SHE IS AN IRON LADY"

The focus of this section is an investigation of the ways in which the programme secretariat constructs and represents female community focal persons. Apart from using the PMT tool to construct and represent women in the local communities as "poorer than men" as we observed in the previous section, the Programme Officers and the district focal persons discursively construct and represent female community focal person as an "iron lady" in line 26 of the excerpt presented below. The data excerpt I present and analyse below is a realisation of talk in an ongoing interaction between the Programme Officers (G and J), the district focal person (SWO), and the female community focal person (W). The interaction occurred in the local community during a pay point inspection in which the Programme Officers from the secretariat and the district focal person visit the community to interact with the community focal persons, and assess the cash payment sites. However, the content of the ongoing interaction in the excerpt below is a manifestation of the fact that the presence of the apparatus of the programme in the community goes beyond inspecting and assessing pay points to include the construction and subjectivation of the female community focal person in the domain of the programme.

Excerpt 11.5:

1 SWO: ↑master j

2 J: YE::S

3 SWO: this is our focal person

4 J: ooh(.)ok

5 SWO: for **kojokurom**

6 J: **kojokurom**
7 [((shakes hands with w))

8 J: **[mepa wo kyew yɛfrɛ wo sɛn**
please they call you how

9 W: amina anane

10 J: amina(.)oh(.)ok

11 W: ((shakes hands with G and smiles))

12 SWO: [((takes her handbag from the right hand))
13 [((hangs it on her left shoulder))

```
14   J:    [((looks at G and smiles))

15   G:    ↑we are always happy
16         ↑to see women doing this work=

17 SWO:    ɛɛ:
           ye:s:

18   J:    [ɛɛ:
           ye:s:

19   J:    [((smiling))

20   G:    =when you go anywhere(.)it's just
21         men[men men men                              ]

22   G:       [((throwing right hand left and right))]
23            [((looks at J and turn to look at W))  ]

24 SWO:       [men men men                              ]

25   J:    ((smiles))

26 SWO:    ↑she is an iron lady

27 SWO:    ((SWO moves closer to W))
28         ((puts hand on W shoulder and smiles))

29   G:    [ɛɛ:
           ye:s:

30   G:    [((nods))

31   W:    [huhuhu
32         [((looks at J))
```

In this ongoing interaction, the embodied actions of J in line 14 appear to be a way of mobilising a response (Stivers & Rossano, 2010) from G after SWO introduces W to J in line 3. In doing so, G orients to the actions of J as an invitation to evaluate W, and produces a moral evaluation of W in lines 15 and 16. As Van Leeuwen (2007) points out, the use of adjectives such as "happy" in moral evaluations as we observe in G's utterance that "we are always happy" (line 15) are hints to implicit moral values. In the previous sections, we observe similar moral evaluations in the TO's actions and accounts, which he mobilised to legitimise the actions of the TNA in constructing women as caregivers of programmed households in the local communities. The utterances of G are manifestations of the ways in which the programme secretariat

articulates moral evaluations to the apparatus of the programme or government, in order to legitimise the construction and subjectivation of women within the domain of the programme. In doing so, the construction and subjectivation of female community focal persons take a quasi-juridical form (Foucault, 1990b) in the sense that G's use of "we" in line 15 refers to the programme apparatus. Consequently, it appears as though G is satisfied "to see women doing this work" (line 16), which signifies a preference for female community focal persons and thereby binding these women to the apparatus of the programme. G uses "this work" as a deictic expression to refer to the role of community focal persons as the power capillaries or networks of the LEAP cash transfer programme in the local communities.

Furthermore, the production of preferred second pair part utterances and embodied actions in lines 17, 18, and 19 appear to initiate an agreement (Schegloff, 2007b) to construct and represent a particular type of female community focal person, which SWO produces in line 26 as "an iron lady". Consequently, the female focal person acquires new subjectivity in the domain of the programme and becomes a "quasi subject" (Foucault, 1997, p. 285) through whom the programme apparatus accomplishes its rationalities. By quasi subject, I mean the imposition of certain truth on the female focal person outside of herself, which appear to bind her to the apparatus of the programme. Even though the "iron lady" statement appears to be out of the norm and a masculinisation of the female focal person, the actions of SWO and G from lines 27 to 30, along with W's actions in line 31 and 32, suggest a positive gendered complement in the context of the local community in which SWO produces this "statement" (Foucault, 2002d).

As mentioned above, the local community in which the interaction occurred practices the matrilineal descent and kinship systems in which traditional socio-political power and inheritance is transmitted along the female line of decent (Nukunya, 2016). The construction and representation of the female focal person as an "iron lady" is dependent on the context of the community's local culture, which is articulated to the programme apparatus in order to accomplish the rationality of the government. Therefore, the actions of the Programme Officers and the district focal person in the ongoing interaction are not neutral and unmotivated.

Additionally, it appears that the imposition of the "iron lady" identity on the female community focal person contradicts with the accounts of the Technical Officer in terms of the TNA's desire to break down the differences between men and women in the local communities. Thus, there appear to be shifting gendered differences between men and women in the domain of the programme than there appear to be efforts at breaking differences as we observed the TO's claims in the early parts of the chapter. As we can observe in the interaction above, it appears as though the Programme Officers and the district focal persons are constructing and naturalising female focal persons (Baxter, 2016) into certain female gendered categories, which does not

suggest to be a way of breaking down the differences between men and women. In this way, they jointly construct and establish new gendered subjectivities.

In doing so, the actions of the Programme Officers and the district focal person in the excerpt above appear to (re)produce and reinforce gendered differences between men and women within the domain of the programme. Thus, the masculinisation of the female community focal person and the proffering of the "iron lady" identity (Baker & Ellece, 2011) does not aim to alter the differences between men and women; rather, these constructions and representations are instances of shifting differences along the gendered power grid. In the following section, I analyse and investigate how women appear to perform the constructions and representations of the programme in the local communities, including the ways that they bind themselves to the apparatus of the programme.

