The Machinery of Eviction: Bailiffs, Power, Resistance, and Eviction Enforcement Practices in England and Wales

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Abstract

This thesis addresses a significant research gap in critical research on forced eviction. It attempts to shift focus from the experiences of the evicted, examined in previous studies, to the work of evictors and eviction enforcement. It asks how the 'tools, technologies, strategies, and tactics' of forced eviction develop and are implemented in England and Wales. Using qualitative interviews centred around a case study of a city in the North of England to examine the 'everyday' form of evictions, this thesis looks at the work of a Rent Arrears Recovery Team on the 'Benford' housing estate in the city, and the working lives of County Court Bailiffs at the local court as they work in the context of a national 'housing crisis'. Interviews with third party organizations and a High Court Enforcement firm, video footage, and online accounts of large-scale evictions provided by a wide range of sources from social movements are used to explore the 'exceptional' forms of displacement that emerge on a national scale.

This research shows that Eviction enforcement actors and specialists have to employ forms of coercion which exist on a continuum between the 'emotional' and the 'physical'; these practices are underpinned by 'intuitive' tactics built through individual and personal histories and the historical context in which evictions take place. These strategies and tactics of eviction are shaped by the *resistance* of the evicted, and the development of the disciplinary institutions of eviction happens in response to this resistance, which sets the pace for the development of the capacity of the state and economy to displace. This points to a need for more work critiquing the disciplinary institutions of forced eviction, and the global economy of eviction enforcement.

stipend. Two friends lost their family homes to mortgage repossessions, many more had to move due to rent increases. While one cannot step in the same river twice, one can surely object to the sudden damming of the flow, and the slow erasure of these little worlds of the home has been softened only by the constant struggle against it. I finally thank all those who lend their hands to that struggle.

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List of Abbreviations

ALMO: Arms Length Management Organization

HA: Housing Association

DJ: District Judge

HMCTS: Her Majesties Courts and Tribunals Service

HCEOA : High Court Enforcement Officers' Association

HCEO: High Court Enforcement Officer

AHCEO: Accredited HCEO

NET: National Eviction Team

FIT: Forward Intelligence Team

IPO: Interim Possession Order

CPO: Compulsory Purchase Order

AST: Assured Shorthold Tenancy

CCB: County Court Bailiff

CEA: Certificated Enforcement Agents

TSN: Traveller Solidarity Network

C&C: Constant and Company

MPS: Metropolitan Police Service

CRDS: Cubic Range Design Systems

Introduction

The Significance of Eviction

"I was sitting thus one day when suddenly in came our landlady… demanded the £5 we still owed her and, since this was not ready to hand, two bailiffs entered the house and placed under distraint what little I possessed—beds, linen, clothes, everything, even my poor infants cradle, and the best of the toys belonging to the girls, who burst into tears. They threatened to take everything away within 2 hours—leaving me lying on the bare boards with my shivering children …

The following day we had to leave the house, it was cold, wet and overcast, my husband went to look for lodgings, on his mentioning 4 children no one wanted to take us in. At last a friend came to our aid, we paid and I hurriedly sold all my beds so as to settle with the apothecaries, bakers, butchers, and milkman who, their fears aroused by the scandal of the bailiffs, had suddenly besieged me with their bills. The beds I had sold were brought out on to the pavement and loaded on to a barrow—and then what happens? It was long after sunset, English law prohibits this, the landlord bears down on us with constables in attendance, declares we might have included some of his stuff with our own, that we are doing a flit and going abroad. In less than five minutes a crowd of two or three hundred people stands gaping outside our door, all the riff-raff of Chelsea. In go the beds again; they cannot be handed over to the purchaser until tomorrow morning after sunrise; having thus been enabled, by the sale of everything we possessed, to pay every farthing, I removed with my little darlings into the two little rooms we now occupy in the German Hotel, 1 Leicester Street, Leicester Square, where we were given a humane reception in return for £5/10 a week"

These are the words of Jenny Marx in a letter to Joseph Wedemeyer in May of 1850 (1975, p.555). It was not the end of their troubles - Jenny and Karl would lose three of their children in the next few years to the common childhood illnesses of the day. The London of 1850 was a place of unsanitary conditions and vast exploitation. Its population (like England and Wales) had doubled in less than 50 years

(Gauldie,1974, p.82). Infrastructure was crumbling: the previous year had seen a Cholera epidemic which claimed the lives of some 14,000 people; the following year Mayhew would publish his famous exploration of the 'underclass' in *London Labour and the London Poor* as three volumes. Yet, in the same year work on the Crystal Palace that hosted the Great Exhibition would begin, in order to bring the booty of the British Empire to the Palace for Londoners (and the world) to marvel at.

A contemporary critical urban scholar, who found themselves temporarily transported to that afternoon in London, might have drawn upon any number of frameworks of analysis to explain the causes of conditions all around them. They might have talked about 'spatial fixes' to capital, and the 'right to the city', or struggles over 'social reproduction'. Yet had they sought out Karl Marx, they would have been directed to the streets of Chelsea, to a rather wet and tired man banging on the doors of every landlord and friend he could. It is hard to not read this story into his writing in *Capital,* when he rails that:

> "The owner of land, of houses, the businessman, when expropriated by 'improvements' such as railroads, the building of new streets, &c., not only receives full indemnity. He must, according to law, human and divine, be comforted for his enforced 'abstinence' over and above this by a thumping profit. The labourer, with his wife and child and chattels, is thrown out into the street, and — if he crowds in too large numbers towards quarters of the town where the vestries insist on decency, he is prosecuted in the name of sanitation!" (1976, p.814)

We are now living in a moment where the trend of urban development, especially in the UK, mimics the kinds of inequality and inhospitality seen in London in Marx's day. As I will show later, the 2008 financial crisis produced a response from capital that has centred on the creation of a vast and global market bubble in land. House prices, land values and property are one of the largest growth areas of many economies. The cycles of dispossession and displacement that have come with this development in the UK have been visible, and often overwhelming. From 2008-2016 the British government's quarterly *Report on Mortgage and Landlord Repossessions* has revealed a consistent growth each year in numbers of housing repossessions in England and Wales. Most social occasions for tenants (myself included) are punctuated by conversations about rent and gentrification, and the notion of a

'Housing Crisis' dominates headlines. It should come as no surprise that academic research has been keen to catch up. New ideas and readings of forced eviction are emerging; its constitutional place in economies of space and housing is being acknowledged.

It is a failure, however, that critical urban and rural research has worked with a model of eviction that ignores enforcement. Eviction has become akin to what the sociology of science terms a 'black box' - an object whose inner workings appear too complex (or too troublesome) to understand, and only the inputs and outputs have come to matter (Latour 2000). A small consensus has even developed around the inputs: terms like "accumulation by dispossession" and "gentrification" define the locus of study. On the side of the outputs, the sociology of the dispossessed is in full swing; researchers are active in examining the cycles of social marginality, homelessness, displacement and precarity that typify the urban experience of the poor. Of course the metaphor of the black box takes us only so far, but it serves to make clear the central issue this thesis attempts to address: the internal life of eviction practices, and their complexity, has been taken for granted.

While there is undoubtedly an *ethical* imperative to centre the stories of the evicted, there is equally a central *critical* imperative to understand the work of the evictors. The absence of eviction practices from the critical gaze depoliticises parts of the eviction process: It implies that the power of the powerful is not at work in precisely the places where it is most active.

We do not baulk from asking questions of other fields of disciplinary power: the police, the military, and the private security sector all have their sociologies, anthropologies, geographies and histories. Less so the enforcement, and practitioners of, forced eviction. Part of the problem is the lack of a comparative framework: not all states and societies have a specialised legal framework for eviction. Not all states share the same institutions, not all markets have the same actors. How are researchers, academics, journalists, or activists, to compare our notes? Of course this is a somewhat paltry obstacle compared to others: how are we to access these institutions? Can we even speak of a specialised skill set concerning eviction? Is it really worth the trouble to examine the contents of the black box after all?

My first response is that there is no unique feature of eviction practices that places them utterly outside our grasp; if these other subjects are researchable, then of course, forced eviction practices should be too. My second response is to return

to Marx's story: that no one stands fully 'apart' from forced eviction. Forced eviction has been with us a long time. It has shaped and influenced the theoretical tools and the social critique of space. It has drawn rage and critique, and been the cause of despair, as well as substantial profit. The 'action' of this thesis takes place on doorsteps, homeless shelters, in housing offices, law courts, and at one point halfway up a tree. But it also takes place in my bank account at the end of every month when I pay rent; eviction is a *process* that structures so much more than just the lives of evicted people. It gives legal agreements meaning, it polices the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, it changes the way we relate to the places we live and work.

Investigating the Technologies of Eviction

What I examine here are what I term the 'Tools, technologies, tactics and strategies' of eviction. This thesis aims to explain how these are used, developed, renewed, and to some extent how they change across time and scale. 'Technology' refers to what Foucault understands as the matrices of practical reason - the technologies of production, sign systems, power, and the self (1998, p.18). Tactics and Strategies refers to a distinction drawn by Clausewitz (1968, p.86) between the use of forces in combat and the theory of the use of combats collected together, but also draws on de Certeau's division between the strategic spatial reading of a formal rationality, and the tactical nature of momentary action (1985, p.xix). I ask 4 questions of these in relation to forced eviction:

1. What are the Agencies responsible for conducting evictions?
2. What are the tools, technologies, strategies and tactics involved in enforcing eviction?
3. How are these tools, technologies, strategies and tactics developed and renewed?
4. How do these tools, technologies, strategies and tactics change across time and scale?

I aim to look at the institutional actors that mobilise these elements and prosecute forced eviction in England and Wales: I examine the role of strategies of management used by these actors and how they operate. My motivation to choose England and Wales as the framework to reflect the specific legalities of property and

enforcement in place, is in part because of my own context as a British citizen and an English renter. Northern Ireland and Scotland have their own laws and histories when it comes to eviction enforcement, and while they are linked in a number of ways to the situation in England and Wales, they are different enough to deserve their own unique focus. I refer to 'English Law' here as the hegemonic form of legality in place in eviction practice in these countries.

This necessarily involves an investigation of the role and function of the two agencies with legal responsibility for enforcing eviction in English law: the County Court Bailiff and the High Court Enforcement Officer. Collectively these groups of individuals fall under the title of 'bailiffs'. However they are each specific entities with different powers. To study the way these bailiffs act I aimed at conducting a comparative study of two different regions in the England (outlined in chapter 3).

It was not to prove so easy; interviewing anyone for their trade secrets is a tricky process. Interviewing a security-conscious workforce about unpopular and controversial practices was even more so. As a result I was forced to refocus my research into a case study in the North of England.

The work presented here reflects this research strategy: it presents a case study of a single city at level of the county courts, then 'zooms out' to look at the development of the High Court Enforcement industry at a national level. Towards the end of the thesis the reader is pointed to a further leap of scale, as connections between domestic practices and the global economy in military urbanisation, commercial counterinsurgency practices, and spatial enforcement emerge. From this data I argue that eviction practices mobilise a 'total' technology of power through the utilisation of forms of *affective power*. This power depends on the development of *intuitive* tactics of the body, and spatial tactics of violence, in order to function. This power only emerges in response to forms of *resistance*. Building on a philosophy of power that centres the role of resistance as the active, productive element of power, I point to how institutions develop their strategies and tactics in response to resistance. The development of eviction enforcement is therefore rethought here as a history of eviction resistance.

Rather than 'close' the study of eviction enforcement, it is my aim here to open it up; to bring to bear the critical toolbox which underpins much of the literature on forced eviction onto eviction enforcement itself. I want to highlight pathways, provide opportunities for critical response, and position this work within a wider body of social

movement thought and academic research on forced eviction. What I hope to do is provide some initial terms for an emergent area of study.

Plan of The Present Work

I have chosen in this thesis to create a divide between 'everyday' and 'exceptional' evictions. In this I am echoing the work of Porteous and Smith (2001) who choose to divide between 'everyday' and 'extreme' forms of domicide. However, in my own work I wish to emphasise this is not a purely arbitrary line drawn for simplicities sake: it reflects the two-tiered structure of eviction enforcement in England and Wales between the County Court and High Court Enforcement Sectors. But it also reflects the way in which 'exceptional' evictions push at the boundaries of legality, and call into question the limits of the law. To some extent the difference between the two is a question of size and scale that is largely arbitrary; there is a spectrum, not a two-tier process, of size and scale when it comes to eviction. However there is also a practical, legal, and strategic division to be made when it comes to English eviction practices that is being used here to make a useful explanatory division between two tendencies:

Everyday Eviction concerns the County Court system alone, and tends to function through a single house, property or contractual arrangement. The everyday level refers to a scale of single residential rental contracts, and a single landlord trying to enforce their agreement. The individual eviction makes no great waves in the press and media, and tends to be treated as part of the 'normal function' of the court and social welfare system in public discourse. Generally the eviction involves one or two bailiffs from the county court attending the property, and some supporting agencies.

Exceptional Eviction, however, exceeds these thresholds to encompass a much wider set of agencies and concerns. Exceptional Evictions are handled at the High Court level and use High Court Enforcement Officers. They tend to invoke and challenge not just questions of individual contracts but often questions of local and sometimes national sovereignty, social, human, and environmental rights in public discourse. Exceptional Evictions may involve strategic manoeuvre, large-scale and targeted destruction of infrastructures and buildings, and form part of distinct and explicit governmental strategies and forms of statecraft, in some cases restructuring

whole neighbourhoods and communities. It is in this latter sense that the term 'Exceptional' is used, drawing on Giorgio Agamben's concept of the 'State of Exception' (1998; 2005), to reflect the way in which these kinds of evictions frequently constitute a suspension of normative law. Exceptional Evictions can tend to target groups and activities that threaten the integrity of the state in some way: racialised 'others' such as travellers, 'illegalist' or anarchic practices such as squatting and 'commoning', to forms of civil disobedience like free parties and direct action protests against developments or demolitions. Such evictions are also exceptional in the sense that they often end up establishing new norms and practices through which these groups are policed and managed in future; through this tension the exception becomes the norm. It is notable in the context of these evictions that the 'exceptional' moves us beyond legal definitions of eviction to a broader sense of eviction as a particular form of social conflict; eviction that is not just about a contract between two individuals but about disciplining a social body all at once.

In the first chapter, I place this study in context in relation to both studies of forced eviction and the present situation in the United Kingdom. I argue that forced eviction, understood as a trajectory of displacement, has been addressed through three predominant lines of inquiry: the role of forced eviction in shaping capitalist accumulation and maintaining the commodity status of space, the way in which forced eviction constitutes the state and society, and the impact of forced eviction on social reproduction and the domestic. These perspectives point to the disciplinary nature of forced eviction, and therefore the need to 'unmask' the 'tools technologies, strategies and tactics' enforcing eviction.

I then move to Part 2, in which I outline what I am presenting here and how I (tried) to study it. I turn to what I mean by 'tools technologies, strategies and tactics'. I ground the role of coercion in relation to the constitution of the state, and, via an examination of debates around neoliberalism, point to the way in which coercive power is grounded at 'street-level' through policing and security work. I map the key epistemological and ontological claims of this thesis regarding the nature of 'affective power' and resistance. I argue that 'affect' should be understood as mobile relations of force which do not distinguish between the 'emotional', 'psychological', and 'physical' but instead act as a continuum along which power is exercised. I describe the role of routine and rhythm in shaping intuitive judgements in enforcement work.

Finally I elaborate what I refer to when I talk of resistance as 'prior' to the formation of power.

Having framed the research problematic and my ontological and epistemological frameworks for understanding the development of coercive institutions, I then proceed to the methodology I used to examine the tools, technologies, strategies and tactics of forced eviction. I defend my reasons for using a comparative case study methodology, and the obstacles encountered, especially issues around access, that limited this approach. I explore some of the ethical problems of studying forced eviction and issues around the impact of forced eviction on people who are evicted.

The next 2 parts, comprising of four chapters, are arranged respectively according to the framework of 'Everyday Evictions' and 'Extreme Evictions'.

The first consists of a case study of a single city in the North of England called 'Abbeyburn'. Chapter 4 examines the practices of a Rent Arrears Recovery Team working for an ALMO based on the 'Benford' estate in this city. This chapter argues that the escalation process has three effects: It utilises forms of 'affective captation' which interweave face-to-face engagement with the tenant with automated credit control procedures initiated by software, establishes a body of evidence for the court, and grounds and justifies the eviction to the ALMO team.

Chapter 5 turns its attention to the County Court Bailiffs active at the court in 'Abbeyburn', and the tools, technologies, strategies and tactics they use during evictions. The chapter describes the working life of the County Court Bailiff, the routines and rhythms of their work, the means they use to anticipate forms of resistance and the agencies they collaborate with to effect eviction. It then looks at how bailiffs described their experiences of 'talking to people' on the doorstep, and the kinds of training and intuitive work they used to enact eviction.

I conclude this part of the research by showing the relationship between the forms of affective power used through until the day of eviction and the kinds of resistance the eviction strategies and tactics used anticipate.

I then turn to how these strategies and tactics might change in terms of size and scale in the fourth part of the thesis, where the gaze moves away from a local context, and toward the development of a national industry. In the 6th chapter, I look at the historical development of the contemporary eviction specialist teams whose services are sold by HCEO firms. I track the development of these practices in response to the environmental and squatter movements that emerged in the early 1990s, and follow how the strategies of 'manufactured vulnerability' used by activists

created a need for specialised forms of eviction work. I look at the creation of the National Eviction Team and how its development was influenced by its explicitly political focus.

The kinds of spatial skills, technologies, strategies and tactics used in large scale evictions are then examined in Chapter 7, in which I point to practices of surveillance, rapid enclosure and encirclement, and infrastructural destruction. In the second half of this chapter I connect these practices to forms of action that work to affect morale, and have lasting emotional impacts on social groups.

I conclude by outlining new terms revealed in this research that may be relevant for the future study of eviction enforcement methods. The persistent refrain of resistance that shapes the development of the tools, technologies, strategies and tactics of eviction forms one key element of these terms, but I also argue that eviction produces a 'culture of eviction' that works through affective associations and dispositions in the people who are evicted. I point to the implicit and explicit relationship between these two practices as the core of the production, dissemination, and development of eviction strategies and tactics, and call for a renewed commitment in academic research to the 'unmasking' of eviction enforcement through a global study of the linkages between eviction enforcement industries.

Chapter 1: Reviewing the Literature

1.1 The Writing of Forced Eviction

An important research gap has developed in literature on forced eviction around the agents and actors of eviction. Forced eviction has been an understudied subject until recently, and absent from many studies of topics that it would seemingly be essential to. A handful of publications and special issues of journals (particularly one from the *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*) was all there was to show in the early 21st century on the topic. In the last few years this has changed, and forced eviction has become an issue of a globally pressing nature. Estimates of the global numbers of internally displaced persons have reached an all time high of 59.5 Million, compared to 37.5 million a decade ago (United Nations High Commission on Refugees, 2015), and the concatenation of housing crises, the emergence of 'planetary' rent gaps, and a domestic housing crisis in the UK that has seen evictions increase year on year, combined with large scale acts of displacement by cycles of 'urban regeneration' have not so much put eviction back on the agenda as violently forced it into the priorities of researchers. When I began this study there were few major book length studies of forced eviction. The most notable - Porteous and Smith's *Domicide* (2001) - focused exclusively on the home, and situated eviction in a literature on domestic destruction. Since then, there have been a flurry of publications, including critiques of this absence (Nowicki, 2014), ethnographic papers (Purser, 2014), and there are now several forthcoming edited collections and books from the global north and south. Of particular note, and appearing frustratingly late in the research process, are Matthew Desmond's ethnographic study of eviction in Milwaukee (2016), and a PhD Thesis by Crawford (2015) on housing association practices in Scotland.

Yet we have still worked so far with a model of forced eviction that is misses a pivotal element; the individuals and institutions tasked with enforcing forced eviction. In this chapter I will look at how this absence has developed in the growth of the literature through looking at the way academic research has attempted to answer problematics of eviction through existing frameworks of economy, coercion and state power, and the loss of the home. Part of the challenge is that the way these frameworks connect is not always clear, and many of them don't explicitly situate forced eviction as the object of their study: The different ways eviction is defined in

each study presents its own potential hurdle, so this chapter begins with the problem of definition.

1.1.1 What Is (Forced) Eviction?

Moving to define eviction might seem like the kind of exercise typical of academic study- surely separating eviction from its common understandings is an abstraction of a lived material process? However, unpacking eviction conceptually helps to explode a number of received wisdoms which serve to reinforce a particular ideology of eviction. Many studies tend to centre an unstated definition of eviction around a particular or specific qualifying criteria. For largely practical reasons, eviction tends to be subsumed within a greater whole of a conceptual theme or process, such as dispossession and displacement' (Blomley, 2004, p.109) or 'domicide' (Porteous and Smith, 2001) and 'home unmaking' (Nowicki, 2014; Baxter and Brickell, 2014). Alternatively, in many empirical studies, eviction gets narrowly defined according to legal means provided by the state, or the practical constraints of the object of study - such as the kinds of space or agency being studied (Böheim and Taylor, 2000, p.287; Purser, 2014 p.5).

Eviction tends to go undefined in much of the scholarly literature precisely because it is not easily separable from the larger context in which it occurs. The definition of eviction becomes part of the findings of any given review of scholarly literature or empirical engagement with the subject; eviction is situated as 'circular' (Purser, 2014) or self-reproducing (Desmond, 2016 Epilogue, Para. 12). Yet what ties two 'evictions' together across distance and time as the same recognisable action isn't necessarily clear.

For the UN-HABITAT programme, forced eviction is rather broadly the "the permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection", and is not always a physically forceful process (2014, pp.3-5). A 'common sense' understanding of eviction similar to this might then apply the term to acts as diverse as the removal of a group of political squatters from a department store in Vancouver, the displacement of a family from their home in Milwaukee, the removal of environmental protesters from a 'Fracking' site in Sussex, demolition crews dismantling shacks in Durban or Mumbai, students having to move out of Brooklyn due to a rent hike by their landlord,

sex workers being arrested in Soho, nomadic Roma people being removed from a campsite in the South of France, or militarised police units clearing a housing block in Rio. When they are each seen in isolation from each other, the idea that all of these practices are 'evictions' seems largely sensible. Yet clearly these cannot be tied to any one definitive feature in relation to the kinds of spaces being contested; some might be considered 'homes' in the sense explored by Porteous and Smith and those interested in the exploration of 'home unmaking', but other kinds of space could be considered workplaces, political protests and obstructions or temporary sites of residence being used as a platform to claim rights more appropriate to a political reading of eviction.

On the other hand if we situate these practices solely within a discourse of 'displacement' there is little separating them conceptually from other phenomena, such as infrastructural neglect or exclusion, forms of policing, or public space enclosure: this leaves the term 'eviction' as a floating signifier detached from any meaningful processes other than the ones it is given in law - hence we are back to a functionalist account of eviction that relies on given state definitions.

In this chapter, I want to emphasise that all eviction studies indicate, but overlook, an obvious point that is something of an academic cliche: that eviction is not a 'thing' but a process, or specifically *a particular kind of trajectory of dispossession and displacement* that centres around a spatial form of coercion. I take the term trajectory from Massey (2005, p.12) who (having adopted it from de Certeau) allies it to the term 'story'. Massey refuses de Certeau's representational reading of the term (ibid. p.27), instead using it more simply to denote a concept of process and change.

For my own purposes, I wish to separate 'trajectory' from 'story' in relation to eviction, because of a closed narrative implications of the latter term in the English language and Western culture. The 'trajectory' of eviction is not one from which people escape by avoiding its path, but something that provides disciplinary meaning to all spatial claims. This trajectory serves in the coercive creation of spatial claims across time, and the production of space itself. What connects evictions across different contexts are the processes and tactics used in the production of this trajectory.

What this rather loose but more practical definition does is to dispense with some divisive effects in the narrative provided by studies of eviction. To avoid creating a special category of 'people affected by eviction' uniquely separate from others, it emphasises that eviction is a disciplinary process and social relation that people, to a

greater or lesser extent, resist or reproduce in different ways. People who lose their homes through eviction are not the only social group affected by eviction. Eviction reproduces divisions between social classes; it forms part of the social relations of class itself.

This approach aims to resist the idea that eviction is an issue only for researchers of homelessness and housing, or specific 'abject' social groups. Processes of eviction reinforce and reciprocate other forms of displacement and dispossession, and ramify legal power relations. Trajectories, as Massey argues, are historical, so this concept emphasises the historical influence and power of eviction. Rather than seeing eviction as a current issue *de jour* that can be easily solved through administrative realignment of existing state and economic structures, I see it as a historical force constitutional to those structures.

To place this in more explicit terms that deal with a more common academic sleight of hand, evictions are not a unique feature of 'neoliberalism' (which might serve as a cautious placeholder for a more explicit naming), but constitutive of capitalist economies themselves. But this is to get ahead of arguments I will make later in this chapter. This temporal and historical emphasis of the definition demands that we attend to the individual and social histories of a given eviction process, the personal histories of institutions, and that we resist a perspective that seeks to relegate eviction to a negative 'outcome'. The elision of history and temporality from eviction processes is something that has to be constantly worked against when conducting research which tends to isolate out spaces and groups for study. Indeed it is part of the aim of this thesis to connect together multiple unconnected cases through the study of the institutions conducting them.

1.1.2 The Functions of Eviction

In this chapter I want to show how this trajectory is understood as functioning, and how different studies of eviction have tried to either explain or overlook eviction enforcement. Specifically, I want to explore key functions and purposes eviction is understood as serving. I will outline how evictions work to enact these purposes, and turn to how they work in the context of the contemporary UK and its ongoing 'housing crisis'.

Firstly, eviction works to produce and maintain the economy of space and land. In this sense I will explore the work of the Marxist and economic thinkers who

emphasise the role of eviction in processes of dispossession and displacement. This section centres the 'economic question' in forced eviction research to look at how it interacts with political economy.

Building on this, in the second part I will examine the 'political question' of eviction; how eviction works to police social groups that are understood as a threat to capital and the state, and to monitor social behaviour. I will argue that eviction works to reinforce the status of 'abject subjects' such as travellers or squatters, and limits forms of political resistance from groups like environmental activists.

Finally, in drawing these two strands together I will then turn to the relationship of eviction to social reproduction and the home. I will look at how the home as a 'porous' space is controlled and 'unmade' by forced eviction practices.

I want to argue that all of these functions that have been emphasised in the scholarly literature point to the fundamentally disciplinary role evictions play; however they have failed to properly examine and critique the disciplinary institutions responsible for enacting this form of power. The majority of studies have 'naturalised' eviction enforcement as a technical process that has been rendered opaque. I conclude by following Foucault's call to 'unmask' the workings of institutions (2006, p.41), outlining the purpose of the present study - the examination of the enforcement of eviction.

1.2 Eviction and Capitalism

1.2.1 Primitive Accumulation and Accumulation by Dispossession

Much of the contemporary research into housing studies explains processes of eviction as part of wider cycles of accumulation by dispossession. In conditions of large scale displacement, the study of forms of accumulation has the potential to be a significant explanatory tool to understand the origins of forms of conflict and urban destruction. Eviction features as a symptom of forms of accumulation in a number of Marxist studies (such as those of Smith (1996) and Slater (2006)). It's easy to see the appeal of these concepts to the study of eviction when they are unpacked.

In his work on contemporary imperialism, David Harvey has summarised the process of primitive accumulation in relation to land thusly: "In the case of primitive accumulation as Marx described it, this entailed taking land, say, enclosing it, and expelling a resident population to create a landless proletariat, and then releasing the

land into the privatized mainstream of capital accumulation." (2004 p.149). For Marx, primitive accumulation essentially kick-starts the capitalist economy; it is the basis, not the result of the capitalist system and the alienation of the worker from their labour ([1867] 1976, p.775), and processes of eviction form part of that dynamic. For Marxist scholars, the issue of primitive accumulation stretches well beyond land, and is enacted through a global range of mechanisms: feminist economists like Mies (1986, p.145) and Federici (2004 p.14-15) argue that it concerns gendered forms of violence, as women are denied the status of 'free labourers' accorded to their male counterparts, and are subordinated through violence. The role of primitive accumulation in racial oppression through imperial and postcolonial economics, too, is emphasised - especially an economy of extraction of wealth from the (post)imperial periphery to its core (Amin, 1974 p.3), through cycles of violent destruction; the accumulation of capital is also the accumulation of "these heads of men, these collections of ears, these burned houses, these Gothic invasions, this steaming blood, these cities that evaporate at the edge of the sword", in the words of the poet Aimé Césaire (2000, p.41).

Primitive accumulation has been used to explain cases of eviction where land and space previously considered to be held in common, or used for traditional methods of production, is brought into capitalist circulation via acts of forcible displacement. Land grabs and displacement of peasant populations fit a classical model of primitive accumulation (Adnan, 2013; Hall 2013), but the destruction of squatter settlements and housing could also be considered part of the same process, as land used in unregulated practices is brought into formal circulation as a commodity for redevelopment. Zhang (2015) argues that squatter practices in Shanghai challenge forms of capitalist accumulation through direct attempts to alleviate suffering in response to displacement. "Displacement and resettlement" Zhang writes, "must be seen as crucially important components in constructing and promoting private home ownership and private property rights. Displacement reassembles and privatises the land and housing, which are frequently under competitive claims of ownership." (ibid. p.148). It could be argued that primitive accumulation, in its pure sense articulated by Marx, largely occurs only in a limited sense in the declining imperial core (countries such as the UK or America) against small pockets, as opposed to contexts where it still recurs as forms of expanding capitalist urbanisation enclose previously uncontested areas of land and housing held largely in informal economies or common ownership.

But for Harvey (2004), primitive accumulation is reiterated through the practice 'accumulation by dispossession'. Accumulation by dispossession occurs as a 'spatio-temporal fix':

> "The summary statement of [the spatio-temporal fix] I usually offer is this: capital necessarily creates a physical landscape in its own image at one point in time only to have to destroy it at some later point in time as it pursues geographical expansions and temporal displacements as solutions to the crises of over-accumulation to which it is regularly prone. Thus is the history of creative destruction (with all manner of deleterious social and environmental consequences) written into the evolution of the physical and social landscape of capitalism." (p.66)

In the Marxist analysis the solution from capitalists as a class to declining profits from investment caused by this accumulation is through forms of expanding geographically through various practices such as colonial warfare and conquest or the enclosure of space; in particular land or housing. Harvey's analysis in particular points to the ongoing dismantling of the social-democratic welfare system in many countries as a form of accumulation by dispossession: "The reversion to the private domain of common property rights won through past class struggles (the right to a state pension, to welfare, or to national health care)" he writes "has been one of the most egregious of all policies of dispossession pursued in the name of neoliberal orthodoxy" (ibid. p.75). Alternatively capitalists respond by pushing forward problems in time; for instance through issuing cheap credit such as mortgages in order to delay the crisis. Importantly, in this argument, forms of dispossession and displacement that might be once considered historically relegated in the 'primitive' phase of capitalist accumulation persist. This has been explored across a vast range of social science literature, but importantly serves as an explanation for both why evictions happen but also geographically specific phases of urban redevelopment.

1.2.2 Accumulation by Dispossession and the Makings of the 'Great Housing Crisis'

It is possible to identify these 'reversions' in the UK across the public provision of goods and services. In housing, there are a number of mutations social housing

provision has been subjected to since the 1970s which bear out Harvey's analysis and which are important to the context of the present study. Until 1939 the majority of housing lay in the private rented sector, with the remaining minority in private ownership. At the end of the Second World War, from 1953 onwards there was a substantial growth in both the social housing sector and home ownership driven by the social-democratic welfare state. A number of legal protections were introduced in the wake of scandals in the private rented sector, including public revelation and outcry over the practices of the Notting Hill landlord, Peter Rachman. The most notable of these legal protections for our purposes is the 1977 Protection From Eviction Act, which means any attempt to repossess a home from a recognised residential occupier has to be authorised by a judge. The growth of the social housing sector and protections in the private sector gave renting tenants the most security they have ever had in British history.

Private renting continued to decline until 1981, but since that time the trends have reversed - or more correctly, governments and policy makers have reversed them under pressure from landlords, housing investors and construction firms. Changes in policy transferring social housing to the private sector have seen home ownership taking up the majority of housing (around 60%) and private renting seeing a resurgence (around 30%), with social housing in a minority once again (Walker and Jeraj, 2016 p.10). While the Heath government was the first to push for the sale of local council housing in 1970, it was the Thatcher government's 1980 policy of giving tenants the 'Right to Buy' their council homes that drove this growth in private renting and home ownership; a previously public asset was transferred into the private sector. This policy represented a new development of a much longer-standing emphasis in Conservative politics on 'Property-Owning Democracy' (Francis, 2012). The Conservatives later introduced the Housing Act of 1988 which significantly reduced tenants' rights, making one-year and six month tenancy agreements standard in England and Wales, allowing landlords to increase rents every year, and introducing Section 21, a clause which allows private landlords to evict tenants in an 'accelerated eviction' process with 2 months notice once a tenancy has expired. The Labour government of 1997 onwards pursued a 'soft' version of the same practices, passing legislation that forced councils to transfer their housing into the hands of Arms Length Management Organizations (ALMOs) or Housing Associations (HAs) (Hodkinson and Robbins, 2013).

At the same time, from 1981 to 2012, land values increased by ten times what they had been in the 1980s (Dorling, 2014, p.94). Since the 1980s, the British housing market has effectively become another financial market into which both national and global investment enters in areas of increasing wealth and inequality. Mortgage debt became a major field of financial investment, and remains so, for instance, the value of outstanding British mortgage debt being traded is currently estimated at £1 trillion (ibid. p.180). This pattern of behaviour has been passed on to many British citizens who would not otherwise 'play the markets'. As of 2013, 2 million pensioners in the UK planned to rely on the sale of their home to finance their retirement (ibid. p.58). The processes of accumulation by dispossession in the UK housing market have a 'deep history' stretching back to a post-war social compact, and fitting into a wider history of neo-liberalization that plays out globally.

The global consequences of accumulation by dispossession as a 'fix' came home in the collapse of financial markets in 2008. The crisis, itself triggered by the collapse in value of American mortgage-backed securities, led to an acceleration, rather than a cutting back, of accumulation by dispossession. The UK government bailout of the private banking sector produced a budget deficit that was then 'attacked' through a stripping back of social welfare. In housing, while the initial response to the crisis came from the financial sector in the form of a massive spike in repossessions for mortgage defaults, the Labour government implemented pre-action protocols which limited repossession levels. The Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government that came into power in 2010 focused its attention on two processes in relation to housing; firstly facilitating homeownership and homebuilding through financial mechanisms and 'help to buy' schemes, and secondly a policy of cutting social welfare and housing benefits (and the Conservative majority from 2015-2016 largely reaffirmed this). The introduction of a benefit cap in the Welfare Reform Act of 2012 limited the receipt of a number of key welfare support payments. The limit was set £500 a week for couples or single parents with live in children, and £350 for single adults who live alone (UK Government 03/04/2016). The 'Under-Occupancy Charge' extended to the social sector, and quickly rechristened the 'Bedroom Tax' by the British media, limits the amount of housing benefit a tenant can receive depending on the number of rooms in a property at 14% of total rent for one extra bedroom and 25% for two spare bedrooms, leaving HA tenants, on average, losing £16 a week. The move affected an estimated 660,000 working age social tenants when it was introduced (Dorling, 2014 pp.150-151). The introduction of

'Universal Credit': paying benefits directly into the bank accounts of recipients, rather than to social housing and other service providers, will have further potential impacts that are still coming to light. Hodkinson and Robbins (2013) have argued that such policies indicate the 'return of class war conservatism' as government passes on the costs of the crisis to working-class tenants. With this historical analysis in mind, the outcome in terms of evictions can be seen across the historical statistics for repossessions from 2004-15 in a graph produced by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2015) based on Ministry of Justice statistics:
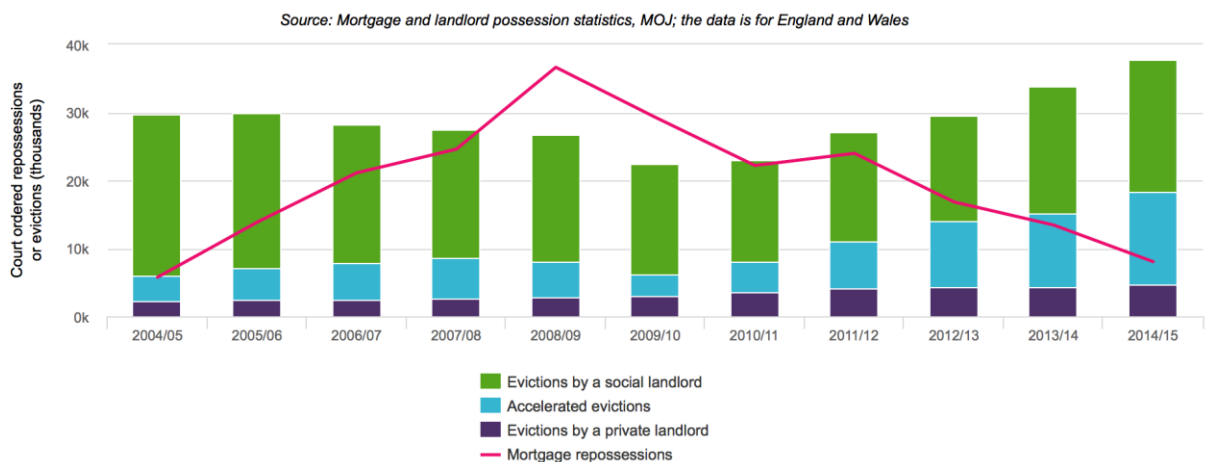
1.Types of eviction based on quarterly statistics 2004/05-2014/15 (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2015)

In this context while mortgage borrowers were subject to the immediate impact of financial crisis, the long term costs to government of the financial crisis have been passed on to social tenants and private renters, with the majority of evictions remaining in the social tenancy sector, but a clear increase in the eviction of private renters and the use of Section 21 for accelerated eviction.

1.2.3 Rent and Gentrification

To fully explain this significant growth in Section 21 evictions, we need to acknowledge the geographically uneven costs of housing and rent in the UK. While housing costs and rent costs have grown, they have not done so evenly. London vastly dominates the housing market in the UK, with an estimated value of more than £1,368 billion in 2012, greater than the value of all major UK cities combined

(Dorling, 2014 p.181). Rent values can increase rapidly in one area while remaining stagnant in others. This leads to cycles of both decline and disrepair and of gentrification, often following on from one another.

Gentrification is particularly significant here. Gentrification is often understood in terms of "the two essential elements of displacement of an existing lower income population and their replacement with more affluent households" (Cameron, 2003). In Marxist analysis, Neil Smith's study of 'rent gaps' (1995, p.63) has proved influential in understanding the process: As the potential ground rent of an area increases and eventually overtakes the actual value being extracted from an area of residential and commercial service usages. In the case of residential properties, the landowner is incentivised to disinvest from the existing tenancies, and revalorize their land at a higher rate. This process only occurs, argues Smith, when the costs of redeveloping the land is lower than the potential profit from its resale or renting at a higher rate (ibid p.68). This provides the impetus for discourses and practices that seek to reclaim the city from the urban poor, a practice Smith terms 'revanchism'.

The effects and causes of gentrification and revanchist urbanism in the UK have been explored in a number of studies (Macleod, 2002; Slater, 2006). A particularly heated debate has emerged around whether gentrification necessarily entails the "exclusionary displacement" of one social group by another, a theory supported by Tom Slater (2010), or a more 'organic' process occurs as working class residents pursue relevant employment and work elsewhere, a view advocated by Chris Hamnett (2010). Rather than 'resolve' this debate here, it should merely be recognised that cases of gentrification in which 'exclusionary displacement' occurs can and do happen, and we can use gentrification to illustrate the role of eviction in two specific aspects.

Firstly, the function of eviction in governing private rental markets, and in the UK context the role of Section 21 in facilitating both neglect and disinvestment from housing. Landlords can use eviction as a threat when repairs are demanded (so-called 'revenge evictions'), and for rapid turnover of tenancies where rents can be renegotiated and increased on an annual basis.

Secondly, in the social housing sector, the role of eviction in facilitating the large-scale reorganisation and displacement of tenants, noticeable in the demolition of large estates, as covered in the third chapter of this thesis. Lees (2014) has pointed to the eviction of large units of housing, such as the Aylesbury Estate as a continuation of New Labour 'regeneration schemes' as symptomatic of gentrification

by local government. Councils have used Compulsory Purchase Orders, which allow them to purchase and repossess properties without the owners consent, to remove residents from a number of large estates or high rise buildings around the capital to redevelop the land and attract a wealthier tax base.

1.2.4 Eviction Economics

The critique of capitalist accumulation provides a useful rejoinder to much of the social science literature focused on evictions and homelessness which tends to focus on the role of 'risk factors' or treat eviction as an unfortunate externality of capitalism (e.g. Böheim and Taylor, 2000; Crane and Warnes 2000). The statistical analysis of Evictions in Britain provided by Böheim and Taylor, while not denying the role of structural factors, comes to the conclusion in their interpretation of their that "the personal characteristics of the head of household, the structure of the household, financial circumstances, tenure status, and the general economic climate are all correlated with the probability of reporting housing finance problems and being evicted." (2000, p.312).

A similar line of reasoning persists beyond quantitative study. In a 'deep ethnography' of eviction practices in the US, Matthew Desmond argues that "instability is not inherent to poverty, poor families move so much because they have to", situating eviction as an exacerbating factor in conditions of impoverishment (2016, Epilogue, para. 13). Desmond ends up considering eviction in its role as an epiphenomenon of capitalism, rather than a constituent force. While this highlights the important role the removal of tenants rights in the US has had to play in creating housing precarity, it bypasses the fact that evictions must remain a legal and enforceable possibility if a capitalist economy of space is to persist. In a similar study of day workers helping eviction removals, Purser counteracts this narrative by observing that "evictions thus entail what I conceptualize as a circle of dispossession, reproduced both materially and ideologically" (2014, p3). A softer variant of this epiphenomenal analysis can be found in studies which explicitly use accumulation by dispossession to explain rates of eviction, without delving too much into the role of eviction in sustaining property relations (e.g. Vives-Miró et. al. 2015).

This points to the need to retain the idea of primitive accumulation alongside accumulation by dispossession, as Werner Bonefeld argues (2011, p.396): "The rule of the law of value presupposes the force of the law of private property that primitive

accumulation established in "antithesis to social, collective property" [Marx]". Simon Springer (2013a), pursuing a 'post-anarchist' reading of primitive accumulation in Cambodia influenced by the works of Proudhon and Kropotkin, emphasises the role of dispossession in securing and legitimating legalities of property and sovereign power that serve to obscure their origins in force (a point I shall return to below). It should be noted that this is not a particularly contentious point reserved for the anti-capitalist left, but is constitutional to theories of property and social contracts in early modern Europe: "Covenants, without the sword" wrote Hobbes, that most famous of social contract thinkers, "are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all" (1991, p.117). For the purposes of the present study, primitive accumulation and accumulation by dispossession serve as a primary explanatory tool to understand eviction in its "constituent" role in the economics of space, rather than as purely a product of the prevailing economic conditions which provide the context for the study.

We therefore need to think not only about the way evictions create a market, but the manner in which they maintain a market. The analysis of accumulation by dispossession draws our attention to the structural causes of eviction, but in doing so directs attention away from the actual process of eviction enforcement, in favour of subsuming eviction into a wider process of accumulation. We have a fine analysis of the function of eviction in creating and maintaining markets, but almost no explanation of how evictions are made possible. This points to a need for a critique of property as a significant element of an understanding of forced eviction. In particular we need to look at how eviction has been understood and used to reproduce forms of social marginality and abjection and how eviction is used to enforce the state.

1.3 Eviction and the Power of The State

The constitutional role eviction plays in markets cannot be understood without an understanding of eviction at work in forms of disciplinary, juridical, and sovereign power. The relationship of capital to the state is played out through eviction and its territorial and geographical claims. The role eviction plays in imposing a normative property regime and acknowledging citizenship has been understood through its relation to the creation and policing of what Tyler (2010) terms 'abject' subjects and controlling the movement of those 'cast out' from the sovereign state. Purser has noted that, in the US, eviction is "entirely absent from a widely discussed debate concerning poverty and urban ethnography" (2014, p3). While too sweeping a claim

to endorse fully, crucial works on urban policy and policing in the global north, such as Don Mitchell (1998) and Beckett and Herbert on homelessness (2009), Wacquant on marginality (2008), Mitchell again on public space (2003), and Mustafa Dikeç on urban policy (2011) are all clear cases where eviction is largely ignored or subordinated to wider concerns. By contrast scholarship from (post)-colonial contexts, or work focused on the specific experiences of subaltern cultural articulations of property rights, tends to emphasise the fundamental role of property rights in citizenship claims and struggles for racial justice (Roy, 2003; Blomley, 2004; Holston, 2008; Makhulu, 2015). In these studies, eviction plays a much more significant role as the arbiter of access to political recognition and the 'right to the city'.

Starting with the role of eviction in creating property itself, we can chart the way the market and the state interact through the mechanisms of eviction to produce forms of sovereign power. I will then proceed to contextualise these functions through the literature on British urban policy. Against the writers who have thus far ignored eviction, I argue that eviction is a crucial element of the structure of urban policy and police power.

1.3.1 Property Claims and the State

In order to understand the function of eviction we need to explore further the claims regarding property with which I concluded the previous section. For writers like Harvey, property largely begins and ends in its original function as a precondition to capitalist social relations existing in fundamental antagonism with rights. "We live, after all" writes Harvey (2008) "in a world in which the rights of private property and the profit rate trump all other notions of rights." (para. 1). In his work on resistance to evictions and displacement in Vancouver, Blomley (2004) provides a more nuanced account:

> "To invoke property is to summon up both formally prescribed rights as well as nonjusticiable, yet still powerful, understandings of ownership and entitlement. It is to recognize that property is deeply social and political, structuring immediate relations between people as well as larger liberal architectures, such as the division between public and private spheres. Property, moreover, implies diverse and often contradictory social beliefs and representations

(relating to masculine citizenship, race, visions of the economy, claims to community, and so on). Property is also predicated on physical, material practices; notably the state enforced right to expel" (p.xvii)

Blomley, along with other scholars like Roy (2003), shares a view that dominant paradigms of propertied citizenship are grounded in forms of violent legal enactment of expulsion and incarceration. But these paradigms are understood as but one kind of property claim grounded in western individualism. Liberal, Lockean, discourse "assumes of a view of rights, such as those relating to property, as belonging to atomised individuals located in a realm of private liberty confronting a threatening collective (either the state or other institutions)" (Blomley 2004, p.5).

Assuming this western model of property elides other forms of property claims, such as those made by First Nations groups (op cit. p154). This position produces a sympathetic challenge to some of the presumptions of Marxism regarding property, but also articulates a critique of neoconservative assumptions of property such as that provided by Richard Pipes, who advocates for property as a historical universal grounded in individual ownership (2007, pp.2-3), and reads on to indigenous and pre-capitalist social relations the seeds of forthcoming capitalist property rights (p.94), and grounds them in an essential biological explanation (pp.71-72).

Yet normative models of property ownership are constantly challenged and contested by those excluded from them: In a study of Brazilian property rights, James Holston (2008 p.18) argues that movements by landless persons and squatters to formalise and render legal the illegal both nourish and disrupt hegemonic concepts of citizenship. Elswhere, Holston (2009) explicitly cites eviction resistance as a means by which social movements attempt to articulate citizen rights. Holston's argument finds resonance in the work of Makhulu (2015 p.161), who argues that the struggles of squatters in Cape Town to protect their homes constitute a 'politics of presence' that operate through the 'encroachment of the everyday'. In an extensive review of the literature on squatting, Vasudevan (2014) points to the recurrent role of informality, makeshift urban design and creation and precarious forms of living as site of emergent possibilities for spatial justice. The struggle for space and the 'right to the city' and in particular, the destruction of the home and the eviction of the residents, is a point of conflict in a dynamic of exclusion and inclusion in the body politic.

These studies also point to the fundamental linkages between eviction, citizenship, and sovereign state power. Sovereignty is most commonly conceived of at the level of the nation-state, through the Weberian discourse of monopoly over the legitimate use of physical force within a given area (Weber, 2009, p.78). In the next chapter what is meant by 'force' in eviction will be expanded on in more detail, but here it enough to emphasise that it is this control over force that facilitates a sovereign body in its ability to include or exclude subjects. For Carl Schmitt (1985), the Sovereign is "he who decides on the exception" (p.1); the exception being the ability to suspend the rule of law, thereby confirming the force which grounds law while also negating it (p.13).This is a process embodied in every legal decision, which "emanates from nothing" and is grounded in force alone (p.32). Schmitt's conservative theology of law finds its response in Walter Benjamin's (2007a) writings on violence and history. Benjamin argues that violence is law-making or law preserving (ibid. p.287), and the suspension of the law created in the state of emergency "is not the exception, but the rule" of history (2007b, p.257). Agamben (1998) draws on this thesis to postulate that Sovereignty constitutes itself through a logic of exclusion and inclusion; "what cannot be included in any way is included in the form of the exception" (p.21), those included through this inclusive form exclusion are exposed to pure violence (p.64). Influenced by Schmitt, Stuart Elden (2009 p.xxx) argues that the control of territory is central to the legitimacy of such legal claims and processes of exclusion. Sovereignty is therefore enacted spatially through forms of exclusion and produces space.

Property can be read as a fundamental method of sovereign exclusion through legality: Responding to Elden and others involved in the debates around territory Blomley reasserts the centrality of property; "Property produces territory, polices its borders, frames its identities, and organizes its habits. Such territorializations, in turn, serve to materialize property in the socio-spatial world, while also obscuring many of its powerful relational effects." (2015, p.4). This also echoes earlier work by James C. Scott (1998), who points to the fundamental role of regulation, property, and 'sedentarization' in the attempts by states "to make a society legible" in order to govern (p.2).

Disputes over property and land play a key role in constituting the state along racial lines; we might look for clear examples to the role of indigenous land claims in Canada (Miller, 1991; Blomley 2004, p.107) and the destruction of Palestinian homes in the West Bank and Gaza by both the British forces and subsequently the IDF

(Hanafi, 2009; Khalili, 2010). In a study of the destruction and eviction of a village in Cambodia, Springer (2013b) has argued that practices of the everyday, informal usage are overridden by the written law enacted through violent force. This is a process that carries with it a border politics, demonstrated clearly in the targeting of Bangladeshi immigrants in slum-clearance schemes in Delhi (Ramachandra, 2002). Eviction is a trajectory through which the dialectics of the inside and outside are deployed by the state. Doshi (2013) connects these debates back to the problematic of accumulation by dispossession by observing how of eviction facilitates "accumulation by differentiated displacement" through the practice of what Aiwha Ong (2006) terms the 'graduated citizenship' of neoliberal politics.

This graduated politics through differentiating citizenship spatially is reflected in the growth of 'territorial stigmatisation': "in every country, a small set of urban boroughs have come to be universally renowned and reviled across class and space as redoubts of self-inflicted and self-perpetuating destitution and depravity" argue Wacquant, Slater and Pereira (2014, p.1274). These spaces (such as the Parisian *banlieue,* the American ghetto, or the British council estate) are racialized through accentuated discourses that depict them as dangerous, feral zones whose criminality is intrinsic to the nature of the residents (op. cit). Smith describes such a process as a 'revanchist urbanism' that underpin forms of strongly coercive 'zero tolerance' law-and-order policing (2002). In a study of the *banlieue*, Mustafa Dikeç (2011, p.10) argues revanchism is connected to a form of national identity through republican identity, which is reinforced through a 'policing of the distribution of sensible' which does not only concern itself with 'The Police' as an institution and 'crime' as a problem but extends to encompass a logic of partition and social order (ibid. p.20). Even within a given polity such as a nation-state, citizenship is connected not only to access to property but to *kinds* of property and space understood by the discourse of the state.

Property claims are therefore connected to what Brickell (2010) calls a "geopolitics of the home" that will be explored in the next section; the integrity of property and domesticity, and the integrity of the state are deeply linked, and reciprocate one another through both determining what constitutes 'proper' property, and who has access to property. I therefore follow Mark Neocleous' (2000) claim that the enforcement of property is foundational to the exercise of police power (pp.34-41): Eviction, as the enforcement of property, is a tool for the production of social order, the policing of excluded and racialized subjects, and the enactment of forms of

punitive state power. Property and displacement are a convergence point for forms of 'geoeconomic, geopolitical, and biopolitical' enclosure (Vasudevan, McFarlane, and Jeffrey 2007).

When thinking about the role of forced eviction in the UK, it is necessary to move beyond the function of forced eviction in the reproduction of capital to consider the sizeable role it plays in the politics of policing and the integrity of the nation-state. Property law and public order are inextricably linked through practices of policing both forms of non-normative property use and dwelling such as squatting, political protest, nomadicity, and 'antisocial behaviour'. These practices are policed because they assert alternative modes of both urbanism and property relations that threaten both the integrity of the market *and* the state.

1.3.2 Eviction and Abjection in Neoliberal Britain

In a sweeping state-of-the-nation study of neoliberal Britain, Imogen Tyler (2013) argues that contemporary neoliberal statecraft is dependent on the creation of forms of 'social abjection'. Tyler uses the framework of abjection to explain the processes of differentiation that constitute national identity: "The state exercises power through exemption - the withdrawal of the law, and the withholding and removal of rights and recognition from people within or at the borders of its territorial space" Tyler argues; "It is through exercises in abjection that different arms and operations of the state are constituted as agencies with power by differentially determining the value of life, adjudicating on who is expendable and who is of worth" (p.46).

As I have already shown, the first part of Tyler's argument concerning abjection is anticipated by earlier philosophies of the state and citizenship. It is the second part, concerning the adjudication of worth, that is important for our understanding of eviction in the UK. It is this context-specific description of neoliberal citizenship as degrees of 'abjection' I want to evoke here.

