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Communicating a 'time-out' in parent–child conflict: Embodied interaction, domestic space and discipline in a reality TV parenting programme

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Abstract

In 2003, a new reality TV genre appeared on British public television built on the spectacle of the parenting of so-called disturbed or problem children. This paper focuses on *The House of Tiny Tearaways*, a programme in which three families are invited to reside in a specially designed house together with a resident clinical psychologist. Such a programme allows us to explore a range of issues, including (a) how a family assembles itself spatially and coordinates its activities across the lived architectures of the home; and (b) how a child is disciplined in and through the embodied activities, spatial formations and talk of the parents. The paper draws upon mediated discourse analysis and conversation analysis – inflected by contemporary understandings of discipline, space and place – in order to analyse the phenomenon of the 'time-out', a generalised 'technique' of parentcraft that is used to discipline young children who are misbehaving. Rather than debate the merits of the 'time-out' as an appropriate disciplinary instrument, this paper explores the local, emergent and negotiated accomplishment of disciplinary practices of temporal and spatial restraint that involve embodied (inter)action, furniture, objects, and the lived architecture of the domestic sphere.

Keywords: Discipline; Domestic space; Talk-in-interaction; Embodiment; Parent–child conflict; Mediated discourse; Time-out

1. Introduction

In 2003, a new reality TV genre appeared on British public television built on the spectacle of the parenting of so-called disturbed or problem children. A well known 'media therapeutic' genre (Hodges, 2003; White, 1992, 2002) of this kind is *Supernanny*. What is significant in these television programmes is the interplay of mediated (inter)action, discourse, technology and space to inculcate better parenting practices and to navigate appropriate disciplinary regimens for reigning in unruly children. This paper focuses on one hybrid genre that mixes the counselling format with some aspects of the *Big Brother* reality TV (RTV) format. *The House of Tiny Tearaways* (HTT) was first broadcast in the UK in May 2005.[1] Such a documentary programme allows us to explore a range of issues, including (a) how a family assembles itself spatially and coordinates its activities across the lived architectures of the home; and (b) how a child is disciplined (for example, using the 'time-out' technique) in and through the embodied activities, spatial formations and talk of the parents.

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[1] The TV Production company website for the series is ⟨http://www.outlineproductions.co.uk/catalogue_detail.aspx?program=207⟩. Last accessed: 17.8.2008.

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In order to explore the relationships between embodied interaction, domestic space and discipline in the highly mediated environment of a reality TV programme, the paper uses mediated discourse analysis (Scollon and Scollon, 2004; Norris and Jones, 2005) and conversation analysis (Have, 2007), inflected by contemporary understandings of space and place (Crampton and Elden, 2007; Hubbard et al., 2004), as well as a Foucauldian perspective on discipline, governmentality and technologies of the self (Rose, 1999b; Hodges, 2003). First, the specific example of *The House of Tiny Tearaways* is presented, and a case study of the Gwilliam family who appeared on HTT is introduced. Second, a theoretical orientation to parenting, discipline, space and domesticity is discussed. Third, the spatialisation of parenting is analysed using one sequence of discipline-in-action. In this sequence, the key phenomenon is the 'time-out', a routine practice of parentcraft used to discipline a child. The paper explores how a 'time-out' is negotiated temporally, spatially and discursively by parent(s) and child. The conclusion discusses the findings in terms of the interplay between embodied interaction, discipline-in-action, the governance of space and the governmentalisation of parenting.

2. Communication parentcraft on reality television

Over the last two hundred years, there have been ever-increasing attempts to communicate to parents in a range of media and modalities how best to bring up their children. An interest in the family and its governance in the service of the biopolitical is not a recent phenomenon. Indeed, Donzelot (1977[1997]) has documented how the policing of families emerged in the nineteenth century as part of the discourse of 'the social'. In a more recent study of glossy parenting magazines in the UK in the 1990s, Alldred (1996) gives a short history of parenting advice, in which she concludes that the role of the expert has shifted from a focus on the expert to that of expertise itself, and from advice-giving to abstract knowledge. In her study of contemporary Australian families, Grieshaber (2004) argues that parent and child conflict needs to be rethought in terms of the regimes of practice that normalise and regulate ''persons, sites and practices in daily domesticity'' (191). Principles and programs that have been developed within the discourse of developmental psychology specify and construct what it means to be a parent, and how parenting should 'be done'. This is evidenced by the constant stream of parenting manuals, in which ''specific instructions are provided to show parents preferred styles of managing parent and child conflict'' (191). Besides parenting manuals and self-help guides (Sunderland, 2000, 2006), television has also recently evolved a set of genres related to parentcraft. One particular innovative example, *The House of Tiny Tearaways*, is the focus of this paper.

In the UK in 2005, BBC Three aired a new series combining the 'supernanny' (family advice) genre with a reality TV 'Big Brother' location. *The House of Tiny Tearaways* (HTT) is an innovative example of the type of programme that was broadcast during the spate of reality TV documentaries (2003–2008) that focused on advising and coaching parents who have what are categorised as badly behaved children (e.g. ''tearaways''). It is clear that the title of the programme already intimates that some of its occupants are troublesome (e.g. chronic tantrums or eating/sleep problems), and that it is the HTT house that both contains and domesticates their uncontrollable and/or reckless behaviour.[2] But, of course, the young children between one- and seven-years-old who arrive in the HTT house need to be 'worked up' as 'tearaways', yet not beyond salvation, much as their parents need to be worked up as parents who care, but who are not coping (Slembrouck, 2003), and who are thus in need of sympathy and the help that can be given in the HTT house. If the children are not seen at first glance as 'tearaways', or their parents are beyond help or refuse help, then the house will quickly be empty.

Four series were broadcast in the UK in the period 2005–2007, and in total there are 102 fifty minute episodes. In the first three series, three families are invited to reside over a six day period in a specially designed house together with Tanya Byron, a resident child psychologist. The house is equipped with two-way mirrors and video cameras, as well as hidden rooms and passages, so that a film crew and the resident psychologist can observe and record the activities of the parents and their children (potentially) 24 h a day. There are two orders of mediated observability present: visual and aural. First, there are over thirty remote CCTV video cameras in the house and garden, as well as human-operated video cameras behind the two-way mirrors that ring the occupants' living areas. There is also an observation room (with three monitors) and a live television production facility near the house.[3] Second, Tanya, Claudia and each member of every family have wireless microphones attached to their bodies. As Ytreberg (2006) has shown for *Big Brother* and Broth (this issue) for a live TV studio, this is a very challenging environment for a production

[2] The version of HTT exported to the USA was rather ambivalently titled *The House of Tiny Terrors*. Only six episodes were broadcast in late 2006.

