



Routledge Advances in Research Methods

INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE NORDIC REGION

Edited by

Rebecca W. B. Lund and Ann Christin E. Nilsen



“This book offers a very fascinating collection of chapters that represent Nordic research in the Institutional Ethnography (IE) tradition. It provides a very impressive view of the network of scholars involved in such research, and also of the range and quality of their work”.

—*Marjorie DeVault, The Maxwell School of Citizenship
and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, USA*



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Institutional Ethnography in the Nordic Region

Developed in response to the theoretically driven mainstream sociology, institutional ethnography starts from people's everyday experiences, and works from there to discover how the social is organized. Starting from experience is a central step in challenging taken-for-granted assumptions and relations of power, whilst responding critically to the neoliberal cost-benefit ideology that has come to permeate welfare institutions and the research sector. This book explicates the Nordic response to institutional ethnography, showing how it has been adapted and interpreted within the theoretical and methodological landscape of social scientific research in the region, as well as the institutional particularities of the Nordic welfare state. Addressing the main topics of concern in the Nordic context, together with the way in which research is undertaken, the authors show how institutional ethnography is combined with different theories and methodologies in order to address particular problematics, as well as examining its standing in relation to contemporary research policy and university reforms. With both theoretical and empirical chapters, this book will appeal to scholars and students of sociology, professional studies and anthropology with interests in research methods and the Nordic region.

Rebecca W. B. Lund is an Academy of Finland postdoctoral researcher in Gender Studies at the University of Tampere, Finland.

Ann Christin E. Nilsen is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Agder, Norway.

Routledge Advances in Research Methods

Dialectics, Power, and Knowledge Construction in Qualitative Research

Beyond Dichotomy

Adital Ben-Ari and Guy Enosh

Researching Social Problems

Edited by Amir Marvasti and A. Javier Treviño

Action Research in a Relational Perspective

Dialogue, Reflexivity, Power and Ethics

Edited by Lone Hersted, Ottar Ness and Søren Frimann

Situated Writing as Theory and Method

The Untimely Academic Novella

Mona Livholts

Foundations and Practice of Research

Adventures with Dooyeweerd's Philosophy

Andrew Basden

Gambling, Losses and Self-Esteem

An Interactionist Approach to the Betting Shop

Cormac Mc Namara

Institutional Ethnography in the Nordic Region

Edited by Rebecca W. B. Lund and Ann Christin E. Nilsen

Freedom of Information and Social Science Research Design

Edited by Kevin Walby and Alex Luscombe

For more information about this series, please visit: www.routledge.com/Routledge-Advances-in-Research-Methods/book-series/RARM

Institutional Ethnography in the Nordic Region

**Edited by Rebecca W. B. Lund
and Ann Christin E. Nilsen**

First published 2020
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2020 selection and editorial matter, Rebecca W. B. Lund and Ann Christin E. Nilsen; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Rebecca W. B. Lund and Ann Christin E. Nilsen to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Lund, Rebecca W. B., editor.

Title: Institutional ethnography in the Nordic region / edited by Rebecca W. B. Lund and Ann Christin E. Nilsen.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2020. |

Series: Routledge advances in research methods | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019039161 (print) | LCCN 2019039162 (ebook) |

ISBN 9780367030353 (hbk) | ISBN 9780429019999 (ebk)

Subjects: LCSH: Ethnology—Scandinavia. | Sociology—Scandinavia. | Welfare state—Scandinavia.

