

THE POWER DYNAMICS OF SPORT FOR
DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE:
GOVERNMENTAL RATIONALITIES AND
MICROTECHNIQUES

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Abstract

Sport and its use to achieve social aims in programmatic interventions has gained increasing attention over the last ten years. My original contribution to knowledge is to demonstrate that the dynamics of power in sport for development and peace (SDP) are driven by a quest to record social reality. Critical accounts in SDP have only partially explained the dynamics of power at work in the sector. I use the perspective of Foucauldian *governmentality*, combined with an interpretative and qualitative methodology, to interrogate collected data through critical discourse analysis (CDA). This demonstrates, in a novel departure, that discursive alignments between corporate social responsibility initiatives and SDP non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are the constituents of the connections between macro and micro levels in the economy of SDP. These connections that change practice have been termed elsewhere a “technology of governmentality” (Hayhurst, 2011). I uniquely demonstrate that alignments are rationally justified on what I have termed here, a *logical basis*, which is in turn founded upon the results of microtechniques of monitoring & evaluation (M&E) of programme interventions in SDP. In a further unique contribution to knowledge I show that this requires the reconstruction of the meanings of *time* and *space* during the M&E process, temporally and spatially limiting wide arrays of human experience.

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List of Acronyms

ART - Anti-Retroviral Treatment

BINGO - Business International Non-Governmental Organisation

CBO - Community-Based Organisation

CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis

CSR - Corporate Social Responsibility

DFID - Department for International Development (UK)

ECB - The English Cricket Board

FA - The Football Association (England)

FIFA - Fédération Internationale de Football Association

FDP - Football for Development and Peace

GCSE - Global Corporate Social Engagement

GRS - Grassroot Soccer

IMF - International Monetary Fund

ISF - International Softball Federation

MNC - Multinational Corporation

MTG - Moving the Goalposts

MYSA - Mathare Youth Sports Association

NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation

RCT - Randomised Control Trial

RFU - Rugby Football Union

SDP - Sport for Development and Peace

SfD - Sport for Development

S&D – Sport and Development

SGD - Sport, Gender and Development

TNC - Transnational Corporation

UEFA - Union of European Football Associations

UN - United Nations

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

UNOSDP - United Nations Office of Sport for Development and Peace

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

WB - World Bank

Preface

This thesis began due to my experience of working within the Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) sector since 2003. When I was an undergraduate student, studying International Relations and Development Studies, I volunteered one summer with a UK professional football club in West Africa, training football coaches to become HIV/AIDS educators. This was my introduction to a weird and wonderful sub-culture within the architecture of international development and foreign aid, marrying academic interest and practical 'development' experience with a cultural form that remains a career and pastime for me. But as I became more engaged after graduation, I realised that SDP was not without flaws and should be subjected to studious critique. For development 'purists', interventions using the vehicle of sport were 'development light' and potentially pernicious neoliberal forms. Practitioners in development viewed sport as a not-entirely-welcome, but yet rapidly growing sub-sector, within their field.

The corporate sector became interested in SDP, where it saw investment potential. In my first few years of working in the sector, I came into contact with large companies and their resources. Both in the literature and the praxis of SDP, investment into the programmes of NGOs began to be known as corporate social responsibility (CSR). Similarly, bilateral aid agencies began to upscale their investment in sport in developing countries.

Transnationally, in my thinking, I began to view SDP as encompassing the logic of intervention in social life, not just in developing countries, but in Europe also. It was an incredible experience to be confronted by this fusion of different interests, and it was fascinating to observe the application of a near identical rationality in a variety of territories. The application of sport in Europe and North America seemed to be configured towards problems which, though on the face of it could be deemed 'similar' (for example 'unemployment', or 'ill health'), were in fact experienced in a multitude of different ways.

The experience of my work then took me then to East and West Africa, to Asia and Latin America. Vastly different cultural settings were being inculcated – albeit on a relatively minor scale – with a strikingly homogenous cultural logic: in the expression of physical activity and its possibility for 'developing' and 'educating', and changing behaviour.

As a practitioner specialising within the field of SDP, I found myself confronted with many tensions and conflicts that I could not reconcile. I then began to look to academia for answers, and found the corpus wanting. In Marxist theory, there was a theoretical lens through which to sieve my experience, but this too was ultimately unsatisfying and reliant on accumulation as a means of revealing inequality. Next I turned to the Frankfurt School, but found this too constraining, configured as it was to explaining the failure of events to come to pass half a century ago.

When a rediscovery of post-structural theories of power and knowledge was made, especially Rose's (1999) work on Foucauldian governmentality – finds that coincided with the publishing of the work of Lyndsay Hayhurst (2011) and Simon Darnell (2012; 2012a) - I began to see some possibilities for understanding what could be happening in systems of power in SDP using critical modes of thought.

However, despite numerous expositions of the history of this formation or that, when it came to SDP, something was still missing in the critiques that had been written to date. On the micro scale, it seemed to me, no one was dealing with how this technology of governmental power operated, and how participants were incorporated into it. Inspired by Rose (1999) and Miller & Rose (2008), I found myself asking: what tactics, strategies and rationalities sustain SDP and govern conduct within it?

The research topic was then specifically about power. But now the problematic became: what are the dynamics of the nexus of power relations and systems that shape the governmental architecture of the SDP sector? From this point on, in this thesis, this enquiry connects all that follows.

In 2010, I began researching with the intention of writing a PhD. I predicted it would take me three years. Four years later, I was halfway through, and almost seven years later, I brought my writing to a close.

Acknowledgements

A number of people deserve special recognition for their assistance or patience in the production of this thesis. None more so than my supervisors: Prof. John Sugden, Dr. Daniel Burdsey, and Dr. Megan Chawansky. Their patience and guidance over the last seven years have been invaluable.

The main catalyst for the beginnings of this thesis, was Dr. Alan Sanders (in that he said: “you should do a PhD”, and drove me to the interview in order to make sure I began it). He transformed a thought into a real possibility and he deserves special recognition for that. Along the way in years before this point, numerous people from my Undergraduate BA in International Relations and Development Studies at the University of Sussex gave me encouragement, and no small amount of inspiration. Dr. Julian Saurin, Dr. Earl Gammon, Dr. Jan Selby, Dr. Robbie Shilliam, and Dr. Johnna Montgomerie all set my brain on fire with their teaching and research. Dr. Dinah Rajak though, opened my eyes to Corporate Social Responsibility, and perhaps this intervention was the most important in terms of my actual research interests.

Whilst at the University of Sussex, I met my then teacher, and now great friend Lee Evans. He remains an intellectual ally, foil and sounding board. His suggestions weigh heavy in this thesis. So to do the invaluable proofreading skills of Giorgia Michellini, Emily Christie, and Amy O’Brien whose tenacity for devouring reams of paper in fastidious checking of grammar and prose are unparalleled. Finally, and most importantly, I thank my family. My Mother, Alice (who also proofread), Father, Michael, and Brothers, Samuel and Daniel, and Sister Abigail, who have been constant sources of encouragement and support. My wife however, has transcended all realistic human expectations, in providing months of quiet workable space, despite two small children, for me to complete this work. Thank you eternally Sabrina for making this happen. My two children, Wilfred and Tabitha: thank you for your patience; time to play.

One more member of my family deserves recognition: my grandfather Dr. John Naish. When I was fifteen years old, during one summer spent at his house in Gloucestershire, he told me I was the most ignorant person he had ever met. That sentence rings in my ears now as the most compelling motivation, to one day prove him wrong.

Author's Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'M. H.', written in a cursive style.

Dated: 12th January 2017

Chapter 1. Introduction

Nikolas Rose, in a series of books and papers (1999; 2000; 2007) individually, and in tandem with jointly authored work with Peter Miller (1990; 1992; 2008; 2010), developed a canon of sociological thought which sought to recalibrate investigations into political power in terms of the problematics of government. To be *governmental* (beyond those that 'govern') in this sense, is to create and recreate the issues of the state in terms of the knowledge and expertise that is generated in the process of governing itself (Rose & Miller, 2010: 273). These processes, often referred to as *technologies* (*ibid*), are the very substance of attempts at power in the politics of the state. They demand attention. Questions of how power is maintained are more richly responded to when consideration is paid to the processes, tactics, administrative materials, policies, rules, and guidelines of governance, both within and beyond the state. I argue that the movements – that is to say the *dynamics* – of power in a given system are illuminated by analysing the procedural and administrative content for that system's own governance.

As Rose (2000: 321-339) has analysed criminal justice systems and the life sciences sector (2007), I now turn to the particular subject of the Sport for Development & Peace sector (SDP) to ask 'what are *the contents* that form the governmental rationalities of SDP'? This urgent question reflects the current state of literature on Sport's use for social change and development, where accounts of power in SDP are found wanting.

'SDP' which I define fully below - concerns the intervention of social programmes into the life of populations, communities and individuals by using sport (its play and sometimes its spectacle as an event, such as The Olympics) alongside its emergence as a distinct terrain of enquiry in academia.

Scholarly work, though growing at a slower pace than SDP in practice, now seriously considers the use of sport for social change. Academic pieces from Coalter (2007, 2009), Kidd (2008), and Levermore (2008) are now complemented by critical scholarship from Giulianotti (2004, 2005, 2010, 2011), Hayhurst (2009, 2011) and Darnell (2007, 2010, 2012, 2012a; see also Darnell & Huish, 2016). Despite some notable exceptions, most of this work is grounded in, firstly the promotion of SDP as practice; secondly, the rational evaluation of individual interventions (or sometimes the sum of many, perhaps all, SDP interventions); and third the critique of SDP's intended, or unintended consequences. The bulk of the corpus on SDP therefore must be characterised as empirico-rational in nature – in line with the positivist project begun in the 17th century with the Enlightenment. Yet, critical voices on the recent appearance of SDP in international relations have elided questions of dynamics of power within it. Rarely do debates in the body of academic work centre on the degree to which conditions of neoliberalism limit

human agency. In other words, are the subjects of SDP really offering a critical challenge to dominant modes of thought and action, or reproducing it? A notable exception is the debate between Lindsey and Grattan (2012) who argue for greater attention to agency in the Global South, on the one hand, and Darnell and Hayhurst (2012) who highlight neoliberal frameworks of thought as the context for understanding such action, on the other. SDP's ability to engage with its own positionality in power dynamics is questionable, at best, risking the becoming of a self-fulfilling prophecy. This contradiction provides a motivation for my particular research topic at this juncture.

Although a number of theoretical frameworks have been applied to SDP now in the last ten years, specific empirical analysis of the wedding of global forces to the minutiae of the day-to-day of people's lives – that is, how power is both wielded and experienced – remains elusive. This omission provides a second motivation and over the following pages, I will address this lacuna.

I do so by examining one global force: corporate investment in SDP programmes (known as corporate social responsibility or global corporate social engagement) and a number of instances of administration and practice concerning the rational justification for SDP programmes' effectiveness. In a novel contribution to the corpus on SDP, I analyse how these seemingly disparate instances of practice connect to one another and how, ultimately, they create the conditions for governmental rationalities to thrive within SDP.

Research Objectives

In order to tackle this topic, I embarked on a number of distinct and related research objectives (see also the fourth chapter on methodology). I built these research objectives during the course of reading the potential of SDP back through the perspective of *governmentality* proposed by Nikolas Rose (1999) and Michel Foucault (1980c). I explain this perspective more fully in chapters 3 and 4.

The research objectives were:

1. To demarcate the sectoral and territorial boundaries of the SDP and GCSE/CSR sector.
2. To scrutinise the discursive relationships, and the logical and *rational* claims to connections between the superficially separate spheres of SDP NGOs (from civil society) and GCSE/CSR (the private sector).
3. To interrogate the specific technical apparatuses that empower these rational claims.

4. To analyse how, conceptually, the *truths* in these claims gain prominence, and credibility in the SDP and private sectors.

The Research Title: Definitions

I undertake this task by first addressing the concepts within my topic of the power dynamics of SDP - their governmental rationalities and microtechniques - which contains a number of concepts that require definition before advancing any further (throughout the research, additional definitions will be required from time to time). The first of these will be *SDP*, the next will be *power, governmentality* and *rationalities*, and next *microtechniques*, before finally a combination of *global corporate social engagement* and *corporate social responsibility*.

Sport for Development & Peace - SDP

So what is the field of SDP? What does it commonly refer to and how do I understand it in this thesis? What does it include and exclude? These are crucial questions because in a *de facto* sense they form the research parameters.