11.3. PERFORMING GENDERED SUBJECTIVITIES IN RELATION TO THE PROGRAMME

The focus in this section is an analysis of the performances of women in relation to the programme apparatus, and to investigate the practical consequences of the construction and representation of women within the domain of the programme. I draw upon two data excerpts from, first of all, two focus group discussions with female caregivers, and second, a mix of female and male community focal persons. The group of female caregivers is comprised of eight participants, and the mixed group of community focal persons includes nine participants with only two females[26]. I conducted those two focus group discussions in local communities where the matrilineal descent and kinship system is the practice. I analyse the first data excerpt as a realisation of talk in interaction from the group of female caregivers, and the second data excerpt as discussion in interaction from the group of mixed female and male community focal persons.

11.3.1. THE SUBJECTIVE PERFORMANCES OF ONESELF AS A WOMAN: "I AM FRIGHTENED"

As we observed in the previous sections, the construction and subjectivation of women within the domain of the programme opens new ways of being or subjectivities onto women themselves, whether individually or collectively in relation to the programme apparatus. By subjectivities, I mean the experiences that these women have about themselves in the domain of the programme, or the ways in which they appear to be bound to the programme and its sets of obligations and requirements

[26] There are thirty (30) community focal persons in the district, and only five (5) of these focal persons are females. However, one of these female focal persons is inactive, and she does not participate actively in the activities of the programme (Interview with a district focal person, 2017).

beyond themselves. In doing so, these women appear to identify with the programme in how they present themselves throughout the ongoing interactions. The new identities or subjectivities as the caregivers of programmed households and the focal persons of local communities inform the experiences that women have of themselves and their commitment to the programme. Thus, I present and analyse the excerpt below in order to investigate the ways in which the female caregivers identify and present themselves in relation to the programme in the local communities.

Excerpt 11.6:

1 FC2: **me nso me kunu awu**
me too my husband is dead

2 **((ɔma ne nsa so na ɔde aba fam))**
((raises hand and brings it down))

3 **me kunu awu**
my husband is dead

4 **nti menni obiara ɔhwɛ yɛn**
so i don't have anyone taking care of us

5 R: ok

6 FC2: **<rubbers no ara na mede sɔ so>=**
it's just the plastics that i put together

7 R: **rubbers no ara**
just the plastics

8 FC2: **=<na mede ahwɛ nkɔdaa no>**
that i use to take care of the children

9 **sɛ woahunu**
you see that

10 **↑seesei no(.)↑me bo hyehye me**
this time(.)i am frightened

11 **((ɔsere kakra na ɔhwɛ R))**
((laughs quietly and looks at R))

12 **nti nka(.)↓hmm:(.) ↓ɛyɛ asɛm o::**
so if (.)hmm:(.)it's a problem o::

13 **↑menni oibara a ɔwɔ akyire sɛ obɛ boa me**

i don't have anyone there who will help me

14 R: **na kane tete no na anka yɛka abusua abusua a**
in those days we use to talk of family family

15 **na anka obi a ɔnni bi na abusua aboa no**
and that family helps anyone in need

16 FC2: **↑ei ɛnnɛ deɛ ɛnni hɔ saa o:-**
ei as for these days it is not like that

17 BF: **↑ɔwɔ bi koraa a(.)ɔmma wo**
even if they have(.)they will not give you

18 FC2: **ɛnnɛ deɛ ɛnni hɔ saa o:**
as for these days it is not like that

19 **wokɔka a(.)ɔse ɔno**
if you complain(.)they say

20 **ɔhwɛ ne mma sukuu(.){college}**
they take care of their children in school

The excerpt above suggests a concrete manifestation of the (re)production or the construction of women that we observed in the previous section, as reified in the practices of the programme secretariat and the transnational agency. It is clear in the actions of FC2, in lines 10 and 12, as she identifies herself as a "frightened" and a "problem" female caregiver. The ways in which FC2 produces the utterances: "this time (.) i am frightened" and "it's a problem" (lines 10 and 12), and the embodied actions in line 11 as well as the vagueness of those utterances elaborate and intensify her identity or subjectivity and commitment to the programme apparatus (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). In doing so, her "performance" (Butler, 2006, p. xiv) appears to conform with the ways the programme secretariat constructs and represents women and female caregivers within the domain of the programme, as we observed in the previous sections.

Furthermore, FC2 clearly identifies herself personally and individually as "i" (lines 4 and 13) from "they" (lines 19 and 20), the other members of the traditional family (Fairclough, 2003). The actions of FC2 do not only identify her as an individual female caregiver (van Dijk, 2009), but these actions are characteristic of her personal subjectivity in which she conducts her actions in relation to the programme. In this way, she appears to be bound to the programme apparatus "this time" (lines 10) rather than the moral obligations of the traditional family. As previously mentioned, Ghanaian society is complex, and it is possible for individuals to construct themselves in multiple ways. In a way, it appears as though FC2 does construct herself in relation to the modern context, which underpins the translation of the programme. In line 10,

FC2 uses “this time” as deictic expression to refer to the moment in time when she participates in the programme as a caregiver of a programmed household in the local community.

However, this does not suggest that female caregivers do not belong to traditional families, but “this time,” they are individually bound to the apparatus of the programme – a form of personal subjectivation (Foucault, 1990b). Consequently, FC2’s actions indicate the ways in which women in the local communities individually govern themselves in relation to the programme as the caregivers of the programmed households. In this way, it appears less likely that by themselves, these female caregivers are able to create openings or possible conditions towards a personal de-subjectivation project (lines 16, 17 and 18).