In the UK the differentiation of forms of life plays out through eviction in two key ways: Firstly, the creation of discourses of stigma concerning the rights of low-income and social tenants to housing, in particular the enactment of displacement through discourses of 'territorial stigmatization'. Secondly, the stigmatisation and marginalisation of forms of non-normative dwelling and property use, such as squatting or traveller settlement. And finally, the role of eviction in policing forms of political protest that seek to contest the state.

1.3.3 Territorial Stigma and Low Income Housing

In an article in the *Sunday Times* 10/01/2016, then Prime Minister David Cameron declared a campaign of redevelopment and demolition of post-war housing housing estates "Of course, within these so-called sink estates, behind front doors, families build warm and welcoming homes" wrote Cameron, "but step outside in the worst estates, and you're confronted by concrete slabs dropped from on high, brutal high-rise towers and dark alleyways that are a gift to criminals and drug dealers. The police often talk about the importance of designing out crime, but these estates actually designed it in. Decades of neglect have led to gangs, ghettos and anti-social behaviour".

Cameron's words are exemplary of the logic of 'territorial stigmatization', situating problems of law-and order as essential to the design of estates rather as a consequence of policy (least of all a consequence of the policy of the government he was leading). Hancock and Mooney (2013 p.48) have argued that conservative policy deploys discourses of 'problem' places to underpin a narrative of welfare dependency, criminality and disorder. Territorial stigmatisation in this narrative transcends a mere policy of gentrification via urban renewal, and serves as a spatial justification for the rolling back of social welfare programs and the institution of punitive policing models. But such narratives also work to shape the routines of welfare access at an interpersonal level. In an ethnography of the St. Ann's estate in Nottingham, Lisa McKenzie (2014, p.170) observes how the residents' background on the estate shaped the way they accessed social security and housing benefit payments through forms of institutionalised stigmatisation and economic instability as welfare programs constantly shifted .

But practices of crime control aren't just limited to social housing practices. There has been a growth in the role of housing in policing both in the social and private sector. As Carr et. al. (2007) argue:

"There is no defined housing management role that incorporates the task of governance beyond an individual enforcement of the contract. Although it is a commonplace assertion that the private rented sector is deregulated and decontrolled, the types of control and regulation that exist in the sector have been dispersed through, for example, controls on housing benefit, property

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quality, and, less so, security of tenure... these existing tools are now being used as tools of crime control." (p.122)

Shildrick et.al. (2012) argue that poverty in the UK is characterised by this constant shifting between employment, unemployment and oscillating welfare access (p.10-18). This large-scale redevelopment of social housing estates is also underpinned by a mundane struggle to access social support such as housing benefit across the housing sector, which is utilised for repressive policing strategies.

This is in evidence in the way Cameron's statement also summoned the discourse of 'anti-social behaviour' (ASB). ASB as a concept first emerged in the early 1990s. "Every citizen, every family, has the right to a quiet life" wrote the Labour Party Report *A Quiet Life* of 1995, "a right to go about their lawful business without harassment or criminal behaviour by their neighbours. But across Britain there are thousands of people whose lives are made a misery by the people next door, down the street or on the floor above or below. Their behaviour may not just be unneighbourly, but intolerable and outrageous." (Macdonald, 2006, p.183). The criminologist Jock Young (1999, p.76) argued that antisocial behaviour is a discourse produced by the perceptual division between a relatively secured middle class who perceive the activities of an increasingly precarious working class as that of a social 'underclass'.

Under the Antisocial Behaviour Act of the Early 2000s, Local Authorities, Registered Social Landlords and the Police can apply for an Antisocial Behaviour Order that regulates movements and behaviour of individuals and can result in a jail sentence if breached. Anna Minton (2012, p.195) has argued that the homeless and mentally ill are disproportionately targeted by ASBOs. Eviction is explicitly used as a threat to deter individuals and families from participating in what the state sees as ASB (Hunter, 2006; Flint and Nixon 2006). Most social landlords, and many private landlords now use anti-social behaviour clauses in their tenancy agreements (all of the social landlords interviewed for this thesis used dedicated ASB officers for resolving disputes), and breach of an ASBO can also constitute a breach of a social tenancy agreement (committing a criminal act).

Yet these categories are often subjective: for instance, noise is one of the biggest causes of complaints about antisocial behaviour in public housing, and it has shaped case law in England (Macdonald 2006). In the 'Safer Neighbourhoods' initiative, the Metropolitan Police Service used advertising messages displayed

images of 'before' and 'after' scenes of streets and parks in London. Amongst these was an image depicting a street; in the first image, 'for sale' signs were visible on all but one of the houses, in the second, the signs had gone. A caption advertised the willingness of the police to talk about problems such as 'noisy neighbours' (Metropolitan Police n.d.) Within the advert was a tacit admission that the police service was not only a device for law enforcement, but also a means for preserving house prices and markets through governing social behaviour. In the use of ASB legislation to control order through eviction we can see what Dikeç (2011, p.18), following Ranciére, terms the 'partition of the sensible' in action.

This permeating social anxiety about stigmatised social groups manifests both as the threat of crime, the fear of social disorder and the decay of the nation-state, but also the fear that one's neighbours are the source of that threat. Having examined how the discourses of anti-social behaviour and territorial stigmatisation play out in low-income communities, we need to address how these discourses entrench forms of racism by looking at the role of eviction in the policing of traveller communities.

1.3.4 Travellers and Eviction

"There are relatively few real Romany Gypsies left who seem to mind their own business and don't cause trouble to other people, and then there are a lot more people who masquerade as Travellers or Gypsies, who trade on the sentiment of people, but who seem to think because they label themselves Travellers that therefore they've got a license to commit crimes and act in an unlawful way that other people don't have"

These words, spoken by then Home Secretary Jack Straw in 1999 drew extensive controversy and a retraction from the Home Office (Miller 20/08/1999). Yet they were simply a reiteration of what Mac Laughlin (1999) terms a "historical geography of loathing" towards nomadic people in Europe. Travellers have traditionally been marginalised by social policy in the UK, their experiences shaped by a history of eviction, and on a larger scale, they been subject to persecution and genocide across Europe.

Travellers can be crudely divided into multiple groups, including English, Scottish and Irish Travellers, Roma people, Showpeople, and New (or 'new age') Travellers. However, as Straws comments indicate, much of the derision that travelling peoples

face is based on imaginary taxonomies of 'worthy' forms of nomadic activity and 'deviant' behaviour. These divisions in fact conceal a long history of co-mingling, intermarriage, solidarity, disagreement, and negotiated organising between these groups (Quarmby, p. xiii, p49)

British post-war policy has generally sought to 'settle' travellers through a series of restrictions on the use of certain spaces for Caravan use, and forms of travel: the 1960 Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act restricted the operation of Caravan sites to licensed individuals (Section 1) and gave district councils the right to prohibit Caravan use on Common Land (Section 23). The Criminal Justice and Public Order act of 1994 further removed the obligation for Councils to provide sites for Travellers to use, and prohibited travelling in convoys. Zoe James (2007) summarises the outcome of these acts:

> "Perhaps the most over-arching limit placed on Gypsies' and Travellers' lives in the 20th century in England and Wales was the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 (CJPOA) that made it an offence for anyone to stop on any land that they did not own, or have planning permission to reside on. This Act, which has subsequently been strengthened by the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003, gave the police and local authorities powers to evict Gypsies and Travellers from land very quickly. The placing of Gypsies and Travellers within the context of public order law has resulted in them experiencing policing measures more traditionally applied to public order problems such as protest (James, 2004) and has augmented the position of Gypsies and Travellers as a community defined by what Bancroft (2000) has referred to as the dominant discourse of punishment." (p.369)

As we shall see in the final chapter of this thesis in an examination of the case of the eviction at Dale Farm, an eviction which drew together a number of different histories of resistance, a whole set of strategies of eviction has emerged out of this punitive discourse.

Fears about travellers do not stand fully 'apart' from social anxieties about other 'deviant' groups; criminal activity by members of the travelling community is often conflated with concerns about deviant youth (Vanderbeck 2003), or immigration from Eastern Europe (Simhandl, 2006). It would be impossible to write a history of eviction without a history of travellers, and vice versa. Eviction is now the *de facto*

point of first recourse for dealing with traveller-settler disputes. Travellers are pushed to marginal and hazardous spaces as a result. In 2009 the UN Advisory Group on Forced Evictions (2008), citing a report from the Commission for Racial Equality, concluded:

> "The majority of the caravans that are homes to Gypsies and Travellers in England are on sites provided by local authorities, or are privately owned with planning permission for this use. But the location and condition of these sites would not be tolerated for any other section of society: 26% are situated next to, or under, motorways; 13% next to airfield runways. 12% are next to rubbish tips, and 4% adjacent to sewage farms. Tucked away out of sight, far from shops and schools, they can frequently lack public transport to reach jobs and essential services... Overt discrimination remains a common experience." (p.8)

The traveller experience in the UK reminds us that eviction as a trajectory of *displacement* is more than simply 'moving' a person or group of people from one place to another. Eviction is used in the imposition of a normative kind of dwelling or habitation, and the exclusion of social groups from 'place-making' practices. It is also embedded in the historical geography of the marginalised groups that are targeted by eviction and legalised forms of exclusion. These historical geographies link different social groups through a discourse of propertied citizenship.

1.3.5 Squatting and Political Protest

Normative forms of property use are also troubled by the use of forms of space and property that seek to evade or confront directly forms of private property. As has already been noted, globally squatting has been understood as potential site for the articulation of new forms of urbanism (Neuwirth, 2005; Roy, 2003; Blomley, 2004; Holston, 2008; Vasudevan, 2014; Makhulu, 2015). The histories of squatting in Europe within the movements of the radical and anarchist left of the 20th century, however, play a crucial role in understanding the state's relationship to squatters in the UK context. Mary Manjikian (2013) has argued that squatting in Europe increasingly faces forms of securitisation. Manjikian largely understands this through the 'speech acts' model of securitisation proposed by the Copehagen school (ibid. p8), and as a result the discourses squatters face are understood as constructive

'speech acts' that converge and conflate threats from international terrorism and domestic order (ibid. p.49).

However this downplays the role of squatters themselves in challenging hegemonic regimes of property ownership. Vasudevan has argued that the "*material geographies* of squatting" in Berlin "were inextricably tied, therefore, to a broader struggle to reimagine city life as a shared political project" (2015, p.113). Autonomist and anarchist movements in Greece have used squatting as a practice through which to organise critical infrastructures of support such as soup kitchens in conditions of austerity (Kritidis 2014, p.83). Alongside these a number of recent edited collections emphasise the underpinnings of squatter practices in practices of social autonomy and anti-capitalist politics (Squatting Europe Kollective, 2013, 2014; Van Der Steen, B. et. al 2015). Beyond contemporary panics about terrorism and security, the history of squatting in Europe equally points to an often deep-rooted degree of direct antagonism between squatter and state that is nothing new in itself.

In England and Wales, the history of squatting had been a much-neglected field until recent years. Ron Bailey emphasised the demand for control over housing in the emergent squatters movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s (Bailey 1973 p189), and more recent historical work by Colin Ward (2002) has emphasised the role of squatting struggles in shaping common rights to rural land from the middle ages through to the turn of the last century. The discourse of the British media tended to repeat the patterns seen in debates about travellers, as taxonomies of 'legitimate' and 'lifestyle' squatting dominated debates and legal decisions (O'Mahony and Cobb, 2008). The government summary of their consultation on squatting in 2011 reiterated arguments about property damage the mess caused by squatters:

> It is not only the cost and length of time it takes to evict squatters that angers property owners; it is also the cost of the cleaning and repair bill which follows eviction. While the property owner might literally be left picking up the pieces, the squatters have gone on their way, possibly to squat in somebody else's property. (Ministry of Justice 26/10/2011)

However, the government stopped short of criminalising squatting in non-residential buildings on the grounds it preserved the legal rights of demonstrators and protestors.

The solution was Section 144 of the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act (LASPO) of 2012 which criminalised squatting in residential properties. Since the introduction of this bill there has been a substantial amount of scholarship attempting to understand how changes in squatting law came about, especially from legal studies (see for instance Dee, 2013; O'Mahony et. al. (eds.) 2014). Lucy Finchett-Maddock has looked at these changes in their context as part of a *longue dureé* of organizing from the squatter rights organisations founded by political radicals in the 1960s to the opposition to Section 144 (2014). She argues that the squatters' movement has been characterised by 'legal activism' by groups like the Advisory Service for Squatters that seeks a degree of recognition and legitimacy by the state while attempting to maintain political autonomy (ibid. p.212).

In particular, the Common Law practice of awarding rights of adverse possession to squatters, and the use of Section 6 of the Criminal Law act of 1977 (which prohibits forcing entry to a domestic residence without a search warrant or writ of eviction), have been frequent sites of legal engagement for squatters that they seek to protect. Alongside Section 144 there are a number of legal instruments that are used against squatters, most notably Interim Possession Orders, where a court can grant an expedited eviction which grants temporary possession over a squatted residential property if a judge suspects the case will be found in favour of the landlord. Under an IPO it is an offence to trespass into the building for up to 24 hours after the order is given.

Squatters are often caught between protesting in order to squat and squatting in order to protest. To properly untangle 'necessary' squatting and 'political' or 'lifestyle' squatting in actuality (as Hans Pruijt's (2013) attempt at a taxonomy of squatting practices attempts) leads us into a merry-go-round of claims to rights and legal battles that the two become relatively indistinguishable. Squatting campaigners have often attempted to use squatted space as a way to raise awareness of housing issues, but also to promote alternative lifestyle and political choices. Squats have frequently been used to create free schools, education centres, 'Temporary Autonomous Zones' (Bey, 2003), and political social centres. Hodkinson and Chatterton (2006) provide an exhaustive list of occupied, legalised, and owned varieties of such social centres active in the UK since 1980. The eviction of squatters, as well as police raids on squats, has frequently been used as a tool of public order policing. For instance, the raid and subsequent eviction of a squat on Rampart street

in London formed part of the Metropolitan Police's strategy for securing the 2009 G20 conference (Advisory Service For Squatters 2009).

We therefore need to connect squatting itself to forms of political protest and organisation to properly understand the role eviction plays in policing squatter groups. As I have tried to emphasise above, most studies of squatting in England suggest it is not possible to fully separate squatting by necessity from the 'politics' of squatting as a strategy; however it is clear that some squatters are more consciously aware of their use of squatting as a means to achieve certain political ends. Squatting has long been deployed as a tactic of political protest in England; at the very least we can point to the Diggers or 'True Levellers' movement of the late 1640s as an explicit example (as recorded in Christopher Hill's classic study of ideas of the period *The World Turned Upside Down* (1973, pp.107-151), and his edited collection of Digger leader Gerrard Winstanleys writings (1973)), and as the few histories of the squatters movement show, land claims have often been at the core of squatter movements.

We can see how social movements understand themselves as opposing forms of enclosure or asserting collective ownership in several illustrative examples. As I will show in a later chapter, elements of the Roads Protests of the early 1990s, which used land occupations and squats as a strategy of opposition, asserted themselves against forms of 'enclosure' (Wall, 1999, p.18, p.157), and at sites like the M11 link, explicitly drew connections with residents of housing about to be demolished. Contemporary campaigns centred around fracking practices are the direct descendants of the roads movements and have used similar strategies to prevent what they perceive as environmental destruction, actions which have been met with substantial force by the police (Jackson and Monk, 2014). Recent student movements have also used occupation as a strategy to assert common rights to education against neoliberal reforms. Neary and Amsler (2012) have argued that these spatial practices of occupation, both of university and public spaces, offer a "new pedagogy of space and time" of the kind described by Lefebvre, while Andy Merrifield (2012) has tried to explain these and other occupations as a site of 'encounter' between social subjectivities.

While these are perhaps overly positive narratives of these movements, the eviction of forms of protest could nonetheless be considered as part of a process 'immunological' enclosure that protects both property and the citizen-subject against communalising subjectivities and counter-hegemonic political claims (Vasudevan,

Jeffrey, and Macfarlane, 2012), one which asserts the contract of property and land against a kind of political contagion (Mitropoulos, 2012, p.18). In short, political groups are evicted both because they themselves directly defy the constituted state and the market through occupying land which 'does not belong to them', and because they posit a counter-subjectivity and contentious political process which threatens normative political rationality: eviction is not just the removal of bodies from space, it can also be the removal of subjects (in both senses of the word) from political discourse.

1.3.6 The Public Nature of Private Property

In this section I have tried to show how the integrity of social order and 'police power' is understood is bound up in the politics of property that eviction enforces. Property is connected to 'propriety' as a mode of acceptable behaviour and governing political rationalities. Eviction is a tool of repressive and ideological control (again, I ask the reader to remain patient as I will 'unpack' these terms in the next chapter) that both emerges from and reinforces the nation-state through a politics of exclusion, graduated citizenship, and the negation of alternative spatial models of ownership and usage. In the UK, these practices constitute modes of what Tyler terms 'abjection' that seek to create social hierarchies of particular groups seen as threatening to the social fabric of the nation-state. Property discourses impose forms of social citizenship and normative models of political engagement. But this understanding also draws attention away from the material practices of eviction enforcement to larger, constitutional questions of law and state. There are therefore two losses that are found at the scalar level: firstly the diversion away from the disciplinary institutions of eviction that I wish to point to throughout this review of the literature, and secondly an elision of the intimate scale the 'geopolitics' of the home mentioned earlier. In order to address the first, we must therefore have some kind of conceptualisation of the second. Fortunately, this is an area in which some of the richest research into the politics of eviction has been conducted.

1.4 Eviction and the Loss of Home

Perhaps the greatest focus of studies of forced eviction has come from geographers and social scientists focused on the politics of the home. I have shown

thus far that studies of 'eviction' have looked at numerous kinds of spaces and land practices, and cannot be limited to the domestic. However, the home is also a space that dominates both imagination and law when it comes to defining eviction as a social phenomenon. Legal rulings mention terms such as 'residence' or 'dwelling' in relation to eviction, and many studies explicitly using the term 'eviction' speak only of the home. While 'home studies' is a substantial field with a vast literature (Blunt and Dowling (2006) have provided a substantial overview), I will focus on particular sets of literatures that have emerged around the concepts of 'Domicide' and 'Home UnMaking'. I want to draw some out connections made in the analysis of the scholars represented in these studies between their own writing and the work of social reproduction feminists when thinking about the process of eviction: I want to argue, drawing the strands of the previous two sections of this chapter together, that eviction plays a role in reshaping the process of social reproduction itself and the cultural construct of the home. These scholars point to how eviction shapes decisions about the domestic allocation of resources and time, and also the role of eviction in process that destroy the home: The home is understood as a 'porous' space rather than a unique protected and private space. But even more importantly, the home is a site of emotional entanglements and attachments that are being worked and reworked, and that play into the forms of power.

1.4.1 Ending The Home: 'Domicide' and 'Home UnMaking'

The most substantial work on the destruction of the home is Porteous and Smith's (2001) study *Domicide*. 'Domicide' refers "the act of destroying people's homes and/or expelling them from their homeland" (p.ix). The term aims to resonate with other modes of 'killing' such as homicide, genocide, and geographical neologisms like 'ecocide' or 'urbicide' (for instance, Coward, 2008). Porteous and Smith divide domicide into two categories: 'extreme' and 'everyday'. Though there are several differences I reproduce this division to some extent throughout this thesis with my own division between 'everyday' and 'exceptional' evictions. For Porteous and Smith 'Extreme Domicide' refers to large, planned operations of destruction that occur in times of war or colonial exploitation enacted by senior political leaders or significant colonial bureaucrats (op. cit. p.105). By contrast 'Everyday Domicide' concerns activities which often have the consent of the majority of the populace (ibid. p.107), and usually constitute forms of economic development or restructuring (ibid. p.115),

large scale planning projects proposed by governments such as roads or airports (ibid. p.123-127). As I will show later on, dividing 'extreme' military practices, and 'everyday' strategies of urban development is not a clear cut distinction, particularly in a context of large scale militarisation of urban development and policing observed by scholars (Graham 2008; Wood, 2014).

Much of the criticism of Porteous and Smith comes from geographies of the home. Porteous and Smith ground their understanding of domicide in a reading of the home that is largely fixed, positive and unchanging: as such domicide is depicted as a particular kind of indifference to the inherent value of the home and its complexities (2001, p63). In his ethnography Desmond comes to a similar conclusion: "The home is the center of life." He argues "It is a refuge from the grind of work, the pressure of school, and the menace of the streets…at home we remove our masks. The home is the wellspring of personhood", before proceeding to argue that home "encompasses not just shelter but warmth, safety, family - the womb" (2016, Epilogue, paras 1-3).

These authors reproduce an essentialist (and gendered) concept of home as a space that is central to identity that, as Blunt and Dowling argue, is central to the humanist critiques of writers like Tuan (1977) and de Certeau (1985) (Blunt and Dowling, 2006, p.11). 'Domicide' and other narratives of eviction suffer from normative assumptions about the home (one that connects to a normative assumption of property described above). As Nowicki has argued:

"Domicide should therefore not necessarily imply that the destruction of home is linear and finite, that new homespaces cannot be forged from the old. If we consider domicide beyond its original typology and its overly linear assumptions regarding home as positive and consequently its destruction as always negative, it becomes clear that the construction and maintenance of domicidal activity is not in all cases formulated for the purposes of large-scale political warfare or moneyed elites (Porteous and Smith 2001) but rather can form a complex part of the everyday lived experience." (2014, p.789)

Nowicki points to a reading of domicide as a much larger practice of "home making and *un*making" (ibid.) that stretches beyond forced eviction and explores the transformations of the home. Baxter and Brickell have emphasised the necessity of 'home *un*making' to a geography of the home "Home *unmaking* is the precarious process by which material and/or imaginary components of home are unintentionally

or deliberately, temporarily or permanently, divested, damaged, or even destroyed."
(2014, p.134). For Baxter and Brickell unmaking is understood as part of the 'life
course' of all homes, not just the spectacular practices of urban destruction or even
everyday eviction. Clearly home unmaking and eviction are not one and the same
process, but eviction can form part of a process of home unmaking and *vice versa*.
Evictions reshape meanings of home and govern practices of home remaking.

1.4.2 The Politics of Home: Power, Feeling and Social Reproduction

In order to explore this understanding of eviction it is necessary to address the
way in which the home is subject to regimes of power and a site of material
contestation and reproduction. This points to the essential necessity of understanding
the role of the home as a 'porous' site that is neither wholly public nor wholly private,
and one that is subject to different racialized, gendered, and heteronormative
meanings and emotional attachments (Blunt and Dowling, 2006 p27; Brickell and
Baxter 2014). But we also need to understand the home as a space of domestic
labour and social reproduction subject to relations of exploitation that reinforce
themselves through these meanings and attachments.

As I have already hinted, the home is connected to a multi-scalar geopolitics of
property, the domestic, and the intimate. Feminist and queer readings of the intimate
and the domestic emphasise their role as a site of intensive power relations. Oswin
and Olund (2010) have pointed to the long history of the intimate in critical thought as
a Foucauldian *dispostiv* that acts as a point of governance. Cynthia Enloe (2011) has
emphasised the early contributions of the feminist critique of patriarchy to an
understanding of the way the everyday and the mundane work to reproduce the state
through forms of control over women's bodies. A substantial literature on the
geopolitical implications of intimacy has developed in recent years out of queer and
feminist theory (see for instance Berlant, 2000; Ong, 2006; Puar 2007).

The home forms a central point of critique in many of these narratives, particularly
the way the home is constructed as a point of powerful emotional significance. Sara
Ahmed has identified heteronormative domestic relationships as 'happy objects' that
hegemonic discourse suggests we should pursue continuously - she points to the
image of the 'happy housewife' as an example of the "assumption that happiness
follows relative proximity to social ideal" (2010, p54). Ahmed's analysis helps us
understand and explain the associations between the home, memory, and identity in

a critical manner. Understanding the home as a purely reproductive space of safety elides non-reproductive forms of homemaking and 'unhappy' relations while re-inscribing the gendered politics of the home.

This is a problem because the home is a significant site of social reproductive and, increasingly, 'formal' labour. Katz (2001) defines social reproduction as the "stuff of everyday life":

> "At its most basic, it hinges upon the biological reproduction of the labor force, both generationally and on a daily basis, through the acquisition and distribution of the means of existence, including food, shelter, clothing, and health care. According to Marxist theory, social reproduction is much more than this; it also encompasses the reproduction of the labor force at a certain (and fluid) level of differentiation and expertise. This differentiated and skilled labor force is socially constituted." (ibid. p.709)

The Marxist feminists of the 1970s and 1980s point to the burden of social reproductive work in the home falling to women (Dalla Costa and James, 1975; Fortunati, 1995; Federici, 2012). Calculating the economic impact of social reproduction has been a key question for political economists (Cameron and Gibson-Graham, 2003), and a significant literature on the geographies of domestic labour has emerged (for instance Anderson, 2000; Mitchell et. al., 2004).

However there is also an increasing literature focusing on wealthy nations examining the ways in which the boundaries between informal social reproductive labour and formal labour are blurred or even the same work: In a study of migrant domestic workers from the Philippines, Geraldine Pratt (1999) has pointed to the ways in they are subject to racialised forms of deskilling as nursing posts are combined with domestic labour positions. In Australia, Melissa Gregg has examined the impacts of digital and long-distance labour on domestic use and emotional associations with the home. She concludes that professional lives 'bleed' into domestic space as pressures from work that might be banished from the home re-emerge (2013, p169-170). Debates about these practices and their uneven geographical development are substantial, but these studies point to the home as a site of economic activity in and of itself, and how these forms of labour shape attachments to the home.

The loss of the home, via forced eviction, involves to some extent the dismemberment or reconfiguration of social reproductive relationships and emotional attachments. It is therefore unsurprising that in many contexts the burden of eviction falls on those who also shoulder the burden of social reproductive work. In his quantitative research in Milwaukee, Desmond (2012, p.100) shows that Black and Hispanic women appeared twice as much as men from the same ethnic group in a count of evictions through the courts: This impact was also distributed in racial terms, because both women and men of colour were evicted more than white women (with white men facing the fewest evictions).

The costs of Eviction and the threat of eviction changes how people understand and talk about domestic space, and how they allocate resources in social reproduction. Forms of organised resistance to displacement often involve reshaping the meaning of home. In work drawing together several of the themes I identify in this chapter, Ayona Datta (2012) has noted how domesticity and notions of family among squatters in Delhi were extended to minorities in order to resist forms of communal and sectarian violence: "domesticity became central to way that squatters constructed a gendered urban citizenship and belonging through conviviality. The home and patriarchal family thus also became ways to conceive of alternative forms of home and legitimacy in the city" (p.150). Women and social groups excluded by hegemonic narratives of property and the home, often end up at the forefront of forms of resistance to displacement. In the case of resistance by women in Cambodia to forced evictions driven by transnational property investment and local corruption, public campaigns use the insecurity of domestic life to bind forms of collective action (Brickell, 2014 p.2167).

However, normative readings of gendered reproductive domesticity are also points of exclusion for certain groups, who may seek avenues of escape from sites of domesticity. Squatted spaces can become sites for reconstructing sexual identities away from normative social discourse (Brophy, 2007; Eleftheriadis, 2015), but can also provide points of refuge for queer people excluded by domestic family relations (as in the case of Berlin's *Tuntenhaus*). Sarah Schulman's (2012) narrative of the gentrification of queer communities shows how the bodily politics of disease, the encroachment of capital, and the demonization of sexuality interplayed as a conflict between presence and displacement. Gay men in New York's Lower East Side who shared rooms with partners who had died of AIDS were evicted because they were not allowed to inherit leaseholds (in the manner a partner would do in a heterosexual

relationship) (ibid. p.37). For those who are not considered as fitting a normative forms of reproductive activity the loss of different kinds of 'home' can be both a liberation and an enactment of stigma (especially as alternatives like squats are closed down through eviction).

1.4.3 The Crisis of Social Reproduction in the UK

Research into forced evictions and displacement in the UK has often emphasised the psychological and emotional impact and causative effect of the loss of the home. In interviews with single homeless people who experienced eviction, Crane and Warnes (2000) emphasised the reciprocal nature of eviction and forms of vulnerability or mental illness. They identified such factors as retirement or redundancy, the death of a last surviving parent, widowhood or marital separation, increased severity of mental illness, and coping difficulties unrelated to a disruptive event (2000, p.764). Of these retirement or redundancy, death of a surviving parent, and mental illness were the most frequently reported factors. Böheim and Taylor's (1999) multivariate statistical analysis provides a different picture to that provided by Desmond's US study, suggesting that no significant relationships were found between the gender, age or ethnicity of the main wage earner of the household and the likelihood of eviction. However, they also suggest a different process in place to that described by Crane and Warnes: while marital breakdown, redundancy, and mental illness might not be significant factors, they also suggested that more crowded households, and households with more children have a a greater likelihood of eviction; households in the South East were also more likely to be evicted and children under 6 were also increased risks. Despite these findings Böheim and Taylor ultimately fall back on the 'personal characteristics' of the head of the household as a key explanation.

But personal characteristics cannot be separated from the conditions found in facing eviction: Using data from a household panel study, Pevalin (2009) suggests that mental illness significantly increases after repossession of an owned property but not eviction from rented property. This may be suggestive of different psychological and cultural attachments to ownership evidenced in the work above-ownership is a guarantee of political participation. However this should not suggest that those in rented properties experience no pressures from eviction. A study published in 2015 based on interviews conducted in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne among

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tenants facing the Bedroom Tax/Under-Occupancy Charge showed increased levels of anxiety, stress and ill health (Moffat et. al., 2015). The study showed that tenants often cut back on basic needs, like food, heating, and other utilities. These studies suggest a quite varied picture of the relationship between domestic life, social reproduction and eviction across space and time and different research populations in the UK.

As I have already mentioned, many of these studies draw attention away from large-scale structural factors of accumulation by dispossession and displacement, and towards individual characteristics. They also reproduce a certain heteronormative understanding of the home: sexuality or non-binary forms of gender identity are little discussed in these works; yet, as of 2015, a quarter of homeless young people in the UK identified as LGBT according to the Albert Kennedy Trust (Roberts 26/02/2015). However, they point to several key elements to eviction in the UK: Firstly, the emotional and psychological impact of the loss of the home, particularly when the home is associated with ownership. Secondly the way the collapse of, or failure to manage, social reproduction triggers evictions. For instance the pressures added by paying for childcare, food, or heating, contributes to the potential for rent arrears and eviction.

Connected to this are the conditions that the threat of eviction imposes on the economic management of the home, through forms of budgeting required to meet shortfalls in rent or mortgage payments.

Finally, the impacts on emotional and psychological wellbeing that the mere threat of eviction imposes. It's clear to see how these concerns overlap with the legal separation of kinds of citizenship described by Ong and Tyler, and forms of accumulation, for instance through the restriction of rooms and resources for raising children or conducting housework.

Emerging social movements against forms of displacement have emphasised social reproductive struggles and the associations between both shelter and community. Focus E15, a London Based campaign centred around a group of young mothers in sheltered housing scheduled for 'decanting', have become a focal point for media coverage of campaigns against gentrification and a productive site of strategic innovation (Watt, 2016). Housing Action Southwark and Lambeth (HASL) run both an anti-eviction phone tree to organise rapid resistance to evictions, and lunch and supper clubs for people struggling to pay their bills or looking for a place to make contact with others, offering legal and organising advice (2016). However,

activism remains uneven throughout the UK, with different kinds of groups and extents of organising happening very differently in different areas; groups like Edinburgh Coalition against Poverty in Scotland, and Acorn in Bristol and Newcastle-Upon-Tyne take very different kinds of casework approaches. Social reproductive struggles are at the forefront of the eviction issue in the UK and the crisis of accumulation described in the first section of this chapter.

1.4.4 Domicide Remade

The analysis of eviction as a site of 'domicide' emphasises the way eviction is connected to wider reproductive conditions. As such it demands two countervailing movements. The first calls for an investigation into the agents of domicide, as Porteous and Smith demand, and the second calls for an investigation of the 'deep effects' of the loss of the home. In both instances 'forced eviction' is somewhat dispersed into a wider frame of analysis relevant to the concerns of the research in question the unmaking of the home or the destruction of the home point to a much larger set of processes. By centering the home as the unit of analysis these studies tend to elide important forms of eviction that occur in other kinds of space, and kinds of spatial enforcement shared between them.

Nonetheless, literatures on home *un*making or domicide frame eviction in a manner which points to significant phenomena when discussing the loss of the home: The home is an object of profound cultural significance, an 'object' as both a physical space and form of 'objective' which can have strong emotional attachments, but also be source of negative or ambiguous feeling. The home is also a site of economic activity, both formal and informal. These studies point to the way eviction fragments these relations of both exploitation and emotional association. They also indicate how the threat of eviction is used to structure and shape economic decision-making in the home and limit access to social-reproductive space.

We have therefore come full circle, passing through the role of forced eviction in the UK, through cycles of capital accumulation via dispossession and displacement, through the legal enactments of the state and the role of eviction in social policing, through to how that social policing impacts upon forms of social reproductive activity and the emotional and cultural significance of the home, and how those same forms of significance are used as points of resistance to accumulation by dispossession.

1.5 'Unmasking' Eviction: Conclusions

Explaining an absence is much more challenging than explaining a presence. What I have tried to show in this literature review is that most critical analysis of forced eviction that goes beyond pure empiricism shares in some key broad analytic frameworks which lack an analysis of eviction enforcement. The frameworks draw attention to accumulation by dispossession and displacement, social and legal forms of exclusion, and the destruction of domestic space. These are not hard and fast categories and research often drifts between them. While studies tend to draw varied parameters of what constitutes eviction or forced eviction, they share a common assumption of the disciplinary nature of forced eviction through these readings.

The cycles of primitive accumulation and accumulation by dispossession create the commodity form of space through the eviction of unproductive or unprofitable forms of usage. This displacement is underpinned by forms of citizenship, normative property and legal ordering of space which use eviction to control the boundaries of participation and political action, and marginalise social groups seen as threatening to social order.

This ordering in turn serves to enact new forms of accumulation at the level of the social-reproductive and shape the emotional life of the home. Forced eviction literatures reciprocate one another through these connections and folds. But throughout these understandings there is the shadow of a fourth element that binds them together; the process of eviction itself. Throughout the research I have cited here only a handful of studies examine the actual practices and processes of forced eviction as a set of tools, technologies, and practices. Only recently have ethnographies of eviction such as those by Purser (2014) and Desmond (2016) begun to speak to this problematic, yet they never fully explore the roles of enforcement agencies in their reproduction. As Alan Smart (2002) observes in a unique short study of the Hong Kong squatter clearance unit, the agents of eviction are largely absent from the literature.

The disciplinary function of eviction shows how eviction is a tool of police order; it orders the distribution of citizenship, property and domestic life. But I would argue that the actual practices of policing have been unwittingly naturalised by the majority of studies of forced eviction which draw attention to wider structural factors. The practices without which these structural phenomena would not take place have been reduced to the status of a neutral instrument of the wider social order. In his debate

with Noam Chomsky, Michel Foucault (2006) argued for the "unmasking" of institutions:

> "It seems to me that the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticise the workings of institutions, which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticise and attack them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight against them." (p.171)

I therefore want to answer four questions that form the basis of my research, which I will expand on in the next chapter:

1. What are the Agencies responsible for conducting evictions?
2. What are the tools, technologies, strategies and tactics involved in enforcing eviction?
3. How are these tools, technologies, strategies and tactics developed and renewed?
4. How do these tools, technologies, strategies and tactics change across time and scale?

Chapter 2: Coercion and Emotion

2.1 Tools and Technologies, Strategies and Tactics

I concluded the previous chapter with four questions concerning the 'tools, technologies, strategies and tactics' of forced eviction. In this chapter I want to unpack the terms established in those questions, and unravel the epistemological and ontological problems they present. The concepts of 'tools and technologies' I am using draws on a post-Aristotelian notion of a *techne* as a rationality governed by a conscious aim, as outlined by Foucault (1998) in an analysis of the ancient Greek concept of the *metis;* a quality of wisdom, cunning, or skill. In this sense they not only refer to 'physical' technologies, such as a crowbar, a lock pick, or a ladder, but also a set of knowledge-skills and emotional practices:

> "As a context, we must understand that there arc four major types of these "technologies," each a matrix of practical reason: (1) technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification; (3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject; (4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality." (ibid. p.18)

However, I am connecting this Foucauldian understanding of technologies to the concept of 'strategies and tactics'. In his study of War, Carl von Clausewitz (1968) argues that "tactics is the theory of the use of military forces in combat. Strategy is the theory of the use of combats for the object of the War" (p86). Clausewitz's definition provides one adequate sense of the object I am trying to 'unmask' in this research. Foucault (2003, p16, p163) situated the development of his thought in the 1970s as an inversion of Clausewitz's famous axiom of war as the continuation of politics by other means, examining how emerging projects of power used war as a 'grid of intelligibility' through which to develop tactics and strategies at times of civil

peace. This points to a necessity to ally this definition to another sense in which tactics and strategies are operative in everyday life by the philosopher of space Michel de Certeau, who shares Foucault's understanding of *metis*. For de Certeau, a strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper, and property and strategy are clearly linked in this understanding. Strategy is the work of political technological and scientific rationality read spatially. Tactics cannot depend upon the certainty of the proper, and instead works through the makeshift; the act and manner in which opportunity is seized (1985, pxix). Strategy is associated in de Certeau to space, whereas tactics are a temporal process in which moments are apprehended (ibid.).

However, following Massey (2005, p26), I argue this understanding draws us into a series of false binaries of strategy/tactics, space/time, and power/resistance; it presents power as acting through space as a constraint on time, resistance as acting through time in an effort to thwart it. The tools, technologies, and strategy and tactics of eviction therefore need to be understood as historically situated, as developed across time and space.

In this short chapter I wish to outline how I consider both strategy and tactics to develop over time in relation to tools and technologies. In order to do this it is first necessary to outline the relationship between the role of the state, power and coercion, and understand how this plays out in the analysis of institutions of policing. This chapter charts the emergence of the neoliberal state as an assemblage of coercive institutions and outlines several keywords: It points to a concept of coercion which seeks to rethink the binary between coercion and consent through an affective perspective on power; a perspective which views the body and systems of signification as a continuum. I argue for the significance of intuition in the development of technologies, strategies and tactics through the reshaping of routines and rhythms. I then turn to the fundamental role of resistance in reshaping tools, technologies, strategies and tactics.

2.2 The State, Power, and Coercion

We have seen how the processes of forced eviction are intimately bound to the life of the state. The concept of the state as a monopoly over the legitimate use of force has already been discussed and the reciprocal nature of violence and law has been emphasised. However, it is necessary to unpack these concepts somewhat

further, as, thus far, I have presented them as standing apart from history and embedded in a somewhat reductive framework of exclusion and inclusion that elides the relationship between consent and coercion. In particular there is a need to understand how the state and capital reproduce themselves reciprocally.

2.2.1 The State and Coercion

In order to understand the strategies of forced eviction, it is necessary to explore the concept of coercion in relation to the state. In the previous chapter I outlined via the work of authors like Schmitt and Agamben how forms of legal exclusion and inclusion are grounded by critical juridical theorists as foundational to the spatiality of sovereignty. Regimes of propertied power enforced through eviction were directly linked by geographical scholars, such as Blomely and Springer, to foundational categories of the modern liberal state. However, we still have little account of what the state and sovereignty is in relation to the research questions I have laid out in relation to eviction enforcement.

The prevailing liberal definition of the state for much of the 20th century was that outlined by Weber in his essay *Politics as a Vocation*. The Weberian sociology of the state has often sought to centre the role of coercive force and legalising legitimacy in its understanding of state power. Weberian-influenced understandings of the state such as those offered by Mann (1984), and Evans, Rueschmeyer and Skocpol (1985) have generally sought to depict the state as a 'relatively autonomous' set of institutions that exert power over a territorial area with a framework of legalities to produce legitimacy.

Such Weberian approaches clash with a more classical variant of Marxism that argues that the state is much more subordinate to capital than the liberal tradition Weber represents would care to admit. Marx himself famously had comparatively little extensive theory of the state, and for Engels (1953), writing in The Housing Question, the state was the 'collective capitalist' and the embodiment of capitalist interests; the state was therefore "the organised power of the possessing classes" (p.67-68). In the Western Marxist tradition the state has been understood at the coercive element of a dual approach. For Gramsci (1971), the hegemony of force exerted by the state to maintain capitalist relations at the base found its mirror in the 'cultural hegemony' of ideas at the superstructural level. Intellectual labour emerges

in a similar manner to the state, as each social class produces its own class of intellectuals (ibid.pp.14-15), and :

> "..the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as "domination" and as "intellectual and moral leadership". A social group dominates antagonistic groups, which it tends to "liquidate", or to subjugate perhaps even by armed force; it leads kindred and allied groups." (pp.57-58)

In this sense the state, controlled by a ruling class, moves to manufacture consent, and coerce or dominate opposition. Gramsci shares with Hannah Arendt the notion that violence is instrumental and deployed only at a limit point of legitimacy, although for Arendt (1973, p.151), violence is an instrument that is used to assert new structures, rather than appeal to existing legitimate social relationships.

For Louis Althusser (2005, p.101; 2014 p.233), this base and Superstructure do not exist in pure division, instead the superstructure exists as an ideological 'edifice' which produces contradictions that are 'determined in the last instance' at the level of production. Ideology has a materiality; it is the manner in which people encounter and 'live' the world (2005, p.252), and shapes the way everyday experiences are encountered and reproduce social relations of production (we will see an example of precisely how Althusserians see this playing out 'on the ground in the next segment). Althusser, expanding on Gramsci's framework identifies the two arms of the state: the 'Ideological State Apparatus' and the Repressive or Coercive State Apparatus. Ideological state Apparatuses operate through the reproduction of consent, and include social formations like the family, the trade unions, the church and other 'cultural' institutions. However, when he claims State Apparatuses use violence and force to coerce when the Ideological State Apparatus breaks down (2014, p.244), Althusser tacitly retains an instrumentalist understanding of violence; that violence has no interior political life, only external effects.

Drawing such a division between institutions which generate consent and coercion excludes narratives and experiences that speak to the role of coercive violence within private spaces enacted through forms of racist and patriarchal violence present in home unmaking. The development of poststructural critiques in response to Althusser's claims have generally emphasised the 'capillary' nature of power operational at even the smallest scales of social action. Foucault (1998, p.94) emphasises the multiple nature of power which acts through social relations and is

always being resisted and renewed. Power therefore does not stand outside of relations, and regimes of knowledge are its field of operation. Federici (2002) argues that this description still abstracts 'power' from violence "for "knowledge" can only become "power" if it can enforce its prescriptions (contrary to Foucault's main methodological claim)" (p.9). Thus the role of coercion and its practices remains important in understanding the bridge between forms of knowledge and their enactment. Negri (1999) turns to the juridical theories of the 16th and 17th centuries to resolve a similar question through the concept of constituent power. For Negri the classical philosophers of state such as Hobbes and Rousseau understood constituent power as the exertion of some collective group of subjects to make an agreement to produce a coercive state, but for Negri the 'multitude' from which the state forms is always escaping the limits that are imposed on it by attempts to constitute power regimes:

> "True political realism does not consist in recognizing oneself and satisfying oneself or in the decisive character of physical force but, on the contrary, in considering how this domination is always and indefatigably under-mined by the constituent sabotage of the multitude" (1999, p.334).

The state in this understanding is in a constant flux as it tries to reassert itself. Negri's analysis is weakened by the teleology of dissipation at work; it leaves us with a narrative of power that explains the formation of great cleavages of class and state but also undermines explanation of their persistence. It is useful to return to the definition of 'technologies of power' understood by Foucault to see how power reproduces itself through constant experimentation with these technologies, but crucially, these technologies are enacted upon the body by a set of actors. The significance of this process of experimentation can be seen in debates around the emergence and shaping of the neoliberal state.

2.2.2 The Growth of The Neoliberal State

In order to understand the operation of disciplinary institutions and the functioning of the contemporary state, some kind of definition of terms is useful. In particular I wish to briefly discuss what is meant by 'neoliberalism' as I am using it here.

Neoliberalism has been consistently understood in terms of the relationship between the state and the market. The general appearance of the withdrawal of the state from the provision of social care have been a primary bone of contention for criticisms of neoliberalism, especially in housing and land economies. The popular narrative often follows a reductive approach emphasising a minimalist state. In a comment article from January 2013 in the guardian, the journalist George Monbiot (2013) listed "cutting taxes for the rich, privatising state assets, deregulating labour, reducing social security" as the main hallmarks of neoliberal policy. More considered critiques, however, have treated the role of the state under neoliberalism with a significantly more advanced degree of nuance. In particular they have aimed to explain the condition cultural theorist Mark Fisher has usefully termed 'Capitalist Realism' (2009), in which all possible political horizons have come to be occupied by the logic of free market capitalism and utopian political projects (bar the utopia of the market itself) have receded into apparent obscurity.

David Harvey, in the introduction to his *Brief History of Neoliberalism*, divides neoliberalism into three categories: Firstly, a philosophy of individual freedom characterised by strong property rights, free markets, and free trade, defended by force "if need be"; secondly, a set of political-economic mechanisms aimed producing this free market, such as "deregulation, privatisation, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision", and finally a process of 'creative destruction', aimed at dissolving old ethical and social values and replacing them with market processes, in doing so producing new technologies to govern and control this new fragmented subjectivity (Harvey 2007 pp.1-3). Harvey summarises neatly an approach to neoliberalism that can be found throughout Marxist and other accounts of the implementation of neoliberal policy in urban governance and policing, what we might term, after Werner Bonefeld (2010), the 'strong state, free economy' model of neoliberalism. This can be summarised in the work of Wilhelm Röpke (1952), German Neoliberal philosopher and economist:

"If competition is not to have the effect of a social explosive and is at the same time not to degenerate, its premise will be a correspondingly sound political and moral framework. There should be a strong state, aloof from the hungry hordes of vested interests, a high standard of business ethics, an undegenerated community of people ready to co-operate with each other, who have a natural attachment to, and a firm place in society." (p.181)

Cindi Katz (2001) emphasises the role the state has in securing and securitising new modes of subjectivity once it has withdrawn from providing for 'social reproduction'- the destabilising effect caused by the removal of social support is counteracted by strong policing. Loïc Wacquant (2010) argues for a variant on this theme; rather than conceive of a withdrawing state that secures its interests through security apparatus, Wacquant's neoliberalism constructs a 'bureaucratic field' which uses the state to impose the market as a precondition of citizenship; a tripartite model mirroring that set out by Harvey. Wacquant attacks both a model based in regulative administration of markets, and explanations based in neoliberal 'governmentality' as inadequate, singling out criminologists like David Garland (2001) and Jock Young (1999) as exemplars of an understanding that posits neoliberalism as, at base, purely a resurgence of laissez-faire economics. Wacquant's critique maintains the 'strong state, free economy' model but critiques the basic elements of Harvey's understanding for ignoring the novelty of neoliberal thought. More recently, the kind of narrative put forward by Wacquant concerning 'punitive neoliberalism' has been challenged through examination of neoliberal practices of care provision and homelessness management (DeVerteuil et. al., 2009, Walby and Lippert 2012) as forms of moral and economic regulation.

Against the state-market alignment reading, an alternative is to consider neoliberalism as primarily a mode of governmental rationality, an approach emerging from the recent work of Philip Mirowski (2013), Dardot and Laval (2014), as well as Foucault's work in his lectures on neoliberalism (2008). These thinkers emphasise the intellectual origins of neoliberalism not as the direct product of a necessary and exceptional violence, but rather as a "global normative framework" that has been encouraged and incentivised at every level of society, both through and around the state. As such, the state-market relationship, though a significant aspect of the construction of neoliberal subjectivity, is not its defining feature. Rather, neoliberalism exists as a set of moral and ethical practices and imperatives; as the philosopher Maurizio Lazzarato argues in *The Making of Indebted Man* (2010) economic activity comes to be practiced as a mode of continence and moral rectitude. Dardot and Laval are quick to point out that this is not to minimise the violent elements of neoliberal reforms, but rather to recast them as a rupturing forth of a violence implicit at every level of everyday society (2014, p.6).

This critique can be combined with an understanding which draws on Negri's work to understand neoliberalism as a response to the social and political upheavals of the 1960s and 70s:

"Neoliberalism is not primarily the answer to the quest for a new mode of economic regulation (Aglietta, 1979). Nor does it primarily address demands for a new relation between culture and production (Jameson, 1991) or between market and society (Barry, Osborne and Rose, 1996; Donzelot, 1984). Neoliberalism is the answer to the wild insurgency and escape which emerges after the Second World War…there are neither historical laws nor inherent necessities of other kinds determining the emergence of transnational neoliberal sovereignty; there is only the necessity to tame the imperceptible and escaping subjectivities of the post-Second World War period." (Papadopoulos et. al. 2008, p.18)

Neoliberalism 'embraces and absorbs' forms of resistance as much as it securitizes and incarcerates; part of what gives it power and dominance as a global normative framework is the ability of neoliberal discourse to embrace and retool demands and dissatisfaction into positive affirmations of economic liberalism.

However, the widespread prevalence of urban securitisation and forms of displacement still points to the essential need for some understanding of coercive power at work. While large-scale acts of destruction are unquestionably a feature of neoliberal imposition of the market, to sustain this re-orchestration a substantial reshaping of the methods of production, education and development — the technologies of government in a Foucauldian sense — also needs to be enacted. As Peck and Tickell (2002) argue:

"Like globalization, neoliberalization should be understood as a process, not an end-state. By the same token, it is also contradictory, it tends to provoke counter-tendencies, and it exists in historically and geographically contingent forms. Analyses of this process should therefore focus especially sharply on change—on shifts in systems and logics, dominant patterns of restructuring, and so forth—rather than on binary and/or static comparisons between a past state and its erstwhile successor." (p.383)

Neoliberalization produces locally distinct variations based on historical contexts through both the forms of resistance encountered to previous iterations and the restructuring practices it evokes.

While Peck and Tickell focus on macro-level analysis, it is clear that neoliberal practices would not function without implementation at even the lowest levels of the state: For Peck, working with Theodore, and Brenner (2009), this means the development of the city as the locus of neoliberalism at the centre of regional specification; urban development becomes a site of experimentation and variation in neoliberal social formations while connecting to global frameworks through networks of trade and knowledge exchange. As we have seen already, writers like Ong and Tyler have tried to explore the variegated nature of neoliberal citizenship at these local levels, and it is at this level which I wish to understand the tools, technologies, strategies and tactics of forced eviction in the UK.

2.2.3 The Enactment of Technologies

The critiques of coercive power and the relationship of capital to the state presented here suggest a need to understand the 'molecular' politics of coercion and consent. The realignment of the local state and the imposition of neoliberal models of governance that attempt to capture forms of resistance has developed in the UK through modes of austerity urbanism which cut back local services, like social housing, and impose new instruments of law-and-order governance, like Section 144. In order to properly understand the constituent forms of power at work in cycles of dispossession and displacement, neoliberal accumulation and punitive social order must be examined at the level of the tools technologies, strategies and practices operating at 'street level' to manage these reductions.

2.3 Street-Level Bureaucracies and Coercive Labour

What do we talk about when we talk about the 'street level'? One sense of the term as I am using it here refers in part to the concept outlined in Michael Lipsky's study, *Street Level Bureaucracy,* first published in 1980. Lipsky looked at the role of staff working in public service whose role it is to allocate resources such as welfare payments, or issue sanctions, such as civil or criminal judgements (Lipsky, 2010,

p.3). Street level bureaucrats include police officers, social workers, judges, and other frontline providers. The term has been used by a number of studies of frontline workers in the housing sector (e.g. Cowan and Hitchings, 2007; Crawford, 2015).

For Lipsky, street level bureaucrats are faced with a series of dilemmas that are structured through routines and rationing. Routines shape and 'husband' the workforce, while rationing limits choice options about who to provide for. Lipsky (2010, p.99) uses the example of attorneys, who have the choice of serving a few clients well for a high fee, or lowering fees and serving more clients but less well - the only 'correct' solution is the radical restructuring of the justice system. Lipsky therefore points to how street-level bureaucrats work within the conditions of the existing bureaucratic structure by according individuals a worth based on implicit and ubiquitous bias that are socially constructed (ibid. pp.111-116). Lipsky's model, emerging at a time at which the State provision of social welfare was being 'rolled back', points to the crucial role of discrimination in the implementation of neoliberal reform. However he also approaches bureaucracy on a general level, and the analysis broadly accepts the persistence of the coercive elements of the state; we get a general picture of how street level bureaucrats use power, but a limited understanding of how they deploy and reproduce forms of power. In particular the role of violence and coercion recede into the background.

As I outlined in the introduction, there are two groups of 'street level bureaucrats' in particular who conduct evictions in the UK: County Court Bailiffs and High Court Enforcement Officers. In the next few chapters their legal powers will be outlined in greater detail. There are very few studies of CCBs and HCEOs in the UK, and none at all that focus on eviction in detail. Of note here is Paul E. Rock's *Making People Pay* (2013 [1972]). In the late 1960s, Rock conducted interviews and workplace studies at a number of courts in London with bailiffs and other court staff around the handling of debtors; at the time debtors still faced the serious threat of jail if they did not pay. In a short chapter from that study Rock argued that bailiffs exercised a 'working personality': Most bailiffs he interviewed and shadowed were former police officers, who saw their experiences as police as preparing them for the burdens of the work of debt collection (Rock 2013, p.201), and they expressed constant anxiety about forms of violence they might encounter (ibid. p.203). According to Rock, Bailiffs tried to distance themselves from debtors in order to leverage emotions, and would often employ tactics of shame and sympathy which drew on discriminatory social signifiers; for instance Rock records a case of a bailiff shaming a debtor on the

discovery of gay pornography in their flat (ibid. p.202). In interpreting this, Rock understands street level administration of coercion through a combination of threat, subterfuge and deception. At the time Rock was writing there was an absence of theoretical tools to explain concepts of emotional labour and violence: We can turn to more recent studies of security workplaces and enforcement work in the public and private sector to make sense of the linkage between these elements.