The SDP sector refers to a very particular type of social formation that constellates around actors that use sport for some form of social, environmental, economical, behavioural, educational, or developmental benefit to the participants within SDP programmes. Whereas some charities use specific tools to engage populations in particular anti-poverty programmes – such as micro-credit (the use of small loans to individuals) to promote economic growth, the provision of books to promote learning, or music and drama to promote peace and reconciliation in conflict zones – SDP is a group of organisations and individuals that all participate in the use of sport and the playing of sport, to such ends. The sector itself is committed to the use of sport, rather than a particular social issue (more on this later).

This has variants, however, and sport has been used differently in the trajectory of history from that of the contemporary form of SDP. For decades now the modern liberal state has justified investment in sport from public funds based upon a construction of the idea of sport as a public good. For example, the UK Government invests in grassroots participation in sport through the agency 'Sport England', to increase participation. It does this, it states, to create 'sporting habits for life'; the more people that play sport, the better (Sport England 2014). At the same time, the scale and scope of charities (both international and domestic) grew exponentially in the last two decades of the twentieth century.

The Sport for Development & Peace (SDP) sector evolves as a hybrid of these two broad tendencies, overlapping as it does, where social development meets the use of sport as a vehicle for desirable social and behavioural changes (sportanddev.org, 2014a). Although the etymology of the term 'SDP' is difficult to place in history, it is clear that in recent years the increasing application of sport to problems faced by communities was given new impetus by an increase in its application in the domain of *international development*, specifically those aid efforts directed at the Global South. Sport has been used for some decades now, for example, by the United Nations (UN) in their humanitarian and aid efforts in developing countries (sportanddev.org, 2016). Regardless, the sector of SDP is fluid, and this poses one of the biggest problems.

I now delimit the sector's boundaries for the purposes of research clarity. SDP, in this research, is not limited to the terrain of international development, and is complicated in that it similarly transcends the identity boundaries that organisations set for themselves. Sport first: sport is seen here as a cultural form that is used in very different ways in different settings. The UN sees sport simply as "all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being, and social interaction" (UN inter-agency Taskforce on Sport for Development and Peace, cited in sportanddev.org, 2014). But slightly more complex definitions requiring a more stratified understanding also exist, for example in Reynard (2014) where sport is divided into 'sport for healthy living', 'sport for all', and 'sport for development'. Breaking the idea of SDP down further, I would add to this a fourth category of 'sport for performance', which then includes an elite performative form. The sports industry and sporting organisations – such as professional sports clubs - have been identified for some years now as overlapping traditional sectoral boundaries. The sports industry has components which interrelate from the public, private and non-profit sectors (Hoye *et al*, 2012, cited in Anagnostopoulos, Winand & Papadimitriou, 2016: 2).

Development, as a constellation of concepts, finds itself even more hotly contested. Broadly accepted definitions can be found in Human Development Reports (UNDP, 2014), which retain basic conceptual ideas around 'progress', protection from the infringement of rights and the meeting of basic needs. Within SDP, these ideas from international organisations that help frame the global terms of reference still hold a lot of power (see also Dudfield, 2014: 1-9, on the Commonwealth perspective). But the definition of development is much more complex. From the liberal perspective, Sen, in *Development as Freedom* (1999), challenged conventional basic needs approaches and re-installed aspects of 'positive freedom' (freedom *to*, rather than 'negative' freedom *from*) to development economics at the United Nations. Critical development (see Schuurman, 2009; Fine, 2009) and postcolonial theorists (Said, 2000; Li, 2010) approached from a different angle, identifying global unequal power relations and incorporation of the marginalised into new colonial ideologies of neoliberalism respectively.

Taking the domain of SDP as our starting point, perhaps the most useful definition is that of the UNDP, simply because these more conventional understandings resonate in the world of practitioners in SDP.

Sport & development and sport for development, S&D/SfD (commonly interchanged with SDP), is seen as:

“Actors in sport, academia, private sector, non-profit and non-governmental organisations, government agencies, UN agencies and international organisations, the media, the general public as well as young people [who] are increasingly interested in the potential of sport as a tool to reach personal, community, national and international development objectives. They are also interested in how sport can be used as a tool for addressing some of the challenges that arise from humanitarian crises and in conflict and post-conflict settings.

As sport becomes increasingly part of humanitarian and development work, as well as a part of the corporate social responsibility practices of some private sector actors, interested parties are anxious to explore the potential, as well as the limitations, of sport in their work.” (sportanddev.org, 2014a)

In this definition, ‘development’ in SDP includes the national, local, as well as the international. This isn’t just the world of foreign aid. Instead, this includes the application of SDP within domestic situations as part of national policy. Thus, a great deal of my focus is in Europe, though much of it also comes from an international context.

In summary, my research parameters are thus: I have included in my research field, and in my thesis, a definition of SDP which includes the international and the domestic (in Europe), and although I have drawn large numbers of contributions from one sport, this is because there are comparatively huge numbers of organisations that use football. I have included in the research responses and samples of data only those who work in SDP, or have worked in SDP within the last 24 months (in reality, at the time of collecting data, all respondents were currently working in SDP). The research parameters were also drawn around CSR programmes and interventions which invested in SDP. Some interviewees, along with speeches and presentation materials gathered from conferences, were corporate employees who spoke about and were involved with CSR investments in SDP. These are the research parameters established in my study into the dynamics of power in SDP.

Power, Governmentality, Rationalities

Power as a concept is highly complex. Money, force and mixtures of consent and coercion are all factors in various theoretical positions, some of which are reviewed in chapters 2 and 3. The definition of *power* that I carry forward in this research is crucial in understanding the dynamics in SDP that I intend to make sense of. Critical work on power has relied upon differing definitions and has sought it in various locations. Therefore, I undertake, in the next few passages, to detail the definition of power – but also necessarily of *governmentality and rationalities* and their conceptual relationship to power.

The definition of power that I use is Foucauldian in nature and purpose (a more expansive exposition is contained in chapter 3). Foucault conceived of modern power in a very different way to the critical theorists that influenced him (see Adorno, 2003; 2007; Adorno & Horkheimer, 1976; see also Agger, 1991a; Kelly, 1994). In the historical materialist tradition (which - blended with psychology and cultural theory - crudely underpinned the work of the Frankfurt School and the critical theory approach generally), power was relational in that it was exercised by bourgeois capitalists in asymmetrical class relations with workers (see Harvey, 2003; 2005; 2008; 2012; Marx, 2013).

Political economy approaches in the latter half of the 20th Century sought to understand how flows of capital explained power relations in the global political economy (Cox, 1987; Gill & Law, 1988; Wallerstein, 2004). These multifunctional analyses combined global forces with historical materialism and Gramscian theories of *Hegemony*. The ancestry of colonialism weighed heavy in this analysis, and power as such tended to be both ideological - in the form of the primacy of liberal markets - and geographical - in that it was centred in the economic powerhouses of the liberal democracies of 'The West'.

Foucault (1977; 1980; 1980a; 2000; 2004; 2008; 2009) distanced himself from understanding power in this way, which he saw as essentially negative. Foucault saw power as productive; a necessary departure, he contended, to understanding, the *functioning* of power in society. Power is visible in what power 'does'.

The functioning of power, within this thesis, is used sometimes interchangeably with the *operation* of power. The operation of power, however, is more commonly assumed to include both what power *does*, and crucially, *how* power does it; it features prominently in the sixth chapter where the microtechniques of SDP are discussed at length and examples are dissected.

Power was everywhere for Foucault. Modern power, unlike earlier powers, is "local, continuous, productive, capillary, and exhaustive." (Fraser, 1981: 276). It is, crucially, discursively constructed in the day-to-day of everything that human beings in society do with each other – our means of communicating, our practices, our techniques, and our means of

organising and administrating ourselves and each other. It is neither an agency nor a structure (Foucault, 1981: 68). Instead, power constitutes all common sense understandings of our interactions with one another: our norms, rules, regulations, administrative techniques, strategies, examinations, evaluations and codes of behaviour. This tendency Foucault referred to as *governmentality* (a section defining governmentality follows below).

Power is not something that some have and others are subject to. It is instead mediated through 'subjects' and 'freedom'. "A subject separated from other subjects constitutes a sort of bridge between freedom and power. In other words, freedom and power are not mutually exclusive but mutually dependent." (Kopecký, 2011: 251).

Power for Foucault, is nodal, and distributed in networks between actors, and individuals (Foucault, 2004: 29). Power is not:

"... the domination of one individual over others, of one group over others, or of one class over others... Power must, I think, be analysed as something that circulates, or rather as something that functions only when it is part of a chain... Power functions. Power is exercised through networks, and individuals do not simply circulate in those networks; they are in a position to both submit to and exercise this power. They are never the inert or consenting targets of power; they are always its relays. In other words, power passes through individuals. It is not applied to them". (*ibid*)

'Power' appears in numerous ways in this thesis. The most common is in the term 'power dynamics', which refers to the way in which power *moves* in any given system.

Governmentality

Governmental power or *governmentality* refers to power exercised in the tendency towards the governance of conduct, and the creation and adherence to practices which are considered normal or day-to-day, for example the taking of names on a register. Wielding governmental power denotes the power to dictate, by law or otherwise, the need to take a register, to create the register, the rules for taking names, the right to call names, and the responses by individuals. Governmental power is the full spectrum of interactions that human beings have with each other in the context of laws, rules, guides, norms, and accepted behaviours (Foucault, 1997: 300).

Governmentality, first proposed by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* (1977), has been perhaps best explained by the sociologist Nikolas Rose (1999). Governmentality is not about government, but about the pervasiveness of the governing of conduct within society; the state, institutions, social interactions, and our private lives. It is embodied in the techniques that are

designed by multiple parties to govern us; techniques that we participate in the creation and deployment of. It is a tendency in postmodernity: we tend to create these means to govern ourselves and others. Obvious examples can be seen in the era of 'Big Data', of social media, and in the surveillance of behaviour in modern liberal democracies. There is a technological tendency to gather more and more information about social life, rendering subjects as both knowable and governable. But less obvious examples abound also: rules at swimming pools and leisure centres, codes of conduct, entry exams, registers, 'best practice' guides, and security checks. All of these and countless more speak not just to the governing of behaviour, but to the pervasiveness and heterogeneity of attempts at governing. In short, we encounter a myriad of opportunities to fall under institutional authority every day.

In Rose's terms, a study of governmentality within a specific historical moment and in a given location, must acknowledge that:

"To analyse political power through analytics of governmentality is not to start from the apparently obvious historical or sociological question: what happened and why? It is to start by asking what authorities of various sorts wanted to happen, in relation to problems defined how, in pursuit of what objectives, through what strategies and techniques... They adopt a particular point of view which brings certain questions into focus: that dimension of our history composed by the invention, contestation, operationalization, and transformation of more or less rationalized schemes, programmes, techniques and devices which seek to shape conduct so as to achieve certain ends." (1999: 20)

A governmentality perspective empowers research examining social formations to discover *power*, by focusing on the everyday practices and administrative techniques that humans use to make sense of the world. This is particularly so in cases where the techniques of examination, data-gathering, and reporting are used to make sense of, and provide remedies to, the 'problems' of society (Rose, 2000: 321-232).

Technologies of power refer to constellations of practices, techniques, examinations and procedures (Hardt & Negri, 2001: 24-25). These come together to form generalised understandings of practice, or 'codes' which incorporate subjects into their workings. Frequently, in this thesis, the term 'technology of governmentality' is used instead (see Hayhurst, 2011). Technologies of governmentality are the catalogue of techniques and tactics that can be used by those who seek to govern in one or more spaces. They are a "wide array of intricate programmes, techniques, calculations, and other tactics used by authorities to embody and influence governmental ambitions" (Rose & Miller, 1992: 175; cited in Hayhurst, 2011: 538).

Techniques which facilitated such practices came to be known as *microtechniques* (a section defining microtechniques follows below) – the apparatuses of technologies of governmentality (Hayhurst, 2011: 531-532; Foucault, 2000a: 188, cited in Kopecký, 2011: 252). Technologies are broader, containing artificially connected schemes and strategies encompassing a number of techniques for evaluating knowledge. Power relies fundamentally on knowledge; and on quests to authoritatively describe what *is* in the world manifest in the day-to-day of everything that people do (Foucault, 1981: 68).

Foucault understood *biopolitics* as the political power exercised over every aspect of human life, its production and reproduction (2009: 359-366). Whilst monetary policy of any government is deployed to this end, it is not the system that empowers the politics of society. Instead, it is the quest to realign the services of society to the problematic faced - the 'faults' within society - which the services are intended to remedy (Foucault, 2008: 25-51).