11.3.2. PERFORMANCES AND CONTESTATIONS: “THEY LEAVE THEM ON THE WOMEN”

In the section above, we observed the performances of female caregivers in relation to the ways the programme apparatus constructs and represents women in the local communities. Thus, these women perform and refer their individual conduct in the local communities to the expectations and obligations of the programme. In this section, I analyse and investigate how female community focal persons perform the construction and representations of women within the domain of the programme, as well as how male caregivers contest these performances, which appear to reinforce the gendered stereotypes and subjectivities embedded in the Asante matrilineal descent system and kinship relations. As mentioned, in the Akan society of Ghana, the sociocultural practices of families in the local communities, and the framing and ordering of gendered relations of power, are structured along the matrilineal line (Nukunya, 2016). The data excerpt I present and analyse below is a realisation of talk-in-interaction at a focus group discussion with both female and male community focal persons in a local community. The focus group is comprised of nine (9) persons, including the researcher (R), two (2) female (CW) and six (6) male (C) focal persons representing eight different communities within the district.

Excerpt 11.7:

1	R:	**nti wo nso wo {community} no mmaa no dɔɔso-** *so you too your community the women are many*
2	C7:	**mmaa no dɔɔso** *the women are many*
3		**↑nti mmaa na wɔbaa pa ara** *↑so women they really came*
4	CW3:	**hahahaha**

5 C2: **[{communities} no deɛ**
as for the communities

6 **[mmaa no na wɔdɔɔso -**
the women are many

7 **[((ɔrewoso ne tiri kakra: bi))**
((shaking his head slightly))

8 C4: **mmaa no na wɔdɔɔso**
the women are many

9 C2: **((ɔbɔ ne tiri nko))**
((nods))

10 C1: **mmaa dɔɔso**
women are many

11 CW3: **mmaa no ara**
the women normally

12 **na wɔhwɛ wɔn mma**
take care of their children

13 **woyi w'ani ↑pɛ**
you take your eyes off ↑immediately

14 **wo mma no nyinaa bɛbɔ asesa**
your children all will become wayward

15 R: **saa:::**
soo:::

16 CW3: **wode w'ani to ɔbarima no so a**
you rely on the man

17 **wo mma nyinaa bɛbɔ asesa**
your children will become wayward

18 C1: **((ɔdane ne ho na ɔhwɛ CW3))**
((turns and looks at CW3))

19 **seesei deɛ mmarima no ayɛ {responsible}-**
for now the men are responsible

20 C7: **>dabi dabi dabi<**

>no no no<

21 CW3: [**ɛnnɛ yi na ayɛ sɛ**
this day that it looks as if

22 **[((bue ne nsa mu hwɛ fam))**
((open hands downwards))

23 **seesei deɛ(.)ayɛ sɛ**
for now it looks as if

24 C7: **seesei deɛ=seesei koraa ɔbarima biara nni hɔ**
for now(.)for now indeed there is not man

25 **a ɔbɛyi n'ani sɛ ɛkɔm de ne mma-**
who will not care if his children go hungry

26 C1: **↑dabi o seesei deɛ**
↑no: for now

27 **mmarima no ayɛ {responsible}**
the men are responsible

28 **((ɔrebɔ ne tiri nko))**
((nodding))

29 C7: **AAH**
NO

30 CW3: **seesei deɛ(.)afei na wɔyɛ**
for now(.)this time they do

31 **na wɔdane wɔn gu mmaa no so**
but they leave them on the women

32 CW3: **hahahaha**

The excerpt above appears to be the display or performances of female focal persons at the intersection of the programme apparatus and the Asante matrilineal kinship systems (Nukunya, 2016). In addition, the male focal persons appear to contest the construction, representation, and performances of the female focal persons at the intersection of the programme and the family system in the local community. It is these constructions, performances, and contestations that I analyse and investigate in the following interpretations.

The actions of C7 and CW3 in lines 3 and 4 appear to be a manifestation of the common knowledge that community focal persons share about the way many women participate in the LEAP cash transfer programme. In the ongoing conversation, we observe the ways in which the utterances of the other community focal persons in the interaction are manifestations of the common knowledge and practice they share about the women being the largest number of participants receiving the cash grants in the local communities. Furthermore, the actions of the community focal persons do not only confirm the content of the interaction and the allusions of C7 in line 2 (Schegloff, 1996), but the import of previous practices and actions in relation to the current content of the interaction. In doing so, the participants are orienting themselves to the ways in which the programme constructs and represents women in the local communities as the best candidates or subjects of the programme, which we observed in the actions and accounts of the power capillaries of the programme and the transnational agency at the beginning of the chapter.

As regimes of practices (Dean, 2010), such as the LEAP cash transfer programme, produce these women as subjects and translate governmental actions and rationalities through them (Miller & Rose, 2008), these women in turn appear to perform their actions or conduct themselves in relation to the representations and obligations of the programme. For instance, we observe an epistemic claim and evaluation (Fairclough, 2003) in CW3's utterance in which she asserts "the women normally take care of their children" in the local community (lines 11 and 12). As a female focal person of the programme, and a woman of the Asante matrilineality , we have to understand her claim at the intersection of these two apparatuses (Repo, 2015). The beginning of the chapter pointed to the ways in which the Programme Officers, district focal persons, and Technical Officers constructed and represented women as "natural caregivers", "better" managers of the cash grants, and as people who do not own anything in the family or local community.

