

Mapping Practices of Social Control: A Foucauldian Analysis of Urban Space

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Abstract. The aim of this article is to reveal how two Foucauldian modalities of power, disciplinarity and biopolitics, are enacted in urban space as practices of social control and negotiation of norms beyond the limits of sovereign juridical power. The article contributes to other spatial studies based on the Foucauldian perspective in two respects: by combining the analysis of both disciplinarity and biopolitics, and by focusing on an urban neighbourhood, rather than a single institution.

The characteristics of built structures in a mixed-use neighbourhood in Vilnius were analysed by combining observation and photo-documentation. Qualitative data analysis and thematic mapping of the data was based on coding categories originated from the Foucault's discussion on the divides and interrelations of power modalities in his lectures at the Collège de France.

The findings show that each structure, regardless of its function, employs both disciplinary and biopolitical techniques of social control at three distinct levels: a) urban planning, prescribed functionality and its correspondence to actual use; b) means of limiting access, containment and transparency; c) circulation of populations and their compliance to the particular spatial setup they find themselves in.

Keywords: Foucault, biopolitics, discipline, urban space, social control, Vilnius

INTRODUCTION

Michel Foucault's framework of power relations, recounted in his lectures at the Collège de France in 1975-1976 (2004 [1976]) and 1977-1978 (2007 [1978]), posits that contemporary societies rely on three modalities¹ of power:

¹ The choice of a fitting descriptive term for the three forms of power is problematic. Foucault uses as many as different terms on several consecutive pages of *Security, Territory, Population: modalities, forms, modalities, apparatuses, techniques or structures*

sovereignty, disciplinarity and biopolitics. Foucault conceptualised them while studying the transformation from feudal domains, where sovereignty was the dominant mode of rule, to contemporary states where disciplinarity and biopolitics prevail. Rather than superseding each other, they coexist and intersect, with different modalities dominating in different contexts.

Foucault retains relevance from a criminological standpoint, because both disciplinary and biopolitical themes resonate with current debates on varying aspects of social control. Critical criminologists describe transformations of social control that have taken place in roughly the last 50 years as undergoing a process of destructuring followed by an increase in size and density (Cohen 1985), and enacting a double turn, a combination of shifts towards more punitivity and actuarial justice (Garland 2001). The punitive turn may be seen as the embodiment of disciplinary approaches of isolation and institutional supervision, while actuarial justice and risk-prevention strategies correspond to biopolitical approaches weaving their way into policy-making agendas. These paradigms are countered by the critical and cultural paradigm of criminology (for a recent summary of arguments, see Young 2011) in general. The particular cases of concern with disciplinarity include penal abolitionism (Ruggiero 2010; Mathiesen 2014) and a critical stance towards the industrialisation of crime control (Christie 1993), while biopolitical discourse is present in, for instance, critical discussions on the meaning of capital punishment (Garland 2010) and crimmigration (Franko Aas 2013; Franko Aas and Bosworth 2013). The ongoing nature of these debates mean that there is a need for the scrutiny of disciplinary and biopolitical aspects of power and their influence on social relations.

Foucault also stressed throughout his work of various periods that there is an inherent link of urbanity to the practices of social control. He moved from

of power (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 4-9). It is also debatable whether or not these terms are interchangeable with the notion of strategy, defined as rationales, objectives, expectations and procedures of conduct during conflicts (Foucault 1982; 793). Other authors use terms of their own, such as Valverde's *modes of power* (Valverde 2010; 52) or Beaulieu's *models of society* (Beaulieu 2006; 24). Although *mechanisms* are the prevailing term in Security, Territory, Population, I chose to use modalities because of its use by Foucault, and because it presents a broader set of connotations than the more technical terms *mechanisms*, *apparatuses*, and *techniques* which imply sets of tools and technologies, but omit the discourses and knowledges behind their application.

the early metaphoric concept of heterotopias (Foucault 1984 [1967]) to institutional spaces as tools of social control (Foucault 2003 [1963], 1991 [1975]) and in later years, to specific traits of disciplinary and biopolitical transformations of space (Foucault 2007 [1978]). This link is also echoed in the emphasis by cultural criminologists on urban spaces as arenas of deviance, transgression and negotiation of social norms (see, for instance Hayward 2004, 2012; Ferrell *et al.* 2008).

While many studies of urban space from a variety of academic backgrounds use Foucault's work as their theoretical or interpretative basis, many of them are similar in two respects: first, singling out one particular modality of power or an even narrower theoretical concept from the corpus of Foucauldian theory omitting others; second, focusing on a single instrument of urban social control, e. g. CCTV, or a single building, e. g. a prison or a school. While insightful, the narrow focus of these studies leaves open questions about the power relations in a broader perspective: what is the *interrelation* of disciplinary and biopolitical practices of social control and how do they work in larger, more complex urban spaces?

This article aims to apply a different angle of analysis by combining the two modern modalities of power – disciplinarity and biopolitics – in a study of a mixed-use neighbourhood in downtown Vilnius. To achieve this, I briefly trace the genesis of disciplinarity and biopolitics throughout Foucault's work and his discussion of the spatial aspects of these modalities of power. The latter are used as a basis for outlining characteristics for mapping practices of social control pertaining to built structures. The limitation of the study to disciplinarity and biopolitics rather than all three modalities of power because disciplinary and biopolitical techniques of social control reveal hidden and frequently extra-legal forms of power, which transcend codified sovereign-subject relations. Subsequent research is based on empirical data collected through observation and photodocumentation, the results of which are graphically mapped for further analysis. The approach concentrates on built structures and other aspects of the physical environment as footprints of human activity, both structured and structuring everyday life in the city.

MODALITIES OF POWER: SOVEREIGNTY, DISCIPLINARITY, BIOPOLITICS

The level of detail dedicated to each modality of power varies throughout Foucault's oeuvre: earlier works are studies of the specific modalities of power in specific institutions, while latter work scrutinises the interrelations and tensions between the modalities of power.

One of the first mentions of *discipline* occurred in *Madness and Civilisation* (Foucault 1993 [1961]), while an extensive institutional exploration was provided in *The Birth of the Clinic* (Foucault 2003 [1963]). The latter, without explicitly evoking discipline as a modality of power, discussed medicine and medical institutions as sites of surveillance, and the re-framing of the relation between the state and the (sick or healthy) body. A decade later, in the oft-cited *Discipline and Punish* (1991 [1975]), Foucault explored the shift from sovereign rule to disciplinary power, exemplified by the establishment of other modern institutions: the prison, the school and the factory.

In the first volume of the *History of Sexuality* (Foucault 1978 [1976]), Foucault continued to delineate the transformation of the pre-modern sovereign into the modern state, which emerged throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. He added a third modality of power to the first two: biopolitics². Sovereignty, associated with the rule of law, was superseded by discipline and biopolitical security (see Foucault 1978 [1976]; 133-150). A new social relation between the state and its citizens, as opposed to that of sovereigns and their subjects, is expressed through disciplinary control of the individual body, and biopolitical control of the state's population. The shift coincides with the advent of rational modernity and emergence of power-knowledge techniques as the main source of social control. However, after a brief introduction, Foucault did not continue with this subject in subsequent volumes of *The History of Sexuality*.

Contemporaneous lectures, delivered in 1976 and published as *Society Must Be Defended* (Foucault 2004 [1976]), highlighted the historical aspects of, first, the shift from sovereignty to disciplinarity and, second, the emergence

² In the first volume of *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault used the rather unwieldy term of *anatomo-politics* to refer to individualised disciplines and to contrast them with the *biopolitics* pertaining to populations (see Foucault 1978 [1976]; 139). He seems later to have dropped the term altogether and referred to the same modality of power simply as *discipline*.

of biopolitics through the legitimisation in nineteenth-century Europe of biologically-medical or medico-normalising discourses of power (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 80-81). At the time, the state began controlling demography, insurance and environmental issues, aiming to defend life against death, and the human species against extinction. While the pre-modern sovereign based her rule on the right to *let live or force to die*, the modern state reversed it into the imperative to either *force to live* or *let die*. Life became the main objective of power, while death became undesirable, because it is the ultimate end of the reach of power (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 240-248). The lectures focused on underlying political discourses and their historical interchange, but provided few details on the workings of the modalities of power and their ties to the everyday life of the state and its subjects.

Foucault (2007 [1978]) produced the most comprehensive discussion of the nature and techniques of each modality of power in 1978, in a series of lectures titled *Security, Territory, Population*. Although each of the three modalities of power emerged in a specific historical context (the pre-modern, modern and contemporary³ state), they do not replace or supersede each other. Rather, all three are always present to some extent with no predetermined hierarchy. A particular modality of power may dominate, while others serve to reinforce it or give rise to tensions, depending on the context. Foucault described each modality of power with regards to its objectives, operation techniques, and relations to the subject. These differences are outlined in table 1.

Sovereignty is legitimised by a social contract binding multiple individuals – the legal subjects – to the sovereign (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 6-21; 110). Judicial *right* empowered the sovereign to rule over territories, wealth and goods (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 35-36) and sustain their material value.