[3] See Goodwin and Goodwin (1996), Heath and Hindmarsh (2000), Heath et al. (2002), Luff et al. (2000) and Heath and Luff (2006) for analyses of technologically rich environments – centres of coordination – for monitoring distant events and activities.

team. HTT relies heavily on this extensive multimodal surveillance infrastructure as a *therapeutic* tool (cp. Aarts, 2000; Getz and Nininger, 1999; Trierweiler et al., 2000).[4] Rather than invade a family's home and install surveillance CCTV systems (Relieu et al., 2007), the HTT concept discards the search for authenticity in order to pursue a positive, constructed therapeutic encounter. In common with many therapeutic encounters, the issue is not whether or not the HTT house authentically reproduces the everyday life of the family in this new site, but in what ways its artificiality affords opportunities for the parents (and viewers) to register differences in conduct that were not previously distinguishable, i.e. for parents to see their conduct in a new light, and thus for possibilities to arise for performing the family differently.

This paper is part of a larger project tracing one particular family – the Gwilliams – across their week (six consecutive days) in the HTT house during the second series first broadcast in late 2005 in the UK. Two other families, the Allems and the Menzies, were also cohabiting in the house with the Gwilliams. Isabel and Kelvin have three children – Sophie (7), Joshua (4) and Stephanie (2) – and before they arrived on the first day of their week in the house they were presented as a family with a chronic sleeping problem. During their stay, the three families took part in joint activities – such as cooking or playing – with the other families in the house, and they had daily, private consultation sessions with Tanya about their progress. The data I draw upon in this paper comprises key events mediated in the television programme that feature one or more members of the Gwilliam family.[5] In HTT 2-1-2, an attempt is made by Isabel (and Kelvin) to discipline their four-year-old son Joshua using a 'time-out', namely a generalised 'technique' of parentcraft that is used to discipline young children who are seen to be misbehaving. Simultaneously, Tanya and Claudia, the host, observe their interaction from within the observation room.[6] Given space constraints, this event will form the main example for this paper.

3. Parenting and spaces of discipline and freedom

In order to begin to study the interactional dynamics and micro-politics of discipline in domestic spaces, we ought to go back to Foucault and his seminal work, *Discipline and Punish* (1975[1977]), in which he plots how the techniques of discipline emerged in the eighteenth century in Europe. Through a range of practices, such as hierarchical observation and normalising judgement, the individual is produced as a disciplinary subject. Foucault called the invention of disciplinary architectures or mechanisms '"observatories' of human multiplicity" (171). He argued that an external regime of structured times, spaces, gazes and hierarchies made docile yet productive bodies. In her book on parent–child conflict, Grieshaber (2004) uses a Foucauldian approach to document how regimes of practice are constructed from available discourses, with discourses describing, enabling, and producing the possibility of certain behaviours and actions. Grieshaber (2004:193) contends that in each of the families she studied, "the regimes of practice identified in the analysis (sleeping and eating) are the major organizational routines and rituals of daily family life". As such they are techniques of discipline through which families are regulated (Foucault, 1975[1977]). Because young children are not yet entirely regulated by techniques of discipline, contestation and resistance to adult rules will continue until the normalization process is complete, or until alignment with a contrasting

[4] In another paper (McIlvenny, 2008), I examine more closely how the affordances and constraints of the specially designed house – its architecture and spatial configuration, as well as the surveillance technology embedded within its walls – are assembled within particular familial and counselling activities, and how the relationships between family members are reshaped as a result. In this paper, I draw upon the extensive routine surveillance of the families (as presented in the edited audiovisual documentary) to provide me (primarily) with access to the parents' and children's perspectives on mediated action in domestic space, not to the psychologist's, the producer's nor the audience's perspectives or interpretations.

[5] The data is coded in the following style: HTT X–Y–Z stands for the X series, the Y week and the Z day of the HTT corpus. Two transcription formats are used to present a printed version of the audiovisual modalities of the television programme. Conversation analytical transcription conventions (ten Have, 2007) are extended and modified to cater for the representation of the talk-in-interaction within the complex interspatial events and practices. Hand-drawn images in a 'photo-story' sequence are used to highlight visually the actions and talk in space and over time. The additional transcription conventions are as follows:

VO:	Voice over (translation from Danish; italicised)
((camera))	Comments by the transcriber on camera editing (in Times Roman font)
xx//xxxxx //bbbbb	Simultaneous actions in two distinct spaces
○○○○○○○○○ *##((camera))*	Camera movement or switch edit overlapping with talk activity

[6] Claudia is the host presenter of HTT. She introduces the programme, does the voice-over in English, provides links between scenes, and sits and talks with Tanya in the observation room. She has no contact with the families in the house.

subject position takes place''. She argues that the more powerful discourses have been adopted by parents and children through relentless but seemingly natural processes of regulation such as continuous surveillance and correction of bodies, desires, and social practices – which are present, of course, in the HTT house – with the aim of socializing or normalizing children so that they would become productive and docile citizens.[7] Rose (1999b) agrees that disciplinary techniques may be embodied in an external regime of structured times, spaces, gazes and hierarchies; however, ''discipline seeks to reshape the ways in which each individual, at some future point, will conduct him- or herself in a space of regulated freedom'' (22). I argue that Grieshaber, who is aided by a monolithic reading of Foucault's writings on disciplinary power, is overly concerned with discipline *and* normalisation. What is lacking is a more subtle understanding of the *everyday practices* of the *powers* of freedom that come with the assumption that ''to govern is to presuppose the freedom of the governed'', to act upon action (Rose, 1999b:4).

Foucault's suggestive later work on *governmentality*, the ethical subject and the technologies of the self have inspired scholars in many disciplines. Rose (no date) argues that if we assume that power is 'action upon action' (i.e. governmentality), then the proliferation of the therapeutic through our culture – for example, in the form of therapeutic language, therapeutic techniques, therapeutic scenarios – ''has a role in fabricating us as certain kinds of persons: certain human kinds who attend to ourselves in certain ways, value particular aspects of ourselves, take certain things as our truths, whether these be our desire or our identity or our skills, and act on those things in order to lead our own lives''. Hence, not only can we investigate what the *everyday practices* of discipline and liberty are (*discipline-in-action*), and how they are organised spatially and interactionally, we can also ask how the responsible, autonomous family comes to take on its freedoms in advanced liberal societies *in and through* these practices (Rose, 1999a; Miller and Rose, 2008). Indeed, as Rose indicates, ''the family is simultaneously allotted its responsibilities, assured of its natural capacities and educated in the fact that it needs to be educated by experts in order to have confidence in own capacities'' (1989/1999:208).

Foucault and Rose also suggest that the *governance of space* is one of the major forms of the exercise of power. Rose (1999b:32) argues that governable spaces open up new kinds of experience and produce new modes of perception. Moreover, rather than assuming that space is simply a context or backdrop for discursive or mediated action – that things happen in an already constituted grid of space – recent studies have demonstrated that the relation between space, place and discourse is complex (Curry, 2002; Dixon and Durrheim, 2000; Markus and Cameron, 2002; Modan, 2007; Richardson and Jensen, 2003; Scollon and Scollon, 2003; and the papers in this special issue). Therefore, a question we need to ask is what are the relations between space, place, social interaction and discourse as played out in families as they perform their familial relationships in and through local domestic arrangements? More specifically, what is 'taking place' in the HTT house? And how is place/space a resource or mediational means for the participants in parent–child conflict?

