

Zip me up, and cool me down”: Molar narratives and molecular intensities in ‘helicopter’ mental health services.

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6 **Abstract**  
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10 Experiences of the space-time dimensions of contemporary mental health services are  
11 shaped according to what we describe here as a ‘helicopter service’, where  
12 professionals drop down into service users’ lives for short, often pre-determined bursts  
13 of time. This can create a system where users’ experiences are observed and assessed  
14 from a more distanced and circumscribed perspective. This paper considers the  
15 implications of these systemic changes, using interviews with current UK service users.  
16 To help in the exploration of the complexities faced by service users’, we use Deleuze  
17 and Guatarri’s (1987) distinction between molar and molecular forms of organisation. A  
18 process oriented thematic analysis discusses: a) Affording narratives of distress:  
19 Molarity, monitoring and space in service interactions and b) Narratives in therapy:  
20 Compartmentalising the distressed self. Multiple aspects of the relationship between  
21 space and distress are explored. An understanding of experiences of distress beyond the  
22 boundaries of the molar, which considers its intensive, molecular and transformative  
23 nature, may help to open up engagement with the affective and emotional dimensions  
24 of mental health.  
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43 **1. Space-time in mental health services**  
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49 In the twenty years since the advent of community care in the UK, mental health  
50 services have tended increasingly to be focussed on moving service users away from  
51 fixed institutional sites of mental health care, and into community spaces. The  
52 successions of policy buzzwords which have characterised mental health policy and  
53 practice in the era of community care underline this trend: moving from  
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4 finally, to 'Freedom' (D.H., 2011). All these terms echo the same idea, that the ultimate  
5 aim and purpose of mental health services is to become absent from service users' lives,  
6 to 'empower', 'enable' and 'support' service users to be able to carry out their everyday  
7 activities without any interference from mental health services. In practice, this trend  
8 has often lead to the closure of specific mental health service sites, especially day  
9 services (Pilgrim & Ramon, 2009), and a move to using psychiatric wards for short term  
10 crisis care only (Keown, Mercer & Scott, 2008). The 2006 Department of Health report,  
11 'From Segregation to Inclusion', stands as a good example of the discourse of such  
12 policies, stating in the section of the report entitled 'Beyond Buildings':  
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24 *A day service does not necessarily require a dedicated building or centre. It is the*  
25 *function of day services in maintaining and extending social networks and access*  
26 *to mainstream roles and activities that is critical and there is a need to move from*  
27 *group-based to individualised support (p. 17).*  
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35 Implicit in the description here is a kind of service common in the early days of  
36 community care, and increasingly rare now: a day centre providing some therapy and  
37 group activities, but also acting as more informal space for service users to use as a safe  
38 place away from home. Such places were designed to provide both respite from a  
39 difficult world, and the opportunity to gain support from others in the same situation  
40 (see Taylor, 2014; Chase, 2011). An idea of respite or peer support is, however,  
41 completely absent from the above guidance on day services. Instead, the focus is on  
42 more individualised 'bridging' than group-based 'bonding' activities (Chase, 2011, Foley,  
43 2013). Implied here is that any long term engagement with services (as opposed to  
44 'mainstream activities'), or association primarily with other service users, constitutes  
45 'dependency', and is *a priori* negative.  
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55 The focus on 'social inclusion' at the expense of institutional or ongoing care  
56 have been widely discussed. The affinity of these policies with a neo-liberal agenda of  
57 the individualisation of responsibility, state shrinkage, and the primacy of economic  
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4 productivity has been noted (Rogers & Pilgrim, 1996; Spandler, 2007; Symonds & Kelly,  
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6 1998; Taylor, 2014). Spandler (2007), for instance, points out that ‘social inclusion’ can  
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8 have the effect of placing blame on individuals for the effects of structural inequalities  
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10 which are beyond their control, thus playing down the role of structural factors such as  
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12 poverty, oppression, or racism in their experiences (see also Cromby, Harper & Reavey,  
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14 2013; Johnstone, 2000; Rogers & Pilgrim, 2003; Smail, 2001). Additionally, the idea that  
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16 ‘dependency’ is always a negative that needs to be escaped has been criticised; in her  
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18 memoir ‘The Last Asylum’, Barbara Taylor argues:

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22 *People need other people. True independence - for everyone, well, or ill - is rooted*  
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24 *in social connection; without this, it is mere isolation and loneliness. This deep*  
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26 *need for connectedness is insufficiently acknowledged throughout the whole of our*  
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28 *society [...] But the lack of it hits the mentally ill [sic] particularly hard since it is so*  
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30 *often failures of social connection, particularly in early life, that cause such*  
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32 *disorders [sic] in the first place. ‘Recovery’, if it is to happen, must address this*  
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34 *(2014, p. 252-3).*

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37 In addition to these concerns, what is also notable in the idea of moving ‘beyond  
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39 buildings’ is the assertion that the places where the service use interactions take place  
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41 are immaterial. Indeed, these shifts of focus in service provision involve a wholesale  
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43 transformation of the space-time of mental health services. When day services consist  
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45 of a particular place, then service users and staff inevitably spend extended periods of  
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47 time together, leading to a variety of interactions, from formal therapy to casual  
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49 conversation. As mental health services have dissipated into multiple community spaces  
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51 (Rose, 1998a; McGrath & Reavey, 2013, see also Deleuze, 1992), then the time which  
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53 service users and professionals spend together has correspondingly become more hard  
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55 edged and formalised; appointments and meetings have become the norm for a service  
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57 user/professional interactions (Bloomfield & McLean, 2003; Moriarty et al, 2007). These  
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59 changes go together; if service users can be anywhere, then professionals  
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4 understandably have to create specific times in which to see them. As the spaces in  
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6 which mental health services operate have become less and less easily defined and  
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8 boundaried, the time in which service use interactions take place has arguably become  
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10 more formalised, individualised, and limited (see Pilgrim & Ramon, 2009).