Disciplinarity is an administrative modality of power concerned with instilling *discipline* in bodies, that are singled out as individuals from the sovereign multiplicity of subjects. It is practised in specially designed institutions (such as schools, clinics or prisons established by the administrative state) (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 6-12; 110). The metaphor of Bentham's *Panopticon* (see Foucault 1991 [1975]; 135-228) illustrates the ideal of a self-imposed and self-policed disciplinary system fuelled by an invisible omnipresent power, reigning over minds via their bodies, time and labour (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 35-36).

³ Foucault apparently preferred to use the term contemporary rather than *late modern* or *postmodern*.

TABLE 1. Characteristics of sovereignty, disciplinarity and biopolitics. Based on Foucault (2007 [1978]).⁴

Defining characteristics	Modality of power		
	Sovereignty	Disciplinarity	Biopolitics
Corresponding discourse	Right	Discipline	Security
Emergence	17-18 century	18-20 century	20 century onwards
Acts on	Multiplicity of subjects	Individualized bodies	Populations
Aims	Capitalizing material territory	Organizing hierarchies and functions	Promoting circulation of goods and men
Definition of norms ¹	Normativity	Normation	Normalization
Form of social control	Obedience	Coercion	Cancellation
Techniques	Legal frameworks	Communication of power, surveillance	Calculation of probabilities and risks
Relation to space	Structuring territories	Constructing institutions	Planning and regulating milieus

Biopolitics, the modality of power which emerged in the latter work by Foucault, has as its object the *population* as a single entity (as opposed to the disciplinary multiplicity of individuals) and its milieus. Practices of *security* integrate existing infrastructures to ensure the circulation of populations and goods, management of uncertainty, and aversion of risks (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 6-42). The ultimate biopolitical aim is ensuring and enforcing the quality of population – its survival and vitality.

The definition of norms is the key distinguishing characteristic of the different approaches to social control in different modalities of power⁵. *Normativity* denotes codifying norms as a key function of the law, on par with proving the sovereign's legitimacy (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 46). Disciplinary *normation* consists of several consequent stages. The initial step of defining and breaking

⁴ While the definition of norms is not a self-explanatory characteristic and in certain cases is the key distinguishing characteristic of the different approaches to social control in different modes of power, a detailed discussion of it is beyond the scope of this article. For a summary, see Foucault 2007 [1978]; 56-63

⁵ A detailed discussion of it is beyond the scope of this article. For a more detailed summary, see (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 56-63).

down subjects as components for surveillance and modification is followed by classification and setting of objectives in order to establish the optimal disciplinary sequences. The final step is training and subsequent control of ongoing (self-)disciplining. (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 56-57). The establishment of such norms precedes their codification in law. Biopolitical *normalisation* is ingrained in the scrutiny of quantitative distributions of cases, identifying risks and dangers, and managing crises. The norm is established on the basis of distributions of normalities, but rather than aggregating the norm from individual cases, it is focused on pushing cases inside the limits of predefined norms (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 60-63). Foucault proposed that biopolitical power is dominant over the other two modalities of power (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 108-109), however, he warned against setting them up in a rigid hierarchy:

<...>[There is a] much more fuzzy history of the correlations and systems of the dominant feature which determine that, in a given society and for a given sector – for things do not necessarily develop in step in different sectors, at a given moment, in a given society, in a given country – a technology of security, for example, will be set up, taking up again and sometimes even multiplying juridical and disciplinary elements and redeploying them within its specific tactic. (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 8-9)

Thus, the three analysis of modalities of power are not a rigid theoretical model. Rather, it is the analysis of their entanglement which reveals most eloquently how different configurations of power play out in the everyday life of some and never-life of others. This article subsequently focuses on two of the three modalities, discipline and biopolitics, as representative of uncoded norms and techniques of control based on soft power rather than clearly delineated sovereign-subject relations.

FOUCAULT'S POWER STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL CONTROL OF URBAN MILIEUS

There are ongoing discussions on the role of space in the works of Foucault: space seems to permeate his work, looming in the background of historical and concept-laden discussions of knowledge, power and subjectivity (see, for example, the discussion in Crampton and Elden 2007). One of the points

emphasised by Foucault in *Security, Territory, Population* was the centrality of urban spaces – „the town“ – to the development of contemporary power relations and techniques of social control (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 63-64). This is in line with his earlier conviction that space, rather than time, is the centrepiece of contemporary social relations (Foucault 1984 [1967])⁶.

Most authors agree that close ties exist between Foucauldian conceptualisations of space and power relations. This holds true regardless of the diverse positions on whether the concepts should be interpreted as metaphors (see Mitchell 2003; 47), or embody techniques of controlling space with tangible outcomes (see Crampton 2013; Crampton and Elden 2007).

An early Foucauldian work theorising space was the 1967 essay *On Other Spaces*, which proposed the concept of heterotopias: the opposite of utopias, spaces that „have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralise, or invent the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror or reflect“ (Foucault 1984 [1967]). Heterotopias became a popular metaphor applied in empirical studies: „<...> close monitoring suggests that there is a heterotopia-related paper generated every few months or so“ (Johnson 2013; 796).

On Other Spaces raises three points important for understanding Foucault's approach to spatial analysis.

First, while heterotopias are frequently portrayed as spaces of resistance in derivative work (Mitchell 2003; 47) or spaces „outside society“ (Crane 2012; 354), Foucault's description of heterotopias encompasses a wide array of societal spaces (cemeteries, ships, museums, etc.). Although they do not pertain to everyday life, they are „a constant in every human group“ (Foucault 1984 [1967]). Some examples of heterotopias provided by Foucault are spaces for containing individuals that have transgressed the norm, such as psychiatric hospitals or prisons (Foucault 1984 [1967]). As such, at least some heterotopias are the opposite of spaces of resistance, and overlap with what will later become spaces of discipline or security. Thus, the essay is a precursor to Foucault's latter stance on spatial issues.

Second, the text defines lived space not in terms of physical structures, but as „relations among sites“ (Foucault 1984 [1967]), where sites are units of

⁶ This approach is counter to the Kantian and other enlightenment-based preference for time over space (see Mitchell 2003; 48).

spatial organisation that are irreducible to one another and not superimposable. The networks of relations are more important than the structural units on their own. Although Foucault did not explain what kind of relations he has in mind, and various interpretations could be applied, power relations are a likely candidate. This highlights the importance of looking beyond the stand-alone sites for the power networks that weave through and beyond them, in addition to the power relations inside sites.

Third, Foucault also mentioned a number of „inviolable“ spatial oppositions that „our institutions and practices have not yet dared to break down“ (Foucault 1984 [1967]): private and public space, family and social space, cultural and useful space, leisure and work space. While this may indeed have been the case at the time of writing, contemporary developments in the social control of both space and social life allow to question whether this statement still holds up and what changes were brought onto it (some doubt may already be found in Foucault's latter works).

Discipline and Punish discusses the emergence in modernity of a new use for architecture, the mediation of power: „to permit an internal, articulated and detailed control – to render visible those who are inside it; in more general terms, an architecture that would operate to transform individuals: <...> to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them“ (Foucault 1991 [1975]; 172). This passage refers to the architecture of disciplinary institutions, whose characteristics – surveillance, coercion and normation of individualised bodies – corresponds to the unique characteristics of discipline discussed in the previous section.

Two passages in *Discipline and Punish* discuss the city as an arena of disciplinary control. In the first, a plague-stricken city illustrates the application of discipline to a whole settlement:

The plague-stricken town, traversed throughout with hierarchy, surveillance, observation, writing; the town immobilised by the functioning of an extensive power that bears in a distinct way over all individual bodies – this is the utopia of the perfectly governed city. The plague (envisaged as a possibility at best) is the trial in the course of which one may define ideally the exercise of disciplinary power. (Foucault 1991 [1975]; 198).

The second takes up the notion of a complex carceral city where physical space and social practices intermingle:

The carceral city, with its imaginary 'geo-politics', is governed by quite different principles [than the sovereign 'city of tortures']. <...> at the centre of this city, and as if to hold it in place, there is, not the 'centre of power', not a network of forces, but a multiple network of diverse elements – walls, space, institution, rules, discourse; <...> a strategic distribution of elements of different natures and levels. (Foucault 1991 [1975]; 307).

These two passages, the first one exploring potential, and the second one the actual power relations in urban space, reveal the connection between urbanity and contemporary practices of social control. While they refer to discipline only, they go beyond the institutional space of prisons, schools and factories and place the whole city in a disciplinary perspective.

Later, urbanity is framed as the focus of biopolitical control where it becomes the *milieu*, an environment where populations exist and circulate:

Biopolitics' last domain is, finally <...> control over relations between the human race, or human beings insofar as they are a species, insofar as they are living beings, and their environment, the milieu in which they live. This includes the direct effects of the geographical, climatic, or hydrographic environment <...>. And also the problem of the environment to the extent that it is not a natural environment, that it has been created by the population and therefore has effects on that population. This is, essentially, the urban problem. (Foucault 2004 [1976]; 244-245).

Security, Territory, Population (Foucault 2007 [1978]) brought disciplinary and biopolitical control of urban space together as new techniques of power which evolved and surpassed the sovereign solutions to urban problems. While sovereign rule applied to spaces in the guise of territories and used them as material resources, both disciplinary and biopolitical practices re-centered the focus of power on immaterial dimensions. This spurred specific concerns about space *as related to social control*, rather than a set of physical structures that should be kept in order. Disciplinarity and biopolitics use physical space as a means of achieving the primary aims of social control, while sovereignty viewed space as a resource for prosperity, with control only a means of holding on to it.