Classification: LCC GN308.3.S34 I57 2020 (print) |

LCC GN308.3.S34 (ebook) | DDC 305.800948--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019039161>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019039162>

ISBN: 978-0-367-03035-3 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-429-01999-9 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by codeMantra

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	xiii
<i>List of table</i>	xiv
<i>List of contributors</i>	xv

PART 1

Contextualizing IE in the Nordics	1
--	---

1 Introduction: conditions for doing institutional ethnography in the Nordics	3
--	---

REBECCA W. B. LUND AND ANN CHRISTIN E. NILSEN

<i>What is institutional ethnography?</i>	3
<i>Why a book about IE in the Nordic countries?</i>	5
<i>The Nordics – some characteristics</i>	7
<i>The Nordic model</i>	9
<i>Placing institutional ethnography in context</i>	13
<i>The age of “excellence”, internationalization, quantification and big data</i>	15
<i>About this book</i>	16
<i>References</i>	18

2 In the name of the welfare state: investigating ruling relations in a Nordic context	21
---	----

KARIN WIDERBERG

<i>Introduction</i>	21
<i>A case study of academic work and the role of New Public Management in Norway</i>	25
<i>Back to the issue of theory and history</i>	29
<i>Outline to a theory of ruling relations</i>	30
<i>Summing up. Linking up to theory – for the sake of knowledge</i>	32
<i>References</i>	34

PART 2

Conversations between IE and other theories 37

**3 From translation of ideas to translocal relations: shifting
heuristics from Scandinavian Neo-Institutional Theory to
Institutional Ethnography** 39

KJETIL G. LUNDBERG AND HOGNE LERØY SATAØEN

Introduction 39

*Theoretical background: institutional theory and the
development of Scandinavian neo-institutionalism* 40

*The introduction of institutional ethnography to Scandinavian
Neo-Institutional Theory: people's standpoint, chains of
actions and ruling relations* 43

Discussion 45

References 48

**4 Complementing theories: institutional ethnography and
organisation theory in institutional analysis** 51

CATHRINE TALLERAAS

Introduction 51

*Entering uncharted territory: using IE to study bureaucracy
and transnationalism* 51

Sensitive complementing of IT and IE 55

*Finding "instrumental" and "cultural" traits in everyday
experiences* 58

*Exploring categories through "institutional circuits"
and "institutionalisation"* 60

Conclusions 62

References 63

**5 Actor network theory and institutional ethnography: studying
dilemmas in Nordic deinstitutionalization practices by
combining a material focus with everyday experiences** 65

ANN-TORILL TØRRISPLASS AND JANNE PAULSEN BREIMO

Introduction 65

Background 66

IE and ANT as responses to the linguistic turn 66

Residential care facilities for unaccompanied refugee minors 68

<i>Combining a material focus with everyday experiences</i>	72
<i>Conclusions</i>	73
<i>References</i>	74

6 Institutional ethnography and feminist studies of technoscience: the politics of observing Nordic care 76

RIIKKA HOMANEN

<i>Introduction</i>	76
<i>Maternity healthcare in Finland</i>	77
<i>From foetus to baby</i>	78
<i>Agency for women, moral value for the foetus</i>	80
<i>Conclusions</i>	84
<i>References</i>	85

7 Making sense of normalcy: bridging the gap between Foucault and Goffman 88

ANN CHRISTIN E. NILSEN

<i>Introduction</i>	88
<i>Background</i>	88
<i>Hacking's argument: bringing together top-down and bottom-up analyses</i>	90
<i>The bridging potential of institutional ethnography</i>	92
<i>Concern work – an institutional ethnography of interaction and discourse</i>	94
<i>Conclusion</i>	97
<i>References</i>	98

8 Exploring “whiteness” as ideology and work knowledge: thinking with institutional ethnography 101

REBECCA W. B. LUND

<i>Introduction</i>	101
<i>Gender studies in the Nordics: a contradictory relationship to “race” and “whiteness”</i>	103
<i>Whiteness as work knowledge</i>	106
<i>The universal ramifications of colonialism: whiteness as ideological code?</i>	109
<i>Conclusion and another time</i>	111
<i>References</i>	112

PART 3

Application of institutional ethnography in Nordic countries 115

9 Institutional ethnography as a feminist approach for social work research 117

MARJO KURONEN

Introduction 117

Institutional ethnography finding its way to Finland 118

Institutional ethnography, welfare services and women service users 119

The value of institutional ethnography for social work research 121

Conclusion 124

References 125

10 Making gendering visible: institutional ethnography's contribution to Nordic sociology of gender in family relations 128