This is not to say that ideology, and the hegemony of certain practices in society are not important. Indeed, neoliberalism was a principal concern for Foucault in later life (Kopecký, 2011: 248). But connections between central forces and the commonplace are the important terrains of enquiry. This was the project that Foucault set himself to, and his legacy in this undertaking has been profound, where technological procedures constellated together became the machinations of Foucault's *governmentality* (Smart, 1998: 333)

Rationalities

The various branches of government, firms, individuals and groups which structure interactions between themselves and society (a reminder that we cannot understand governmentality as solely a domain of the state) authorise as acceptable, certain types of practice, and certain types of knowledge. These codes of what is permissible – these common sense understandings of the world and how to be within it – create and recreate techniques, tactics, and strategies for individuals to govern themselves and each other. Subordinating the self and others into subject positions is an expression of power in itself (Kopecký, 2011: 252). Seemingly inconsequential means by which people administrate themselves become points of interest for Foucauldian analysis. "This contact between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self I call governmentality" (Foucault, 2000a: 188, cited in Kopecký, 2011: 252). If we take 'the problem of government' as a starting point, the fact that rationalities are simpler to understand as 'rationality' is key here. The problem of government – the aims to which government and governing directs rationale, resources, interventions and debate – is issue-based. Governance targets 'problems' themselves: "the ideals of government are intrinsically linked to the problems around which it circulates, the failings it seeks to rectify,

the ills it seeks to cure (Miller & Rose, 2008: 61). They are the constellation of knowledge objects which form a rationality, which is, in a sense, a reference point for representations and depictions of a sphere which render it governable (Miller & Rose, 2008: 62). An example is the entirety of the conventions and knowledge of western medicine; including the production processes for medicines, the rules governing the acceptance of medical professionals, common sense understandings of treatments, and the hegemony of the scientific method.

Interventionist strategies which seek to change, contain or control social behaviour are organic. They may appear as a particular idea which subsequent ideas take as antecedent. But in fact they are reliant upon numerous different ideas and rational justifications that can be called upon and 'connected' in a correlation that gives a perceived strategic coherence to logical statements. Rose (1999: 27) gives a persuasive example of this using the apparent synchronicity of *neoliberalism*. Critiques of welfare and big government seem, in the last 20 years, to be born of post-war neoliberal economic thought; apparently anticipating the move to a profoundly neoliberal configuration of thought, practice, and production of social order. But in Rose's view, these critiques of welfare were rationalising government in a new way, which is not necessarily the work of planners and policy makers in Thatcherite Britain, for example:

"They were, rather, contingent lash-ups of thought and action, in which various problems of governing were resolved through drawing upon instruments and procedures that happened to be available, in which new ways of governing were invented in a rather *ad hoc* way, as practical attempts to think about and act upon specific problems in particular locales, and various other existing techniques and practices were merely dressed up in new clothes. But in the course of this process, a certain rationality, call it neo-liberalism, came to provide a way of linking up these various tactics, integrating them *in thought* so that they appeared to partake in a coherent logic. And once they did so, once a kind of rationality could be extracted from them, made to be translatable with them, it could be redirected towards both them and other things, which could now be thought of in the same way... And such rationalities were then embodied in, or came to infuse, a whole variety of practices and assemblages for regulating economic life, medical care, welfare benefits, professional activity and so forth... It is not that the thought of Hayek, Freidman or anyone else for that matter was realized in neo-liberalism. It is partly that government continually seeks to give itself a form of truth – establish a kind of ethical basis for its action." (Rose, 1999: 27):

So the coherence of an apparently identifiable ideology, such as *neoliberalism*, does not mean a coherence in thought and praxis. Instead, an amalgam of technical and policy frameworks

appears credible, in light of the available processes and technologies, for a time. It gives a power of truth to the quest to govern. It gives, in short, the rational justification for governance.

This becomes important because it weakens accounts of SDP that seek to illuminate the operationalisation of power in SDP by focusing on hegemonic power relations. In these accounts, which we shall see more of later in the literature review and theoretical positioning chapter, the connection between strategy (and ideology) and tactic (the planning of tactics for incorporating individuals) have a semblance of coherence. But if we re-introduce Rose's understanding of governmentality, any synchronicity becomes tenuous, at best. What we come to understand is that we have not really understood the operationalisation of power in SDP at all. If we are to do this, we need to see it in action.

In summary, I mean rationalities here to connote the connecting forces between macro and micro levels, providing the logical justifications for why something or something else would be done, or not done. Although a rationality represents a form of knowledge production that makes claims to objectively verifiable coherence between elements of knowledge, these do not necessarily need to *be* 'rational' in order to retain that coherence. A social problem that 'needs' to be fixed, in this way, does not necessarily need to pre-date the mechanisms meant to fix it. However counterintuitive, it is the demonstration of this fact in the example of the rationalities in governmental practice on the subject of *madness* in the 17th and 18th century (Foucault, 2008: 3-4) that makes Foucault a behemoth in the worlds of social science and philosophy.

Microtechniques

These techniques are specifically geared towards examining and evaluating, not just human beings, but the qualities of what they produce. They are important because they embolden governmental power by being the collection points for data; data which forms the logical basis for claims to objectivity. Their origins go back to the 18th Century, in 'disciplinary institutions'; to the administration of the governed spaces of hospitals, prisons and schools (Fraser, 1981: 276).

"Foucault claims that the modern power/knowledge regime was not imposed from the top down, but developed only gradually in local, piecemeal fashion largely in what he calls "disciplinary institutions" beginning in the late 18th century. A variety of "micro-techniques" were perfected by obscure doctors, wardens, and schoolmasters in obscure hospitals, prisons, and schools, far removed from the great power centers of the *ancien regime*. Only later were these techniques and practices taken up and integrated into what Foucault calls "global or macrostrategies of domination" (Fraser, 1981: 276)

The analytical requirement from Foucault, for research such as my own then, is clear:

“One must rather conduct an ascending analysis of power, starting, that is, from its infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics, and then see how these mechanisms of power have been - and continue to be - invested, colonised, utilised, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended etc., by ever more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination. ... above all, what must be shown is the manner in which they are invested and annexed by more global phenomena and the subtle fashion in which more general powers or economic interests are able to engage with these technologies that are at once both relatively autonomous of power and act as its infinitesimal elements.”
(Foucault, 1980c: 99)

The tendrils of governmentality are in the micro-controls or apparatuses we find in social life. These techniques are part of wider technologies of governmentality. So, for example, an attendance register, an online platform for recording academic performance, and a school workbook are all techniques within the technology of governmentality in institutional education, which is administrated similarly across the globe. They are tools for codifying and understanding behaviour, representing it as rational: this person achieved a certain % in his/her maths exam, which compares favourably with pupils of the same age, in the UK, in China, for example.

In summary, microtechniques refer in this thesis to procedures, practices, and techniques which attempt to gather information about SDP participants, programmes and interventions. They are the principal concern because these are elements of SDP practice that have been ignored by scholarship to date. By examining the interactions and interconnections between actors, we begin to understand the architecture of power at work in SDP. This is a discussion that this thesis addresses in detail in chapter 3.

Corporate Social Responsibility and Global Corporate Social Engagement

These dynamic forces in which change to *practice* takes place are the fulcrum of power in SDP. But they are not circulating as distinct from global forces, and so we must pay close attention to other factors in the political-economic sphere.

Corporate power is important to SDP. Certain configurations of interests, driven by coherence with needs of private capital, are represented in corporate social responsibility (CSR) (Bannerjee, 2007: 5). As a distinct field of academic research, CSR has been investigated since at least the 1950s (*ibid*). But it has now become a hot topic in SDP, both in its praxis and its

academic evaluation. The European Commission defines CSR simply as “the responsibility of enterprises for their impact on society” (EC, 2014). Rajak (2011: 1) sets out a comprehensive definition for the term in the context of *international* development (though this thesis examines CSR as it is applied in the Global North *and* the South). Interestingly, Rajak describes it as a ‘movement’, stating:

“In the past decade, transnational corporations (TNCs) have become increasingly important players on the landscape of international development, under the banner of corporate social responsibility (CSR) – a movement promising to harness the *global* reach and resources of transnational corporations in the service of *local* development and social improvement.” (Rajak, 2011: 1)

The ambiguity around CSR is concurrent with the diversity in which it is practised. In some cases, a company will give money to local charities, or integrate some employee volunteering. At the other extreme, CSR becomes the centrifugal force in company design, where being ‘socially responsible’ is a decisive factor woven into every aspect of the company’s existence: supply chains, recruitment, employment, sales, impact on environment, as well as the contribution of funds to charitable causes. This type of CSR engagement strategy is one which Ponte *et al* (2009: 302-3) have called ‘proximate’ and ‘engaged’. Some are far more generous and give CSR a narrower definition that, from the proponent angle, is the investment of companies into communities for social impact (for example, see Levermore, 2010; Cregan, 2008), in a form of funding occasionally dubbed corporate social investment (CSI).

Hayhurst, though, has proposed a different way to look at CSR (2011). In her view, CSR is one component in a number of interventions from private capital interests which she encapsulates under global corporate social engagement (GCSE). This catch-all takes account of the numerous means by which a company can engage in ‘socially-minded’ corporate activity. Her definition seems to neglect somewhat the nature of socially responsible engagement of corporate workforces in SDP activities, but segments different types of CSR project under GCSE and this I commit here to predominantly use, alongside both CSR and GCSE combined, as the definitional concepts, except where other authors use CSR instead and refer to that alone.

In summary, for the purposes of this thesis, the terms GCSE and or CSR refer to the investment of time, resources, and funding by corporate private sector entities into SDP.

The Research Context

Briefly here, I give justifications for my research and its new contribution to knowledge. I fully evaluate the state of the literature on SDP and how this relates to issues of power in the next chapter.

As mentioned above, the Sport for Development and Peace Sector (SDP) has created a catalyst for a growing body of research, especially as the sector is increasingly codified by norms, values and international agreements. This has given rise to work that seeks to typify and understand the nature and behaviour of actors within it. Questions of power have come to the fore, especially over the last five years. Hayhurst (2011), in an urgent critique of the infiltration of forces into SDP, argues for the understanding of global corporate social engagement as a *technology of governmentality* in SDP. The article sketches the broad outlines of how corporate doctrine could be affecting the discourse of SDP by the co-option of practice into corporate notions of how to get things done. An example is given of a Northern-based MNC which invests in CSR programmes for Sport Gender and Development (SGD), and reads the practice through a post-colonial feminist theoretical framework. Hayhurst begins to straddle the boundary between macro and micro level critiques in this way, indicating a possible place where the political in SDP originates. But the article does not – in the way that Rose (1999; 2000; 2007) and Rose & Miller (2010) have done in an assortment of policy domains – explicate the exact micro-level practices that are inculcated and transformed in the technology of power that Hayhurst highlights (2011). In this way, we are starved of the fullest comprehension of how power is operationalised in the day-to-day, and we fail to render transparent those opaque processes (Fairclough, 1992: 10) in which participants are inculcated.

This thesis brings novelty to the knowledge on SDP by segueing a critical analysis of the function of power in the everyday of SDP, into this debate. I enable such an examination by positioning my thesis as a post-structural examination of the SDP sector, deploying Foucauldian perspectives of *governmentality* (Rose, 1999). Post-structural examinations should, as a prerequisite, understand power by using practice which seeks to weaken and if possible, dismantle, empirico-rational positions which fix meaning by means of power (Derian, 1990: 296).

What is novel about this research, and what are the omissions addressed by it? First, I acknowledge that there have been major contributions to understanding SDP and global corporate social engagement in recent years, foremost from Darnell (2012a) and Hayhurst (2011). But no analysis of exact contents of the technology of governmentality that CSR and GCSE represent has been conducted. An anatomical analysis of examples of specific components when exposed, gives a more authentic and richer understanding of the operation of power in SDP.

The second concerns the apparatuses designed by SDP in its administration, specifically on M&E. Data gathered from research respondents, and from the various documents analysed, indicates that M&E is relatively new in the method by which it is practised presently. The deficiencies in M&E highlighted by Coalter (2007; 2010), are now systematically being addressed by the dissemination of best practice and guidance (Aqumen *et al*, 2014). The pace of institutionalisation of microtechniques of M&E within SDP NGOs is impressive. Consortia of corporate partners (Aqumen *et al*, 2014; Laureus Sport for Good Foundation & Ecorys, 2015; Prescott & Phelan, 2008) and intergovernmental/multilateral organisations (Dudfield, 2014; PEPFAR, 2007; World Bank, 2004) have advocated for significant resources to be expended by SDP to conform to the new agenda. These microtechniques which diffuse further in the network of actors in SDP, demand to be examined by critical scholarly analysis, and this is the task I undertake in this thesis, significantly enhancing the situation of critical work on SDP in so doing.