Thus, the knowledge claims of CW3 in the excerpt above appear to be a (re)production and performance of the ways that the programme constructs and represents women in the local communities. In her actions and accounts, it appears as though CW3 is drawing on the traditional apparatus of the Asante matrilineal system of kinship, which places the obligation of child maintenance and welfare on the woman or the mother's family – "*abusua*" (Nukunya, 2016) rather than on the man or the father's family[27]. In this way, we can say the apparatus of the programme appears to appropriate and reinforce the Asante matrilineal notions of gendered stereotypes and power relations, and places the obligations of child maintenance and welfare in the local communities in the hands of women. Consequently, the epistemic claim of CW3 is a concrete manifestation of the ways in which the women are bound by the

[27] Nukunya (2016, p.44) points out that in the Asante matrilineal system of kinship, it is said: "Your mother is your family, your father is not". It is the cultural belief of the people of the Asante ethnicity the child is related to the father through the "*ntoro*" – the child's "spirit and personality derive from the father", but "the child obtains its blood from the mother" (ibid).

programme apparatus, which draws on the taken-for-granted notions of tradition and culture in the local communities in order to construct and represent women as subjects of the LEAP cash transfer programme. In doing so, the programme appears to widen the space for CW3 to perform or reproduce the gendered stereotypes embedded in the Asante matrilineal system as we observe in lines 11 and 12, as well as in line 31, where she claims: "they leave them on the women". In this ongoing interaction, CW3 uses "they" and "them" to refer to fathers and children respectively, which suggests a practice in the Asante matrilineal system in which fathers "dump" their children on the women – the mothers of the children.

However, the male focal persons of the programme contest these performances and reproduction of gendered stereotypes, which appear to be the reinforcement of the gendered subjectivities in the Asante tradition (Butler, 2006). The actions and utterances of C1 and C7 in the interaction (lines 19 and 20) appear to be the manifestations of discursive resistance as they conduct themselves in relation to the programme – a form of counter-conduct (Foucault, 2007a). It is a means of de-subjection (Lorenzini & Tazzioli, 2018) at the micro-level in which the male community focal persons question the governing practices of the programme at the intersection of governmental and cultural "universals" or "rationalities" (Foucault, 1984b). By universals or rationalities, I refer to the naturalised or taken-for-granted constructions and representations of women and the reproduction of gendered stereotypes in the domains of the programme and Asante matrilineality. The actions of the male focal persons appear to be a form of de-gendering the gendering of the LEAP cash transfer programme (Rolandsen Agustin, 2013).

Furthermore, in lines 19 and 24, C1 and C7 use "for now" to mean the temporal dimension of the actions of men in the present as a form of resistance or counter-conduct, and to break the taken-for-granted gendered stereotypical obligations and rationalities at the intersection of the programme and the Asante system. In this way, it suggests that the men do not want to refer their conduct to the apparatus of the programme or cultural universals, but a critical ontological understanding of themselves that creates an opening in which they govern their conduct differently (Foucault, 1984b). For instance, "for now the men are responsible" (line 19), and the claim that they leave the children on women (line 31) appear to be a "cultural universal" or rationality that is articulated to the programme apparatus for conducting the actions of female caregivers in programmed households of the local communities. On the contrary, the actions of the men in the interaction suggests that there are multiple gendered subjectivities, which are not necessarily stereotypical or stand in direct opposition to one another in the local communities amidst the expectations and obligations of Asante matrilineality.

In brief, the analysis of the excerpts above opens several possible interpretations. For instance, it appears clearly in the accounts of the Technical Officer, the Programme Officer and the district focal person as though they are presenting arguments for

realising gender equality in the sense of "breaking differences" between men and women in the local communities through the LEAP cash transfer programme. In this way, the programme appears to construct and morally evaluate women or mothers as "the natural caregivers", better managers of the cash grants, and negatively qualifies these women and mothers as people who do not own anything. Thus, the accounts of the Programme Officers, Technical Officers, and district focal persons legitimise "why it may be useful to allow" these women and mothers in the programmed households to receive the cash grants, but not the men. From a taken-for-granted gender equality viewpoint, these accounts may appear unproblematic and plausible.

However, a closer analysis of the accounts and actions of these officers and the district focal person point to the fact that women appear to be the ideal instruments for translating governmental rationalities and programmes within the local communities. It appears that the government and the transnational agencies prefer to use women to accomplish the "intentions" of giving the cash grants, which is to improve local "household consumption". Although the accounts and actions of the officers and the focal person appear to emphasise a form of gender equality agenda, a thorough investigation of accounts of practices, the performances of female caregivers and focal persons, and the contestations of male focal persons in the local communities suggest other possible interpretations. For example, a systematic investigation of the accounts of the Programme Officers, Technical Officers, and the district focal persons suggest that the desire to use women as caregivers and community focal persons in order to accomplish governmental rationalities – "household consumption" motivates the construction and representation of the women we observed in the above excerpt. Beyond the constructions of women as "the natural caregivers", and the female community focal persons as conduits or instruments for translating governmental rationalities, in this chapter we have observed the ways that the programme naturalises certain subjectivities in relation to women. Thus, the construction of a female focal person as an "iron lady" appears to (re)produce and reinforce gendered stereotypes and the differences between men and women in the local communities by bringing into being certain subjectivities in the domain of the programme.

CHAPTER 12. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This chapter focuses on a discussion of the findings of this thesis. In a systematic way, I focus on key aspects of the research, including a brief summary of the thesis, along with a discussion of the findings in relation to research gaps in the existing literature. In addition, I present an assessment of the theory and method and limitations, and present a future research agenda. In doing so, this chapter shall not contain data; however, my claims here are grounded in the analysis of this thesis, which serves as the point of reference for the claims that I make in my discussion.

This thesis focuses on key domains and facets in the translation of a social protection programme in Ghana, the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) cash transfer programme. The programme provides cash grants to poor households in local communities of Ghana. In doing so, the Programme Officials (POs) interact with caregivers and community focal persons of the LEAP programme in local communities in order to implement the programme in line with government objectives. This thesis investigates how the POs, caregivers, and the community focal persons of the LEAP programme enact relations and accomplish the practice of governing in the ways that they conduct themselves and others, and in the way in which gender relates to the practices of governing in the domain of the programme.