4. Space and discipline in HTT: the 'time-out'

One regulative parenting 'technique' that is taught in many parentcraft texts and one that features regularly in the HTT House is the 'time-out' (cp. the infamous 'naughty step' in *Supernanny*). For a variety of reasons, usually because of a tantrum or disobedience, a child is explicitly bounded by a parent to a specific location (e.g. a step, a room, a spot) or object (e.g. a chair, a mat) for a short period of time (e.g. a few minutes), during which the child is deprived of some resource or artifact. In order to terminate the 'time-out', the parent and child negotiate a stance in which 'normal' life can continue. In a 'time-out' the behaviour of the child (and the parent) is spatialised and a 'virtual' boundary is asserted by the parent, which is often tested communicatively by the child.[8] By radically ignoring the child spatially and temporally, the parent seeks to regain control of the situation. Therefore, power

[7] With all this surveillance technology, we might begin to wonder if there is a technology of power operating that gives total disciplinary control over the families. In *Discipline & Punish*, Foucault (1975[1977]) analyses how a shift to *Panopticism* took place in the eighteenth century as part of a new diagram of disciplinary power. The panoptic mechanism ''arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognise immediately'' (200). Grieshaber (2004) claims that the power of the panoptic gaze is a major technique of discipline in family life, extending to the most intimate and minute aspects of daily domesticity. Not only are children's actions (linguistic and bodily) regulated by continuous monitoring, direction and correction, but the parents' talk and actions are also normatively regulated, for example by grandparents, the extended family, other parents, and people in public spaces. However, Latour (2005) argues that there is no all-seeing, all-knowing panopticon that surveys all other locations.

[8] Of course, the 'time-out' used when parenting children does not escape from a fundamental ethnomethodological principle: there is no time-out from a 'time-out' (Garfinkel, 2002:118). Even though there is an attempt to remove a child temporarily from the course of activities in play, and to mark that removal, a 'time-out' is a locally, endogenously produced, naturally organised, naturally accountable, ongoing, practical achievement.

relations are temporarily spatialised and localised to a specific space-time of *in*action, during which the authority of the parent can be regained and reinforced. Sometimes the virtual boundary that territorialises the child's conduct is maintained through discourse, in which case the child could simply cross the boundary and walk away; on other occasions the boundary is maintained through physical force, such as by holding the door to the 'time-out' zone closed.

There are different strategies and rules of engagement for doing a successful 'time-out', some of which are suggested in self-help parenting books.[9] In her book of the first HTT series, Bryon (2005:116–117) recommends that the 'time-out' be conducted along the following lines:

> ''Time out was used in the House because many parents were dealing with fairly extreme behaviour that needed to be brought under control quite quickly. Generally time-out is an action of emergency or a last resort and it needs to be used wisely, because if it is over used it will lose its impact.... Time out is an extreme form of ignoring. It is used as a period of time for the child to cool off and reflect. For one minute for each year of the child's life he or she should be given absolutely no attention. Some people like to use a step or chair. I often recommend putting a child alone in a room. The more boring the room, with few distractions, the better. There is also a holding form of time out that can be used in public.... The rules of time out: If it is a last resort – having tried the other behaviour methods – give your child a warning so they know that time out will happen next....
>
> - Say to your child, ''You are going into time out. Now!''.
> - Carry or take them to their room or time out spot, put them there and close the door.
> - Don't lock the door, but hold it shut and tell them you are doing so, so they know that you're there (and don't think they are locked in).
> - Ignore their behaviour completely and don't talk through the door.
> - Hold the door shut for 1 min of each year of their lives. Time it, don't guess – and don't give in to the temptation to extend or reduce the time''.

Given these abstract rules and procedures, an important question to ask is how is the so-called 'time-out' routinely practised? What triggers the 'time-out', and once instigated how is it negotiated temporally, spatially and discursively by parent(s) and child? For instance, how is it possible that the child comes to perceive and recognise the contingent virtual spatial boundary and to stay within it in an orderly fashion for the duration of the 'time-out'? In the next section we see how the parents of the Gwilliam family manage unsuccessfully to do a 'time-out', and how Tanya then instructs the parents in situ.

5. 'Time-out' and discipline-in-action

In this section of the paper, I analyse a 3 min sequence from HTT 2-1-2, in which two parents attempt to discipline their son in the HTT house. In the excerpt, we see Joshua escalating a conflict with his mother, Isabel, which leads to a 'time-out'. There are four distinct segments in the sequence: (1) the parents attempt to dress the child; (2) the mother attempts to punish the child by confiscating an item that the child is playing with; (3) the child runs away and is put into a 'time-out'; and (4) the child runs away from the 'time-out' location. Fig. 1 illustrates a plan of the house that reconstructs from the broadcast episodes the layout and the position of the video cameras and the participants relevant to this sequence. Tanya (T) and Claudia (C) are sitting in the observation room watching the monitors. Some of the cameras are behind two-way mirrors and are human-operated (C6, C7 and C9). The others are CCTV cameras. Cameras C20 and C21 record the reactions of Tanya and Claudia in the observation room; they are mounted in the space behind the two-way mirror which is just behind the three monitors. Isabel (I), Joshua (J) and Kelvin (K) are in the common room between the kitchen and the play area (marked by the dotted circle). The step on which Joshua will be confined in his 'time-out' (cp. Fig. 4) is marked with a solid oval.

[9] Fairclough (1996, 2003) points to the increasing development of discourse technologies and genres of governance in a variety of settings. Thus, in reality TV parentcraft programmes we find the development of discursive technologies of parenting – a set of context-free techniques, such as the 'naughty step' or 'time-out' – which often are derived from lay practice and/or psychotherapeutic models and then fed back by 'experts' into the everyday practices of parents.