Researcher Positionality

As I have already stated, I work in SDP. However, it is not *my* organisation that I researched. Instead, I focused on the wider sector and drew from that space between 2010 and 2016. Whilst insider research is research that is considered ‘ethnographic’ – in the sense that the researcher is wholly absorbed within the research subject and is studying its everyday life and practice (Hoey, 2013), mine does not hold true to the requirements of either ethnographic research or writing. Whilst detachment may be sacrificed, the “depth of data is a valuable compensation” (Adler & Adler, 1987: 81, in Cownie, 2004: 25). Adler & Adler make the case strongly for this risk:

“We believe that the native experience does not destroy but, rather, enhances the data-gathering process. Data gathering does not occur only through the detached observational role, but through the subjectively immersed role as well.” (1987: 84)

In a similar fashion to some ethnographies, data collection in my study involved capturing the day-to-day of participants’ lives (Brewer, 2000: 10). In some ways, I used a scavenger method which defies coherence with one or other methodological disciplines (Halberstram, 1998: 13; cited in Waite, 2015: 51) and one in which an ‘outsider’ exists as an accepted ‘insider’ (see Venkatesh, 2008). Scavenger methodology draws influence from a variety of sources. For example, I used a qualitative interpretivist research method within critical discourse analysis (CDA) of interviews with real people, departing from more commonplace tendency in CDA to interrogate texts. This is entirely justified in scavenger methodology, especially in that which critically tries to shake the foundations of the everyday and the accepted. As my research

focused on the seemingly mundane administration of SDP, I witnessed the commonplace and attempted to disrupt it as something that should just be accepted; a practice I engaged in throughout my research.

The Argument

Corporate power in SDP means money, and the flow of money creates a temptation to follow it in order to understand the dynamics of power in SDP. I argue that flows of capital are a strategic means, and not an end. Using flows of funding to denote the functioning of power in SDP has limited explanatory potential of the ways in which it is expressed and the consequences of this for the actors in SDP. As Foucault argued, political economy dominates the epistemology of the governmental moment - constituting the major form of knowledge production in the postmodern world - but is not its *raison d'être* (2009: 108-9). Capital and its flow through the system of SDP rests upon the inter-exchange of ideas throughout widely arrayed systems and my analysis of data gathered during the course of my research verifies this.

No one has ever anatomised the day-to-day practices and administration of SDP in the way that I have. Doing so is a lens to larger societal problematics - for example the capture of 'Big Data' in society, where online consumer behaviour is codified into banks of data about habits of populations - therefore containing potential for the unsettling, beyond the project excavated, of wider forces in society. My overall argument that makes a unique contribution to the study of SDP is the following: we need to understand the project of the power dynamics that form the governmental rationalities of SDP as a terrain of struggle, specifically and most importantly, over *how social reality is being recorded*.

I make four novel arguments, which constitute this unique contribution to knowledge, during the course of this thesis. They are as follows:

Firstly, despite critical work on SDP noting the constructs of GCSE and CSR as particularly important functions of corporate power in SDP- work which identifies the deployment of CSR/GCSE as technologies of governmentality in SDP (Hayhurst, 2011) - analyses have overemphasised the 'top-down'. They fail to anatomise the constituent parts of the technologies of governmentality that they identify. My research indicates that relations between SDP and CSR must be understood in light of two specific, empirically observable *alignments* in discourse that are taking place: that corporations align themselves as socially responsible and that SDP NGOs align themselves as professional and 'corporatized'. The latter of these alignments requires a logical basis: a comprehensible and standardised range of rationalities upon which to base the claims to connections with other superficially distinct realms or actors. Therefore, a project to understand technologies of governmentality as

alignments in discourse must be delivered by exploring the minutiae of the logical bases that I have highlighted as the enabling force of governmentality. This task I undertake by exploring the day-to-day of SDP and the means by which SDP organisations and practitioners gather logical and 'objective' data about their participants and their programmes. These microtechniques of SDP can be explored in systematised M&E in SDP.

The novelty and importance of these are twofold: (1) highlighting global forces is necessary in understanding how SDP is vulnerable to them, although we cannot critique the connections between superficially different forms of actors without understanding them. Furthermore (2) the project of true critical theory must be to show connections to formations that transcend the subject matter itself: it must be multidimensional and multifunctional, speaking to wider changes in the world and in history. My research enables this, focusing on the use of data in SDP and drawing parallels with concerns about data and information security in social life, for example 'Big Data' and corporate power. In so doing I demonstrate how focused studies on the 'every day' can ultimately speak of change in knowledge in the wider world; a necessary prerequisite of any project to emancipate.

Secondly, I argue, the technologies of Governmentality that Hayhurst (2011) describes have not been elucidated fully. In order to comprehend a technology of governmentality, we must understand what it is that it *contains* that gives it governmental power. In this regard, I argue throughout the thesis, but specifically in detail in chapter 6, that the microtechniques of M&E in SDP are the practices that enable the technology of governmentality through logical bases of data about the performance of programmes. No one has critically anatomised the microtechniques of SDP M&E and shown how they operate, or indeed, ever referred to them as 'microtechniques'. It follows, therefore, that the constituent parts of the technology of governmentality that GCSE/CSR represents in SDP have been neglected. I remedy this in the pages that follow.

The third argument concerns 'change' in SDP participants. By viewing SDP M&E through the lens of governmentality, we can perceive what all this data is *for*; what it is that must be evidenced: *change*. Specifically and most often, in the case of SDP projects, data is gathered in the pursuit of 'behaviour' or 'situational' change. Change is what systematised M&E is attempting to detect, forming the governmental power in SDP and the project of the microtechniques meant to detect it. This is the fulcrum of the logical bases I describe in chapter 5, and thus the rationale for the alignments between different forms of actor. Interventions such as SDP are designed to convert undesirable qualities in society into more productive ones. I demonstrate how this conversion from abjection in one or a collection of moments can be read critically, specifically focusing on the *monitoring* and *evaluation* (M&E) of these moments of change. Here the undesirable becomes desirable, or valuable. Qualities that are deemed

crucial in a successful population are juxtaposed with the abject and categorised as in need of further remedial interventions. In a novel contribution to the field of SDP, I demonstrate – by detailing the architecture of M&E in SDP - that the power of this moment is not, ontologically speaking, in the moment itself. It holds no particular value prior to that which it is given in the M&E process. The power, rather, is epistemologically in the ‘recording’ of the moment of change, in the rendering of that moment as knowable in a system of similarly knowable and comprehensible moments. It is, in short, a unique contribution to knowledge on the subject of SDP, in that I am the first to show that SDP M&E is essentially a project configured to answering the question of how social reality is recorded.

This is important for two reasons. (1) My research is the first to unsettle the notion of ‘social’ or ‘behaviour change’ in SDP as a desirable quality of programming, instead reframing it as the incorporation of participant experience into systems of surveillance and control which subordinate individuals and communities. We must, as scholars of SDP, understand this in order to unsettle the confines in which participants find themselves. Secondly (2), we cannot answer the call of CDA to make transparent those opaque processes without weakening the most fundamental constructs and projects in SDP.

The final argument I make is that systematised M&E as a microtechnique in SDP pursuant of ‘change’ is reliant upon the spatial and temporal qualities it is given by SDP practitioners, empowered by microtechniques of M&E, in order to allocate changes in participants. Unsettling *time* and *space* as constructs weakens the opaque processes of the governmental rationalities at play in SDP. Time and space are used in the following ways in SDP M&E: firstly, space and time are tightly defined in SDP interventions which attempt to attribute ‘change’ to programmes, but given indeterminate timeframes when considering the changes within SDP organisations themselves; secondly, tightly defined temporal and spatial boundaries are drawn around SDP interventions and change is attributed to programmes within those boundaries, irrespective of the range of human experience over a variety of quantities of time that led to that change; thirdly, this speaks of a ‘speed-up’ of time to a single moment in which a change happens, e.g. this is when X got Y job – or when X became aware of Y knowledge to protect his or her self. Abstracting from given time periods – the selectivity of time references – gives statistical evidence in SDP programmes their power. Data collected by programmes, delimited by given timeframes, and collated as demonstrably homogenous, circumvents the kaleidoscope of experience which leads to a given outcome; experience which extends far beyond the intervening SDP programme itself. Human experience that dissipates over time and space variably, and far beyond the 2 hours a week on a football field and 1 hour a week in a classroom (for example), leads, not fatalistically but contingently, to a given outcome at a given time. In short, the pace of change in people’s lives is equalised in terms of speed by the M&E process,

to the same chronological quantity: 152 people in the intervention converted from unemployed to employed, for example.

This is important for three reasons. (1) The measurement of changes against time is both hitherto unrecognised, and the fundamental project in M&E of all social interventions; it is the central question SDP programmes intervening in the lives of participants must be measured against. But to make such measurements, the enquirer must subject the perceived changes in SDP participants to objective and comparable – that is to say *rationally observable* – locations of subject positions in space and time. Therefore, a critical investigation into the day-today of SDP must account for this. Furthermore (2), as the first study of its kind to do this, I open the possibility for social sciences of sport to investigate other forms of social and political programmes in the same way, by examining configurations of time and space in social interventions. Lastly (3), how we frame experience in ‘time’ and ‘space’ – how we delimit it – actually delimits and contradicts the aims of SDP itself: life chances. If life chances themselves are a project of SDP or indeed a wider social movement for justice, then this becomes a crucial point of concern for the recreation of social reality.

Research Justification

The first overarching research justification concerns the connection of different levels of action and the inability of scholarly work in SDP to thus far empirically justify such connections adequately. Connecting, as I have, macro forces with empirical instances of micro level practice, enables the study of SDP to be considered a project within both International Relations and Development Studies, transcending the rather niche Sociology of Sport.

Where to find power within SDP in action forms the second point on why this research question is important. The vast array of tactics and techniques that incorporate subjects into systems of power by measuring, recording and governing their conduct, are observable and recordable themselves. It must be an important academic endeavour: to comprehend at the micro-level the varied attempts to govern conduct. Online platforms, surveys, self-reporting, spreadsheets, attribution, best-practice guidelines, behaviour change, though mundane, carry a particular power of persuasion in SDP. Understanding their function, to detail and to categorise them, must certainly be a useful contribution to knowledge.

Lastly, one of the fundamental pillars of true critical discourse analysis as set forth by Fairclough (1992:10), is the ability to make transparent those opaque processes that ensnare participants. In so doing, the possibilities for social justice and change remain open. This is a mission that few (myself included) hold much hope for, yet it may be aided by a multitude of

nanced enquiries into power relations. These three points justify the importance of the research question.

The Structure of the Thesis

I now preview each of the forthcoming chapters to brief the reader as to what to expect, and to justify each section and its contribution to the arguments I detailed above.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

This first chapter evaluates the existing academic literature as it relates to SDP and CSR. Interrogating the nexus of power relations in SDP necessitates an anterior discussion of how critical accounts in the literature – works that question the power relations within the sector, highlighting subordinated and subjugated experiences - have thus far ultimately failed. Chapter 3 focuses on theoretical perspectives that have been used in the rest of the current study. When taken together, these two chapters provide both the justifications for my claims to omissions in the wider corpus and the historical and theoretical foundations for the empirical chapters that begin in chapter 5.

Within this literature review, I take as a starting point the corpus of scholarly SDP work. I first sketch the history and rationale for the idea of sport as a ‘good thing’, and the interrelationship between the ‘political’ and the ‘cultural’ (sport in this case). This leads to a section in which I place the works on SDP into 4 ‘camps’, or trends which I have identified. I discuss GCSE and CSR, and the particular relationship between these and SDP. I furthermore introduce broad outlines of the type of actors in SDP that the research is concerned with.

By the end of the chapter, I have identified lacunae in critical accounts of SDP, omissions which I make the case for addressing using the theoretical perspectives on power in the next (third) chapter.

Chapter 3 – Understanding Power in SDP

Theory is the implicit lens in all intellectual engagement in subject-subject and subject-object relations. Academic work however, must make explicit the theoretical lens deployed and justify it. This is the task I undertake in the third chapter.

I justify the contribution of the theoretical perspectives I use in addressing the omissions in the SDP literature identified in the previous chapter, and in the making of four arguments based

upon my empirical research. The first of these disentangles critical studies of SDP and CSR/GCSE from 'top-down' conclusions, emphasising instead alignments in discourse and the logical basis of such alignments. Expanding on Hayhurst's (2011) critique, I argue it is to these microtechniques that scholars should turn, in order to understand the primary constituents of the technology of governmentality in SDP that CSR/GCSE represents. The third argument concerns that which the microtechniques of SDP attempt to capture: *change*. The last argument puts forward a new understanding of systematised M&E as reliant upon adjustable constructions of meanings of *time* and *space*.