Theoretically, this thesis draws on Foucault's discourse, power, and governmentality. In that regard, this thesis is a Foucault-based analysis inspired by an interdisciplinary discourse framework that in turn draws upon the methodological and analytical features of critical discourse studies, conversation analysis, and multimodal analysis. A combination of the analytic features of these discourse studies approaches is crucial to access and investigate the concrete actions, accounts, and practices of key actors involved in the translation of the programme. Consequently, a reflexive and critical ethnographic strategy provides access to the sites of interaction in which the concrete actions and practices of the actors manifest. Thus, this thesis relies on data from ethnographic methods, including in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and video recordings of naturally-occurring interactions in local communities.

12.1. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

As mentioned above, this section focuses on interpreting the findings of this thesis concerning research gaps in the existing literature in the domain of social protection programmes, particularly cash transfer programmes in the context of developing countries. Generally, in this thesis the content of the analysis crystalizes on the discourses, the relations of power concerning the connections between the key actors

of the programme in interactional spaces, which in turn serve as the signposts of interpreting the findings of the thesis. However, these signposts should not be construed as operating independently in the domain of the programme. Consequently, the interpretation of these findings focuses on the intertwining construction of the subjects, the relations, and the exercise of power as well as the construction of spaces and actions toward conducting the actions of subjects with the accompanying manifestations of contestations and counter-conducts in relation to the rationalities of the programme.

12.1.1. CONSTRUCTING POOR COMMUNITIES, HOUSEHOLDS AND INDIVIDUALS

In social protection policies, poor individuals and households are taken-for-granted categories, and in social protection programmes such as the LEAP cash transfer programme in Ghana, these poor individuals are represented as members of "extremely poor households" (Government of Ghana, 2015). These policies and programmes portray individuals and households as extremely poor and essential categories that are waiting to be discovered among families and the society. In this way, the issue of inclusion and exclusion in social protection programmes has gained currency as studies have found that the procedures of selecting poor households and recipients lead to inclusion and exclusion errors (Bhatia & Bhabha, 2017; Kidd, 2017). Thus, Kidd (2017) cited the proxy means test and the community based targeting mechanisms of social protection programmes as "relatively inaccurate and arbitrary" (p. 222). However, my analysis suggests that the instruments and mechanisms for objectivising poor communities, households and individuals do not appear to be arbitrary; rather, these mechanisms are rational, calculated technologies for objectivising the subjects of social protection programmes. In a systematic and rational way, then, this thesis has demonstrated the ways these technologies are systematically applied in the process of constructing and objectivising these poor communities, households and individuals in the local communities of Ghana.

Similarly, Bhatia and Bhabha's (2017) study raises questions about the inclusiveness of Aadhaar social protection technology in India. In this thesis, contrary to the notions and representations of poor individuals and households waiting to be discovered, the LEAP cash transfer programme constructs and subjects these poor communities, households and individuals to the rational expectations and obligations of the programme. Thus, the subjects of the LEAP cash transfer programme and the recipients of the cash grants, who are represented as poor individuals in extremely poor households, are not found in families and local communities; instead, they are constructed and objectivised by the applications of the programme techniques and mechanisms beyond the moral values of the family and the experiences of the self. Not only does the programme construct and objectivise poor households and individuals in poor communities, it also constructs and objectivise other subjects such as caregivers and focal persons who are auxiliaries and liaisons of the programme in

the communities. These auxiliaries and liaisons work as conduits for translating the rationalities of the programme and circumventing the rational limits of the programme at different moments along the programme's network of power. The construction and objectivation of the poor individuals and households, and acting upon the actions of these subjects in the local communities, is impossible without the construction of auxiliary and intermediary subjects. This study demonstrates that the traditional social structure serves as a control and protection mechanism for the members of families against the objectivising practices of the apparatus of the programme.

Furthermore, if poor households and individuals were to lay in wait for discovery, as represented in the domain of the policy and programme, there would be no need for establishing relations of power in order to construct and objectivise subjects. There is not naive objectivation in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme. In this regard, this thesis has demonstrated that these procedures and mechanisms for constructing and objectivising poor communities and poor households is a way of establishing the relations of power both vertically (between the subject and the programme apparatus) and horizontally (between members of families and programmed households in the local communities). However, this thesis demonstrates the manifestations of counter-conducts and resistances about some communities' refusal to accept the objectivising practices of the programme as extremely poor.

In their study, Hickey and Mohan (2008) noted the overlapping roles of the government of the state and the donor agencies with regard to the design and translation of social protection programmes in developing countries, which suggest relations of power and contradictions at a higher level. In addition, Sabates-Wheeler and Roelen (2011) found in their study that social protection programmes promote an "institutionalised disadvantage" in terms of the relations between beneficiaries and those in power, without practically demonstrating the ways it materialises.

However, this study concretely demonstrates the relations of power as a traversal feature of these programmes in which power moves along networks and capillaries from the core regions of government to peripheral communities, between programme officials, caregivers, and community focal persons. Thus, the rational and calculated construction of the subjects tied to the relations of power along networks and technologies in the domain of social protection and cash transfer programmes in the contexts of developing countries is new. In that regard, this study demonstrates a possibility of a new and dynamic social protection framework in line with existing frameworks (Holmes & Jones, 2013; Holzmann & Jørgensen, 2001; Kabeer, 2008; Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux, 2007).

12.1.2. CONSTRUCTING AND ACTING IN PROGRAMMED SPACES

As previously mentioned, there are several social protection frameworks that have been proposed by scholars in the field of the design and translation of social protection

programmes in the context of developing countries. However, it appears that these frameworks are constraining in the sense that they are bound to different ideologies. Thus, these frameworks are designed along the ideas of risk management (Holzmann & Jørgensen, 2001), a transformation agenda (Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux, 2007), and the gender sensitivity of social protection programmes (Holmes & Jones, 2013; Kabeer, 2008). In this way, the design and translation of social protection programmes remain at the level of ideas in a way similar to global policies and declarations (Parpart, 2009).