MAY-LINDA MAGNUSSEN

Introduction 128

Being captured by concepts 129

Exploring breadwinning as work 130

Exploring research on gender in the nuclear family 131

Exploring trans-local gendering of family practices 134

References 135

11 Collaboration and trust: expanding the concept of ruling relations 138

SIRI YDE AKSNES AND NINA OLSVOLD

Introduction 138

Norwegian activation services: towards a joined-up approach to social organization 140

Method 141

The counsellors and the job agents 142

Looking for ruling in the job agents' practices 143

RiW as a case of co-production 145

Conclusion 147

References 148

12 Institutional paradoxes in Norwegian labour activation 151

HELLE CATHRINE HANSEN

Introduction 151

The institutional context of the Norwegian qualification programme 152

<i>A bottom-up perspective on activation policy implementation</i>	153
<i>Data and methods</i>	154
<i>Institutional paradoxes</i>	155
<i>From paradoxes to objectifying policy practice</i>	159
<i>References</i>	160

13 The transition of care work: from a comprehensive to a co-created welfare state 163

GURO WISTH ØYDGARD

<i>Introduction</i>	163
<i>Current research on informal care work</i>	164
<i>Unpacking informal care work and administrators' judgements – the concept of work</i>	164
<i>The work of translating needs</i>	167
<i>Concluding discussion</i>	171
<i>References</i>	173

14 The potential of Institutional Ethnography in Norwegian development research and practice: exploring child marriage in Nepal 176

NAOMI CURWEN, HANNE HAALAND AND HEGE WALLEVIK

<i>Introduction</i>	176
<i>A call for complexity and context</i>	177
<i>Norway: a pioneer for gender equality and empowerment</i>	179
<i>The case of child marriage in Nepal</i>	180
<i>Concluding remarks</i>	185
<i>References</i>	186

PART 4

The transformative potential of IE in the Nordics 189

15 Challenging behaviour and mental workload at residential homes for people with cognitive disorders 191

KJELD HØGSBRO

<i>Introduction</i>	191
<i>The guidelines for our research</i>	192
<i>Challenging behaviour and cognitive disorders</i>	193
<i>The professional situation</i>	194
<i>The trans-local level</i>	199
<i>Making changes that work for people</i>	200
<i>References</i>	201

16 Resisting the ruling relations: discovering everyday resistance with Institutional Ethnography	203
MAJKEN JUL SØRENSEN, ANN CHRISTIN E. NILSEN AND REBECCA W. B. LUND	
<i>Introduction</i>	203
<i>Everyday resistance</i>	204
<i>Similarities between IE and everyday resistance studies</i>	206
<i>Tracing resistance in welfare state institutions</i>	207
<i>IE and resistance – some challenges and potentials</i>	210
<i>References</i>	212
 Wrapping it all up: future prospects of IE in the Nordics	 214
ANN CHRISTIN E. NILSEN AND REBECCA W. B. LUND	
<i>References</i>	216
 <i>Index</i>	 217

Figures

4.1	Units of the “International Branch” of NAV included in this study	53
4.2	My final interview guide	59
13.1	Accountability circuit for the translations from needs to services (Øydgard, 2018, 36)	166
15.1	Possible consequences of structural pedagogy	198

Table

3.1	Integrating SNIT and IE	45
-----	-------------------------	----

Contributors

Siri Yde Aksnes is a social anthropologist and holds a PhD in social policy. She works as a researcher at the Work Research Institute, Oslo Metropolitan University. Her research interest includes IE and work and welfare studies.

Janne Paulsen Breimo is a Professor of social work at Nord University, Norway. She holds a master's in political science and a PhD in sociology. She has published on several issues of social policy, including collaboration and the organization of services related to rehabilitation and child protection services. She was the coordinator for the Nordic network of IE from 2015 to 2017. She is currently chair of the European Sociological Association's (ESA) Research Network 26 (Sociology of Social Policy and Social Welfare) and the coordinator for the Center for Welfare Innovation at Nord University.