I demonstrate here the value of a governmentality perspective on the content of M&E: strategies, techniques, apparatuses, and discourses of how SDP is *done* in order to demonstrate the "contestation, operationalization and transformation of more or less rationalized schemes..." (Rose, 1999: 20) and how these constitute the technologies of governmentality that Hayhurst (2011) accurately identified as so pernicious. This analysis offers a genuinely disruptive intervention to SPD in the field, and offers new critical standpoints in the corpus of scholarly work.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

This chapter reflects on the methodologies employed in this study, and their utility in the study of SDP. The central methodological problematic – the critical analysis of the selection of technical and theoretical methods and their application to the subject field - is dealt with here and a case made for an *interpretivist* and *qualitative* methodology using elements of *insider research* and, finally, treating data using *critical discourse analysis* (CDA).

This chapter outlines the project and research methodology, and sets out the phases of research, before discussing the ethical implications of the research study. Finally the chapter reconnects with the theory discussed in the previous chapter, before the sites of research practice are listed.

Chapter 5 – Alignments in the constellation of actors in SDP

The argument of this chapter is that the categorisation of GCSE and CSR as technologies of governmentality in SDP (Hayhurst, 2011) omits the content of such technologies, and overemphasises the 'top-down' (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012: 92-94). My research indicates that SDP and CSR relations must be understood in the context of two specific alignments in discourse: that the corporate aligns itself as socially responsible and that the SDP NGO aligns itself as professional and 'corporatized'. I later introduce the claim that the latter of these

alignments requires a logical basis: a comprehensible and standardised range of *rationalities* upon which to base the claims to connections with other distinct realms or actors. This project of understanding technologies of governmentality, as made possible by alignments in discourse, must be delivered by exploring the minutiae of SDP M&E that builds these logical bases.

Chapter 6 - Microtechniques

In chapter 6, I turn my attention to the processes of entry of participating subjects into the world of SDP, in order to better understand the specific ways in which these rationalities seek to codify, analyse and organise data about a kaleidoscopic range of human actions in a coherent way. I uncover how the *recording* of local experience is practically institutionalised into the rational justifications for SDP. In opening an aperture upon the microtechniques that are deployed by actors engaged in SDP, their concrete ramifications for participants of the series of practices and constructions begin to be revealed and, in turn, I reveal the dynamics of power and that form the governmental rationalities in this context.

In numerous examples of 'quality standards', marketing materials and academic research, the passages sketch out how existing practices lean towards an incorporation of subjects into governmental dynamics of power via the use of microtechniques. In a novel departure for scholarly work on SDP, I demonstrate how these microtechniques are deployed as part of the design of organisational procedures for the M&E of programmes. In turn, they enable the discursive prioritising of *rational* systems within the SDP sector; in other words, they provide the logical bases of rational claims to consistency between efforts by various actors, and the coherency of thought and action, from the global to the local level that I described in the fifth chapter.

Chapter 7 – The administration of Time and Space in the Microtechniques of SDP

In chapter 7, I explore the use of 'time' and 'space' as concepts in the M&E of SDP, and argue that the abstraction from given time periods gives the statistical evidence in SDP programmes their power. In this final empirical chapter, I make a unique contribution to knowledge in arguing that systematised M&E as a microtechnique in SDP is foundationally reliant upon the spatial and temporal qualities it is given by SDP practitioners in order to allocate changes in participants. Unsettling the constructs of time and space is the fundamental issue we must grapple with which will finally enable us to piece together the power dynamics of the governmental rationality at work in SDP.

Time and space are fixed in moments in SDP interventions, but yet given indeterminate timeframes when changes within SDP organisations themselves are considered. This contradiction stands alongside another: that the gatherers of data – SDP practitioners and their microtechniques – can disrupt the meaning of time and space, but SDP participants, whose experience is being captured in the form of data, cannot. Contesting time and space in SDP is new.

The chapter begins by unsettling the concepts of ‘time’ and ‘space’ implicit in the respondents’ view of SDP. This, firstly, concerns the fluid meaning of time in SDP. Secondly, I examine the relationship between time, space, and ‘change’ in the participants in SDP programmes – and the perceived changes that participants in SPD programmes make in their lives. This two-part preliminary discussion enables me to deploy expanded and enriched theoretical categories of time and space to the empirical research, in a four-part Critical Discourse Analysis of SDP. The first of the four connects my findings with a wider global tendency towards ‘Big Data’; the second traces historical rational knowledges of M&E and indicates how social reality has been *recorded*; the third concerns the interdiscursivity of governmental rationalities in SDP with that of market forces and the elite sporting spectacle. I finally argue that newly-expanded understandings of time and space significantly and uniquely disrupt claims to objectivity in SDP M&E processes and, in so doing, open realms for further critical research and potentially social justice.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

The final chapter brings together all the arguments made and summarises the justifications for each, based upon the evidence I present in the passages that fill chapters 2 to 7. I summarise and re-justify my claims to novelty and the unique contributions to knowledge I have made. In addition, I bring together each of the conclusions of CDA for the three empirical chapters (5-7), summarising the multidimensional, multifunctional, interdiscursive and critical points to which my study of the microtechniques of SDP raises.

I conclude by suggesting further avenues for critical enquiry and additional questions that my research prompts.

Conclusion

This introduction has set the scene for the research that follows by defining key concepts within the title, focusing on ‘SDP’, ‘power’, ‘governmentality’, and ‘rationalities’, whilst additionally defining global corporate social engagement and corporate social responsibility,

and microtechniques. I used these definitions as an opportunity to set research parameters within my analysis. I set out the research question and the subset of research objectives. I then turned to the context for the research and my positionality within it, stating some key facts that the reader should take forward into the rest of the thesis. Namely, that I am an employee within the sector, though I do not study the organisation I am working for.

I then summarised my contribution to knowledge. I highlighted four unique and novel arguments that I make based upon my assessment of the omissions in academic work of SDP to date. Finally, I summarised the coming chapters and how they justified the arguments I have previewed. Without further delay, I now embark on the first stage of the thesis proper: the evaluation of literature on SDP, and crucially, the glaring omissions from within it.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Introduction: The SDP sector

This literature review discusses and evaluates the existing academic literature as it relates to Sport for Development & Peace (SDP) and corporate social responsibility (CSR). The next chapter (3) focuses on theoretical perspectives that have been used in the rest of the current study. When taken together, these two chapters provide the historical and theoretical foundations for the empirical chapters that begin in Chapter 5.

Interrogating the nexus of power dynamics in SDP necessitates an anterior discussion, later in this literature review, of how accounts which question power relations, highlighting subordinated and subjugated experiences have thus far ultimately failed. In this context, a review of the academic literature on SDP involves an elucidation of how power has been examined, and elided, in the context of SDP to date. I contend, as stated in the Introduction, that there are larger transnational and multi-sectoral forces at work, and that this necessitates that the search for power must be *beyond* SDP itself. I introduce this idea by beginning to examine in more detail the terrain of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and global corporate social engagement (GCSE), as these fields have been indicated by other critical scholars of SDP to be an important location of power (Hayhurst, 2011). I highlight this contention throughout this thesis as I make connections in discourse and practice between global forces of private interests and the microtechniques of monitoring & evaluation (M&E) in SDP (Chapters 5 to 7); a novel contribution to the field, I argue. I make this step in the progression towards the rendering of opaque processes as transparent, where they incorporate individuals and communities into logical systems of order (Fairclough, 1992: 10). This foundational work I present on the broad trends in scholarly work on SDP and CSR then enables the practical examination of the minutiae of SDP later, clarifying aspects that could and should be more readily understandable.

Within this literature review, I begin by focusing on the wider corpus of scholarly SDP work, sketching first the history and rationale for the idea of sport as a 'good thing', and the interrelationship between politics and culture (sport in this case). This leads to a section in which I locate the works on SDP in 4 'camps', or trends, which I have identified within the literature. I then move on to discussions of M&E, and of GCSE and CSR's relationship with SDP and the relationship's treatment in academic literature. I furthermore introduce broad outlines of the type of actors in SDP that the research is concerned with.

A Brief Review of Sport and politics, pre-SDP

I do not intend to detail the corpus of sport and politics, and sport for good in any depth. However it would be wise to acknowledge some of the history and literature as it pertains to sport, politics and social change.

The study of sport as a specific formation of social practice is not new (Bairner 2001: 2-3; Barthes, 2007: 2-5). Sport's social utility in antiquity is often cited, for example the Olympic Games' role in Greek society 2,700 years ago. Participation in sport was aspirational, as it was an opportunity to display one's strengths. Only pure-blood Greeks were allowed to participate in the games of 776BCE, placing the athletes as unmatched physically and ethnically (Crowther, 2007: 46-48). The attainment of status then – of the participation in sport as indicative of certain standing, origin – has always given it a mythical quality interpreted as 'good', but certainly more in the sense of the qualities necessary to participate.

By-products of Olympism became positive for society also. The Olympic Truce, designed to eliminate dangers for the competitors and spectators that attended the games, signalled three months of calm every four years in relatively tumultuous times (*ibid*). This highly *political* use of sport is perhaps the first historically recorded moment in which an event is given explicit political significance.

Others have written of modern Europe, and the English civic ideology and 'muscular Christianity' that was espoused from the 1840s onwards under Victorian doctrinal codes of how one should live one's life (Clarke, 1993). Here sport is imbued with behavioural qualities. 'Rational recreation' interventions in social mobility in the late nineteenth century saw further examples of sport valorised with social goals (Kidd, 2008: 371). Later still the liberal internationalist ideology in the modern Olympiad under the stewardship of de Coubertin in 1896 represents the general tendency towards idealist principles, jostling for space with actors, in the international system of nation-states of the time. The Christmas day truce in 1914 - where German and British soldiers broke their lines from the trenches to play football - is often cited as an example of sport bringing opposing sides together. Nelson Mandela's skilful statesmanship much later in the century could be characterised as strategic capitalisation, in using the 1995 men's Rugby Union World Cup in attempts at national reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa – placing the Rugby World Cup as a central axis around which desired social transformations were hinged.

Sport, in these historical examples, carries something beyond sport itself, intentionally or otherwise. As time passed sport was re-valorised with potential to agitate, and restore or reinvent social justice. Hence, the identification of, and importance given to, the appearance of sport in the lives of revolutionaries and leftists such as Lenin, Castro, Albert Camus, and Che

Guevara, through to seemingly revolutionary acts from the 1960s onwards, in the world's most high profile sporting events. Billie Jean King beating Bobby Riggs in 1973 (and its subsequent consequences for 20th century feminism), Tommie Smith's and John Carlos's Black Power salute at the 1968 Olympics (for revolutionary civil rights in the USA), and Andy Flower and Henry Olonga's black armbands to protest at the 'death of democracy' in Zimbabwe in an international cricket match in 2003.

The origins of some football clubs are perhaps even more closely related, though lesser known, to the contemporary blend of the political, social and sporting that we see in SDP. Liverpool and Everton Football Clubs, both beginning their lives at Anfield in 1888, were created in the belief that young men could "better be kept on the path of religious wellbeing through a healthy passion for competitive team games" (Liverpool FC, 2016). Celtic FC in Glasgow was founded by Brother Walfrid of the Catholic church of St. Mary's in 1887, with the explicit purpose of raising funds for the poor of Glasgow's East End (Celtic FC, 2016).

However, in the contemporary form of politics of the state, it is undeniable that the development of sport has been constructed as a social end in and of itself. For decades now, the modern liberal state has tended to invest in sport from public funds for a number of reasons, and each relies upon a construction of the idea of sport as good. The UK offers an example of this. Since the Wolfenden Report's (1960) initiation of what have now come to be known as 'sport for all' policies, a bifurcation in sport policy in the UK has taken place. This has led to an upscaling of effort towards "the promotion of the 'active citizen' via social investment strategies", and a sharp focus on hard-nosed zero-compromise medal chasing and elite achievement (Green, 2006: 219). That these efforts to embed sporting practice and culture in social life in the 1960s and 70s - efforts which superficially 'empower' local communities - in what was in fact a form of social control, is a matter for much debate over the last 15 years (Green, 2006:219-20; Houlihan & White, 2002: 12-14). The UK Government invests in grassroots participation in sport through the agency 'Sport England', which channels funds to National Governing Bodies (NGBs), to increase participation in their respective sports. It does this, it states, to create "sporting habits for life". In this logical construction, the more people that play sport, the better for society (Sport England, 2014). Governments - in the UK at least in part spurred by national lottery funds (Green, 2006: 226) - see investments in elite performance as having both global potential and grassroots political support (Green, 2006: 219-20). Across the globe, the upper echelons of performance have been used to galvanise populations, bringing together nations and recreating history. But yet there are also more recent justifications on the grounds of the potential impact of the 'legacy' of mega-events such as the modern Olympic Games (Girginov & Hills, 2008; Gratton & Preuss, 2008). Thus, governments expend enormous sums on hosting the biggest tournaments and competitions;

the Brazilian men's football World Cup in 2014 was the most expensive ever, costing around US\$14 billion (Gaffney, 2014).