However, the analysis of this thesis demonstrates that the practice of social protection is not limited to the institutional and organisational spaces or ideas in the core regions of government, and in that sense, it reveals that the actions and practices of the LEAP cash transfer programme or apparatus are concrete and dispersed through localised spaces in peripheral communities. In these communities, the programme constructs spaces for directing the actions of the caregivers of programmed households and binds them to the rationalities of the programme. In the domain of the programme, there are the pay points in the local communities, in which the government interacts with caregivers and translates the programme rationalities. Even though the community focal persons, who are the liaisons of the caregivers in the communities and auxiliaries of the programme secretariat, propose these local spaces, the programme authorities make the final decision in relation to the suitability of the space for conducting the payment event. It is in these micro-spaces that the government acts on the conduct of the caregivers of the programmed households. The Programme Officers from the secretariat have to make the final decision by constructing these spaces in relation to the expectations and obligations of the programme secretariat and government.

Consequently, these programmed spaces do constrain the ways in which these caregivers and the programmed households conduct themselves in relation to the LEAP cash transfer programme or apparatus. In that regard, some social protection programmes and frameworks do recognise that social structures and relations place constraints on the productive capacities of poor individuals and households (Holmes & Jones, 2013; Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux, 2007). In a recent study, Molyneux, Jones, and Samuels (2016) found that cash transfer programmes are adopting innovative ways to position the cash grant recipients of these programmes as active citizens rather than passive participants. However, they noted that in remote local communities "the scope for active and independent engagement is often limited" because the subjects of these programmes are unwilling to get close to programme authorities let alone complain for fear of being punished (p. 1093). Consequently, Hickey and Mohan (2008) proposed the use of disciplinary power mechanisms to promote participation and accountability.

In fact, this study demonstrates the ways in which the programme uses localised micro-spaces to direct the actions of the subjects of the programme in the local communities. However, this study reveals the manifestations of counter-conducts and

resistances to programmatic controls in these micro-spaces of power. Contrary to the findings of the studies mentioned above, this thesis demonstrates how community focal persons challenge the rational prescriptions of the programme authorities in a local community during pay point inspection. Similarly, it demonstrates the ways that the subjects of the programme in a remote rural community enact and perform accountability from the bottom-up during a cash payment event in the community. As a form of counter-conduct and resistance to rational programmatic control, these community focal persons instituted their own mechanisms and controls by forming alliances and drawing on local knowledge and communal power. In this way, the community focal persons are able to take over and manage the cash payment event. Thus, this finding does suggest that the implementation of rational, programmatic top-down relations of power in the domain of social protection programmes, as suggested in the studies mentioned above, appears to be problematic and does not promote real participation and accountability.

12.1.3. CONSTRUCTING ACTIONS AND PRESCRIBING CONDUCTS

In the field of social protection, as mentioned previously, scholars and experts have developed programme frameworks for policy formulation and programme translations, and each of these frameworks is based on certain ideas. Perhaps the fast and wide spread of social protection programmes in developing countries (Barrientos, 2014; Barrientos & Hulme, 2009) call for these frameworks in the field. The generally assumed lack of capacity and the fear of reprisals on the part of the subjects of social programmes (Molyneux et al., 2016), along with the quest for efficiency and accountability, has led to the call for more prescriptive and disciplinary power mechanisms (Hickey & Mohan, 2008) in the translation of social protection programmes in developing countries.

This study has demonstrated that the LEAP cash transfer programme prescribes and determines the actions and conducts of the caregivers and the community focal persons in the domain of the programme, beyond the subjective experiences and contexts of these caregivers. As we observed in Chapter 10, the programme authorities constantly monitored and reminded these caregivers, at the pay points and in their communities, about the purpose of the cash grants and the ways in which they must use these grants and conduct themselves. Such prescriptive and disciplinary control mechanisms without recourse to the subjective experiences of caregivers in the local communities and the articulatory practices of the traditional family systems and kinship relations limit the openings and opportunities of the caregivers to act and govern themselves in their own interests and the interests of other members of the family.

Moreover, even though equity and social justice are justifications for deploying social protection programmes (Hickey, 2011; Holmes & Jones, 2013; International Labour Office, 2011), the programmatic construction of actions, the prescription of conducts,

and the subjection of the subjects of social protection programmes to the rationalities and apparatuses of the programme is a new revelation worth documenting. Consequently, in the manifestations of counter-conducts or the resistance among the subjects of social protection programmes to conduct themselves in relation to these rationalities, prescriptive controls and actions of the programme apparatus add nuances to unsettling the taken-for-granted equity and social justice agenda of public social protection programmes such the LEAP cash transfer programme. After all, the call for equity and social justice must not encourage top-down subjection or relations of dominations.

Studies have shown that in the Oportunidades programme in Mexico, women who were not willing to comply with the prescriptive rules of the programme had their cash grants suspended at least for one month as a form of punishment to get them to comply (Luccisano, 2006). Similarly, this study demonstrates that the programme replaces or warns the caregivers of programmed households who resist to conduct themselves in relation to the prescriptive conditions or co-responsibilities of the programme. Women are mostly the caregivers, as the study reveals, and as noted in other studies (Barrientos & Santibáñez, 2009), so they are mostly the targets of these prescriptive rules and the ones that bear the unpalatable consequences. Such reprisals and disciplinary mechanisms as ways of getting women and mothers to conform to prescriptive standards outside their everyday experiences appear to undermine equity, freedom, and social justice. In this regard, Patel (2013) found that social protection programmes do not necessarily lead to gender justice, as women lack voices in social protection policy, programming, and translation (Sabates-Wheeler & Roelen, 2011).