Naomi Curwen completed her master's in development management at University of Agder, Department of Global Development and Planning, in 2016. She wrote her thesis on child marriage in Nepal, a study inspired by IE. Her research interests include social injustice, gender and development and research methods in sociology.

Hanne Haaland is an Associated Professor at the Department of Global Development and Planning, University of Agder, Norway. She holds a PhD in development studies. Her research interests include local responses to development projects and intervention, resistance, mobilization as well as discussions of knowledge in a development context. She also does research on citizen initiatives within aid and relief work and lately she has engaged in integration research. Her research is published in international journals such as *Third World Quarterly*, *Forum for Development Studies*, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *Women, Gender and Research* as well as in books and journals in Norwegian and Spanish.

Helle Cathrine Hansen is an Associate Professor at VID Specialized University in Oslo. She currently holds a postdoc position at NOVA, Oslo Metropolitan University. Her research interests are within social work, social policy and

the welfare state. Her works include research on activation policy and practice, coordination of services to vulnerable children and adolescents, and integrated and person-oriented services to elderly. She has published articles in several social work and social policy journals, e.g. *British Journal of Social Work*, *International Journal of Social Welfare*, *Social Policy & Society* and *Nordic Social Work Research*.

Riikka Homanen is an Academy Research Fellow in Gender Studies at the Tampere University, Finland. She is also the Principal Investigator for the Kone Foundation-funded project “Technology, Ethics and Reproduction: Controversy in the Era of Normalisation”. Her research explores social relations and valuation in (assisted) reproduction. More recently, she has inquired into the marketization of reproduction and reproductive healthcare. Her work is ethnographic and firmly grounded in gender studies, sociology and feminist STS. She is also currently the editor-in-chief for the Finnish peer-reviewed journal on sociology, *Sociologia*, and co-founder and co-leader of the Finnish Reproductive Studies Network (FiResNet).

Kjeld Høgsbro has since 2008 been Professor of social work, Department of Sociology and Social Work at Aalborg University in Denmark. He got a PhD in 1991 with a dissertation on social problems and self-help organizations in Denmark. He has published books on disabilities, mental illness, social work and community development in Denmark between 1991 and 2015. As Senior Research Fellow at The Danish Institute of Governmental Research (2000–2008) he conducted evaluations of programmes for people with mental illness, substance abuse, homelessness, brain injury and pervasive developmental disorders. He is a board member of two ISA research groups on sociology of mental health and IE.

Marjo Kuronen is Professor of social work at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland, and currently PI of the research project “*Transforming welfare service system from the standpoint of women in vulnerable life situations*” (Academy of Finland 2016–2020, project no. 294407). Her research interests include the relationships between women, family and the welfare state, feminist social work, local welfare policies and IE. She has been the editor of three books including *Local Welfare Policy Making in European Cities*. Social Indicators Research Series 59. Springer 2015, together with Dagmar Kutsar.

Rebecca W. B. Lund works as a postdoc and researcher at the Centre for Gender Research at the University of Oslo, Norway. She is moreover joint editor-in-chief for *NORA: The Nordic Journal for Gender and Feminist Research* and acts as coordinator for the International Sociological Association (ISA) Thematic Group of IE. Her research interests are academic work, activism, knowledge production, feminist

theory and epistemology. She has published in journals such as *Organization: The Critical Journal of Organization, Theory and Society*, and *Gender & Education*.

Kjetil G. Lundberg is as an Associate Professor at the Department of Welfare and Participation, Western Norwegian University of Applied Sciences. Previously he worked as a senior researcher at the Rokkan Centre, Bergen, and as a visiting scholar at King's College, London. He holds a PhD and a master's in sociology. His research interests include welfare encounters, activation, social care, social policy, social work professions and sociological perspectives on power and social interaction. His research is published in journals such as *Social Policy & Administration*, *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, *Comparative Journal of Social Work* and *Ethics & Social Welfare*.