2.3.1 Routine, Violence and Coercion

There is a vast literature on the philosophy and history of state coercion and violence. In this section I want to draw on some key understandings of coercive work and the threat of force as it has been applied in security and policing sectors to make sense of how tools, technologies, strategies and practices, are used in small encounters between actors like police, bouncers, and border guards — forms of labour associated with the use of force — to coerce and control the people and other bodies they work with. I focus on those which draw into contact with critical accounts of social space and displacement.

In an ethnography of the Parisian police force, anthropologist Didier Fassin (2013) has argued "the interaction between the police and the public cannot in itself provide the keys to understanding violence unless one first takes into consideration the enabling conditions of this violence, especially the relationship to power and the justification of cruelty" (p.137). For Fassin, violence is contextual to the social power relations that form it Implicit within this is a rejection of a priori essential definitions of violence. The conditions under which violence occurs and is enabled not only determine how violence happens, but the way in which violence itself is defined, and is shaped by what Foucault (1990, p94) termed the interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations of power.

Fassin's study highlights this material context for violence, and emphasises how workplace cultures of the police seek to repress or obfuscate stories of violence (op cit. p.140). Malcolm Young (1991, p.174-176), in a covert ethnography of the police force in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne during the late 1970s, argued that officers being studied increasingly struggled to defend a view of the 'real world' both against changing social conditions and workplace restructuring. Young's study shows how the context of the workplace reorganises social priorities and the assignation of worth. Steve Herbert (1994 pp.14-18), looking at the LAPD in the Early 90s,

emphasised the struggle between officers for bureaucratic control over space determining police cultures.

But we also need to look beyond state agencies. An influential study of nightclub door staff in Manchester by Hobbs et. al. (2005) provides useful insights into the private sector. Drawing on the work of Bourdieu, the study argues that subjects socialised to violence encounter an emerging urban economy based on cultural capital; this in turn creates a workplace in which violence is incorporated as part of the identity of the worker. In an environment where the power of the state has become weakened, the body, stance and clothing all become entangled within a system of signification for violent action (ibid. pp.224-226). Hobbs et. al. point to how "seemingly arbitrary decisions on admittance were actually grounded in a fierce enacted logic stemming from the personal experiences that constitute the occupational culture" (ibid. p.125). Previous experience of signifiers therefore provides the criteria for making judgements. Similar findings also appear in studies of CCTV operatives, which have shown how they react to even the smallest break in the visual field (Norris and Armstrong, 1999 p.140).

In their study of media panics around mugging, Stuart Hall et. al., drawing influence from Bourdieu and Althusser, describe the concept of a 'signification spiral' that works through 'convergence' and 'thresholds'. Convergence represents the conflation or linking of issues (2013, p.223). Thresholds "mark out symbolically the limits of social tolerance" (Hall et. al. 2013 p.225). Violence as understood by the workers involved these studies appears as a 'Threshold' ; a break in the limit of social tolerance, whose signifiers are converged with others in a manner which works to dissimulate the way in which the threat of force has established the same limit.

Taking a Foucauldian lens to this problem in a study of guards working in an immigration detention centre, Alexandra Hall has emphasised the role of a process she terms 'bodywatching'. She found "the term 'body' designated a dual importance" within the system of the detention centre - both as a referent for the internal bureaucratic system that needed to be tracked, detained, and deported, but also "the body that might betray itself and provide some clues of a man's intent. It was this body that the officers were trained to observe and scrutinise" (Hall, 2012, pp.35-36). The process of learning to identify bodies not only connected signs and symbols but recognising the deep embodiment of intent. Fassin (2013, p.8) understands ideology through 'embodied memory'; seemingly reflexive or immunological responses to the exercise of particular kinds of power, such as police stop-and-search routines. He

points to Althusser's concept of interpellation, through which tiny actions make individuals subject to ideology (for instance, the way I might respond when police officer calls my name) (loc. cit.). His understanding of violence is therefore connected to the memory of previous actions. These studies move beyond a symbolic reading of the order of violence, instead emphasising the connection between symbolic order and action, and the immediacy of feeling in relation to the body.

These studies show that what ultimately gets understood as violent interaction is constructed through the routinisation of institutions. The regulation and repetition of practices creates forms of embodied knowledge which security workers draw on to anticipate, identify and pre-empt forms of action. This points to the need for an understanding of the role of *intuitive* knowledge in coercive work, and the need for an understanding of the role of forms of resistance in shaping emotion and feeling as a technology of power.

2.4 Emotional Labour and Affective Power

The need for a theory of emotion brings us first to the problem of emotional labour. The term *emotional labour* itself emerges from the work of Arlie Hochschild, who examined a number of workplaces, including debt collectors offices, for the kinds of emotional practices involved in their work. She found that organisations set their staff emotional rules and guidelines to adhere to, and through this process feelings could be commodified or leveraged. In the workplace of a debt collector, Hochschild (2003) found an oscillation between threat and co-operation:

> "The collector's next task is to adjust the degree of threat to the debtor's resistance. He or she learns how to do this largely by observing how others do it…. Although this employer favoured a rapid escalation of the threat to get a smaller amount of money sooner and move on to new accounts, his workers generally preferred the "soft collect." By taking more time to get to the point, they felt they could offer the debtor an opening gift-the benefit of the doubt, and a hint that matters of time and amount might be negotiable-in return for which the debtor could offer compliance in good faith" (p.114)

The leveraging of emotion, and the use of oscillating feelings is a key element of emotional labour, as employers expect their employees to monitor and control their

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feelings to produce results. Hutchison (2013) points to the central role of the politics of emotion in security work:

> "Emotions are formed and structured within particular social and cultural environments (Harré 1986; Lutz 1988). In this way, emotions are both private and public as well as individual and collective. Expressed in a more general way, emotions have a history and a future. Indeed, particular emotional dispositions can be passed down, helping to form and reform social and communal connections." (Hutchison, 2013)

We have already seen how the domestic becomes a site of emotional entanglement and reproduction, and the kinds of experiences described by Rock, Fassin, Hall and Hobbs all point to the role of some degree of emotional judgement in the workplaces they studied. Since the time of Hochschild's study, new theoretical tools have been developed to understand the role of emotion through an analysis of the politics of *affect*.

The study of affect is best understood as an epistemological action, and a form of perspectival shift on the relationship between bodies. A theory of 'affect' itself is often traced back to the work of Spinoza (1996) in the *Ethics* which emphasises the capacity of the body or bodies to affect and be affected. Spinoza works through an ontology of immanence that emphasises the unified substance of the world (1:D6), in which every finite thing is made to act by the action of other finite things (1:P28). In Spinozist language, these finite objects are termed *bodies*, and the ontological separation of an emotional and physical world is unsustainable, instead, Spinozists emphasise the mobility of forces and capacities to affect. Gilles Deleuze (1998), in his reflections on Spinoza's work clarifies Spinoza's position in relation to the social:

> "According to the Ethics, on the contrary, what is an action in the mind is necessarily an action in the body as well, and what is a passion in the body is necessarily a passion in the mind. There is no primacy of one series over the other." (p.18)

Deleuze's Spinoza emphasises the way in which bodies act upon one another to increase or decrease their power to act:

"The passage to a greater perfection, or the increase of the power of acting, is called an affect, or feeling, of joy; the passage to a lesser perfection or the diminution of the power of acting is called sadness. Thus the power of acting varies according to external causes for the same capacity for being affected" (p. 50)

Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth (2010), in their introduction to *The Affect Theory Reader,* emphasise the way affect is understood as a constant flux which evades our understanding:

"Affect is an impingement or extrusion of a momentary or sometimes more sustained state of relations as well as the passages (and the duration of passage) of forces or intensities. That is, affect is found in those intensities that pass body to body (human, non-human, part-body and otherwise), in those resonances that circulate about, between and sometimes stick to bodies and worlds, and in the very passages or variations between these intensities and resonances themselves" (p. 2)

Crucial here is the concept of force and intensity: *force* in this understanding is not solely physical force, and intensity is not a pure emotional sensibility. Neither are these concepts *quantifiable* terms; instead, affect concerns the process of the connection of materiality to the seemingly immaterial: it happens through and within bodies. As such, Ben Anderson (2014, p.4) situates affects and emotions as the forms of encounter between subjects. Crucially, this draws us away from a purely instrumentalist understanding of violence that separates it from ideological operation or pure legitimacy. Action by one body upon another contains within it a political element and reflects the discourse of power at work.

In doing so affect poses epistemological problems: Nigel Thrift (2008, p. 172) argues that print, writing, and more broadly human knowledge production, are incapable of capturing the affective life of the world fully. Likewise, Brian Massumi (1995) emphasises the *autonomy* of affective processes. In his writing on Spinoza, Antonio Negri (1991) has claimed that affective forms evade capture by formal Power (*potestas*) and instead forms part of a subversive and oppositional power (*potentia*). What readings of affect share is an emphasis on the way affect is constantly escaping, and that an attempt to discuss affect starts from a recognition of, and

comfort with, attempting to know the unknowable. Note how much of these claims about affect are shared; yet the claims occur in different regions of discourse and with fundamentally different aims, from a concentrated epistemological claim (Thrift) to a reconceptualisation of political activism (Negri). I contend that what truly differentiates readings of affect is not the ways in which they choose to fully define the concepts they use, but the task to which they are applied, and the method and challenge they point towards. The task presented in the study of eviction is to think about how the tactics and technologies of power as a fully affective practice are mobilised to shape the action of individuals.

There are two particular concepts that I wish to use to analyse the technologies of eviction: affective capture and the concept of intuition. In his work on debt collection, Joe Deville updates Arlie Hochschild's work through an affective analysis to provide us with a concept of 'affective capture'. For Deville (2015, p.12) the aim of the debt collection process is to renew the attachment between the debtor and the debt they owe through the 'capture' of their affective disposition. Capture is described thus by Massumi:

> "Formed, qualified, situated perceptions and cognitions fulfilling functions of actual connection or blockage are the *capture* and closure of affect. Emotion is the intensest (most contracted) expression of that capture- and of the fact that something has always and again escaped. Something remains unactualized, inseparable from but unassimilable to any particular, functionally anchored perspective." (p.96)

Deville examined debt collection escalation practices to show how the debtor becomes the target of competitive action by the collection company aiming to emotionally prioritise their debts, especially over the debt owed to others and other kinds of market connections (2015, p.130). The encounter between debtor and creditor becomes a point of affective production. One can recognise in this process what Anderson describes as the 'object-target' of affect:

> "Affects are the object of knowledge, targets of intervention, and may be the means of intervening in life. With the result that affects-such as morale or 'debility, dependency and dread'-are 'inscribed in reality' (Foucault 2008:20) as

an effect of apparatuses, rather than being 'things that exist, or errors, or illusions or ideologies" (Anderson, 2014, p.24)

However, we can also see in the concept of capture the influence of the problematic of constituent power raised by Negri; the continual escape of affects from these apparatuses that is constantly re-asserting itself. This re-assertion partly takes place through a logic of routine that shapes the intuitive sensibilities of work. For Lauren Berlant (2011), intuition is shaped by a logic of improvisation and readjustment through 'gut feeling';

"Laws, norms, and events shape imaginaries, but in the middle of the reproduction of life people make up modes of being and responding to the world that altogether constitute what gets called "visceral response" or "intuitive intelligence" (p. 53)

"The mind enables alternative means and scenes of self-production, without ever necessarily cultivating them" (p. 145)

For Berlant change is not some classically 'exceptional' moment of break or rupture with an existing repressive ideological apparatus but an ongoing process of negotiation, renegotiation and improvisation in relation to forces greater than the affected body. The manipulation of moments of improvisation and the capture of desires into the affective double-bind of cruel optimism represents the more banal, personalised experience of economic restructuring. Intuition is "where affect meets history" (Berlant, 2011, p. 53), both as a personal history of past experience, and the larger historical context in which one acts.

In this sense Berlant invokes Raymond Williams' (1977) notion of 'structures of feeling' as shifts in imperceptible social feeling that are not yet quantifiable, "meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" (pp.130-132). But this intuition is also situated within a study of the rhythms and expectations, as much as long historical cycles, and so the study of intuitive judgements can be understood as a form of 'rhythmanalysis' described by Lefebvre. For Lefebvre (2013), rhythms shape and are shaped by the whole routine of a space, of a city. To grasp a rhythm fully is "also to be *grasped* by it" (p.37). Social classes impose a rhythm on an era -

through change and crisis novelty only emerges rarely or retrospectively (ibid. p.24). Rhythms shape our expectations and anticipations as much as they limit possibilities.

Intuition comes to be a defining factor of this process of continual readjustment of expectations and desires. "To change one's intuition" argues Berlant, "is to challenge the habituated processing of affective responses to what one encounters in the world. In this kind of situation a process will eventually appear monumentally as formed as episode, event, or epoch." (2008, p.5). Intuition is therefore socially shaped by our historical context; a context of uneven distributions of labour, forms of inclusion and exclusion, and forms of accumulation. We can see in Berlant's argument about intuition the way the decision-making described in the work of Fassin and Hobbs et. al. is based on previous experience and seemingly embedded into the body through routines. But Berlant also points to how the disruption of this routine shapes the emergence of new intuitive practices, and her description helps us account for the development of new tactics, decision-making processes and intuitive logics that are used on the ground.

Throughout the rest of this thesis, I intend to use these concepts to emphasise that the way judgements are made in relation to the tactics of eviction. These tactics are formed through intuitions that are grounded in the kinds of routines and rhythms that eviction actors are embedded in. They are targeted at capturing and controlling the bodies of the people they are trying to evict through forms of intuitive judgement. The disruption of these routines reshapes the kinds of tactics that are developed on the ground, and ultimately restructures institutions of coercive action. This is not to suggest that violence is *not* a feature of eviction action, but the way in which violence is contextualised, understood and utilised as part of a much larger technology of the self and the body is central to the politics of eviction. But we still have a lingering conceptual question to answer: how do we think about these cycles of disruption that reshape tactics and strategies? To answer this, I wish to turn to an understanding of the politics of resistance that works to reshape these institutions.

2.5 The Politics of Resistance

Rather than developing a theory of *power* from this ontology, I want to emphasise a theory of *resistance*. The defining feature of the analysis of resistance I present here is that *resistance comes first.* The central theme of this philosophy of resistance is that disciplinary institutions and technologies respond to, rather than produce,

forms of resistance. This philosophy emphasises the ontological primacy of resistance, and draws from a broader argument about a dialectical reading of class struggles. The most explicit statement of this process can be found in the work of the 'Operaist' [workerist] Italian Marxists, and the 'copernican revolution' espoused by Mario Tronti (1964):

> "We too have worked with a concept that puts capitalist development first, and workers second. This is a mistake. And now we have to turn the problem on its head, reverse the polarity, and start again from the beginning: and the beginning is the class struggle of the working class. At the level of socially developed capital, capitalist development becomes subordinated to working class struggles; it follows behind them, and they set the pace to which the political mechanisms of capital's own reproduction must be tuned." (para. 3)

Tronti's argument in this passage concerns large scale movements in capitalist cycles of creation and destruction of the kind classical Marxist geographers are concerned with: grand movements of capitalist development that enclose particular movements within them. Tronti's argument emphasises 'development' per se over resistance. But Tronti's argument inverted classical Gramscian accounts of hegemony and coercion, and leaves open a new reading of the role of the state in relation to capital. When viewed from the perspective of mass workers movements acting in the long duration of capitalist spatial development Tronti's account seems wildly optimistic about the prospects of the working class.

However - and here it is useful to remember Berlant's account of moments of disruption accumulating into epochal historical formations; when viewed from the perspective of granular processes such as those forced evictions demand we consider, the argument becomes more variable and productive. It's this direction which the post-Althusserian school of french thought embodied in the work of Foucault and Deleuze and Guattari. For Foucault (2000), the process appears as (surprisingly dialectical) interrelation between desire and power:

> "Yes. You see, if there was no resistance, there would be no Power relations. Because it would simply be a matter of obedience. You have to use power relations to refer to the situation where you're not doing what you want. So resistance comes first, and resistance remains superior to the forces of the

process; power relations are obliged change with the resistance. So I think that resistance is the main word, the key word, in this dynamic" (p.167)

For Deleuze (2006), in his work on Foucault, this process is linked closely to Foucault's concept of discursive diagrams of power, 'grids of intelligibility', and the idea of discourse as a mesh through which power operates:

"Moreover, the final word on power is that resistance comes first, to the extent that power relations operate completely within the diagram, while resistances necessarily operate in a direct relation with the outside from which the diagrams emerge" (p.74)

By reading Tronti through these understandings of resistance, and grounding such a reading in his work on Spinoza, Negri synthesises his philosophy of constituent power as forms of 'wild escape' that are perpetually being contained. The vision of power and resistance presented here is one that is perpetually mobile, and inverts a traditional view of power as over-encumbering domination to which resistance is an exception.

Yet still this tells us very little about what resistance is. Resistance is most frequently thought through a logic of interplaying forces. In a rare genealogy of the subject, Howard Caygill (2013) reads resistance through the lens of Clausewitz's philosophy of war. Caygill highlights the necessity of an understanding of a capacity to resist. He does this through a comparison between Fanon's understanding of resistance with Arendt's 'instrumental' reading of violence. In his polemic against colonialism Fanon (1961, p.61) imagined the resistance of the colonised, and the process of decolonisation, as a form of violence which needed to be greater than than the violence of the coloniser; for Fanon (ibid. p.40) resistance is the process of retaking or claiming the forms of violence of the colonizer by the colonized. Arendt (1973, p121) critiques Fanon's reasoning harshly, observing that the decolonial violence of the Algerian resistance would not have endured against a more totalitarian regime compared to the liberal democracies it was resisting. Caygill (op. cit.) attacks Arendt for delinking power and resistance, and for failing to account for the capacity of subjects to resist: "the underestimation of the capacity to resist is the Achilles' heel of Arendt's political philosophy, but it is one common to many attempts to understand resistance under total domination" (p.138).

The capacity to resist is always present, and shaping power. James Scott (1990, p.26) has emphasised the different scales and practices resistance takes place on: In relations of hierarchical power, Scott argues, resistance becomes enacted through 'hidden' transcripts which subvert 'public' transcripts, and which act through unofficial discursive sites in the social hierarchy He concludes that there are no static moments of isolatable dominance, but constant relations of power and resistance: "the naturalisation of domination is always being put to the test in small but significant ways" (ibid. p.197). Dominant social groups have to work ceaselessly to assert their control. We cannot decontextualise regimes of power from the forms of resistance they encounter, because the form of the two are bound into one another. Resistance is, as Foucault (1998 p.96) argues, always acting in relation to power; the two terms cannot stand outside one another.

This points to an asymmetry of resistance, and, importantly, a spatiality of resistance. The distribution of the capacity to resist is developed through a politics of space. For Massey, spatiality and resistance are often placed at odds. In her critique of de Certeau, Massey (2005, pp.26-29) argues that the differentiation made between Strategy and Tactics is a differentiation between space, representation, and power, and duration, non-representation, and resistance. As we've already seen, Deleuze repeats a similar refrain in his argument that resistances exist in dialogue with space 'outside the diagram', and Scott with the notion of 'hidden transcripts'. Yet representation and space are not reducible to one another, and resistance is certainly not reducible to either. The way in which disciplinary tools, technologies, strategies, and tactics develop reflects a spatial distribution of capacities to resist. The development of ideologies, counterinsurgency strategies and military technologies through 'boomerang circuits' of colonial governmentalities pointed to by a succession of different scholars (Graham, 2009), reflects the different levels of resistance and sites of productive experimentation these strategies encounter on the global scale. As I wish to argue, the development of new imaginaries of space by disciplinary agencies that enforce eviction are informed by and through the kinds of resistance they encounter and the spatial strategies of resistance that are enacted as much on the level of the intimate as the global.

Resistance comes first, not because it is historically first, but because it 'leads' the mechanisms of power. There are different capacities to resist, and resistance shapes the development of disciplinary practices. But this requires us to do one final, (and rather brutal) epistemological move when understanding resistance; we have to

divest it of positive associations with social movement struggles. This is not to suggest that resistance is a neutral practice: far from it. But it is necessary to understand resistance is not treated here as an 'ethical good' in itself. As I will show, resistance to eviction can reproduce relations of exploitation and abuse along other lines of power. Forms of resistance often exploit others or can work to disguise other power relations. How does such an understanding of resistance effect the analysis of coercion and the development of tools, technologies and strategies of eviction? As Althusser (2005) observes in his writing on Marx's development from German idealism to dialectical materialism, the mere inversion of a dialectic alters little about its form - "a man on his head is still the same man when he is walking on his feet" (p.73). I wish to emphasise, against such a critique, that there are two important features of the inverted perspective of resistance against power that change the way we understand the development of disciplinary institutions:

Firstly that these institutions must be spurred to be innovative and to develop their strategies: they react and respond to forms of resistance occurring across the social body on which they want to act, they do not develop without at least the threat of the failure of their strategies: They are reactive to the conditions they encounter. It also has the opposite effect on resistance, removing it from the world of the inert and non-compliant into an active practice of creation and production.

Secondly, that resistance encountered every day disrupts the routines which produce habituated response and intuitive judgements on the ground. Furthermore we can never assume the final 'triumph' of any one set of strategies and tactics: power is always having to act to contain resistance. This historicises the spatial production of power; the tools technologies, strategies and tactics seen today have a 'deep' history of responding to resistance.

2.6 The State, Power, Resistance

I started this chapter by bringing up the challenge raised by the absence of a proper accounting of eviction practices. I want to examine how "tools, technologies, strategies, and tactics" operate at the 'capillary' or 'street-level'. Large scale shifts in the state that shape eviction practices play out at the level of the intimate and everyday, and through the politics of space and social reproduction. It is necessary to work with an analytic framework that operates at this level, and that attempts to read the development of the strategic and the tactical on the frontline of eviction practices.

Previous studies of street-level bureaucracy have been informed by both forms of formal training and kinds of reflexive judgement embedded in past experience, routines and rhythms. They call, as Hall does, for an analysis of the body as a site through which affective object-targets of strategy and tactics pass. The body and emotion are not separate but act and are acted upon by tools, technologies, strategies, and tactics.

As such the tools of eviction have a social and historical context. They shape both formal strategic decisions and tactical judgements that, following Berlant, we need to consider as *intuitive* judgements; they are the product of the disruption and relocation of the routines we have become grasped by, and are historically and culturally shaped decisions, rather than 'instinctive' hard wiring. Tactics are the site of intuitive action that are constantly disrupted, strategy the accumulation of larger disruptions, and the consolidation of these disruptions into a formal historicisation and mapping of power. But this disruption is created by forms of *resistance* to the practices of disciplinary institutions. Resistance therefore comes first in this equation, because it is always escaping or acting upon forms of power; therefore I wish to 'invert' the narratives of power and resistance to place resistance at the centre of the development of power. The capacity to resist therefore shapes the nature and the spatiality of power, even when it cannot be seen itself, its 'shadow' can be traced in the development of disciplinary technologies. Concluding on this point, I will now turn to how I intended to examine these technologies and trace that shadow of resistance, and development of my own strategy and tactics of research.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Answering the Questions

Having established the ontological and epistemological ground of the research in an affective materialist epistemology of an eviction process, in this chapter I turn to the methodological approach I have used to address the research questions. This method therefore needs to examine both material, discursive, and emotional practices as they operate to produce affects and displace individuals. The aim is to understand how these develop over time, through forms of encounter between evictor and evictee, and how they differ across space and 'scale', and how the different levels of the eviction professions handle eviction practices. These questions are grounded in one further question that links them back to the gap identified in the literature review and will be returned to once these questions have been answered in more detail: What are the implications for our understanding of the role of forced eviction in the production and enforcement of the state and the market?

In this chapter I will outline the methodological approach I took to answering the first 4 questions; only by answering these can the fifth be addressed by way of conclusion. In the first section I will explain why I chose to try to conduct a comparative case study between the North and South of England across the two main legal fields of eviction enforcement, and why the case study approach allowed for a contextual research *strategy* to be developed, that helped to explain the eviction process as a *process* rather than as a series of instances or events. I will outline why this methodological approach sought to conduct group interviews and develop critical insights into collective dynamics, and the criteria used to interpret the data gathered in this manner.

In the next section I will explain why this research approach changed in the face of a security-conscious research population that was wary of researchers and refused access. I will outline the process I used to gain access, and reflect on how some of the limitations of the access method used in conducting the research may have contributed to the limited levels of access achieved, and the development of measures taken to overcome these limits.

I will then turn to ethical precautions taken in the research process and how they precluded certain kinds of methodological decisions. In particular I will address the reasons why I chose not to conduct interviews with those on the receiving end of

eviction and the necessity of more dedicated and appropriate contexts for such interviews. In relation to this absence, I will try to expand upon my own position of power as a researcher in relation to my subject and the interviewees. I reflect upon some of the difficulties of writing about and representing experiences of eviction, and the challenges of a researcher working in a context where access is facilitated by a certain degree of proximity to the subject. I then reflect briefly on some of the practical alternatives that could have been used now that more is known about the research subject and how these alternatives could suit future researchers.

Having addressed these issues of access and ethics, I return to the methodological approach as it emerged at the 'other end' of the research process; how the data used in the final project was gathered, and outline the two-part structure presented in the rest of the thesis. I will explain how, when answering question 4), a more historical, and 'distant' reading of eviction practices came to be more useful for explaining changes in scale and structure to eviction practices. I conclude by outlining the structure of the findings chapters.

3.2 The Method

The initial methodology proposed a comparative reading between a case study of city in the North of England and a case study of a borough of London. The aim was to conduct semi-structured group interviews with housing providers, third-sector groups, and local activists. These would supplement a core set of in-depth group interviews County Court and High Court Enforcement Officers in different firms and courts in order to discuss their working conditions and relationships as a team. The teams would be interviewed as a group and then individually to be able to compare and contrast responses between individual and the team they worked in.

3.2.1 Why a Comparative Case Study?

The case study focus emerged because of the specific context of the research I was conducting. There were already particular limitations in place, concerning ethical issues, anticipated levels of access and time and resource limitations imposed on an individual researcher. However, rather than present a negative line of reasoning which presents Case Studies as the 'least worst option', in this section I wish to emphasise the positive reasons for choosing a case study approach, namely

the potential of a well-executed case study in terms of opening up new research agendas and providing an important basis for investigating eviction practices in their context. Case studies tend to form the basis of a substantial part of the research conducted at the interface of planning and law enforcement and security work; these tend to focus on a single space or set of spaces and institutions; specific cities and neighbourhoods (e.g. Herbert, 1997; Beckett and Herbert, 2009; Wacquant, 2008; Fussey et.al., 2012) or workplaces (Smith, 2002; Hobbs, 2003, Hall, 2012). In research into forced eviction practices, case studies are a common methodological approach, centring on instances of eviction from specific locations or enacted upon particular social groups (e.g. Agbola and Jindau, 1997; Dobbs, 2002; Brickell 2014), or specific clearance initiatives and policies (e.g. Ramachandra, 2002; Meade, 2011). As already mentioned in the previous chapter, processes of forced eviction tend to be subsumed by their wider context in scholarly research, and therefore are frequently subordinated in writing to processes such as social policing, social reproduction, gentrification, or capitalist accumulation. What many specific cases studies of forced eviction aim to do is situate forced evictions in their social context in order to address these wider concerns; evictions are seen as a point of conflict which reveal underlying power relations in the context in which they are enacted. Yin (2013) emphasises the usefulness of case studies in studying phenomena in a context over which the researcher exerts little control, especially those in which the researcher is working through theoretical propositions within a "technically distinctive situation where there will be many more variables than data points" and lines of causation are complex (pp.16-17). Case studies acknowledge the action of a phenomenon and process within a wider social context. Yin opposes this definition of a case study to an earlier one proposed by Schramm that Yin understands to be reductive:

> "The essence of a case study, the central tendency among all the types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions; why they were taken, how they were implemented, what was the result" (Schramm, W. in Yin 2013, p.15)

This approach to case studies actually comes much closer to the basis of the questions in the study presented here: one way of viewing this study would be as the examination of the context and practices used in the *decision making process* of eviction- how the housing association, courts, and bailiff, all decide on when and how

to proceed on the eviction. In this context these decisions, or sets of decisions are the 'case' at work in the study- comparing how different groups involved in making the same set of decisions was, in some sense the established goal. Case studies of street-level violence, such as that conducted by the research team headed by Hobbs (2003), look at the decisions made by security workers to intervene or deny access to spaces. While this claim suggests a reductive reading of case studies, it is perhaps a useful reduction. What Yin agrees with Schramm on is that case study research is about situating a contemporary phenomenon in its context, rather than abstracting it. I wish to emphasise that in my own approach, which centres an affective perspective based examining affects produced through kinds of encounter, the aim was to situate the experiences of encounters between evictor and evicted in their context within a particular process and system of eviction. I was therefore approaching the study with a hypothesis synthesised from earlier research into forms of violent security labour and emotional geographies of the home. As the literature review has shown, these practices are entirely contextualised to an understanding of place from which the variable dynamics of power at work cannot be separated. The aim of this study was to explore how actions of eviction were situated within what Fassin terms the "enabling conditions" of violence that created and produced distinct conditions for encounters between evictor and evicted.

Of course, there are arguments to suggest that the scope of such research methods are limited; most notably the 5 major criticisms of case study research identified by Flyvbjerg (2006):

> "Misunderstanding 1: General, theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (context-dependent) knowledge.
> Misunderstanding 2: One cannot generalize on the basis of an individual case; therefore, the case study cannot contribute to scientific development.
> Misunderstanding 3: The case study is most useful for generating hypotheses; that is, in the first stage of a total research process, whereas other methods are more suitable for hypotheses testing and theory building.
> Misunderstanding 4: The case study contains a bias toward verification, that is, a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions.
> Misunderstanding 5: It is often difficult to summarize and develop general propositions and theories on the basis of specific case studies." (p.221)

In his own response, Flyvbjerg addresses each concern in turn, and emphasises that much of the strength of case studies lies in their ability to produce research at close proximity to the subject, falsify existing narratives, and produce detailed data - in short each weakness, while indicating potential pitfalls of case study methods, is a symptom of a misreading of the kinds of data produced, rather than the case study method itself. In my own reading of this debate, I want to reflect on the potential depoliticising discourses that emerge around these kinds of methodological debates that evacuate power from the field of research *design*. Rather than produce a single generalisable study, I wish to reflect the status of this research project within both the academic field and the broader society by suggesting it does not seek a universal narrative of eviction practices but, following Foucault (2008, p.42), a 'strategic' approach of my own that seeks to provide points to draw connections between heterogeneous projects around eviction practices, both activist and academic, within their context in contemporary capitalist economies of space. While general conclusions can be drawn from a case study such as the one presented in the findings chapter here, for secondary readers, making a generalisable observation about eviction practices across the entirety of England and Wales from an in depth case study would be less productive than understanding this project in context as part of a set of social practices responding to a crisis of housing and a crisis of eviction. This is therefore a project in which others can find commonality or conflict, not a universalising narrative of enforcement.

3.2.2 Unit of Analysis

The legal definitions around eviction provide several key bottlenecks in the eviction process, which created the contours through which the research process worked. The first and most obvious of these is the role and territoriality of the courts. According the 1977 Protection From Eviction Act all cases of eviction where there is a resident-occupier involved must be processed through a court hearing. This means that all legally defined evictions in England and Wales can only be conducted after a Judge has ordered a repossession to take place. While not all of what could be considered 'evictions' are 'repossessions', these represent forms extra-legal or illegal activity — these are considered non-normative cases and (on paper at least) are not endorsed explicitly by the State in the same way repossessions are. There are two groups who are legally empowered to conduct evictions in England and Wales under

the 1977 act and the County Courts act (see Figure 5. for a useful poster guide produced by activists to these positions and laws):

County Court Bailiffs are, as the name would suggest, based in the County Courts, and their legality is established in the County Courts Act of 1984 (which replaced the 1959 act). Each court has its bailiff team, overseen by the Court Manager, and has a Bailiff Manager (effectively the 'head bailiff'), supervising them, throughout an administratively divided region (the Bailiff Manager I conducted the interview with oversaw a team of 11 bailiffs through two at least two cities and three major towns, as well as a large rural area). The powers of a County Court Bailiff with a writ of eviction include the right to force entry with a locksmith and transfer the property to the owner. In theory at least, they rely on the police to use or oversee the deployment of reasonable force for removal. County Court Bailiffs are also responsible for the seizure of goods in payment of debts, taxes and other legal costs. Importantly, County Court Bailiffs are employees of HM Courts and Tribunal Service (HMCTS), generally salaried at about 19-23 thousand pounds a year (National Careers Service, 12/02/2015).

High Court Enforcement Officers (HCEOs) are not public employees, but private individuals appointed by a court who charge a fee for enforcement services from the claimant, and they can take on cases transferred to the High Court under Section 42 of the County Courts Act which applies to debts over 600 pounds as well as evictions. The plaintiff must apply for both the writ of repossession and the transfer at the County Court Level, with the transfer awarded once the court has found in favour of the plaintiff. The transfer carries a fee (currently set at around 200 pounds), and there is some significant debate, as to whether it is the responsibility of the County Court to notify the tenant of the eviction date, or of the HCEO to do so (Backhouse 27/01/2014). Many, if not most, High Court Enforcement firms believe it is the responsibility of the County Court to issue notification. Under a 2004 statutory (de)regulation, High Court Enforcement Officers can now accept writs from anywhere in the country. Most HCEOs firms tend to offer a guidance service for plaintiffs throughout the transfer process, meaning that many high court writs are issued when a firm is already in place to provide access. HCEOs have greater rights of access for debt collection, can use reasonable force to remove a tenant or occupier, and are

generally more substantially resourced and faster at enforcing writs than at the county court level.

HCEOs are not numerous. Most are an individual usually based within a firm who holds responsibility for overseeing enforcement. They recruit from a broader pool of Certificated Enforcement Agents, registered with the county court and usually employed by a specific enforcement firm, or contracted in from other firms to perform specific evictions. HCEOs themselves are represented by an industry body, the High Court Enforcement Association, which lists roughly 60 registered HCEOs active in England and Wales ('Directory of High Court Enforcement Officers' 15/12/2014 - this number reflects the previous status of HCEOs as Sheriffs officers attached to a local court circuit). Though they are restricted from dealing in certain kinds of business (especially financial services including credit and debt purchasing), HCEO firms tend to offer a broad range of additional security services such as private surveillance and investigation; for instance of employees suspected of feigning illness and errant partners, as well as common law evictions of travellers and trespassers. HCEO firms also network more broadly with the debt and security industry, in many cases attending award ceremonies for the industry and actively marketing themselves. Some HCEOs are the prominent media-savvy face of the eviction industry, and there are at least two television shows currently aired in the UK about HCEO activities, which firms actively use in promotional materials.

As such the immediate unit of analysis corresponded to an individual court that covered a given city or borough: the County Court Bailiff team that was based there, and the local landlords that used it. While since 2005 HCEOs have been able to operate across the entire country, they still, until 2011, needed to be registered within local courts to be able to receive repossessions initially issued within the old district area. Therefore it was practical to attempt to interview HCEO teams that were historically attached to the same court area, as, until recently, these represented distinct entities. The aim was to combine data gathered within a city in one such area in the North of England with a borough in another such area in London.

But why not choose individual evictions, or a set of individual evictions, from each area as a case study- to try and trace the eviction process around a single instance of eviction and then draw comparison from each case? Aside from the major concerns about ethics and access detailed below, there are several answers. The first concerns the perspective this study aimed to take. By focusing, for instance, on the County Court Bailiff, and the team at the court and their experiences, it is

possible to get a better understanding about how individual evictions fit into the larger experiences of working in the eviction and enforcement profession in the area defined by the court. By contrast looking at an individual eviction would give less understanding about how that eviction related to the career history, daily routine, and personal experiences of the professionals involved in the eviction case. Related to this reason, part of the aim of the research was to develop an understanding of how these professionals changed and developed their practices *over time*; an individual eviction would be closer to a cross — section of an eviction process in a given time frame, but would do little to situate these processes within the experience of the eviction practitioners I wished to focus on.

Having outlined the reasons for choosing the unit of analysis, we can turn to how the study aimed to situated these units of analysis in the uneven geography of England and Wales.

3.2.3 Comparative Geographies

The first reason for approaching from a comparative perspective was to reflect the economic regional disparities at work in the UK. In this method 'North' and 'South' are primarily determined according to an economic core-periphery dynamic with differing economic conditions. London faces (by a long margin) the highest rates of eviction for rented housing in the UK, while regions in the North of England, especially the North East, have the highest rates of Mortgage Repossession (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2015). This reflects different pressures on the County Courts and landlords active in these regions. Housing stock in London is under greater pressure, with the greatest concentrations of wealth and highest concentrations of poverty, and the highest proportion of poor households of any region in the UK (Dorling, 2013 ch. 4 para. 50). Yet in the North local governments have contended they are harder hit than more affluent regions of the country (Butler, 14/01/2015). As such a method that reflects the uneven geography of accumulation by dispossession is necessary.

By drawing comparison between these two regions the study aimed to reflect if and how different pressures on the housing and court system might create different working cultures between professionals involved in evictions. Different economic histories in the region may be reflected in different cultural values centred around 'post-industrial' (Byrne, 2002), or financialized and cosmopolitan (Nava, 2006)

"structures of feeling": In short, there remained the question of whether the eviction specialists had different cultural values and working practices depending on where they were based. On a larger scale Lees (2012, pp.159-160) has emphasised that comparison between cities at the global level is a vital tool in resisting the encroachment of a set of normative neoliberal assumptions about displacement narratives. Importantly, Lees moves away from a narrative of comparison that rests on the production a 'balanced' account that suggests a separate and dispassionate observer, and instead places emphasis on the role of comparison as a defensive weapon against totalising discourses of displacement.

I wish to make the same case for the national level; there was a need to resist a process where public discourse around the national housing crisis was being drawn towards an economic core (London) at the expense of a periphery, rather than an attempt to provide a model of 'balance' that undermines the acknowledgement of the power relations in which the researcher exists.

Therefore the comparison was aimed at not just comparing two units of analysis but also in understanding their relatedness within an economic and discursive circuit, and to use the two to "pose questions of one another" (Ward, 2010). While a 'truly comparative' study was not achieved, for reasons outlined below, the hope was that such an approach would give an account that produced a dialectical encounter in the research findings between the economic core and periphery within the same legal system, a shared economic system, and a common network of knowledge and learning within institutions. This encounter would therefore be one that reflected a potential diversity of practices across these levels.

The areas and specific organisations selected for study were also focused on by virtue of the contacts and relationship I had to the housing providers and individuals working in the area. These contacts were known through friends, family and colleagues who had worked in the private and social sector in housing. I aimed to compare across space, but also across sector and scale. By drawing out comparisons between private and social landlords, and between High Court and County Court sector enforcement, I hoped to identify common practices and differences across the housing and enforcement industries, and between the private and non-profit fields. But what precisely is being compared? We can now turn to how the data was to be gathered and linked to the research questions: how questions were asked, and why the semi-structured interview model was chosen.

3.2.4 Linking the Data to the Question

The motivation for choosing a semi-structured interview approach was driven by certain clear necessities. Ethnographic approaches represented too 'close' a study to be feasible. Due to ethical considerations regarding the presence of the researcher at an eviction, and the anticipation of limited access (both of which are expanded on in the next few sections), the possibility of a detailed observational-ethnographic approach of the kinds used by others in law enforcement was limited. It should be clear thus far that quantitative approaches or postal surveys,for instance that of the kind used by Jones and Newburn (1998), to establish the size and scale of the research object were simply irrelevant to the kinds of qualitative questions being asked about the tactics, tools, practice, perceptions (and justifications) behind eviction. In short a qualitative comparative case study of different institutions was influenced by a 'goldilocks effect' of achieving a middle ground between potentially problematic and unfeasible proximity to the research subject, and a totally impractical and inappropriate distance. A semi-structured interview design was intended to examine both the material processes and the affective-emotional practices involved in eviction.

With this in mind we may well ask some important questions in relation to the affective perspective outlined in previous chapters. Firstly, there is the obvious question of how to represent non-representable processes that even the interviewees may have trouble conveying. Here I am echoing remarks by Brown and Tucker (2010, p.249) calling for a bridging of philosophical understandings of the intuitive and 'ineffable' processes that precede 'effable' forms of representable social action through the creation of particular and tailored concepts. The process of questioning brings this challenge to the fore, as questions only address certain representable and conscious elements of a process, leaving out much of the substance of social action that precedes it.

The aim was to conduct structured questions about the eviction process to establish the formal narrative (if any) eviction practitioners told about themselves. The unstructured element of the interview was used to draw out themes and expand on particular elements of this practice. I aimed to identify where and how in the process interviewees used signifiers of feeling, for instance; conversation about mood, behaviour, specific emotions or talk of atmosphere, and then get them to

expand on what they meant by these terms and their meaning in the overall narrative they told. The structured questions I designed focused on the process and practice the interviewees were engaged in. For the group interviews I planned to discuss the processes and practices in collective terms, asking a few simple questions and then expanding on them (e.g. What triggers the arrears process? What do you do when you arrive at a property? Where are the bottlenecks in the process?). In individual interviews as well as discussing the group interview sessions, their personal career history and background (Can you describe a typical day? What did you do before your current role? What training does your team receive?), and how these elements had changed over time (what's different now to when you started this role? How do you see things changing in the future?). Additional questions aimed to involve a focus on how the interviewees saw public perceptions of their role, if they suffered from stress in the role, who they looked to for support, and if they changed strategies based on context (e.g. Do you work differently in when visiting different areas of the city?). Before progressing further to discuss how these findings were to be interpreted, the outline of the interview process needs to conclude with a short discussion of the original plan for group interviews and how they were intended to answer key aspects of the research questions.

Preliminary research suggested that eviction practices in both the private and public sectors was dependent upon the successful operation of a team of bailiffs, rather than a single individual. As shown in the findings chapters, bailiffs work as part of a group at the court, Rent Arrears Recovery groups work as a team, and HCEOs employ an (often substantial) staff when conducting evictions. They also interact with other agencies such as police, fire service, and mental health teams. It was therefore important to the study to gain some understanding of how these group relationships worked when enacting and enforcing evictions. Group interview methods seemed to be the most practical approach to use to draw out these approaches. The aim was to work with a group appropriate to the size of that which the interviewees worked with every day, particularly incorporating key actors and people in positions of workplace authority. The aim of these group interviews was to establish what the group understood to be a 'typical' eviction or case, and how they should approach it. This was to be drawn into contrast and comparison with individual interviews where antagonisms within the team might be more openly discussed and individual histories might be explored in more detail. Due to restrictions on access this research design was never achieved, and, as the study progressed, it became clear that these

workplace roles and teams were much less 'fixed' than anticipated and could involve a rotating staff in different positions. A future researcher might consider returning to this approach and re-using the group interview in other contexts or countries.

3.2.5 Easier Said…

Thus far I have followed the research design structure suggested by Yin (2013, p.22): I have established the questions and hypothesis of the present thesis, outlined the unit of analysis in the form of the cities and areas of the county court, and the institutions within them, and elaborated on the logic linking the data-gathering process to the research questions in the form of the attempted group interviews. Having outlined how I intended to proceed with this study, we can now progress to how this process was reworked, as an idealised model of social science encountered the process of research 'on the ground'. As hinted here, the research process came up against two key obstacles: Access and ethics.

3.3 Ethics

Forced eviction is a physically and structurally violent process. The loss of the home and the enforcement of that loss are an acute point of convergence for a number of phenomena of particular significance. Bailiffs and those who enforce the eviction process are often reviled and despised people in polemics, who have a particular public reputation and perception. The process of removing a person or persons from their home is controversial and often attached to different forms of shame and stigma both for the evicted person and for those on the frontline of eviction. Alongside being a process of economic dispossession, forced eviction can have long term impacts on an individual: Eviction has been connected to common forms of mental illness in the UK (Pevalin, 2009), and in a larger context it has been suggested that homelessness bears a reciprocal relationship to psychopathology in young people (Hodgson, Shelton, et. al. 2013). There are therefore a number of ethical considerations that must be taken into account when approaching the subject of forced eviction, and in particular consideration must be given to potential negative impacts of a study into a controversial and painful practice that may be entangled with ongoing economic displacement, institutional action or exclusion, and forms of disability and ill health.

3.3.1 Anonymity

All participants in the research were anonymised and had to consent to the process. Participants would be sent a consent form and information sheet (See Appendix) about the project with the researcher's details on it. In this context, anonymity referred to the removal of names, institutions, and other specifically identifying features of the interviewee. While there is no way to protect the identity of an interviewee entirely, interviewees should be protected from institutional repercussions, and individual accusations and harassment by such measures. Especially when dealing with the work of legal and law enforcement professionals, this is doubly important as these individuals could identify persons they have worked with and put both themselves and others at risk. At many points in the access process I was denied access or came up against restrictions for these reasons, and frequently Freedom of Information (FOI) requests were rejected on grounds of employee safety. Anonymity was required to both ensure as far as possible the safety of participants and reassure participants that participation would not involve potential for significant or damaging costs.

Because of the geographical specificity of bailiff work and the housing organisations and individuals involved in the study, I have taken the decision to anonymise all locations and individuals involved in interviews and their negotiation. Wherever possible individuals and places are identified by pseudonym or position/rank in their workplace. This may be frustrating to a reader who understands that such geographical specificities are significant to the comparative process and that local historical variegations can have profound significance for workplace and housing cultures, as well as economic distribution, however in many cases it is possible access would not have been achieved without it. I have tried where possible to strike a balance between individually identifying features and important details that may have a bearing on the subjective judgements made by the person participating in the study (such as race, gender, class background, previous career, or disability).

3.3.2 Consent

All participants had the reasons for the study and the details of the anonymity process described to them before they conducted the interview, and were able to ask

questions about how the data was being used and any other concerns they might have about the research process. The information sheet and consent form answered most questions participants raised about how the data was being used and where it was going to be published. All interviewees and participants were given contact details for both myself and my department and are to be provided with a summary sheet of findings once the research period is complete.

3.3.3 A notable absence

Perhaps the most notable absences from the interviews collected in this thesis are the words and experiences of the people who are evicted: this group is represented through third-party accounts and public statements, rather than through direct interviews as evicted persons. This is not a thoughtless omission, and instead reflects a series of ethical and practical considerations that require explicit and dedicated comment. This study was, like most PhD research projects, conducted under conditions of limited time and resources, and its emphasis is on the institutions that conduct and mobilise evictions and how they respond to variegations of resistance and power. In many ways, to appropriate terms from James C. Scott (2008), the aim of the study was to look at the 'weapons of the weak' from the viewpoint of the 'strong'; to look through the eyes of the state at the moment of its interface with the market. The interplay of ethical and practical considerations that structured this decision were defined by this approach.

I was wary to seek interviews with evicted persons out of consideration for the mental and psychological stress caused by eviction, and the potential harms caused by revisiting the day of eviction. Eviction is understood in medical and sociological literature to be a distressing and potentially traumatic event. Interviews would have focused on the confrontations that took place when a bailiff arrived on the doorstep of the person being evicted, and the eviction process. With this in mind such interviewees would have to be approached under circumstances which minimised the impact of conducting interviews on their overall wellbeing; all of the studies cited so far regarding the wellbeing or experiences of evicted persons have been dedicated research aimed at discussing their experiences and have had the time and resources to make account of this fact.

When I was offered opportunities to talk with people who had lost (or, frequently, were losing) their homes due to forced eviction, it was in contexts which were not

favourable to these considerations, often being provided by those in the position of power. The solicitor I interviewed at the court offered one such opportunity; they proposed that I meet their clients when they came into the court to have their hearing; an offer I immediately declined because of the context in which the interview would have taken place immediately prior to a court hearing about their homes being repossessed. Instead I proposed a compromise; the solicitor would contact her clients, explain the project and pass on the information sheet and ethics forms. Following this route it was made clear none of these clients wished to be interviewed in a formal context.

I was also concerned about the potential to reproduce the processes of eviction which I intended to study. In her ethnographic work, Purser (2014) worked on an evictions removal team as part of a larger ethnography of day labour in Baltimore. The Eviction processes she observed came out of assisting in some 16 evictions. To me, this appears to be a worrying breach of a fine and sometimes fuzzy boundary between participant observation and facilitating displacement; ethnographic approaches are particularly susceptible to such problems as they entangle the researcher in the communities they seek to immerse themselves in. It was therefore necessary to adopt a research method that kept a certain degree of distance from the eviction process.

Related to this were problems regarding the material basis for my interviews and the powerful position of the full-time researcher in comparison to people facing eviction, who are frequently trapped in the 'low-pay no-pay cycle'. I was unable to offer sufficient financial compensation for participation, which would not normally be offered as part of such a research project: However, in the case of those who are for instance, in full-time work, doing childcare, or engaged in the welfare regime, taking time out of a busy schedule and other obligations to participate in an unremunerated interview was potentially not an option. Almost all of the interviewees for this project were interviewed during working hours at the permission of superiors; in the case of a working-class interviewee who may face benefit sanctions or be subject to restrictive domestic or workplace arrangements, such an approach was simply not possible, and any participation would have to be unpaid free time.

With this in mind, while a more experienced and well-resourced researcher might have been able to discuss the experience of eviction with people who had been evicted as part of a study with this scope, I did not consider myself, with the limited time, or perhaps more importantly, the limited resources, afforded to a PhD

researcher working alone, to be in a position to conduct interviews with evicted persons as well as bailiffs and evictors in a way that would have satisfied both ethical considerations and practical limitations to the project.

It should also be stressed that I have approached this project for what it is; one element in a wider field of study of forced evictions and experiences of precariousness in housing. The experiences of evicted persons is therefore not something I wish to abandon entirely, but instead to stress the opposite: such experiences require dedicated study whose methodologies and focus consider and work to unravel the power relations in which researchers become embedded when they conduct studies such as my own.

3.3.4 Finding an Alternative Source

Fortunately, studies focusing on this experience of eviction and housing precarity globally and at the national level are a growing field (as shown in the literature review). In order to circumvent the limitations imposed by my own study, I have drawn on the resources these studies provide. I have also interviewed third parties who work to represent people who face or experience eviction, such as the Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB) and the Advisory Service For Squatters (ASS). Finally I have used an increasingly rich resource of online accounts and video footage uploaded to sites such as youtube to supplement the interview findings. These accounts often come from an activist perspective and tend to be associated with either anti-capitalist housing activist networks, or 'pseudo-legal' groups such as the 'freemen on the land' group or websites like 'getoutofdebtfree.org'. These groups have particular histories of contact with the state and the bailiffs that circulate among their members, and, in the case of the pseudo-legal networks, often concern themselves with constructing certain legal fictions (such as the idea that a certain phrase or kind of letter can forestall a bailiff through revoking the 'implied consent' of the person facing eviction) or particular narratives of the role and function of eviction. Such writing and resources does, however, provide an alternative perspective to the vision of the state and the eviction practitioners.

These issues highlight a further epistemological and representational set of issues encountered when writing about evictions. There are a set of specific issues that concern both the problem of representing experiences, and the choice of particular terms and language when eviction is discussed, that need to be explained

before we can progress any further, because they concern how we interpret and understand both experiences and terms.

3.3.5 The Indignity of Speaking for Others: Situating the Researcher

The problem of representing eviction begins with the experiences of the excluded and dispossessed, and the dispossession process. No two evictions are identical and in many cases wildly differ, nonetheless certain kinds of eviction are more numerous and are symptomatic of structural inequalities. As a researcher who does not have personal experience of losing my home through forced eviction, and, if anything, comes from a family whose experience is of increasingly secure property ownership and even property speculation over the last two generations, there are obviously significant questions that revolve around my own position as a narrator representing aspects of forcible eviction.

This connects to long-standing debates in the social sciences about the kinds of representation that intellectuals can achieve when discussion subaltern groups. In particular the problem of the 'indignity of speaking for others' (Foucault and Deleuze, 1977; Spivak 1988). The answers to such questions lie in the structure of the academy itself and the exclusions it enacts, not solely the action of the single researcher: In my own research I am less concerned about how to overcome such a problem, than how to position the work of 'unmasking' a process of dispossession and displacement in relation to the dispossessed and displaced in a manner which is productive and useful to both them and myself. I am therefore more concerned about the problem of what Donna Haraway (1991), discussing the relationship of feminist scholarship to anti-colonial activism, calls (quoting the poet Wendy Rose) 'The tourism of the soul'. For Haraway:

> "Women's studies must negotiate the very fine line between appropriation of another's (never innocent) experience and the delicate construction of the just-barely- possible affinities, the just-barely-possible connections that might actually make a difference in local and global histories." (p.113)

The problem posed here goes beyond representation, and in relation to the present study could be understood in slightly different terms: how to acknowledge and draw from the experiences of evicted persons to inform this study, without totally

subordinating those experiences to an academic project and forms of institutionalised power that predominate in the academy:

> "One must be vulnerable in building "relations." Scholars need to identify themselves in the literature. We need to identify contradictions so that we can ask why there is a contradiction. Then we can ask how this emotional contradiction informs our research and the policy interventions that our research implicitly or explicitly endorses." (Schlichtman and Patch, 2014)

Viewing the process of eviction from the perspective of the evictor, a perspective I have gained some degree of access to because in part I myself have been a beneficiary of its action, clearly produces certain blind spots or ideological assumptions, and demands a degree of self-critique. When those who are evicted are discussed there is the potential for the discursive construction of their actions by eviction practitioners to become adopted uncritically. In less nuanced but more direct words, the more I write about eviction from the perspective of those conducting it, the greater the potential to accept that perspective as fact. Considering this, it is necessary to think about the way evicted persons are written about, and the kinds of linguistic choices made during the writing and research process.