Differences of the disciplinary and biopolitical approach to space reflect the general differences in objectives of the two modalities of power. Table 2 summarises them.

TABLE 2. Comparison of the spatial effects of discipline and security. Based on Foucault (2007 [1978]).

Spatial characteristic	Modality of power	
	Disciplinary	Biopolitics
Aims	Perfection of disciplined individuals	Preservation of life
Acts on	Artificial spaces	Natural or pre-existing spaces
Impact on space	Construction	Regulation
Direction of impact	Centripetal: isolation and unlimited power	Centrifugal: constant expansion, organization of circuits
Effect	Enclosure and isolation	Promotion of circulation
Visibility	Nothing escapes scrutiny	Seems to happen out of its own accord
Temporality	Focus on the present	Incorporation of the future

Although the ultimate task of both modalities of power is to instill control into the physical and social dimensions of spaces (be it stand-alone sites or whole cities), the characteristics of their relation to space often represent opposite poles, such as isolation and expansion, artificial and natural milieus, present and future orientation. If the prison, the hospital or the school are seminal examples of disciplinary spaces, a shopping mall or an airport are representative of biopolitical power. They promote and enhance the flow of both consumers and goods in repetitive patterns, while keeping undesired or non-consuming populations out, rather than locking them in.

Spaces, be they sites, milieus, or territories, thus provide a key to understanding the workings of discipline and biopolitics in physical terms. Although some authors posit that Foucault ultimately abandons *territory* in favour of *population* (Elden 2007a), the above considerations show that the characteristics of power, even if they are preoccupied with the governing bodies and populations, do not recede from space. While knowledges are generated and perused in other dimensions, it is ultimately space that provides the tangible and direct approach to the subjects.

APPLICATIONS IN STUDIES OF SPACE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Applications of Foucauldian theory to the study of space, spatial practices and configurations of power come from a broad range of disciplines and approaches.

These include critical geography⁷, anthropology, international relations, urban studies, surveillance studies, criminology, semiotics, management, and marketing. The areas of application are broad, but there is a limited exchange of ideas across them – references are usually limited to similar studies within an author's discipline, even if the subject matter overlaps with work from other disciplines.

The scope and contents of this body of work range from (meta)theoretical to empirical and include:

- a) Critical reviews of dominating paradigms in the authors' respective disciplines with calls for revisions or additions based on Foucauldian perspectives. Examples include: a Foucauldian look at the knowledge in critical cartography (Crampton and Krygier 2006), applicability of Foucauldian approaches to various strands of geography (Elden 2007a, 2007b; Legg 2005), application of „affirmative“ rather than „sceptical“ postmodern analysis to criminology (Arrigo *et al.* 2005; 35-49), and a general critique of non-critical, non-political application of Foucault for empirical interpretation (Valverde 2010).
- b) Theoretical considerations of specific contemporary problems, frequently centred on the impact of new technologies on relations of power and social control. Subject matter includes, but is not limited to: GIS systems (Crampton 2007), geosurveillance (Crampton 2003), urban planning (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002), typology of spatial structures (Hannah 1997), surveillance technologies (Hier 2004; Yar 2003; Lianos 2003), urban and rural construction of crime (Stenson 2005), landscapes of brands (Murakami Wood and Ball 2013), conventions of global governance (De Larrinaga and Doucet 2008).
- c) Foucauldian theory used for interpreting specific empirical data. Subject matter includes: social control and resistance in specific spatial settings, such as garbage dumpsters (Crane 2012), business districts and condos (Lippert 2014), homes (Merry 2001), school dining rooms (Pike 2008); privacy in enclosed institutions, for instance, prisons (Sibley and van Hoven 2009); communication and signs as artefacts of spatial power relations (Lou 2007); aesthetic features of specific buildings (Connellan 2013).

⁷ According to Valverde (2010; 47), cultural geographers “are as a group more influenced by Foucault than are sociologists.”

Several common theoretical and methodological similarities are present in the two latter groups of studies.

Theoretical similarities include the choice of sources for Foucauldian theoretical basis and emphasis on single concepts or modalities of power while others are omitted. It is not unusual to single out either discipline (Lianos 2003; Hannah 1997; Connellan 2013) or biopolitics (Crampton 2007; Murakami Wood and Ball 2013) as the only modality of power to be discussed, or offer a different outlook centred around heterotopias (Lou 2007; MFJohnson). Sometimes a narrower concept is chosen to represent one of these modalities. Thus, panopticism frequently stands in for discipline⁸, and governmentality⁹ for biopolitics.

This approach is contrary to Foucault's lectures in which he emphasises that the modalities of power are inseparable and the degree of domination of each varies depending on the context. Focusing on a single modality of power and omitting others may be useful for narrowing the scope of research and easing the interpretation of results. However, it is also disadvantageous, because it may easily miss or misplace the complex *interrelations* of the different modalities of power, the ways in which they reinforce or conflict with each other.

In some cases, authors proffer an addition to the concept they are applying, or conceptualise a new modality of power. While Valverde (2010; 52-53) warns that the triangle of sovereignty, disciplinarity, and biopolitics may not necessarily encompass all modalities of power and one should always be on the lookout for alternatives, there are cases proposing and defending reconceptualisations as original contributions (for instance, Murakami Wood and Ball 2013; Hier 2004). At the same time there are also instances where the proposed ideas are aligned to what Foucault has already covered elsewhere¹⁰,

⁸ A common approach in surveillance studies, see Yar (2003).

⁹ While *governmentality* is a wide-spread term which gave rise the whole subdiscipline of *governmentality studies*, it is not a stand-alone modality of power but one of the underlying tenets of biopolitics. The reason for this particular overemphasis on *governmentality* is the early publication of lecture 4 from *Security, Territory, Population* (Foucault 2007 [1978]; 87-114), dedicated to governmentality, without its broader context (see Elden 2007b).

¹⁰ Due, at least in part, to the late (and still ongoing) publication in both French and English of the Collège de France lectures and Foucault's monographs being the dominating source for Foucauldian scholarship until the last decade.

for example, Lianos (2003), whose case for analysing automated control systems could be reinterpreted as an exploration of the biopolitical techniques of control, or Hannah (1997) who offers a space-based typology of disciplines wherein some tiers, e. g. compound, urban or national discipline have traits which could be characterised as biopolitical.

This point is related to the general warnings against rigid definitions of Foucauldian concepts and their ongoing clarification (Valverde 2010; 51). Although at least some definitions are needed if one wants to scrutinise a specific setting and establish whether the workings of power are similar to those proposed by Foucault, they should be approached critically and creatively. Sensitivity to the peculiarities of a specific, limited empirical context enables researchers to counter another criticism geared toward current Foucauldian scholarship: that of being too abstract and detached from realistic problems (Valverde 2010; 51).

Methodological similarities of Foucauldian-inspired studies of space and spatial structures pertain to the choice of spaces to be analysed, definitions of scope, and the breadth of conclusions about physical and social aspects of space.

First, such studies are frequently limited to a single, closed structure, as in studies of prisons (Sibley and van Hoven 2009) and schools (Pike 2008). While they offer insightful findings about the specific context they are examining, there is a lack of studies of complex, combined, multiple spaces – the *relations among sites* mentioned in *On Other Spaces* (Foucault 1984 [1967]) – and the ways in which modalities of power intersect there. Second, a frequent approach (Crampton 2003; Pike 2008; Hannah 1997) is to attribute disciplinary techniques to micro-level social relations, and biopolitical techniques to macro-level ones. This is related to the definition of subjects in each mode: discipline works on the individual body, and security works on the population. However, the differing denotation of subjects does not automatically limit the level of impact of each modality of power. Although biopolitical security targets populations, it affects everyday life at the micro level just as much as disciplinary discourses may affect macro level policy-making. Thus, both studies of micro level social phenomena, and those on the macro scale should consider the merits of searching for both disciplinary and biopolitical practices, as well as the dimension of sovereignty, which is frequently neglected altogether.

Third, some authors (Legg 2005) carefully discuss two or three modalities of power in their literature reviews but do not carry this complexity over to their empirical analysis. The interpretive layer ultimately either focuses on a single modality of power or altogether omits the linking of findings to theoretical underpinnings.

These critical points underline the potential of an approach from a wider perspective: seeing the three modalities of power, and wider categories of physical and social milieus – neighbourhoods rather than institutions – as a series of complex interrelations. The explanatory advantages of questioning how sovereignty, discipline and biopolitics intersect within spatial structures are on par with the physical and social complexities of contemporary urban space. They also resonate with the recent calls advocating a spatial turn in disciplines concerned with problems of power and social control (see, for example, Hayward 2004, 2012; Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002).

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

This research focuses on disciplinary and biopolitical practices of social control and the structures of power in a specific urban setting. Because of the spatial focus of the research problem, the main units of analysis were the built structures in an area in the central district of Vilnius, which presents a complex urban milieu. The research area has a perimeter of approximately 2,55 kilometres and an area of 0,415 square kilometres. It is naturally bound on two sides by the river Neris and by thoroughfares separating it from neighbouring areas on the other two. A map is provided in figure 1.