May-Linda Magnussen holds a PhD in sociology from the University of Oslo and works as an Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Agder, Norway. Her research interests are gender in family- and work-life, migration, everyday life and welfare state and gender in the academia. Methodology is a key issue in her writing. She is currently one of the coordinators of the Nordic network of IE.

Ann Christin E. Nilsen is an Associate Professor of sociology at the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Agder, Norway. She is currently one of the coordinators of the Nordic network of IE. Her research interests include childhood and families, gender, early intervention, early childhood services and interdisciplinary collaboration. Her research is published in international journals such as *Childhood*, *Gender Issues*, *Nordic Social Work Research*, *Comparative Social Work*, *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal* and *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, as well as in diverse journals and books in Norwegian.

Nina Olsvold is a registered nurse, sociologist and holds a PhD in sociology from the University of Oslo. She works as an Associate Professor at VID Specialized University where she teaches research methods and theory of science for master students. Her work includes research on topics related to care, responsibility and the organization of professional work.

Hogne Lerøy Sataøen is Docent at the School of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences, Örebro University. His research interests include communication practices, professionalization and public sector organizations. His research is rooted in the interpretive and sociological tradition, and in particular he has been interested in (neo)-institutional theories. His research is published in international journals such as *Corporate*

Communication, International Journal of Strategic Communication, British Journal of Management, Public Management Review, Scandinavian Journal of Management and Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research.

Majken Jul Sørensen is an Associate Professor of sociology at Karlstad University, Sweden. Her research interests include everyday and constructive resistance, nonviolent social movements, conflict transformation as well as humour and political activism. In this intersection between sociology and peace and conflict studies, she focusses on participants' experiences and people's agency and ability to create change from below. She has published books and articles on these topics in a wide range of academic journals, such as *Journal of Resistance Studies*, *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research*, and *Peace and Change*.

Cathrine Talleraas is a senior researcher at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). Her research focusses on the governance of migration and transnationalism, welfare policy and institutional analysis. She holds a PhD and an MA in human geography from the University of Oslo, and an MSc in migration studies from the University of Oxford. Her research is published in international journals such as *Ethnic and Racial Studies* and *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

Ann-Torill Tørrisplass is a PhD candidate with particular interests in gender, migration, youth and welfare research. She holds a master's in sociology from Nord University, Norway. She is currently writing a dissertation on unaccompanied refugee minor girls and their transition to adulthood, using IE as methodology. She is currently chair of the local sociology association (Nordland sosiologforening) and member of the board in the National Research School for Gender Research.

Hege Wallevik is an Associated Professor at the Department of Global Development and Planning, University of Agder, Norway. She has a PhD in development studies. Her research interests include gender and development with a focus on everyday life practices. She has also done research on integration issues in a Norwegian context and lately she has been concerned with civil society and citizen initiatives within aid and relief work. Her research is published in international journals such as *Third World Quarterly*, *Forum for Development Studies*, *Environment and Urbanization*, *Women, Gender and Research* as well as in international and Norwegian books and Norwegian journals.

Karin Widerberg is Professor of Sociology at the Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo, Norway. Her main research fields are theory of science and methodology, understandings of gender and the role of the welfare state. Time, work and work-life, the body, family life and sexual violence have been empirically investigated. Among

her books *In the Heart of the Welfare State. An Invitation to Institutional Ethnography* (2015) (in Norwegian) should be mentioned here. Methodology is a key issue in all her writings and exploring qualitative approaches, such as IE and Memory Work, is a main concern and activity.

Guro Wisth Øydgard is an Associate Professor of social work at Nord University, Norway. She holds a master's in rehabilitation and a PhD in sociology. Her research interests are rehabilitation, welfare and collaboration systems – especially the interconnection between the individual and the welfare state, and between different levels and areas of welfare services.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Part 1

Contextualizing IE in the Nordics



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

1 Introduction

Conditions for doing institutional ethnography in the Nordics

Rebecca W. B. Lund and Ann Christin E. Nilsen

What is institutional ethnography?