Sport then, is not witnessing its first offshoot to 'do good' in the recent example of SDP. However SDP has for some time now been studied and academically accounted for as a particular set of procedures with historically unique qualities (see below). It is a predesigned template for action in populations that 'need' it, with a very broad applicability. We find SDP now from the estates of inner city London to the rural hinterlands of Cambodia.

Isolating the research topic: The contemporary world of SDP

While a broad historical framework for examining the use of sport to effect social change would require examination of a huge range of historical moments of social change, this thesis argues that the particularity of the local and contemporaneous itself has explanatory power, and thus warrants demarcated study of the explicit and implicit utilisation of the playing of sport as a platform to create related social changes in the conditions and behaviour of participants in programmes. The contemporary manifestation of SDP needs to be isolated. That does not mean we should abandon investigations into how distinct fields discursively and practically connect to wider forms of sport, history and socioeconomic development; academic work simply must, for the sake of explanatory precision, demarcate the realm of enquiry into which it probes. Only then can we show interconnections with other discursive formations. As such, in this thesis the focus of the enquiry is firmly upon a category of interventions, tactics, techniques and strategies for the utilisation of sport and sporting practice as a means to change behaviour and society. It is considered by some to be a form of 'development' (as in International Development) and this is probably as good as any place to start. Though, as stated in the Introduction, the subject of this thesis combines material from the traditional 'international development' sector, and the domestic social interventions within Northern economies; an amalgamation not without precedent (see for example Kidd, 2008: 370). Chapter five reviews empirically the constellation of actors 'in' SDP, highlighting connections to even wider realms.

The contemporary manifestation came to form sometime in the 1990s. At a Commonwealth Heads of State meeting in 1997, one agenda item concerned sport and its use for social change. Sport's value for other development objectives were debated. But what those objectives were or could be, were seen very differently. For example, the UK delegation saw it as a possible means of regenerating deprived areas; Cuba saw it as a potential vehicle for revolutionary ideals, whereas the Canadians saw it as a possible avenue to reinvigorate their foreign aid

investments¹. By the time the next Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting had come around two years later, SDP organisations using either of Coalter’s types – “Sport plus” or “Plus sport” (2009: 2) - discussed below, such as the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA), had already been in operation for many years (since 1987 in fact). By the time the UN had appointed its first special advisor on SDP in 2001, and the first international conference on the subject had taken place two years later, many other SDP organisations had sprung to life, emboldened by greater recognition of their work in national legislation towards the latter part of the first decade of the twenty first century (Beutler, 2008: 360-369). There are differences on this version of events: Kidd for example, highlights the beginning of ‘Olympic Aid’ in the mid-1990s (an organisation that later became Right to Play) (2008: 372) but the idea that the Commonwealth, the Canadians and the Norwegians, enabled by the activism of Olympic athletes, were central is currently generally accepted (*ibid*).

What is it that gives SDP its distinctive qualities? SDP emerges as a sector populated by actors that develop procedures and tactics within it. It is subjectively understood as a discursive construction of sport and social policy by those actors (both in the case of international development and where referred to as ‘domestic’). SDP, as it is referred to generally, and as it is defined in this thesis, thus refers to a constellation of actors that work individually and in partnership to create the conditions for some form of social, behavioural, economic, or biological change by using sport as a lever in the interaction with supposed beneficiaries. There are a number of contesting ways to understand how exactly this functions and how to subdivide the different types of organisations that do this work (see Giulianotti, 2010; Levermore, 2008) and these feature later in this thesis.

So, what do these organisations do? All of the SDP organisations that I discuss here are involved in the use of sport to do something more than sport itself. For example, an organisation could use football as a means to bring people together to talk about sexual health, and as an educational tool for imparting knowledge that can then be used to make decisions in life. In a similar way, an organisation could use basketball to bring people from two seemingly opposing factions together (as some organisations do in Israel with Palestinian communities). In 2008, there were 166 organisations listed on the International Platform for Sport & Development (Kidd, 2008: 370). By 2016, this had risen to 666 (sportanddev.org, 2016).

SDP characterises itself specifically by a distinction from ‘Sports Development’ – that is, the development of sport in order to increase participation in it generally or specifically, or to increase performance in a given sport. The following is an example of how a typical² SDP NGO

¹ This assertion is based upon discussion with people who were present; discussion which have not been included in the list of interview participants below (chapter 4).

² Rather, an ideal type based upon a hybrid of experience of many different SDP NGOs during the course of this research (see fig. 2.1)

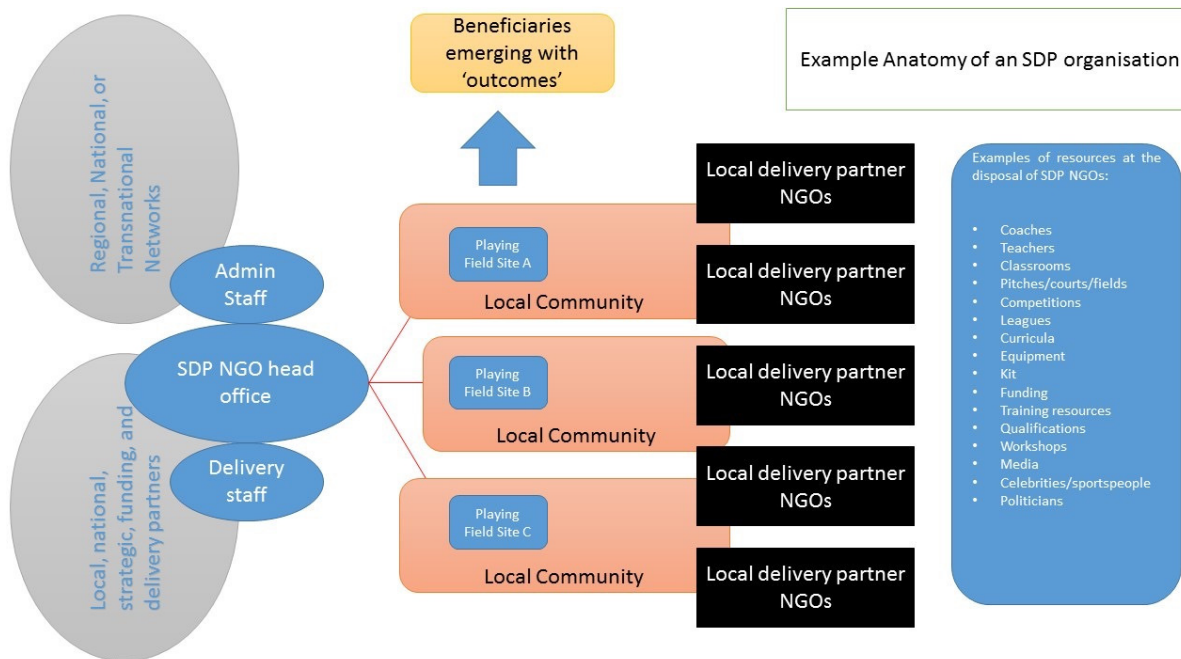
works: the majority of the organisation's staff are based in a head office somewhere, perhaps a commercial property. This head office might be located in the country in which it is working, or in the case of some international SDP NGOs, located in another state. The SDP NGO works in partnership with a number of actors who perform a variety of functions. This might range from providing funding and resources to information, training, or access to policy makers. The NGO participates in networks of other organisations, some of which may be other SDP actors and some of which may be single or multiple issue organisations, such as sexual health advisories, or collaborations of domestic abuse organisations for example. These can work locally, nationally, and transnationally, and indeed some organisations will network within multiple spatial realms simultaneously.

Many SDP NGOs have their workforces broadly split into management and administration functions, and delivery and operational functions. The former are likely to find themselves, more often, in meetings, or completing clerical tasks, whilst the latter are likely to be more 'on the ground', delivering activities, which are often but not exclusively sport-based. The most 'effective' of these are often considered to be those activities that take place within the communities they are meant to serve. Playing sites for sport may be complemented by classroom or workshop facilities at certain locales of strategic importance to beneficiaries. But crucially, the SDP NGO is unlikely to be the only organisation serving this set of individuals. In some cases, local communities are served by a number of NGOs, some of whom work in partnership with others, and some who see less need to do so. In each case, partnerships may come from public, private and not-for-profit sectors.

The SDP NGO will deploy the resources it can, along with those of its partners, to achieve certain desirable 'outcomes' for the beneficiaries of its work. The impact of the activities on the desired outcomes being achieved is measured and collated into records which are used, eventually, to advocate for greater action on issues (such as gangs, or unemployment for example), to leverage greater resources (e.g. 'we're effective, we can prove it, so donate more money to our cause') and to verify efficacy to existing partners (e.g. 'we've done what we said we would do').

The participants that pass through such programmes then go on to live in different ways (more/less healthily, crime free, employed/unemployed), and SDP NGOs try, often unsuccessfully, to track this over time. In some cases, former participants and beneficiaries become staff members and volunteers at SDP NGOs.

Fig. 2.1 An example structure of an SDP NGO



But within this definition of SDP, there are still complications and variances. Coalter’s (2009) summary of two different types of organisational intervention ‘on the ground’ captures the essence of the attempt by SDP implementing NGOs to identify themselves. Coalter sees two forms of SDP implementation in ‘Sport Plus’ and ‘Plus Sport’:

“(i) Sport plus

In this approach, the major aim is to develop sustainable sporting organisations in order to achieve a range of objectives:

- The removal of barriers to sports participation among the general population or particular target groups.
- Training and support of leaders and coaches.
- The development of physical literacy and basic sporting skills.
- Provision of opportunities to progress and to develop sporting skills and expertise.

Such policies reflect UNESCO’s 1978 *Charter of Physical Education and Sport*, which defines sport as a fundamental right for all.” (2009: 2)

These types of SDP interventions can have impacts on health and wellbeing, and are often used in projects that attempt to increase gender equity, or knowledge of HIV/AIDS. Coalter also notes that this approach is used in developing citizenship values and general education. In a further statement of the ‘how’ of sport plus interventions, Coalter says that “these outcomes

are pursued via varying mixtures of organisational values, ethics and practices, symbolic games and more formal educational approaches” (*ibid*).

‘Plus sport’ interventions are subtly different. The organisations themselves tend to have a *raison d’être* that is not sport centric, and focus first on broader development objectives (for example clean water, stopping HIV/AIDS, hunger, or education). Sport might therefore become one possibility for achieving these objectives. Coalter differentiates them from sport plus interventions by stating:

“Although these programmes also aim to reduce barriers and increase participation, they place much more emphasis on sport as a *means to an end* – using sport’s ability to bring together large numbers of young people to achieve the aims of social and health programmes. Non-sporting outcomes (e.g. HIV/AIDS education and behaviour change) are more important than the longer-term sustainable development of sport.” (*ibid*)

In terms of how SDP is experienced at the coalface, as it were, the two definitions combined with the example SDP NGO I have sketched out (Fig. 2.1) shall suffice for now, but with the addition of three clarifications. Firstly, not all interventions fall neatly into one of these categories. For example, some organisations might be plus sport, but deliver activities that are sport plus. This is especially so where an organisation with a wider development remit merges with a sport plus organisation. Coaching for Hope, an organisation using football to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS, is one such organisation that was merged into a larger NGO that focused on sustainable livelihoods, Skillshare International, in 2008. Secondly, it is also true to say that a number of NGOs from the SDP sector would not necessarily recognise the juxtaposition of their work with wider development objectives that Coalter describes above. Indeed, a number of organisations have diversified over the years to deliver activities with broader objectives that transcend the use of sport as a vehicle. An example of this would be Kick 4 Life in Lesotho, who now have their own social enterprise – a restaurant and hotel – which funds other charitable activities. Lastly, it is important that the world of SDP is read as extending beyond the organisations that deliver these interventions – in this case SDP NGOs. Indeed, it is a consistent argument within these chapters that the actors we need to consider when discussing SDP are many: companies who fund SDP interventions via corporate social responsibility; international, regional and national federations who campaign for certain sports to be used in interventions and who resource NGOs that use those sports; professional sports clubs; governments; and international organisations, all for a variety of reasons that will be discussed in empirical chapters later in this thesis. In the meantime, Fig. 2.2 details a range of actors and their mode of engagement with what has traditionally been understood as SDP.