The area combines institutional, residential and recreational spaces. Architectural heritage from various historical periods and styles dating from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 21st, creates an irregular structure with many interstices and contested spaces. The institutions and establishments in the area are situated side-by-side despite representing very diverse functions. They include: several research institutes; a prison; a school; a kindergarten; a defunct hospital; a church; the parliament; the national library; the supreme court; several contemporary high-rise offices; small enterprises; eating establishments; a neighbourhood bar; the ministry of foreign affairs;

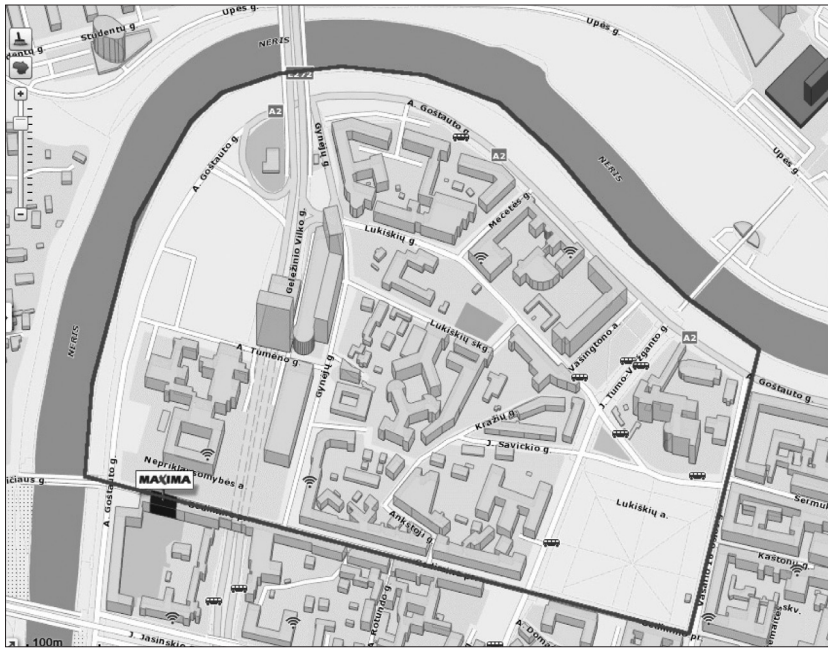


FIGURE 1. Map of the research area. Basemap source: <http://maps.lt>.

and several housing estates. The area presents a *unique* case (both within the city of Vilnius and compared to most other capital cities) because of its structure, internal diversity and position in the city centre. Thus, it has the potential to supply a greater diversity of power modalities and spatial practices than more uniform areas of the same size.

The following procedures of data collection were used:

1. The sequences of built structures were documented visually by taking photographs. Pictures were taken systematically while observing all human-accessible space in the research area. The advantage of using photographs rather than notes for documenting observations lies in capturing minute details that may be missed during fieldwork¹¹.

¹¹ See Banks 2007; 72-75; Tinkler 2013; 124-147; Rose 2011; 297-327. On the use of photography for urban research, see Knowles and Sweetman 2004; 115-192. For a discussion of historical and anthropological applications, see Collier and Collier 1967.

2. Historical data (construction dates, architectural styles, demolished structures) was gathered from the Baltic Inter-Save database¹², while precise addresses and some information about the status of the buildings was taken from the official real estate registry¹³. Additional visual data was provided by Microsoft Bing Bird's Eye View service¹⁴.
3. Characteristics of the built structures within the area were mapped after initial analysis. The base for the maps was a 2D map of Vilnius by Hnit-Baltic, Inc.¹⁵, with updates rendered by hand according to newer orthophotographic imagery provided by Hnit-Baltic¹⁶ as well as observation results. As a result of this work, the following characteristics were mapped after the initial qualitative analysis, which was based on the theoretical distinctions between disciplinary and biopolitics which were discussed earlier and the need to establish the general context of the area:

¹² The database was launched in 2001. It was a joint project of Vilnius municipality, the ministry of culture, the ministry of the environment, Danish NGO experts responsible for SAVE (Survey of architectural values in the environment) methodology and several other partners. The database contained visual material about every building in the city, as well as historical data, architectural descriptors, evaluation of the state of the buildings, etc. Sadly, the database became obsolete and went offline soon after I have gathered the data for my study in January 2015. There is no firm promise of restoration from municipal officials who I have contacted regarding the issue. Traces of the project exist at the Internet Archive at <http://web.archive.org/web/20060114012741/http://www.paveldas.vilnius.lt/> (2006) and <http://web.archive.org/web/20111123151936/http://www.vilnius.lt/newvilniusweb/index.php/11/?env=4> (2011)

¹³ The official website of the registry is available at: http://www.registrucentras.lt/index_en.php. The data was obtained from the free public search tool for the real estate cadaster and register, available at: http://www.registrucentras.lt/ntr/p/index_en.php

¹⁴ The service provided a 3D perspective on the research area, outdoing both Google Street View and Hnit-Baltic orthophotography in the level of detail. This proved valuable while assessing the characteristics of less accessible structures, such as the Lukiškės prison compound. The service is available at: <http://www.bing.com/maps/?v=2&lvl=19.33&dir=353.13&sty=o&form=LMLTCC>. The full list of Microsoft corporation's data providers is listed at: <http://windows.microsoft.com/en-us/windows-live/about-bing-data-suppliers>. It is not clear from the list which particular agencies are responsible for the service I used.

¹⁵ Available at: <http://www.maps.lt/map/default.aspx?lang=lt#obj=581644;6062404;Pa%C5%BEym%C4%97tas%20ta%C5%A1kas;&xy=581774,6062343&z=5000>

¹⁶ Available at: <http://www.maps.lt/map/default.aspx?lang=lt#obj=581640;6062402;Pa%BEym%C4%97tas%20ta%C5%A1kas;&xy=581774,6062343&z=5000&lrs=orthophoto>

1. General context: date of construction; ownership; temporal condition (whether or not the structure is currently in a state of physical transition).
2. Disciplinarity: function(s) of the structure; correspondence of the function(s) to actual use; degree of decrepitude or abandonment of the structure (as counter-functionality); containment of surrounding space; transparency of the structure.
3. Biopolitics: circulation of human flows; modes of compliance with the circulation patterns.
4. Either disciplinarity or biopolitics: artificial or natural development of the structure; means of access to the structure (isolation or expansion); means of controlling or enforcing access limitations (surveillance or risk-prevention).

The data was analysed with a specific objective to find out the specific objects and physical referents through which the workings of the preceding characteristics are revealed, as well as the social dynamics underlying the movement of people through the area.

USES AND DISUSES OF SPACE: THE AMBIGUITY OF FUNCTION

Contemporary urban planning starts out as a regulatory endeavour set down by the municipal government, and is then passed on to architects and constructors. It is, in essence, a biopolitical technique because of its actuarial calculations, risk management, planned returns on investment, and use of space to set up circuits for human flows. Meanwhile, architecture is a disciplinary endeavour which creates artificial spaces to carry out the security-related aims. Newly-erected structures fulfil zoning requirements and provide a pre-planned, strict functional division, e. g. into lived, recreational and office space. The architects' plans present spaces in a single, clearly delineated dimension. Although urban planning contributes to the biopolitical control of space, and real estate development to the disciplinary, these two approaches are only be applied to particular sites, at particular points in time. They cannot be feasibly, consistently and constantly applied to vast milieus.

As the structures are being worn by use, their functions may mutate: apartments become offices, the hospital backyard becomes a parking lot. Hierarchies and functions, even successfully organised ones, depend on the intensity

of human flow, the amount of discipline of spatial practices internalised by individual subjects, and the unwritten rules of everyday conduct that are either upheld or circumvented by different types of actors. For example, the public toilet in the corner of the Lukiškės square is a small, transparent structure with a very straightforward function, which also doubles as a storage space for electricity cables and a temporary shelter for the homeless on a cold winter day.

The Foucauldian definition of *artificial* and *natural* spaces as objects of disciplinary and biopolitical power is somewhat ambiguous. Built structures are inherently *not* natural. However, one may apply these notions to the naturalness or artificiality as revealed by the structures' function. Natural space is formed during the course of construction (in the sense of building, not social construction) and use, as well as destruction of built structures and the spaces between them. There must be at least some serendipity determining the function of a natural space in the course of its lifespan. It may also fall into disuse. The creation of such spaces is driven by the need for usable structures for a variety of purposes. Artificial space, on the other hand, refers to structures whose functions require that specific spatial parameters are fulfilled.

A rough categorisation of built structures in the research area includes several distinct types, based on their ownership and functionality.

1. *Governmental power.* These structures fulfil mainly state governance-related goals. Most governmental buildings in the research area possess similar structure. They are self-contained structures with at least some space claimed by gated or fenced containment and rigid control of entry. The single exception to this is the editorial office of *Valstybės žinios*, which is a recently-built, transparent structure with free access from all sides¹⁷. Thus, although governmental spaces are public institutions, they are not easily accessible or open to the public.