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12 These features of the space-time of contemporary services can be seen as  
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14 constituting a 'helicopter service', where professionals drop down into service users'  
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16 lives for short, often pre-determined bursts of time, but spend most of the time circling  
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18 above their lives, attempting to manage and survey them from afar. We have coined  
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20 this machinic metaphor to help illuminate the distal, crisis-led strategies currently  
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22 dominant in UK mental health services. This paper will consider the implications of these  
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24 changes, using interviews with current UK service users. To help in the exploration of  
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26 the complexities for service users in negotiating the contemporary space-time of mental  
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28 health services, we will use Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) distinction between molar  
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30 and molecular forms of organisation. Our disciplinary roots within psychology often  
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32 neglect the spatial dimensions of experience, often positioning 'minds' as the prime site  
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34 for investigating distress. Our aim here is to broaden the field of inquiry to locate lived  
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36 distress in a wider ecological landscape (see McGrath & Reavey for a more extended  
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38 discussion, forthcoming).

### 39 40 41 42 **1.2 Seeing from a distance: Technologies of a helicopter service.**

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44 Within this landscape of community care: one of expanded space and limited,  
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46 boundaried time, different technologies and tools of observation, control and, indeed,  
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48 caring are needed. In the 'total institution', as Goffman (1961) argued, the institutional  
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50 gaze was absolute; assessment of how 'well' or 'ill' a person was deemed to be, and also  
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52 to what extent their freedom was to be constrained, was made from a position of  
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54 constant surveillance, shared between staff. Goffman pointed out that this meant that  
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56 'misdemeanours' in one area (e.g., in occupational therapy) lead to global punishment,  
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58 such as the retraction of freedom of movement outside the ward. In contemporary  
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4 services, this level of surveillance is impossible, as service users no longer operate only  
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6 within the concrete site of the institution. As Bloomfield & McClean (2003) argue:

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10 *when patients resided in an asylum they could in effect be observed at will, but in*  
11 *the context of care in the community this is no longer possible. Instead they are*  
12 *rendered visible through information (p. 79).*  
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17 The forms of information gathered about service users, through which decisions are  
18 made about their care, therefore become crucially important. These might include  
19 assessment tools, such as the Beck Depression Inventory, administered at every session  
20 in IAPTs services, risk assessment measures, or clinical case notes. A high profile  
21 example of the primacy of technologies of information in the new landscape of mental  
22 health is the explosion of discourses of risk and risk management practices (Rose, 1996;  
23 1998, R.C.P., 2008). Without literal walls giving limits to the extent of psychiatric  
24 observation, the psychiatric gaze has been extended out into the community (Rose,  
25 1996). Risk management can be seen as a technology developed for psychiatrists to  
26 manage this new distal form of accountability, in part a response to mental health  
27 professionals being held responsible in media reports for high profile, but very rare,  
28 occasions when service users have committed violent acts (Moon, 2000; R.C.P., 2008;  
29 Harper, 2004).  
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33 The information which feeds into these various measures, forms and tools is  
34 most often the result of an interaction between staff and service user, and is dependent  
35 on the service user formulating and communicating their ongoing level of distress. This  
36 central role of service user/staff communication has lead to research which has  
37 investigated various interpersonal and contextual factors which might interfere with  
38 communication (Hassan, McCabe & Priebe, 2007). These include the gender, age, and  
39 education level of the participants (Sleath & Rubin, 2002; Sleath, Svarstad & Roter,  
40 1997; Sleath, Rubin & Huston, 2003), level and form of distress experienced by the  
41 service user (e.g, Bouhuys & Albersnagel, 1992), and the agenda of the  
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4 professional/institution (McCabe, Heath, Burns & Priebe, 2002; Pinto, Ribiero & Dantas,  
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6 2005). It has been pointed out that service users and professionals can have competing  
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8 agendas when interacting in services. McCabe et al's (2002) conversation analysis of  
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10 psychiatrist/service user interactions, for instance, found that while service users  
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12 attempted to use the time of the consultation to discuss the content of their psychotic  
13  
14 experiences, psychiatrists tended to deflect or ignore these topics when raised. A large  
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16 body of research hence exists considering the various factors which might mediate and  
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18 shape the kinds of interactions which happen in services, much of this work coming  
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20 under a concern with building successful 'therapeutic alliance' or a strong 'therapeutic  
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22 relationship' (McCabe & Priebe, 2004).

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25 What has been less considered, arguably, is the relationship between service  
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27 users' ongoing experience of distress, distant in space and time, and the narratives  
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29 gathered during interactions with services. Distress is experienced over multiple spaces  
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31 and time periods and is shifting, manifold and at least partially intangible. For an  
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33 account to be given in a consultation however, clearly defined sets of feelings are  
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35 required: "I felt depressed, I was anxious, my symptoms have returned, my medication  
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37 is making me drowsy", etc. The time of the consultancy thus punctuates complex,  
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39 moving sets of sensations and feelings, not necessarily easily captured (see Brown &  
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41 Tucker, 2010). Intense emotional experiences are, in addition, known to disrupt the  
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43 ability to construct coherent narratives; memories of trauma, for instance, tend to be  
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45 less detailed and more unstructured than narratives describing other life events (Porter  
46  
47 & Birt, 2001). Within contemporary 'helicopter' community services, where  
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49 professionals and service users spend most of their time separately, this disjunct  
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51 between experience and the narration of that experience is arguably increasingly  
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53 crucial.

### 54 55 56 **1.3 Molar and molecular: Affect, affordance and narratives of distress.**

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58 One way to consider this tension, between ongoing, multitudinous experience and  
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60 linear, fixed narratives, assessment outcomes and clinical notes, is through Deleuze and  
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4 Guattari's (1987) distinction between molar and molecular modes of existence. In their  
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6 work, Deleuze & Guattari (1983; 1987) variously describe the individual as a machine or  
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8 an assemblage – broadly, a functional arrangement operating productively in  
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10 connection with other materials, and flows. Brown & Lunt (2002) argue that rather than  
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12 being reductive (in calling humans machines), this framework allows us to connect  
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14 experience with the world, to consider ourselves in connective synthesis with both the  
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16 social and the material. In this mode of enquiry, we must then accept that what appears  
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18 singular (e.g. a narrative describing what happened) is always embedded within the  
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20 multiple (e.g. multiple sets of spaces, containing multiple sets of affective experiences).  
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22 Multiplicity is a key characteristic of what Deleuze and Guattari (1987) call the  
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24 'molecular', understood as a: "collection of heterogenous elements – bodies, objects,  
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26 equipment – all of which have their own particular functions, sets of relations and  
27  
28 indeed history" (Brown & Lunt, 2002, p. 13). 'Molar' modes of existence or organisation,  
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30 are contrastingly described as being overly rigid, overarching and having the appearance  
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32 of simplicity. Using the concepts of molar and molecular can thus help to describe how  
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34 multiple, fluid, laterally linked moments, events and affects are folded into the singular:  
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36 an end narrative; a clinical decision; a diagnosis. The forms of assessment detailed  
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38 above can all be understood as 'molar', requiring that which is multiple (waxing and  
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40 waning experiences of distress, which occur across different times and spaces) to be  
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42 expressed as singular ('I am feeling more depressed').