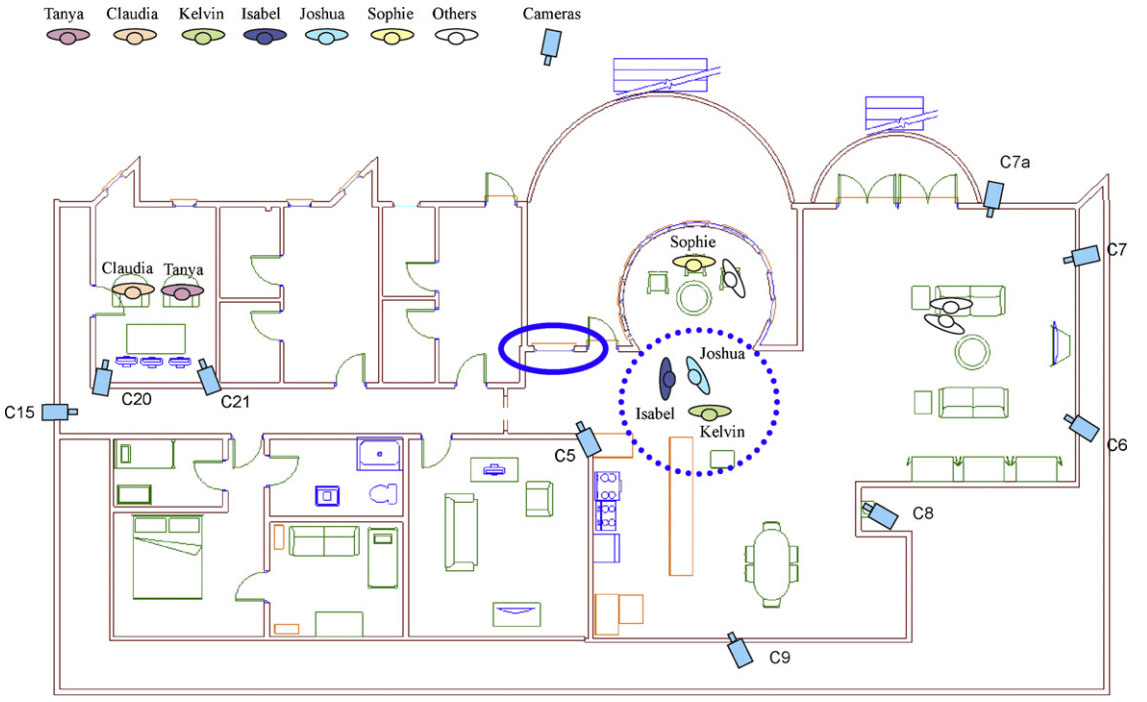

Fig. 1. Plan of the house, cameras and participants.

In the observation room, Tanya and Claudia watch these events live and comment occasionally on the relationships between Joshua, his mother and the 'time-out' technique she is attempting to use. The viewers see either camera shots of the common area in which the event is happening or of the observation room. They hear primarily either the sound from the wireless microphones attached to the clothing of Isabel and Joshua or from the observation room; whichever source is focalised, the sound from the other location is of lower volume. In the first excerpt below, Example 1, the voice-over narrator (VO) guides the television viewer to see the conduct in the excerpt in a specific way, e.g. from the parents' perspective in terms of the intransigence of the son. What we see unfold is a conflict between Isabel and her son, initially over getting dressed. At the end of the sequence Claudia comments on what she has seen.

Example 1 - [HTT 2-1-2 - Gwilliam family video observation]

39 *((CAMERA C9 cut to establishing shot of Isabel + Kelvin with Joshua in the common room;*
40 *Joshua is on the floor while Isabel tries to put his trousers on; Kelvin stands over*
41 *them watching))*
42 VO: isabel has fought with josh
43 *((CAMERA C6 switch to obscured middle shot of Isabel and Joshua; zoom in))*
44 to put his clothes on for the last three minutes
45 J: ((giggling + kicking legs while Isabel tries to put his trousers on))
46 ((Kelvin teasingly dangles some playdoh above Joshua))
47 *((CAMERA C7 switch to long shot of Isabel and Kelvin with Joshua))*
48 I: you're having shoes and socks on
49 *((CAMERA C6 switch to another parent dressing his son))*
50 (2.0)
51 *((CAMERA C8 switch to obscured shot of Joshua and Isabel))*

I: STO:p bei:ng NA:sty:
J: NGHHHH
((CAMERA C7 switch to long shot of Isabel and Kelvin with Joshua))
((Joshua leans back slightly))
I: and aggre:ssive with people.
((CAMERA C8 switch to obscured middle shot of Joshua and Isabel))
J: i'll pu:nch yer
I: YOU WILL NO:T PU:NCH ME:
J: i will?
I: YOU WILL NO:T
J: i WILL ((Joshua turns away)) ((Kelvin starts to move towards Joshua))
((CAMERA C7 switch to long shot of Isabel and Kelvin with Joshua))
(1.1)
I: YOU GO [an' SIT SOMEWHERE QUIETLY ON [YOUR OWN and NOT PLAY]
K: [((Kelvin reaches down to Joshua and moves him))
K: [(turn around)]
I: if you pu:nch
J: HAHAHA •h
(0.7)
((CAMERA C8 switch to medium close up of Joshua lying on the floor))
((Joshua lies on his back playing with a ball of playdoh))
J: i'm not d- going in my own bed toni:ght
(0.9)
I: >you're not wha:t<
J: i'm sleeping on ((Joshua glances to the left))
((CAMERA C9 switch to long shot of Isabel, Kelvin and Joshua))
th- here
((Kelvin starts to walk away))
I: right give me tha:t until you can be a good bo:y
((Isabel grabs the playdoh in Joshua's hand and removes it))
J: no hoo ↑huhhhhhhuuu↓uu
I: ((Joshua rolls over onto his side))
are you gonna be a good bo:y?
##((CAMERA C8 switch to medium close up of Joshua))
J: ((crying loudly and sits up again))
I: or are you gonna be a good bo:y
##((CAMERA C9 switch to long shot of Isabel and Joshua))
I: now you don't have the playdoh there you do:n't sit with
the others until you've calm:ed do:wn
((Joshua kicks his feet and tries to grab the playdoh back))
(3.0)
C: so this is jo:sh, (.) gwilliam (.) and he's just had (0.4)
a ↑stro:p
T: °m[m°
C: [i s'pose (.) an:d (.) has now changed his mind that

```
 97   (I:)                    //(CA:LM (.) DO:WN THEN)
 98                  ((CAMERA C21 switch to observation room with Tanya and Claudia))
 99          he doesn't want to sleep in his own bed toni:ght
100   T:     mm (.)
```

The first feature to note is that throughout the sequence, the parents continuously and routinely orient to a bodily space and comportment in and through which they can mediate Joshua's conduct. For example, he is assembled and arraigned on the floor in front of them (see Figs. 2 and 3). At first, the mother attempts to dress Joshua while kneeling; she positions him face-up in front of her with his legs towards her in order to pull his trousers on. Later, the father monitors and then adjusts the bodily position of Joshua in relation to the mother. The father bends down and collaboratively they move Joshua back towards (and to face) the mother. For the duration of the sequence, both parents attend to and adjust the 'docile' body (Foucault, 1975[1977]) of their son.

In regard to how people organise themselves spatially and intersubjectively using a range of multimodal resources, Kendon (1990) describes what he calls the *F-formation*, which ''arises whenever two or more people sustain a spatial and orientational relationship in the space between them [and] is one to which they have *equal, direct and exclusive access*'' (209; my emphasis). Kendon is careful to distinguish between arrangements, formations and systems. There are many spatial patterns or *arrangements* assumed by F-formations, such as vis-à-vis, L- and side-by-side arrangements. An F-formation *system* is ''the system of spatial and orientational behaviour which sustains an o-space'' (212). An 'o-space' is ''the space *between* the interactants over which they agree to maintain joint jurisdiction and control'' (211). The emphasis is on active maintenance, not static configuration. Following on from Kendon's work on