A special case of a governmental structure is the prison compound, which, at first sight, may be considered the ideal disciplinary space. It is an artificial, planned space, purposefully built for confinement and detention of bodies, surveillance and normation, continuously fulfilling the same functions since 1904. From the outside it is manifested only by a uniform, fairly high wall, blending it into a single space for the external observer. Two

¹⁷ However, it is a state enterprise rather than a state-owned public entity, hence its operation logic may differ.

administrative buildings are actually not concealed by the wall, but have their own walls open to the street-side. Internal structures making up the compound are not uniform at all. Two main three-pronged buildings are used for confinement cells, there are also spaces intended for work, commerce and religious worship – at least some of them implying voluntary, rather than compulsory participation. Circulation of the prison population through these spaces according to preset schedules, as well as managing risks related to the flow of personal goods into the prison are an important aspect of prison management. Thus, biopolitical security in the prison compound is at least on par with disciplinary practices, bringing it closer to the rest of the state-owned structures in the district.

2. *Enterprise and commerce.* These structures include those open to the public, such as shops, restaurants and service salons, as well as closed office spaces with more limited access, reserved for employees or invited clients. Some commercial spaces, especially the ones occupying first-floor offices opt to visibly display their goods or services in the shop windows, as well as by external signs and advertising. Open commercial structures possess a biopolitical aspect as nodes of regulating the circulation of goods, human populations and money. The disciplinary aspect of such spaces lies in the fact that the interactions occurring therein adhere to predetermined scripts of conduct. The dominant agent of the interaction may be either the client, or the employee, but, in both cases the relationship implies a hierarchy of roles. Other commercial spaces are more obscure, compounded inside dedicated office buildings, bearing no external references to what is going on inside, or hidden in apartments. Regular, closed offices are more representative of discipline, as they have a stable pattern of circulation and fixed routines. Commercial offices – both open and closed – are distinct from other structures because of the way they permeate other types of structures. Commercial entities do not require specific circumstances to operate: they may rent office space at a governmental scientific institute or a residential building. They adapt most easily than other structures to any kind of space – a versatility reminiscent of biopolitical adaptation to *natural* space, rather than constructing it with a particular purpose in mind.

As soon as one excludes public (inter)spaces and focuses on built structures, leisure becomes almost indistinguishable from commercial functions. Built

structures rarely include freely accessible, free of charge means of spending time, with the possible exception of abandoned buildings, sometimes frequented by urban explorers, the church, and the 1990s museum, which may be considered a form of leisure alongside its main function of the (re) production of knowledge.

3. *Knowledge (re)production.* These structures are taken up by state-owned institutions that are not geared towards governance, but, rather, various stages of managing knowledge: several research institutes are active producers thereof, the national library is concerned with conservation, while a school and a nursery are institutions of reproduction¹⁸. Compared to commercial offices, these structures are needier in their spatial characteristics, and thus distinctly architected with their purpose in mind. The library requires collection storage facilities. The school is comprised of classrooms geared towards specific subjects. The larger research institutes (physics, chemistry, and mathematics and information science) are more similar to generic offices, but parts of the buildings are dedicated (or used to be formerly) to very specific functions, e. g. an enclosure that has housed the computing mainframe of the information science institute, or a large modality housing at the backside of the semiconductor physics institute.
4. *Belief (re)production.* A special type of built structure serves religious purposes. Structures of worship in the research area include three churches: the Dominican church of St. Phillip and James, open for the general public; the Orthodox church of St. Nicholas, heading the prison compound; and a catholic chapel, hidden from view inside the prison compound. From a Foucauldian point of view, church space is foremost connected to pastoral power¹⁹ and pertains to the pre-disciplinary and pre-biopolitical construction of the subject as subject. However, there is a distinct biopolitical strand to it as well: beliefs instilled in the conscience of the devout present a very specific discourse on the meaning of life and death.

¹⁸ While in this case the school and the nursery are state-financed, the same role could be held by a private, commercial entity. This is a reminder that power should not be conflated with the state, although it often is in the context of Foucauldian scholarship, especially in governmentality studies. An example of vast conglomerations of non-state agents of power could be the concept of *brandscares* (see Murakami Wood and Ball 2013).

¹⁹ A pre-modern precursor to biopolitical power (see Foucault 2007 [1978]; 123-190).

5. *Housing*. Residential buildings in the area vary in size and type. They include private detached houses, small houses that formerly were private residences but were later divided into several apartments, and bigger structures housing more than a few apartments, including a multi-story complex at *Vilniaus vartai*.
A satellite of the residential buildings is external storage space: wooden sheds and metal garages, some of them used by residents, and some decrepit and abandoned. Similar storage structures are also encountered near more official structures, for example, the school or the backyards of research institutes, the backyard of the church of St. Phillip and James. No visible analogues exist near the newly-built residential and other structures.
6. *Urban utilities*. Structures that are part of the urban infrastructure include electricity substations and a natural gas substation. They are commonly small, either open or fenced, and strictly inaccessible to the general public. Socially (as opposed to technically), they are functionless except for being a part of the general urban landscape.
7. *Abandoned structures*. Devoid of regular human activity, these structures are passive objects of real estate. The only fully abandoned structures in the research area are the former hospital buildings and one part of an office building in the riverbank office quarter²⁰. There are no clear signs indicating their function (except for the insignia of a security company at the former hospital). Instead, there are clear signs of disuse: bricked-up first floor windows and entrances, broken windows higher up, crumbling walls.
8. *Hybrid spaces*. While some built structures serve a single coherent function, others form a hybrid of two or more different functions, frequently combining commerce with residential or knowledge-producing spaces.

Built structures juxtapose function and actual use. Whether or not a structure stays functional or falls into *parafunctionality*²¹, is the sum of two inter-related aspects: time and practices of control responsible for upholding the functionality.

²⁰ According to an unverified account of an employee of the building, the structure was abandoned after a fire.

²¹ A term suggested as the opposite of strictly controlled, functional and one-dimensional space (see Hayward 2012; 452-453).

All urban structures are in a state of transition. This process is time-dependent, while the transitions may be going in two directions: renewal and rebuilding, or disuse and decay. In the long run, everything that is not being newly built, is slowly decaying unless effort is invested in regular up-keeping such as the empty but maintained *Vilniaus vartai* shopping centre. Two buildings in the area are currently under construction (an office building and a residential housing block) and several are being reconstructed (most notably, the national library and the church). A number of structures in the research area have also been demolished during the past decade: several one-storey wooden residences, parts of the former hospital, and the abandoned construction site of an extension of the national library.

The relationship between function and use in terms of time takes place at two levels: first, the degree of correspondence between the two at a particular point in time, and second, the natural and artificial transitions that various structures undergo with the passage of time.

Disciplinary practices aim for maximum control and organisation of hierarchies and function which pertain to built structures. Hence parafunctionality, the decay of function, is their nemesis. The passage of time, expressed through change, works against discipline. Hence the object of control is the enforcement of the correspondence between function and use, or restitution of lost functionality.

From a biopolitical perspective, parafunctionality is one of the risks to be predicted and avoided, an actuarial variable, easily included in calculations because it is a slow and time-consuming process. Moreover, maintenance of functionality is not an end in itself, but, rather, meaningful only insofar as it is a means of promoting circulation.

Some structures are in full correspondence of use to function: nothing deters the functions from being carried out, and nothing adds unto them. The more unitary or coherent the function of a structure is, the greater the probability that it will correspond to actual use. Thus, hybrid spaces are more prone to unplanned use patterns.

The petrol station is an example of a biopolitically structured space with extreme correspondence between function and use. Since circulation of goods, financial and human flow is its main concern, the mechanics of ensuring these circulations work intensely. The working hours are round the clock. At the site,

vehicles, drivers, and pedestrians move according to pre-defined movement trajectories which are clearly indicated by signs and the circular shape of the area.

The correspondence between function and use is sometimes overlaid with unforeseen or unwelcome practices which do not impair the workings of the main function-use relationship. An obvious example is the appearance of graffiti on the walls of structures, adding a communicative layer which is not tied to the function of the buildings. Other examples of such extra layers include artwork (a legal graffiti on the prison compound wall), the use of unanticipated spaces for storage, accumulated and forgotten backyard debris, and ambiguous objects, like a traffic sign hidden in the foundations of the supreme court.

Other structures are semi-functional: parts of the structure serve their planned purpose while others do not. Such is the case with a former residential building at Gedimino 47, where the first floor is used commercially, but the rest of the building is abandoned and crumbling. Another example is the commercial space of the *Vilniaus vartai* complex, which is mostly unused, with but a few offices occupied, while other stand dark and empty. Yet another structure seems abandoned although it is occasionally used quite functionally: part of the mathematics and information science institute, with completely walled up windows and a torn CCTV camera hanging by its cable at the main entrance, used on demand for laser gun tournaments. Thus, abandonment or decrepitude is characteristic of structures where function and use is in disarray.

While time works against disciplinary spatial objectives, its influence may be precluded with the application of a biopolitical approach. Decrepit and abandoned structures, buildings which stop serving their purpose, unfinished construction projects may be renovated, reinvented, or destroyed. Despite biopolitical strategies of incorporating the future into the present, such changes are rare, slow and applied to selected spaces only. There is no scaling procedure which would allow them to be put into place in a large city or megapolis²².

However, besides selective influence on the construction and regulation of space, both temporal factors and practices of social control affect, access and enforcement techniques, and social dynamics of the bodies and populations circulating therein.

²² At least not from the perspective of physical city-space; the micro perspective of organising spatial structures, including the internalisation by subjects and populations of disciplinary and biopolitical practices, is much more complex, but out of the scope of the current study.