Institutional Ethnography (IE) is a methodology-of-inquiry associated with the Canadian sociologist Dorothy E. Smith (e.g. Smith (ed.) 2006). IE is designed to discover, unpack and challenge the social organization of everyday life and involves commitment to doing research *with* and *for* people, rather than *about* them (Smith 1987, 2005). Ontologically, people are understood as essentially social beings and the social, in turn, is understood as people coordinating activities. Speaking of the social as “coordination”, rather than “structure”, “rules” or “system”, implies people’s *actual activities*. This ontology is central to understanding the development of IE as a sociological method-of-inquiry which does not end with individual experience, but never loses sight of it either. In this way, IE challenges structure-agency, macro-micro and individual-society distinctions and dualisms.

The theoretical, methodological and onto-epistemological underpinnings of IE have grown in and responded to debates in sociology and feminist studies, particularly the methodological discussions related to the linguistic turn, the critique-of-representation and processes of objectification in mainstream sociology. Smith developed a thorough critique of theory-driven research as well as positivist ideals and principles in knowledge production (Smith 2005). In her book *The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge* (1990a), Smith noted how theory-driven knowledge production involves the reproduction of institutional orders, of ideology, and ultimately societal orders and inequity in terms of whose experiences and interests gain representation:

The categories structuring data collection are already organized by predetermined schema; the data produced becomes the reality intended by the schema; the schema interprets the data [...] though it is perfectly possible to prove or disprove statements, issues of objectivity must be framed within established structure. Issues, questions, and experience that do not fit the framework and the interrelated relations of categories and schemata do not get entry to the process, do not become part of the textual realities ...

(Smith 1990a, 93–94)

In her critique of objectifying processes, she notes how it happens in at least four ways. (1) The *subject disappears* and is replaced by social facts or social phenomena, e.g. through the nominalization of verbs. (2) *Agency is transferred* from the subject to the social phenomenon. Hence the social phenomenon, rather than people and their actual relations, becomes the object of study. (3) People's actual sayings and doings are translated into an expression of discourse or category, and the researcher's theoretical narrative. People are *held accountable to discourse and categories*, but discourse or categories are not held accountable to people. (4) The subject is *reconstructed as a category* identified through looking for discursive attributes (e.g. gender, class and ethnicity) (Smith 1999).

Smith developed IE in order to understand processes of objectification in research and other institutions, and to challenge such processes, *not* to overthrow them. Indeed, no form of research can overthrow processes of objectification "that would be a contradiction". Rather, by acknowledging that all knowledge claims are embedded in values and are essentially contested, Smith suggests that we can challenge dominant knowledge claims by starting inquiry from the *standpoint* of people whose "knowing" and "interests" have hitherto been downplayed in institutional representations. The epistemic privilege ascribed to a particular experience and standpoint is not automatic but empirically and contextually justified (e.g. Lund 2015). Through people's everyday embodied experience and *work-knowledge*, understood generously as "*everything people do, from they get up till they go to bed, that takes time, effort and emotion, as they participate in or resist institutional orders*" (see Smith 2005), we may learn how institutions are made to work and shape people's lives in ways that are not necessarily in their own best interests. In learning from what people know, the institutional ethnographer should avoid *institutional capture*, that is, avoid treating concepts and discourses *as if* they are *descriptive* of experience rather than *organizers* of experience.

As with all Smith's concepts, *institutions* or the *institutional* are understood in a manner that privileges inquiry above theory. There is

... a complex of relations forming part of the ruling apparatus, organized around a distinctive function – education, health care, law and the like. In contrast to such concepts as bureaucracy, "institution" does not identify a determinate form of social organization, but rather the intersection and coordination of more than one relational mode of the ruling apparatus.

(Smith 1987, 160)

The relational modes occur on at least two levels: the local and the translocal. While the *local* is the immediate site of our embodied practice (e.g. the act of writing, teaching, sitting in a meeting, engaging with a client), *some* of the *translocal* social relations that organize and regulate our lives in