Although expanding and qualifying these categories and the actors that populate them renders SDP more complicated than it is understood in the literature, this thesis contends that SDP is a

terrain of practical application that can be identified as a field of enquiry. If this is accepted, then that field of enquiry can be isolated in order to understand how power relations function within it.

Reviewing Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) as an example of how an SDP organisation can be characterised is prudent as its significance in SDP has been acknowledged by writers (Willis, 2000; Coalter, 2009). MYSA is an organisation that grew from a grassroots movement to clean up the slum of Mathare in Nairobi, founded by UN advisor Bob Munro (Willis, 2000: 828-31). The concept involved coordinating football leagues and reward structures that centred on both what young players did on the pitch and their contribution to their community's environment. Therefore, for example, points for their team were won not just for winning a match, but also for doing a community clean-up of litter (MYSA, 2014). MYSA grew rapidly during the first decade of the 21st century to encompass HIV/AIDS peer education, and spread geographically to Sudan, and other parts of Kenya, whilst using their expertise to train others across the globe³. They have been held up as an example of good practice ever since, and are without doubt one of the largest (they own at least one Kenyan Premier League football team now) and most prominent of SDP NGOs.

This type of NGO is perhaps most commonly associated with SDP in the literature and fits with the 'sport plus' model that Coalter (2009) described above. I would suggest that it is the kind of organisation most people think of when they think of a representative actor of SDP. For example, MYSA appears in the funding portfolio of the Laureus Sport for Good Foundation: the corporate philanthropy scheme of the Laureus Sport Awards⁴ and a subsidiary of the Richemont Group. This organisation funds over 20 SDP NGOs across the globe, including some of the largest, such as Magic Bus in India. It uses an 'Academy' of sports legends from professional sports to be ambassadors for its work and advocate for the value of sport to do good. MYSA is also funded by Comic Relief, a foundation providing grants, which has funded a range of sport-based interventions in Africa and the UK. MYSA has also received funding from FIFA, the world governing body for football, via its Football for Hope fund (FIFA, 2015a), indicating that the actors implicating themselves in the world of SDP are far more extensive in scale and scope than literature focused on NGOs tends to suggest.

In this case, the research topic isolated (SDP) for this thesis includes the organisations, individuals and beneficiaries that perceive themselves and each other to have some form of functional connection to the delivery of SDP programmes, which are characterised in the examples above and in Coalter's dichotomous classification system (2009). The sector to be

³ I encountered two MYSA trainers working as development workers in South Eastern Botswana, funded by the Canadian Aid Agency in 2007.

⁴ <http://www.laureus.com/content/sport-for-good-foundation>

studied during the course of this research, includes a variety of actors from the public, private and not-for-profit sectors that are attempting to connect themselves with SDP in some way. This research diverges therefore from those works that seem to consider investigations into SDP as a foray exclusively, or mostly, into the not-for-profit world of SDP implementing organisations (see Coalter, 2007; 2009; Darnell, 2012a; Kidd, 2008). When SDP is mentioned in this research, it refers to a particular set of subjects that begin to cohere around a narrative sometime in the 1990s, and are now found embodied in organisations like Cricket Without Boundaries, Magic Bus, Right to Play, Coaching for Hope, and MYSA, or streetfootballworld, the Laureus Sport for Good Foundation, or FIFA's Football for Hope fund, and in the CSR/GCSE programmes which fund SDP, such as some activity by American Express, Hyundai, and FIFA.

The sector I refer to here is not, in this research, exclusively within the terrain of *international* development (or in our case *international* SDP). I refer to subjects that are operating internationally and domestically, in what are usually designated as *developing* and in *developed* countries, interchangeably. This is mentioned in the introduction and there is a full justification for this in the methodology chapter. Domestic and international actors (especially NGOs and key individuals who move around within SDP) operate *transnationally* in networks much like the *Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs)* highlighted by Keck & Sikkink (2002). In virtual and actual settings, organisations use platforms and M&E tools that are shared by, or feed into wider groups of NGOs, taking seemingly objective data and collating so that it transcends specific localities. These transnational communities cross over traditional barriers between sectors. In this thesis an organisation that works on getting young people back into employment solely in the UK, using football, is described and included alongside an organisation which is headquartered in France, but funded by the Norwegian Aid agency (NORAD) to provide sexual health training through basketball in Tanzania. A tiny NGO working in a slum in Mumbai getting young people to stay in school using football and cricket, might be included alongside a major US conglomerate whose employees engage with the charity via the company's CSR foundation.

One final point on the parameters of the research subject is that I research actors governing themselves and others using rationally justified microtechniques. Therefore, SDP NGOs, and often the unidentified individuals within them, are given more priority in this research than individuals who are the perceived beneficiaries of SDP programmes: the millions of players, young people and the impoverished across the globe. That is not to say that they are not both important, and actively participating in their incorporation into technologies of governmentality. However they are worthy of a thesis of their own.

Typifying academic literature: SDP in the here and now

In isolating the research topic, it can feel to observers of the sector that SDP's 'moment' has arrived. The rapid growth in SDP programmes and organisations up to now over 10 short years is testament to this reality (Kidd 2008: 370; sportanddev.org, 2016). Certainly, the work that is discussed below typifies a reading of this as a highly ritualised and codified sector of social provision that contains quests for authority (Rose, 1999: 27). This reading signifies SDP as something distinct from most other sectors of service delivery, whilst simultaneously appealing to an acceptance within the wider body of provision of social services by the state, or any other body for that matter. Within the work of Giulianotti (2010), Coalter (2007; 2010), Kidd (2008), Levermore (2010), and Darnell (2007; 2012a) we find attempts to demarcate a specific historical field for the use of sport to attract, retain, and engage participants in an activity with a clear, or hidden, agenda to imbue participants with certain qualities (Darnell, 2012a). The task of systematically reviewing the literature on SDP to date has recently been undertaken, demonstrating an emphasis on Southern projects by Northern researchers, and identifying numerous gaps in scholarly work to be addressed (Schulenkorf *et al*, 2016). But not all scholarly endeavours on the subject of SDP have sought to critically engage in this way. The reality of contemporary SDP research is as multifaceted as any discipline. What is needed, therefore, is a typology of highly relevant work to date which indicates broad 'camps' for current stances on methodological, ontological and epistemological questions. This is now the undertaking of the rest of the following section, where I trace trends in texts, making explicit in review the condition of scholarly work on SDP. This evaluation reinvigorates possibilities for a deeper understanding of interdiscursive frameworks of thought.

I have treated the literature in the passages that follow as divisible into four 'camps' or 'trends', which I have described here as broadly positivist, normative, critiquing, and critical. *Positivist* accounts tend to describe the world of SDP as it is observed scientifically or qualitatively, and claim objectivity, making certain assumptions about what benefits are desirable or undesirable. *Normative* work can, but does not always, borrow from supposedly rational observations in positivist research, making recommendations on the direction certain branches of SDP work should travel. *Critiquing* the SDP sector, or certain components of it, also draws heavily from positivist work, and often results in normative considerations. It can result in some of the criteria for *Critical* research being fulfilled, for example arguing for certain rights for subordinated communities. Whilst it may reject normativity in some cases, it will always lean towards the negation of certain manifestations in SDP, and tend towards critique of the subjugation of marginalised groups. *Critical* work, on the other hand, uses a combination of theory and empirical observation to unsettle the tensions within SDP. It highlights knowledge/power dynamics, situating them within historical and political forces, and in so doing creates new frameworks of thought which themselves are simply new

knowledge/power dynamics. Critical work contains the greatest potential for social justice, and, below I argue that the most compelling work so far has come from this lattermost camp.

Positivist

The research that can be broadly labelled as positivist has taken an approach that examines the SDP sector on the grounds of the effectiveness of sport as an intervention: does sport 'work' in achieving social change? There is some interesting empirical work done here. Levermore (2008) focuses on creating a typology (this is also an objective delivered in anti-positivist form by Giulianotti, 2010) of the various organisations that make up the world of SDP, segmenting projects as such into: those that use sport to promote conflict transformation; those that resource infrastructure, those that promote some form of health message; those that seek to redress gender inequality; those that believe in the power of participation in sport itself to improve health and physical wellbeing; and lastly those that promote economic development (2008: 185-88). Levermore then critiques the absence of traditional development agency support in the SDP sector, before intimating that this may be a result of the lack of evidence to support the efficacy of SDP programmes. His analysis goes no further, critiquing only so far as to question the demonstrable 'quality' of projects using sport.

In a similarly themed article, Kidd (2008) describes the sector as it existed some years ago, giving some praise to SDP organisations on the basis of evidence apparently available, critiquing only the effectiveness of projects and the contradictions that sports-based NGOs can experience or reproduce. He uses the example of the Zambian state school system that sent a shockwave of fear through the SDP NGOs operating in the country when it announced mandatory HIV education in schools, shaking the foundations of the rationale espoused by these organisations: that state schools were woefully inadequate. Making a change such as this, although in part possibly achieving the NGOs aims, would in fact undermine their fundraising efforts (Kidd, 2008: 376).

Accounts such as this, although only reproducing a social phenomenon fairly superficially, are important in that they historicise certain developments, and empirically observe happenings. They offer clues as to where one framework of thought relies on another, and build a picture of a historical moment. In addition, though, they reproduce a certain discourse. This discourse is one where the limits of criticality in a given field – in our case SDP – are set at the borders of efficacy: did the intervention do what it set out to do? Was it needed in the first place? This kind of discourse in positivist literature, in my view, fundamentally encloses the domain of critical thinking to that of augmentative effect.

Coalter (2007; 2009; 2010), one of the foremost academics in the field, examines specific interventions in various locations around the world on the basis of their capacity to deliver against their stated aims (usually to tackle some form of inequality, social injustice, or conflict between groups), and concludes that sport works when analysed as one of a variety of programmes for social change. As such, isolating it as the sufficient condition in itself is highly problematic. In further work, this has been applied to specific projects and the same conclusions reached (Coalter & Taylor, 2010). Others have taken a similar perspective one step further towards the micro-level, and looked at the potential of the SDP sector for illuminating processes between actors within the development process (see Banda *et al*, 2008; Kay, 2009; Right to Play, 2008; Rookwood & Palmer, 2011). Spurred on by the trend for evidence-based policy making and the move towards the outsourcing of historically publicly-provided services to contractors, this literature cleaves into the current fad for assessing 'the impact' of interventions. Unquestionably, this involves a quest for inclusion by SDP academics in the mainstream of interventionist social provision and behaviour control: writers are seeking to give SDP a 'place at the table' in the assessment of projects from mainstream development and regeneration. The positivist project becomes limited only to what works within previously defined boundaries of what 'should be'. This is the fundamental relation between this form of academic enquiry and social structure, to answer Fairclough's call to arms of a critical analysis of discourse that has embedded within it the possibilities for social justice, or social change (1992: 226).

Leaving aside this specific debate over 'whether sport works', only engaging with SDP in this way fails to historicise the development process and its social forces. It therefore says little of power. An over-reliance on an 'evidence-based policy-making' agenda places the SDP sector both on the periphery of development in praxis whilst centralising it at the core of what has been critiqued within development as an academic discipline by the formidable post-colonialists such as Appadurai (1996) influenced by Fanon (1961) and Said (2000) (see also Freire, 2005). The post-colonial approach withered traditional development studies by emphasising its Northern centism, its fundamental and insurmountable inability to comprehend local community and individual experience in the Global South, and its reproduction of colonial power dynamics. From positivist work, we neither understand the political economy of underdevelopment in the developing world nor what SDP, as a growing actor within this, can tell us about this process. Following this, we gain no further understanding of the functioning of power from positivist work on SDP.

Normative

Social science literature does not always make normative recommendations. Many writers, especially if considering themselves critical, prefer to suggest questions to be answered and explored further, rather than design programmes for action (See Darnell, 2012a). However, there are a number of thinkers within the SDP sector that believe normative considerations are important. Many of these have dual functions as *practitioners* or supporters of SDP organisations.⁵

The Swiss Academy for Development has been a prominent player in the field of SDP, in part due to its production of knowledge over the last few years, and in part due to its housing of the International Platform for Sport and Development (www.sportanddev.org), one of the key online resources for practitioners and academics⁶. Its 'how-to' guide for practitioners makes suggestions for best practice in developing SDP Initiatives (sportanddev.org, 2010). Right to Play, probably the largest SDP organisation in the world (financially in any case), makes a similar normative statement but this time intended for governments, policy makers and civil servants (2008). Steffgen, in one of the many articles produced on SDP by undergraduate or postgraduate students, makes a case for the creation of a particular framework within programmes facilitating "moral development" by using sport to enable "liberal education" (2013: 8-24). This kind of explicit call to action to SDP practitioners within given practice areas is not uncommon (see Coalter, 2009; Prescott & Phelan, 2008).