12.1.4. THE LIMITS OF PRESCRIPTIVE CONTROL

As mentioned in the previous section, studies have shown the ways in which the apparatuses of cash transfer programmes prescribe and control the recipients of these programmes, and this study has further demonstrated this tendency. The boundaries of discourses are not closed, and forms of knowledge and power are not absolute, as we observed in the analysis of this thesis. This study demonstrates that the prescriptive controls of the subjects of the programme outside their experiences is problematic, even though there are calls to institutionalised disciplinary power mechanisms to ensure accountability within these programmes (Hickey & Mohan, 2008), and as a way of upscaling programmatic controls because the recipients lack the power and capacity to engage authorities (Molyneux et al., 2016).

This study reveals the problematics of programmatic and disciplinary controls in many instances that are new and worth documenting. In Chapter 6, we observed the ways in which the community leadership refuses and blocks the programme authorities from entering the community to construct and objectify households as poor, which necessitates the installation and use of the community focal persons as power capillaries to circumvent these resistances. Similarly, in Chapter 7, we

observed the ways in which a community focal person challenged the taken-for-granted rational prescriptions of the programme authorities concerning the modification of the staircase of a building as a pay point. In addition, we observed the ways that male community focal persons contested the taken-for-granted gendering practices in order to de-gender the ways that the authorities construct and represent women as natural and essential subjects in the domain of the programme. Moreover, in Chapter 9, the community focal persons unsettled the programmatic and rational controls of the apparatuses of the programme, and drew on local knowledge and communal power in order to successfully conduct a payment event in a remote local community. In this way, this thesis demonstrates that the rational apparatus of the programme has limits and that the subjects of the programme have the capacity to draw on local knowledge and experiences and communal power to conduct themselves in the domain of the programme in their own interests.

Therefore, the limits of the apparatus of the LEAP cash transfer programme as a governmental programme marks an opening of resistances and counter-conducts as alternative conducts in the ways that the subjects of the programme govern themselves. In this way, they articulate their conduct with the local knowledge and communal power of the community. This study reveals that the manifestations of counter-conducts or the subjects' resistance to conducting themselves in relation to normative expectations and obligations of the programme is not necessarily violent and does not call for reprisals (Molyneux et al., 2016).

12.1.5. (RE)PRODUCING GENDERED STEREOTYPES

Several studies have drawn attention to the ways that gender equality has received marginal attention in development policy, programming, and translation (Parpart, 2009; Rolandsen Agustin, 2013), including social protection policy and programmes in developing countries (Holmes & Jones, 2013; Molyneux et al., 2016). As mentioned, a study of Mexico's Oportunidades social protection initiative revealed that women and mothers are inserted into these programmes without consideration of their rights, but as people with increased responsibilities (Luccisano, 2006). Similarly, a recent study found that apart from the income given to the women, social protection programmes do not contribute to gender justice (Patel, 2013).

The findings of these studies suggest normative ideas of gender equality and social justice, but as the analysis of this study indicates, gender equality and social justice are not pre-determine and do not lay in wait to be discovered or accessed. It demonstrates that gender is "done" in the domain of the LEAP cash transfer programme, and gendering or de-gendering (Rolandsen Agustin, 2013) is a collaborative accomplishment in terms of reproduction and performance between the programme authorities and the subjects. In doing so, this study reveals that these actors draw on taken-for-granted notions about gender to construct and naturalise women as "natural caregivers" or carers, similar to findings in other studies (Sabates-

Wheeler & Roelen, 2011). In a similar way, it reveals that the programmes constructs women as better managers of the cash grants based on evidence reported in other studies (Barrientos & Santibáñez, 2009), and represents women in the local communities as people who do not own anything.

This study also demonstrates that the actions and practices of the programme in producing and objectivising certain gendered categories within the domain of the programme must not be taken for granted. As it appears, the actions and the practices of the programme may suggest an agenda of gender equality and justice; however, the practice of naturalising women, as mentioned above, and implying that they do not own anything, is motivated by the desire to extend cash grants to these women. In this way, this study reveals that the programme constructs and uses women as conduits or capillaries for deploying the cash in order to achieve its goals, as found in other studies (Barrientos & Santibáñez, 2009; Molyneux, 2006). In Chapter 11, this study demonstrated the ways in which the apparatus of the programme binds women to "household consumption" as the goal of the programme. Similarly, in the same chapter, this study has revealed the ways that the programme authorities construct, naturalise, and masculinise a female community focal person as an "iron lady" and evaluate her as the preferred kind of woman for translating the programme in the local community. As some studies recommend that social protection programmes such as cash transfer programmes be made productive (Barrientos, 2014), women and mothers, who are mostly the recipients of these cash grants, are inserted into the economy in which income, consumption, and efficiency are the primary objectives (Holmes & Jones, 2013).

Studies have shown that social protection programmes produces two categories of women, the "'good' mothers" and the "'bad' mothers" (Bradshaw, 2008) in relation to compliance and non-compliance with the prescriptive controls, rules, and obligations that the women must fulfil within the domain of the programme. As mentioned above, studies have found that these programmes reprimand the noncompliant women, the "bad" mothers, by suspending their cash grants for at least one month (Luccisano, 2006). Moreover, this study demonstrates the practical consequences concerning the ways that the programme constructs and naturalises women in the domain of the programme. As a result, the production and naturalisation of women as certain categories is a collaborative accomplishment. In this way, this study reveals in Chapter 11 the ways that some women caregivers perform these constructions and representations in terms of their objectivation practices in the domain of the programme, and in doing so, bind themselves to the programme apparatus. Consequently, these women passively submit to the prescriptive controls and the obligations of the programme, beyond their own subjective experiences of themselves as women in the local communities.