3.3.6 The Problem of Language

Throughout this thesis I use such terms as 'evicted persons', 'evictees', 'people who are evicted', 'people facing eviction', 'displaced persons' and sometimes 'tenant' and 'occupant' interchangeably appropriate to context. Much of the basis for the case study being conducted is dependent on a legality that has its own meanings: terms such as 'tenant' or 'occupant' are commonly used in laws such as the 1977 Protection from Eviction Act or the Housing Acts, the term itself implies an established and recognised legal status that is not always applicable across the spectrum of forms of eviction, especially after the introduction of Section 144 of LASPO, where forms of quasi-legal occupation or aggravated trespass apply. Both of these terms elide the issue of home at work in eviction practices; on the one hand, what is legally defined as an 'occupant' might not imply a process of *home-making* at work, whereas a term like 'homeowner' in mortgage evictions implies the opposite: Legal terms do not necessarily reflect the 'cultural content' of the action they enable.

Due to these complexities, rather than establish a hard and fast legal glossary that would fix meanings for the duration of the present work I have tried to abide by the following principles when using terms in context:

- Where a legal term is used in its sense in English and Welsh Law, e.g. 'Trespasser' or 'occupant' I have tried to indicate as such.
- Where a term like 'squatter', 'traveller' or 'tenant' is used it intends to signify a particular social relation and status, such as that between a landlord and a tenant, even if this is not finally recognised in a court of law.
- Where terms such as 'evicted persons' or 'displaced people' are used this reflects a general category that can include all legal and social statuses and indicates someone who has been moved from a given place unwillingly through threat of force.

Importantly, these different usages carry different implications about the agency of the person facing eviction, displacement, or dispossession. Legal terms are an imposition by the state and do not necessarily say anything about the consent of the person indicated or excluded by them to those categories. Terms that reflect a social relationship like 'tenant' are more fluid discursive categories that indicate degrees of consent subject to regimes of power and economic class. The broadest category indicates something of the relations of consent, power and force that happen. These terms carry inescapable political meanings, and also carry a certain weight of historical inevitability to them. They suggest that throughout the eviction process the eviction was a foregone conclusion; we must remember that to people in the eviction process this is not necessarily apparent until after the process is complete.

3.4 Access

3.4.1 …Than Done

The greatest challenge faced in the process of gathering interview data was accessing the research population. In particular the bailiff teams proved especially difficult to make contact and arrange an interview with. As mentioned in the previous section, the original aim of the research was to conduct a comparative study between

separate HCEO and County Court Bailiff teams in the North and the South of England respectively. In practice, this aim became particularly curtailed by the willingness of the bailiff teams to participate and the difficulty of accessing both public employees in the case of County Court Bailiffs and a security-focused industry in the case of HCEO firms.

3.4.2 Accessing the Housing Professionals and County Courts

The approach I took was to use a 'snowball sampling' approach, building research contacts off existing contacts in order to establish contact through pre-existing working relationships between housing providers and associations, and the court system. Therefore 'snowball sampling' is being used in a qualitative and informal sense used to access hard-to-reach populations that require a degree of trust (Atkinson and Flint, 2001).

In most cases, initial access came from personal contacts made through friends, colleagues and family members who had worked at or with Housing Associations and private landlords in London and the North, I approached staff working for landlords who were responsible for handling tenants facing eviction sending them an information sheet and consent form (which was sent to all interviewees as soon as interest was expressed following initial contact), and where possible, those attending the day of eviction. After initial interviews with these professionals, I requested contact details for the bailiff teams at the courts at which they worked.

I took this approach for several reasons. The first major reason was that attempts to contact individual courts were completely unsuccessful and met with absolutely no reply whatsoever. Direct contact with bailiff teams and the public is handled through a single contact number and email address at the court, and is meant for the use of members of the public currently engaged in the court process. My aim was to contact the bailiff teams outside of this channel to avoid causing unwelcome disruption. Another option would have been to proceed through HM Courts and Tribunals Service central office in London to get access: I was wary of this approach because it could potentially result in a blanket decision from central office over the level of access I received, and would restrict the potential for contact between court employees to using the channel of their employer. I was concerned this would potentially limit the willingness of employees from participating due to potential repercussions, and present the researcher as an agent of their employer.

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Researchers I had asked for advice had also advised that I might wish to avoid such a path.

The second major reason for conducting the sampling process through existing networks was the kind of research narrative and connection this provided. It meant I would be able to look at the doorstep practices of the bailiff in connection to wider practices in the local area, and a shared context with the landlords who used the courts.

In practice, this approach was less successful than I anticipated. In the north the process worked fairly smoothly; I was easily transferred from the housing association to the local court. The bailiff manager at the court discussed how long the interview would take with me, asked for a sample of some questions so he could prepare as a condition of access, to which I agreed: as a result three to four of the more basic questions had been seen prior to the interview. I requested contact with other members of the team and the bailiff manager provided access to an additional bailiff at the court, but emphasised the difficulty of gathering the entire team. In order to meet the bailiff manager at the court, I had to conduct the interview before the bailiffs left the office for the day. This meant arriving at 7:00 in the morning at the court building to interview the bailiffs before they went to work; this also required arrangements in the court. A recent terrorism scare in the city had made the court especially cautious about security arrangements. The bailiff manager had also mentioned that he requested (without my prompting) an opportunity for me to attend a 'ride along' with the team for the day, but this had been declined by the manager at the court and HMCTS head office: along with initial access these would be a major obstacle to any future ethnographer hoping to work with County Court Bailiffs, though a more experienced and trusted researcher might gather larger results.

Where I tried to reproduce this process in London, the South East, and the South West, the trail went dead in two cases, in the third, I received a single email from the bailiff manager which read:

> "Unfortunately I will not be able to be interviewed on this subject as I am bound by MoJ policy not to discuss procedures as such. I think you'll find that all bailiff managers are restricted in this way. I am sorry but I will not be able to assist."

After replying with thanks and a request for a contact at the MoJ to discuss this policy, I received no further reply. I also received no further reply at the courts in the North after the first set of interviews to requests for a follow up. When I attended the court in the North the bailiff manager revealed that he had had to negotiate my access with the MoJ and HMCTS head office. Approaching the Bailiff Teams directly through HMCTS may have therefore been a more productive and fruitful approach, as the attempt to avoid this powerful gatekeeping institution was not as successful as hoped. However it is also possible that an alternative interpretation of this process might suggest that initiative largely lay with the bailiff teams in terms of arranging and organising the interviews, and therefore relying on HMCTS to manage access would both create a selective group approved by HMCTS and still run the risk of a blanket restriction.

3.4.3 HCEOs

The HCEO firms proved just as elusive, with only one participating in an interview. HCEO firms were harder to access because High Court Evictions are relatively rare and HCEOs are not used by most housing associations, nor the private landlords firm I interviewed. Given this, after considering other approaches I decided I had to approach HCEO firms directly via email and phone. Through this process I was only able to make contact with one HCEO firm. After the initial interview I was told that I would only attain limited access at other HCEO firms and it was unlikely they would talk to researchers. The initial interview also showed that HCEO firms would be unlikely to discuss in any significant detail the conditions under which they planned and implemented eviction practices. A further issue was the fact that HCEO involvement in evictions is comparatively rare: HCEO-led evictions tend to take place around large-scale eviction events that develop out of substantial social grievances: the eviction of traveller communities, squats, and protest sites. These kinds of evictions would not come along with frequency or regularity, and so the possibility of waiting for one to occur then focusing in on it as a case study in and of itself would have been impractical, as would an ethnographic observation, where again, access would not have been possible. As such, a different approach centred on a historical reading of reports of large scale evictions, combined with the existing data from the interviews came closer to the fore.

3.4.4 Accessing Other Participants

The other major research population accessed were housing professionals. These were individuals working in the private rented and public housing sector.

Towards the end of the process I approached several organisations that worked with tenants facing eviction and activist groups campaigning against eviction in the region the County Court Bailiffs worked in. This met with mixed results, but the main outcome was additional data provided by the Citizens Advice Bureau and a duty solicitor and housing advice volunteer working on housing cases at the court. In terms of the larger scale of evictions, interviews were also provided with the Advisory Service for Squatters; in both of these cases, pre-existing familiarity with activist networks and services helped establish the parameters of both meeting and questions.

3.4.5 The Limits of this Process

The first point to note is that, as is the case with all voluntary participants the interviewees were all self-selecting. There is no internal research, inquiry or review process made available to the public within HMCTS or the HCEOA regarding eviction practices. It therefore reflects both individual motivation and concern about the issues discussed, a degree of awareness about the subject matter being discussed, and, in several cases, previously existing contact with academic researchers and academic writing that shaped the kinds of answers and responses towards the expectation of the researcher, rather than a randomised sample. Participants had an expectation about what I would ask and would very often start with a substantial set of rhetoric that centred around their previous experiences with academic researchers: one interviewee, an ASB officer working primarily on an estate in London, gave a reply almost entirely centred around 'gangs', rather than the eviction process that they used, and part of the reason for this was that they had been interviewed several times in the past about that subject. The data therefore reflects this limitation.

3.5 Revised Method

Taking the considerations of access and ethics that were imposed on the research method, the initial research method was revised significantly. Given the

limited access achieved and the ethical considerations, the research method became focused on a single case study which was examined in greater depth, while other resources were used to supplement and connect together similarities and differences where they became apparent or seemed context-specific. I have divided the chapters on findings drawing inspiration from Porteous and Smith (2001): the first section of these chapters focuses on 'Everyday Evictions' through the lens of the Case study of 'Abbeyburn' a post-industrial city in the North of England, and the housing professionals and bailiff team that works there. The second part of the findings chapters focus on 'Exceptional Evictions' and the High Court Enforcement industry; this second part draws on interviews with a HCEO based in the same region as the Case Study, but also draws on a number of historical sources, eyewitness accounts, and additional interviews. Rather that a single case study, this section focuses on a number of individual cases to illustrate how different methods and techniques are enacted and how they respond to forms of eviction resistance they encounter. In both cases freedom of information requests, training materials, manuals and legal resources have also been used. There are therefore two distinct approaches at work: the first analysing the eviction process in a single city, the second using multiple case studies and a historical materialist analysis guided by and responding to interview data.

3.5.1 Everyday Evictions: Case Study: 'Abbeyburn'

'Abbeyburn' is a city in the North of England. The city has been traditionally defined by industrial manufacturing and extractive industries. Having grown significantly during the industrial revolution in a manner similar to cities such as Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle, and Sheffield, the city reached an industrial peak in the first half of the twentieth century before industry declined in the second half, being partially replaced by service sector jobs. The city is majority White British, around 80%, according to the last census. The Local council is Labour-controlled and has largely passed between the hands of the Labour Party and the Liberal democrats for the last 20 years. There is a significant student presence in the city with at least 2 HE level education providers and many more in the larger region. Most of the housing in the city consists of two distinct phases of construction: the first, a series of industry-led construction initiatives aimed at providing homes for industrial workers in good proximity to workplaces at the turn of the last century. Much of this housing

rests in private ownership or the private rented sector. The second phase was a significant development of social-democratic social housing in the form of planned estates, high-rise flats, and a number of mixed developments with units of different size and scale. Social housing in the city is managed by an Arms Length Management Organisation (ALMO) who manage properties on behalf of the council. The city is also the base of one of the largest private landlords firms in the country, who manage approximately 30,000 properties across the UK, and several large student housing providers operate in the city to cater to the student population in term times. Abbeyburn has a combined Crown and County Court building in which the bailiff manager and his team are based.

The ALMO and Private Landlord were approached first through family and workplace contacts. Having been sent a copy of the information sheet and consent form, via email interview dates were arranged at mutual agreement of the researcher and interviewee. The head of rent arrears recovery at ALMO was preliminarily interviewed for basic details, before I arranged another interview time with a Rent Arrears Recovery Team working on the 'Benford estate' which they managed. The Private Landlords firm were also approached, and interviews were conducted with the Credit Control Officers who pursued a similar function there. In both cases, interviews were as in-depth as possible, occurred at their place of work, lasted for approximately 30-60 minutes each and focused on process and practice in the institutions concerned. At the ALMO interviews last somewhat longer due to a variety of factors, including the detailed social housing obligations the team were legally compelled to. The ALMO also assisted as a trusted contact between myself and the court, and were able to arrange access to the bailiff manager at the court, who arranged for me to meet them at the court where the interviews with the manager and a member of his team involved in organising regional training were conducted. From initial contact with the ALMO to the day I met with the bailiff and bailiff manager, gaining access to the bailiff team took around 3 months, and numerous email exchanges.

The interviews with the bailiff manager, 'Seth' and bailiff, 'Dean', lasted for just over an hour and a half each, including breaks for additional comment. Questions were in depth and focused on the routine of the day, the working practices at the court, how the bailiffs planned their day and what they did when they arrived on the doorstep of an eviction case. Sources of stress, anxiety, were discussed, as well as what they thought of public opinion. In the case of 'Dean', the bailiff involved in

organising training, the training process was covered. As mentioned, attempts to conduct follow up interviews with this team were not successful. Overall about 4 hours of interviews were conducted with these two interviewees. The local Citizens Advice Bureau were also approached and an interview with an advice solicitor working at the court was arranged, this interview lasted for an hour and a half and covered the court process and the solicitor's opinions on how things had changed.

At the end of each interview, time was offered for additional comment and reflection, and if there was anything else the interviewee wished to add, they had an opportunity to do so.

3.5.2 Secondary Resources: London and the North

The case study was originally intended to be part of a comparative approach, as outlined above. The hope was that the process described in the first instance could be repeated in a borough of London. A number of social landlords based in the south east were approached and a similar process was repeated. However despite getting contact details and a recommendation of contact with a bailiff in the South of London, I was declined interviews. The data from these preliminary interviews has therefore been refocused as a point of reference for the Abbeyburn case study. Two half hour interviews were conducted with two members of an Anti-Social Behaviour Team at a Housing Association based on an estate in South London, and two one-hour interviews with a senior income recovery manager and an anti-social behaviour officer at a housing association with properties across the Southeast.

3.5.3 Exceptional Evictions

When turning to the problem of scale, and the The HCEO industry proved more elusive. An HCEO, based at a firm, 'Reigns Enforcement', was interviewed for the research project, with a similar set of questions to the County Court Bailiffs. Because of the limited access provided, I have combined the interview data from this HCEO's interview with accounts of evictions uploaded as promotional records online by HCE Firms, in particular the HCE Group's National Eviction Team. Using reports by eyewitness journalists, public statements by activist groups and video footage, I have tried to trace the activity of this particular team. Whereas the focus of the findings of everyday evictions at the county court level has been a single case study of a city

complemented by a set of interviews and additional data, the approach taken to larger-scale evictions has had to take a more historical approach focusing on the development of strategies over time.

Interviews were also conducted in London with the Advisory Service for Squatters, and a number of informal conversations and interviews with squatters and activists guided much of my investigation into the historical data. The focus of this analysis has been on the material development of skills through the conflict between eviction agencies and those who resist them. With the merger of the HCEGroup and the Sheriffs Officer, a substantial number of High Court Enforcement Officers now operate under the auspices of a single firm, and the pool of independent agencies is thinning. The development of an effective monopoly in the private sector is emerging. By looking at the actions of this sector over time and across cases through a series of smaller case studies, individual tactics and practices common to evictions can be isolated, recognised, and their origins and development explored and understood.

3.5.4 From Method to The Findings

In this chapter I have outlined the initial methodology, the ethical and access challenges this methodology encountered, and the revised process outlining the case study and interview data. What I have outlined above is not only the revised method, but also the structure of the remainder of the present work. Having established the 'how and the why' of this project, I can now turn to the eviction process in action, and begin by examining the process of eviction at the everyday level, before turning to the exceptional practices that prevail when large-scale eviction practices come into play.

3.5.5 People Interviewed

'Seth' - A Bailiff Manager at Abbeyburn Court

'Dean' - A Bailiff at Abbeyburn Court and involved in organising bailiff training in the North of England

'Joe' - an HCEO at Reigns Enforcement

'Charlotte' - An Income Recovery Officer for Abbeyburn ALMO

'Becky' - An Income Recovery Officer for Abbeyburn ALMO

'Rick' - An Income Recovery Officer for Abbeyburn ALMO

'Sasha' - Head of Income Recovery for Abbeyburn ALMO

'Naomi' - Duty Solicitor and CAB Legal Advisor in the Abbeyburn Area

'Daniel' - Advisory Service for Squatters volunteer

'Paul' - Head of Income Recovery at 'Pythias' Housing Association (Based in the Southeast of England)

'Vince' - Head of Antisocial Behaviour at 'Pythias' Housing Association

Anonymous- Antisocial Behaviour Officer at 'Blanchard' Housing Association (Based in South London)

Anonymous - Antisocial Behaviour Officer at 'Blanchard' Housing Association

Anonymous - Credit Control Officer for 'Plater' private landlords

Anonymous - Income Recovery Manager for 'Plater'

Anonymous - Activist based in Nottingham

Anonymous - Housing Activist based in Abbeyburn

Chapter 4: Disposing of the Tenant: Escalation and Rent Arrears

4.1 Disposing of the Tenant

In this chapter I will look at the eviction process leading up to the day of eviction. Eviction has no clear, localisable point at which it begins or ends. While there is a decisive 'day of repossession' of the property, the factors that feed into a repossession, and the impacts after the repossession, are long standing. The day of repossession happens at the end of a process of varying duration and sophistication of managing the tenant; both their finances and legal challenges, but also their *affective disposition.*

These practices will be viewed from the perspective of Income Recovery Officers and other officials responsible for initiating and enacting eviction for rent arrears in the social housing sector on the 'Benford' estate, in the same city as the bailiff team in the next chapter also worked. With this team, rent recovery is done through the use of both specialist software, and forms of emotional and bureaucratic labour.

Social landlords had the highest rates of eviction in July to September 2015, according to the MoJ: "the majority of landlord possession claims (23,528 or 61%) were social landlord claims, 5,257 (14%) were private landlord claims and 9,877 (26%) were accelerated claims" (Ministry of Justice 12/11/2015, p.13). According to the Homes and Communities Agency, rent arrears were the leading cause of eviction for Social Landlords in 2015, with 9,425 out of 12,172 evictions happening for rent arrears, with 1,461 for Anti-Social Behaviour, 365 for both, and the remaining 921 for 'other' reasons (29/11/2015, p.37). The process described here is, then, a version of what is currently the most common kind of eviction process in England and Wales. However, the focus on rent arrears evictions in the social housing sector is not for quantitative reasons, nor is it aimed at providing a total overview of every eviction process, and many private sector tenants, especially those with tenancies with small local private landlords, do not go through such an extensive set of checks as those described below. Instead the focus on the Rent Arrears Recovery Team allows us to trace the eviction process up until the day of eviction itself, and explain how tenants can be the target of the action of housing professionals long before the bailiff arrives on the doorstep, and track how bailiff and rent arrears teams interact. Throughout this process I draw out contrasting practices and linkages between the rent arrears team

based in Benford, practices at 'Pythias', a Housing Association based in the South East with circa 30,000 properties in the region, and the income recovery process at 'Plater' one of the UKs largest private landlords, managing a similar number of properties.

The first part of the chapter deals with the challenge presented by 'non-engagement'. 'Non-engagement' is seen as a particular kind of subject position by housing professionals and eviction specialists which helps make sense of eviction to these professionals. This concept frames the work of housing professionals and bailiffs as a strategy of 'engaging' tenants. In the second section, I refer to this process of engagement as 'capture'. Drawing on Joe Deville's (2015) notion of 'affective captation', and Callon's (2002) concept of 'market attachments', I suggest that the role of pre-eviction protocols and rent arrears is to attempt to renew the attachment to rent arrears as a form of debt owed. These agencies see themselves in competition with other commercial interests in a manner similar to that found in the private debt collection industry, and in some cases they even draw on specialised techniques and professional practices from that industry.

The chapter then proceeds to outline how this process plays out in relation to the case study. As mentioned, this case study focuses on three members of a Rent Arrears Recovery Team active in the North of England on the 'Benford' housing estate, a large post-war estate run by an ALMO on behalf of a trust. Starting from the escalation process used by this team, the chapter outlines the interplay between automated processes and rent arrears software, and face to face engagement by the Rent Arrears Recovery Team. After presenting the structure of this escalation process, the process is followed along two timelines that interact; firstly the automated process that uses housing management software and filing documentation to activate and pursue rent arrears automatically via letters that stress the increasing arrears and urgency for payment. The pathway provided by the automated element of the arrears process is complemented by a set of visits and phone calls from the Rent Arrears Recovery Team. This visitation process works to both gather information and attempt to engage the tenant in the arrears recovery process by coming to an arrangement or getting them to pay the arrears. This process does not end after the court hearing, but can proceed up to the day of eviction, and includes multiple pathways for different efforts to resolve the arrears. This case study concludes by revisiting the structure of the escalation process and tying the interplay of automated, legal and personal practices together.

What this case study reveals is the passage of the tenant through a process of legal, bureaucratic and affective management focused on continually testing the tenant to establish their disposition toward payment, and to create both financial and emotional 'attachment' to the arrears process by generating a sense of urgency and legitimacy to the ALMOs claim. The process therefore gives both legal and social legitimacy to the eviction, working to ground the eviction in a particular legal and emotional logic that enables the arrears team and the bailiff to act to recover the property when the time comes.

4.2 Non-Engagement

"I think 9 times out of 10, people are just choosing to bury their head in the sand." — 'Dean', Bailiff

"They might be having troubles that sometimes, they've buried their head in the sand quite frequently, so it is a lot easier to speak to them, to get advice and get help, so a lot of the time I've referred them to citizens advice, and then we have them on the phone discussing with them so a lot of the time is spent on the phone discussing with them." — Credit Control officer, 'Plater' Private Landlords Firm

"I have taken goods from a business premises, but that was to the point where we'd totally lost all communications, they didn't want to know, they put their heads in the sand, and I got a kick up the backside from the judge to say "you should have emptied that place two weeks ago — go down and do it now". — 'Seth', Bailiff Manager

"People react in totally different ways to the fact that they perhaps at that point are losing their house. Some people have resigned themselves to that fact, and have alternative accommodation sorted out. Others will have been burying their head, and hoping the whole thing will go away until we've arrived" — 'Joe' HCEO

"Most people are terrified, because it's got to the point where they have to do something about it, and a lot of people, you know, the clients will come in and

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they'll say themselves 'I've buried my head in the sand, I panicked, I don't know what to do, I don't know where to turn'" — 'Naomi', Duty Solicitor

"Don't bury your head in the sand. Dealing with debt problems is easier the smaller they are, so take action before they start to spiral out of control."— Citizens Advice Bureau (2015)

A recurring theme of all the interviews conducted was that of the tenant and/or debtor who "buries their head in the sand". This idiom, which dates back to Pliny the Elder (1962, p.1), permeated discussion in interviews across the housing and enforcement sectors. To 'bury your head' implies a series of assumptions about the epistemology of the tenant-debtor, and about the ontological status of rent and debt. In the way the idiom is used, rent is understood as part of a fundamental reality that the tenant is choosing to ignore by burying their head: Rent belongs to a world of sense-data that the tenant is shutting themselves off from, as an instinctive response to financial stress. By closing off all the primary senses; sight, sound, smell, and rendering oneself practically silent, the tenant facing eviction is assumed to be irrational and wilfully ignorant of the outside world and the arrears they are accumulating.

The tenant who buries their head in the sand is positioned at the extreme end of a group of tenants who are not engaging with, or engaged in, the legal and managerial processes that are leading to their eviction. This position will be referred to in this chapter as *non-engagement*; the term used by Income Recovery Officers working on the 'Benford' estate in interviews when they outlined this position:

"The first indication that someone might have to go to court for me would be, I would say, just pure non-engagement, not answering the door, not responding to the cards that I've left, not responding so we have to send letters giving them notice of eviction or possession." — 'Becky' Income Recovery Officer 'Benford'

There are three clear narrative elements to non-engagement that interviewees presented. The first is the discursive point about the assumptions being made: arrears are assumed to be individual, and legitimate response is centred around individual decision making and choice; non-engagement is conceived of as an

individual and economic, rather than a social response. The individual is therefore made into the target of action to recover arrears. The idea of debt and arrears being an individual responsibility is a leitmotif of the eviction process, so rather than laying out in detail the nature of this individualising perspective in processes of eviction, I want to simply mark the beginning of a long thread with which eviction processes are woven.

The second is a narrative of the affective tactics that non-engagement apparently neutralises. The position of refusing to act in response to emails, letters, and phone calls about arrears was seen by interviewees as a primary indicator that a tenant would be taken to court and evicted. For the interviewees involved in the rent arrears management and recovery process, a tenant that was not paying, and not responding to any form of contact, was providing clear grounds for eviction.

The third narrative element is the justificatory function that non-engagement invokes. By not engaging in the rent arrears process the tenant justifies subsequent punitive action at its most absolute. While legal action and forcible eviction ground themselves in a moral order based on the correct and proper following of procedural justice, non-engagement is a limit-point. For the landlord and the courts, non-engagement presents an absolute and unequivocal position in which the tenant has not engaged with the process and therefore has no recourse to complain or contest eviction.

4.2.1 The Obscured View of the Disengaged Tenant

The tenant that is not engaging represents a major stumbling block for the rent arrears recovery process. Rent arrears recovery emphasises payment of due rent as its primary goal; the aim is to get the tenant to repay. Rent arrears recovery specialists seek to try and overcome non-engagement wherever possible, and 'non-engagement' is the first sign that a case might go to court. When asked what the early indicators that a case would proceed through to eviction, one member of the team outlined this in more detail:

> "There's lots of early indicators: some people never answer the door, some people never respond to emails or letters or cards that you leave for them, so then you invite them in to the housing office, just to explore a different route of contact to see if that would be successful, they don't turn up, they're still not

paying. So that's one of the most clear indicators that they're not going to engage, so then it has to profess [sic] through the escalation paths, and for me, that has to progress quite quickly, so that the arrears when they get to court for a court order arrangement, are manageable. Because if it gets to a situation where the arrears are not manageable for the tenant, they stop, they won't engage completely, they might flit the property, we won't ever be able to recover that money if the tenancy fails." — 'Charlotte' Income Recovery Officer, 'Benford'

The risks non-engagement poses are clearly outlined here: non-engagement fast-tracks the tenant through the escalation process, as each attempt at contact by the landlord is ignored. It produces anxieties in the recovery officer: the possibility of the tenant 'doing a flit', and leaving the property without notifying the landlord before fleeing from rent owed. There is neither a guarantee of the tenant's whereabouts, or their possible disposition to repayment; the tenant's disposition is a 'black box' to the recovery officer.

4.2.2 Why Don't Tenants 'Engage'?

There is evidence that non-engagement in debt collection and arrears is driven by forms of anxiety, exhaustion, and depression produced by the daily experience of administrating poverty. An interviewee facing rent arrears, participating in a 2014 study conducted in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne into the health impacts of the 'Under-Occupancy Charge', shed light on experiences of depression:

"…sometimes I've been known to wake up at four o'clock or even sometimes two o'clock and it's everything: bills, money, house. I can be sitting reading, trying to read to try and knock myself back to sleep and there are some times when I just can't go back over, so sometimes I'm up from four o'clock in the morning. It does have a knock-on effect because then you feel knackered for the rest of the day, and if you've woken up with that kind of feeling in your head and in yourself you just – I had a tendency just to sit in the corner in the chair. (#16, Female, 54)" (Moffat et. al. 2015, p.4)

Debtors who had defaulted facing a recovery process reported a similar set of affective dynamics:

> "What I'm finding at the moment is getting all these letters every six months from every company that I owe money to…And I'm getting tired, you know, I'm finding it really tiring. I'm getting to the stage I feel I just, I'm not going to be able to do this much more. So it would be easier for me to be bankrupt and clear of it because it's the stress of all this coming through and I need to deal with it." — 'Jane' (Deville, 2015, p.66)

> "It's there in the back of your mind all the time, but you consciously choose to ignore it at the times when you want to, because there was, there was many a time when I thought to myself, look. I'm healthy, I've got two lovely children, I've got a house, I'm, I'm just not going to worry about it because I'm going to make myself feel ill if I carry on like this. And so I would consciously stop myself worrying about it" — 'Julie' (ibid, p.56)

Non-engagement is therefore a response to the affects of anxiety and exhaustion produced by indebtedness and low-income life, and relation to a series of active movements, a constant flow of letters, emails, phone calls, financial transactions, and workplace demands. The debtor appears as a bundle of diverse rhythms which have their own interacting hierarchies (Lefebvre, 2013, p.88). Non-engagement could also be viewed through the lens of what Lauren Berlant (2011) identifies as a kind of impasse: "…one keeps moving, but one moves paradoxically, in the same space. An impasse is a holding space that doesn't hold securely but opens out into anxiety, that dogpaddling around a space whose contours remain obscure" (p.199). The regular pursuit of arrears, debt collections, and the ways in which they produce instrumentalized forms of precarity-driven anxiety; the anxiety that one might lose one's house or job, or that one might have ones belongings repossessed, is produced by intersecting and hierarchical routines of labour and payment. To explore this further is to step into the realms of a different study to this one, focused on of everyday life and its relation to precarity. It is enough here to observe that 'non-engagement' is as likely driven by a series of produced anxieties that have a historical and structural basis; rather than an *instinctual*, hard-wired response that 'burying your head' might suppose.

4.2.3 Non-Engagement as Justification

The repeated use of the idiom of 'burying your head in the sand' revealed a certain level of shared assumption in the way the non-responsive tenant was approached, primarily as a voluntarily resistant subject who was refusing, rather than unable, to be engaged in the process of arrears recovery:

> "If there's significant arrears, generally we'd ask for suspended possession orders, but if it's a case where someone hasn't paid, they haven't bothered going to housing benefit, they haven't been answering the door you know, just not responding, and that's significant, then at that point we'd ask for a possession order". — 'Becky'

The non-responsive tenant 'justifies' eviction in both the private and public sector because they have refused to engage or recognise the existence of the arrears, or accept forms of support which have been offered to them. 'Burying your head' persistently was seen as a trigger for eviction precisely because it gave grounds to legal action, and gave basis for the recurrent idea that eviction was a last resort. In the social housing sector, this meant that the housing provider had met all of its criteria for sustaining the tenancy as a social housing provider, and there was a view that if tenants 'engaged' eviction simply would not happen:

> "And if that person then engaged, attended advice and support worker appointments, and maintained their payments as I'd agreed with them, it would never really progress forward to court. It would only be if they'd stopped paying, and stopped engaging." — 'Becky'

At the private sector landlords, eviction was explicitly tied to ability to pay. However, the Credit Control Officers still offered opportunities to resolve housing benefit issues and had legal obligations in terms of the court process:

> "We'd go to court and the solicitor would serve a section 8 notice, which has, you've got to wait until that expires, once that expires you can then instruct them to go to proceedings, but it all depends on, they could come back in the

meantime and make an arrangement, so I'd advise the solicitors. I've just had one recently where she has made an arrangement, so postponed the court date to say she maintained it. So the court dates never really will be set as in we wouldn't go for eviction of this property at this time of the month, it is all very individual, case-by case basis."— Credit Control Officer, Private Landlords

For the bailiffs, non-engagement both carried moral and legal basis:

"Not a lot gets to me. I can rationale [sic] everything I do. People often say; 'oh you must feel awful'. Not really, because I pay my mortgage, other people pay their rent. And at the end of the day, why should someone live somewhere for free? There's laws, and if I thought there wasn't sufficient ways for them to overcome these problems, if there wasn't all the things in place like hearings and if it was completely unjust and they weren't getting noticed, then yeah I would. But, I think 9 times out of 10, people are just choosing to bury their head in the sand." — 'Dean' Bailiff

Non-engagement was therefore also a powerful discourse of moral order that situated the eviction as a necessary evil. It gives bureaucratic meaning to an eviction where the tenant has neither been seen nor heard from, and was therefore an unknown moral quantity. But non-engaged tenants are also linked through this language to a neoliberal discourse of self-help and self-management; the assumption is that there are always sufficient opportunities for the tenant to rectify their situation. We can see here the operation of the 'bureaucratic field' through which the market is imposed as a criterion of citizenship (Wacquant, 2010). Refusal to engage was seen as self-sabotaging and justifying eviction processes, but also an abdication of the tenants' right to housing.

4.2.4 The Challenge of Non-Engagement

Non-engagement is a form of resistance within a series of processes of exploitation; of debt, of work, and of social reproduction. It is a response to a situation in which the non-engaging tenant is the target of multiple anxieties and pressures produced by these processes which compete for their attention. The proverbial

Ostrich faces a single threat, and buries its head, but the threat to the tenant in rent arrears is not a single one from without they ignore until it is too late. A number of financial, social, and affective entanglements create pressure which provokes forms of wilful forgetting, or diversions from the arrears the landlord is pursuing. As we will see, rent arrears officers were well aware of the impacts these multiple other engagements could have on a tenants wellbeing, willingness, and ability to pay, from the personal circumstances of the individual tenant, or threats of domestic violence, to forms of psychological distress or mental illness; the main obstacle non-engagement presented rent arrears officers and landlords was that they did not know what was causing the tenant to respond in the manner they did. The process of attempting to engage the tenant started from this position; it was therefore necessary to both surveil and attempt to contact the tenant to overcome forms of non-engagement and recover the arrears that the tenant owed, and it is to these processes we will now turn.

4.3 Capturing the Tenant

"I think we just need to be conscious that income recovery officers aren't debt collectors, we're just...our job is to sustain tenancies, and the tenants don't necessarily understand that, they see us as the rent collector, the old fashioned rent collector who goes to the door asking for money, we're not, and if its in place. Actually when tenants come to see us after they've been putting it off they often say 'oh actually it wasn't that bad, you know its alright, you've helped us', and if we've done that earlier, could have saved us a lot of work."
— 'Rick', Income Recovery Officer, 'Benford'

The response to the non-engaged tenant was a long process of attempting to 'open up' the tenant and their life, and use forms of surveillance, experience, and communication to 'capture' the tenant and 'engage' them in the process of rent arrears. The work of 'capturing' the tenant into being involved in the rent recovery process is aimed at producing a particular kind of disposition in the tenant, to get the tenant to feel both positively about the rent recovery process and to make timely repayments. The concept of 'capture' as I am using it here relates to the idea of 'Affective Captation' as used by Deville (2015), who builds on the work of Deleuze

and Guattari (2004, pp.468-523) on the 'apparatus of capture', and the notion of the 'Market Attachement' described thus:

> "All attachment is constantly threatened. This mechanism is central in the question under consideration here. Competition between firms occurs precisely around this dialectic of attachment and detachment. Capturing, 'attaching', consumers by 'detaching' them from the networks built by rivals is the mainspring of competition" (Callon et. al. 2002, p.205)

This description outlines the goals of disciplinary-affective assemblages at work in rent arrears recovery; it highlights precisely the constant and mobile process by which debtors are targeted by competing interests to prioritise debts over one another, and crucially, that affirming and prioritising a particular relationship. A Credit officer at a private landlords firm explicitly situated their work in a context in which these linkages were threatened:

> "A lot of the tenants either don't want to pay at all, it's trying to reinforce that it is a priority debt , and a lot of them don't understand that it is priority debt, that you don't pay your rent you wont have somewhere to live, because a lot of them try and take priority over it with credit cards etc, so it's trying to reinforce and trying to negotiate with them that they do need to be paying their rent, and when they come up with a payment plan that's not acceptable, negotiating a better one." — Credit Control Officer, Private Landlords

It was a similar story at the housing association:

> "Often people will just say; "yeah I've been on holiday, sorry, your rents gonna be late" or "sorry I've spent it on something else". Some people are open and honest about that, some people just outright refuse to pay saying "there are repairs to be done" things like that. Unfortunately we have to take the line of that isn't a valid reason for not paying your rent or an avenue to dealing with those kinds of issues. Some people will not be honest with you, you'll catch them out, their neighbour will tell you they've been away, for example. Other people you just see coming home with bags, bags of shopping. The likes of BrightHouse will take priority, they'd rather pay BrightHouse or those kinds of

companies than rent because they feel that having a 40-inch telly or a large computer or a playstation is more important than rent on the property. I have had tenants say that they would rather pay an 80 pound sky bill than pay their rent."—'Rick'

The officer in this second quote sees the arrears they are owed in competition with other forms of debt and consumption; notably BrightHouse, a rent-to-own company (owned by a private finance firm) that sells large household goods and appliances with high interest rates to customers who have poor credit ratings, and Sky, a television and internet provider. Both firms use debt collection services who have escalation processes of their own. They are also common features of narratives of the wasteful or 'feckless' poor deployed by commentators on the political right in narratives of rent arrears: "If a millionaire went bankrupt but still insisted on shopping at Waitrose and sending his children to private school instead of paying his bills, he would rightly be pilloried." Wrote Camilla Tominey of the *Sunday Express* in 2013, "And yet when it was suggested that people on benefits should question whether they could afford "Sky TV, fags, booze and bingo", a housing association was castigated, rather than those still living beyond their means". While the housing provider is a social landlord that is not in formal competition for large, profitable rents, they still see themselves in effective market competition for their tenants' wages or welfare support payments with other interests. Eviction itself was embedded in this context:

"I think we need to have some evictions, and have them publicised, maybe it's not who's been evicted, but to say; 'look this is what will happen if you choose not to pay your rent and engage with the housing teams, this is what will happen and this is the outcome.' I know that organisations list the amount of evictions they've had and the reasons for them…it wasn't too long ago we almost had an eviction on one landing, and a lot of people were there, the police were there, the tenant wasn't because the tenant was at court, but that week everyone on that landing paid their rent, because they had assumed that an eviction had gone ahead. So I've got no doubt that the money is there, it's just if tenants are spending appropriately and budgeting appropriately. But again that is advice we can give if tenants are engaging"— 'Rick'

It is possible this approach will become further entrenched when Universal Credit payments come into full effect, paying tenants on welfare their housing benefit directly, instead of transferring it to the social landlord, as rent money and other payments all come from the same 'purse'. Housing providers, be they public or private sector are increasingly drawn into viewing their role in competition with other service providers and commercial interests.

'Capturing' a tenant involves getting them to engage in the rent arrears recovery process, and getting them to prioritise and focus on the rent debt above all other debts. In addition to justifying the eviction for the courts, tenants and landlord, escalation processes used by housing associations and other landlords prior to eviction act with this in mind and work to prioritise the debt through a series of contact points. This can be seen when we turn to the specific case of the housing association running the 'Benford' Estate and its escalation processes. The escalation process is mapped out in relation to Benford's housing practices as a combination of automated and interpersonal interactions that combine to prioritise the debt to the tenant, and ground the eviction process in a set of justifying procedures.

4.4 Benford: Escalation

In the next few sections this chapter will follow the rent arrears escalation process used by a single social landlord to illuminate how tenants' dispositions and priorities are managed up to the day of eviction. To 'capture' the tenant, the Income Recovery Officers working on the 'Benford' estate used an escalation process: Benford was in a particular position as it was run by the ALMO on behalf of a trust, and had a number of legal obligations to sustain tenancies and work with other agencies. The ALMO had taken the decision to divide Housing Officer work up into separate teams, each taking on a different aspect of the job: as such the ALMO uses specialised Income Recovery Officers. Each officer was assigned to a patch and had responsibility for working with those tenancies within their patch. The Rent Recovery Escalation processes come into effect when the tenant reaches a certain level and duration of arrears - in the case of the way this estate was managed, 2 weeks. A diagram of the escalation process for a standard tenancy at Benford (provided by an interviewee) follows this pathway before the case goes to court:
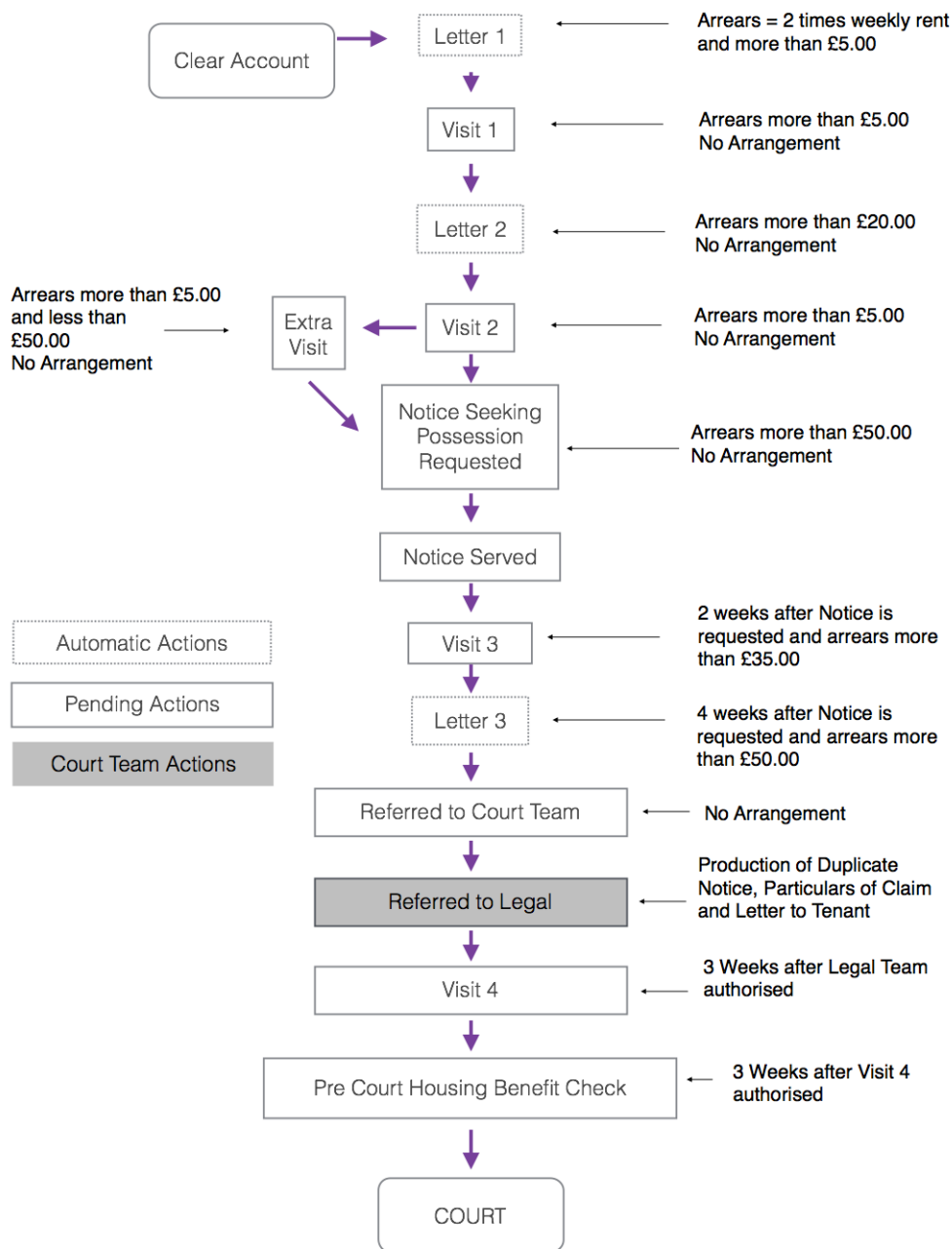
**2. Escalation Procedure used by the Team at Benford
(Reproduced from a flow chart provided by Sasha, Head of Income
Recovery.)**

This flow chart shows how the escalation process is comprised of both automatic and pending actions. Each stage is progressed based on financial criteria being met, and no arrangement being made between tenant and landlord for the repayment of the arrears. A similar process described by an income recovery manager responsible

for overseeing the process at 'Pythias', a Housing Association in the South East of England:

> "There's a massive emphasis on making sure that the income officers are on top of the rent account from the very first instance a tenant comes in. So theres a lot of focus on tenancies that are 0-8 weeks, because if we can get that right it prevents build up of arrears and reduces the workload of the arrears officer, so I think we send out at least 3 letters before we send a notice seeking possession. We also use our visiting income team to carry out face-to-face visits, just before the notice is served, so were doing a lot of phone-based work early on but also we compliment that with a visit, and if needs be we also get our financial inclusion team involved if theres been complex benefit issues, or theres issues with money management or debt, or maybe the resident is not in a position to maximise the benefits they're receiving. So notice is served and then theres an opportunity for the residents to keep to a repayment plan, if there isn't, if we're unable to see the rent account increasing, then what we are able to do is carry out another face to face visit to prevent court…then the decision goes to court followed by eviction." — 'Paul' Head of Income Recovery, 'Pythias' Housing Association

The similarity between the model used by the 'Benford' team and that described at 'Pythias' suggest that this escalation model is a widespread and largely similar one in the social housing sector: indeed much of the structure of this process is based on what is allowed by widely used housing management software tools such as Northgate and Mobysoft Rent Sense. Automatic actions facilitated by these tools in the process are supplemented by visits and checks that are determined by the tenant and their behaviour. Throughout the process the tenants file is updated and streamed down a certain pathway.

In addition to this the 'Benford' team worked with a number of exceptional and mitigating circumstances. Chief among these were "vulnerable" tenants. Vulnerability is a difficult term to define as it changes meaning between agencies and across time. Newcastle City Council (2009, pp11-12), for example, provides a list of groups at risk of being vulnerable, including: Refugees, tenants with Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (for instance sex offenders), people known to be leaving hospital, care, or the armed forces, those with literacy and numeracy problems, those with a

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learning or physical disability, people housed through priority, families with children, and people known to have a social worker or have been registered as statutory homeless by the council in the last 2 years; these are in addition to previous evidence of failing to sustain previous tenancies. As of 2016 Southwark Council (n.d.) defines a 'Vulnerable Tenant' more broadly as "someone who is more likely than the 'average' person to suffer detriment or harm if they become homeless". Vulnerability is a discourse that allows for technical judgements to be made about who should be exempted from the progression, and where finite resources should be allocated.

There could therefore be any number of additional agencies, organisations and practices coming into effect in the decision making process regarding eviction, depending on the specific status of the tenant recognised by the social landlord. Once this process went to court, there were continued a sets of visits and attempts to make contact between the tenant and the landlord depending on both the legal status of the case and the intervention of other agencies. As has already been mentioned part of the aim of the escalation protocol is to establish the reasons for non-payment, which can include vulnerable status and other issues. There are therefore two intertwining processes at work: firstly the automated process through which the tenant is managed in terms of their file on the housing system, and secondly the personal knowledge and interaction derived from the visits. This chapter will now look at these processes and what they entail.

4.5 Benford: Automatic Escalation

The escalation process used by Benford required a base infrastructure of software and filing through which arrears issues and information passed and could be highlighted for the attention of the arrears team. At base, this represented little more than the transfer of an old paperwork file to a digital file for each tenant. However, the development of specialised management and arrears software in the public and private sector means the two have come into closer proximity, and facilitates new kinds of surveillance for engagement. It structured in the legal and justificatory steps that proceeded the tenant towards eviction.

4.5.1 Triggering the Process

Tenants were brought to the attention of the Rent Arrears Recovery Team when they entered 2 or more weeks of arrears. This was constructed off a notional balance used by the team to predict future Housing Benefit payments and ensure early intervention in the arrears process. Cases were brought to the attention of the Rent Arrears Recovery Team via an automated sweep of the rent record on all housing files:

> "We follow an escalation path, that's where our work flow comes from. The program is designed to sweep accounts every sunday, it sweeps the accounts and notifies us by way of a report the accounts that we need to look at, so we follow a very clear path by way of contacting the tenants, a letter or phone call or text message, followed by a visit two weeks later if there is still no payment, or the payment's not been enough, or if the tenant hasn't contacted us. And It goes on like that, another letter, another visit, of course this is a very clear path that we must follow to get the account to court, it's never our intention to get the account to court but we must have included all of these steps before it can go to court, but there are many many other things that we do in addition to this path that we follow."— 'Rick', Rent Arrears Recover Officer, 'Benford'

The rent team used Northgate housing management software, which is used by a number of different social housing providers, and it can be customised to specific needs. The system works by creating a file unique to each tenant and detailing both rent, maintenance and other issues and allowing both tenants and management to log issues and complaints. A similar software tool, Mobysoft, is used by 'Pythias', an Housing Association in the South East, which:

> "drills into the data, and drills into peoples rent accounts and will tell us exactly the accounts we need to be focusing on, so it strips out all those residents that are paying, it strips out all those residents that have full HB, and its just giving us the accounts that we generally need to look at" — 'Paul'

They combine this with another management system called Orchard, which guided each step of the escalation. Rent arrears escalation in both firms is guided by this automated process, flagging cases up to pursue, and initiating the escalation

process by highlighting which tenants should receive letters, and the case is similar in the private sector:

> "So we would look at if it appeared on my arrears report, we'd look at it and pick it up, and we'd do each debt report, so depending on how much they have outstanding, a lot of our tenants are regulated, and do seek housing benefit, so firstly we look and see if there is a housing benefit missing" - Credit Control Officer, Private Landlords

The housing management software used to do this guides the process and progresses the tenant automatically based on the progression of their rent account. In most cases the housing officer using the system looks through the notes attached to the file to see that there are no extenuating circumstances before proceeding with the escalation process.

4.5.2 Automatic Letters and Visit Sheets

The next step is the use of letters which are triggered automatically. In figure 2. (above), the first key element to observe is the presence of three 'automatic' actions centred around the production of letters notifying tenants of their rent arrears. These letters are triggered by a specific set of conditions based on the level of arrears the tenant is in and whether they have come to any agreement with the ALMO. As one team member, 'Rick', mentioned, lack of response to letters is the first sign that a tenant might be heading on a pathway to eviction.

Letters were sent at key points in the process, and gave tenants warning of the consequences of inaction. It is worth noting in the private sector firm, where the Credit Control team were working from a long distance, these letters emphasised a growing urgency with stronger wording.

Letters were part of the scaffolding of escalation, around which the Benford team could structure the rest of their interactions with the tenants: as 'Rick' emphasised they felt the process was "cut and dry"; it had clear structures and pathways to follow. They also gave clear indications of the likelihood of the tenant to address the arrears, and the possibility that court action would be processed, and letters aimed to give the tenant key milestones that they could acknowledge and observe. Finally letters

construct the first layer of a system of prioritisation, on which phone calls and face to face visits could be built.

4.5.3 Filing Software and Visiting the Tenant

When letters failed the computer system in Benford also produced 'visit sheets' for the Recovery Team to follow up on and take to visits. This mostly contained financial information:

> "If I was to visit a property in person, the computer system that we use would allow us to print off what we call a visit sheet that would have any transactions on going back to approximately 3 month, on that I would write any extra information that I would require any information on housing benefit that might be missing, so I can go to the property and be fully prepared to answer any questions the tenant may have, in relation to what's needed. But I would also be looking, preparing to try and enter into an arrangement or direct debit if I could. So I have to have a lot of information with us. It used to be a lot of paperwork but now we're streamlined things so direct debits can be set up on the phone so we don't need to take a form out with us, it's a lot easier now than it used to be, but it's just one piece of paper for each tenancy now with all the information I need." — 'Rick'

The automatic element of the escalation process also provided information and profiled the tenant's case. Along with their rent arrears, this could be supplemented with additional information on the tenant, for instance if they were considered 'vulnerable', or had specific needs. They could also access the housing files to establish whether there were particular legal or personal considerations, as will be seen in an example in the next section concerning domestic violence. From 2013 the team at 'Pythias' were in the process of updating the system they used to make this information readily accessible on the doorstep without requiring the housing officer to look up each file individually before heading to the property:

> "All of our visiting income officers and financial inclusion officers have got an iPad. So they don't really have to come back to the office, so its live, real-time reporting, they're also able to take a payment in someones home, we've

collected something like a quarter of a million, through collecting rent in someones home. Previous to that a tenant had to go to a local shop to make a payment. But also by having an iPad, we can show the resident their rent account, and we can also quickly signpost them different places….and the apps are linked in with the systems that the centralised teams can see, so it feeds back into itself, its always live as well, rem thats been one of the massive plusses for Pythias in the last month, it's much more efficient."— 'Paul', Income Recovery Manager

This system could work offline as well and was a step on from the system used at Benford. It eliminated the need to go back to the housing office and emphasised both mobility and vision; feeding back information to the central office and allowing the income officer on the doorstep to recover income very rapidly, as well as creating an ongoing and developing bureaucratic shadow of the tenant. This was compared to the past system, closer to the Benford team's process: "in a previous life", 'Paul' added, "any officer who went out to see someone one would have to come back to the office, type up their notes and then go and do another visit". Research on these new methods of profiling tenants is sparse and this is an area of developing digital governance that deserves further research. The filing system used by the Benford team allowed them to process and gather information on tenants beyond simple financial data: it added additional notes, and allowed them to take information on both past financial experiences and previous issues the tenant had with the landlord to the tenant's doorstep, and it is to the process that occurs on the doorstep that we can turn.

4.6 Benford: Face-to-Face Visits

Face-to-face contact and forms of interpersonal engagement serve a number of essential purposes alongside the escalation due through letters.

Firstly, they work as an additional mode of surveillance and information-gathering. The housing or Income Recovery Officer attending the property can assess the likelihood that the tenant will engage in the recovery process and will try to reach an agreement with them. But they can also use the opportunity to gather information from neighbours and other local sources of knowledge on if the tenant is

still occupying the property, how and why they are spending the money and other information.

Secondly the visits are an attempt to bridge the gap between what can appear to be a distant and technocratic process of recovery, and the tenant; they serve to renew the attachment of the tenant to the rent owed and highlight the urgency of the eviction. In practice, both of these processes appear to be bundled together, so that surveilling the tenant and renewing connections occur simultaneously: the real aim is to follow up on the pathways through which money flows to the landlord, identify where and how it has been blocked or diverted, and then act to get the tenant to resolve the issue:

> "[We] visit properties in person, telephone, email, probably tailoring it depending on what somebody's preferred method of contact is or what the best response to get from a person. Quite often you can go out and you can visit and you can knock on doors, and you can go back to the same house three four five times and they just don't answer the door and you know that someone's home, so that person, if you try them via telephone, might respond best over telephone, I've got a few people who respond best if you email, and they're really quick and they email right back, but they wouldn't answer their doors quick. I usually find out what's the best method of contacting someone, and contact them where I know they're going to get the best response from."— 'Becky' Income Recovery Officer, Abbeyburn

Nonetheless, it is useful to untangle these entangled processes into distinct processes, in order to understand the dialogue between surveillance and renewing attachment.