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44 As well as expressing experiences as singular, rather than multiple, molar forms  
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46 of expression can also be seen as more rigid and prescriptive than the 'molecular', as  
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48 Deleuze and Guattari (1987) say: "One type is supple, more molecular, and merely  
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50 ordered; the other is more rigid, molar and organized" (p. 46). They hence argue that  
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52 codification of experience is an act of transformation rather than only description;  
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54 capturing an experience, or a multitude of experiences in narrative or otherwise  
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56 externalised form, those experiences are then transformed. As they state: "Strata [rigid  
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58 forms of organisation] are acts of capture" (p. 45); by creating a molar, formalised  
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60 version of the complexity of ongoing, disparate experience, the meaning of those  
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4 experience is 'captured' by the person, body or discourse producing that particular  
5 version of the meaning of the experience, person or group under question.  
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8 Within mental health practice, the classic example of this process is perhaps an  
9 experience of being diagnosed. Before meeting with a psychiatrist for the first time, a  
10 new service user may have had a number of intersecting experiences, ranging from 'not  
11 feeling right', problematic interactions in their personal and professional lives, changes  
12 in the way they have used space or experienced time, such as spending more time at  
13 home, and shifts in their affective capacity, such as feeling less energised or slowed  
14 down (e.g., Fuchs, 2001). These multiple experiences and relations, both social and  
15 material, which can be seen as a 'molecular' description of a particular form of distress,  
16 are then given form and structure through a diagnosis of depression, a 'molar'  
17 description which then potentially transforms the experiences which have lead to  
18 seeking help. After the meeting when they experience a slowing of time, dysphoric  
19 affect, or a problematic relationship with others, then this can all be understood as  
20 being 'because of my depression', which can serve to displace the molecular formation  
21 of the problem. Of course some transformation of experience is inevitable following  
22 contact with services, but a diagnosis, simplistically applied, could be seen as 'molar', as  
23 it offers a rigid prescription of the meaning of behavior and experiences; in contrast, a  
24 formulation, could be seen as potentially more 'molecular', as it is based on an open  
25 negotiation of making sense of the distress of the service user; organized, but  
26 potentially not as rigid or normative (Johnstone & Dallos, 2014). Arguably, as psychiatric  
27 services have become more spatially distant from service users' lives, they have become  
28 more reliant on such molar forms of measurement and observation through which  
29 service users can be 'made visible' (Bloomfield & McClean, 2003) to services.  
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31 This distinction between the molar and molecular can also be used to illuminate  
32 another potential relationship between the experiences of distress and attempts to  
33 codify, measure and describe them, using a metaphor of temperature. As well as being  
34 more fluid than rigid, and more multiple than singular, experiences of distress as they  
35 happen in the world can also be seen as 'hot' in contrast to the 'cold' representation of  
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4 complex emotional experiences in measurements, reports and diagnostic tools. Brown  
5 and Reavey (2015) draw on the idea of affect as an 'intensity' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983;  
6 see also, Brown & Stenner, 2001; 2009; Massumi, 1995; 2002; Thrift, 2004), an  
7 embodied relationship to the world which can propel or restrict movement, open up or  
8 close down possibilities in relationships, actions and activities (see Brown & Tucker,  
9 2010; Davidson & Shahar, 2007; Fox, 2002; 2011; McGrath & Reavey, 2015). In this  
10 sense we are using the work of Deleuze & Guattari in order to make visible the  
11 ontological interrelationship between spatiality, sociality and distress. Most diagnoses  
12 of mental health 'disorders' involve a description of 'excessive' intensities of feeling or  
13 emotion, for instance of dysphoric affect in 'depression' and euphoric affect in 'mania'  
14 (Brown & Stenner, 2001; 2009). Brown & Reavey (2015) point out crucial differences  
15 between 'intensive' properties, such as temperature and pressure, and 'extensive'  
16 properties, such as mass, distance, or indeed, scores on a psychological test. Division of  
17 an 'extension', such as splitting a mile in two, results in two identical lengths, half a mile  
18 each. Dividing an intensity does not have the same effect: divide a room at temperature  
19 20°C in two and you are left with two smaller spaces, still both at 20°C. To change an  
20 intensity, an overall transformation is required; the substance must be cooled or  
21 heated, pressure increased or released. Intensities, like affect, can hence be understood  
22 as behaving more like molecules than rigid or linear structures: molecules expand, move  
23 differently depending on the temperature, and resemble quite different substances.  
24 When water turns to steam or ice, it is not partitioned; the chemical property remains  
25 stable but the substances are different. If affect is a relational intensity (Deleuze &  
26 Guattari, 1983; 1987; Brown & Reavey, 2015; Brown & Stenner, 2009), then attempting  
27 to evaluate what we are feeling is likely to change the experience. If we examine our  
28 self-knowledge at the point when our affective temperature if you will, has cooled, we  
29 may be left with an account – the molar- that doesn't attend to, or adequately reflect  
30 the intensity of feelings and their inherent messiness (see also, Fox, 2013). The  
31 'substance', or account given in interactions with services will hence be different from  
32 the 'substance' of the ongoing experience of distress.