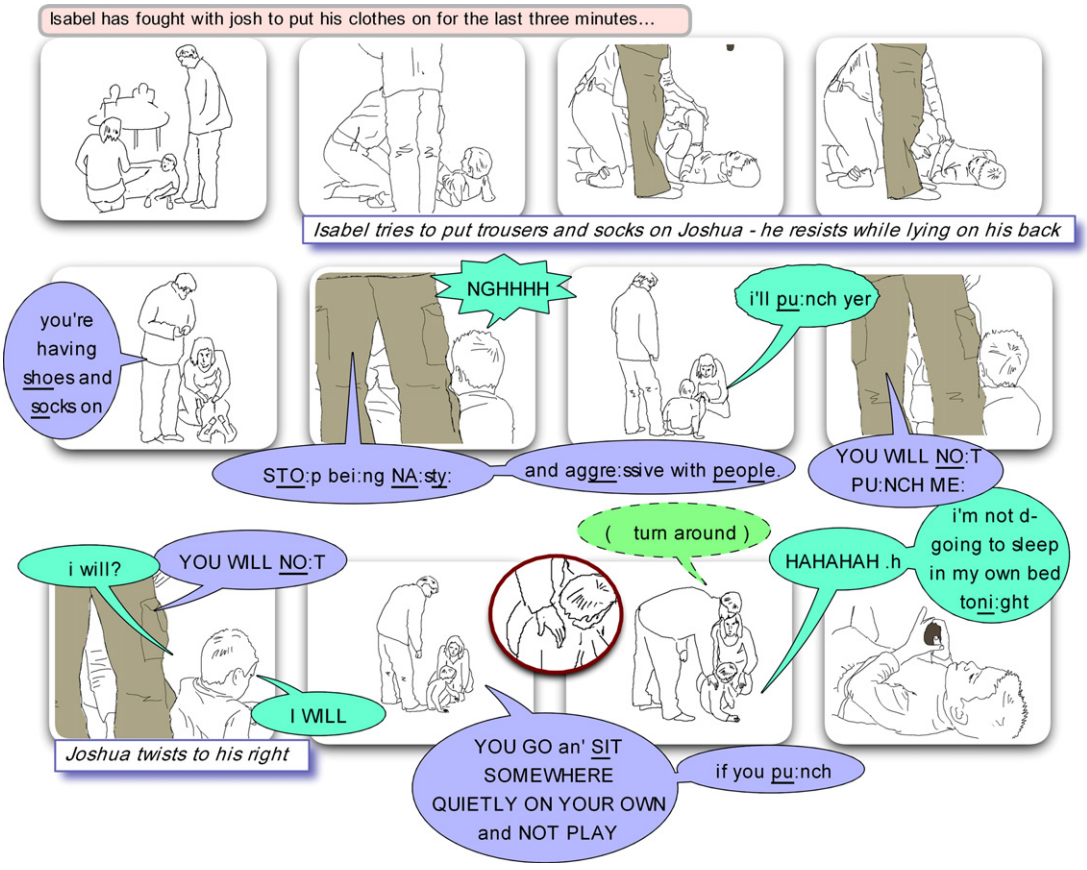

Fig. 2. Lines 42–74.

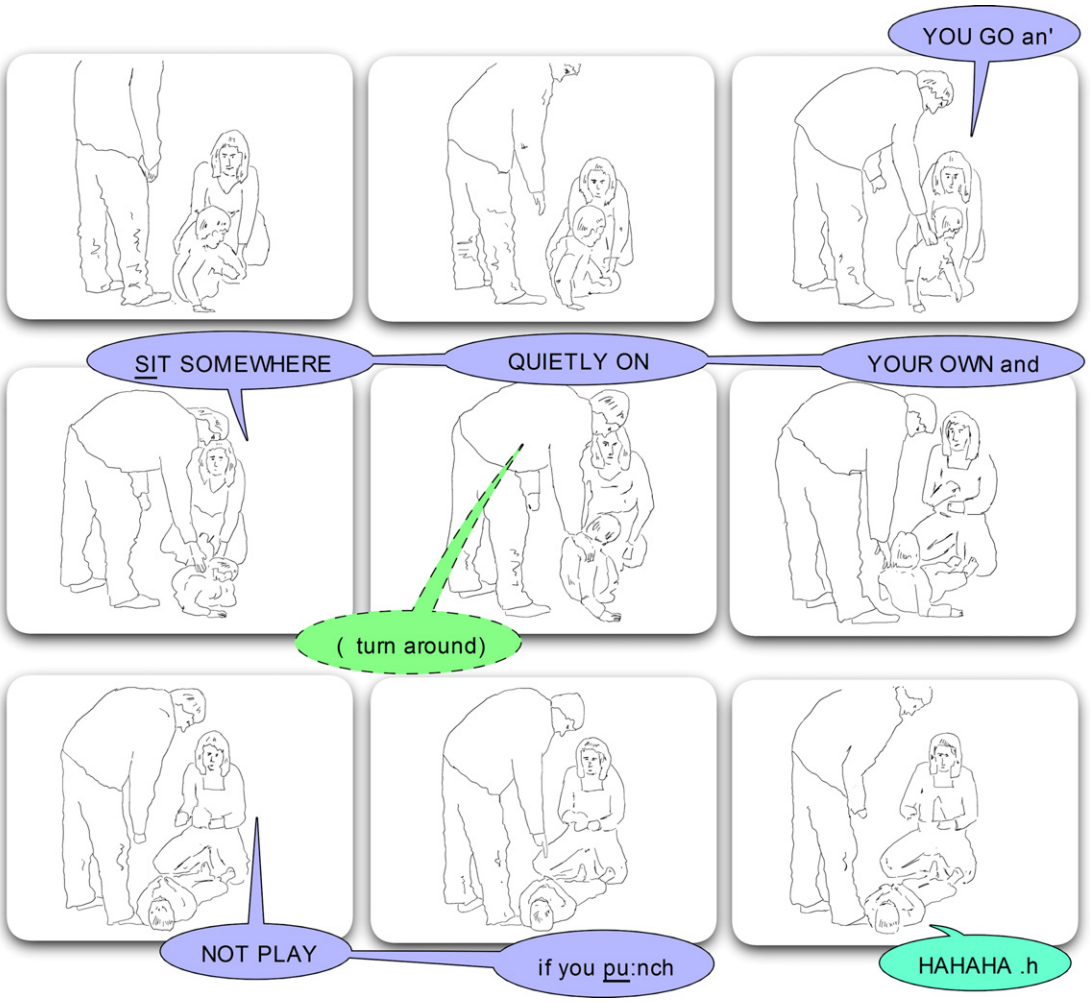

Fig. 3. Lines 63–69.

F-formations, Goodwin (2006) demonstrates how, across a range of directive sequences in family interaction, different types of what she calls ''facing formations'' and types of attunement to such formations can be established as parents and children jointly negotiate the accomplishment of family tasks (grooming, coming to the dinner table, cleaning, etc.). Participants may closely align both their bodies and their talk to the task at hand, or, alternatively, demonstrate either lack of alignment, disengagement or protest by the different ways they position their bodies and sequence their talk (Goodwin, 2007).[10]

Following Kendon (1990), we might find in this example an orientation by the parents to an 'F-formation system', but given the resistance of the son and the disciplinary character of the spatial-orientational position that is pursued, it might be better to see this as an incipient disciplinary formation, what I call a *D-formation*. A D-formation is an embodied formation in which the participants maintain a vis-à-vis or L-arrangement (see Kendon, 1990), so that they are orienting their bodies in such a way that each of them has a direct access, *but* in a D-formation system there is *not* equal (symmetric) access to every other participant's transactional segment, which is normally the case in an F-formation system. Indeed, the space between them is *not* one in which they agree to maintain joint jurisdiction and control – it is not an 'o-space' in Kendon's (1990) terms.