4.6.1 Surveilling

The first purpose of face to face engagement and visits is identifying the reasons for the non-engagement of the tenant and establishing what the obstacles to payment of rent are. The recovery officers work with a basic set of information about who the tenant is and what they do, derived from their file on the housing management system. This tells them what the tenant owes, their past record of interactions with the housing association and specifically the Rent Arrears Recovery

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Team. It is the Income Recovery Officer's task to attend the property and establish if the tenant is still living there, and to work out what the reasons for non-payment might be. These sorts of visits had to be planned around specific times of day. At 'Pythias', 'Paul' also emphasised the role timing played in this process especially in relation to the working or lifestyle routines of the tenant: "When its difficult to get hold of residents that can be a bit of a bottleneck…why plan to visit when people aren't there?".

Once in attendance, it's the task of the Income Recovery Officer to assess the situation and gather information. One officer mentioned that they got a 'feel' for when non-payment was likely to happen. I asked what she meant by this, and her reply revealed a number of intersecting affective processes at work:

> "Well, I call it intuition, I don't know if I've done the job a long time and I get a feel for genuine cases, but for example, sometimes I'll go and knock at somebody's house, and sometimes, they're terribly anxious, they want me away, and they're the ones that I focus on, because there's a reason that they want me away from the door, so I'll come back to the office, and i'll look at the house file, so for example, one specific example, was that the person was a victim of domestic violence from her partner, and she suddenly stopped paying, and when I looked at the house file, I'd seen who the partner was, I found out the partner was back on the scene, he was taking the money, and she needed me to be away from the scene so she didn't get into trouble etcetera, so that's what I mean when I say I get a feel for things. Sometimes I'll knock on someone's door and say 'do you realised you're in rent arrears, you've missed last fortnight's payment' for example, and they might give us a genuine answer and say "oh my goodness I completely forgot" or "this is the reason" or whatever, and that's fine, and I'm happy with that. But I think when you're working with people, face to face, you can gauge their reactions and behaviours, that's what mean when I say you get a feel for things. And if that's something that needs to be explored then we've got the resources here to do that" — 'Charlotte', Income Recovery Officer, 'Benford'

The first point to note is the explicit practice of 'intuition' here: the key element is the experiential dynamic at play; the interviewee was not citing any formal protocol, but a messy bundle of affective sensibilities; an ability to 'read' expressions of anxiety

or deflection drawn from previous experience of the disruption of the routine payment scheme.

The second dynamic is the way in which this sensibility was subject to forms of power that extend beyond the landlord-tenant relationship; in this case the anxiety of the woman in the example was an indicator of a deeper lying form of gendered violence that the officer was able to look for in the file, and adjust their escalation expectations accordingly. Surveillance for the arrears recovery team is not only about establishing financial criteria, but about developing an understanding of the webs of power in which tenants exist and working to establish which of those obstruct the payment. Surveilling and observing the tenant was about measuring their disposition and the kinds of techniques the tenant will best respond to.

These forms of engagement and contact for the Benford team clearly required the presence of forms of emotional labour and observational skill, which were derived from experience and knowledge learned on-the-job. This sense of a 'feel' corresponds to an intuitive knowledge developed over time and through personal history built on encounters with tenants and local individuals. Local knowledge was hugely important in both identifying issues and likelihood of non-payment, and identifying potential risks to be flagged for the court team and the bailiff:

> "We'd use the risk indicators that we use, but also local knowledge. So we know that someone has a history of criminality, they've mental health problems, or they're known for drug and alcohol misuse, then we'd use that, and as I say, local knowledge, and we'd go through the house file to see what we've got on that person and what their contacts have been and have they behaved aggressively in the past." — 'Charlotte', Income Recovery Officer

Part of this local knowledge included working with what one officer, 'Rick', referred to as "The stigma that goes with the estate". Working in these conditions meant that officers had to work to both secure repayment of rent but also to mitigate negative associations and stereotypes that circulated with outside agencies (something that is visible in bailiff accounts of the area). This knowledge was historically situated; the recovery officers had an appreciation for how conditions of repayment had changed over time and the kinds of conditions in which people were living:

"There's been a lot of changes in organisation since Ive been here. When if first started here, it was a Labour government at the time and there was a massive economic boom, so quite often we would see people falling into arrears and seeing massive lump sum payments being made to account because credit was quite easily obtained. In most recent times, if you see massive lump sum being paid you think 'loan shark' rather than whereas at that time it was more legitimate lenders. I've seen a lot more people living on literally nil income, where jobseekers and income support has been refused. A lot more hardship, people are struggling and especially since the under-occupation [charge] came into force" — 'Becky'

Attending the property and making visits works to provide information about why payment has not been made depends upon forms of observation and knowledge gathering. This included gathering knowledge from neighbour and colleagues and combining with the files and information held in the system to establish what the obstacles to payment were, but it also meant keeping up with wider social changes and the larger market in low-income services. This process allowed the officer conducting the investigation to make decisions about how, where and when to attempt to engage the tenant in the rent arrears recovery process.

4.6.2 Engaging the Tenant

When approaching a non-paying and non-engaged tenant, the Rent Arrears team had to make decisions based on an ongoing process of identifying, testing and establishing new information. There were numerous ways in which a tenant could fall into arrears, and frequently the escalation process was aimed at encouraging and incentivising the tenant to act to resolve issues. This included offering terms of repayment or agreement that worked along the lines of the tenant and favoured their particular conditions:

"It depends on what the problem is that you're trying to redress and resolve. If it's housing benefit delay issues, getting them to come into the office. If it's a statement, asking housing benefit to reduce the excess and overpayment, things like that, I would try to do that myself direct to housing benefit and try and cut out the middleman of them having to go to housing benefit team.

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Looking at income and expenditure and trying to make an affordable repayment agreement with them. There's no point in somebody promising the earth moon and stars so to speak and promising to pay their rent plus thirty pounds a week if realistically they're then going to struggle paying other bills… So we're looking at something that's affordable and maintainable, and they can pay that every week or fortnight depending on how they're paid." — 'Becky'.

The process of engaging the tenant meant working both with and *through* the tenant to affect the outcomes of bureaucratic procedures tied to behaviour, such as benefits sanctions. This often meant getting tenants to apply for additional benefit support, or applying on behalf of tenants for special measures. This draws in the work of observation and surveillance on two fronts; firstly it demands that the Rent Arrears team follows up on who has paid and checks their accounts:

"The 'cant pay'-ers, we'll look at the reason they cant pay, and if it's because benefits have been sanctioned, we give them appropriate advice on what they need to do to claim hardship allowance, and hardship allowance is a percentage of their benefit, so we expect them to pay that percentage on to their rent account when they get the allowance paid, and I just keep in very close contact, any tenant that I go and visit, I follow it up the next week "Hi I've just checked your rent account, I see that you've made that payment, I see that you've just made that payment, that's super, can we see that you just do that every two weeks" and I'm very specific about how and when they're paying, because it makes a difference in how it is received on to the rent account, and the 'wont pay'-ers I keep in touch even more." — 'Charlotte'

Secondly, in some cases it requires that the Rent Arrears team member gather additional evidence for hardship cases to apply for housing benefit, as was described regarding the case of one individual:

"I've done a DHP form for him - Discretionary Housing Payment [awarded by the Council in certain circumstances to help tenants meet housing costs] - and he's literally, he had deductions from his employment support allowance for his council tax and water rate arrears, so he was receiving 50 pound a week,

by the time he'd paid his 30 pound to his rent, which was his heating costs which was twelve pounds, plus an under-occupation charge at around eleven or twelve, plus three sixty five to his balance, it left him about five pound a week to live on, and he was literally buying a bag of potatoes and some leeks, and making that last for a week. He was using washing up liquid to wash his hair instead of shampoo, and using dry toothpaste to brush his teeth because it goes further." — 'Becky'

This is obviously a fairly empathetic presentation of a difficult case by an officer in a position of relative institutional power in relation to the tenant. It is possible to see in this specific case a microcosm of a wider process of how empathy is utilised by Housing Officers to establish and resolve rent arrears problems, and how austerity-driven policies like the under-occupancy charge, and technical and bureaucratic processes interact with the process of face-to-face engagement.

Engaging with the tenant involved having to strategically use shared feelings to pursue effective rent recovery pathways through a bureaucratic field. Even so, very often tenants would not engage at all unless drastic action was taken that exceeded the normal procedure:

"I never stop trying to engage with them, even when I've got the date for the warrant through, because it's never the end until the bailiff enters the property and takes possession… I'll try every which way, I've worked late, I've worked early in the morning, I've worked weekends to try and contact people, I've even gone as far, and this may not be what I should be doing, I've asked the concierge, if it's in a control block, to cancel their fob, so they have to contact the housing office to reactivate the fob, it's not necessarily something that we should be doing, but I think, I just need to see these people, because there's a way of fixing this and the tenant doesn't realise there's a way to fix this, and we reactivate that fob immediately when they come back to the housing office, but it's just one way that I have before, and on two occasions, tried to get the tenant to contact us." — 'Charlotte'

Such procedures link the tenants' access to property and their non-payment of accounts. This process, as the officer describes, is of dubious legality, but these processes draw the Income Recovery Officer outside of their normal work routine

and into a wider set of interpersonal relationships with the tenant, which tactically use the material geography of the estate to engage the tenant.

4.6.3 Engaging the Benford Community

Surveillance and engagement occurred in a context in which the Rent Arrears Recovery Team was working on the creation of wider awareness campaigns and information projects, and was working in a wider community of the estate:

> "It's very scary. because when universal credit comes in, we will have an enormous rise in rent arrears….because many of our tenants and many tenants across the nation, haven't ever had to manage a budget like that before…so for me it's all about educating the tenants now, in preparation, we're doing a lot of work at the minute, many of our tenants don't have bank accounts they have post office accounts for direct debits." — 'Charlotte'

To this effect the team had started work on 'financial inclusion' schemes which were aimed at standardising the technical processes by which tenants paid through establishing bank accounts and setting up direct debit schemes. This was connected to a community-centred campaigning process aimed at producing particular associations:

> "So we're working with Barclays and Lloyds TSB to set up basic bank accounts with our tenants, in the hope that when universal credit comes in, our campaign with direct debits is huge, we recommend people pay that way, so when universal credit comes in we're just going to change the amount on the direct debit to their full rent, but looking forward, I do feel as though [we] are in a great place and ready, you'll never know but we've put in so many measures to deal with it…we're doing an event on Bonfire night, on the 5 of November, a financial inclusion event, where we'll be working with a lot of our vulnerable tenants, financial health checks, setting up bank accounts and whatever else we need to do with financial inclusion" — 'Charlotte'

This did not mean that the Rent Arrears Recovery Team described a rosy picture of community engagement. In practice their work in the community conflicted with

their role as debt enforcers. One team member described the scene at a community fun day:

> "I think the public view is that we're just all...I don't want to use a rude word, but you know we're just there to be nasty to them really, you know. I think that is changing, I think we're getting a more caring side, but as a rent officer, unfortunately we are seen as the devil. I was with my colleagues at a community fun day, a day in the year when each team had to go down and spend a bit of time on the fun day and when the rent officers went down, when the income officers, um, it was like parting the red sea, nobody wanted to come and talk to us, everybody had their backs to us, everybody had the feeling they were going to be pulled up on the rent. Tenancy and estate officers, they get the fun stuff I guess, they get the interaction with the children. We are seen purely as asking for money that isn't there." - 'Rick'

These comments reflect the fact that a specialised rent arrears team faced a significant problem: their role determined their abilities 'on the doorstep' relating to tenants. They suggest the tenants knew when a member of the team arrived that they would have the collection of rent as their primary aim. This presents a serious issue that the Income Recovery Officers had to overcome on a daily basis. Renewing attachment to rent as a priority debt also meant renewing attachment to the Rent Arrears Recovery Team as individuals and recognising their authority and capacities.

4.6.4 Face-To-Face Engagement

In this aspect of the rent arrears recovery process we can start to see the interplay of formal and informal practices that characterises the day of eviction itself. But, more critically than that, it shows that a tenant facing eviction will have been worked upon and have interpersonal interactions with the landlord potentially dating back for months and even years in some cases. Each case is unique to the tenant, and part of the aim of Rent Arrears Officer is to first establish the reasons why they are addressing such a case of non-payment, and then work upon the tenant to come to an agreement with the tenant. Surveilling and developing knowledge about the tenant, what their personal and financial circumstances are, and how to contact and engage them, combines with a set of empathetic and coercive practices to

encourage the tenant to take action on payment; when the tenant failed to satisfy the criteria of the escalation process, the case was handed to the court team, and then progressed to the courts and the day of judgement on the case.

4.7 The Day of Judgement

As has been shown in studies (such as those reviewed in Chapter 1) of the UK and other contexts, citizenship and property are deeply linked. While the legal texts enshrine certain rights, the remains a vast amount of autonomy in the courtroom, and judges exercise their own brand of political reason when it comes to making judgements over the subject of the law and the rights to the home. The judge arbitrates in the most literal sense of the term between the rights of the home and the rights of property, doing so through a combination of case law and personal sensibility.

4.7.1 The Home and Protection from Eviction

The primary textual distinction in English and Welsh law is between the home as a site of rights, and the home as a commodity. The home in English and Welsh law is protected through an assemblage of different legal instruments (Blandy and Goodchild, 1999). This tangle of legal instruments means that charting a singular narrative progression of an individual facing eviction through the legal system would require its own major study, as the variations for the tenant can be vast and substantial depending on factors such as formal citizenship and welfare status, and other determining factors behind they kinds of tenancy they have access to.

The 1977 Protection From Eviction Act emphasises the difference between a residential occupier and a trespasser. For an individual to be afforded the rights granted under the 1977 act they must conform to the status of an occupier:

> "In this section 'residential occupier', in relation to any premises, means a person occupying the premises as a residence, whether under a contract or by virtue of any enactment or rule of law giving him the right to remain in

occupation or restricting the right of any other person to recover possession of the premises" 1(1)

The conditions of the 1977 act - the conditions of protection from immediate forcible eviction without legal process - depend on the ability of the party being evicted to prove to the courts that they are a legal residential occupier under a number of previous acts. While this is often accepted at the start of proceedings by all parties, the status of residential occupier is not always readily accessible to all occupants of all kinds of housing. The 1977 act gives no protection to residents who share a home with their landlord, and many travellers and squatters fall outside of its jurisdiction. This means a substantial number of UK residents do not have protection under the act and can be evicted through common law.

4.7.2 The Judicial Process and the Decision

The judicial process is one field in which there has been some extended study of the eviction process. The sociological/legal study of court processes has revealed the particular significance of the judge. A small network of UK-based researchers has approached the problem of judicial decision making regarding possessions claims in recent years. In a study conducted in 2006 by Cowan, Blandy et. al., a number of judges on the county circuit were interviewed regarding their decisions on repossession orders. From this the authors of the study constructed an illustrative typology of four types of judging style; liberal, patrician, formalist, and 'idiosyncratic'. This rather simple empirical study highlights the varied nature of judicial decision, and emphasises the way in which legal decision enacted in text is not always carried cleanly through judicial processes.

We need to view the judicial process itself as a structured series of tests and examinations, each designed to manifest and remove an obstacle to the eviction of the tenant, often operating under conditions of high stress and limited resources. Cowan and Hitchings (2007) drawing on the same set of interviews, explain this through Lipskys work on the way street-level bureaucracy acts in a constrained manner that limits the idealist aspirations of laws and statutes. The notion of 'worthiness' accorded by judges, often using "gut feeling", is applied to individual landlords and tenants:

"Our sample DJs [District Judges] used a spectrum of occupier worthiness. At one end, all occupiers were worthy because this was social housing and deviant behaviour was therefore forgivable; at the other extreme, the contract was sovereign and its breach unforgivable. Generally, the construction of the worthy occupier was in tune with neo-liberal concerns broadly coalescing around governing understandings of responsibility. A worthy occupier, then, was a worthy consumer; those unable to act as consumers – the can't pay – might also be worthy. On the other hand, the unworthy were the 'won't pay' brigade, the 'anti-consumer'." (ibid. p.374)

The debtor or tenant who 'refuses to pay', refuses help or assistance, and 'puts their head in the sand' is a recurring theme at every level of social and private housing eviction work and enforcement in the interviews I have conducted, and reflects both a neoliberal discourse of self-help which Cowan and Hitchings identify in their research, and implies an affective disposition Ive already sketched out.

As Hunter, Nixon, and Blandy (2008) emphasise, the sheer volume of cases has a significant impact on how legal decisions are made:

"A district judge may, on any given morning, have up to 60 housing possession cases to decide. The judge is asked to decide whether to evict a tenant or let him or her stay, possibly on terms relating to the payment of rent. In over half those cases the tenant does not turn up. Where the tenant appears, he or she may be represented by someone from a duty desk operating in the court, but otherwise is unlikely to have legal representation. The landlord will probably be represented by a housing officer rather than a lawyer. Given that 60 cases must be decided in three hours, the judge has about three minutes to hear any evidence and make a decision in each case. In practice where tenants do turn up, more time will be spent on the case, leaving less time for those where the tenant does not." (p. 77)

As the authors of the paper continue, judicial decisions therefore tend to depend, at least in part, on the particular social and cultural leanings, as well as the experiences of the judges. English Judges tend to come from a predominantly white british and male background (as well as having access to the substantial legal training and experience necessary to achieve the office) the 2011 Lords Constitution

Select Committee report into Judicial appointments found that out of the 444 District Judges active at the county courts level 21 were considered 'Black and Minority Ethnic' in the report, and 113 were women. The cultural and emotional significance of the home for defendants tends to feature little in judicial decisions, and Bright (2010) concludes "there is little evidence they consider the impact that losing the home will have" in most cases; preferential treatment might not be conferred due to perceived consequences for the tenant, but due to assumptions about the relative belief in the status of certain social groups as worthy, and the action of the individual tenant in line with assumptions about social worth.

What many of these sociological studies of judicial decision emphasise, is the *political* elements of the law also lie *within the judicial process itself*. Not only might a well resourced, well educated tenant from a privileged social group be able to attend on the day of the hearing and present themselves as an active participatory 'consumer' to receive preferential treatment, but changing, concentrating, accelerating or decelerating the judicial process can be a powerful tool of political governance over the court system. The late opening of courts, advice to 'disregard normal sentencing and punishment of offenders' and the use of benefit sanctions for families who had a member involved in the disturbances following the 2011 riots (Hancock and Mooney 2013) is perhaps the most public example of the political administration of court proceedings. But in the analysis presented by researchers of English repossession proceedings, court services such as administrative, cleaning, and maintenance work also take on a political characteristic; they affect the efficiency, and therefore the timing, process and the affective atmosphere of the courtroom itself.

Factors such as the outsourcing of court services have the potential to impact on the outcome of judicial decision, as do conditions outside the courtroom; a sudden influx of repossession cases, or conversely a fall-off in cases, can effect the capacity of a judge to maintain a degree of fidelity to the text of the law. Finally, in less formal terms, there is a certain sobering irony to the way in which these studies of judicial decision have shown that even the most meagre academic attention paid to the exact text of the law is likely to be vastly more substantive than that paid by most judges and legal professionals when addressing the majority of individual repossession cases.

4.7.3 The Law: Conclusion

The legal decision to evict, appeals to the legal decision, and the conditions under which that decision are made, are distributed *throughout* the eviction process. I want to consider eviction law not as a singular moment of decision, but as a tangle of affective sensibilities, through what Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos (2013) terms *lawscape,* or the way in which the law acts to produce, and is acted upon by, a 'distribution of the sensible'. This might somewhat serve to obscure a much more simple point; that the English legal system at the county court level is bereft of any recognisable deliberative aspect, that the judge is not a philosopher-king who broods on each case, or even a simple interpreter of the law, but a flesh-and-blood bureaucrat who presides over numerous cases a day. It would strike even the most cursory reader than in such circumstances, mistakes are made, prejudices enter into the decision, and the working life of the court holds sway over legal principle.

The case arrives at the court with a set of knowledge-power relations that bracket the request for an eviction and give it legal context and meaning, and the legal decision seeps in to the totality of the eviction process. Very often, the day of eviction itself might be the first moment at which a challenge to the legal process emerges; interviewees mentioned factors which could delay eviction, such as the tenants poor mental or physical health or disability, might often only be noticed on the day of eviction. In other cases, weeks of engagement with a housing officer and various other agencies might give the tenant a particular significance in the eyes of the judge.

The law is in many ways a fleeting process in terms of time, but it anchors, grounds, and 'incorporates' the process of eviction. Without a writ, the bailiff trying to evict would be acting with no more authority than any other citizen; with the writ, the bailiff takes on a legal mantle and 'carries out' the writ. But between the judgement and the arrival of the bailiff there is not an empty time; the housing association and landlord can continue to act on the conditions laid out in the writ to recover their rent or come to agreement with the tenant. We shall return to Benford to see how this takes place.

4.8 Benford: Court To Eviction

In the event that the tenant either does not respond or fails to keep to agreements in the escalation process, the file is handed to the court team and a Notice Seeking Possession is served. This was not the end of the efforts of the Team to recover the income or prevent the eviction. In the case of 'Benford', there were four to five potential outcomes to a court process; the court finding that the team had failed to satisfy the criteria for eviction (in which case the arrears would be referred back to the team), the court providing a straightforward possession order, or two separate kinds of suspended possession orders based on the situation of the tenant and work to resolve the case: The first assumes a suspended possession order terminates a secure tenancy and renders the tenant a "tolerated trespasser", but in the second the judge is not obligated to provide a date for possession, thus giving the ALMO possession in principle but not rendering the tenant an unlawful trespasser in the process (Waterworth 04/02/2011). The tenant would usually receive a letter worded in accordance with the particular form of order given, specifying their rights if they do not comply with the conditions of the order.

Up until the day of eviction there are numerous attempts to contact and negotiate with the tenant to get them to resolve the eviction, and a tenant may seek a stay of eviction on the date the possession order is eventually set for. Prior to the eviction there is usually a 'sustaining tenancies' meeting, which gathered any relevant professionals and representatives and, if possible, the tenant together to discuss if the tenancy is viable and what the obstacles to repossession might be. If the sustaining tenancies meeting cannot come to a conclusion, the eviction proceeds. One member of the 'Benford' team described this process:

> "So far this year I've had three, eviction really is a last point of call, it's a real last resort. And I've had people where they've literally, we've had the warrant through, the bailiff's been booked, the joiner's been booked, and in advance of that the bailiff hand delivers a letter to the property outlining when the evictions planned to take place, which is ten days before. As soon as that's received, cause there's a sustaining tenancy meeting, I go out, knock on the door, and try and get them to come to the office for an appointment, and send them a letter out with a confirmed time, so if they still haven't responded to that, and the eviction's due to go ahead, I've had people like the evictions due at half

eleven, they've went to court at 11 o'clock on that morning to make an appeal, and nine times out of ten if they make an appeal and go to court, the judges are quite favourable to them, it's just if you don't respond. And similarly I've had cases where people have come and have agreed to withdraw by consent to prevent that going ahead to someone who's in their home." — 'Charlotte'

As such the case going to court and the decisions made by the judge are not the end of the efforts by the team to engage the tenant, and the team saw the process as ongoing up until the moment they attended the property with the bailiff to take possession. We can also see how in these comments, the officer justifies and grounds the day of possession in the negotiation and engagement process leading up to it.

4.8.1 The Day of Eviction and After

On the day of eviction the Income Recovery Officer from the Benford Team attends the property with the bailiff, a locksmith and other supporting agencies, to take possession as a representative of the landlord. The officer then refers the evicted tenant, if they are still present, to other services, such as homelessness support. It is important to note that in most cases the Rent Arrears Recovery Team maintained little contact with the former tenant after eviction but referred the tenant to other services:

“Salvation Army on ___ road, the YMCA, and the housing advice centre, especially if someone has children. But we do, when we get an eviction date through, our court team also notify the housing advice centre. And they already know so anybody who's faced with an eviction, they contact them to try to set up a discussion and a helpline." — 'Becky'

'Pythias' took a slightly different approach, usually sending a different housing officer to the officer responsible for the patch to sign documents and take possession. A similar approach of referring tenants to services was used, but there was little follow-up. In the private sector, the day of possession was the end of the contact the landlord had with the tenant; the contract was over and even recovering outstanding arrears was seen as largely cost-inefficient: "you're either going to get the property

back, or the money back, but not both" the Income Recovery Manager at 'Plater'
confirmed. For the 'Benford' case, while the team maintained contact and
engagement with the tenant up until the day of eviction, to all intents and purposes
the Rent Arrears teams role was at an end once they had taken possession of the
property.

4.9 Benford: Conclusions

Returning to the Flow Chart (see Figure 2.) with which this outline of the
Escalation process at 'Benford' started, we can see how the interlocking automated
and human elements interact. The housing management software and housing file of
the tenant provides the scaffolding around which the Rent Arrears Recovery Team
acts. Members of the the team perceived this process as "clear" or "Cut and Dry",
and deviated little from it. The process served several functions. Firstly it provided
clear tests and evidence for a court case to be brought before a judge. Housing
Associations and Social Landlords have specific legal requirements and checks that
they must fulfil before a possession order can be awarded. Unlike the private sector
the Benford team had to establish these criteria, including obligations to 'vulnerable
tenants' had been met before they reached court.

 Secondly the escalation procedure worked to justify the eviction to the team
themselves: eviction was seen as a "last resort" and the team could therefore present
themselves as validated in taking a case to court. These first two processes of
legalising and legitimising the eviction, combined with the third aspect of the process
I am covering here: the escalation process aimed to act upon the tenant, both to try
to 'capture' and 'engage' the tenant in resolving the rent arrears process, and clearly
establish and justify the reasons for their eviction when the time came.

The escalation process was one of constantly testing, surveilling, and gathering
information on the tenant to measure their likelihood of payment; this included
producing a sense of urgency and necessity and getting the tenant to prioritise the
debt over others. At the same time it worked to go through key stages and tests to
create a legal case. These two processes converged properly at key points; in the
serving of notices seeking possession, in the serving of legal notices, and finally in
the arrival of the bailiff on the doorstep. In cases like Benford the bailiff arrives at the
end of a long process of emotional management of the tenant, in which their arrival

has been given a meaning and a context by the preceding work upon the tenant through the escalation process.

4.10 Affective Management and Lawful Violence: Conclusions

Eviction is unlocalisable within, and inseparable from, an eviction *process*. To situate a forced eviction as resting solely within the 'day of eviction' or even a specific moment, for instance, where someone crosses the threshold of their home for the last time, or when the property changes hands, is to abstract a particular action from the set of processes that created it and enabled its enactment. As Didier Fassin argued in the case of the police, acts of violence have a set of enabling conditions underpinning them (2013, p.137). Escalation processes like those used on the Benford Estate enable and structure the actions that happen on the doorstep.

Forcible eviction in this context is grounded in both a legal order and an emotional and 'moral' logic. In offering opportunities to the tenant and following an automated pathway, the landlord can both jump through the legal loopholes prerequisite to an eviction happening, and justify the eviction in the refusal of the tenant to respond to attempts to engage them. These practices create an intuitive sense about the worthiness of the eviction action; they provide a *sense* of fairness-the tenant has been offered opportunities to engage and come to an agreement with the social landlord at every step of the eviction process.

This legal order and moral logic is framed by a technical process of escalation of varying intensity and sophistication. Automated software and ingrained sets of intuitive and surveilling practices allow the landlord to proceed through particular pathways towards the eviction. In the case study presented in this chapter, the Rent Arrears Recovery Team was guided through a process determined by housing software, and used their past experience of the rent arrears recovery process to work out and overcome the obstacles to repayment. This process sees the tenant as being torn between different priorities as an economic actor: other debts, consumer choices, and their housing situation. This encouraged a somewhat paternalistic approach in which the tenant is viewed as feckless, or incapable of self-control in the face of an overwhelmingly consumerist society. This was explicit in concerns about the introduction of Universal Credit. It was therefore established that the task of the housing association was to work to emphasise and renew the tenant's attachment to their social priorities in terms of housing. Crucially in this process, the tenant was

treated as a consumer making a choice between multiple options, rather than a citizen with an inherent right to housing. The market is imposed onto citizenship rights to housing throughout a bureaucratic process, a key feature of Wacquant's description of the operation of neoliberal policy (2010).

Eviction 'on the doorstep' comes at the end of a process of affective management of the tenant. Following Anderson's claim that affects are the object of knowledge and targets of intervention (2014, p.24), I wish to suggest that the production of feelings of urgency, a 'sense of priority' and the escalating tonality of threat used in the process of arrears recovery constitutes the first part of a series of attempts to 'capture' an affective disposition during an eviction. When the bailiff arrives on the doorstep, they continue this process of intervening to produce and coerce particular responses from the tenant. The bailiff 'inherits' both information (risk assessments, financial data, and other necessary details), legal powers, and what might justifiably be termed (following Raymond Williams (1977)) a 'structure of feeling' from the rent arrears team when they arrive. Having followed the escalation process up to the day of eviction, in the next chapter, we can therefore turn to see how dynamics of feeling and coercion are mobilised by County Court Bailiffs to conduct evictions.

Chapter 5: Bailiffs at the Door

5.1 Work on the Doorstep

Following on from the previous chapter charting the process of managing the tenant up to the court date, this chapter turns to the process of eviction on the day of repossession itself. Following the process of affective management the tenant experiences both prior to and after the court issues a writ of eviction, the day of repossession both introduces new actors, but also continues and inherits the tenant as a mobile target of affective management. The process of physically removing a person from the property brings into force new techniques of administrating eviction which, like the technologies covered in the previous chapter, use technical manuals, guidelines and software-sorting systems, but also mobilise new kinds of *intuitive* politics.

Central to this process is the County Court Bailiff. The term 'bailiff' etymologically refers to the concept of a fortification (bailey), and the concept of a bearer of the law (the symbolism of a 'bail' or 'bale'; a bundle for carrying). The bailiff arrives on the doorstep both bearing the writ, enforcing the space of the property, and 'bundles' together the eviction process, the legal process, and their own histories of past evictions. What can appear to the evicted as a major rupture and emotional trauma appears to the bailiff as a renewed iteration of previous challenges. At the same time, the bailiff also perceives each individual eviction as unique. There is therefore a tension at work; the bailiff makes the strategic and tactical linkages between evictions, re-using tactics, but also works to evacuate the political and structural implications of their work through de-linking each case from the previous. But the bailiff is not the only actor at work on the day of repossession; through the persistence of multiple agencies involved in the eviction, from the landlord to joiners and locksmiths, to dog handlers and mental health specialists, evictions become a binding moment for a series of diverse skills and histories that align to enforce the political economy of space. The day of repossession is therefore a *constitutional* event for space and sovereignty.

The court is a workplace which has its own training, mundane routines, stresses, and bureaucratic procedures which work to contextualise each eviction. The court is, importantly, the main base of County Court Bailiff activity and determines much of their interactions. It is where the routine of debt collection, writ

enforcement, and eviction is mapped out and planned, and it is a convening space for the bailiff team to share their experiences on 'the doorstep'.

The 'doorstep' is understood in this chapter as the point of concentrated power at which a series of strategies and tactics are brought to bear. The *strategies* at work are highly formal, and have strict training and legal protocols to be carried out. The bailiff does not know what they will encounter when they arrive at the property, and this anxiety is managed through a discourse of risk at the court: the dangers posed by toxic chemicals, diseases, pets or working animals, and architectural instability are both material threats and also forms of anxiety for the bailiff, and are combined with forms of human resistance in a risk indication and anticipation system. In distributing the handling of these risks, multiple agencies are brought in to minimise risk and support the eviction process.

But *tactics* are less formal, and rely on forms of surveillance and bodily management. These are the *intuitive* processes of eviction. I use the term *intuitive* here, following from the work of Berlant, to refer to a set of strategies for feeling that emerge out of an encounter between affective experience and history. Historicising affect involves a dialectical exchange between both what we might recognise as a a kind of 'world-historical' process and the 'personal-historical'; how the experience of time and events changes to increase or decrease the power of bodies to act in particular ways. Intuition consists of 'workplace experience', but also acts within and through the body itself, shaping it within the present. Intuition is an important form of affective 'glue' which binds the eviction process together at key points of weakness and attaches it to the history of the eviction agents. But intuition is also how the experiences and social meanings of the eviction, and previous evictions, are formed. In short, what appear to be instinctual unguided decisions carry deep ideological significance.

Finally, I turn to the forces of *resistance* at work that shape these preceding processes. I will try to show how each strategy and tactic acts in anticipation and response to forms of implicit and explicit resistance at work. I understand resistance as coming from 'outside the diagram' in Deleuzes terms, shaping and forming how the agencies of eviction develop and articulate their practices.The day of eviction is the moment at which a the trajectory of the evicted person and the trajectory of the evicting agencies are brought into a concrete opposition. It is a moment that both gives the law and the market meaning, and shapes and reproduces the disciplinary agencies of eviction. We can now begin to follow the trajectory of the bailiff.

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5.2 The Court Office and the Working Day

At some point in most cases, an eviction takes the form of a writ of repossession on the desk of a County Court Bailiff. The County Court deals with civil matters and handles a variety of cases from business disputes and compensation to debts and orders against trespass. The County Courts system works through local courts which each have a bailiff manager and a bailiff team attached to them. There are seven regions for the County Courts; Wales, Northwest England, Northeast England, Southeast England, Southwest England, the Midlands, and London, and District Judges sit within any of these. Bailiff teams are allocated to a particular administrative area within these jurisdictions and the bailiff manager usually has an office or desk at a particular court in the region. The bailiff team interviewed were based out of the bailiff manager's office in a central court office in a major regional city, and covered 3 counties, including a large rural area, 2 cities and 3 large towns.

5.2.1 The County Court Office

To the visiting outsider, the county court offices are a somewhat distressing revelation of the materiality of the law. To enter the building, I had to meet the bailiff manager at the rear gate, after signing in with a security guard. The internal architecture of the building appeared labyrinthine, and the route to the office took us past the judges' entrances to the courtrooms and through several different sets of secure doors and corridors. The office itself was an open-plan space with a large archival paper filing system on one side; a flow of paper pervaded the office as writs, and case files and other items were carried through the office to their respective courtrooms, filing locations, and desks. But perhaps most notable was the normality of the office itself: it appeared at first glance much like any other workplace and its open plan layout reflected contemporary workplace sensibilities, exemplified in the motivational posters reflecting positive-thinking slogans on the wall, while other decorations appeared to be the product of team-building exercises and workshops.

In the UK there is now a Court Standards and Design Guide which lays out the kinds of courtroom requirements and, by proxy, the kinds of office spaces they require:

"The *Guide* provides an excellent case study in micro-regulation of the smallest details of the everyday life of the court. The current version of the manual is the most comprehensive to date and provides standardised templates for all Magistrates, County and Crown Courts. It is a lengthy document containing a series of illustrations and text which prescribe in minute detail how the internal space of all publicly funded courthouses should be configured…one emerges at the end of reading the *Guide* with an intricate knowledge of such things as the size of the mirror to be positioned in the judges' private toilets and the number of toilet roll holders to be installed" (Mulcahy, 2007, p.390).

Many County Court buildings in the UK, including the one I visited, precede the issuing of the first edition of this guide in 2004 and reflect the architectural sensibilities of the period under which they were established, and the internal office spaces are therefore very different depending on the court building.

Mulcahy's analysis of the design guide nevertheless reveals a primary concern of contemporary courtroom designers; that the environment, the 'sensible' everyday life of the court, matters to the content of the law. This design was altered in the court I visited by both the activities of the court management putting up posters and notices, and the presence of private firms at the court. The outsourcing of court services to the security firm G4S had a notable visual impact on the court; many employees, including the security guard on the gate, wore G4S branded lanyards and clothing, and G4S logos appeared on waste bins and posters; there was a visual divide between the outsourced staff and the essential civil service staff employed by HMCTS in the court. In the County Courts G4S provide "more than 150 maintenance, catering, cleaning, security and energy management services to over 340 court, tribunal and administration buildings across the Midlands, Wales and the North of England" (G4S 28/09/2011). Court design is understood implicitly by the Standards and Design Guide to be productive of what we can call a certain atmosphere of the law; an intensive site for the reproduction of the 'lawscape'. The court offices create certain kinds of atmosphere through their design and use.

5.2.2 The Process of The Writ in the Office

The court office was constantly reproduced through the activity within it; the process of serving writs and managing paperwork. This paperwork formed a central part of the bailiff's labour. The ordering of writs is crucial to the correct legal handling of a repossession case. Without correct notice of the repossession and a writ of possession awarded by the court the eviction cannot go ahead lawfully, and the bailiff has no powers of eviction. The bailiff also has to orchestrate and organise the repossession. This begins with printing off the warrants the court has awarded:

> "We print off the warrant, most warrants these days come off what's called PCOL (Possession Claims OnLine) so they're issued online, and we'll print them off in the morning. Occasionally you do get, for ASBO matters, ones that are issued at the court. We'll receive the PCOL warrant for an area, normally they come in batches, you end up with 3 or four a day, I'll look at them and organise them into applicable areas, so if the postcode's XX3, you'll put all the Postcode XX3s together. I'll then pick a day when I'm going to serve the eviction notice, which is 14 days prior to when I'm actually gonna perform the eviction. SO for example, if it was the first of the month I was going to deliver it, I would say, right, I'm gonna set that eviction for the 15th" — 'Dean', bailiff.

Then, significantly, the warrants are mapped out by the bailiff, creating a geography of eviction for the day and the week:

> "I would then grid reference all the warrants so I know exactly where they are and how they'll pan out together, and then I'll allocate a time and a date to them, so again, for the example of the 15th, I'll set them half an hour apart, so if I've got three, I might do the first one at 11 o'clock, the second one at 11:30, and the third one at 12 o'clock"-'Dean'

The production of the map shapes the routine of the bailiff, who then notifies the landlord and the tenant via two further forms:

> "I'll then go onto the system, and I'll create two documents; the first is called an AI, which is a notice of appointment, which goes out the claimant informing

them of the time and date of the eviction, I'll post that out to the claimant, along with a copy of the risk assessment form, and it also has a slip on saying if they feel there's going to be any extra resources needed they need to contact either myself, or the bailiff manager or the court manager to inform us. Generally it's myself, sometimes it's the bailiff manager; I've never known anyone to contact the court manager because the court manager's probably going to forward that call through to us anyway cause they're not the ones organizing. It also states that it is upon the claimants responsibility to organise any outside contractors, i.e. locksmiths, dog handlers, structural engineers, I've had fire brigade, you name it; I've had them there, it just depends on the situation" — 'Dean'

The tenant is informed by the notice of eviction, which has to be served at least seven days

"The second document I'll produce is whats called the notice of eviction, which is sent to the defendant and any other occupiers; the reason I stressed any other occupiers is sometimes you get absentee landlords, who will be renting the property to a tenant, and if you just come up with the landlords name, they wont open it, so if you have 'any other occupiers' on, and make it clear, then obviously you've done good service to them, because they need to know as well. I'll print two copies of the notice of appointment - one copy goes with my warrant, and one copy goes to the claimant, and I produce three copies of the notice of eviction - one copy goes inside the warrant, one I post out, and then 14 days prior to the eviction date - its seven legally, but we try to do 14 for ourselves, and for them - I'll hand deliver an eviction notice to the door. I'll then mark up what day I served it, and how I served it, so it might be that I met someone so it'll be 'served Defendant 1', it might be that I served it through the letterbox so it'll be 'served letterbox', just depending on the situation at the time" — 'Dean'

Particular kinds of notice can require multiple copies in many cases (Bailiff Manual 2013, 33). Writs of eviction are just one part of the bailiff's role at the court, which includes collecting debts, enforcing tax and serving divorce proceeding notices. And there are separate procedures and notices for each of these. Different

kinds of ownership, particularly absentee landlordism, presented a problem for the bailiff, as he interjected when describing this process:

> "The only time I might do something different is again, with absentee landlords, I might get an alternative address, so I'll also post one out to the alternative address. I don't go out to the alternative address because that might be in Ireland, sometimes we've had ones in Spain, and obviously I don't think the court are going to spring for me the mileage to go across to Spain. So that's generally how we set the evictions." — 'Dean'

Paperwork in general was seen as stressful and frustrating. When asked about stresses, 'Seth' the Bailiff Manager replied:

> "I think a lot of stress comes from if I come in and we cannot get stuff done in court. But most of my stress is in the office here. You're coming in and you've got to hunt for warrants and stuff like that, which is quite normal 'cause we've got that many people dealing with warrants."

The critical legal scholar Patricia Tuitt (2005) has drawn on Actor Network Theory (ANT) approaches to explore how legal files have the ability to effect, divert and disrupt human action and produce emotional sensibilities:

> "We know that technologies excite a range of emotions and responses. Some fear them and are wary of them, others are fascinated, some are obsessed, and others are simply bored or baffled by them. Rarely do technologies give rise to an impulse to care. Legal technologies are no exception. The legal file is no exception. The file is one of the oldest of the legal profession's technologies… It is no small wonder then that the legal file is a central clog in the organization of any legal practice." (pp.122-123).

Unlike a legal file, a writ isn't just a tabulation but also an empowering document. The process of the legal decision invests the writ with certain powers within a certain timeframe (seven days notice before a set date, with 14 days in 'best practice' terms), and the practicalities of the court office situate that writ within a particular daily routine. The writs are mapped against time and space, with times for travel

between each enforcement action accounted for. By these means the rhythms of the court mesh into the rhythms of the city. The wider routine of the court and the working day of the bailiff therefore comes into play in the way evictions are enforced.

5.2.3 The Working Day

The interviews I conducted happened at 08:00 am in the morning, when the bailiffs were in the court building conducting morning preparation, which included mapping the route for the day, according to the time and location of the possession action and conducting 'callouts': ringing round claimants on possession actions to check they still wanted to pursue them. The warrants are then printed off. The morning was also a meeting time for the bailiff team and gave them opportunity to share stories, experiences and frustrations;

> "in the morning, that's our letting off steam period, and we're all sitting together, and we'll say oh 'this happened, and this happened' and 'would you believe it, you ever seen this before' and sometimes if we get complacent our section will say 'oh you're making a lot of noise' and we'll say 'yeah, we are, but as of half ten, we're off by ourselves doing God knows what against God knows who, so if you don't mind, for an hour here, we're just going to let off steam at each other and have a bit of a laugh, a bit of a vent about things, discuss situations' and that, in a sense, is the team itself." - 'Dean'

By 10:00-10:30 am the bailiffs left the office and went off to follow the routes they'd set out for the day. This meant that mornings were one of the few times the bailiff team was all together and able to meet within working hours. Morning meetings are a point of common knowledge exchange and interest, but also clearly formed, for this bailiff at least, part of the 'inside' of the court against which the work conducted outside the court was set.

The work conducted outside the court takes up the majority of the day for the bailiff. This work includes both eviction actions but also other kinds of enforcement. Bailiffs spend a large amount of time driving between various repossession actions and serving notices. At the end of each day, Bailiffs are expected to submit an EX97 daily record sheet, recording each action for the day, including visits made, processes served, returns submitted, money taken, miles travelled and time spent in

the office or court on the day (Bailiff Manual, 2013, p.17). These are intended to be filled out after each action (rather than compiled at the end of the day). They also keep a record and justification of any deviations from the route and risks encountered during the actions on the day.

5.2.4 Evictions as a Routine

When discussing enforcement with both the County Court Bailiffs and the High Court Enforcement Officer I interviewed, it was difficult to maintain the boundary between eviction actions and other kinds of possession action, and interview answers often drifted between the two. Evictions and repossessions were part of a greater working day, and did not stand apart from other kinds of action as exceptional. This is notable because (as Crane and Warnes' (2000) have shown) for many evicted persons, the eviction constitutes a traumatic break within everyday life. By contrast, for the bailiff the eviction is part of a day that includes multiple other legal activities which have their own schedule and timing. The working of the court office tries to structure the service of writs, and the day of the bailiff into a synchronised set of repetitions and re-iterations. However, these routines and repetitions spilled over, outside the working day, into the private time of the bailiff.

5.3 Taking the Job Home

Despite the routine and the bureaucratic structures of the court office, Bailiff work also 'spilled over' into private time, with cases called in 'after hours' on the working day:

> "We don't have flex time so when we finish at a certain time that's when we finish, but our mobile phone stays on… An average day say, I could finish at 4 o'clock, but when I get home I get a phone call at 8 o'clock after I've got in from work and I'll still deal with that. Technically we don't have to, but in reality it makes our lives a lot easier if you're not trying to play tag with someone who's left you a voicemail." — 'Dean'

These comments point to a common social experience of work facilitated by the expansion of personal communication technology: the bailiffs were doing extended,

unpaid work from home outside of hours. This reflects a similar set of experiences observed in forms of 'immaterial' or 'intellectual' labour in the cultural and educational sectors that Melissa Gregg has catalogued in her study *Work's Intimacy* (2013). Work demands were just one of the ways bailiff's job and their social status permeated their life outside the daily routine. Both the County Court Bailiffs I interviewed and the HCEO mentioned that their social status as a bailiff had some impacts on their social life. This included negotiating minor acts of resistance and opposition in everyday conversation, and handling the social stigma attached to the job in spare time:

> "I play rugby. And I train. I do a lot of gym work, and I play rugby. But I just do what anyone does; I sound like [2007 police comedy film] *Hot Fuzz*- 'my perfect sunday'. I do like, I spend time with my fiancé and my dogs and that's nice, and I play rugby at the weekends and that gets any sort of tension out of you, and I'll train every night and that gets tension out of me. And I'll just do what normal people do, I'll go out at the weekend; I'll have a meal or I'll go on the drink or I'll go to the pictures, I'll do something, like watch sport, and I'll keep constantly doing something but I think that's just the same as anybody really. The only difference is, if I go for a meal or I go for a night out, I have obviously certain places I can't go because I've been there the week before for work, and that happens occasionally. My fiancé will go 'oh shall we go here, I hear its really nice' 'no, no we'll not be going there, cause I don't want spit in my food!' But no apart from that it doesn't really impinge on my downtime." — 'Dean'

Enforcement officers also have a particular representation in public discourse and media. While bailiffs have historically 'enjoyed' a degree of infamy, the increased pressure on debtors and low-income/no-income tenants as a result of austerity has also been represented in the media in part through a resurgence of representations of enforcement work. It needs to be recognised that County Court Bailiffs felt a lot of the acrimony they encountered from the public. These kinds of encounters nevertheless had positive aspects according to the bailiff manager, who volunteered at a local stables in the 'Benford' area, (a place which we will return to later):

> A: You did some volunteering work at 'Benford' community centre?

"It's a community centre for disadvantaged kids, its on a Saturday and Sunday, its the 'Benford' community centre at [a local stables]. Its where the kids come and they do a little bit of work and they get free rides… and then you see their parents and you've been dealing with them in a different frame of mind…they don't seem to shy away from you, because you helped them out in the past, and you do get a bit of chit chat, and its "thanks for helping us out"" - 'Seth'

However, the Income Recovery Officers I interviewed working in the same community found that they were often snubbed at community events and did not receive the same kind of recognition. This suggests that the bailiff manager is possibly being selective in his examples, but also that the flexibility and variety of the bailiffs actions in their working day meant the encounters they had with the public were more diverse and offered opportunities to create certain kinds of resolutions that might be denied to the Income Recovery Officers because of the limited nature of their role.

Bailiffs also experienced a particular kind of media representation of their job that affected the public perception of their role. A number of recent television shows, notably the BBC show *The Sheriffs are Coming*, ITV's *The Enforcers,* and, on Channel 5, *If You Can't Pay We'll Take It Away,* follow High Court Enforcement firms around through collections and evictions each week. The impact that they had on the personal lives of the bailiffs at the court and the High Court Enforcement Officer was notable:

"You get a mixed reception. A lot of people will go, oh, 'bailiffs, we hate bailiffs', and we'll go 'oh, why', 'because yous are bullies', and we'll go 'oh, well, I'll tell you what, I'll bring all the people who owe money, and if you pay their money I'll leave them alone' and they'll say 'oh why should I pay their money?', and you can change people's perceptions. Other people actually quite encouraging 'good, up society, boo people who aren't paying their bills; it costs us' and their perception is like that. Other people are curious, they've seen telly programs and they're like 'ooh are you like that' and in their heads we're like a SWAT [Special Weapons and Tactics] team running around the place." — 'Dean'

The bailiff manager was even more vehement:

"I think the public perception of our job is that we're there to make their lives a misery. The trouble is the media have got programs on the telly which are misleading, they've got private bailiffs there who...it's all set up. And people see us as a private bailiff. Everyone basically gets tarred with the same brush. We go to doors and its 'oh they're bailiffs, don't let them in'."

By contrast the High Court Enforcement Officer was more positive:

"*The Sheriffs Are Coming* has been one, there's certainly another one in the offing that's been on because we've been asked by ITV so there's something new about to hit the screens as well on that, and I think it's improved the public perception of it in that they're now seeing it from the other side- i.e. 'people are owed money, ah, you're just trying to get money back from people who are trying to avoid payment. I make payment, I pay my bills, why shouldn't they pay their bills', so I think the public perception has slightly moved." — 'Joe'

These shows obviously weighed heavy on the concerns enforcement specialists have about their public image; what people thing of them and who they are. This is not surprising, because for many debtors, and tenants facing eviction, limited access to legal knowledge and the ubiquity of such television shows (*The Sheriffs Are Coming* now occupies a prime-time Monday slot after moving from daytime television), means these shows are one of the few consistent sources of knowledge on the bailiff profession.

Importantly, the bailiffs had developed a set of strategies for dealing with this image and negative perception:

"It always comes with interesting stories our job, and people will say 'ah this is my friend, he's a bailiff, ask him about the time the bloke cut off his wife's toes with a spade' and you'll related that story and that kind of thing. The perception, by and large, if people don't know and you say you're a bailiff is actually quite negative, but if you can introduce someone and speak to them, you can change their mind. It comes down to being a good communicator." — 'Dean'

In this instance, a case of violent domestic abuse had been transformed into a point of cultural exchange. Forms of affective attachment persisted into the private time of the bailiff through stories. But there were events in the working day, and in the process of enforcement work, that also 'troubled' the bailiff. This came up in discuss of private lives:

A: What do you personally do to unwind?

"I've got a grandson, who I see every other day, just about, I do a lot of volunteering work, I've got an allotment. On a bad day, If I ever have a bad day, I get home, go straight down the allotment, and just dig [laughs]." — 'Seth'

A: I think I know what you mean, I used to do an allotment.

"When you're down there, people come up to you and talk all sorts of rubbish "have you seen my marrow" and all of that, but when you come back, you just feel great. I don't let it get...um...I think I get more stress with me life now with [my family] than I do with work because, I can cope with it, basically I can deal with it. I've got a manager there who's second to none, she's... I've been in there a couple of times where I've sat and poured my heart out, and I've come out again and felt great. So I've got a lot of support here." — 'Seth'

A similar story was recounted by the High Court Enforcement Officer

A: What do you do to unwind at the end of the day?

"End of the day? Go home, have some tea, and generally have a walk with the dog, calm down that way, generally have a chat with the wife about what's happened in the day, calm down that way, and then if I've got the energy play some sport. Erm just the general sort of things that you would do to wind down. Having a walk with the dog is massive, just to bring you down to Earth, because you are on a level all day. If you're not out executing the warrants usually you are receiving phone calls each day from irate people who are

saying 'why are you chasing me for this, why have you don this' etcetera etcetera, so you're on a high level all day, even if you're not out there executing warrants you still have that pressure on you, because of the very nature of the work that we're doing, so at the end of the day it's nice to go home, grab the dog, dogs dying for a walk, off we go for a walk in the fields and just calm down. And generally have a chat about things, because there are some funny things happen, there are some crazy people out there and some of the calls we get are completely off the bat. It's nice to talk to somebody else about them and generally just relax." — 'Joe'

Working through these frustrations and difficulties from the working day, and dealing with the fallout from public image, was a notable part of the life of the enforcement specialists. For the bailiffs I interviewed, we might make the pragmatic move of isolating three separate dynamics contributed to eroding the distinction between private and work life:

1) The persistence of communications with work and work issues facilitated by communications technology that reflected wider social changes in the working day in the UK.

2) The social status of the bailiff that connected to their role within the communities they enforced and lived in. For the bailiffs this meant making adjustments in social time but also having to justify their work to others, often through the use of anecdote and stories from work.

3) The persistence of affects from work into private time, as troubling events from the day are discussed with friends and family in (gendered) social-reproductive contexts, or managed through recreational activity. Professional counselling and other forms of institutionally provided care, while employed, were rarely used.

When we consider the shaping of the intuitive decisions of the bailiffs when enforcing evictions described in the next sections, it is important to remember that the social life and world of the bailiff outside of work, and the messy boundary between the working day and time outside of work, affect the history and experiences

of the bailiff enforcing the eviction. Intuitive decisions involving the encounter between the history of the bailiff and the affects at work in the process of eviction, are influenced by factors far outside the court offices and the salaried hours of work, and the management of emotions on the doorstep is dependent upon a social-reproductive and affective infrastructure that exceeds training and formal support networks.

5.4 What's in the Box?

As we have seen, on the day of eviction the bailiff may complete any number of evictions and other enforcement actions before they arrive at the residence. In most cases involving the eviction of resident-occupiers and the repossession of residential properties, there are at least three important actors present. The first is the bailiff, who is legally entitled to enter and repossess the property; the second is the landlord (or their representative), who is present to sign the documents necessary to officially 'take possession' of the property; and the third is usually a locksmith or joiner, responsible for opening any locked doors and securing entry for the bailiff. This is, of course, an oversimplification, and many other agencies and actors can be involved. These actors will be discussed in some detail in the next section. The primary objective for the landlord and the bailiff on the day of eviction is to take possession of the property from the tenant, and successfully remove the resident-occupier.