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5 To illustrate these principles more fully, the following analysis of interviews with  
6 UK mental health service users will draw on these ideas. Issues of representing and  
7 communicating ongoing, molecular experiences of distress within the strictures of the  
8 'helicopter' structure of contemporary mental health services will be explored in more  
9 detail.  
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## 16 **2. The study**

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19 The material analysed here was collected for a broader project looking at the role of  
20 space in service users' experiences (first author, 2012; both authors, 2013; 2015). For  
21 the part of the project discussed here, 19 current UK service users were interviewed  
22 using visual methods: participants were asked to draw one map of the places they went  
23 to as part of service use, and another of non-service use places. Participants were asked  
24 to explain their drawings, as well as to rank in each place in terms of how much they  
25 liked being there, and explain their reasons. This was the bulk of the interview, and was  
26 then followed up with more general questions. This approach drew on the tradition of  
27 'participatory mapping', widely used in geographical and development research, which  
28 is interested in exploring subjective experiences of places (e.g., Chambers, 1994; Herlihy  
29 & Knapp, 2003; Herlihy, 2003; Lynch, 1960; White & Pettit, 2008). In using visual  
30 material, we also were a part of a growing interest over the past fifteen years, across  
31 the social sciences, on analysing and using images in research (Knowles & Sweetman,  
32 2004; Prosser, 1998; Reavey, 2011; Rose, 2001; Reavey & Prosser, 2012). Two main  
33 claims were of interest here. Firstly, that using visual material is better at prompting  
34 participants to discuss the settings and context of their experiences, as visual materials  
35 are themselves organised spatially (see, Bolton, Pole & Mizen, 2001; Gabb, 2009;  
36 Knowles, 2000a; 2000b; Knowles & Sweetman, 2004; Radley & Taylor, 2003; Reavey,  
37 2011). Secondly, that 'multi-modal' methods can help participants to articulate aspects  
38 of experience which participants find difficult to put into words, as has been established  
39 by work investigating embodied experiences (e.g. Bowes-Catton, Brown, Reavey,  
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4 Cromby, Harper & Johnson, 2008; 2011; Cromby, 2012; Gillies, Harden, Johnson,  
5 Reavey, Strange & Willig, 2004; 2005). Both of these claims held; the interview  
6 discussions included many detailed descriptions of places and specific details of how the  
7 participants felt there, which were not as apparent in the two interviews where the  
8 participants declined to draw.  
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14 The research was approved by the ethics committee at London South Bank  
15 University. Participants were recruited through service user networks, UK voluntary  
16 sector organisations (online and posters in centres), and snowballing and so they were  
17 from differing parts of England, with the majority residing in London. Ethically this  
18 meant that individuals were volunteering, without any mediation via services.  
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20 Participants were sought who had the shared spatial experience of currently accessing  
21 community mental health services, rather than on the basis of diagnostic categories.  
22 Most participants did however volunteer diagnostic information as part of the interview.  
23 Eight were currently diagnosed with Bi-polar Disorder and six with Clinical Depression.  
24 Of the three participants who did not reveal their diagnosis two described psychosis-like  
25 experiences. This recruitment strategy of course had some disadvantages. The  
26 participants were a self-selecting group, and so by virtue of being actively interested in  
27 taking part in research potentially separate themselves from other groups of service  
28 users, as has been noted before (Cannon, Higginbotham & Leung, 1991). The  
29 participants were all white. Five participants were employed full time, one part time and  
30 two on a regular freelance basis. Of the remaining participants who were not in paid  
31 employment, one was a full time student, another a full time mother with a child under  
32 one, five engaged in at least part time voluntary work, and one was retired. Fourteen  
33 participants lived in their own home (either owned or rented), two in mental health  
34 supported housing, and one in supported housing for physically disabled people. The  
35 participants were evenly balanced in gender, and ranged in age from 25-67. Nine  
36 participants lived alone, seven with family and one in a shared house with friends. This  
37 recruitment strategy also meant there was variety in the participants' experiences of  
38 mental health and the mental health system. The length of time participants had been  
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4 accessing services also ranged widely, from one year, to over 40 years, meaning some  
5 participants had experiences of the asylum system, while others only of community  
6 care.  
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### 10 11 12 13 14 **2.3 Analytical approach** 15

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18 The interviews were transcribed and collated in Nvivo, along with scanned copies of  
19 participants' drawings. The drawings were primarily understood as prompts which  
20 helped to elicit accounts focused on space, and hence given meaning by the participant  
21 in the context of the interview, rather than treated as data to be analysed  
22 independently (Prosser, 1998; Rose, 2001; Reavey & Prosser, 2012). Initially, the  
23 material was organised into spatial categories, separating those experiences described  
24 as located in the psychiatric ward, community services, and community living, in line  
25 with the structure of the interviews. As a second stage, we created four 'analytical  
26 directives', which guided further reading of the material, all of which were designed to  
27 explore the overall research question of the role of space in service users' experiences.  
28 These were: a) what kind of space is being conjured?; b) what are the objects within  
29 these spaces contributing to the action, interaction and emotions described?; (c) what  
30 else is interacting with space in driving the action described?; and (d) how are the  
31 experiences described interdependent with space? After notating and coding the  
32 material with these questions in mind, the data was re-organised into themes, as well as  
33 considered in the light of literature which could help to contextualise the analysis. This  
34 process bears most resemblance to a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), in  
35 particular one of a more 'theoretical' and 'latent' persuasion (rather than 'inductive' and  
36 'semantic').  
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55 To guide the analysis theoretically, we identified key theoretical assumptions  
56 which underlay the ways the data was approached in this project. Most broadly, these  
57 were: a) spaces are understood as dynamic and productive, rather than being merely a  
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4 static backdrop for people’s interactions and experiences (influenced by human  
5 geography theory, particularly Massey, 1994); b) objects are understood as potentially  
6 meaningful ‘participants’ (Latour, 2005) in experiences, both in terms of having been  
7 made meaningful by people and within culture, and also being actively used by people  
8 when constructing the meaning of their ongoing experiences in the world (Latour, 2005;  
9 Serres, 2000; Brown, 2001; **2010**; Reavey, 2010; Cromby, 2004; Burkitt, 1999). In  
10 particular Latour’s argument for the central role of objects in experience was important  
11 for our analysis; he claims: “things might authorise, allow, afford, encourage, permit,  
12 suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so on” (p. 72), which drew our  
13 attention to the specific role which objects were playing in the interactions and  
14 experiences described.  
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26 Most crucially for this paper, in addition to observations made on the application  
27 of molar and molecular, we drew on Gibson’s (1977) idea of ‘affordance’ as a way to  
28 understand how the environment in a broader sense might play a role in shaping,  
29 limiting and enabling different experiences. Gibson draws on an ecological metaphor to  
30 consider the relationship between person and environment, arguing that: “the  
31 affordances of the environment are what it offers the animal, what it *provides* or  
32 *furnishes*” (p. 56). This idea orientates us to consider the capacities which a particular  
33 space might give to people or close down, but without essentialising meaning or fixed  
34 purpose in the environment itself. A window, for instance, can provide a view onto the  
35 outside world, a potential for escape, or an invasion of privacy, depending on the  
36 particular position of the person using it. These theoretical interests meant that we  
37 were focussed, when reading the data, on the material aspects of the accounts provided  
38 by participants, as well being convinced that these material aspects were psychologically  
39 important.  
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### 55 **3. Affective narratives in community mental health services.**