[10] Recent comparative studies of middle-class family life in different national and domestic contexts have analysed how families, parents and children manage and negotiate their temporal activities (Wingard, 2007), household tasks/chores (Fasulo et al., 2007) or bedtime routines (Sirota, 2006), as well as how participation and trajectory are organised in family directive/response sequences (Goodwin, 2006).

A D-formation is both an interactional and embodied formation, as well as a *de*-formation of the power relations of the F-formation system.[11]

Nevertheless, it is important to see here that it is not only the parents who attend to the D-formation, because Joshua also respects and tests the evolving external limits to his bodily movement and posture. He is negotiating spatial boundaries, and notably the floor (a common mediational means for young children) is an important horizontal surface affording mediated action as well as resistance. This dimension is often ignored in studies of adult social interaction. For example, whilst sitting on the floor Joshua suddenly twists accountably 'out of line' (line 62) and both parents intervene to coordinate the reorientation of Joshua's body to the prior D-formation. Fig. 3 illustrates the 'body-ballet' (Seamon, 1980) of parents and child as Joshua's body and their own are reoriented to a particular D-formation.[12] In a rapidly evolving turn-at-talk (lines 63–69), whilst Isabel and Kelvin collaboratively work on Joshua's body orientation, Isabel angrily constructs a conditional directive to Joshua: ''YOU GO an' SIT SOMEWHERE QUIETLY ON YOUR OWN''. Joshua falls back into the horizontal rest/prone position. Isabel conjoins ''and NOT PLAY if you pu:nch'', providing the conditions to trigger a future 'time-out'.

Joshua's resistance to being dressed leads to a small hiatus in which his earlier agreement to go to sleep in his own bed that evening is challenged verbally, ''i'm not d- going in my own bed toni:ght'' (line 73). This may have been touched off by the prone posture – lying on his back – that he presently maintains. As Joshua continues his challenge by proposing an alternative location for his sleep, he glances to the left (while lying on his back) and self-repairs a potential locative: ''i'm sleeping on th- here.'' (lines 76–8). Clearly, Joshua is in a paradoxical situation: he does not wish to sleep in his own bed, and yet his desire to sleep in his parents' bed, as he routinely has done every night up to now, would mean making a claim at this stage in his open defiance of his mother that he wishes to sleep in the same bed as her. Instead, he locates a temporary ad hoc solution, drawing upon the spatial configuration afforded by his position, one which avoids both of these possibilities.

Next, Isabel confiscates the Play-Doh that Joshua is visibly manipulating in his hands while lying on his back in front of his kneeling mother. She grabs it out of his hands and hides it behind her back while saying ''right give me tha:t until you can be a good bo:y'' (line 80). Thus, she binds the apparently innocent activity that Joshua is engaged in to the condition that he be a ''good boy''. The activity is now retrospectively categorised as a morally inappropriate activity for a naughty child being disciplined. We see here the mother's orientation to the positive space of play that other members of the family (Sophie and Stephanie in the background) are engaged in and the negative space of confinement: non-play. Clearly, there is a moral order of space in play (Goodwin, 2006): good boys are free to participate in the governed space of play; bad boys are not. Additionally, Isabel makes it a conditional requirement of Joshua that he be seen to ''calm down'' before he can return to (or move on) to play (with the others). For the reality TV viewers, the events unfolding are mediated and interpreted through the surveillance assemblage as Claudia offers a candidate version (lines 93–99) of Joshua's actions (''a strop'') and decisions (''now changed his mind that he doesn't want. . .''). The stage is set for Joshua's conduct to escalate and thus to test Isabel's attempts to control his behaviour.

In the next excerpt, Example 2, which starts eighteen seconds after the end of the previous excerpt, Isabel has managed to dress Joshua, but he has run to the corridor leading to their private family rooms, and he is now lying on the floor again crying while his mother stands over him.

Example 2 - [HTT 2-1-2 - Gwilliam family video observation]

```
112                 ((CAMERA C6 switch to corridor))
113          ((Joshua lying on floor crying with Isabel standing over him))
114   I:     i'm si:ck of the tantrums
```

[11] An anonymous reviewer suggested that this could equally be seen as a 'C-formation', namely a care-formation, which could equally be asymmetric. I argue that in this case the D-formation precedes a notional C-formation. The parents are working through a disciplinary mode of conduct involving confinement, punishment, withdrawal of attention, etc., after which Tanya encourages a marked shift to a caring stance, e.g. once the 'time-out' contingently achieves its goal, the child is offered a cuddle or a hug, and life returns to normal (see Example 3). Further work is required to investigate the substance and interrelation of the localized practices of discipline and care in domestic and other settings.

[12] From a phenomenological perspective on body and place choreographies, Seamon (1980:157) suggests that 'body-ballet' describes ''a set of integrated behaviours which sustain a particular task or aim''. Many body-ballets and time-space routines fuse to make up place-ballets. With respect to the HTT house, we find the chronic body-ballets and time-space routines of domestic family life are both assumed and temporarily disrupted and reassembled.

((Isabel picks up Joshua by the arms))
J: no noah
((Isabel carries Joshua to sit at a low window ledge))
I: >sit there<
J: nj[a:
I: [and don't move until you can be a [ni:ce bo:y]
J: [njaaa::::::]
((Isabel walks away))
((CAMERA C5 switch to Joshua on the step))
J: i'm going to bi:te yer
I: you're not going to bi:te me
J: i am ((Joshua glances at the corridor))
(1.7)
J: i'll (0.3) pu:nch you with
((CAMERA C9 switch to long shot of Isabel and conservatory; Joshua is not visible))
my fi:st and then i'll ki:ck ye:r
(0.8)
((CAMERA C5 switch to Joshua on the step))
((Joshua gets up and runs down the corridor))
((CAMERA C8 switch to middle shot of Isabel's back))
I: SIT BACK DOWN THE:RE
J: hujhujhujhhhujh
I: >SIT BACK DOWN THERE<
##((CAMERA C6 switch to obscured long shot of Joshua))
J: huhujhuj njahuhuh::
((CAMERA C21 switch to Tanya and Claudia))
T: it's a ga:[me,]
C: [no] it's a game
T: it's a ↑ga:me
(I: sit back down now)
C: tanya what should she be do:ing (.)
((CAMERA C5 switch to Joshua by the corridor))
isabel, no:w
T: >put him in his room and shut< the doo:r
C: or ↑ignore him? (.)
((CAMERA C20 switch to medium close up of Tanya))
completely?
T: yeah (.) completely=>i mean she's giving this< [so:: much reinforcem-]
((CAMERA C15 switch to long shot down the corridor))
J: [(i'm) not going to]
ta:lk with yo:u
I: you're not having a talk [with me]
J: [(WELL YOUR] LAST NAME'S STU:PID)
I: ↑why am a: (.) what have i done no:w.
((CAMERA C21 switch to Tanya and Claudia))
T: wh- wh- why (.) why does it matter he's fi:ve he's cro:ss why
are we having a conversation.