This process was described in straightforward terms by housing professionals:

> "Yes, on the day of eviction, I would attend the property with the bailiff and a joiner, if necessary a police officer or dog warden, whoever else I feel might be appropriate to be there, and I would then hand the property over after eviction to the tenancy and estates team on their behalf. At that point my job as income and recovery duty officer would be done…I would liase with the bailiff to let them know if there's any risk issues, we would let the bailiff know if the police were attending, dangerous dogs and things like that. The point of eviction at that moment in time would be liaising with the tenant, saying whats going to happen, this is how you're going to leave the property, how we're going to store your goods, how long you've got to come back to deal with your goods. In most cases tenants are at court, appealing and things like that, but

unfortunately, in the case where it does come down to the crunch we have to be at the door and dealing with that side of things." — 'Rick'

"My role is finished when the bailiff takes the property back and then it moves on the the tenancy and estates officer and the housing options officer, the tenancy and estates officer looks after if the tenant needs to go back and take any of their possessions, all too often they've flit by that point, and the housing options officer takes over, because now it's a void property that needs to be gotten ready for the next tenant. And I go back to the housing office, update the computer with what's happened, and then the arrears move into the former tenants' arrears team to look after." — 'Charlotte'

The *Bailiff Manual* describes this process in similar terms:

"Inform your Bailiff Manager if you or the claimant thinks there might be violence or other difficulties when you evict. Your Bailiff Manager may arrange for other Bailiffs to go with you and if necessary, for the police to stand by to prevent a breach of the peace. The Bailiff will enter the property first. The eviction will have been carried out when all persons have been ejected. The possession warrant covers everyone on the premises.
You have the authority to evict everyone on the premises. If you find an occupant who would suffer undue hardship if evicted, contact your Bailiff Manager or Delivery Manager for instructions." — (HMCTS, 2013, p.55)

In an 'ideal eviction', the bailiff attends, enters the property after the locksmith has opened the door, ejects the tenant (or confirms that they are not resident) after making a brief assessment for hardship or mitigating circumstances, and hands over the property to the landlord. The landlord is then legally responsible for removing any belongings and passing them on to the tenant. But, of course, evictions do not follow such a straightforward pattern.

Code	Description
RA19	Visit undertaken and contact made, defendant was physically violent
RA18	Defendant previously known to Court and has been violent
RA17	Claimant risk assessment form received or contact made - Defendant known to be previously violent
RA16	Visit undertaken and contact made, defendant made verbal threats
RA15	Claimant risk assessment form received or contact made - Defendant known to have previously made verbal or written threats
RA14	Defendant previously known to Court and has been verbally abusive or made threats to staff
RA13	Claimant risk assessment form received or contact made - Defendant known to have previously been verbally abusive
RA12	Claimant risk assessment form received or contact made – Previous police involvement with the defendant or other occupiers of the property
RA11	Warrant to be executed on travellers or squatters
RA10	Claimant risk assessment form received or contact made – Previous social services involvement with the defendant or other occupiers of the property
RA9	Claimant risk assessment form received or contact made – Dogs or other potentially dangerous animals known to be kept at property
RA8	Warrant to be executed in remote location therefore assistance, if required, may be delayed
RA7	Risk assessment form not received and it has not been possible to contact the claimant to obtain any information
RA6	Claimant risk assessment form received or contact made – Defendant is not known to the claimant and therefore no information is available
RA5	Foreign process to be served at private residential address or the business premises of the defendant
RA4	Claimant risk assessment form received or contact made – Defendant is known and no issues have been recorded
RA3	Visit undertaken and property appears empty
RA2	Visit undertaken, contact made with defendant no issues recorded
RA1	Foreign process to be served at the office of the defendants representative

3. Risk Codes in *The Bailiff Manual* in 2012

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5.4.1 The Known Unknowns of Eviction

These descriptions obscure as much in their simplicity as they illuminate; the property is opaque to the landlord and the bailiff until they arrive, and there is no way of telling what is going on inside, or what kinds of resistance they will encounter. A risk indicator system used at the courts to flag up risks to the bailiff was one of the few aids and indicators bailiffs had to let them know what to expect:

> A: You mentioned earlier, one out of every other possession is ...I can't remember the phrase you used.
>
> "High risk"
>
> A: High risk- obviously you mentioned weapons, but what does that mean, whats the protocol in that situation, how do you respond?
>
> "We've got...I'll stick with the council because they actually give us a full list of problems they've had with their tenant. It starts with things like verbal abuse, down to where they've assaulted one of the housing officers. Basically what they do is they put a risk code on the warrant, so for example, A6, which is an assault, we would start thinking about doubling up on the bailiffs to be sent. The bailiffs have now all been issued with stab vests, and protective clothing. Verbal abuse...its..we normally go out anyway in pairs, but I mean, i mean the bailiffs get that on a daily basis, so we don't find that as high risk. If we get violent tenants, the council automatically contacts them." - 'Seth'

These risks were flagged by the Landlord or the housing officers prior to the eviction, and depended on the local knowledge and expertise of the Housing officers and the agencies they communicated with. Bailiffs were also expected to do preliminary research:

> "You must make a preliminary visit to the property or discuss with your Bailiff Manager your reasons for not doing so.
> Advantages for visiting are:
> - To see the situation for yourself.

- To enable you to carry out the eviction more smoothly and therefore benefit you.
- To find out if there are any tenants in the property.
- To assist with the risk assessment.

You must give the occupants the Notice of Eviction (N54) personally or leave it at the address in an envelope addressed to the occupants by name and "any other occupiers". This gives them the date and time of the impending eviction; this will also inform them of their rights.

Please note: If you visit an eviction address and find problems, withdraw and report back to your Bailiff Manager."

(Ministry of Justice, 2013, pp.53-54)

These preliminary visits were seen of little practical use by the bailiffs. The training process recommended that bailiffs conduct various kinds of checks, but the bailiff who led the training process saw this to be of little use:

"I'm not someone from higher up or an administrative officer coming and and telling everyone 'this is how you should be doing it, it works like this" and that's just not realistic because a lot of the rules, a lot of the suggested procedures, just wouldn't work in a day to day situation."

A: Is there an example you can give of that?

"I think a prime example is, when you first get a possession warrant, the theory is that you get it, and you'll then do what's called a 'drive-by' and check on it. You don't go anywhere near it, you don't do anything, you just drive past it, and see if it looks dangerous. My argument is: one, there's no way anyones going to justify my mileage for just driving past houses; it would be a lovely idea,I could just drive past them all, but its not realistic. Secondly, unless there happens to be a bloke wielding a great big bloody axe outside the front door, you can't risk assess it properly. And thirdly, it doesn't matter how many times you go to the property, it's a constant, shifting risk." - 'Dean'

This chapter will return to a further example provided in his answer, but the first imagined example used here highlights the problem the bailiffs faced when attending the property. There was simply no way to reliably know what was happening inside the property, how the eviction would play out on the doorstep, or the risks the bailiff might face. This resonates with circumstances at the time of Rock's study in the 1960s, when bailiffs were largely anticipating violence when they stepped out the door to do collections (2013, p.198). Bailiffs today depend on both training and what I term the 'intuitive infrastructures' of the job. These two aspects will be discussed in the next sections respectively. For now, it is necessary simply to emphasise that the bailiff attending the eviction does not know what to expect, and is dependent upon multiple knowledges and agencies to secure the property and their own personal safety.

5.5 The Role of Other Agencies

"It is important that good liaison between Bailiffs, the police, the landlords and local authorities is encouraged and improved to help ensure that evictions are carried out effectively and safely." *The Bailiff Manual* (Ministry of Justice, 2013, p.55)

Strategies for anticipating what was inside the 'black box' at the court involved the production of a framework of risk and risk management, and a linking of specialised kinds of risk to specific agencies. How risks are identified by both landlords, court officials and local authorities are a key area in which public discourses of risk enter the micro political worlds of eviction.

An eviction can involve any number of agencies. A limited legal account of an eviction would emphasise the role of the plaintiff or claimant (the landlord), the tenant, the judge, and the bailiff. In practice, however evictions are not limited to these three or four actors. Instead they can involve any number of different organisations, agencies, individuals, and professionals, working on behalf of one or more of the direct legal antagonists. These organisations can differ greatly in how they perceive their role

More often than not the bailiff is dependent upon the claimant to alert them to the need for support and to contact and arrange the attendance of professionals. These professionals can include: Dog and Animal Handlers, Mental Health services such as

NHS nurses, the fire service, structural engineers who assess the property for safety. These agencies are not considered to be 'helping' in the eviction, but rather limiting existing risks to the bailiff and briefing them on the problems they might face. Organisations and individuals differ greatly in how they see their role at an eviction. While the police have a mandate to take charge of and oversee an eviction once they arrive, other organisations may not see their role in the same way; the author of the London Fire Brigades Union twitter account, for instance, has tried distanced the union from any suggestion that it might assist or help in removing an occupant (London FBU, 2015).

The presence of specialists was linked to a culture of risk at the court, the decline of ex-police officers in the role (who were common in the bailiff profession in the last century (Rock, 2013, p201)), and a sense of increased risks connected to a narrative of social decline;

> "I've been here six years. How has it changed over time? I think we're more risk aware, we're much less…I think when I first joined, a lot of ex-police officers were bailiffs and they were very; a lot of bravado 'Oh, we don't need help, I'll do this, I'll do that I don't care I'll take on the world' I think now we realise the world's changing, it's becoming more dangerous out there, people are becoming more desperate, and we realise, that we know we can't operate by ourselves" — 'Dean'

> "Yeah I'm quite lucky cause I've got a good set of bailiffs here who've got key skills in different things. 'Chris' is good at communicating with different people. You've got 'Dean', who's dead keen. He's actually turned into a bailiff trainer. So yeah…we've got good bailiffs who come and they do their job. To be perfectly honest I know that they're doing a good job, because I don't get as many complaints in as I used to when all the old ex-polises were in and they do the old ways of working."

> A: So there used to be ex-police?

> "A bailiffs job has always been an ex-police job. They left the police and went into the courts service. It's a type to fill and basically when I started there was about 2 or three who were left in. And now they've all just wrangled out

[wandered away or retired - AB]. Now we've just got ordinary people from different backgrounds. We've got a good mix of team here." — 'Seth'

"For a long time, bailiffs were just shoved off in the corner, given their work, and just not considered. And that's not that long ago, just five or six years ago, but then the newer staff were all a bit younger, were all looking to progress, as I say, when I first came in I put myself forward for different things, and I remember one manager saying 'Oh, well, you're a bailiff, I don't think you're allowed to do that', I said so 'what do you mean?', and it was a development scheme, thats what it was, and he says 'well bailiffs aren't allowed on the development scheme' so I went to the court manager at the time and said 'well I'm not allowed on this'- and bear in mind I was just out of university and I just wanted to be on the course and they said 'oh well we've just never had a bailiff ask to be on it, cause normally you just want to be out', so I went on it and completed it and things, you know. Other bailiffs have come in and started to learn the admin side of things and just constantly developing, y'know." — 'Dean'

It is possible to say that the implication in the first quote here is a connection between the impact of the post-2008 financial crisis and the policy response, and the increasing dangers of being a bailiff. This new awareness of risk emerged in the context of a change in management at the court around 2008, and the introduction of new secondary legislation and pre-action protocols following a spike in mortgage repossessions in 2008 indicated in UK government repossessions statistics publications. This placed further obligations on mortgage providers to maintain a working relationship and resolve disputes with mortgagees prior to pursuing litigious action.

But there was not immediate and visible policy decision to shift away from recruiting ex-police. Instead, there was a recruiting drive to bring new sets of skills in; this brought in younger bailiffs like the one I was interviewing, who wanted to participate in the career structure of the court. As such there were a series of interlocking factors described by the bailiffs contributing to the particular context of the shift towards risk management being described here, including a change in the cultural background of the bailiff team, new management models, the decline in ex-police, and a sense of futurity and career opportunity which changed the status of the

bailiff in the office from an adjunct employee to a central part of a court team. This was framed by the growing sense of danger in the outside world.

Housing associations and landlords also played a significant role in constructing and shaping what were considered to be risks and what the threshold for the involvement of additional agencies involved. In the previous chapter I have shown how landlords and agencies used escalation processes and information systems to profile and manage tenants prior to eviction. On the day of eviction this data comes into play as a tool for helping to create a risk profile for the tenant. Housing providers which have close police and social services involvement collaborate with local organisations to determine if a tenant is a risk to the bailiff and notify the appropriate organisations. Local councils also liaised closely with the bailiff team at the court:

A: Is your feeling then that risks are effectively unpredictable?

"It depends a lot on the information received from claimants. So if i get something through from the council, who are very good at this, it'll say - they have a system called PRI codes, I can't remember what it stands for, Personal Risk Indicators, that's it- if they flag and say, by the way- cause they deal with these people every day, housing officers see them every day etcetera and income officers and things, so they know. If they've got PRI codes so we'll look at that; this one says only visit in pairs, this one says 'violence against staff', this one 'has mental problems', obviously thats risk assessed without us going and we can say 'yeah'." - 'Dean'

For the housing associations, in many cases what qualified as a risk was governed by cultural categories and the particular practice of the provider: one HA based in London who was interviewed explicitly stated that they tried to pursue criminal charges in the event of anti-social behaviour breaches. Despite this, many risks remained unknown:

"Something I explain when I'm training people is 'have you ever met your mortgage advisor? Have you ever met the guy who does your mortgage? 'Cause I haven't' and theres no way he's going to know what I'm like, 9 out of 10 times Ive spoken to him on the phone he's been lovely. So those ones become less predictable, you don't know whats going to happen. If you don't

have the, if they don't have the information, they can't give you it, so you just have to be aware, that you are going into situations that are outside of the normal purview. So even if they have met them and say 'oh he's a lovely guy, he made us tea and biscuits' yeah, because you went to speak to him about remortgaging his house, or getting extra money. We're going to speak to him about either paying us money, or essentially making him homeless, and obviously, you don't know how people are going to react to that stress." — 'Dean'

The process of involving other agencies also has to be made on the doorstep as the situation developed. The following case, described by the bailiff manager, showed how these kinds of decisions are made and played out, and how pre-existing relationships between the tenant and support services and the police could come into play, and how personal data was shared an used in assessing the possibility of risks:

"But we've had cases where we've done a possession, and it was classed as a high risk, and we come to the door and the guy at the door says 'you're not coming in, because' he was producing 'DNA for the government', so the first thing I thought was, 'we've got a problem here'. We got the police involved, phoned the police straight away, just to see if they had any background on the guy; he'd been arrested for looking through the neighbours windows or something like that, but I mean, he had major mental health problems, so we stopped that straight away, got him help, got him down to the [local] welfare team where they do mental health. He's involved with an NHS mental health team to start, but theres another team from the city council who are newer, got involved as well, because we don't think he was working his finances right, didn't know what was happening, we were asking him 'do you know what was happening today', and he didn't know and whatever. I mean, we do care about people, but there's only so far we can go before we start paying their ways for them." — 'Seth'

What this case demonstrates is not so much the role of the bailiff in making the right decision; it is after all, a selective example chosen from the bailiffs own memory. Rather it shows how access to services has an impact on the way an eviction could play out; what the bailiff knew about the case was dependent on these other

agencies and their involvement, or lack thereof. Reduction in social services has been seen across the UK as local government and NHS services are forced to plug budget holes left by central government budget cuts. Mental health trusts have seen an estimated 8% reduction in budget according to BBC researchers (Buchanan, 2015), and the decline of frontline service provision creates a context for dangerous and risky evictions by displacing care onto bailiff teams and police forces. The perception of an increasing risk associated with conducting evictions is punctuated by recent cases in which bailiffs were shot attending evictions in South London (Dixon, 2013). There has also been an increase in safety equipment worn by bailiffs, and stab proof or bulletproof vests are now a frequently used part of equipment mentioned in interviews with housing staff, and the bailiff manual outlines equipment used (2012 p.158).

5.5.1 The Police

But the involvement of support agencies is not an apolitical decision, and these are not value-free forms of purely technical support suggested by the quote above. Nowhere is this more apparent, and more significant than in police involvement, where institutional cultures that prevail in the police force are brought into contact with tenants.

Involving the police in an eviction brings tenants from backgrounds that have histories of conflict with or persecution by police under additional pressure; people from LGBTQ, BME and traveller communities, and various political groups such as anarchists and squatters; into contact with police forces. A warning issued in the 1830s by the Inspector General of Ulster, Thomas D'Arcy, that using the police in evictions may serve to increase the unpopularity of the institution (Palmer, 1985, pp.321-322), shows that the deployment of the police in evictions has been a contentious issue since their inception. The police, in short, are not a neutral technology, but a different layer of disciplinary power, whose meaning and capacities is affected by the ways they are deployed.

Knowing the scale of police involvement in eviction support is difficult. The Police can intervene using a number of different powers, but a breach Section 10 of the Criminal Law Act (obstructing a court officer) is the most pertinent offence under which they could make an arrest. Many forces, including the Metropolitan Police Service, declined Freedom of Information requests for data on incidents attended by

police, citing Section 12 of the Freedom of Information act 2000 (excessive cost of responding to the request). This was in part because Section 10 breaches are not a 'notifiable offence' in many police databases. Only Greater Manchester Police replied in full.

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
North Manchester	35	49	60	66	45
South Manchester	41	38	53	77	55
Salford	40	38	43	48	42
Tameside	40	38	44	42	38
Stockport	25	33	22	36	28
Bolton	34	34	55	47	43
Wigan	17	18	35	42	39
Trafford	11	9	17	8	18
Bury	23	14	23	25	19
Rochdale	11	28	34	36	33
Oldham	25	26	33	49	33
Territorial	No data	No data	4	7	5
Total	302	325	423	483	398

4. The number of incidents Greater Manchester Police officers attended involving evictions from 2010-2014, by division and in total

Despite its limits the Manchester data (4.) gives us a basic outline of the situation in a post-industrial region in northern England, similar to the one in which the bailiffs I interviewed were working.

Comparing these numbers with reports on the overall number of evictions helps clarify some of the data. Between April 2013 and March 2015, 3,971 households were evicted in the Greater Manchester Area (Fitzgerald 2015). In that time, in the years of 2013 and 2014, 881 incidents involving eviction were attended by GMP officers. This suggests that in Manchester, police do not attend a majority of evictions, but are present for a substantial fraction, and the increase of police attendance rates by over 100 incidents between 2011 and 2013 should also be noted. This increase shows that further research needs to be conducted by statistical geographers and social scientists between police involvement in enforcing eviction and the impacts of austerity. Of particular further interest here is the data provided for the incidents involving the territorial division, which includes the presence of the 'Tactical Aid Unit' (Manchester's riot or public order police unit). We will return to the actions of public order policing in eviction a little more detail in the next chapter, but these numbers, though small, potentially represent greater numbers of officers being deployed to attend a single incident. Police involvement is recommended by the *Bailiff Manual* as a solution to the problem of physical confrontation on the doorstep, and the *Manual* sets out the limits of the police powers:

> "If an occupier uses or threatens violence against you, withdraw immediately and get help from the police even if that means that an eviction has to be postponed. If there is a known risk of violence or obstruction by an occupier then the claimants should have warned the Delivery Manager or Bailiff Manager, or you may have found out during a preliminary visit. In that case, the police should have been asked to attend. The police are better equipped than Bailiffs to deal with the disturbances…. but remember that you have no right to tell the police what to do or how they should do it (and nor has the claimant)." (2013, p55)

Police involvement in an eviction is therefore supposed to take place in response to an escalating physical situation in which violence is threatened. The use of physical force, suggested when the bailiffs interviewed said bailiffs used to 'go it

alone', once a feature of the job, has been displaced onto the police, and the bailiff now takes a 'backseat' role in using force in eviction processes.

5.5.2 The Mobile Risk Assessment

Support organizations and other agencies brought into attend evictions bring their own power structures into play, and their involvement in the eviction brings them in as deciding and often leading agencies. Calculating risks is about calculating the kinds of resistance the eviction process will encounter, a theme to which this chapter shall return later. The role of the support organization is to mitigate the risks that have been indicated by prior contact, but also assessments done on the ground, and the decision to involve them is made through both a combination of pre-determined assessment and momentary decision-making. Particular agencies, such as the Police, appropriate the eviction process from the bailiff once they are involved, and take a leading role; police attend a sizeable minority of evictions, and further investigation of police practices and decision-making during evictions is a prime area for an interdisciplinary project between urban and housing research and critical police studies. While the decision to involve the police in advance belongs to a constructed process of risk identification and mediation through court proceedings, the decision on the doorstep is dependent on a set of decision-making skills used in the management of encounters between tenants and bailiffs.

5.6 "Talking to People": Decisions on the Doorstep

"Each situation is different, and each situation changes in situ, so I can be there talking to you now, and you're absolutely fine, and then I say 'obviously, you are going to have to leave Mr. Baker' 'Well, I won't leave' 'I understand that, but unfortunately, you've been advised that the eviction is taking place, there are things that you could've done that you haven't done at this point, I need you to pack a bag, and make your way out of the property'. And that can go one of two ways; it can go many ways; they can cry, they can just stop: I've seen people just go catatonic and stop, or they can go aggro, fight and flight response, the adrenaline goes, all the bloods rushing to the big muscles and they just: Boom!" - 'Dean', Bailiff

"One of the questions I've always been asked is 'Have you ever been assaulted?'.Touch wood [he taps the table], all the time I've worked in this job, I've never been assaulted yet, because I can talk to people." - 'Seth' Bailiff Manager

Upon arriving at the doorstep, the bailiff faces an uncertain situation. Managing this uncertainty involves using knowledge of risks and sharing those risks with a variety of agencies. However, the bailiff is still dependent upon a set of additional skills to manage the eviction of the tenant and make decisions regarding the kinds of support that might be needed. Bailiffs termed this process 'talking to people', which framed a series of specific practices in a commonsensical manner. Talking to people involved a form of emotional labour that involved trying to structure and manage the responses of the tenant during the eviction. This process used both forms of conversational rhetoric and physical monitoring and surveillance that were intimately linked. In many ways, the bailiff inherits the project of managing the tenant that the housing associations and landlords used in the previous chapter, and continues to manage the tenant through their eviction.

As already mentioned, bailiffs have the right to use 'reasonable force', and, if necessary, powers of arrest, to effect the removal of an occupant, however, the bailiff manual and code of practice advises firmly against the use of force. Bailiffs therefore are expected to balance their responsibility to enforce the repossession of the property against the restrictions on their powers and the risks involved in the use of force. Talking to people is a way of negotiating these boundary by both predicting the possibility for violent action and working to avert it. Primarily this involved monitoring:

"You can tell, again a lot of this comes from my work as a doorman, obviously we saw a lot of the same indicators, and I've done some training with the police on this as well, you see different things you see clenching of fists, and that's an early indicator, you can see a slight, almost vibration on them, their colour changes, so they'll go redder as they're starting to...their breathing gets a little bit harder, their pupils dilate a bit more...you can just tell. And there's obvious indicators such as tone changes, and you know its the difference between someone saying 'I'm not going' and '*I'm not going*' [to illustrate the interviewee clicked his fingers] and that instantly should trigger alarms in your

head, and you should go 'hold on, that's not right', and thats the point at which you'll have to take a step back, create some distance between yourself and whoever's the aggressor." - 'Dean'

The monitoring process described here requires a certain amount of dissection to make it comprehensible in terms of the kinds of skills involved. The first thing to note is the way in which the body plays into a system of indication of its own; the vibration of the body described, and the changes in breathing and skin colour (drawn from the bailiffs particular experience as a bouncer) are given as indicators of a body disposed to aggressive or violent action. This is the practice of 'bodywatching' described by Hall (2012 pp 35-36); searching for signs from the body that betray intent. In this quote from the bailiff, we can clearly see the concept of the self-betraying body at work, the body that through a shifting set of tonalities; the tone of the voice, the tone of colour; reveals the disposition of the person who might resist eviction.

But in addition to the obvious signifiers, there is a further aspect to body watching on the doorstep; the 'you can just tell' recorded by the bailiff reveals a non-representable element that cannot be described in verbal terms, but is nonetheless experienced by the bailiff as an almost reflexive skill. Recall the housing officer who described her intuitive ability to "get a feel" of a tenant's situation and honesty: Working with the tenant involves drawing both on skilled indicators and a reserve of learned knowledges that are not explicit, but *intuitive.* Intuitive knowledge is embodied; it acts and works through forms of bodily memory and reaction shaped by the experiences of the bailiff and the housing officer in the quote above.

The context of 'talking to people' and being able to anticipate when and how to act, is dependent on both training and the intuitive skills developed from experience. In the next two sections, training and the use of intuition will be examined in a little more detail. They are significant aspects of the work that bailiffs do, and a vital cornerstone of the bailiff's ability to enforce possession and manage forms of resistance to possession.

5.6.1 Getting the Right Response

While the aim of managing the tenant was to 'dispose' them towards repayment of arrears, resolution of disputes, or cessation of antisocial behaviour, the aim of bailiff action is to produce an affective disposition in the tenant to vacate the property

with a minimum of resistance. The "object-target" (Anderson, 2014, p24) at work here is the tenants' emotional attachment to the property and their bodily capacity for resistance. This involves both the use of correct posture, tone and words appropriate to the context:

"There's different scenarios, I think that's the thing, I think if we were all exactly the same, it would be impossible. If we were all just really good pure communicators, but physically weren't intimidating...not intimidating, but sort of dominant, that's not going to work, because we deal with such a wide range of people. We'll go to six and a half million pound houses, we'll go to people that pay ten pound a month for their rent. The vital things a bailiff has to have, they have to have good communication skills, at all times, because that's the only way they are going to resolve situations in a satisfactory manner for all parties. Patience, because at the end of the day, this is people's lives you're dealing with, you have to be patient. It has to mean something, as I say, I don't, as I said before, when I first joined, most of the bailiffs were actually retired policemen who were just topping up their pension, they weren't really interested. To them it was literally just go out, knock, whatever, done. They didn't invest in themselves, they didn't invest in the organisation, they didn't invest in anything like that, so for them, it was just top-up.

But I think you have to have some sort of drive, to be willing to put yourself at risk like that and to be willing to talk to people like that and to be willing to negotiate things and also to come back and improve what we're doing. Because if you go out and see a problem but you don't care then you just go 'ah, well, someone else can deal with it'. But if you go out and see a problem, and you're the kind of person who says 'well actually, we can put in place a process to stop this happening again' that's very beneficial. And I think the role of the bailiff has changed to what you'll see on telly with the private bailiffs which is a horrible misrepresentation of what we do. The best bailiffs surprise me, I see bailiffs, small guys, and you think 'oh they're going to get bullied' but they're not because their assertiveness is so good, and their communications skills are so good. I would rather have a very good communicator with a lot of patience and a lot of skill at negotiation than I would have some big meathead standing behind me because that can actually aggravate the situation more than anything" - 'Dean'

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The bailiff manager emphasised that this process of communication was related to being able to judge the 'level' of the conversation and the social status of the person who enforcement action was being brought against:

> "I can talk to people, I can come to their level, I know how they...I know the problems they've got. I keep thinking to myself, if someone came to my door and asked me for 100 odd quid, I don't carry that much money around in my own pocket, I'm not that rich, wouldn't go "here you go". I know where they're coming from, you come to some arrangements, you deal with people, like they're proper human beings. And I find that you get a little bit of respect back off them, and you work with them. You're not there to make their lives a misery basically, but you've got a job to do at the end of the day." — 'Seth'

To the High Court Enforcement Officer this also involved a degree of class conscious action; being aware of how backgrounds and histories shaped the kinds of action needed:

> "Defusing the situation can be done in a multitude of ways. If you're going along and you're speaking to, and I don't say this flippantly because my father was a working-class man, but if you're talking to a working class man who's there, you don't stand and talk down to him as though you're and pull all the sections of law etcetera, and make him feel inferior, that's totally the wrong way to do it and will lead to confrontation. You try to talk to him as an everyday bloke, as a working bloke, talk to him nicely, treat him as, don't talk down to him as though you're the company director and he's a nobody. Equally if you're dealing with a company director, who's in a huge house, you talk to him differently, you talk to him as a company director and he'll expect that. So you've got to be able to change your style of how you're talking to people and generally are trying to get yourself on their level so that they'll deal with you in that way, and that in itself can avoid a lot of confrontation. Other ways basically in diffusing, as I said earlier, you might want to give them a little more time, you might assist them, my guys might have to move a few things out of the property, they've got a van there, you might go and help them." — 'Joe', HCEO

These are, of course, self-constructed narratives that the bailiff is shaping and creating about their own action, and it is clear that there are much broader structural aspects determining the tenant response to this process beyond the bailiff's own viewpoint. Additionally, the bailiffs were very often responding to media depictions of their work, as visible in the rather lengthy quote above outlining anxieties about media depictions. This interviewees tended to rapidly shift between topics, which gave an indication of the kinds of anxieties they had about participating in the research project and the sorts of image they wanted to convey. The public image of the bailiff on television, and the knowledge of negative feeling directed at bailiffs in public discussion, spurred an emphasis on the 'caring' role the bailiff could take in resolving problems.

This is not reserved to discussions with researchers: Image-consciousness and self-presentation was a topic of much concern amongst the bailiffs interviewed, and played in to how they thought about acting on the doorstep. 'Talking' involved both a monitoring of the tenant but also a self-surveillance:

> "I try to coach people with their body language, and their tone, and explain to them that obviously words are ten percent of what people hear- tone, body language, that's the overriding factor in times of high stress, so it's important that we maintain a safe but open posture, it's important that we maintain a moderated tone, and we don't let emotions rise up and cloud what we're doing." -'Dean'

This resonates with what Hochschild (2003) termed 'feeling rules' and 'appropriate affects': The bailiff is coached to have a particular disposition to present to the person they are working on and to suppress forms of negative feeling and stress. The law has a particular sense of appropriate emotional disposition attached to its technical function. This division between the emotional and the empirical aspects of bailiff work was an important one. Emotion and reason were seen at odds with one another, and an implicit dualism between the emotion and rational self is clear in these comments. This was especially important for making sense of prejudices and the need for a liberal logic of workplace toleration:

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> "The worst people to have as bailiffs are the people who don't have control of their emotions and have personal agendas against certain...could be certain ethnic groups, could be certain of people of certain sexuality, it could be women, it could be anything, and I don't think there are any of those now, and I think they've been phased out completely." — 'Dean'

This comment shows how forms of cultural judgement that inhered in emotional value judgements such as those used when talking to people of a different social class, were differentiated from forms of prejudice or discrimination at work in the workplace. Bailiffs were happy to admit to making different approaches to people of a different social class because they saw these approaches as being grounded in a clear and functional empirical experience of social differentiation. Forms of prejudice on the other hand were understood as based in a-priori assumptions that were at odds with efficient execution of the bailiff's duty. This view obviously runs counter to the implicit racial and gendered politics of feeling that is emphasised by the cultural sociology of affect.

5.6.2 Talking Breaks Down

What is described above remains fairly idealised, and inevitably works at a distance from what 'actually happens' during evictions. It is clear that what bailiffs see themselves as doing, and what they are understood to be doing by occupants facing eviction, are very different things. But bailiffs also have degrees of ability and reliance on skills when it comes to 'talking to people'.

This is apparent in complaints common in online forums and video footage concerning 'bully bailiffs'. 45 minutes of footage uploaded in three parts to youtube.com of an eviction in Broomhill area of Hucknall, Nottingham, UK shows such a case of clear conflict between a bailiff and an occupant. The Bailiff, apparently one David Caress (the subject of a number of complaints among online anti-debt and pseudo legal campaigns), behaves in a manner that could be understood as largely hostile to the tenant. "Give us a kiss" says the bailiff, and moments later he shouts "can I have a police officer please?", then starts invoking "section ten. He's impeding me, section ten". The police, already on the scene, draw closer. "It ain't clear what's going on" says the man filming, and starts trying to negotiate the precise details of a judge's decision with the police. The volume rises,

and a cacophony of voices fills the scene, until almost everyone is shouting. The footage continues with many minutes of talk and legal negotiation referring to the manner in which the writ was served, and conversations with the police (Bring the Banksters to Justice 08/27/2013). This is an example where the police are already on the scene and the bailiff is largely present as a legal actor: the police do most of the talking. The footage itself is filmed by a third party: a man trying to argue the side of the tenant, a black woman with disabilities. The impact of youtube and activist uses of personal cameras on bailiffs is another under-studied area of eviction resistance politics, yet clearly has had a significant role in shaping activist encounters with bailiffs and police during evictions (and also connects to social media use).

A bailiff like Caress can generate a reputation via such videos and become infamous in activist circles for their tactics and choices, and might encourage other bailiffs to change their behaviour to avoid getting such a negative reaction. But it's also clear from such footage that 'talking' is, for some bailiffs, not so much a practiced art as a frustrating process. Bailiffs certainly recalled in interviews moments where talking broke down and the police were needed, and there was no pretence that pure talking occurred without coercive force to back it up.

'Talking' isn't about conducting the eviction in a thoughtful and caring manner, though individual bailiffs may have some empathy to certain cases and tenants. 'Talking' is about reducing the time, resources, and energy the bailiff and other organisations expend on the eviction, and reducing and managing the risks that might emerge in the process of eviction. Watching the bodies of occupiers to determine their disposition, conversing with them to meliorate negative feeling regarding the eviction, and monitoring their own emotional and physical response, bailiffs try to predict and avert forms of physical violence or passive non-co-operation. In this way bailiffs respond and adapt to forms of resistance at a granular level, surveilling and channelling forms of action that happen during the eviction. 'Talking to people' is a necessary part of the eviction process, and required both surveillance of the person being evicted, surveillance of the self, and a considered set of empirically grounded skills aimed at producing particular feelings and dispositions in the tenant. The aims described by the bailiffs were clearly directed at encouraging the tenant to co-operate in the court process and comply with the eviction; in this process, the bailiff inherits the tenant as the object of affective action from the landlord and the court process, and is the final link in the chain of a series of structures designed to engage and capture the tenant. These skills and forms of action are grounded both in

training, and experience, and particularly rely on forms of conscious as well as intuitive emotional management to control potentially dangerous dispositions emerging in the evicted person. It is necessary therefore to outline a little more about the kinds of training bailiffs receive and are required to use, and how they collaborate with other agencies in this training.

5.7 Training

Bailiff training is not as extensive as that for other other sections of the security arm of the British State. Unlike Police Officers and Border and Customs Officials, County Court Bailiffs are fairly rapidly brought from training 'into the field'. The *Manual* cites a set of specific and mandatory and optional training for most bailiffs, including an Induction (Mandatory), Bailiff Development Programme (Mandatory), Personal Safety and Risk Analysis, Handling Conflict and Breakaway Techniques, Job Specific Search and Entry Duties (Mandatory), First Aid, and Safe Driving Awareness (2013, p6-7). HMCTS declined an FOI request for teaching materials from these courses, and there is not a clear structure to each module that could be provided.

However interviewees expanded on what training involved. In particular the bailiff at the court was involved in conducting training in the region and outside it, and outlined the training modules:

> "I do all the newly entered bailiff training, so we cover basics, so we'll cover what a warrant is, what a possession warrant is, the process, how you serve them, what we need to do to follow the CPR rules, so you have to serve it then, you have to do this. You can't just threaten people, you can't barge in. I'll go through that, I'll try and do a bit of 'real life' training with them, if you will, and try and make it clear that they need to have a balance, that they can't take the job home, that you can't think about it, you can't go home and I'll think 'oh I should have done this, or that' you've just got to leave it behind because I think a lot of bailiffs could easily get chewed up by what we do. So I'll go through procedural stuff; it's a three day course, so it's hard for me to condense it now, but there's all the procedures to follow for different services, for different warrants, for different processes we'll serve, we'll talk about health and safety, about what equipment you might be entitled to have, we'll talk

about some of the common diseases that are out there and what shots you might get to try and stop them, and how to identify certain funguses and moods that might affect you, and sort of insects that might bight you. We don't go too far into huge detail, obviously I'm not medically trained and stuff like that, but I think as far as the slides allow, and as far as my knowledge." — 'Dean'

This description shows that the bailiff is both considering the practical and 'material' aspects of the job; risks and hazards, health and safety training, and the relationship of the law to practice. Particularly striking are the bailiffs' personal comments about 'taking the job home'. Training combines a number of different practices, and there is a working sense of a parallel process of both emotional and biological contagion and containment at work. That bailiffs might reflect negatively on their in-work actions at the end of the day is clearly a source of concern for the bailiff conducting the training.

5.7.1 Knowledge Exchange

Training is also 'plugged in' to networks of knowledge-exchange between different agencies. Along with the training with the police that has already been mentioned, lessons from bailiff work are brought into offender and detainee management:

"For bailiffs, there's a five day training. They go down to London, basically just doorstep training. They've got doorstep training, everything from warrants, warrant procedures, and then basically after that, they've got to go back from the drivers awareness course [sic], which is a two day course and we've just set up the NOMS [National Offender Management Service] there, which is the uh, National Management Unit for the The Prison Service, doing a personal survey course, that's a three day course. So all in all, it's about two weeks, and every two years a refresher." — 'Seth', Bailiff Manager

The centralised base of HCMTS in London reflected a core-periphery orientation at work in knowledge dissemination and sharing. The bailiff managers in the North have their own meeting group, but the construction of a national working group out of London was also underway, with the possible impact of reducing the necessity of the

regional meeting groups. There are different levels of exchange of information and knowledge about enforcement which speak to degrees of locality and specificity, as well as the broader political geography of England:

1) Starting from the morning meetings at the court offices which informally share information about different patches the bailiffs are working on

2) Anything significant is passed on through a set of regional training sessions, and the regional bailiff managers meeting

3) Before finally circulating into the national working group in London.

New forms of best practice are developed through this process and then shared with other services and organizations. Practices of eviction; bodywatching, talking, decision-making, (and other things, for instance HMCTS policies towards researchers) developed at a local level could then 'filter up' to a national level where they get exchanged with other agencies for assistance. These formal networks of training and practice were then supplemented by informal knowledges. These knowledges came into play when training reached certain limits.

5.7.2 The Limits of Training

Formal Training had clear gaps that needed to be filled by personal experience:

> "Yes, follow what the slide says as regards the CPR rules, and the very strict regulations we have to follow, but then equally its good to have real world experience, and its good for them to see that I'm just someone who does their job helping them do it, I'm not someone from higher up or an administrative officer coming and and telling everyone 'this is how you should be doing it, it works like this' and that's just not realistic because a lot of the rules, a lot of the suggested procedures, just wouldn't work in a day to day situation." — 'Dean'

When I asked for examples, 'Dean' told the story of Doris mentioned earlier:

"It doesn't matter how many times you go to the property, it's a constant, shifting risk, I could go to, we'll call her Doris, 88 year old woman, nice as ninepence, three times I could go there, three times I could speak to Doris. And this is the example I use in the training; Fourth time I go to see Doris, and her grandson Jeff's just been released from prison for assault, and he's standing there. I had no idea she had a grandson, I had no idea he'd been in prison for assault, unfortunately, he's now standing there. No number of drive-bys or risk assessments, could have made that situation any better."

There is a very clear set of gendered assumptions about who represents a collaborative and easy case, and who problematizes and complicates the collection or repossession process. The relationship between Doris and the Bailiff is clearly considered a 'happy' one; it has a convivial and reciprocal aspect, and her son is an outside inconvenience who brings negative associations and feelings into that relationship. Jeff is to some extent a figure who raises questions Ahmed has explored in her work on 'Affect Aliens':

"One of my key questions is how such conversions happen, and 'who' or 'what' gets seen as converting bad feeling into good feeling and good into bad. We need to attend to such points of conversion, and how they involve explanations of 'where' good and bad feelings reside. The sociality of affect involves 'tension' precisely given the ways in which good and bad feelings are unevenly distributed in the social field." (2010, p.126)

Ahmed is primarily talking of the experiences of those who do not align to positive emotional associations with certain social objects such as women, queer people, or ethnic minorities in certain social contexts (for instance a classroom). Jeff's case seems to be quite different and more concerned with physical danger, however, there are some key signifiers that mark him as a 'toxic' individual bringing bad feeling and predisposed potential for violence.

His gender marks him out as a challenge to the social authority of the bailiff because he brings into play a new set of power relations that work through family ties: he disrupts Doris' familiar relationship to the bailiff. Secondly, his track record as a violent offender: His recent release from jail both placed him outside normative

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social relations, as someone emerging from a predominantly male disciplinary environment. He has a history of breaking the law, and is implicitly therefore more likely to do so again in this example, or at least to be insubordinate or disrespectful to legal authority (i.e., the bailiff).

Despite being part of the civil justice system, the bailiff is connecting decision-making into the *criminal* justice system: recall that the decision being made in many cases involve the using the police to exert additional 'reasonable' coercive force or make an arrest, and bring the punitive arm of the state into play. This imagined example contains overt assumptions about class, criminality, and gender, and is indicative of what social issues and who gets left out of bailiff training. As an important aside to this, the Institute for Race Relations (n.d.) has shown that BME people are overrepresented in the prison system, so criminality obviously has potential for racial associations as well. The bailiff has used a set of social imaginaries to fill in the gaps in the training process, and supplemented the existing training with his own experiences. We must now turn to how these experiences are developed, the histories that bring them into play and how they shape the tactics of eviction.

5.8 Intuitive Technologies

The process of developing new formalised and informal eviction practices, is dependent upon the shifts in *intuitive* power at work in the eviction process: changing intuition is about changing the habits at work in the routine and everyday practices. Encounters between and through the bailiff and tenant affect how the bailiff works on the tenant increase or decrease their capacities to act in a certain way. The accumulation of experience contains within it the development and growth of a certain kind of intuition at work, and this intuition changes in accordance with the way the routines of work are disrupted and changed.

5.8.1 Routine and Resistance

A routine and rhythm of work, and crucially, the disruption of this routine by forms of resistance shapes the way the bailiffs interact with the public and also shapes the mental geography of the city; how and when they need to adjust their tone become incorporated into the basic reflexes of the job. As we have seen, the daily meetings at

the court, the planning of the route around the city, and the timing of collections and repossessions, situated the bailiff within a particular temporality in relation to the city. The bailiff planned a route around the city, timing the collections; 10:00, 10:30, 11:00 and so on; and then heading out to conduct them, before returning to the court at the end of the day to file reports and summaries. To keep this routine going the bailiff has to conduct their work as efficiently as possible, to the schedule and within good time. Resistance from tenants or occupants to eviction is an obstacle to this process, and when a bailiff is presented with a new kind of challenge from an occupant they have to adjust the practices they use to these new conditions. Habituated practices of both risk management, and the emotional management of tenants, were made change in response to new kinds of resistant practices. The routines of bailiff work create attachments allowing bailiffs to make intuitive judgements about the emotional and psychological condition of the people they are working with and on, and attach to a territoriality:

> "At the end of the day, it's who's actually going to the door… basically it doesn't matter where you are here, it's how you approach the situation I think. And I think the bailiffs adapt to that. They've all been round the areas, they've all done the areas. You get a Hard area like B____,W____,N____ where you've got to work a little bit harder because you've got people who are just digging their feet in and they don't want to move, but I think it's the way you approach it." — 'Seth'

The 'hard areas' are training grounds that help bailiffs adapt and develop new methods of managing their interactions with the public. Going round these areas was a sign of experience, ability and a process that facilitated the development of skills. The 'hard' areas mentioned all had reputations in both local and national media narratives as such, and had been highlighted by recent council initiatives as neighbourhoods and postcodes needing special attention. They included the estate the Housing Officers I interviewed worked in. These accounts by the bailiff played off what Wacquant (2007) calls 'Territorial Stigma'; the names were intended to be immediately recognisable as areas of anti-social behaviour, poverty, and debt. While the bailiff was also keen to show that individuals in these areas defied typical expectations, he was linking specific parts of the city to forms of increased resistance and the kinds of abilities that resistance conditioned bailiffs to; these were areas

bailiffs were more likely to encounter the public, because debts, collections and rent arrears were much greater. The bailiff has to anticipate the kinds of response they get and adjust their tactics accordingly.

These personal histories of the bailiff cross paths with the histories of the occupant facing eviction and the landlord/plaintiff using the bailiff's services. The occupant encounters the bailiff at the end of a process of management, sometimes involving weeks, months, or years of escalating financial pressure, procedural management by a housing association or private landlords firms, debt collections, rent arrears demands and workplace demands. Following Henri Lefebvre's concept of rhythms that emerge where place, time, and the expenditure of energy meet (2013, p15), it is useful need to think of the bailiff and the occupant following two trajectories with separate affective 'rhythms'. The occupant(s) is in a process of rent arrears recovery to a greater or lesser degree, and may be facing any number of other pressures from work, family, financial industries and government authorities.

5.8.2 Intuitive Action

Tactics used on the doorstep drew on the experiences of doing the areas; the personal history of the bailiff and the practices they had gathered from a lifetime of work. This experience emerged not only from on-the-job training but also personal career histories and the kinds of cultural environments the bailiff had come from:

> "I was at university. I've got a degree in English and Sociology, and to pay for my university I worked as a bouncer, in various nightclubs and venues in The City. I finished my degree in sociology, which is about as useful as a chocolate teapot sometimes. The first joke we were told at the start of the degree was 'What's the first thing you say to a sociology student who's graduated? Can I have fries with that?', that's what we were told when we first joined the course, so it's a bit disheartening. I finished University, I got a 2:1 degree, I couldn't find any work appertaining to my degree. The role came up for a bailiff, and with my experience as a door supervisor, I knew I was capable of handling that kind of situation, and I thought: 'oh I'll just do this short term', but it was also access to civil service, and so I applied, and lo and behold, six years later, I'm still bloody here!" — 'Dean'

The university degree was dismissed in this answer in comparison to the work done as a bouncer. This also reflected the economic and historical conditions in the city at the time the bailiff had entered the job; a surplus of graduate labour in comparison to graduate jobs had created a need for a fall-back career in the security industry. In their work on bouncers, Dick Hobbs et. al. (2005, p.125) have shown similar dynamics to the bodywatching skills and routines described above developed from personal experience. In the case of this bailiff such personal experiences are literally transplanted from nightclub door work to the arena of evictions. Other career trajectories bailiffs at the court held included work in construction and the catering sector according to the bailiff manager. The shift away from ex-police, towards a younger group of bailiffs, with a more diverse set of experiences, had changed the occupational culture through bringing in new career histories and experiences into the job. These experiences and histories involved new kinds of intuitive knowledges that could be developed and combined with those produced through bailiff work into new strategies of bodywatching, talking, risk management and anticipation. This process occurs through a whole set of disrupted and renewed capillary flows of intuitive power that work alongside visible formal institutional shifts in the culture of the court. The outcome is a situation where bailiffs can 'just tell' in different ways when someone was about to become violent or aggressive.

Following from Lauren Berlant's (2008, p.5) description of the formation of intuition (repeated here):

> "The reinvention of life from disturbance reemerges in cadences, rhythms, the smallest predictables. To change one's intuition about it all is to challenge the habituated processing of affective responses to what one encounters in the world. In this kind of situation a process will eventually appear monumentally as formed as episode, event, or epoch. How that happens, though, will be determined processually, by what people do to reshape themselves and it while living in the stretched out "now" that is at once intimate and estranged."

We can see how intuitive practices are at work; habituated experiences are being brought into play, disrupted and remade, until an entire shift in the occupational culture of a particular time and place can be described by the Bailiffs at the court in the following narrative taken from the answers in this chapter: Ex-police were phased out, the world became more dangerous, bailiffs became more risk-aware, 'talking to

people' became a more important part of the job, and physical force declined in favour of a distributed model of agency. This is what we might term the 'crisis narrative' of eviction practices, connecting the cultures of the court, and the experiences of housing officers, to a broader economic set of conditions that necessitated new practices and cultures in the workplace.

What force, then, is the cause of this disruption and its ability to reshape bailiff experiences? To understand this we have to turn to the forces of *resistance* at work on the routines of eviction.

5.9 Resistance

The practices described above had been shaped in response to forms of resistance. The trajectory of the eviction process charted over the last two chapters, from the triggering of the arrears recovery process and the management of a tenant in a housing association or private recovery scheme, into the court process, and then through to the doorstep and the day of eviction, is the process of struggle between these different capacities of power and resistance. Resistance to eviction is a form of immanent and wilful activity that increases the capacity of the person(s) being evicted to act: act to maintain their tenancy, to negotiate better terms, to form networks of support, to stop the eviction, or other aims. But it can also be forms of action and agency that reduce the capacity of the assemblages of eviction to act: resistance can emerge from both environmental and human factors; though the two can and do merge and fold into each other. Recall that Deleuze (2006, p.74) talked of resistance emerging from outside the diagram. In eviction we can speak of a real and physical set of diagrams, each of which fail to account for sources of resistance:

The first set of diagrams are the maps used in housing and wider urban management that fail to represent the many social-reproductive processes going on in the lives of the residents of the spaces they represent. The second set are the escalation processes and flow charts used by banks, housing associations and landlords to recover rent or mortgage debts, which are constantly trying to gather information about the financial status and disposition of the tenant, and are most troubled by forms of non-engagement. The final diagrams I want to think about are those drawn by the bailiff in their route around the city every morning. In the

interviews the bailiff connected their routine to both human and natural hazards encountered during their day: animals, structural failings of buildings, moulds, disease, fire and so on. In each case resistance emerged from the areas these diagrams could not anticipate.

What these interviews also demonstrated was the way forms of human resistance became entangled with forms of environmental hazard, and in turn these were then subjected to a discourse of risk. In the context of bailiff work, there is of course, much to be said for the concept of risk as anticipation, particularly when it came to anticipating the contents of a property about to be repossessed, and having the right agencies on the scene. The world had "become more dangerous" and the court "more risk aware". 'Risk' is a discourse that accounts for forms of resistance while serving to mask the political form of resistance itself. Risk, and risk management practices, helped the bailiffs and other actors in the eviction process account for, talk about, and respond to resistance without having to fully account for the uneven power relations at work in evictions. So the actions of tenants are combined in a spectrum of risks alongside structural faults in the building, animals, fire and other problems the tenant is entangled within. The formal risk indicators used at the court codified both human action and non-human agency within a series and spectrum of risks the bailiff might face. Bringing risk as a method of understanding resistance into an orbit around the reading of resistance I have presented earlier, it is possible to invert this use of risk to explain resistance, and use resistance to explain phenomena normally understood at the court as risk.

This means making some unsentimental decisions to separate value judgements about resistance from the kinds of power resistance is responding to. Since the imposition of austerity measures in the UK dominant critical rhetoric has held that resistance is a de facto good: such talk has a valid and important place in polemic, but needs to be disaggregated here to properly account for resistance. There are forms of clear, organised resistance to eviction in England and Wales that use detailed knowledge of the law and collective forms of direct action to resist and prevent evictions, and frameworks used by direct action groups, such as that shown in a guide produced by the *Occupied Times* in 2016 (figure 5.).
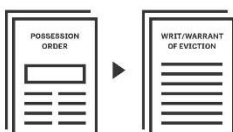
EVICTIONS & BAILIFFS

Resisting an eviction is a last resort, not a long term solution, giving you time to organise alternative accommodation.
If facing eviction, other pressure needs to be applied to keep people in their homes or find new ones,
including entering homeless applications with your local council

BAILIFFS MUST PROVIDE

Eviction order can only given once a possession order granted by a court has expired.
Your landlord cannot evict you themselves.

EVICTION PROCESS

Once a possession order has been granted by a court, the owner has 3 months to get writ/warrant. They are valid for 1 year

POSSESSION ORDER ▶ WRIT/WARRANT OF EVICTION

EVICTIONS CAN ONLY BE CARRIED OUT BY:

County Court Bailiffs
· Almost always give notice of Date & Time of Eviction
· Can arrive 1-2 hours after this time
· Often 1-2 attend eviction
· Used more commonly

High Court Enforcement Officers
· Often don't give notice of Date & Time of Eviction (they should!)
· Cost the landlord more
· You won't always be told warrant for possession has been sent to High Court Enforcement Officers

Evictions by High court enforcement officer are very rare. They are more likely if you've resisted a previous eviction attempt or the landlord expects resistance.

USE OF FORCE

Bailiffs can legally break in and evict people (it is debt bailiffs who cannot enter premises unless you let them!)

Bailiffs can use "reasonable force" to enter and evict

HOW TO RESIST AN EVICTION

Resisting an eviction can give you time to organise alternative accommodation, and possibly demonstrate/galvanise collective strength and community solidarity.
But an eviction resistance is a last resort, not a long-term solution nor the basis for an entire strategy*

CALLOUT
—
Give people as much notice as possible. Many resistances involve an early start!

ARRIVE & ASSESS
—
Establish the easiest way to block access to the property. Find a good place for spotters who confirm arrival/departure of bailiffs/police.

PATIENCE
—
Resisting Evictions can take a few hours. Bring refreshments to share if you can.

ENJOY
—
Resisting evictions can be joyful. Chants and banners help neighbours see what's happening (and get involved!)

CALM
—
When bailiffs arrive, don't rush towards them - Continue to block access as a group.

BLOCK
—
Deny bailiffs access to the property as a group. Point out you won't be moving.

WAIT
—
The bailiffs should walk away - they often have another appointment lined up.

THREATS POLICE MIGHT MAKE

As long as no-one assaults bailiffs/police it's very unlikely you'll be arrested. There have been many successful eviction resistances without arrests. Here are some threats police might make. An awareness of these beforehand lets you know your rights and possibly diffuse situations with police.

See advice on making a homeless application at bit.ly/HASLHomeless

"Resisting an eviction is contempt of court"

The specific person or people being evicted could be threatened with contempt of court. It is not contempt of court to resist your own eviction unless you have been served with a court order with an attached penal notice - this is very rare and it will be clear in the paper work!

"You're obstructing court officers"

When resisting tenant evictions, 'obstructing court officers' (s10 of 1977 Criminal Law Act) doesn't apply as tenants aren't trespassers. With squat evictions this offence does apply but is rarely used.

"This is a breach of the peace"

Police can make arrests or use reasonable force to prevent crime or a 'breach of the peace' (where violence is used or threatened towards a person or their property in their presence). A crowd of people outside a home facing eviction does not itself constitute a breach of the peace. However, police have used this excuse to break up eviction resistances in the past. As 'breach of the peace' is not a criminal offence people detained should be released a small distance from the location of the eviction.