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57 Participants’ descriptions of their various interactions with mental health services did  
58 point to a ‘helicopter’ relationship with mental health services, where they were  
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4 monitored through regular interactions with professionals, but had limited ongoing  
5 spatial contact with services. Excluding those participants who were living in supported  
6 housing (three of those interviewed), the majority of interactions described by  
7 participants were therefore in the form of appointments and meetings, across various  
8 community and institutional spaces. Broadly, the purpose of these interactions seemed  
9 to fall into two categories, both requiring a particular form of narrative to be produced  
10 by the service user. One set of interactions seemed particularly focussed on monitoring,  
11 on making visible ongoing experiences of distress and recovery which happened 'out of  
12 sight' of mental health service practitioners. These were resolutely present-focussed.  
13 The second set of interactions were more traditionally therapeutic, asking service users  
14 to invoke and explore past, difficult and distant emotional experiences, "digging into my  
15 soul" (Lou, I. xx), as one participant put it. The analysis presented here explores each of  
16 these in turn, arguing that the spatial, temporal and affective complexity of the  
17 production of narratives has been insufficiently considered.

### 3.1 Affording narratives of distress: Molarity, monitoring and space in service interactions.

31 Within the context of the un-boundaried spaces of contemporary services, participants  
32 described relatively fixed, formalised portions of time in which they were asked to  
33 produce narratives of their current state of being. Bryan described his two main forms  
34 of interaction with service staff as being primarily concerned with monitoring. First his  
35 psychiatrist:

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49 *the outpatient clinic certainly in the last couple of years has has bin a question of*  
50 *going in talking to the doctor for a maximum of five minutes and then that's it*  
51 *[l:mmm] so very very basic erm just answering simple questions like are you*  
52 *taking your medication what is your medication and taking erm are you taking*  
53 *your medication are you sleeping are you eating or is your appetite alright that*  
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4 *sort of thing so very very basic and quite often the the doctor looks quite*  
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6 *bored and is yawning (Bryan, l. 78 – 85).*  
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10 And also his Community Psychiatric Nurse (CPN):  
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14 *[My CPN] comes for some every erm about every two or three weeks and stays*  
15 *for about um up to half an hour [...] it depends very much on what sort of shape*  
16 *I'm in [...] if things are going ok and there's not much to talk about he may only*  
17 *stay for about ten minutes [...] and we have a good conversation [l:mmm] and it's*  
18 *fine erm and it makes a real difference to me that he comes to into my space and*  
19 *talks to me and we kind of have quite an easy conversation and we sometimes*  
20 *talk about books or things that I'm doing and that makes a real difference [...] so*  
21 *I kind of feel feel in control of the relationship because it's take because he's*  
22 *coming here er meeting me in meeting me in my own space it makes quite a bit*  
23 *quite a bit of difference (l. 103-118).*  
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37 The professional agendas of the two staff members can clearly be seen to structure the  
38 interactions here (McCabe, Heath, Burns & Priebe, 2002). The first interaction, with his  
39 psychiatrist, is limited to biomedical functions: sleep, appetite, and medication. The  
40 second, in keeping with the broader remit of a CPN's role is more holistic; located in his  
41 own space, Bryan describes becoming more than just a biomedical subject. This second  
42 interaction is also described as more fluid, driven in part by 'process time' (Davies,  
43 1994), meaning the time varies depending on his current needs, as well as extending  
44 beyond his role as a service user, incorporating 'books and things that I'm doing'. Both,  
45 however, also serve the same purpose: during these limited periods of contact with  
46 staff, Bryan must produce a coherent and representative narrative of his ongoing  
47 experiences of distress, recovery and everyday living; a molar account of his molecular  
48 experiences. These are present-focussed narratives; Bryan is not asked here to reflect  
49 on past experiences, but instead to account for his state of being only in the period since  
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4 his last contact with services. These narratives are hence described here as the key  
5 technology through which services monitor service users' state of being (Bloomfield &  
6 McClean, 2003) within the un-boundaried, disparate spaces of 'helicopter' community  
7 care. This presenteeism is what is called upon to structure the interaction (see also  
8 Brown & Reavey, 2015). These accounts are hence described here as the key technology  
9 (Bloomfield & McClean, 2003) through which services monitor service users' state of  
10 being is read, within the expanded, disparate spaces of 'helicopter' community  
11 care. One participant, James, highlighted a key limitation of a reliance on such  
12 monitoring strategies:  
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24 *when I go and see the consultant I'm normally quite compos mentos and he says*  
25 *how have you been and I say well a couple of weeks or a couple of months ago I*  
26 *wasn't feeling well th er er then they would ask questions well in what way weren't*  
27 *you feeling I can't I couldn't remember I feel and er I can't really describe it so I go*  
28 *away feeling a bit frustrated not pinning the problem down (James, 237 – 241).*  
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37 James here can be seen to capture a disjunct between the 'molecular' intensities of his  
38 ongoing distressed experiences, and the compulsion to produce a narrative of those  
39 multiple experiences, now distant in both time and experience. To use the temperature  
40 metaphor developed above, James here describes the inherent difficulty of translating  
41 the 'hot' intensity of distress into the form of a linear narrative ('I couldn't really  
42 describe it'), whilst in the 'colder' affective state of being 'compos mentos'. This can be  
43 seen as a problem of form: narrative explanations demand linearity and clear lines of  
44 explanation, while much of distressed experience is inherently ineffable, characterised  
45 by uncertain sensations, intensities of feeling, and ambiguous relationships (see Brown  
46 & Tucker, 2010; Fox, 2013). As his experiences are not transformed into coherent  
47 narrative form at the time of being experienced, he describes finding it hard to produce  
48 them in the limited space-time made available for the communication of his ongoing  
49 experiences of distress.  
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5 Another issue outlined with the reliance on monitoring narratives in contemporary  
6 services was the role of space in affording (**Gibson, 1977**) or inhibiting discussions of  
7 distress. One participant, Julie, for instance, described her experience of meeting her  
8 CPN in a local pub:  
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15 *the other problem with sitting in a pub of course is that if you get upset about*  
16 *anything [l: yeah] you know you can't really be in tears in a pub without everybody*  
17 *going (whispers) what's going on there [l:mmm] you know so i it you tend to kind*  
18 *of put on your social face [l:mmm] you know how you would if you were going out*  
19 *or something [l:yeah] but you're not going to talk about stuff that really worries*  
20 *you because you don't want to get upset [l:mmm] you don't wanna feel vulnerable*  
21 *because you're in public you're kind of on show (Julie, l. 112 – 121).*  
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32 While another participant, Zoe, compared the two rooms she met with mental health  
33 professionals in her outpatient clinic:  
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40 *the consulting room is really really big and there's quite a lot of windows [l:mmm]*  
41 *and its not I mean its not in a public place so the windows nobody goes past them*  
42 *[l:mmm] but I always feel a bit like I really wish there wasn't six windows in here*  
43 *[l:yeah] because I want to sit here and cry [l:mmm] and tell you that I feel really*  
44 *bad but there's six windows and it feels a bit bare [l:mmm] whereas in the CBT*  
45 *room there's one window you sit with your back to it and there's blinds there*  
46 *[l:yeah] so its a lot more private and I think I always feel a lot more safe it it feels*  
47 *like its safer to be anxious and depressed in a room where other people can't really*  
48 *look at (Zoë, l. 124 - 138).*  
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4 Both Zoe and Julie here highlight the crucial importance of providing a space which  
5 affords a more molecular experiential account of distress, with all its intensity and  
6 messiness. Julie was unable to meet her CPN at home, and so following the closure of  
7 her community mental health buildings, was forced to meet with her CPN, to provide  
8 them with a monitoring narrative, in various community spaces. In the local pub, like  
9 James above, she highlights the difficulty in accessing and producing the parts of her  
10 emotional and affective experience which are needed here. The affective atmosphere  
11 (Anderson, 2009) of the pub, of enjoyment and social display, is described as affording  
12 Julie's 'social face', rather than enabling her to discuss her ongoing distress. Distress is  
13 still normatively placed as a 'private' experience, one which belongs 'out of sight' (Parr,  
14 1997; 2008; McGrath & Reavey, 2015; McGrath, Reavey & Brown, 2008; Sibley, 1995),  
15 and this concern runs through both Julie and Zoe's accounts. In Zoe's case, the 'big  
16 windows' 'suggest' (Latour, 2005) public space and exposure to her, and hence  
17 'blocking' the discussion of her distressed experiences.  
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31 In contrast to the affordance of rationality and sociability in public space,  
32 participants also described private space as affording a greater intensity of feeling. As  
33 Zoe put it:  
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40 *At home you're free to feel ever you're free to feel all of your emotions it's fine you*  
41 *can feel anxious and upset and you can feel fantastic all of those anything goes*  
42 *kind of thing in your own home [...] the extremes of the low it's less likely to*  
43 *happen in other places (Zoe, l. 376 – 387).*  
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50 Part of the production of different 'intensities' of affect and feeling can thus be seen to  
51 be the spaces in which the person is placed. Distress is not only normatively excluded  
52 from public space (Sibley, 1995; Dixon, Levine & McAuley, 2006; Parr, 1997; 2008 ;  
53 McGrath & Reavey, 2013), but here Zoe outlines that the greater intensities of feeling,  
54 the 'heat' of distress is actually 'less likely' to occur in public spaces. Public space is here  
55 described as carrying expectations of a 'colder' kind of affective experience, such as  
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4 'being rational' (Parr, 2008; Foucault, 1965) or as Julie puts it, the 'social face'. Service  
5 users are hence being asked to provide narratives of affective experiences which are  
6 expressly excluded from the space within which they are being asked to provide this  
7 narrative. This presents a fundamental contradiction: the closer they get to the 'heat' of  
8 their distressed experiences, the more danger they are in of violating the norms of the  
9 space. In the context of community services, where interactions between service users  
10 and staff are increasingly taking place in community spaces, the norms of emotional  
11 expression in different spaces need to be taken into account in considering what kind of  
12 account of experience is possible or likely to be afforded in that particular space.  
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22 A contrast with these experiences can be seen in Rachel's description of a day centre  
23 which she had attended in the past:  
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30 *[the lounge] was was really really nice and first thing in the morning when you*  
31 *came in you could just sit in there and I think probably for the first couple of*  
32 *months I went to the day centre that was all that I did I didn't join any of the I*  
33 *didn't like go to any of the groups and I dunno I think I just kind of saw it as a place*  
34 *to get away from pressures of work or [...] just to relax I suppose and I saw the day*  
35 *centre just as somewhere to do that and [l:mmm] I didn't see any particular use in*  
36 *going to anything like art therapy or woodwork or relaxation but [...] I think the*  
37 *fact that it was a nice place to be anyway meant that I kept going even though I*  
38 *didn't chat with any of the groups and things (Rachel, l. 139 – 151).*  
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51 The day centre here is described as a container for Rachel's experiences of distress; with  
52 no pressure to join in with the official therapy on offer, she describes the space of the  
53 day centre as affording her the ability to 'be', rather than 'be treated'. The walls of the  
54 day centre here provide a material boundary, within which Rachel is 'using services' but  
55 the less structured nature of time within that boundary enables more variety in the  
56 form of that engagement with services. Here, she seems to describe an absence of a  
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4 compulsion to produce of the kinds of structured narratives described by the  
5 participants above; Rachel seems to have little pressure to molarise her experiences, to  
6 produce linearity out of the molecular experience of her distress. Instead, she is able to  
7 experience her distress in the space of services, relatively un-transformed. This can be  
8 seen as emergent from the space-time of services; when existing in concurrent space  
9 with services, the kinds of monitoring narratives described above become less  
10 necessary; Rachel can be directly observed, and so, paradoxically, is more able to be left  
11 alone. Of course, there are multiple problems with observation as it has been  
12 implemented as a tool of control in mental health, particularly inpatient, services  
13 (Bowers & Park, 2001; Bowers, Gournay & Duffy, 2000; Manna, 2010), and we do not  
14 wish to idealise services from the past. But it does seem here that the provision of some  
15 less structured space-time in mental health services has benefits that are perhaps being  
16 lost in the drive to 'social inclusion' (Spandler, 2007; Chase, 2011; Taylor, 2014).  
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## 28 **2. Narratives in therapy: Compartmentalising the distressed self.**