THE REACHES OF CONTROL: ACCESS LIMITATION, CONTAINMENT AND TRANSPARENCY

While the previous section indicated the limitations of disciplinary and biopolitical approaches to the maintenance of functions, access management marks a layer where disciplinary and biopolitical practices are simultaneously prominent. Both modalities of power are responsible for enabling, regulating, encouraging and limiting access to any space, and enforcing the access limitations at built structures.

A major dichotomy of structures by access level lies between open and accessible versus closed and limited spaces.

Open structures comprise those that are open to all with no strings attached, as well as those that are open, but involve a financial obligation: shops, restaurants, leisure areas and other services. Truly open built structures are rare to come by. In the research area, the only such structure was the Dominican church, which, in turn, was still restricted by fixed opening hours. Fulfilling or promising to fulfill a financial transaction presupposes a right to legitimise a stay.

Other structures are closed, and these include two distinct categories: residential structures, closed except for residents and their guests, and offices and institutions closed off to all but employees and their guests. Thus, the open or closed nature of each structure is tied to the populations that circulate through them. A substantial portion of the structures are hybrid, providing different access levels to different parts of the structure, for example, combining closed commercial or residential sectors with open, financially obligating commercial spaces. Finally, some of the structures stay locked permanently and are opened only under exceptional circumstances, for example, the maintenance of electricity substations.

Access and enforcement relies on disciplinary techniques of surveillance, face control, isolation and scrutiny of subjects entering and exiting spatial structures, and on biopolitical sifting through the various populations and promoting the quality of circulation. In the context of built structures, these practices are revealed at three levels, which differ by spatial proximity. The first is securing access per se, incorporated into the structure itself and closely coupled to its functions. The second is containment of the space surrounding the

structure. The third is the least tangible, but contributes to the psycho-social interactions taking place in and around the structure: the degree of transparency or obliqueness of the structure.

1. Access and enforcement.

There are three modes of enforcement that limit or enable access to a built structure in varying degrees. Figure 2 shows the varying number of the modes of enforcement present in the research area during the daytime on a working day.

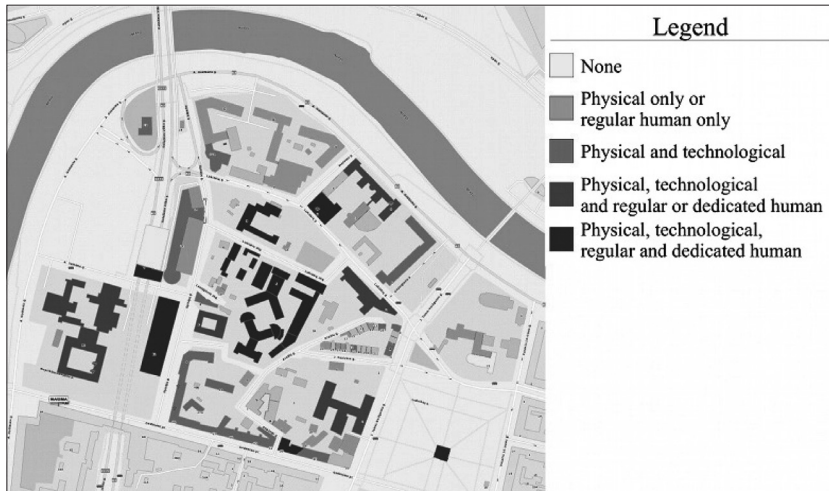


FIGURE 2. Daytime modes of access enforcement at built structures in the research area. Basemap source: <http://maps.lt>.

Physical enforcement includes any physical access barriers belonging to the structure itself: for example, doors, locks, doorbells. *Technological enforcement* enhances physical security with external hardware or software and automation²³. While CCTV, as a means of surveillance, is frequently ascribed

²³ Thus, an anti-theft alarm represents technological, rather than physical enforcement, because it connects to a phone line and may automatically dial the security service. An automated barrier gate represents technological enforcement, because it opens or closes based on its vehicle license plate database. A CCTV relies on a database to save footage. A lock and a doorbell represent physical enforcement, as long as they do not (yet) make decisions on their own.

to discipline²⁴, all technological means of enforcing access limitations are a biopolitical technique: they are geared towards risk management rather than direct impact on conduct, may be attached to any pre-existing space and are visually less conspicuous than disciplinary techniques like containment or obliqueness. *Human enforcement* includes either employees or specially designated security personnel who play a role in scrutinising and limiting or enhancing access to structures for which they claim access and responsibility²⁵.

Physical and technological enforcement is anonymous: unless one is in the know, it takes considerable time and effort to find out who controls access to the structure and who decides what measures of enforcement are adequate. It becomes even more complex bearing in mind that most of the spaces in the research area are in some way communal: residential buildings house from a few to a few dozen apartments with different owners; office buildings contain up to a hundred tenants, with different needs and attitudes towards access limitation. This anonymity, coupled with the fact that a limitation is in place, contrasts with the explicit nature of human enforcement. Although they usually are not representatives of power (in the sense of being able to make decisions on their own), they are assigned the role of enforcing the limits.

Quite a few structures in the research area rely exclusively on physical security, and thus avoid much of the disciplinary and biopolitical regulation of conduct and circulation. These include some of the residential housing units, the former hospital, storage spaces and urban utilities. Residential buildings tend to be less enforced than their commercial or governmental counterparts, but there are no fast rules. Most residential buildings are content with physical security, although some install additional surveillance and alarm technologies. Several structures utilise *all* of the enforcement strategies at once. These include the prison compound, the school, the national library, one of the *Vilniaus vartai* office buildings, and several others. Thus, for example, the school includes all of

²⁴ This approach is then criticised for not being disciplinary enough (see, for instance Yar 2003; Lianos 2003).

²⁵ To a certain extent, human enforcement is always happening in any place with human presence. For example, even though residents are not security personnel, they are at a disposition to decide who enters their homes. However, here I am concerned with human enforcement in a narrower sense, meaning those who have not only the right, but also the duty to enforce specific circulation at their structure. Designated personnel – guards or desk officers – may have different roles, may be armed or unarmed, may or may not have special instruction regarding face control and may also differ in their ability to handle intrusive situations.

the strategies: surveillance technologies and physical security are coupled with a dedicated entry guard, while regular employees, like teachers, are good at singling out odd-ones-out that do not belong to the community or pending trouble and may take preventive actions or alert the more qualified personnel.

Enforcement of access limitations at most commercial and governmental spaces varies with time, as different strategies pertain to working and non-working hours. During working hours, the sole enforcement may be human personnel, replaced during non-working hours with physical and technological enforcement (e. g. locks and an alarm). There may also be combinations of personnel and technological enforcement operating independently from one another, e. g. in the case of CCTV. Residential structures rely on physical (and, in rare cases, technological) security both during the day and at night, while other spaces switch from a combination of human and technological enforcement to a combination of physical and technological. Some structures, such as the prison or the Parliament rely on all three strategies at all times.

2. Containment.

Containment denotes structural elements which obscure or limit the access to a structure, or serve as symbolic delimiters of space: fences, walls or low-level physical barriers, and natural barrier-like structures such as bushes or trees. It does not include entrances, exits or automatic barriers which are a part of physical and technological measures of preventing access. Figure 3 shows the type of containment of the built structures in the research area.

Fully fenced structures are wholly concealed from external view by fencing (which may be of different kinds, including metal, wire mesh, or wood). No outsider has access to the structure. A special type of such structures are surrounded by oblique fences which separate built structures from the surroundings and also significantly obscure the structure from an observers' view. In the research area such structures are few: the prison, the prison hospital and an office building construction site.

Fenced but accessible structures are fully fenced, but they have gates or doors that stay open and provide free access. This arrangement was observed at two research institutes (semiconductor physics, and mathematics and computer science), the church of St. Phillip and James, and the former hospital complex. All of these have fenced yards or backyards with gates that are open during daytime working hours and have no further access limitations.

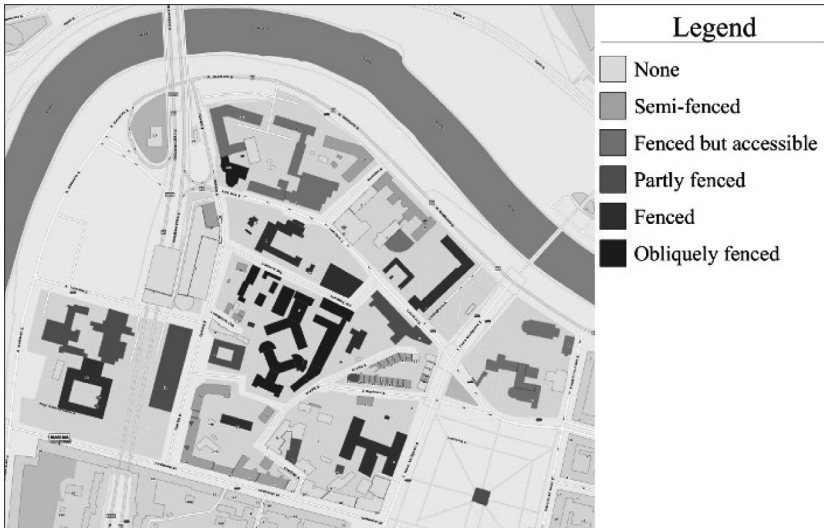


FIGURE 3. Containment of built structures in the research area.
Basemap source: <http://maps.lt>.