Thanks to: Advisory Service for Squatters | squatter.org.uk / Legal Defence and Monitoring Group | ldmg.org.uk
Text by: Housing Action Southwark & Lambeth | HousingActionSL.org

5. 'Formal' Resistance: The *Occupied Times* guide to evictions and bailiffs (2016, CC BY-NC-SA 3.0)

However resistance to eviction also takes multiple forms that have often appeared:

a-political: forms of resistance that do not acknowledge any formal political rhetoric, such as a language of housing rights or policy, beyond the immediate refusal to co-operate with the eviction, or

post-political: forms of resistance that refuse to acknowledge institutional actors and display a hostility towards traditional political institutions and actors.

These are both deeply political fluid categories with vague boundaries. But they have a useful analytic function in showing that resistance is a wider category than formal declarations of refusal. In the former category, we might consider forms of doorstep arguing, aggression or assertive response to the bailiff, the manifestation forms of non-engagement with the repossession process, or the use of animals such as companion or guard dogs, and structural instability such as removing load bearing walls. But it also includes forms of abusive or violent behaviour: the case mentioned by one bailiff of a man who physically attacked his wife for answering the door to him is a clear example of how forms of resistance to eviction can reproduce other social hierarchies and forms of violence. The latter category can be enacted through forms such as pseudo-legal technical arguments like the ones engaged with in the Nottingham case and websites like getoutofdebtfree.org, cultural expressions of hostility and animosity towards bailiffs as a social group and other forms of activity. These kinds of resistance are highlighted not to produce a detailed taxonomy of resistance, but to emphasise the ambiguity of resistance in relation to ethics in light of its relationship to power.

From the initial contact alerting the Rent Arrears Recovery Team to surveil and escalate, to the risk indication system, and the bailiff on the doorstep talking and bodywatching to anticipate physical force or forms of non-co-operation, the eviction process seeks to anticipate, divert, minimise or undermine forms of resistance. When the institutions that enforce eviction encounter new forms of resistance they have to adapt, learn or incorporate responses to these new forms into their repertoire of techniques, and they do so within a whole network of disciplinary discourses and powers.

5.10 The Limits of the Everyday: Conclusions

This chapter has provided a narrative of the tools and skills required 'On the Day' of eviction. Starting at the court, the eviction process is immediately shaped by routines and rhythms of work and enforcement practice. Bailiffs plot out the evictions they have to do, and aligned themselves between the interior time and space of the court and the legal routines, and the time and space of the city and its working routines. Throughout serving and enforcing notices Bailiffs then have to work to expedite evictions and reduce both anticipated and unanticipated forms of resistance through a process of risk management, collaborative organisation, and forms of bodywatching and conversational affective management. The skills they use to do this are developed both through formal training programs and informal development of intuition through the disruption and disturbance of the routine. As such, the forms of resistance the bailiffs encounter throughout the process of eviction lead the development of these skills and tools, and ultimately determine whole phases in the development of the institution of the bailiff.

This chapter has focused on evictions conducted at the county court level, these evictions happen with individuals and small social groups, and individual or paired bailiffs with supporting agencies behind them. In the next chapter I am going to take a step back from these small, intimate encounters between bailiffs and occupants, to look at what happens when resistance scales up from the everyday, to forms of conscious, politicised and collective activity. This involves not only a shift in scale, but a changing legality, and a move from the tactical and intimate forms of social discipline, to securitised and militarised practices of large scale public policing, and a much more explicit relationship between space, violence, and power emerges.

Chapter 6: The HCEO Industry

6.1 Introduction to Exceptional Evictions

In the next two chapters, following the schema provided by Porteous and Smith between 'everyday domicide' and 'extreme domicide', I turn from problems of 'everyday eviction' to the politics of 'exceptional eviction'.The distinction presented here is between two tendencies which have particular practices attached to them. While a 'clean' division between everyday and exceptional evictions cannot be made in concrete analytic terms, there is nevertheless an obvious point of departure between the two sets of practices that is useful.

In the next these chapters, the second category of exceptional eviction will be explored in more detail. The strategies, practices and training cultures of exceptional eviction will be explored and connections will be drawn between everyday and exceptional eviction practices. While the 'everyday' occurs through the routine function of the County Courts and concerns small-scale evictions of households due to factors such as rent arrears or anti-social behaviour, the 'exceptional' pushes at the limits of the routine operation of the state. The distinction also reflects the way in which larger-scale evictions are often handled at a different level of the legal system in the High Court; therefore it is salient to begin any analysis of 'exceptional' eviction through looking at the High Court Enforcement industry and its role in eviction.

In Chapter 6 I will explain how the High Court Enforcement Officer is a particular and significant element of an aspect of policing that has been overlooked in academic research. Drawing on interviews with an HCEO, reports from HCEO firms of their own activities and interviews with activists, I look briefly at the culture of HCEO practices and training. The emergence of the modern High Court eviction industry is explored in the following section, which describes the development of a number of HCEO firms into a private police force with a specialised political emphasis, through its engagement and conflict with forms of protest and resistance.

Turning from the historical to the present, Chapter 7 looks at the strategies and tactics used on the day of eviction, including forms of 'volumetric' spatial control and material destruction through practices of 'urbicide', and the use of emotional and psychological pressures during large-scale eviction. I emphasise the role of resistance in shaping and rewriting these tactics and strategies.

I return to these practices in the conclusion to the thesis, emphasising their links to a global industry of eviction. The 'exceptional' eviction tactics and strategies presented here appear at the limits of the possible analysis of this thesis, linking forced eviction in the UK to larger geopolitical state interests, and social movements. They represent dramatic cleavages in public order and social power; however they also encounter the same tensions between affect, space, power and resistance found at the 'everyday' level, and the strategic and practical implications of an eviction process these tensions contain.

6.2 The HCEO Industry

The High Court Enforcement Officer (HCEO) is an office attached to the High Court of England and Wales. High Court Enforcement Officers serve the same function for the High Court as County Court Bailiffs play at the County Court. However there are important differences.

6.2.1 The Industry

High Court Enforcement Officers are individuals registered with the High Court, and enforce writs that come to the High Court via a transfer under section 42 of the County Courts Act: this is a formal request placed at the county court level to transfer the case to the High Court and must be approved by a District Judge at the County Court. HCEOs are not like County Court Bailiffs in the sense that an individual HCEO does not visit each and every property they enforce. Rather the HCEO is usually the owner or significant member of a business, who is responsible for employing and empowering Certificated Enforcement Agents to attend a property with a writ from the High Court. Finally they have greater powers of entry, access, and force to enforce debts. The real advantage HCEOs have over County Court Bailiffs is the speed of eviction. While waiting times for County Court enforcement can reach into several months as and when the CCBs become available, HCEOs are incentivised to evict as quickly as possible.

As of 2015, 53 HCEOs are listed as registered in England and Wales by the industry body, the High Court Enforcement Officers Association (2015a). These are distributed across 105 districts aligned with postal districts (e.g. BA, NE, SW…). An HCEO can be registered in multiple districts. Of these HCEOs many are employed by

or joint-owners of the same firms. HCEOs are limited in the kinds of commercial activity they engage with; they are not permitted to buy or sell debts, or to participate in the commercial credit industry as a lender.

The HCEO interviewed in this chapter worked in a solicitors firm, and had a background in the enforcement industry since 1990, and outlined the services his firm offered:

> "I've been sheriff's officer, and then been High Court Enforcement Officer since 1990. Previous to that I was, I'm a qualified legal executive with a firm of solicitors prior to me changing hats onto the enforcement side. Our organisation also, as well as the high court enforcement also does Commercial rent distress, now called CRAR: Commercial Rent Arrears Recovery under the new courts and tribunals act. That's recovery of commercial rents which can be done without a court order under the terms of the act. We also do private investigation, process serving, which is serving of court documents etcetera, surveillance, whether thats for errant partners, or businesses where employees are feigning injury etc. And also removal of travellers under both common law, and if necessary under a court order in our guise as High Court Enforcement Officers" — 'Joe', HCEO

Evictions are just one part of the commercial income of the High Court Enforcement industry, and commercial debt recovery forms a central part of the function of an HCEO firm. Debt recovery is significant for the HCEO industry. The HCEOA reports (in information released for promotional and lobbying purposes) that their members collected over 77 million pounds in writs in 2014 (figure 6).

Year	Writs Successfully cleared	New Writs received	Payment obtained in full	Total Money collected
'14	69,728	71,498	17,793	£77,788,084
'13	70,347	76,679	15,468	£69,871,889
'12	80,663	69,953	16,177	£54,879,698
'11	68,870	74,314	17,534	£67,605,542
'10	72,170	71,308	20,612	£64,253,832
'09	77,292	78,349	21,532	£61,809,658
'08	68,405	70,557	18,183	£64,454,694

6. Moneys collected by HCEO firms annually 2008-2014

(High Court Enforcement Officers Association, 2015b)

This may seem like substantial amounts of money, but it is worth bearing in mind that Household debt alone in the UK, when estimated by the conservative think tank the Centre for Social Justice (established by current Secretary of State for Work and Pensions), was placed at some £1.47 trillion (Owen, 04/06/2015). PricewaterhouseCoopers have placed non-mortgage lending at £239 billion (Press Association 23/03/2015). The vast majority of debts and rent arrears are either repaid or collected without ever being transferred to the High Court level; they are enforced by County Court Judgements, debt collection practices from escalation, automated payments or County court or Certificated Bailiffs. In financial debts recovery, High Court Enforcement is reserved for those debts of over 600 pounds.The creditor must be willing to pay the costs of transfer to the High Court from the County Court via Section 42, and the costs of hiring a High Court Enforcement firm.

In terms of property repossession costs, Schedule 3, section 9 of the HCEO Regulations of 2004 caps costs at 3% "of the net annual value for rating shown in the valuation list in force immediately before 1 April 1990 in respect of the property seized" in the case of domestic properties and 0.4% in the case of other kinds of properties.The kinds of costs incurred during a large eviction can be seen in documents released by Lambeth council via an FOI placed by a member of the public, concerning the hiring of the firm UK Evict to conduct the eviction of approximately 70 squatters from Rushcroft Road in 2013 (whatdotheyknow.com, 2014). The document shows how costs are broken down (reproduced as a table here):

Eviction Team Resources	Cost Per Day	Cost Per Hour	Cost Per Night	Cost Per Hour
HCEO				
COORDINATOR				
TEAM LEADER DAYS				
OFFICERS DAYS				
SPECIALIST TEAMS				
TEAM LEADER NIGHTS				
OFFICERS NIGHTS				
SUPPORT STAFF				
EGT (PER TEAM)				
24 HOUR SECURITY				
COVER OFFICER				

7. Reproduction of the Invoice form Used by the National Eviction Team at Rushcroft Road

The total cost of the Rushcroft Road eviction in a final invoice came to £150,092.60 before tax and £180,111.12 inclusive of VAT. The same FOI also revealed previous costs for evictions at Patmos Lodge in 2013 (£11,138.40), the squatted street at St. Agnes Place in April 2005 (an estimated £225,600), and Clifton Mansions in 2011 (£197,745.60). Such evictions are not cheap, and Lambeth council clearly had to weigh the political and financial gains that would be made in each case against these costs before proceeding with the possession orders. So what exactly are they paying for?

6.2.2 Training and Specialism

HCEO firms can vary in their size and scope. Most HCEOs have a previous background in the legal and enforcement profession, and the HCEO I interviewed was also a lawyer, and was connected to a legal firm. The post requires several years of training and a Level 5 Certificate from the Institute of Credit Management, most of which emphasise the law and the legal aspects of the job. The HCEOA conducts an educational pathway that offers Level 4 and Level 5 Diplomas with the Institute of Credit Management. Overall, to get to level 5 this takes approximately 3-4

years, with about 2 years for each Diploma estimated. At Level 4 this covers (with respective credit weighting in brackets):

Introduction to High Court Enforcement (Level 3. 1 credit)

Transfer up to High Court Principles (2)

HCEO Fees and Accounting Principles (3)

Writs of Fifa Principles (7)

Writs of Possession Principles (5)

Less Common Writs Principles (3)

Skills training (optional)

HCEO Fees and Accounting Practice (3)

Writs of Fifa Practice (7)

Writs of Possession Practice (6)

And Level 5:

High Court Enforcement (10)

Map the organisational environment to support strategic planning (6)

Develop a customer-focused environment (5)

Establish risk management processes in own area of responsibility (6)

Manage a budget for own area of activity or work (7)

Develop and evaluate operational plans for own area of responsibility (6)

Evaluate compliance with legal, regulatory, ethical and social requirements (6)

Developing and leading teams to achieve organisational goals and objectives (4)

(High Court Enforcement Officers Association, n.d.)

Further to this, before becoming Accredited HCEOS, candidates are assessed through a logbook, as detailed by the HCEOA:

"In addition to the knowledge and theory under the Level 4 and Level 5 Diplomas you will need to have practical experience before you are given Associate status. How is this achieved? You will need to be

sponsored/employed by an AHCEO within the High Court enforcement workplace.

This will mean that you will have to produce log sheets over a two year period that will include the following:

1. Information Technology

2. Health and Safety

3. Levying/Seizure of goods

4. Removal of goods

5. Possession/Evictions

6. Correspondence

7. Accounting

8. Insolvency

9. Litigation

The above are the headers of each log sheet. The logs will be able to demonstrate not only your knowledge but evidence that you can do the work of an HCEO on a practical level.

Each log sheet will be signed off by your AHCEO sponsor/employer. He/she, at the end of the training period, will sign a declaration to validate your competency." (High Court Enforcement Officers Association, n.d.)

As with the County Court Bailiff, the training process happens through both legal training and on-the-job evaluations. Unlike CCBs, HCEOs are few, and it is only a single individual from a firm who actually needs to acquire this certificate. The rest of the staff hired to conduct this work are usually Certificated Bailiffs, who require fewer qualifications, and receive much of their training on the job with several basic level 2 certificates and exams to complete to get a Bailiff General Certificate: they can either take a course to acquire the knowledge to complete this examination, or learn on the job (National Careers Service, n.d.). Different HCEOs firms might have different preferences, but at the firm I conducted interviews, the expressed preference was for on the job training conducted by bringing in staff members already known to the HCEO:

A: What kind of training is there, and how often do people renew this training?

"Training is renewed every quarter, what you tend to find though is, somebody that's been doing the job with you for ten years, doesn't tend to need too much retraining in the matter, they've done so many jobs in that way it would be quite insulting for them to do any more training in that area! They're pretty well trained at that point; training is handed down through experience; I was trained by the old Sheriff's Officer back in whenever, I equally trained my guys when they came on board and the knowledge is passed down in that way."

A: So what does it consist of?

"It will consist of: First of all, knowing exactly what the law is and what can and can't be done, looking at...there are guidelines down for bailiffs as to what hours to attend, what to do in cases of vulnerable people, they've got to be aware of all of those laws. And then the practical side of it is basically handed down by the training, by us going out and saying 'this is what we would do at this point in time', it's very difficult to write a manual on it, because every situation is different." — 'Joe', HCEO

It is easy to see similarities between the experiences reported by this HCEO and those explained by the County Court Sector. The 'practical side' is built through experience, and through learned knowledges and intuitive practices. While the legal aspect requires formal training, knowing how to handle a situation comes down to the individual history and experience of the bailiff in question. Further to these in-house enforcement agents, the firm employed and procured specialists from outside when enforcing writs it had got the contract for:

"Actual physical staff employed are 4 full time, but then we have agents that we pull, depending on what the job incurs. So we use agents around the country who are also enforcement officers for work because we cover all of England and wales and therefore we use our own agents to execute but they have to be qualified enforcement agents as well, and if we have a large job, such as a traveller eviction, then we'll pull in other agents to come and assist us on those particular jobs." — 'Joe'

The HCEO was dependent on specialists from other firms and other backgrounds for enforcing writs. Some HCEO firms, as we will see in this chapter, have become remarkably specialised when it comes to the kinds of services they offer clients, and the kinds of specialisms they offer to other HCEO firms. This practice proves incredibly frustrating for a researcher, as the same specialists can be deployed twice in two different postcodes with two completely separate HCEO firms from the one they are officially employed by. As I emphasised in the previous chapter, specialisation in eviction enforcement is dependent upon a history of eviction enforcement and encounters with resistance, and the learned and intuitive practices that emerge from that history. In the case of High Court Enforcement Officers, this history is connected to a history of eviction resistance by organised social movements, and the knowledges and skills deployed are not only intuitive, but practical tactical and strategic techniques. In order to explore the way these knowledges work in eviction practices, we first need to turn to the history of the HCEO eviction specialist in relation to political movements centred around housing and the (built) environment, to look at the emergence of the contemporary strategies and tactics they use, and how specialised agencies have come to exist as a form of politicised policing agency.

6.3 The Making of a Political Police?

The contemporary strategies of eviction in the HCEO industry have their origins in the response to the social movements of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Large scale movements that emerged during this period of the early 90s, especially the Roads Protest movement, deserve special attention as a moment in which a new spatial politics of eviction was forged. These new strategies drove the development of specialised eviction teams and services, with a particular emphasis on bespoke services handling activists, squatters, and travellers.

Spurred by both historical conditions and a legal impetus, leftist and anti-capitalist repertoires of resistance shifted from tactics that defined the classical workers movement, and which informed the recent Miners Strike of 1984-85 and the Poll Tax riots of 1990, to a more tactical and temporary taking and holding of space that emphasised makeshift spaces of resistance, influenced by protest camps at Molesworth (evicted in 1985) and the womens' peace camp at Greenham Common (evicted 1984). This emphasis on taking space, of course, came with its own

technologies and tools that utilised primarily passive resistance and a largely non-violent ethics of disruptive and often risky direct action. Of particular note, alongside the more traditional barricades and obstacles, were strategies of 'manufactured vulnerability', a term coined in a substantial overview of protest tactics by the social movement scholar Brian Doherty. Tree houses (first used at Jesmond Dene in Newcastle in 1993), suspended netting (used in the M11 protests), tripods, tunnels (such as the ones used at Fairmile in Devon, blocking the construction of the A30), and other strategies such as 'lock ons' (where the activist locks themselves to construction machinery), make demolishing or evicting occupiers difficult without first endangering their lives. The occupier therefore makes a gambit: That the cost of the negative publicity and criminal proceedings that would follow their death or injury would be outweigh the need to proceed quickly with the eviction; it assumes the occupier still retains certain inalienable rights to life as a citizen. It also had the added impact of turning evictions into large-scale publicity events which garnered attention for the movements themselves. As Doherty writes:

> "Protests at road and other construction sites are a form of siege warfare. Protesters occupy a site and build defences in trees, houses, or underground tunnels. The besiegers outnumber the occupiers, and have greater resources … Successive protests have produced new techniques for resisting the besiegers, to the extent that, when the time comes for an eviction, great hopes are invested by protesters in the effectiveness of specific forms of obstructing eviction." (Doherty, 1999)

This chapter will return to this 'siege warfare' in the next section, and it is possible to see on this grand scale a version of the tiny dynamics of the doorstep documented in the previous chapter: A tactic develops, is countered by the bailiffs, counters back, and from this springs a new repertoire of strategy; resistance drives the development of new strategies of eviction. But what Doherty's study didn't examine was an emerging counter-power to these movements in the form of private security agencies, highly specialised police units, and HCEO firms with unique skill sets.

Bailiff teams were forced to bring in specialists from outside the field; in the case of Newbury Bypass, under Undersheriff at the time, Nicholas Blandy, this involved climbing and rope specialists from mountaineering backgrounds, to opposition within the mountaineering community. *The Independent* newspaper reported one

remarkable incident that happened to an employee of Richard Turner Limited, the rope access firm used in the Newbury eviction:

> "Pete Bukowski, from Sheffield, abandoned his work for RTL after finding himself trying to evict Chris Plant, a top climber and friend from his hometown. Another climber is expected to leave RTL's ranks after the weekend." (Arthur, 2011)

At other roads protests, such as Fairmile, the Earth First! Publication *Do Or Die* reported the arrival of mysterious specialists to handle the tunnellers who had dug in to prevent heavy machinery moving in:

> "Bailiffs and police arrived in the evening, secured the tunnel entrance, and waited until the morning, when a new lot of bailiffs (the mysterious 'Men in Black') appeared for the first time. They went about evicting the tunnel very slowly and carefully, building their own shoring as they went, talking to the occupants, and allowing them to communicate with others outside for a few days." (1999, p.60)

The 'men in black' turned out to be a team led by 'Human Mole' Peter Faulding, a government contracted specialist in escapes, rescues and extraction to this day (Bletchley, 2015). The anti-roads movement caused an increased need for specialists like Faulding to resolve speedy evictions, and brought in new skills to bailiff work.

The level and diversity of resistance also generated substantial employment and income for Sheriff's Officers and Certificated Enforcement Agents. The pivotal 'No M11' protests utilised squatting as a direct action tactic, occupying houses and trees that faced demolition in the construction of the road (as documented in Neil Goodwin's 1995 film *Life In the Fast Lane*). The eviction at Claremont Road involved over 200 staff working for a Sheriffs Officer, according to one source (Schnews, 1994). In comments made in the House of Commons Harry Cohen, MP for the constituency, revealed the costs and acrimony of the eviction:

> "Has not the cost of policing and security on the M11 link road now reached £6 million, and is not the amount rising at a rate of more than £500,000 a month? During a recent week-long operation in Claremont Road, which cost more than

£2 million, were not many of my constituents bullied—including vulnerable people, and others whose only crime was living on the line of route?" (Hansard, 19/12/1994)

The security cost of Newbury in 1996, revealed in a reply to a question asked by then backbench MP Jeremy Corbyn, came to £1,182, 000, not including policing costs (Hansard, 7/03/1996). Another protest cycle, the M65 Campaign, is estimated to have added an addition £26 million to the cost of the finished motorway (Wall, 1999, p.84). A percentage of these substantial costs went to pay for the services and equipment of bailiff teams, and Sheriff's Officers.
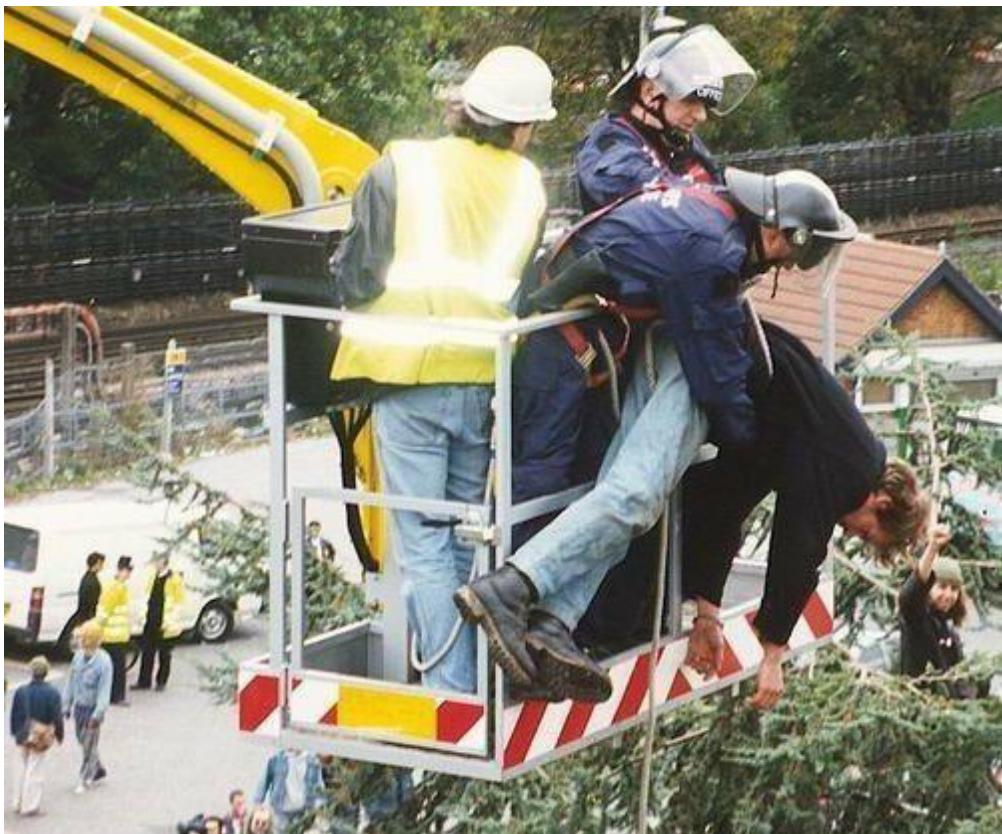
8. A squatter is removed from a rooftop during the M11 link protests by Sheriff's Officers using a cherry picker

(Kriptick (2004) indymedia 'copyleft' licence)

6.3.1 The National Eviction Team

It is unsurprising that High Court Enforcement firms saw a gap in the market for a specialised eviction team focusing on political protest cases. One HCEO firm, the High Court Enforcement Group, eventually created a specialist subsidiary, UKEvict, which developed the 'National Eviction Team' (NET), under HCEO Martin Leyshon. If the NET had been a demonstrator or protest group, rather than an agency, it would likely have achieved national status and a degree of infamy akin to that of 'Swampy' for the sheer number of political cases it has been deployed at. The (selected) list of evictions on the firm's old website (UKevict.com, 2015a-h) reads as a veritable 'where's where' of political protests it had enforced at:

> 1995 – Bryn Henllys Farm (Roads Protest)
> 1996-97 – Honiton Bypass (Roads Protest)
> 1997 – Manchester Airport 2nd Runway Phase I (Environmental protest)
> 1998 – Birmingham Northern Relief Road (Roads Protest)
> 1999 – Manchester Airport 2nd Runway Phase II (Environmental Protest)
> 2005 – St. Agnes place, Lambeth (Squat)
> 2006 – Dalkeith Bypass (Roads Protest)
> 2008 – Bell Lane (Environmental Protest)
> 2010 – Mainshill Wood (Environmental Protest)
> 2011 – Dale Farm (Traveller Encampment)
> 2012 – Albert Embankment (Squat)
> 2012 – Sussex University Bramber House (Student Occupation)
> 2013 – Patmos Lodge, Brixton (Squat)
> 2013 – Rushcroft Road, Brixton (Squat)

Leyshon, who is also the current head of the High Court Enforcement Officers Association, is an influential figure in the HCEO industry. His biography on the HCE Group website illuminates the significant role he has had in shaping the lobbying and political interests of HCEOs from the 1990s onwards, starting in the enforcement sector during the Poll Tax refusal campaigns, before being appointed a Sheriff's Officer in several counties. Leyshon established the National Eviction team in 1995, and was a founding member of the Sheriff's National Campaign after the Woolf report suggested changes to the civil procedure system. He was involved in the

consultations around the 2004 changes that created the current High Court Enforcement Officer (HCEGroup.co.uk, 2015). The High Court Enforcement Group merged with The Sheriffs Office in 2016, which also offered a specialist service for evicting activists and squatters, emphasising their experience:

> "Activists and protestors will often go to extreme lengths to prevent removal, including tunnelling, climbing trees and roofs, locking themselves onto buildings, as well as setting booby traps for the enforcement officers. We have even removed protestors locked in buried containers." (Sheriffs Office, n.d. (1))

From the 1990s onwards a new private security force developed among sections of the sheriff's officers and subsequently HCEO firms, focused on handling and eliminating forms of spatial protest, and dedicated to catering to the interests of organisations and local governments that might face opposition from travellers, environmental, or housing activists. This brought in new anti-protest strategies and tactics that entered the lexicon of large-scale evictions in the UK. An influential essay published in Earth First's *Do or Die* entitled 'Give Up Activism' drew much critical succour from this fact:

> "Wide-scale anti-roads protests have created opportunities for a whole new sector of capitalism - security, surveillance, tunnellers, climbers, experts and consultants. We are now one 'market risk' among others to be taken into account when bidding for a roads contract. We may have actually assisted the rule of market forces, by forcing out the companies that are weakest and least able to cope. Protest-bashing consultant Amanda Webster says: 'The advent of the protest movement will actually provide market advantages to those contractors who can handle it effectively.'" (Andrew X, 2000)

6.3.2 Deregulation

This process of specialisation came into its own following the deregulation of the Sheriffs Office in the Courts Act of 2003, which came into effect in 2004. The 2003 act effectively abolished the post of High Court Sheriff who appointed the Sheriffs Officer for a 'shrievalty' (an area designated to the sheriff), and instead appointed an HCEO to take on all of the powers previous allocated to a sheriff. It also

had a profound effect on the geography of the HCEO: it abolished the shrievalties, allowing HCEOs to accept writs from any part of the country they were registered in. Deregulation has had a significant effect on the accountability of the industry, according to an Advisory Service For Squatters volunteer:

> "HCEOs, there are loads of them, if we want to find out what's going on, we can't, if we want to put a stop to something…you don't actually know which company is being the HCEO, the probability is someone has already been allocated it and is actually doing half the work themselves, using their contacts at the High Court to make sure things go through" — 'Daniel' Advisory Service for Squatters

The HCEO interviewed reflected on the outcome of this process and came to not-dissimilar conclusions, before expanding further:

> "I think it was a bad decision, moving to the system we've got now, to High Court Enforcement Officers instead of Sheriff's officers, with their own bailiwick. I think if you ask, certainly insolvency practitioners and other people that need to know who's enforced a warrant, they will agree, because at the moment, someone will enforce a warrant, or perhaps an insolvency practitioner's trying to find out who might have a warrant. In the past they might say, it's in _____, it's one of H's, and they'd ring me up and I'd say; "yeah I've got one" or "no I haven't got one". Now they could ring me up and I could say; "no I haven't got one but there could be 51 other people who do have one" and there's no way of checking. There's no central registry set up at the moment, therefore it's very much guesswork at who could have a warrant…I think the idea of having one person in an area that you know deals with that particular area is far better than having 52 people who you don't know who's got the writ for that area. And I think that was a backwards step and I think a few people do. It's meant to be there to open up 'free enterprise' etcetera…I don't think it's done that because all that's happened is, rather than having 52 individual sheriff's officers, you've now got about 5 large High Court Enforcement firms, because they've bought up all the other officers, so whence you've tried to get more competition, you've in fact got less competition now." — 'Joe'

The 'Five Large Firms' referred to obliquely here more than likely include The Sheriffs Office, Marston Group, and the High Court Enforcement Group. Of the current members of the HCEOA, 19 are employees of HCE Group, 11 are employees or associated with Marston Group, 3 are associated with the Sheriffs Office (High Court Enforcement Officers Association, 2015a). The HCEOA is the main lobbying body and has significant input on the government reform process. If this chapter therefore seems to focus heavily on one or two firms and their actions, in particular the National Eviction Team, it is because the bulk of eviction writs are handled by a small group of companies with extensive geographical reach. This deregulation process has followed a similar pattern to other neoliberal deregulation efforts in the security sector which have seen companies such as Serco and G4S gain large market shares, which have been described by some as 'privately owned public monopolies' (Johal, Moran, and Williams, 2016), as such firms bid for and win contracts in hospitals, schools, local government offices, health assessments and transport, as well as providing private security at major events such as the Olympics and perhaps most notably, housing services and policing (White, 2014; Hirschler, 2015, p9).

The reorganisation of the Sheriffs Officer into the High Court Enforcement Officer 'opened up' a market in enforcement that had previously been geographically tied to the local court. Whatever the intended aims of this reform effort, the outcome was similar to that which occurred in the private security sector; a number of large firms emerged and dominated the market in eviction and enforcement practices, both through discourses of security but also through significant experience at the lobbying level.

This brief historical overview has outlined the origins of a contemporary repertoire of eviction and the emergence of a deregulated High Court Enforcement Sector. The Roads Protest movement and others liked it drove the development of a specialist eviction service in the UK, which became centred around providing a service to evict protesters, squatters, travellers and other groups which use land and property in heterodox ways to articulate rights, resist development or utilise resources. Sheriffs Officers, as they were, formed the basis for a new set of policing powers centred on eviction. This contributed in part to the development of several powerful enforcement firms in the UK known for their work on evictions. The 2004 deregulation meant that these firms could attain a substantial hold on the eviction

enforcement market, and created a free market in eviction specialists. The practical outcome is a set of skills and services that are present in the Enforcement Sector, and are concentrated in the hands of a few companies, with a long history of politicised encounters with evictions. These skills and tactics have a specifically political form as well as function, as they reflect norms and practices that have entered into the eviction repertoire through a history of politicised encounter and conflict over space. It is therefore to the contested spaces of eviction strategies in exceptional eviction that we need to turn, to examine in more detail the tactics and strategies that now shape the contemporary 'exceptional' eviction.

Chapter 7: Strategies and Tactics of Exceptional Eviction

Having examined the historical emergence of a specialised 'eviction industry', we can now turn to a critique of the strategic and tactical politics of 'exceptional' evictions. In the first half of this chapter I am going to draw on some key examples of surveillance, spatial control, and legal contingency, to illustrate these dynamics in action. Physical evictions are not just about removing people from spaces, they are also about exerting control over spaces swiftly and securely. Following, where possible, the work of the National Eviction Team, I draw on descriptive reports, video evidence, and interview accounts of past evictions to describe these practices.

In the second half of the chapter, I argue that large scale eviction mobilises the shock of the physical process of eviction, and the violence of these forms of destruction and experimentation, to produce lasting 'structures of feeling' and to impose new disciplinary boundaries on social groups.

I conclude by arguing that these strategies and tactics share key points of resonance with those found at the 'everyday' level concerning their development in response to resistance, and their affective politics. However I also demonstrate that they exceed localised and specific conditions of the everyday to reshape broad social cleavages and discipline the social body.

In doing so, I establish the limits of this thesis, and point the way towards the further research agenda described in the conclusion, which takes us beyond the scale of the national to the truly global, and implicates eviction strategies and tactics in wider geopolitical conflicts. The practices unmasked in this chapter provide the groundwork for bridging the local and the global politics of forced eviction enforcement.

I will start this exploration by looking at how eviction is a site of tactical experimentation: In particular, forms of surveillance, rapid enclosure, 'volumetric' action that concerns itself with reformatting urban space, and the targeting of infrastructure that make eviction enforceable.

7.1 Securing Space

Having explored the historical origins of specialised eviction strategies and tactics, in this chapter I will examine how eviction on a large scale demands a spatial tactics that goes well beyond 'talking' and small-scale actions. While negotiation

remains part of the process of eviction on a large scale, HCEO firms and police focus much more on securing and exerting forms of physically coercive spatial control. Eviction teams have to take a three dimensional approach to the spaces they are trying to evict, and have to work through spatial imaginaries of interiority and exteriority. These strategies are targeted at limiting the capacity for resistance to eviction that emerges; they act to both disrupt and prevent forms of co-operative resistance, and in doing so focus on preventing solidarities forming.This happens through enclosing and controlling the scene of eviction, and a material engagement with the space of the eviction.

7.1.1 Surveillance and Intelligence

As always, the space that is to be evicted is the great unknown. HCEOs and police do not necessarily know what is going on inside of the spaces they are trying to evict. Evictions are developing and ongoing processes and very often the kinds of tactics that HCEO firms anticipate they will need change without warning. Many if not most HCEO firms also offer private surveillance services, mostly based in private contracts to investigate errant partners, debt collection and workplace discipline. But some also clearly expand these skills into the field of eviction enforcement. HCEOs from the National Eviction Team can be seen filming in much of the footage and photography taken at evictions (see for instance Jackman, n.d). As revealed in interviews and reports, HCEO's dovetail their information with police intelligence, and liase with officers and police as a routine practice at any eviction. Police Intelligence gathering is almost certainly also used to inform HCEOs about who and what is inside the area targeted for eviction, and it is worth identifying two additional tactics that are used to identify and anticipate forms of resistance: Forward Intelligence and Evidence Gathering Teams and Police Spying.

Forward intelligence Teams are highly visible in public order situations, wearing blue tabards and wielding large and often impractical cameras intended to photograph faces from a long distance. The FIT is renowned for creating 'spotters cards' of known activists to give to officers, and has liaised with wider units. The Network for Police Monitoring (Netpol) an activist group heavily critical of Police surveillance tactics describes them thus:

'**Forward Intelligence Teams (FIT)**

FIT officers take notes of people's behaviour, appearance and associations and, where possible, record their identity. They may be in ordinary police uniform and therefore less obvious than members of an Evidence Gathering Team.

Evidence Gathering Teams (EGT)

EGT officers (usually in teams of two, with a photographer or video camera operator and a spotter) film or photograph individuals and crowds for evidence and intelligence purposes.

Police Liaison Officers (PLOs)

PLOs wear distinctive blue bibs and obtain information by 'engaging' with protesters and having 'friendly chats'. Senior officers described their role in gathering intelligence at last year's Reclaim the Power camp in Balcombe as 'crucial'.

Netpol strongly advises that you do not engage with Police Liaison Officers at any time.

All information gathered – including conversations with PLOs – is shared with an Intelligence 'Bronze Commander'. It is also likely to end up on a criminal intelligence database and can be kept and shared with the National Domestic Extremism and Public Order Intelligence Unit.' (Netpol, 2014)

The National Database of Domestic Extremists has been a highly controversial project set up by the police to document what the police have termed 'Domestic Extremists'. It is important to note that this is a police term with no grounding in law. Individuals on the database have had their actions recorded across multiple demonstrations and actions, often over many years; in one case one activist was documented 80 separate times by police officers at demonstrations (Evans and Lewis, 03/05/2011). Connected to these practices is the controversial process of police spying; at Balcombe anti-fracking Camp in Sussex, in June 2014, police failed to properly redact information from an FOI, revealing a police comment reported by the BBC that read:

"Once the operation moved into August it was apparent that an appropriate range of intelligence sources were being harnessed, including where appropriate European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) compliant covert means." ('Balcombe Fracking protesters 'spied on' by police' 24/06/2014)

Sussex Police Assistant Chief Constable Steve Barry justified the use of covert methods, arguing that "covert tactics are legitimate and necessary and whilst we can't disclose specific details, the methodology of these tactics is well publicised" (op. cit.).

Police surveillance of sites that are going to be evicted, and bailiffs filming the faces of occupiers and activists who are evicted, forms part of how the bailiff teams anticipate what kinds of resistance to expect and try to 'open up' the spaces they are going to be evicting. This is not a purely 'panoptic' form of surveillance; indeed many of those watched do not know they are being watched at all. Instead it forms part of a strategic logic that facilitates action; it works to map and track forms of eviction resistance, and establish and make legible the spaces police are looking to evict.

This strategic process of rendering space visible and measurable explains why the use of police helicopters is frequently reported at large scale evictions. The journalist Katharine Quarmby, reviewing police helicopter audio from the Dale Farm eviction, notes that the police used a colour-coded system to quarter the site into red, green, black and white zones, which then allowed helicopter crews to report rapidly on changes to teams on the ground (2014, p.132). Helicopter observers operate as an intermediary between the 'strategic' planning of the eviction and the tactical enactment of the eviction on the ground, as resources are deployed and redeployed in different ways.

While County Court Bailiffs evicting residential occupants have to rely local knowledge and the Risk Indicators used by landlords, HCEO firms conducting large evictions can expect and exchange information on the past histories of occupants, the tactics they've used, the political inclinations of the occupants, and even potentially information acquired through spying and covert action. When it comes to implementing the eviction, the bailiff teams and the police can begin to mobilise the skilled actors they need before they arrive on site.

7.1.2 Rope Teams and Controlling Height

The ways in which resistance, the exposed and vulnerable body, and discourses of risk and power interact can be seen in the way HCEOs and bailiff deal with the problems of height which play out in eviction processes. As outlined in the previous section, forms of resistance to eviction rely on the production of vulnerabilities and a particular relationship between the law and the body of the individual. Large buildings with multiple stories need a particular approach in order to prevent a stand-off on the top floor:

> "if you're dealing with a five storey building you've got to have a plan to clear it, usually from the top down over, so that you move each floor, clear the floor and make sure that floor is then secured, before you move on to the next floor, to move them down and eventually move everyone out of the building, and in cases like that, there will be police involvement, and we'll have liaised with the police and had a meeting with the police first of all to decide how we're gonna do it, how many men we're going to need etcetera etcetera, and then on the day, move in with the necessary people to get us in there first of all, because they'll generally have tried to barricade doors or whatever, so we've got to have a plan to get in there and have equipment on site to be able to effect that." — 'Joe', HCEO

This tactic was visible at the Bloomsbury Social Centre, a squatted student space that was opened in late 2011, according to occupants present at the eviction:

> "At about 7.00 a.m. a team of approximately 15 bailiffs entered 53 Gordon Square. The group smashed their way into the building by entrances at the basement and the roof of the fourth floor. Unable to pass through the barricaded hatch at the top floor, bailiffs used a sledge hammer to make a hole in the ceiling. They then used an electric saw to cut away the barricade beneath the hatch, providing themselves with a space large enough to make entry to the fourth floor. The double doors at the basement floor were also smashed in. Another group of bailiffs were attempting to batter through the ground floor front door until bailiffs in the building made it clear that access had already been gained." (Bloomsbury Social Centre, 2011)

Physically altering and opening up this building through the ceiling hole, the bailiffs were able to gain access and begin to clear from the top floor. As mentioned above, the use of tree houses spurred the creation of specialised rope access teams.

This is not to suggest that strategies of height are always to do with creating vulnerabilities; in some cases they confer a strategic and tactical advantage for a physical and forceful defence. Patmos Lodge, a disused care home that had been squatted, was a contentious case where the behaviour of squatters was used by a number of politicians including Chuka Umunna MP, former Labour minister Dame Tessa Jowell and Lib Peck, leader of Lambeth council, to argue for an extension of the criminal ban on squatting (passed in 2012), to commercial properties, on the basis of the cost of the eviction (some £150,000), and the disruption to local tenants lives (Cecil, 2013). A response by the group Squatters Action for Social Housing (SQUASH) in an Open letter detailed that the building had been disused for some time (SQUASH, 2013).

During the eviction of Patmos Lodge the National Eviction Team' claimed that they were subjected to a barrage of projectiles: "rocket fireworks, glass bottles, bricks and fire extinguishers' being thrown directly at our team" and after they entered the building the squatters "manage[d] to launch a full fire extinguisher though our support vehicle's sunroof causing considerable damage." (UKevict.com, 2015a). The HCEO account specifically notes the use of a fire extinguisher, possibly emphasised to reference the recent conviction of sixth form student Edward Wollard for dropping a fire extinguisher off the roof of the occupied Millbank Tower during student protests in 2010. Wollard was sentenced to two years and eight months of jail time for violent disorder, and was a focus on media coverage of the protests two years prior to the Patmos Lodge eviction ('Student Protestor Jailed for Throwing Fire Extinguisher' 11/01/2011). Wollards case demonstrates that such tactics bear potentially heavy legal costs for squatters if arrests and charges are made: Eviction resistance can sometimes be violent and confrontational as well as using passive forms of resistance; it is convenient to depict all large scale evictions as forms of non-violent direct action, but forms of violent resistance do happen, have a context and a cause, and can push the limits of what HCEOs are capable of, and the limits of the state monopoly on the legitimate use of force.

Securing high vantage points isn't purely about limiting risks to the occupant, it is also about limiting costs and injury to the HCEO and the Police, and ensuring

decisions which have large-scale ramifications for legality and state authority do not have to be made. The very real dangers of a rooftop eviction resistance for the occupier can be seen in footage taken by Sky news during a police-led eviction of a squat set up in Soho in 2013 as a base in London for protest against the G8 meeting in Northern Ireland. During this eviction one squatter ended up clinging to a chimney stack above a 4 storey drop. This lead to a stand-off which ended when the squatter tried to make a dash for the other side of the roof and police tackled them to the ground, before being removed on a stretcher due to injuries sustained (Harris and Fagge, 2013). Footage of the Claremont Road eviction shows a demonstrator falling from the netting slung across the road from the top floor of the houses activists were using to resist the eviction, apparently after the net was pulled on by police (Goodwin, 1995, 1hr 13 min). There is a biopolitics at play in such moments when the police and bailiffs have to make decisions that might expose eviction resisters to death and injury.

7.1.3 Besieging Occupants: Sweets Way and The Aylesbury Estate

However, evicting on a large scale isn't just about ferreting out the last bolt hole an occupant might take to; it is also focused on disrupting lines of supply, communication, and limiting the power of groups to act collectively to hold the space. This means that alongside a securing forms of height, bailiff teams and police have to work to disrupt forms of support and solidarity. Large-scale Evictions require forms of surveillance, enclosure and targeting to make the eviction run quicker. This tactic is clearest at two evictions: the case of Sweets Way in North London, and in the case of the Aylesbury Estate in 2015, a former social housing block in Southwark Scheduled for demolition by the local council. At the Aylesbury, after activists and former residents occupied the site to protest the demolition, Police and workmen entered the site and, according to activists, destroyed the doors of unoccupied flats and welded iron coverings over access points to prevent further occupations (Fight for The Aylesbury, 2015). Following this, Southwark Council commissioned a large wooden wall topped with defensive spikes to prevent further occupations: the wall then became a target of activist activities, first being used as a medium for slogans, before segments were outright pulled down and destroyed (Figure 9.). A statement released by the campaigners emphasised that they saw the wall as a 'cage', preventing them from contacting the outside world and the outside world from contacting them:

"Several hundred people came to destroy the cages. No fence can contain us. No fence can keep us out…. We are residents who still have leases and tenancies. We are everyone who needs a place to stay. We are bound by nothing but this need." (Fearn, 2015)

The aim of such a barrier was to control the eventual scene of eviction, to disrupt supply lines and to lay siege to the occupants by preventing easy access to the estate. So far it has been unsuccessful and at the time of writing (early November 2015) the estate is still occupied by activists. A more temporary model of strategic enclosure can be seen at Sweets Way, an estate of some 142 homes run by the Notting Hill Housing Trust that was scheduled for demolition in 2015 as part of a 'regeneration' scheme that would see the construction of homes for sale on the private market (Booth 24/09/2015).

The homes were occupied by campaigners and one local resident in particular, Mostafa Aliverdipour, around whom the campaign came to centre.

9. The fence being pulled down at the Aylesbury estate
(Watchful Eye (2015) CC BY-NC-SA 2.0 licence)

The campaign successfully turned away at least one visit by HCEOs to Aliverdipour's house in late August using passive resistance (Halkon 10/08/2015).

However at 8:30 in the morning of Wednesday the 23 September 2015, the police and National Eviction Team, along with other firms, encircled the site with metal harris fencing, creating a border which prevented activists bringing food in or re-occupying new buildings, and cherry pickers were brought in to remove activists from rooftops (Booth 23/09/2015). Photographs taken at the eviction show HCEO staff, in their fire suits and climbing helmets, filming the event for what are presumably future training purposes and police evidence (Jackman, n.d).

The aim of such fences in cases like Sweets Way and the Aylesbury is to disrupt attempts to re-occupy and assert control and enclose space. Theses fences are an intermediary between eviction and long-term solutions to securing the property, either through demolition, securitisation or redevelopment and re-sale. In such cases the boundaries between an eviction and a public order situation become blurred, and equally the boundaries between the practical tasks of legal eviction and the material process of destruction that drive urban or social regeneration become indistinguishable. This is perhaps most visible at the most prominent eviction in England since the M11 link protests; Dale Farm.

7.1.4 Torn out at the Roots: Dale Farm

The linkage between public order, punitive social practice, and eviction strategies was explicitly visible on the public stage during the eviction of part of the site at Dale Farm in Essex on the 19th March 2011. This was a widely covered event that saw activists and supporters from what would come to be known after the event as the Traveller Solidarity Network (TSN), arriving to support the traveller community, which was facing the demolition of a number of temporary homes erected on land owned by the community (Tyler, 2013 p.131). The contract for the eviction was held by Constant and Company (C&C hereafter), but was enforced partly by the National Eviction Team, who had been contracted by C&C to conduct the eviction, and multiple riot police. The Traveller Solidarity network used many of the tactics deployed during the roads protest movement, including a large gatehouse tower made of scaffolding ('Dale Farm traveller's eviction: Scaffolding Tower Dismantled' 20/10/2011). After multiple unsuccessful attempts to secure the future of the 'unauthorised' part of the traveller site, at 7:33 on the morning of the 19th, the Press Authority reported that electricity was shut off to the site, which affected vital medical support for some residents of the site, and one older resident was taken to hospital

because his defibrillator had been cut (Jones and Batty, 20/05/14). Riot police entered first, and used tasers at least five times to incapacitate activists ('Police Used Tasers five times at Dale Farm Eviction' 07/03/2012), a highly controversial decision that led some writers to question if police had 'broken their own rules' (Shackle, 2011). Superintendent Trevor Roe justified the decision on the day, claiming "serious violence was offered to a pair of officers and their response was to protect themselves" (BBC 19/10/2011). At 12:52 the police and National Eviction Team moved in on the gateway tower or gantry, as a journalist from the guardian observed cranes moving towards the tower (and also made an interesting speculation we shall return to):

> "More heavy lifting gear moving toward gantry. Cafe set up with free tea, coffee, bacon rolls for police, firemen and media — strategically upwind of gantry to tempt protesters down with food aromas?" (Jones and Batty 20/05/14)

Quarmby reports that the gantry became a preoccupation and point of focus for the police, with concern that the gantry was being used by "hostiles" to harbour petrol bombs (2014, p.143). By 4:40 the tower had been cleared using a cherry picker and crane: the day, which had involved the deployment of hundreds of police, ended with 23 arrests; mostly for public order offences, and cost an estimated £18 million, was over (Jones and Batty 20/05/14).

But the impact of the eviction was to be felt for many months and even years, both at Dale Farm and throughout the traveller community. Many residents were left camping on the side of the road up to the former site. A year on 7:33 from the morning of the 19th, residents were still without stable electrical supply:

> "It's hell. Hell," said Nora Sheridan, 47. "We have no toilets. We have no electrics. We have to beg around for a sip of water. Look at the way we are living." (Barkham, 23/02/2012)

Along with the removal of the traveller caravans from the 'unauthorised' site, the eviction had also targeted the infrastructural support the residents were using, displacing them off-grid. The eviction strategy used by authorities at Dale Farm was a concerted strategy of *domicide* and *urbicide* that stretched beyond a series of

10. Police move in on the 'gantry' at Dale Farm
(Susan Craig-Greene (2011b) CC BY-NC-SA 2.0 licence)

localised tactics based on 'what the job required', and aimed at the uprooting of a social assemblage and the material infrastructures that sustained it. It resembled a view of the traveller encampment as a battlespace which needed to be razed and made legible. This is a pattern visible across the eviction of traveller communities in the UK, in which whole social groups become engaged in bitter struggles, often involving large scale production of vulnerability either deliberately or through practical necessity, as recounted by the HCEO I interviewed:

> "We've just done [a traveller eviction]…where we needed, we had, six bailiffs, and fifteen police officers, and the police helicopter up. The travellers had locked their children in the caravans to stop us moving the vans with anybody in, chained the vans together, on to the fences, etc. So there's a lot of planning that goes into what we need then to actually move them. So again it's very much in the planning, and moving it from there." — 'Joe'

During a 2008 Judicial review conducted at the High Court regarding the eviction of Dale Farm, Justice Andrew Collins came to the following conclusion about a previous eviction also conducted by C&C:

> "In January 2004, there was enforced eviction of a number of families from an unauthorised site at Twin Oaks in Hertfordshire. I have seen a video which shows how the bailiffs employed by the Council (who, it seems, this Council proposes to use if enforcement can take place) acted. The conduct was unacceptable and the evictions were carried out in a fashion which inevitably would have led to harm to those affected. I have no doubt that the Council must reconsider the use of the firm in question and ensure that any eviction (if these claims fail) is carried out in as humane a fashion as possible. The police presence at Twin Oaks failed to curb the excesses of the bailiffs." (Royal Courts of Justice, 2008)

A case like Dale Farm represents a convergence of three interlinked histories: the activist history of eviction resistance, the history of the Traveller community as a stigmatised group policed through eviction, and the history of the HCEO firms and the National Eviction Team, and their relationship to these two groups. Eviction strategies that destroy infrastructure and deploy forms of enclosure and fencing are most frequently targeted at the most marginalised groups living in spaces of territorial stigma; social housing tenants in large estates seen as needing wholesale redevelopment, squatters in precarious housing, and travellers that face media stigma and have limited legal rights, evictions are punitive acts in and of themselves, directed towards 'abject' pseudo-citizens.

7.1.5 Violence and Excess: Rushcroft Road

The boundaries of citizenship, and the battlefield politics of large scale evictions, show how where 'reasonable' force ceases to be 'reasonable' in an eviction is blurry. Overt physical action and forms of violence are often underpinned by trajectories of abjection and exclusion for the groups they are enacted upon, and deploys this marginality to challenge and press against the lines of legality. Evictions become legal grey zones with potential for forms of violence and punitive action which set new limits. The eviction of Rushcroft Road in Brixton in 2013 was just such a case.

The street, which had been occupied for some three decades with housing co-ops and squats, was owned by Lambeth Council, who decided to repossess the property for a redevelopment. In many ways the eviction was seen as a starting gun for the gentrification of Brixton, as the council had concluded after 35 years that the expenditure of eviction would be less costly than the revenue and social housing stock that could be generated from its redevelopment.