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33 Not all of the interactions described with services took the form of a monitoring,  
34 present-focussed encounter. Participants who described regular psychotherapy,  
35 described a very different, past focussed and intimate narrative which they had to  
36 navigate during therapy. Appointments were described as having very clear temporal  
37 edges, characterised by 'clock time', with no contact between carefully kept  
38 appointments (Davies, 1994). Lou described her psychotherapy:  
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49 *I just felt like someone was digging into my soul and and pulling up all of this*  
50 *rubbish all this junk that had been festering at the bottom and then just leaving me*  
51 *to deal with it [l:mmm] so bringing it all to the top and sort of this big revelation*  
52 *well I really think you don't like yourself in fact I think you hate yourself well I think*  
53 *that I do 'ok that's the end of the session see you next week' and it was just like*  
54 *what am I supposed to do and and it was two weeks until the next session what*  
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4 *am I supposed to do with that with those emotions and I go back to this place*  
5 *where I don't like to be and and ... e wa and yeah and try and deal with it and it*  
6 *was awful (Lou, l. 260-268).*  
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13 The process of therapy, of 'digging into my soul', is here described as painful, and even  
14 toxic, in involving being overwhelmed by 'rubbish' and 'junk', 'festering' inside Lou.  
15 Images of poison are here used to describe the process of excavating backwards and  
16 inwards, uncovering what has been hidden, or strategically forgotten (Middleton &  
17 Brown, 2005), in Lou's everyday experience of subjectivity. To use our temperature  
18 metaphor, in therapy, Lou describes being heated up, through dialogue with the  
19 psychotherapist, to a greater level of affective intensity ('all these emotions'). Once the  
20 strict time of the psychotherapy session has come to an end, Lou describes being  
21 transformed (a different 'substance', to continue the temperature metaphor) to a  
22 greater level of embodied intensity, a burgeoning, toxic jumble of emotion and external  
23 narrative ('I think you hate yourself'). Lou then has to return to her room in supported  
24 housing, where she feels stigmatised and isolated:  
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37 *it's really it's really kind of sterile the whole house is like a real institution it's it's*  
38 *like the walls are painted this hideous colour blue every wall in the house and um*  
39 *and the um the doors there's like fire doors on everything and there's doors*  
40 *everywhere and they're always closed all the doors are closed so you just walk in*  
41 *and there's just a corridor of closed (l. 321-328).*  
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50 The isolation evoked by the image here of closed doors along a "sterile" corridor,  
51 painted in institutional blue, through which Lou walks to her "room, not home" (l. 319)  
52 is starkly cold. Above, Lou describes being transformed in therapy to the point where  
53 her emotions are overheated and flowing beyond her control and bodily boundaries  
54 ("what am I supposed to do with those emotions?"). Outside the strict temporal limits  
55 of the therapy session, there seems little consideration of the ongoing implications of  
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4 how her affective embodied state has been transformed, and whether her everyday  
5 spaces are places which can afford the containment and processing of this changed  
6 state.  
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10 Similarly, Karl described therapy as necessitating a shift in his embodied self:  
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16 *in our little counselling room um [therapist] has said to me you know you're too*  
17 *strong you're too guarded you're too this is you know is this how you are in the*  
18 *world [l:mmm] well yes it's how I am in the world because I'm not going to just be*  
19 *a puddle of pudding for [l:mmm] every no-one else needs to see that or wants to*  
20 *see that and it isn't useful or ... or you know efficient or effective [l:mmm] how*  
21 *would you live your life if you were just wearing your heart on your sleeve all the*  
22 *time (Karl, I. 201-206)*  
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32 Karl describes therapy as necessitating being emotionally “raw” and open, describing a  
33 corresponding embodied experience of being a soft “pile of pudding” with his “heart on  
34 my sleeve”. In his everyday life, in contrast, Karl describes a contained, armoured self  
35 consistent with a normative Western, and particularly white, middle class, and male  
36 subjectivity (Brannon, 1976; Kilmartin, 2005). As argued by Ian Burkitt (1999), drawing  
37 on Elias (1978; 1982; 1985) armourment can be seen as a key experience of the body  
38 which emerged in tandem with the privatisation of emotion and sexuality following the  
39 Renaissance period:  
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50 *these are bodily experiences that are private; they pulsate under layers of clothing,*  
51 *behind the barriers of reserve and are expressed only in private chambers of the*  
52 *household. The barriers of reserve and the restraint on feelings become a body*  
53 *armour, frozen into our movements, gestures, posture and musculature (Burkitt,*  
54 *1999, p. 52).*  
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4 Like Lou, Karl here describes that therapy necessitates a 'heating up' of affective  
5 intensity; his very body seems here to be transformed into a different substance,  
6 through the intensity of therapy, becoming soft rather than stiff, as his emotions  
7 become open rather than guarded.  
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11 He discusses how during everyday life, he therefore acts to compartmentalise  
12 this version of himself, the 'pile of pudding', pouring all of his intensified affect into one  
13 part of his week:  
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20 *say on Thursday when something else had come up again related to er all of this*  
21 *um I was I thought ok I'm feeling anxious about that but I have a place for that you*  
22 *know my Tuesday afternoon [l:mmm] at three o'clock I will go in and that is when I*  
23 *will deal with that so you it it helped me to compartmentalise it or it didn't help*  
24 *and I was avoiding it but instead of falling apart on Thursday evening I was saying*  
25 *ok save that and let's look at that on Tuesday [l:mmm] well I'm y'know so I was*  
26 *pleased to have not a physical space to go to [l:mmm] but a space in my week or a*  
27 *space in my head (Karl, l. 266-273).*  
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39 While Lou describes her heated up, toxic emotions as overflowing, being unable to be  
40 contained in the everyday spaces she was left to negotiate between therapeutic  
41 encounters, Karl here describes the maintenance of his more 'armoured' emotional self  
42 in the week as in part dependent on having the space where more intensified, extreme  
43 emotions are allowable, visible, and indeed, demanded by the process of therapy. Karl  
44 described the transition between these two states as far from easy, describing using the  
45 toilet of the outpatient unit as a "decompression zone" (l. xx) between the two:  
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54 *in the toilet [...] I say catch my breath I kind of brace myself both before and after*  
55 *um [l:mmm] literally and metaphorically [...] I go in there before hand just to that*  
56 *last moment between outside world [...] and so that's my kind of um er like the*  
57 *decompression zone [l:mmm] on a space ship I go in I go ah ok look in the mirror*  
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4 *and kind of put myself into that space of being able to let this complete stranger*  
5 *[l:mmm] ask me incredibly private questions [...] and then afterwards you know we*  
6 *do the classic thing of well 'I'd really like us to explore this more next time but*  
7 *we've run out of time' right ok I'll just pack everything back up [l:mmm] put it*  
8 *inside zip up the front of me and go back out into the world [...] so my my kind of*  
9 *ritual is that I go in I feel very raw I have my decompression back into the world so*  
10 *I'm not going to cry in the street on the way out [l:mmm] and then [...] I need to sit*  
11 *somewhere for half an hour [...] and just kind of get myself back to going out into*  
12 *the rest of the world (Karl, l. 352 – 393).*