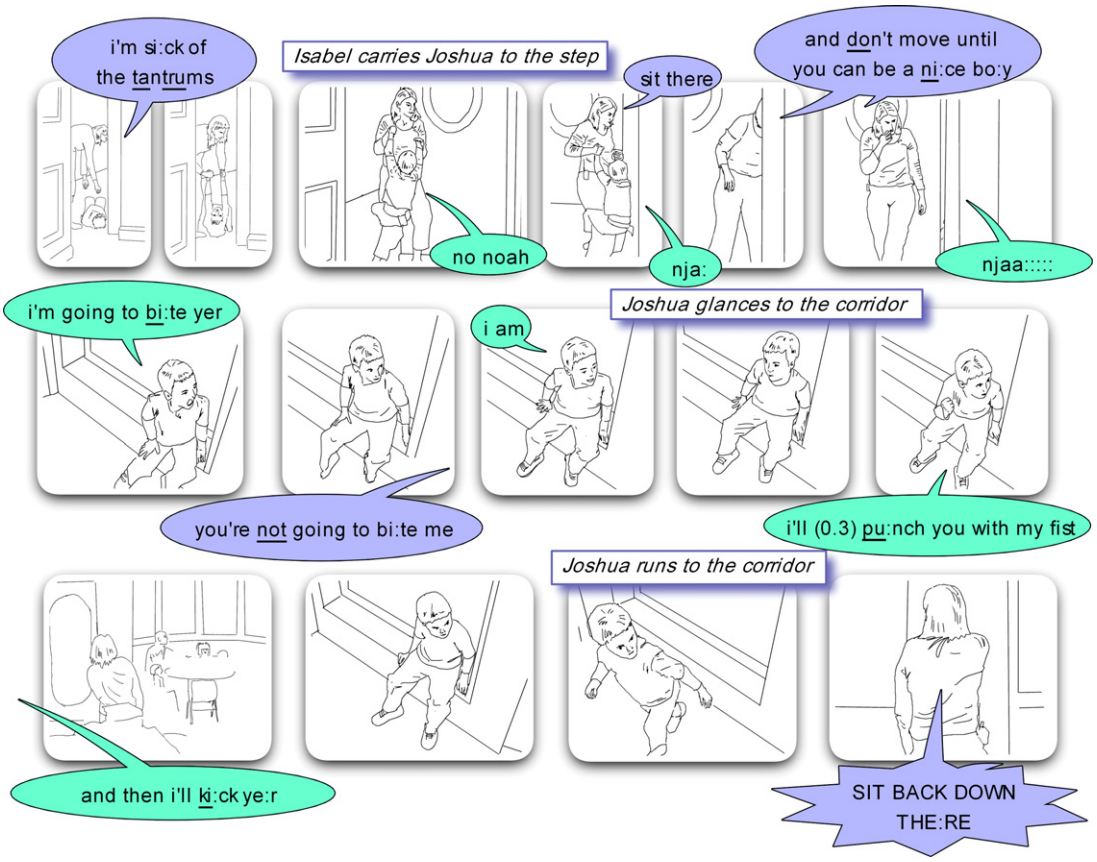

Fig. 4. Lines 114–135.

With the escalation in trouble, and since Joshua is now lying down and crying in the corridor, Isabel exclaims ''I'm sick of the tantrums'' (line 114), which anticipates a change in strategy and a move to doing a 'time-out'. It gives grounds for her action, and it also gives a post hoc categorisation of the conduct of Joshua as ''tantrums''. She immediately bends down and picks him up by his arms and carries him a few metres to a convenient window ledge/step (see Figs. 1 and 4), where the corridor begins to open out into the common room. She sits him on the step and enacts the 'time-out' by instructing him to ''>sit there<'' with the condition that he ''don't move until you can be a ni:ce bo:y'' (lines 118–120). She leaves him and walks over to the kitchen entrance, where she can ignore him, yet still monitor his conduct. Joshua initially respects the directive to ''sit there''. Nevertheless, Joshua soon engages his mother by verbally threatening her. At some point during the exchange of format tying (lines 124–130), he glances to his right down the corridor (the escape route).[13] Then he makes a dash for the corridor, thus leaving the temporary, localised 'time-out' 'spot' and thereby flouting the 'time-out'. Isabel notices and loudly instructs him to return. He does not. He ends up down the corridor, about to enter the family's private space, shouting at and insulting his mother. Simultaneously, in the observation room, Tanya and Claudia make comments (to be overhead by the viewer) about the inappropriateness of Isabel's conduct – for instance, her technique – towards her son. Fig. 4 illustrates visually the main shifts in camera shot and the burst of movement by Joshua as he escapes from the contingently bounded space of his 'time-out'.

We see here Joshua's orientation to the step as a virtual space of confinement, regulated by the act of ''sitting there'' and not moving, and being seen to do that by his mother. The directive is ''don't move until you can be a ni:ce bo:y'', which positions the boy as a free agent if and only if he can be seen to be 'nice' (and can perform as such). Clearly,

[13] At a number of points in the argument with his mother, Joshua recycles a turn using format tying (Goodwin, 1990), which escalates the conflict (see also lines 58–62).

there is a real paradox here, one which Joshua and all children need to resolve practically, and one which is indicative of being a liberal citizen in contemporary democratic societies: freedom is not an escape from power, the casting off of all constraints to reveal the free subject; there are, instead *powers of freedom* (Rose, 1999b). Either the child is seen to obey the directive and thus he or she becomes the apparently 'free' and mobile subject presupposed by displaying 'niceness', or the child is seen to disobey, apparently acts 'freely', and as a consequence is denied freedom of movement by the parent(s). In this case, Joshua is heard and then seen to disobey, and thus he flouts the authority of his mother to restrict his mobility. He both asserts the threat of bodily violence (''i'll (0.3) pu:nch you with my fi:st and then i'll ki:ck ye:r''), yet he disrupts the relation between discourse, power and space that the parent(s) are trying to maintain through their mediated actions.

Thus, for a short period Joshua remains sitting edgily on the step, but soon enough Joshua breaches the regulative practice of the 'time-out' by visibly running down the corridor, away from the temporary 'time-out' spot that has been locally assembled. His mother demonstrates that she recognises the breach by commanding him twice to ''SIT BACK DOWN THE:RE'' (lines 135, 137). She repeats a third time with an additional emphasis on temporal urgency: ''now''. After the repeat of the directive by Isabel, we see Joshua in the corridor smiling cheekily and refusing to return. Claudia and Tanya almost simultaneously give a shared assessment of the situation or conduct: ''it's a game'' (lines 141–143). Such an assessment uttered in unison compacts *post hoc* the stream of activity they are watching and observing into a unit of accountable conduct. From their perspective, this is not disciplining, but gaming. Tanya later claims that Isabel is reinforcing his conduct (''i mean she's giving this< so:: much reinforcem-''). Tanya and Claudia reflect on the best technique to use in this instance (''what should she be do:ing''), thus prefiguring Tanya's conduct of the mother's conduct in the future. In exasperation at the mother's continuing verbal engagement with Joshua, Tanya gives an implicit juxtaposition of 'having a conversation' versus a lean 'time-out' (non-conversational). These characterisations of conduct – of a failed parenting technique – anticipate the behaviours that Tanya will work on disrupting in her counselling with the families in the house, as we shall see in the last example.