On the morning of the 27 July, the Police and bailiffs from the National Eviction Team moved in. The NET account presents a classic case of a clean, swift and efficient eviction handled using military precision:

> "The squatters had rallied support from various groups on the internet to try not only impede but to intimidate by lighting fires in wheelie bins and throwing yellow paint at our Enforcement officers and the police. A large police presence took control of the unruly mob whilst our team entered the first of 6 buildings, navigating through furniture that had barricaded the front doors and into each individual apartment. Our entry into the first building fuelled the growing crowd more, with some ugly scenes at the entrances of the next buildings to be evicted. Once each dwelling within the mansion had been cleared teams of Enforcement Officers were placed at each building entrance to prevent further occupation.
>
> The plan implemented was to ensure a safe and speedy resolution, but as always we had to adapt and think on our feet when the squatters and protestor numbers increased. It was at this juncture the decision to continue with the eviction of the remaining mansions, and whilst the crowds grew outside one mansion, we out manoeuvred, and out thought the protestors to enter another mansion further down the road where there was less of a crowd. All of our team had to endure verbal and physical abuse and scuffles from the protestors during the whole eviction, however Lambeth Police congratulated us on our professionalism, restraint in force and the speed of the operation."
> (UKEvict, 2015a)

Hannah Schling, a geographer and activist present at the squat eviction, recorded a very different scenario:

> "Whilst they intervened to physically clear those resisting the eviction, no action was taken against the multiple instances of violence used by… [the HCEOs] hired by the council to carry it out. HCEOs hit and pushed those present, going far beyond their power to use 'reasonable force' to ensure an eviction. I personally witnessed a HCEO holding someone by the throat, which video and photographic documentation of the eviction reveals to be a repeated occurrence." (Schling, 2013)

Simon Childs, a reporter, and the photographer Jake Lewis, documented a member of the NET apparently restraining a man by the neck in a report for Vice Magazine. Childs commented that "one advantage of being a bailiff is that it's seemingly OK to assault people in broad daylight while standing right next to a police officer. "(Childs and Lewis, 2013). The powers deployed by HCEO firms, and the lack of clear lines of legal accountability for law enforcement, and the chaotic nature of forcible eviction, creates opportunities for violent encounter. It is worth noting that incidents such as these occur in a context in which, according to the charitable campaign group Inquest, no death in police custody has led to a successful prosecution since 1998 as of June 18th 2015 (Inquest, 2015). The most prominent recent case of a death during a public order situation following contact with police is that of Ian Tomlinson, a 47 year old newsagent who was struck from behind by PC Simon Harwood during the G20 demonstrations in London in 2009. An inquest found that Tomlinson had been unlawfully killed, and Harwood was prosecuted for manslaughter, only to be found not guilty; though he was later sacked for gross misconduct, his family considered the case a "whitewash" ('G20 Death: PC Simon Harwood Sacked for gross misconduct' 17/09/2012). The history of police accountability plays in to public order interactions through the kinds of legal monitoring and rhetoric activists use. Large scale eviction has potentially fatal consequences, and many activists see few safeguards in place: Be it through the 'manufactured' exposure of life and bodies to death and injury, like the activists at risk of falling from the G20 squat or the netting at Claremont Road, the deployment of 'less-than-lethal' weaponry such as tasers outside of guidelines in experimental situations, the destruction of essential services (as in the case of the electrical supply at Dale Farm), or the direct use of excessive restraint, this force is facilitated by legally ambiguous contexts.

These acts of physical force by police and bailiffs were seen as routine by activists and organisers in the squatting community (something Schling emphasised in her report). For the HCEOs part, the law around access was sincerely expressed as an obstacle to their work in enforcing various kinds of court judgements:

"We would like the power to break into properties, when appropriate [when enforcing non-eviction writs]. That would need to be closely governed, but we would like that power, it's there in place at residential properties so at the moment we can be stopped at the door and there is nothing we can do about it. The Data Protection Act is a major problem for us. Other enforcement agencies in other countries have a lot more access to assist them than we're able to access at the moment. Our association is making noises to the government all the time, about gaining further access to information when it's for use solely in executing a court judgement. As I said we do talk as an association, we do talk to other enforcement agents in other countries, and those countries do allow a lot more access to information which would assist in the execution of court judgements than we have. Things like that, we're always trying achieve more help on it." — 'Joe'

From the perspectives of the HCEOs and the enforcement industry, the law is sometimes an obstacle to the swift and efficient enforcement of court judgements. There is a scalar disjunction of law in place in which court judgements and individual rights are brought into conflict with one another.

In the case of evictions, for groups representing those affected by changes in the law, this conflict often resolved 'on the ground' in favour of the claimant and the interests of the property owner. The Advisory Service for Squatters saw the police as a largely ambivalent force in such situations, sometimes turning to a blind eye to even flagrant violations of the law:

"I think they will try anything. There was one even a year ago, I think this was [a non-HCEO private security firm], there was no writ, no order at all. It was a flat roofed building. Security turned up, the police turned up and telling them they shouldn't be forcing entry. And after over an hour, one of them on the roof suddenly "discovered" in inverted commas, that there was a hole that he could

get through. Clearly that hole hadn't been there before, and clearly force was used to gain entry. The police weren't interested." - 'Daniel'

According to activists, evictions can often form test cases and opportunities for police and bailiffs to put the limits of legal tolerance. Private security firms that have no legal powers acting outside their remit is often reported by activists. Equally police are often alleged by activists to use criminal law to execute civil procedures; Bethune Road, a squat that had a standing writ of repossession against it that was resisted several times, had a police raid-eviction 2011 dramatic scenes described by the 'Housing Solidarity Blog':

> "At 5am on Tuesday 28th June the squat was raided by a reported seventy-five TSG officers, who took on the extensive barricades at the front of the house with a hydraulic battering ram to secure an exit before entering the house by smashing through a loft window. Thirty cells had been booked at Stoke Newington and Leyton police stations – quite a few too many for the 3 occupants whom the police found waiting for them quietly in their home. They were arrested for abstraction of electricity and criminal damage, the one-size-fits-all charge for summarily arresting and evicting squatters when no other charges can be brought against them. Operation Moosehide, as it was code-named by the police, did not look like it could be considered a success." (Housing Solidarity Blog 26/06/2011)

Izzy Köksal, a housing activist and squatter writing for New Left Project in 2014, continued:

> "There are many more stories of surveillance, illegal roof top break-in evictions, hired thugs, thefts and physical assaults. All of this is just one aspect of the wider precarity and violence of the housing crisis. Squatters are people who are simply attempting to house themselves and the criminalisation of squatting residential buildings has made this more difficult. The whole raft of extra-legal methods used by police, bailiffs, and property owners against squatters makes this situation even worse, as their ability to reside safely and securely in non-residential buildings is constantly under threat. Squatters Legal Network said they knew of four recent instances of police harassing

squatters, in some cases failing to act when a section 6 of the Criminal Law Act has been broken by the owner, and often siding with the owner (Section 6 protects the rights of occupiers of properties). SLN also spoke of the difficulty of gathering this sort of information from squatters and so it is probable that the number of cases of abuses is much higher." (Köksal, 2014)

One of the problems with such cases, is the unreliability of activist reports and what Köksal terms the "nonchalant" and resigned attitude of squatters to violations of the law; events are poorly recorded, often occur at early hours when mobilising support or independent witnesses is incredibly difficult. Once a squat or occupation is evicted, the occupants tend to part ways, and it is only through the work of organisations like ASS and SLN that contacts are maintained and records recorded. As the ASS reports, even when the police are present, there is a mistrust and an understanding that the Police will not intervene even when the law is being openly violated. Exceptional Evictions are an area of 'grey legality' where violence pushes against the law. The impact of violence, and the kinds of powers deployed, structure and shape the future expectations of evictions and encourage groups targeted by such eviction strategies; squatters, travellers, and activists; to become accustomed to forms of force and power that have little legal codification. This legal ambiguity becomes even more pronounced when it comes to the use of tactics to persuade or induce dispositions and emotional responses in the targets of such action; the affective impact of these strategies happens in an area outside of normative legal framings of property and housing rights.

7.1.6 The Entanglement of Force and Feeling

Footage taken in 2013 at the Rushcroft Road eviction ('meanutt' 01/08/2013)) shows the scene inside: There is pounding on the door, and shouting echoing up the stairs; down the stairs chairs, tables and other household objects are passed, to be barricaded against the door in a large pile: "Heavier, get something heavier" one person can be heard shouting. The windows of the door are smashed and the door is pushed against firmly. There is shouting, banging, and the scene is incredibly chaotic. The sense of urgency, of chaos, and of panic the footage conveys is doubled up by the use of household objects to barricade the door; objects are removed from their canonical use in the home as mattresses, chairs or coffee tables, and turned into

(albeit poor quality) barricades. In his *History of the Barricade* (2016 *passim*) the author Eric Hazan has argued that barricades are symbolic representations of the 'will' to resist. The barricade is a demonstration of the way in which the material and the emotional interact and interplay; the form of resistance becomes part of the form of 'home unmaking' itself.

The processes described thus far can be considered part of the infrastructure of Exceptional Eviction, the strategies, tactics and processes of managing and controlling space, disrupting connections and 'uprooting' infrastructures and support mechanisms point to a developing and ongoing history of eviction strategies, one which responds to and builds on previous histories of eviction resistance. These processes are notable features of the process of dispossession I have connected to Exceptional Eviction. Unlike the everyday processes of eviction, physical force is not a threat displaced onto police, but a central part of Exceptional Eviction Strategies. But these strategies are linked to an 'Intuitive Infrastructure' built around managing morale: the material violence enacted upon evicted groups is folded into a process of emotional management and emotional politics, targeted at producing certain dispositions. What occurs on the doorstep at a smaller scale finds itself embedded into a material force and violence.

7.2 Affective Power

To make sense of these tactics and strategies, we also need to examine how exceptional evictions produce lasting affects, often serving to demoralise and demobilise the evicted party, but also to structure future encounters with law enforcement.

Exceptional evictions can occur at the end of long processes of legal and private negotiation: in cases such as Dale Farm, the Aylesbury Estate, Rushcroft Road in Brixton and the others negotiations lasted from several years to decades. The Transition Heathrow protest site, for instance, opposing the expansion of Heathrow Airport, has been in existence since 2010, and had a court writ issued against it valid from August of 2014 (at the time of writing, November 2015, the site is still occupied) (Transition Heathrow, n.d). This process often incorporates the totality of a political campaign, its media coverage and its dissolution. A persistent theme of the opposition narratives squatters, travellers, and environmental protestors have to fight

against is a stigmatisation or 'abjection' (to use Tyler's (2013) terms), of political action: these are scaled-up variants of the logic at work in the localised institutions of everyday eviction; the courts, the housing association and the County Court Bailiff, that deal with benefit claimants, vulnerable social groups and stigmatised territories.

These operate off the perception of a contagion at work in large scale evictions and public order situations, associated with preventing 'toxic' and dangerous sensibilities and dispositions entering into public discourse, and informing bailiff and policing strategies. Martin Leyshon's account for the NET website specifies the arrival of "pretty extreme" activists as a key moment at which the "landscape changed", and emphasises the threatening behaviour and violence in the lead up to the site clearance (UK Evict, 2015). This echoes the coverage of the eviction in conservative media that saw the TSN as outside agitators bringing dangerous skills and knowledges into a volatile situation, and perverting the course of justice. *The Daily Mail*, for instance, ran with the famous front page headline 'Anarchists Hijack The Traveller's Last Stand' (Levy 01/09/11). *The Telegraph* called activists "the real villains" (West, 19/10/2011). In an article by Roddy Ashworth for *The Daily Express* the activists at dale farm were described thus:

> "Anarchists, activists, students alike, they can embed their hands in as many vats of cement as they want and park as many vans against the entrance to the site as they can muster. Rather than drawing the hearts of middle England to their "cause", however, these protesters may strengthen the public's feelings against them. As a result, the two groups appear to make very uneasy bedfellows.
>
> I overhear one protester discussing his last piece of "direct action", targeting the next generation of nuclear power stations. Many of them seem amateurish, young and very middle-class.
>
> Perhaps it is their "Gap Yah" and, rather than touring the world, they have simply stayed in this country to make a nuisance of themselves before sinking back into a life of university and income tax." (Ashworth 25/09/2011)

We can see how sources of 'Bad Feeling', which, in the previous chapter were situated with specific individuals and family relations (as in the imagined example of

Doris) come to be associated with whole groups. These processes are also folded in through systems of symbolic convergence like those described by Stuart Hall et. al. (2013, p220); forms of resistance to displacement and discrimination are blurred into a series of lifestyle signifiers. The travellers at dale farm were seen as a toxic community, devaluing social relations and property, the activists as a catalyst, incentivising and encouraging this behaviour. These comments explicitly situate activism and eviction resistance as the source of negative feelings towards travellers.

A favourable narrative is visible in the case of Tom Crawford, a cancer patient who defaulted on the mortgage on his family home at Fearn Chase in Nottingham. Crawford may have ended up like many other unreported cases of mortgage default, had he not put out a series of appeals on youtube and social media for support in resisting his eviction. Crawford's story got rapidly picked up in the local and national press. Crawford was able to gather a large group of supporters. One participant who attended the demonstrations and eviction resistances I interviewed noted that this group was mostly comprised of pseudo-legal activists organised through sites like *getoutofdebtfree.org*, but also drew support from more traditional leftist supporters from local organisations like the anti-austerity campaign Notts Save Our Services, and the Anarchist Federation.

The initial eviction resistance in July of 2014, which drew an estimated 300 supporters received national coverage. A further series of resistance actions through to the following year brought similar numbers in, until the next July, after several appeals to the county court, when, with the media in attendance, hundreds of police officers lined the route to Crawford's home, and County Court Bailiffs moved in. There are two unusual features of Crawford's case worth mentioning.

The first is that it was never transferred by the mortgage company, Bradford and Bingley, to the High Court, instead all enforcement was handled by County Court Bailiffs and police; this is unusual for a case where there is significant eviction resistance by a large group. The second feature is the comparatively positive coverage Crawford received from traditionally conservative media. The Daily Mail, which provided such negative coverage for Dale Farm, provided a much more neutral account of Crawford's fight to retain his home, emphasising Crawford's health problems and prolonged dispute with Bradford and Bingley over his mortgage (Duell, 02/07/2015). These two aspects point in different directions: firstly, that the police response was not a solely neutral public order issue, despite that claimed by a police spokesman (ibid.), it also had a clearly visible public dimension with consideration for

the media: riot shields were not used, and high-visibility vests were worn by police at all times.

Secondly that the media itself is selective about the narratives it tells; Crawford's case was one which chimed with conservative values of aspiring homeownership, featuring a white male protagonist who lived a 'settled' life in a suburban area of Nottinghamshire. Crawford's case was treated as a narrative of an individual against the state supported by friends and well-wishers; whereas Dale Farm was troubled by 'outside agitators'. In some ways Crawford's case is the exception that proves the rule; there is a conscious and politicising dimension at work in how and why evictions get handled.

The explicit identification of specific groups with bad feelings and 'troublemakers' works to abstract them from historical processes and struggles in which they are situated and which inform their sensibilities, and condemns them as inherently toxic individuals who work only in terms of hedonistic action. The identity of the activist is associated with the lazy student, privileged youngster, and 'university and income tax'. This echoes the persistent media narrative of 'middle class squatters' and 'tree huggers' in other cases of eviction. Of course there is a material foundation to this narrative; organisations and groups almost certainly do share members and experiences of eviction, especially after the Criminal Justice Act of the 1990s targeted Travellers, Squatters and Activists together; as shown above, these experiences and skills developed alongside those of HCEO firms, but it is precisely this history that gets erased by such narratives. Eviction specialists echo and incorporate these media narratives, and connect the physical and political landscape of the eviction with the emotional and ideological content of their actions, although they also clearly have an eye to the experience of the groups involved.

Eviction tactics implicitly and explicitly identify sources of bad feeling and incorporate them into the prosecution of eviction. There is a logic of containment and isolation at work in many large-scale evictions which overlaps and draws on the tactics and strategies used in the policing of demonstrations and public order situations. The practices of enclosure described in the previous chapter signify a politics of 'immunological enclosure' (Vasudevan, Jeffrey, and Macfarlane, 2012) that isolates out political subjectivities - indeed, that The Metropolitan Police use the same temporary barrier system for crowd management as for nuclear, biological and chemical spills (Hancox 11/12/2011)), should not be surprising.

7.2.1 Target-Objects

But specific feelings of morale and wellbeing also become the *target* of emotional action not just containment, as the tactics of the doorstep play out in larger evictions through the engineering of bodily morale. HCEOs are well aware of the use of doorstep tactics used on the small scale:

> "Therefore you will arrive at some scenes where there may be a distressed wife, left by her husband, the kids are crying etc. And you've still got to carry out the eviction, that's very stressful, because that's not the sort of thing I like doing, I'm not that kind of person, and neither are the staff. But it's something that has to be done. So there's a lot of stress, every day. Where you're going into situations where it's very much unknown…So it's very much, you're walking into the unknown, and it's your years of experience that have got to deal with the situation that arises on the day. I can give them as much direction of what to do while I sit here before they go out, but when they arrive at the doorstep and something happens, it's gotta be dealt with there and then and decisions have to be made at the time, at that instance, so it's very stressful." — 'Joe', HCEO

At smaller evictions this may be in the forms of the scenes described above; distressed families and individuals, which require many of the same skills of self-monitoring, bodywatching and persuasion described earlier. At larger, exceptional, evictions, the process becomes one of continuing negotiation about leaving, often using the discomfort of continued occupation as a leverage point. The cartoonist Kate Evans records the conditions she found at Bryn Henllys farm in Wales, the first of the NETs recorded evictions, an opencast site being prevented by activists occupying trees:

> "It rained…and rained…and rained…and there were 70mph winds. We got really cold and wet and because they'd trashed our barn and our rayburn (bastards) then we had to sleep in a cold, open fronted bard with wet bedding" (Evans 1995)

Following this:

"Loads of people got nicked but the police were really nice and gave us food and hot chocolate, and we got warm and dry" (ibid.)

In Evans' narrative the police and bailiffs use a very clear carrot and stick approach in this instance, combining the cold and wet conditions with destruction of resources, in order to demoralise and demobilise the demonstrators. This is followed by kind treatment and warm conditions. We might recall the speculation made by the journalist that police and bailiffs took comfort breaks for "tea and bacon rolls" within view of the tower at Dale Farm. A similar account from the Claremont Road eviction in 1990 comes from the last occupant of the central tower, but which takes the opposite tack, the police becoming first kind, then aggressive, then reverting to kindness after arrest:

> "Those left on the tower locked on to a heavy duty chain supplied by Greenpeace which rendered conventional police bolt croppers useless. But there was nothing conventional about this eviction, and a high power hydraulic cutter soon dealt with the chain leaving Phil alone without food or water: 'After they got the last person they tipped it all away.'

> He managed to get three blankets, & built a small platform to sleep in. The police repeatedly came up to talk to him - apparently to check if he was OK, but according to Phil: 'The whole thing was a sleep depravation exercise. I was sleeping quite soundly actually, but he was hassling me all night, coming up to see if I was alright. '

> They finally came for him at dawn. Although the police press release said he came voluntarily, that's not the way Phil remembers it: "Suddenly the police were on me, & they had me. It was the same police who had been really matey the day before & now they were saying - 'You move & you're fucking...' They were really aggressive as they put the cuffs on me & then suddenly they switched back, saying, 'We're friends again now - were you cold over night? Did you have enough blankets?'" (Green Fuse, n.d.)

The oscillating affect of the police officers at work in these accounts from the Roads Protest movement is such a familiar social phenomenon that we use the term 'good cop/bad cop' in common parlance. The processes of sleep deprivation, and resource deprivation, are commonly recognised interrogation tactics, designed to produce a disposition in the target of the strategy to comply with police requests; there is a resonance with the tactics of 'debility, dependency, and dread' that Anderson describes at work in military interrogation methods (2013, p67).

This practice is the limitation of the capacity to act and resist, it is the management of the body through forms of deprivation and the removal of objects that work as emotional resources. Obviously the social status, pacifistic approach, and the historical context of the demonstrators in these cases to some extent determined their treatment by the police. But the processes of emotional management do not dissipate as the stakes and scale of eviction strategies become larger, they mutate and become increasingly aligned with other forms of affective power the state exercises: deprivation, destruction and violence, and the practices of interrogation come into play.

7.2.2 Persistence of the Eviction

The process of identifying and managing sources of bad feeling and the physical processes of identifying and restricting infrastructures, such as shelter, heating, or electricity, combine as a strategy of disrupting and negating enactments of solidarity and empathy. Destroying the means occupants use to sustain forms of resistance is also the process of breaking up lines of communication, mutual aid and morale. This is part of the role of eviction plays as a disciplinary tool, as evictions produce lasting impacts. These are not 'externalities' of the process, produced by accident, but an intrinsic part of the eviction process, especially in large-scale evictions enacted on historically marginalised communities. On this large scale, exceptional evictions form points of convergence; as at Dale Farm, the Aylesbury Estate, and Claremont Road, where 'generational' experiences of activists have been shaped. The Free Association, a writing collective who trace their experiences back through the Reclaim the Streets, Free Parties and Squatters movements, argue:

"In order to participate in the birth of a new generation, a lot must be given up—often it is only the shock of an event that can complete that process and

allow the displacement from one, saturated problematic to a new one " (Free Association, 2011, p.113)

Recollections of the Claremont Road eviction capture this sensibility, as one occupier recalled:

> "We cost them £6 Million, we had the longest eviction…well all right, the longest greenie eviction in bloody history…at least equal to the one up at Molesworth in 1985 [when a peace camp was removed by the army]. Yeah, I mean there were the same number of cops, etc. …as there were Royal Engineers at Molesworth" (Wall, 1999, p.79)

Claremont Road in these accounts is situated as a 'victory in defeat', and a crux moment for the Roads protest movement in which the previous peace camp movement, is superseded and surpassed in its ability to confront and exhaust the state. At Rushcroft Road, almost twenty years later, the eviction was seen as a starting gun for a cycle of gentrification and displacement which would see the cultural life of Brixton eroded and replaced by an affluent cultural milieux:

> "When Foxtons, the estate agents, opened on the high street in March, it was targeted by vandals. "YUCK," they wrote across the plate glass facade. And "YUPPIES OUT" again, the most common refrain. It became a symbol of gentrification - the 'Hoxton-isation' of Brixton, as the local blogs call it - and was forced to hire in bouncers. Last night a police van was parked outside the office, just in case the anger spread from Rushcroft Road across the square and through the windows." (Flyn, 16/07/2013)

The introduction of Section 144 means that Rushcroft Road is likely to be one of the last major squats to be evicted from a residential building; the eviction was at the point of a shift in emphasis for activists from campaigns focused on Squatters Rights (such as Squatters Action for Social Housing, SLN, and ASS), to campaigns centred around Gentrification and the destruction of large housing units (as at the Aylesbury Estate and Sweets Way).

Both of these campaigns can be contrasted with the outcomes from Dale Farm, which tell a very different story for the Travellers involved. Reports by activists

present during the Dale Farm eviction suggest constant anxiety, and children present at the site were said to have persistent nightmares about bailiffs (Quarmby, 2013, p.142). As one spokesperson put it:

> "'There is this feeling that after Dale Farm, nothing will ever be the same again,' says Jo Cowley, health consultant for the Gypsy Council. 'There is terror in the community, I hear it every day, particularly on those sites that have got temporary planning permission – they just feels like the clock is ticking.'" (Topping, 2011)

The psychological effects of repeated eviction of traveller communities suggests an entrenchment of anxieties across generations. This points to a weakness in the Free Association's narrative of shifts from one problematic to the next: while what appear to be similar experiences share similar tactics across time, they have very different outcomes depending on the historical experiences of those involved, and result in very different sets of 'problematics'.

As I have argued above, cases like Dale Farm are a convergence point between activists and travellers, and both groups bring mixed histories together, and potentially developing mixed outcomes. Again it may be necessary to return to Berlant's work: to examine how, through the disruption of routines of feeling, historical periods come to be seen as epochal or momentary, while at the same time being experienced as part of a drawn-out 'now' as they are happening. How these evictions act on a large scale to shape and create new 'structures of feeling' such as those described by Raymond Williams (1977), points to the need for a greater study of the emotional impacts of eviction and public order tactics across long scales of time.

The histories and strategies of eviction interweave with histories of public order policing and media discourses, to produce cultures of eviction which rest on both a material strategy of displacement through disruption, and a affective-ideological tactic of disrupting solidarities, forms of association and contagious affects. The destruction of communities and their infrastructures can have lasting and damaging effects on the ties that reproduce them. The HCEO account of Dale Farm echoes the closing off of the Aylesbury estate and Sweets Way, not just in the physical tactics of siege and control, but also in the ideological foundations on which such tactics rest. The destruction of property during the night, the deployment of riot police, tasers, crowd-

11. Two children wait in a trailer at Dale Farm during the eviction
(Susan Craig-Greene (2011a) CC BY-NC-SA 2.0 licence)

control methods, rope teams, coercive affective power, all point towards a set of strategies that may have long-term impacts. Studies of the emotional and mental health impacts of eviction have sought to explore linkages between the structural violence of losing one's home, and the lasting outcomes of that loss. But equally there is a need for research that looks at *how* the home is lost, and the psychological impact of the kinds of methods described above. This is not the precise emphasis of this project, but it is something that any researcher exploring the links between eviction and affective power should take account of.

7.3 Exceptional Eviction: Conclusion

In her work on Rimbaud and the Paris Commune, *The Emergence of Social Space*, Kristin Ross (1998) recalls how the Communards attempted to rewrite the way they engaged with the city they occupied. The words of these early pioneers of modern urban warfare resonate with the strategies used by squatters, activists, and travellers in their resistance to forced evictions, and the tactics of bailiffs involved in removing them:

> "'Troops guard the ground floor while others climb quickly to the next floor and immediately break through the wall to the adjoining house and so on and so forth as far as possible...Street fighting does not take place in the streets but in the houses...[defence] depends on changing houses into passageways - reversing or suspending the division between public and private space.'" - Former Union Army General and Paris Communard Gustave Paul Cluseret (Ross, 1988, p.38)

> "When, on the line of defence, a house is particularly threatened, we demolish the staircase from the ground floor, and open up holes in the floorboards of the next floor, in order to be able to fire on the soldiers invading the ground floor." - Auguste Blanqui (Ross, 1988, p.37)

While the communards were unquestionably fighting a very different struggle to their contemporary counterparts, protest movements draw on this legacy of thinking space: the inversion of public and privates space at sites like Claremont Road, the use of height and power to resist incursion through towers, rooftops and netting used the material repertoire of the Commune as much as they used the linguistic and philosophical legacy of the Communards.

There is a historical spatiality of eviction, which creates the structures of power in which contemporary evictions happen, and which shapes how contemporary evictions take place. This history has produced tactics which echo each other across time and space, through formal and informal networks of exchange.

I have emphasised in previous chapters that eviction practices are shaped by both formal institutional training and a less tangible but equally significant encounter between eviction enforcement and resistance that is productive of intuitive practices.

Resistance *leads* this process of development and production of disciplinary techniques, because it is anticipated, encountered, and responded to. Resistance across a long duration serves to disrupt and re-align routines, historicising practices until they appear epochal or definitive of a particular past practice or way of doing things.

When looking at what I have termed 'Exceptional Eviction', these dynamics move from implicit, un-represented or unspoken assumptions of the process of developing strategies, to an open antagonistic encounter, riven with polemic. The key agencies enforcing these evictions rely on a historically developed set of skills that are grounded in personal experience and on-the-job training, but also extend to an explicit politics of eviction; The HCEO firms are the key specialist at work in the eviction of large buildings and sites, and the most experienced actor in relation to the political activism that resists eviction. Emerging as specialised agencies in response to the roads protest movements and emergent social movements in the early 90s, they have been forged, over the last 25 years, into a specialised industry built through conflicts over explicit political claims to property and citizenship. Groups like the National Eviction Team have become a feature of the policing of Exceptional Evictions, and have formed the backbone of a powerful set of interests within both the HCE industry and policing cultures which has only been hinted at here. Their work and practices have been developed through repeated encounters with political activists, travellers, and squatter groups, who form a tripartite set of histories that cross over with that of enforcement specialists.

The skills that have been developed by the HCEOs and police act in response to the material challenges of eviction; they connect control over specific kinds of space to forms of spatial power. They work to control heights and tunnels to prevent bolt-holes developing, working through a legal logic that acts in a biopolitical manner in relation to people exposed to potential injury and death. HCEOs have drawn on this experience to develop a tactical repertoire that focuses on both the 'Volumetric' politics of depth, verticality, and interiority that have concerned recent geographical debates (Graham and Hewitt, 2013; Harris, 2014). They act to disrupt solidarities and prevent further occupations by targeting the material infrastructures occupiers depend upon and enclosing spaces; there is a logic of siege at work in these actions, they attempt both to encircle and 'starve out' occupants by limiting their ability to act and mobilise their support networks. This logic extends to cases, as at Dale Farm, where eviction strategies 'uproot' whole infrastructures, forming a 'petty urbicide'

where the aim of eviction is the destruction of a community and the resources it uses to support itself. All of this occurs under the auspices of what is seen by those facing eviction as a 'grey' legality in which bailiff force is often overlooked or facilitated by police inaction, and the law is enforced through the suspension of normative citizens rights.

These practices enact a form of affective power, as they go beyond the basic material deployment of force to utilise forms of demoralisation, dejection and observation to identify and negate forms of emotional support that groups resisting eviction use. Through identifying individuals as toxic subjects bringing disruptive tendencies into the scene of eviction, or alternatively 'hijacking' the legitimate experiences of others, groups conducting enforcement incorporate media narratives into their practices. These practices connect into forms of surveillance and monitoring police and HCE firms use, identifying and targeting activists for arrest. Using the term that the NET chose, we might observe that these practices are about governing the "landscape" of an eviction; a seamless combination of the atmospheric feeling and the material objects that serve as obstacles to the effective and rapid enactment of the eviction. These actors then work on the body of the occupiers to try to incentivise and dispose them towards abandoning the eviction resistance (indeed, there is an interplay between the running costs of the eviction to the body of the occupier and the wallets of the landowner respectively). Through using alternating affects, and forms of physical and material deprivation, eviction enforcers deploy a connection between the physical destruction of buildings and resources and the emotional capacity of the occupants. These acts of destruction and demoralisation have lasting impacts in shaping generational and historical experiences of eviction amongst the groups evicted; evictions coalesce into specific moments that are seen as definitive to the particular experiences of movements; however this is where the limits of this study are reached and the kinds of historical work being conducted by scholars of social movements enters in.

Conclusion

The Mask Let Slip

I started this thesis by addressing a gap in the literature around the way eviction is enacted. A series of processes had developed in studies of forced eviction which there was no significant account of. This raised questions I attempted to answer through research into eviction in England and Wales:

1. What are the Agencies responsible for conducting evictions?
2. What are the tools, technologies, strategies and tactics involved in enforcing eviction?
3. How are these tools, technologies, strategies and tactics developed and renewed?
4. How do these tools, technologies, strategies and tactics change across time and scale?

What I have tried to present here is a study of eviction enforcement in England and Wales as a force constantly undergoing change. The processes, durations and dimensions of each eviction reshape future tools, technologies, strategies and tactics. This takes place at all levels: from the restructuring of small rhythms and cadences through to the need for some new skill or piece of equipment, to major exceptional enactments of power which establish new norms and push at the boundaries of legalities. The two levels of eviction enforcement, County Court Bailiffs and High Court Enforcement Officers correspond to some extent to different scales, but they also represent different historical manifestations of their institutions.

Eviction is a trajectory of dispossession through which people pass. It is facilitated by a series of disciplinary institutions. We can now follow this trajectory through at the two levels. In 'Benford' the process is facilitated by a set of structured encounters, software pathways, and interpersonal relationships aimed at 'affective capture' of the tenant, working to prioritise the outstanding debt. This works to both develop a body of evidence for the case for eviction, and justify the eviction to the social landlord. When it reaches court much of the groundwork has already been laid that shapes the decision of the judge. In some cases judges only take a few minutes to decide on a case. Once the judge has found against a tenant, a social landlord will work to re-

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engage the tenant in repayment up to the day of eviction. Negotiation, and legal cases can be happening as the bailiff arrives.

For the bailiff at Abbeyburn court, the eviction may be one of several in a week or a day. The eviction emerges as a writ as part of a whole routine of work that includes various collections, court administrative work and shared time that shapes the way the bailiff approaches the eviction. Bailiffs depend on both formal training, warnings about risks and dangers they face, and rely on forms of informal and intuitive knowledge to develop their skills. These skills involve conversational and emotional forms of labour, and observational skills that monitor the body for potential signs of action. Through rotation, "going round the areas" and planning their routes, they develop a knowledge of areas and spaces of the city that they might anticipate violence, aggression or resistance in. It is through the disruption of these routines, and their reorganisation in response to this disruption, that changes to tactics develop, and large-scale obstacles become apparent. This disruption is caused by the resistance of the person(s) along the trajectory. Eviction enforcement learns to recognise intuitively and at a formal level signs of resistance, and reorganises in response.

When resistance becomes organised in response to large scale forms of eviction, the boundaries of every technology, strategy and tactic gets pushed. Large-scale evictions become 'exceptional' points in which new spatial technologies and strategies are tried, forms of infrastructural destruction, illicit surveillance and intelligence-gathering tested, and legalities are questioned. Multiple agencies and specialist knowledges are brought in, and an explicit politics of spatial contestation comes to the fore. Resistance therefore 'leads' the process; it shapes and forms, and sets the terms of how eviction enforcement develops.

This points us to a new narrative of how disciplinary agencies of eviction develop in neoliberal economies. Whereas previous studies of neoliberalism tend to argue for the 'ruptural' nature of neoliberal imposition through the exploitation of crisis, it is possible to see how a much more subtle process of reorganisation at the level of routine, habit, and intuitive power relates to forms of resistance, and how, when that resistance starts to consolidate, the emergence of much larger coercive, destructive and security-driven strategies emerges. We can therefore see how this work has emerged specific to the context of an ongoing 'housing crisis' through its response to resistance.

To appropriate Tronti: Perhaps we have worked with a concept of eviction that puts the evictor first, and the evicted second. This seems like a strange mistake given the number of studies that centre people who have been evicted. But eviction enforcement has been too often made to seem like a naturalised, accepted process and practice. 'Black Boxing' eviction has led to a view of eviction enforcement as a largely immutable and inflexible process. What I have tried to do here is turn the problem on its head, reverse the polarity and start again from the beginning. And resistance to eviction is the beginning. It is time to start to develop a new set of critiques of eviction enforcement from this point.

There are two key areas in which this demystification needs to be applied, and in which future research could be directed. What I term *eviction culture,* and *infrastructures of eviction.*

Eviction Culture

Throughout writing I have struggled to adequately write (about) the way in which eviction tactics and strategies target what we habitually think of as separate aspects of our bodies. Eviction tactics, as I have shown, work through the production of durations of feeling- they aim make people feel a certain way in relation to the physical displacement they are undergoing- but these attempts play out over different periods of time. This production of durations of feeling, from the strategic bureaucratic management of individuals through rent recovery processes, to the momentary responses on the doorstep grounded in intuition, to large scale acts of destruction that seek to discipline social groups, or demoralise forms of resistance, represents the production of *eviction culture.*

The production of eviction culture is a displacement of one 'structure of feeling' or set of rhythmic-affective connections with another, and it is produced, and also dissimulated, through the process of displacement of bodies. It involves the attempted creation of a disposition, atmosphere, sensibility, or totality of bodily existence in which resisted displacement is naturalised, given centrality and 'facticity'. It works through the routines and rhythms of eviction work, the orchestration of escalation and legal proceedings and the closure and destruction of past spatialities.

But it also plays out at a social level, through revanchist social discourse and forms of abjection. What I mean by eviction culture is therefore the culture that *belongs* to and is produced by the practice and prosecution of eviction, as opposed

to a culture that emerges in relation to eviction or is influenced by eviction (as we might speak of the practices of squatter communities, traveller networks). We cannot decontextualise this culture from the economic and knowledge-exchange networks from which it emerges, so I therefore want to point the way to another crucial element; the infrastructures of eviction.

The Global Infrastructures of Eviction

Global patterns of forced eviction are a comparatively well-researched phenomenon, but research contains a certain weighting towards particular points of conflict, and tends to be deferential to existing contextual groundworks of academic literature on particular spaces. For instance, the destruction of homes as a military strategy in the occupied Palestinian West Bank is, by now, well documented through both its contemporary iteration as a product of the apartheid regime imposed by the Israeli state, its political economy, and its history as a colonial practice (Graham, 2002; Abu-Jidi and Vershuren, 2006; Khalili, 2010). But less well explored are organisations like the controversial 'Anti-Land-Invasion Units' used by local authorities in Cape Town to prevent squatter activity, and which has recently been copied by the province of KwaZulu-Natal (Magubane 13/05/2015). Anti-Land Invasion Units have been criticised by groups such as the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign for their use of tear gas, rubber bullets, and the legality of their actions under South African housing law (Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign 25/05/2011).

Nor are such developments limited to (so-called) 'peripheral' economies or the 'global south': In Illinois in the US, the controversial Senate Bill 0871, known as the 'eviction at gunpoint act', may privatise the enforcement of eviction across Illinois and allow Private Detectives and Off-Duty police officers to enforce writs of possession, opening up a new market for a specialist eviction industry (Illinois General Assembly, 2015). Such legislation would 'plug in' eviction practices in the state to the global private security industry that already exchanges and exports police knowledges around the world from the US. If as Porteous and Smith have argued, the destruction of the home is a global phenomenon, and as Brickell (2012) argues, there is a geopolitics of the home, then there is also a geopolitics of the practice of enforcement itself.

Europe Goes to War on The Squatter

In November of 2015, during the state of Emergency declared by French President Francois Hollande following, terrorist attacks centred around Paris that killed over 150 people, the local paper *La Voix Du Nord* reported a team of French police from the *Recherche Assistance Intervention Dissuasion* (RAID) unit, armed with submachine guns and equipped with protective clothing, ski masks and googles, broke in through the first floor window of a squat in Lille and removed the occupants (*Voix du Nord* 11/17/2015). RAID were experiencing a wave of public and government support in the wake of the attacks, and had been deployed in police raids on numerous houses across France, and the action attracted attention and suspicion. The action did not appear to be connected to ongoing policing operations into the attacks in Paris, but was in fact, simply an eviction of a particularly entrenched group of squatters, and RAID, the paper noted, does not normally participate in squat evictions. This was in every sense an *Exceptional* eviction: the ongoing state of emergency, the outcome of a long history of was being used to deploy unprecedented and unusual police force, and to incorporate the eviction of squatters into a political rubric of national security.

Both housing and specifically squatters (as Manijikian (2013) has explored), are increasingly subject to new discourses of securitisation in Europe. The presence of squatters represents a existential threat to the order of the nation state in security discourses, and squatting practices are increasingly legislated against and heavily policed. The RAID action was unusual for the French context, but the use of military-grade weaponry and equipment in Squat evictions is a long-standing theme of European practices.

Looking across the European Union, armed force and violence in the practice of eviction is not unique. The *Pizzeria Anarchia*, a squat in Vienna that had been initially offered to the squatters by the owner, was heavily defended when the eviction order came through, and was eventually evicted by a force of over 1700 police officers, who used an armoured personnel carrier to clear the road and bring in officers to evict the squat in 2014 (Prinz 29/07/2014). Evictions in Spain routinely feature Riot Police where forms of resistance occur, which have boomed with the collapse of the Spanish mortgage economy (Sky News 28/06/2012). The destruction of the *Ungdomshuset* in Copenhagen in 2007, a large and culturally prominent squat with historical connections to the classical workers movement of the early 20th century led

to several days of rioting in the capital and was seen as a major cultural turning point in the movement (Sjørslev and Krøijer, 2012). In Bucharest, the junction of border politics and entrenched racism are exemplified in the eviction of 100 Roma people in 2014 from a street called Vulturilor, among them many families, and their subsequent conflict with local and national government over their refusal to move from the sidewalk of the street. Michele Lancione, a geographer and activist documenting the case, has drawn explicit parallels with Sweets Way and Dale Farm (Lancione 14/09/2015). In many European cities, the history of housing struggles inherently overlaps with local political and security concerns: Berlins history of squatting and housing struggles interconnects with the geography of the Wall, and the use of areas of the city for military manoeuvres and practices by American forces throughout the cold war (Vasudevan, 2015, p.104), and the violence of evictions in Berlin upon the collapse of the wall arguably intensified. The eviction of Mainzer Strasse in 1990 involved the use of trenches and barricades by squatters, 3000 police officers, 10 water cannon, a squad of helicopters, and tear gas (ibid. p149). The scenarios described in the preceding chapters are clearly not isolated to the UK.

Eviction Networks

Indeed European networks of legal and security services exist. The European Judicial Enforcement network, with members from legal organisations across many European states, focuses on clarifying and disseminating information on the legal basis for enforcement practices throughout Europe. In the field of policing, projects like the European Police Exchange Program connect policing organisations across the continent (CEPOL n.d.), and the Council of Europe holds meetings and seminars to discuss policies when dealing with Roma and Traveller peoples (Council Of Europe n.d.).

Equally the question of how eviction training is conducted must be examined on this scale. By at least the 1970s, West German police had adopted specific strategies to deal with squatters (Vasudevan, 2015, p130); if and how these practices circulated between forces, or were adopted by the re-unified police forces is an ongoing question. Towards the end of the 1980s, unsubstantiated rumours abounded that the German police were using a ghost town for handling evictions (ibid. 2015, p149). Though the existence of the facility has never been confirmed, in 2003 the London

Metropolitan Police opened a public order training facility at Gravesend in Kent, featuring:

- An assault house for practising Method of Entry (MOE) techniques
- An urban range with simulated road configurations and house facades
- An outdoor public order training facility with road patterns and house facades
- Train, subway and aircraft mock-ups
- Search houses

If such shadowy locales were once the fantasy of squatters living under the constant threat of violent eviction, they are now a reality with a globally recognisable brand: To design the centre, the MPS employed the firm Cubic Range Design Solutions (2015), CRDS have helped design similar centres in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Military studies scholar Anthony King has noted the central role of training centres such as these (some joint military and police ventures) in developing close quarters battle techniques and new forms of spatial awareness in military training for urban combat (2015).

But there are also less visible, and more troubling connections: long-time secret Police Officer Mark Kennedy, who had been involved in spying on squatters and environmental activists in the UK, and, controversially, formed intimate relationships with several activists under an assumed name, claimed he was also active in closing the *Ungdomshuset* (Evans and Lewis 13/11/2015). There are clearly connections in the development of eviction resources, such as legal knowledges, public order training and political initiatives that must be more closely examined in future research; a study of these connections would have to take into account both publicly-declared practices and forms of secret policing and knowledge exchange networks.

Finally, there is a need to learn more about the links between global conflicts, new logistical and military practices and the activity of enforcement specialists in the UK. The linkages between the global security-industrial and logistical economy and eviction practices are embodied in the career history of a single individual: Ken Somerville. Somerville is an 'eviction specialist' employed by the High Court Enforcement Officers firm the Sheriff's Office in 2013. In their online announcement, which was removed from their site, the firm announced his credentials: Somerville's

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career, if it is to be believed, is a whirlwind tour through the geographies of the 'colonial present': British Military service then 'close protection' (body guarding) in Iraq, to securing Shipping in the Gulf of Aden, finally advising on evictions of activists at Raven's Ait island, Parliament Square, and Occupy London (Carter, 04/05/2013).

Figures like Somerville are part of a marketable urban military 'boomerang effect', bringing strategies developed on the periphery to the 'core' (Graham, 2013); if you hire the services of the Sheriffs Office, you can bring a little bit of military precision to evicting squatters on your land. Somerville forms part of what US Army Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Goss, has termed 'the seam': areas like shipping protection, zones of security activity not clearly the domain of the military, but not clearly the function of law Enforcement (Cowen, 2014, p82). As I have shown across the last 3 chapters, evictions deploy more than physical security, they rely on an architecture of affective power, a knowledge and anticipation of resistance, and a history of intuition. Figures like Somerville, practices of exchange and transference of tactics, and political forms of policing, are built around a global infrastructure of intuition and technology, acting with multiple centres, interplaying to shape the nature of displacement and dispossession: to abuse the language of Marx in the *Grundrisse*, there is a 'general intellect' of eviction practices embodied in these networks.

I would like to suggest that a project tracking the transfer of knowledges and technologies between different agencies of eviction, one which also pays attention to the local conditions shaping the history and practice of enforcement, is needed. Such a project would bridge a particular kind of gap that currently exists between knowledges of geopolitics, global social movements, and security. Despite the work of many researchers, there is a need to recognise housing politics as a specific field of security action, and to track these practices across time and space, to develop new understandings and cartographies of eviction agencies to link the historical development of the 'geopolitics of the home' to local acts of displacement in the present.

The development of an *infrastructure of eviction* enforcement at every scalar level, from the local to the global, embedded within economies of the logistical, military, and security industries, has received limited attention. Transnational security firms run local courts, tactics transfer from the military to the civilian networks via the 'seams' in between them, individual careers hop from counterinsurgency to counter-protest in but a few bounds. New spatial strategies developed on colonial frontiers that 'boomerang' back to the centre of imperial powers implicitly and explicitly target

the sites of eviction: political protest, domestic space, radical (anti-)property claims, forms of commoning, or rent refusal. Therefore a global study of eviction enforcement and resistance is needed, a new mapping of the routes through which eviction enforcement passes in the global economy.

Avoiding a Bad Ending

In a recent essay reflecting on police violence in the United States with the ominous title of *This Ends Badly* Vijay Prashad (2016) lays out the following challenge: "If the present is allowed to continue" he argues "it will end badly. The task is to identify the limitations of the present and produce an actual future" (p.285). Prashad neatly encapsulates the *dystopian* basis for the historical present, and advances a *utopian* hypothesis of the future. A call to reform or abolish disciplinary institutions should not mean a choice between, on the one hand, a terrifying uncertainty, or, on the other, persistence of present conditions. The choice should be between a model of social policing that perpetuates forms of violence, and a better means of delivering collective justice.

What are the limitations of the present for forced eviction? I have argued, at the beginning of this thesis, that forced eviction and capitalism are structurally bound to each other. Forced evictions are not a novel development, but the material form of capitalist economies of space. The most immediate limitation to recognise, then, is a structural one; if capitalist economies persist into the 21st century, forced eviction will remain a phenomenon.

This is, of course, a substantive 'if' and one that should not necessarily signal a better system on the way: It is vital to recognise that the conditions that are eroding 20th century forms of capitalism are the same practices which put pressure on state institutions to exceed the current limits they work within in liberal democracies. The withering away of the social welfare state through austerity economics means that evictions are increasingly the first point of contact with the state for precarious social groups. Issues that might be picked up or addressed by forms of socialised care are left to fester until housing becomes untenable for those affected. Forms of punitive welfare management such as sanctions, legislative instruments such as section 21, and modes of border policing through the home place new pressures on enforcement that demand rapid eviction. Large scale evictions which push at the limits of legality are used by local and national governments to subjugate social groups and open up

new land markets in urban centres as profits decline. The 'Bad Ending' we face is the replacement of the old social contract with a more directly authoritarian mode of spatial governance, a returning postcolonial 'boomerang' in the form of what Achille Mbembe (2001, p66) terms rule by 'private indirect government'. The ecological and human costs can already be seen across the globe in the places subject to forms of neo-colonial government.

From this thesis there are 4 specific strategic moves scholars and activists might wish to consider in response to counter these developments:

1) Recognise the 'deep structures' of neoliberalism in the micro-politics of the state: One major intellectual response to this crisis of capitalism has been to try to restore the old social contract with new forms of welfare provision. I do not find this wholly convincing. Arguments in the US made by Desmond (2016) for a 'universal voucher system' for housing, and calls increasingly found from left to right for a ('universal' or, more perniciously, 'citizens') Basic Income (for instance Srnicek and Williams (2015) and Stern (2016)) largely overlook the way in which neoliberal logics of social worth and technologies of competition (such as arrears escalation procedures) have permeated state institutions through crisis restructuring. Such proposals on their own would effectively abolish social housing while leaving the competitive mechanisms of rent and ownership untouched, and enshrining the individual as the basic economic unit as a consumer of housing. As Prashad (op. cit.) elaborates, a 'social wage' based in large scale social state provision of welfare can only be achieved through the universalisation of access to social goods, and a global realignment of economic education and power. Even then, Prashad argues, these remain 'transitional' demands towards building forms of counter-power.

2) Attend to the margins of social reproduction: Another more disturbing response to the crisis has been a turn by scholars against so-called 'identity politics' in favour of a class-based universalism (Winlow, Hall, and Briggs, 2015, p142). The (very often self-educating and highly motivated) contemporary movements against patriarchy, racism, ableism, and other forms of oppression that are dismissed by such a term are inherently political points of resistance that concern the very fabric of working class social reproductive activity. This turn forgets that "revanchism blends revenge with reaction. It

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represents a reaction against the basic assumption of liberal urban policy, namely that government bears some responsibility for ensuring a decent minimum level of daily life for everyone. That political assumption is now largely replaced by a vendetta against the most oppressed workers and "welfare mothers," immigrants and gays [sic.], people of color and homeless people, squatters, anyone who demonstrates in public" (Smith, 1998, p.1). I have shown how certain stigmatized groups are subject to particular specialized forms of violence and state action. When social reproduction and housing is embedded in revanchist models of coercion, it is vital that scholars are able to recognise and provide research and knowledge resources for those most marginalised through the precarity of their social reproductive labour.

3) Consider how forms of resistance reshape and rewire the state when not in power: It is unsurprising that the most successful responses to the present housing crisis has come from projects crossing the boundaries of, or outside, the academy. In Spain anti-eviction movements have tried to make inroads into local and national governments in elections, winning mayoral Elections in Barcelona (Hancox 02/05/2016). In South Africa, Abahlali baseMjondolo have taken a different approach, linking together shack dwellers and other precariously housed people in autonomous federations inspired by syndicalism and previous anti-colonial struggles which put pressure on the state, and using academic research as part of the program of public education (Pithouse, 2006). In the present, if the way in which people facing eviction resist shapes the development of disciplinary institutions, what is the potential for forms of tactical and collective action to reorient them in more productive directions? Social movements can seek to take state power or not, but they can also reshape the state through *how* they resist. Anti-poverty groups like the London Radical Housing Network that assist and accompany tenants and precariously housed people through appeals and eviction processes, not only try to challenge individual processes but also pressure housing providers to deal with the individuals as part of a shared social body. There is potential to draw management practices and enforcement agencies into particular patterns through forms of strategic and tactical struggle and collective

solidarity, in the manner a tennis player or boxer identifies patterns and draws the other player into a position to their own advantage.

4) Study, map, and scrutinize eviction processes in public: Calls for simple accountability- independent oversight bodies, legal observation or legal reforms, are welcome, but also insufficient. 'Independent' bodies dedicated to monitoring law enforcement and sanctioned by the state, such as the Independent Police Complaints Commission, have been persistently criticised for their inability to act on evidence and their close proximity to the institutions they oversee, leading to incidents like the mass resignations of legal staff in 2008 (Davies, 2008). But there are also the structural functions of enforcement institutions that cannot be removed without a global realignment of society and economy. It is therefore vital that autonomous forms of oversight and public knowledge are maintained by research from the grassroots. We can look for some inspiration to resources like the activist San Francisco Anti-Eviction Mapping project (available to view at http://www.antievictionmap.com), which utilises data from eviction reports and legal cases, and interactive mapping software and planning expertise. The project inverts the fetishism for 'Big Data' held dear by the tech industries that the city is famous for, and turns the tools they use towards the service of those displaced by the encroachment of those same industries. Hopefully, as I have shown, if resistance comes from 'outside the diagram', but power does not, it is possible to learn and anticipate the forms power takes.

It is possible to see everywhere the formation of global resistance networks that mirror those found in the enforcement sector, learning from those at one end of the boomerang to inform the other, and a creating a 'general intellect' of their own. Forms of eviction resistance on the large scale point to a creative and radical alternative urbanism. Rather than doling out grand prescriptive models, researchers need to look for solutions in, and lend academic resources to, social movements that invent new practices and scrutinise the activity of the powerful in driving eviction.

Informed Consent Form

The Practice and Work Of Eviction in the Contemporary City

1. The interview is for a research project into the practice, conduct and experience of eviction work in the UK. This is a project funded through an ESRC PhD research grant and is based at Newcastle University. The aim of the project is to look at the nature of contemporary eviction enforcement work and how it has changed recently. The findings will be submitted as a PhD thesis to Newcastle University and may also be published.

2. Participation in this project is voluntary. Participants will not be paid for participation. Participants may decline to answer specific questions. They may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time during the interview. They will be able to give reasons for doing so if they wish.

3. If participating in a group interview, participants may be asked to work as part of a group to answer questions and participate in group discussion. Participants will be able to 'sit out' of specific discussions and questions, or withdraw from group interviews. Group interviews will continue at the discretion of the researcher and remaining participants if a participant chooses to withdraw. Participants who withdraw will be able to give reasons for doing so if they wish.

4. Participants will remain anonymous in transcripts and recordings: Names of people, locations, or companies that identify participants will not be recorded in typed notes or written transcripts of audio recordings, or included in any publication of research. Other researchers will not have access to interview data unless they agree to preserve anonymity.

5. Interviews will be recorded on an audio recording device and notes will be taken throughout. All notes will then be encrypted and stored in a secure folder on any portable devices or university networks when not in use and accessible only to the researcher until the project is completed. Audio recordings will be transcribed. All audio recordings and their transcripts will be stored in the same way. Upon completion of the project, all audio data will be deleted and transcripts kept in a secure folder.

6. There will be an opportunity at the end of interviews to debrief and discuss off-record any concerns or issues participants may have with the interview process. This information will be confidential and not used in written publications or recorded.

7. The researcher can be contacted after the interview at the following address:

Alexander Baker
School of Architecture, Planning, and Landscapes, Claremont Tower, Claremont Road
University of Newcastle-Upon Tyne, NE1 7RU
a.baker2@ncl.ac.uk

Informed Consent Form

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet dated _____.	☐
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	☐
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	☐
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	☐
5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymisation of data, etc.) to me.	☐
6.	If applicable, separate terms of consent for interviews, audio, video or other forms of data collection have been explained and provided to me.	☐
7.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me.	☐
8.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	☐
9.	Select only **one** of the following: • I would like my name used and understand what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognised. ☐ • I do not want my name used in this project.	☐
10.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	☐

Participant:

Name of Participant _____   Signature _____   Date _____

Researcher:

Name of Researcher _____   Signature _____   Date _____

12. Informed Consent Form

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