22 Karl describes here the process of de-armouring and re-armouring himself, captured  
23 evocatively in the phrase “zip up the front of me”, having to quickly re-suppress, cool  
24 down and hide, the emotions which have been churned up in the therapeutic  
25 encounter. This account highlights the lack of any space made available for this process  
26 with the service itself; Karl is here forced into the toilet, the only available private space,  
27 to construct his own ritual of transition. In part, what can be seen here is a tension  
28 between the linear nature of the time of therapy, and the molecular, voluminous nature  
29 of affect and emotion. While therapeutic time has a strict beginning and end, the  
30 affective transformations which happen during that time are not ‘over’. Both Lou and  
31 Karl here describe being transformed by the therapeutic encounter; emotions are  
32 intensified and heated up, toxic feelings excavated, body armour dissolved. The very  
33 boundaries of the body seem to become more porous, leaving the self more vulnerable  
34 to the external world, an embodied experience which has been more widely noted as  
35 often occurring in experiences of distress (Parr, 1999; McGrath, Reavey & Brown, 2008).  
36 In order to then function, back in the world, Karl describes needing to transform himself  
37 again, to cool down, re-armour, ‘zip back up’. No space is made available for this crucial  
38 process; instead Karl is left, overheated and exposed, to splash water on his face in the  
39 toilet.

#### 4. Space-time of helicopter services: Making room for molecular distress.

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7 The accounts examined here speak to inherent tensions within the ‘helicopter’ space-  
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9 time of contemporary UK mental health services. In a landscape of expanded spatiality  
10 and shrunken temporality, a central function of service user/professional interactions  
11 was that of monitoring the service user’s present level of distress. Two layers of  
12 complexity to service users producing these crucial monitoring narratives have been  
13 identified. Firstly, inherent difficulties in translating multiple and intangible experiences  
14 of distress into coherent, linear narratives have been explored. Deleuze & Guattari’s  
15 (1987) distinction between fixed molar and fluid, multiple molecular forms have been  
16 used as a way to understand an inherent disjunct between experiences of (molecular)  
17 distress and the (molar) narratives through which service users’ distress is made visible.  
18 Layered on top of these difficulties is a seeming lack of consideration of the affective  
19 affordances of the spaces in which staff/service user interactions are taking place. The  
20 normative expulsion of distress from public space (Parr, 1997; 2008; McGrath, Reavey &  
21 Brown, 2008; Sibley, 1995) played into service users’ experiences of attempting to  
22 discuss distress in public space. A second form of service user/staff interaction was also  
23 explored, of a therapeutic encounter which excavates into the past, described as an  
24 experience which heated up intensities of emotion in the present, transforming  
25 participants’ affective embodiment. This kind of intensified, ‘heated up’, embodied  
26 experience was described as at odds with the everyday spaces into which service users  
27 were ejected following therapy.  
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47 The types of interactions which have been explored here are, of course, not the  
48 only kinds which pepper the multitudes of ways in which staff and service users interact  
49 in mental health services. In addition, ‘molar’ linear narratives are not the only ways in  
50 which mental health professionals assess the level of distress of a service user; more  
51 holistic considerations, such as visible changes in level of self care, housework, mood or  
52 interaction style all play a part (e.g., Barker, 2008). The forms of narrative explored  
53 above were, however, chosen in order to highlight particular issues emerging in the  
54 expanded space and truncated time of contemporary services. An understanding of  
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4 distress as intensive, molecular and transformative, may help to consider ways in which  
5 services could better gather information from service users, as well as highlighting the  
6 need for spaces which are more sympathetic to the intensive experience of distress.  
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8 Many of the experiences outlined above seem to call for spaces which are less  
9 structured, which afford the expression and experience of distress, in ways which many  
10 community spaces do not. For those participants leaving therapy, some form of less  
11 structured 'buffer space' could be provided, potentially to perform the same  
12 'decompression' function as Karl describes above.  
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