However, in the same chapter, this study also reveals that the male subjects of the programme actively contest the ways that the programme draws on taken-for-granted

traditional notions of gender (Holmes & Jones, 2013) to construct, naturalise, and use these women in the local communities as capillaries for accomplishing the programme's goals (Molyneux, 2006). Although it may appear that these men are contesting the empowerment of women in order to protect their own interests, this study also reveals the complex nature of the present society of Ghana, in which social structures and relations are not absolutely or completely aligned to tradition and culture or Western practices. Relating to the findings of appropriating household incomes in local communities of northern Ghana, which is one of the sites of this study, Kent (2018) found that husbands and wives cooperate and engage in income generation and joint household spending. Similarly, in Chapter 11, this study reveals a joint appropriation of the cash grant in a local family, even though the programme nominated the woman as the household caregiver. Consequently, this does not suggest that the male subjects of the programme are contesting the empowerment of women; rather, it is the actions and practices of the apparatus of the programme without recourse to the moral values of the family and kinship relations that these men appear to contest. In addition, this study demonstrates similar and several instances of contestations and counter-conducts in the domain of programme.

12.3. AN ASSESSMENT OF THE THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

This thesis demonstrates the governing practices of the authorities of the LEAP cash transfer programme, relating to the caregivers and focal persons in the local communities. In this way, this research reveals the way that they govern the actions and practices of the caregivers and the community focal persons, and reveals the ways in which these caregivers and focal persons govern themselves in relation to the apparatus of the programme and the moral values of the families and communities in which they live. This study is a Foucault-based analysis inspired by an interdisciplinary discourse studies framework that draws upon key features of critical discourse studies, conversation analysis, and multimodal analysis. This work demonstrates the governing practices of the programme authorities, the caregivers, and community focal persons by drawing on the analytic imports of concrete actions, accounts, practices, and interactions in key domains, facets, and events within the programme. As the practices and actions of these social actors occur in multiple domains, this thesis uses ethnographic methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (males and females combined, and then separately), and video recordings of naturally-occurring interactions in the field.

As a Foucault-based analysis is a reflexive and critical analysis of practices and actions, it is advisable not to remain at the level of ideas or situate the analysis in taken-for-granted ideologies and notions of the object and subjects of study; rather, it focuses on the concrete manifestations of practices and actions as the point of departure. Similarly, a Foucault-based study is not attuned to the totality and fixity of the object and subjects of analysis. Instead, it focuses on problematising the object

and subjects of study as the starting point of analysis and investigation. In this way, the theoretical and methodological underpinnings, and the analytical framework of this thesis attune to the critical analytical reflexes of a Foucault-based analysis. Therefore, this thesis demonstrates that a Foucault-based analysis inspired by the analytical features and imports of discourse studies approaches is a fruitful and felicitous combination.

Consequently, this thesis brings to light the multiplicities of governing practices, and in relation to social protection programming and translation, it problematises the technologies and forms of controls, the clash of rationalities, and the taken-for-granted notions of gender equality and the empowerment of women. Similarly, it sheds light on the clash of Western and traditional family values in terms of social relations and family organisation and arrangement, as well as brings to light the manifestations of counter-conducts, contestations, and resistances to the imposition of fixed values. The manifestations of these counter-practices in this study demonstrates the need to widen the spaces of social protection policies and programmes that encourage reflexive bottom-up approaches to incorporate multiple voices in the translation of these programmes.

As a Foucault-based analysis inspired by the key features and analytical imports of the discourse approaches in this study, it has limits. Indeed, as previously mentioned, this form of analysis eschews totality and fixity and does not prescribe ideal recommendations. In addition, the analytical features and imports of the discourse approaches in this study do not easily subscribe to large surveys; these approaches focus on concrete micro-details of actions and practices. In this way, this study is not able to provide a comprehensive overview of large samples of caregivers and community focal persons across the country, nor provide a comprehensive comparative study of all the ethnic groups in Ghana in relation to their actions and practices in the programme's domain. In addition, this study is not able to provide a detailed analysis of the actions and interactions within the LEAP cash transfer programme secretariat as the hub and an isolated domain or architectural apparatus for translating the programme.

Consequently, this study opens up several directions for future research, but I would be interested in the following three areas of research. First, in the future, I am interested in investigating in detail the discursive practices, actions, and interactions of the authorities at the LEAP cash transfer programme at the level of the programme secretariat as an institution for translating a governmental initiative. Second, another valuable dimension I would like to investigate is how the caregivers of programmed households develop self-knowledge and self-management practices in their own interests over time, without necessarily being bound to the programme by any form of external, prescriptive ways of conducting themselves. A third line of investigation I would like to pursue involves creating a comparative study in the context of a developing country, particularly in Latin America, which appears to be the pacesetter

in cash transfer programmes in the developing world, and which many developing countries look to for inspiration in the design and translation of social protection programmes.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Transcription notation

The transcription notation used in this PhD thesis has been developed by Gail Jefferson, and it is widely used by conversation analysis researchers. A comprehensive discussion of the Jeffersonian transcription notation I present below is found in M. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (1984, pp. ix – xvi).

Symbol	**Brief description**
[[	: Utterances are simultaneously linked.
[Text]	: The start and end of overlapping utterances.
=	: Latching utterances without noticeable pause.
(.)	: A micro pause of less than 0.2 seconds.
(Number of seconds)	: A timed gap of utterance in tenths of a second.
–	: A short untimed pause within an utterance.
:	: An extension of sound or syllable.
:::	: A prolongation of an utterance.
↑	: A rising shift in intonation.
↓	: A falling shift in intonation.
Underline	: Emphasis on an utterance.
Capital letters	: An utterance louder than surrounding talk.
°	: An utterance quieter than surrounding talk.
((Text))	: A description of non-verbal activity.
(Text)	: A transcriber's doubt of an utterance.

( )	: A space mark of an indecipherable utterance.
>Text<	: A more rapid utterance than surrounding talk.
<Text>	: A more slowly utterance than surrounding talk.

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