Later in the day, after Isabel had attempted to discipline Joshua using a 'time-out' technique, but failed (see Examples 1 and 2), Tanya explicitly instructs the parents (with children present) in how to do a *holding* 'time-out'. Thus, after seeing problematic behaviour from the child manifest itself and noticing the parents attempt to perform a crude 'time-out', Tanya demonstrates a more discriminating and successful 'time-out' model. Before the sequence in Example 3, she has just used one child, in fact Joshua, to publicly act out a role play in which he pretended to be naughty and thus was given a 'time-out' by Tanya (T), who played the parent.

Example 3 - [HTT 2-1-2 - Timeout instruction]

```
10          ((Tanya finishes the demonstration with Joshua))
11   T:     the key thing for all of you when you've got some time as couples
12          is (.) to really define (0.7) wha:t are the behaviours that
13          you: as parents think deserve tha:t
14   I:     at ho:me (.) er i mean >probably a little bit different here but
15          if i have to use time out=at ho:me< i have tried time out (0.5)
16          and they become destructive
17   T:     that's fine (    )
18   I:                  [in the bedroo:m
19   I:     do you just let them
20   T:     yeah •hh (0.7) what you have to really think about is the fact that
21          if you have children who are not used to having boundaries set
22          for them (0.3) as soon as you set a boundary they will ki:ck
23          against it literally
24   ():    mm
25   T:     but if you: (.) show them that it does not move you at all:
26   ():    mm
27   T:     eventually they'll stop doing it
```

```
28          ( . )
29          if you show them (.) that the:y can control you by doing that
30          then they've wo:n
31    T:    the- these techniques only wo:rk in the context of when your child
32          is being lovely you praise them up to the ceiling
33    ():   yeah
```

In response to Isabel's question (lines 14–16), Tanya accounts for the appropriate use of the 'time-out' technique and the behaviour of the child once in 'time-out' (''kick against it literally'') as 'setting boundaries' (lines 21–22). The critical issue is one of attenuation of response and 'control' over the situation. When asking her question, Isabel orients to the HTT house being different from home in the practice of doing a 'time-out': ''at ho:me (.) er i mean >probably a little bit different here'' (line 14). Obviously, in this case the HTT house is a new environment for all the families – it is not 'home' – but Tanya does not take-up the issue (see McIlvenny, 2008). 'Time-outs' are practised by all three families over the next few days. The Gwilliams work particularly on their daughter Sophie as she becomes more troublesome later in the week. In contrast to the problematic case above, all the 'time-outs' by the Gwilliams that occur after Tanya's instruction (the pedagogy of the 'time out') implement a forced confinement of the disruptive child to a room on their own.

6. Conclusion

Although the HTT house is an unusual setting in that it is 'a home away from home' (McIlvenny, 2008), the architecture of the house – its rooms and corridors – and its fixtures and furniture afford the possibility to improvise makeshift assemblies of people, action, participation and objects in domestic space. For example, these can be assembled to create (co)presence, but also relative distance – e.g. to run away or to hide – as well as to create zones for particular types of practices and participation frameworks – e.g. to confine a child to a 'time-out' on a window ledge/step. Moreover, the floor provides a horizontal surface for affording action and localised perception. In the analysis above the focus was on the phenomenon of the 'timeout', a generalised 'technique' of parentcraft that is used to discipline young children who are misbehaving. Rather than debate the merits of the time out as an appropriate disciplinary instrument, this paper explored the local, emergent and negotiated accomplishment of disciplinary practices of temporal and spatial restraint that involve embodied (inter)action, furniture, objects, and the lived architecture of the domestic sphere. The 'time-out' is spatial *and* temporal, discursive *and* interactional, placed *and* emplacing, negotiated *and* emergent, local *and* virtual, and thus it can be contested and resisted. The concept of the D-formation was developed to account for how the 'time-out' is assembled as a bodily and spatial practice. As a case of discipline-in-action (and the governance of space) the 'time-out' is crafted as a D-formation that is both a disciplinary formation of bodies and participation, as well as a deformation of the F-formation system.

In many ways, which I have illustrated above, the locality and domesticity of the space of the house is an achievement or an assemblage (Latour, 2005). The events that take place in the HTT house are *emplaced* and *place-forming*, and they are often *interspatial*.[14] Moreover, the domestication of the spatiality of the HTT house and its performance as a domestic place cannot be divorced from both the architecture and artifacts that afford domesticity as well as the habitus (Bourdieu, 2002) or historical bodies (Scollon and Scollon, 2004) of the occupants who come to inhabit the house for six days. The architectural space and the affordances of furniture and fixtures, which are carefully designed for the purpose of the programme, need to be domesticated by those families who reside there, no matter how limited the duration of their stay and despite Tanya's occasional assertive comment that they are ''in my house''. Their conduct, therefore, is interspatial, as well as interdiscursive and interperformative.

Returning to the issue of how embodied interactional and spatial practices are manifestly disciplinary and governmental in nature, it is my contention that we see the HTT house as a quasi-laboratory for *producing and domesticating* problem behaviours and communicative troubles. In reference to the emergence of disciplinary

[14] I use the concept of 'interspatiality' here to refer to the ways in which spaces and their properties are contingently translated into other space-times or spaces borrow from other space-times. This concept was developed in the DeXus 4.0 summer school and the PlaceME Nordic research network. It is much like the concepts of *interdiscursivity* (Fairclough, 2003) and *interperformativity* (Scollon, 1997)—the interaction with and appropriation of practices in other space-times.

techniques in the 18th and 19th centuries, Foucault called them "'observatories' of human multiplicity" (171). In other words, the HTT house allows participants (and observers/viewers) to *generate* problem behaviours and 'troubles talk' (Jefferson, 1988; Miller and Silverman, 1995) and thus to learn to appreciate differences more easily (McIlvenny, 2008). Thus, the 'time-out' technique may serve as a solution to these manufactured problem behaviours and troubles, but only if the parents correctly discriminate the right occasion and the appropriate conditions of appliance. Hence, we may also see HTT as an experiment in governance (of the parents as well as of the children). It is no coincidence, as Donzelot (1977[1997]) and Rose (1999a) point out, that the family is and has been for quite some while one of the prime relays for the translation of governance practices and policies between the individual and the state. In advanced liberal democracies, according to Rose (1999a:208), the "parents are bound into the language and evaluations of expertise at the very moment they are assured of their freedom and autonomy". In the HTT house, parents learn to *conduct* the conduct of their children and to govern domestic space (and time) – for example, with the 'time-out' technique – in the same breath as their conduct is *conducted* by the resident psychologist.

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