Partially fenced structures are not wholly surrounded by a barrier. Instead, a fence is put up around a part of the territory, and closing it off. This strategy is sometimes used to isolate backyards in more tightly controlled institutions, such as the parliament, the supreme court, the ministries, and the library construction site.

Semi-contained structures are surrounded by clearly visible, but easily breachable barriers. These include bushes grown in the shape of a fence, chains hung between low poles, fences that do not close around the structure, but, rather shield one or two sides of it without impeding access, etc. This arrangement is typical of residential buildings. Some forms of containment seem to have a rational function, such as a low chain which prevents unwanted parking near the structure, but in most cases there is no apparent reason except a purely symbolical significance.

Uncontained structures are buildings freely accessible from all sides with no artificial barriers except walls shared with another buildings, or elements of the relief, such as a slope. There is no common feature underlying such structures: they are freely accessible despite their size, function, abandonment, proximity other structures, or the level or containment of neighbouring

structures. Thus an abandoned building may be as freely accessible as a commercial office hub, a residential building may be freely accessible, although all neighbouring houses are fenced, and several research institutes make use of fencing extensively, while others do not.

Strategies of containment extend the physical limitations of access. They also structure the wider physical and social milieu by influencing how close to the built structures social interactions take place; adjusting shortcut practices; and delimiting fields of visibility. Structures that are fenced or semi-fenced but accessible dilute sheer containment by being a token of power over the particular space, rather than physical impossibility of access.

3. *Transparency.*

Transparency denotes a relationship between the internal and external: the inside view of the structure available to the outside observer (as well as the outside to the inside observer) and its degree. Transparency depends on both the architectural solution and on various obscuring add-ons, most frequently covering doors and windows. Completely oblique, windowless structures and completely transparent ones are rare extremes. In between the two extremes lie the representative approaches of haphazardly or purposefully controlled transparency, as well as quasi-transparency, a structure's quality of being apparently transparent while concealing a *lack* of transparency. Figure 4 shows the degree of transparency of the built structures in the research area.

While completely oblique structures²⁶ are hard to modify, the transparency of other structures may be changed by anyone spending a considerable amount of time in it. In some cases, this process is haphazard: a building may have many windows, some of them left open to the outside view, others curtained, blinded, or grilled with no uniting pattern. In other cases, occlusion may be more purposive. For example, two of the three parliament buildings employ heavy blinds, mirrored glass, or dense growth for obscuring windows of the lower storeys, while those higher up are relatively clear. Quasi-transparent structures present apparent transparency which is, nevertheless, impenetrable

²⁶ As a rule, such structures are those not meant for an extensive presence of human, for example, electricity substations. Also, windows of decrepit structures tend to accumulate dirt and loose transparency over time. Loss of transparency, thus, becomes a sign of the structure's status.

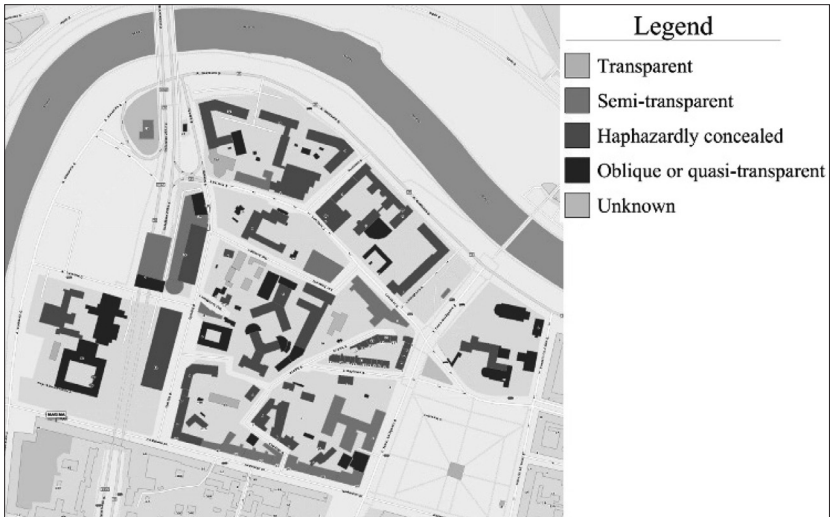


FIGURE 4. Transparency of built structures in the research area.
Basemap source: <http://maps.lt>.

to an outside gaze. A great portion of the surface may be made of transparent material, like the newly-built wing of the Merchants' house, but the heights and angles of the surfaces do not offer a glimpse of the inside, regardless of the distance from the observer. A similar example is the deeply-set and narrow windows of the supreme court building.

Cases of purposive and quasi-transparency also reveal the vertical component of transparency: even though parts of a structure are unobstructed, they are not visible from the street level. This pattern is prevalent in commercial and governmental structures, and less frequent at residential ones, where transparency is controlled less systematically. A notable exception is, of course, shop windows, which not only display examples of wares and advertising, but also offer postcard views of the inside. This difference may reflect the domination of either a disciplinary approach in closed office space, where surveillance is conducted and controlled from the inside, instead of letting outsiders become the spectators; or a biopolitical approach of shops where apparent openness serves to allure circulation.

Transparency is in some cases also dependent on time: it is changed, for instance, by blinding shop windows after the working hours, locking gates, or

curtaining residential windows at night. Lighting setups, on the other hand, may make certain spaces more visible or revealing at nighttime compared to daytime.

There are numerous combinations of access enforcement, containment and transparency. A structure may be quite transparent by itself, but contained within an oblique fence, while an oblique structure may not have any other barriers surrounding it. Containment may not be a sign of strong access enforcement and vice versa.

SOCIAL DYNAMICS

The social dynamics of spatial practices are the object of disciplinary and biopolitical practices of social control discussed in the previous sections. Each subject partakes in this process both as a body and as (a member of) a population²⁷. Who appears at what point in space and with what ends in mind? Solitary subjects may make decisions of their own accord, but taken as part of a larger group, they constitute stable patterns of roles and compliance to the roles.

The structures of the research area accommodate two distinct categories of populations circulating in cycles of movement and confinement: *residents* and *transients*. Residents are owners or renters of homes in the residential buildings. They are also the most stable population of the area: while changes of residence do occur, they do not occur with the same frequency as transient movement. Transients are either regular, those who are affiliated with the area's institutions on a day-to-day basis (e. g. employees, students, nursery children), or irregular ones, those only passing through the area. There are secondary flows attached to each of these categories: residents may have irregular guests, while regular transients often come in contact with work-related irregular transients – clients, shoppers, patrons. Unique and irregular trajectories of individual subjects contrast with the regular circulation of resident and transient populations that they constitute.

²⁷ The distinction is complex, but the dynamics of movement through space may be representative of a biopolitical approach, while spending time inside a particular structure may stem from either self-instilled discipline of conduct, or disciplinary requirements imposed inside structures.

Most of the structures in the research area may be categorised into those regularly used by residents, regularly used by transients, and hybrid spaces, combining both. Transient spaces prevail²⁸. Both kinds of structures accommodate regular subjects with a modest influx of irregular ones: the ministry and the prison accommodate visitors, the school may invite parents; residents have guests; unused spaces stay unused. Some structures are more geared towards irregular transients than others, providing easy means of entry, exit and interaction inside the structure. Although commerce – shopping, dining and services – is the main activity at such structures, there are also several less obvious examples of structures servicing regular flows of irregular transients, for example, the church, and the public library.

The circulation of resident and transient populations has a temporal aspect. During the daytime, a greater part of the residents leaves the area and the district is prevailed by regular and irregular transients; while during the night and on weekends, the area is dominated by the residents. Thus, morning and evening rush hours are a peculiar time when the two populations exchange places.

Participation in the flow of resident and transient populations is either voluntary, contractual or compulsory.

Voluntary participation²⁹ pertains to places which one enters and exits as one pleases, with the least amount of pre-defined rules and formal regulations, such as entering one's home and spending time there, or visiting a commercial service.

Contractual compliance is the surrender of a certain amount of decision-making power by the subject regarding their presence at the spatial structure: the subject is obliged to spend fixed amounts of their time in a fixed place, fulfilling fixed functions. Although it is not irreversible, it constrains the subject in a specific spatial configuration without enabling spontaneous action that is

²⁸ The proportion of transient to resident space would be the opposite in a strictly residential area, which would have yielded different findings. The structure of the research area is representative of a downtown area where residential and commercial premises intermingle.

²⁹ Which is never fully *voluntary* if questioned, for example, from a Marxist point of view, about the influence of class on lived space and residential options, the voluntary belonging to a particular household and complying with its rules, etc.

inherent to voluntary compliance. Thus becoming a monk and living at the monastery is a form of contractual compliance: there is a possibility to cease the contract, but while it lasts, the living quarters are not a matter of spontaneous decision and there is a schedule to follow and prescribed roles to comply with. Likewise, any employee is obliged to be present at work at certain times.

Finally, *compulsory* compliance is a requirement to always be present at a structure at specified times, without a possibility to opt out of this requirement by personal decision. Such is the school for the students, the nursery for the children, and the prison compound for the convicted³⁰. At all of these structures, subjects under compulsory compliance are looked after by those under contractual compliance. Thus, no structure holds its whole population under a common compulsory regime.

The social dynamics of circulation and confinement in particular spaces in the area represent another intertwining of disciplinarity and biopolitics. While residents and transients adhere to cyclical flows of circulation, parts of the cycle include periods of voluntary, contractual or compulsory confinement. This cycle of regular movement and confinement is the defining characteristic of human circulation through the research area. The main difference between transients and residents is the direction of the flow and the specific times of day when it reverses. Even the prison compound is not isolated from the flows of the outside world, like employees changing shifts and visitors. Different levels of compliance do not interfere with the regularity of circulation, a biopolitical feature of the social dynamics.

The disciplinary aspect of the social dynamics is the maintenance of a certain hierarchy of populations and their circulation. Structures which house both populations with both contractual and compulsory compliance, for example the school or the prison, have spatial divisions which maintain the hierarchy by making some spaces accessible to the contractual population only, while all the spaces used by the compulsory population are open to scrutiny by the contractual one.

³⁰ Obviously there is a disparity: it is impossible to opt out of these institutions by personal decision; but it is also possible to physically avoid the compulsion by skipping school lessons, or falling sick and being moved from the prison to the prison hospital.

DISCIPLINARY AND BIOPOLITICAL PRACTICES IN THE URBAN MILIEU

The physical milieu, a tangible reality of structures, is overlaid with the social milieu, including formal and informal, explicit and implicit practices of social control, as well as the mundane habits of everyday life.

Initially conceived functions shape the structural layout and architecture of the built structures. The latter are then enveloped in actual use and practices of access enforcement, containment and transparency. This combination of architecture and practices of social control, in turn, shapes everyday life by regulating the circulation of populations. The functions and actual use patterns of built structures determine what levels of compliance are available to populations moving through them.

Specific disciplinary and biopolitical strategies of spatial control may be generalised from the results of the study.

Disciplinary practices include:

- strife to organise and maintain functions;
- physical means of access enforcement;
- containment and transparency-controlling practices;
- keeping the static populations – those spending time inside structures – in check;
- maintaining hierarchies of populations (where applicable).

Biopolitical practices include:

- planning and risk management schemes;
- technical means of access enforcement, including public surveillance technologies;
- dynamics of circulating populations.

Most of the built structures in the research area possessed characteristics pertaining to both modalities of power enumerated above. Therefore, there is no clear division due to which disciplinary practices would apply solely to closed, institutional structures or artificial spaces, and biopolitical practices would apply to open, natural spaces or milieus. There are no purely isolating or purely expansive structures in the research area, although a few are very restrictive, and a few are open and freely accessible almost all of the time. Both modalities of power affect the rest of built structures, albeit to differing

degrees. In many cases, the practitioners of control are implicit: it is not obvious from the built structures themselves who is in charge of the structures, and which particular persons have the means to traverse their containment and access limitations.

Time works against disciplinary power in the long run due to changes in original functions and gradual decay of the physical milieu. Although one of the aims of biopolitical power is to counter such influence through incorporating the future into the present and risk management, such strategies may only be applied to selected spaces at particular moments in time, rather than being wholly encompassing. There are also more practical aspects of the link between time and control of the social milieu: first, the dependence of access enforcement and containment techniques on particular hours and days of the week; second, time as the parameter behind the circulation of particular population through particular milieus at particular times.

Practices of disciplinary and biopolitical control applied to individual built structures separately also shape traits pertinent to the whole research area.

As a mixed-use district, the area combines governmental, commercial, residential, religious and urban utility structures built with different initial functions in various periods during the last 300 years. While a few structures (most notably, the church of St. Phillip and James, the prison compound, the parliament) retained their initial function, most of the others fluctuated with time, sometimes retaining the ownership (e. g. the ministry of foreign affairs and the ministry of finance have previously also served as governmental structures), sometimes changing hands and functions altogether.

The combination of mixed historical uses and building density means that there is little possibility of a unitary, pre-planned strategy of control³¹. When structures in the same neighbourhood are built at different periods of time, maintaining internal consistency is an effort-consuming endeavour. New structures are planned into the existing fabric, which may have very different initial and contemporary functions.

³¹ In contrast to less diverse spaces, such as a strictly residential area or a business district. A residential neighbourhood may be planned keeping in mind the number of future residents, communal recreational areas, infrastructure, etc. The uniformity and orderliness of less diverse spaces may be the actual trigger of the need for (more) control. It is also easier to instil means of restraint in such areas.

Practices of access enforcement and containment in the neighbourhood pertain to built structures, but never encompass greater amounts of space between them, with the exception of the prison compound and the school. Most contained spaces are open at least during regular working hours. The whole area is traversable on foot, including the more remote backyards and interstices in between. Overall transparency of the area is low, both because of the application of haphazard and purposive means of decreasing transparency, and the layout of the neighbourhood: many larger buildings are of complex shapes, connected by equally jagged passages and streets, and obscuring the street-level perspective.

A diversity of resident and transient populations is spread throughout the research area. Although there are major time-based tipping points when the majority-transient and majority-resident populations switch places, there are also plenty of opportunities for the populations to mingle, because transient-used and resident-used structures are evenly spread throughout the district, rather than segregated or concentrated at different sides. For example, the school is at the centre of the research area, and students approach it traversing the neighbourhood from all possible directions. Likewise, prison visitors, employees of high-scale offices and residents of all ages traverse the lanes and backyards of the inner part of the district. Both residents and transients make use of the surrounding service infrastructure: they partake not only in the circulation to and from the district, but also in smaller, local circulations throughout the day. Thus populations weave the underlying fabric of relations among sites: the service and commerce infrastructure is dependent on the flow of resident and transient populations; meanwhile, the latter use the infrastructure for pinning down their daily routines to the surrounding area.

CONCLUSIONS

The research findings revealed disciplinary and biopolitical practices of social control as applied to built structures in an urban milieu. These have been found to exist as three distinct layers: a) planning, functionality and its correspondence to actual use; b) means of access enforcement, containment and transparency; c) circulation of populations and their compliance. Each built structure possesses its own combination of these characteristics. Together they

build up to create a district defined by mixed compliance between function and actual use, with enforcement of access limitations fluctuating from minimal physical security to complex combinations of physical, technological and human-enforced means; relatively lax containment; and low overall transparency. The relations between individual structures are maintained by the traversable spaces between them and circulation of populations.

There is also a persistent influence of time on each of the layers of disciplinary and biopolitical control, which allows a recasting of Foucault's statement on the prevalence of space over time: time is both a counter-action for maintenance of function, planning and risk management, and a key component of applying access enforcement, containment, transparency, and the patterns of circulating populations.

While the analysis employed only observational and visual data, and was limited to a discussion of disciplinary and biopolitical modalities of power, it serves as a snapshot for further research on the workings of power in the urban milieu. An analysis of both state-level and municipal legislation, as well as local edicts and house rules, would explain the correspondence between judicial aspects of sovereign power on one hand, and disciplinary as well as biopolitical agendas on the other. Also, the current study did not include the communicative level, present in both the physical form of urban public communication – signs, notices, advertisements, instructions – and online representations of built structures in various forms. These forms of communication would provide additional insights on the production and retainment of administrative and everyday spatial knowledges.

The findings of this study pertain to the practices of social control in structurally specific urban spaces: mixed-use, historically diverse downtown areas. Research in a strictly residential area or a dedicated business district would reveal a differing configuration of power depending on their spatial structuring, homogeneity, differently circulating populations and the perceived need by individuals to (de)limit surrounding space.

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Socialinės kontrolės žemėlapiai: miesto erdvės analizė pagal M. Foucault

MARYJA ŠUPA

S a n t r a u k a

Straipsnio tikslas – atskleisti, kaip du M. Foucault galios modalumai – discipliniškumas ir biopolitika – veikia per socialinės kontrolės praktikas miesto aplinkoje. Ši problema aktualizuojama kultūrinės kriminologijos diskurse, kuris pabrėžia miesto erdvės svarbą analizuojant socialinę kontrolę bei derybas dėl normų anapus suverenios galios – teisinės sistemos – ribų. Straipsnis siekia papildyti kitas M. Foucault teorijomis paremtas erdvės studijas dviem požiūriais: derinant discipliniškumo ir biopolitikos analizę ir panaudojant tyrimui miesto kvartalą, o ne pavienes institucijas.

Tyrimo duomenys buvo renkami mišrios paskirties Vilniaus Naujamiesčio kvartale, derinant stebėjimo ir fotodokumentavimo metodus. Pastatų charakteristikos buvo fiksuojamos remiantis kokybine analize ir sudarant teminius žemėlapius. Kodavimo kategorijos analizei išskirtos pagal M. Foucault paskaitas *Collège de France*, kuriose jis nagrinėjo skirtingų galios modalumų skirtis ir jų tarpusavio sąryšius.

Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad kiekvienas pastatas tiriamame kvartale, nepriklausomai nuo funkcijos, pasižymi tiek disciplinarinėmis, tiek biopolitinėmis socialinės kontrolės technikomis. Jos išryškėja trijuose lygmenyse: a) urbanistinio planavimo, funkcijų priskyrimo ir jų (ne)atitikties realiam panaudojimui; b) prieigos ribojimo priemonių, pastatų aptvėrimo ir permatomumo; c) populiacijų cirkuliavimo ir jų santykio su priskirtais erdviniais apribojimais.