Smith & Westerbeek argue for an increased use of sport in CSR due to shared social responsibilities and the need to be responsible in both the enactment of business and sport as it is played (2007: 47-52). Unsurprisingly, similar arguments in SDP literature can be found when looking at collectives of business as they discuss how to enhance the impact of charities who use sports on the one hand, whilst maximising return on investment (ROI) for those companies that sponsor SDP initiatives (Prescott & Phelan, 2008) on the other. Other examples of normative literature on how to best maximise ROI can be found in the myriad of academic papers sympathetic to GCSE, and the professional journals dedicated to the same cause (see Cregan, 2008; Walters, 2009).

Normative literature is fascinating in its ability to reveal the social forces of the historical moment of SDP. SDP, as it was becoming in the beginning of the 21st century, and how it is practiced currently, is crucially important to those that are seeking to govern its rules and regulations, or govern those who are participants within it. Making recommendations about what SDP 'should do' reveals much in this regard. These people are policy makers, academics,

⁵ The reader will note that I am also one with such role duality.

⁶ See www.sportanddev.org

and practitioners, but also, crucially, actors from the world of private finance and business. In short, they are forces that seek to determine the terms of reference for SDP, and they have practical advice which only has relevance within tightly constrained borders of thought. Scholars of SDP therefore should view these quests for authority (Rose, 1999: 27) critically and unsettle them where they can.

Critiquing

Some of the more instructive work on SDP has concerned debates on *unit of analysis*: what exactly should be studied (see Schulenkorf *et al*, 2016)? What objects and concepts tell us the most about the world of SDP? Scrutinise micro/macro-levels, or individuals or organisations?

Clearly, when considering these questions, one must acknowledge the centrality of power. The degree to which power is situated, within units and in certain strands of knowledge, becomes a crucial point of enquiry. This is because it gives importance – the justification – to centralising investigations around one actor or another. Many critical interventions tackle such questions, and in so doing have revealed fascinating insights, potentially with import for wider social sciences, and Development Studies in particular (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012). These have, in turn, provoked counter arguments which present the possibility for the study of SDP to depart from the congratulatory and apologist nature of much of the work from the normative and positivist camps (see Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012).

Lindsey & Grattan (2012), in a special issue of *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, respond to what they see as an overly Northern focus in some critical accounts of SDP, specifically the work of Darnell and Hayhurst (individually and collaboratively). Lindsey & Grattan attempt to ‘decentre’ the focus on power relations in the North, and recalibrate our attention to dynamics in the Global South, where they use the example of Zambian SDP NGOs to make the argument that in fact neoliberalism has not been as influential as a discourse and set of practices as has been argued by some critical scholars. In fact, in their view, radical and variant discourses persist and have been, for some time, creating and reproducing their own realities (2012: 95-106). This work could easily fit into the ‘critical’ camp as it is, in that it deals with fundamental questions on human agency in SDP. A broadly sympathetic piece of work, it reinforces SDP as a tool for development and potentially, challenging power dynamics, if driven from the grassroots and not embedded in Northern discourses.

Darnell & Hayhurst (2012), in the same issue, counter this argument: while acknowledging that the critique of their work has brought a needed refocus on power relations in the Global South, they welcome the debate and call for more work that marries studies of hegemony and neoliberalism with the importance of the local nature of SDP, which elucidates how it is actually

practised and discursively constructed 'on the ground'. They restate the need to resist depoliticising SDP arguing, instead, for situating the agency of people living in the South within theories of neoliberalism and hegemony (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012: 115-117).

Beacom & Levermore (2012) offer a summary of the debate between the two positions mentioned. Whilst acknowledging the concerns of Lindsey & Grattan, they agree with Darnell & Hayhurst's prioritisation of top-down discourses of neoliberalism (2012: 130-31). They introduce the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to the field, specifically the quest to legitimate it as an international actor of importance, and the role of SDP within that process. This then becomes an argument developed by Beacom (2014) in his later book on the IOC as a diplomatic actor in international relations.

Beacom's book (2014) offers an empirical case for the reaffirmation of state-centrality in international affairs, set against the rise of the International Olympic Committee as a diplomatic actor, and the accompanying diplomacy opportunities afforded by the modern Olympic Games. The book is a documentation of the history of diplomacy related to the Games, drawing theoretical influence from neorealist perspectives. Beacom borrows the concept of International Society from the 'English School', a classic branch of International Relations theory, most commonly associated with Grotius, and Hedley Bull. The book is fastidiously well-researched, but too easily treats discourse as a simple reading of diplomatic communiques (Naish, 2014).

Theory's use in SDP is a key question for others also. Schnitzer *et al* (2012) critique under-theorisation by researchers of the SDP sector, bringing in the social theory work of Bourdieu (1998: 15-21), and the postcolonial development critiques of Appadurai (1996). Yet, strangely, they conclude their critique by suggesting that mutually agreeable moral values should underpin all SDP initiatives in order to achieve the aims of development; strange because stating this fact, *a priori* to the supposed lack of theory in SDP, seems to precede the development of theories contextualised within the SDP process. One must surely then ask: why theorise at all?

Rookwood & Palmer (2011) discuss the applicability of invasion games, such as football, for communities in the process of conflict transformation. They take Liberia as their case-study and conclude that there are as many new conflicts that arise from football as there are possibilities for it to contribute to resolution.

Giulianotti's (2010) typology of the SDP sector, based upon field-research with organisations delivering development interventions, breaks organisations down into their types by their method and methodology. It is analytical, and appears somewhat disengaged with the organisations he draws his examples from, typified as Weberian ideal types. Crucial to his

research are the ways in which actors are subject to forces, and the degrees to which this dictates action by the different parties. One of the strengths of this piece is that it makes no distinction between those that are often considered to be 'outside' the main world of SDP – for example the CSR department of a firm - and those that are more commonly considered within it, such as SDP NGOs that try to attract CSR departments of firms, for example. Giulianotti's work is, as such, a valuable contribution to the corpus. But those with an intimate working knowledge of the professional world of SDP are left feeling that the Weberian ideal types within this work overstate the critical potential of some organisations. An argument could be made that a critical awareness on the part of employees within an organisation, who contemporaneously embody imperial tendencies in their work, cannot equate to anti-imperial programming. Critical work on the *organisational self* has fundamentally weakened such assumptions (Fineman, 2001; Morgan, 2006). Indeed, it is a well-travelled road to suggest that the effects of the subaltern and the anti-imperial are complex in terms of challenging social reality and power (Foucault, 2004: 29), within the framework of SDP. Thus it is not the typology itself that I take issue with, but the indication of 'critical' as a form of organisation that exists as an ideal type. A Weberian ideal type, even if never achieved, must be something aspirational, hence 'ideal'. Criticality, in this sense, exists in nothing more than an awareness of its existence, not aspiration to its attainment in SDP.

Crucially, the works within the classification of critiquing make a contribution by empirically subjecting specific phenomena to rigorous analysis. Structures can come into play here, via the gathering of data about the experience of subordinated groups in relations of power (especially Rookwood & Palmer, 2011; Lindsay & Grattan, 2012). Later in this chapter, a contribution is made to these endeavours through an analysis of work to date on CSR and its importance to SDP. Where this subset of work falls short is on the real radical imagination associated with critical theory; therefore remaining *critique*, rather than, in my view, *critical*. Theodor Adorno, one of the founding fathers of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory suggested that for theory to be truly critical, it must offer a challenge to prevailing social relations (2003: 121). This challenge forces a question upon all that study SDP: without fixating on historical materialism and social relations, we must ask what relations of power we are unsettling. My thesis responds by articulating the power that exists everywhere in SDP and beyond it, in both people's quotidian actions and in the interconnections between actors and the interdiscursivity with other frameworks of thought beyond the nominally demarcated world of SDP (this point will be picked up again in the next chapter and in each of the 3 empirical chapters: 5, 6, 7). The various forms of practice which constitute the organisation and administration of SDP become the location where power is located. My research focuses on technologies and techniques of governmentality in SDP, but, in doing so, I create the possibility of challenging their present form. Similarly, this is the task set by critical scholars of SDP.

Critical

For a considerable time now, radical and critical theory has been present in the study of sport as a social formation (see primarily Barthes, 2007; Elias, 1994; also Clarke, 1993; Sugden & Tomlinson, 1998; Field, 2010; Donnelly 2010; Grix & Carmichael, 2010), but less so in the study of SDP. There are accounts of the SDP sector, however, that do meet the conditions of criticality, creating genuine contributions to the project of critical work at play in the wider social sciences. Whilst distinct from the preceding three study-forms in this current typology, critical works, in their illumination of the architectures of power embedded in everyday phenomena and their proposals of resistance and challenge to prevailing social relations and established discourses, retain connections to and even reliance on positivist and critiquing work. Critical projects tend to be interpretative, based upon empirical observations about life, society, the economy, politics, social relations, race, and gender. They are distinguished by their explicit acknowledgement of their own theoretical perspective and by their unsettling of dominant narratives. They, therefore, contain within them the conditions for transformational change, or what some may call 'social justice'. Foucault (1974; 1977; 1980a; 2004) would rightly point out that, in fact, 'change' happens constantly, and is not as unidirectional as some critical theorists would suggest. Power is exercised by all. That is to say, there may well be asymmetrical power relations, but discourses affect each other constantly and change references at the level of *meaning*. Those informed more by historical materialism counter that the weighting of capital power between class formations wields disproportionate influence (see Harvey, 2003; 2005; Jameson, 1991).

But I demonstrate that whether a critical theorist, a post-colonialist, a post-structuralist, or a historical materialist (or indeed a mixture of these) criticality is a possibility, realised only when systems of power, knowledge and meaning are unsettled and scrutinised historically. It is primarily an epistemological exercise that necessarily violates any predetermined understanding of what is known. To be critical, therefore, is not simply dependent upon *critique* (I seek to distinguish between critiques of the contradictions within SDP, for example, with a critical piece of work that illuminates the historical power formations that allow a particular set of truths, practices and relations, to sustain a claim to authority in SDP).

Despite this, a number of worthy additions to the wider body of critical social sciences have come from the study of SDP – a fact perhaps not fully recognised by the rest of the academic community. Hartmann & Kwauk (2011: 286-7) distinguish between two forms, or ideal types, of SDP: a *dominant vision* which essentially sees the use of sport in interventions that seek to improve conditions within established, unchangeable social relations, and a *radical interventionist approach*, in which sport is used to challenge social formations and bring about

more fundamental change. In my professional experience the latter is rare, if present at all, in the ideal type which Hartmann & Kwauk describe. The question must be asked: is real radical social change in fact the objective of most SDP interventions? Hartmann & Kwauk argue that:

“... The reality is that many sport-based “development” programs have been stifled by persistent inequalities and failed to bring about notable social change. But in many ways, this may be precisely the goal and function. For the dominant vision we have sketched here is not really about structural transformation and change. Primarily, it is about sport’s ability to resocialize and recalibrate individual youth and young people that, in turn, serves to maintain power and hierarchy, cultural hegemony, and the institutionalization of poverty and privilege. It is, in other words, a fundamentally reproductive vision of development.” (2011: 291)

Rather than encourage participants within SDP programmes to shape their world and bring radical new formations to bear, they are instead encouraged into a reproduction of a predetermined world (*ibid*: 292). We can see that the debate between Lindsey & Grattan (2012) and Darnell & Hayhurst (2012) segues into the critical questions raised here on agency.

Hartmann & Kwauk use critical theory whilst synthesising work from Darnell, Kidd, Levermore and Giulianotti, from the more critical sphere of SDP research, with and postmodern/post-structural scholarship from 20th century social theory, for example Foucault (1978), and Rose (1999; 2000). It is a relatively brief foray, however, and detailed descriptions of the historical forms that reproduce modes of conformity within SDP, are only alluded to, rather than fully elucidated.

Some have borrowed the inclinations of critical development theory – namely the production of inequality within the development process and the production of accumulation for capitalists whilst dispossessing communities in the global south - and attacked the often lauded regenerative and transformative potential of major sporting events for the localities in which they are held. Desai and Vahed (2010) take the example of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, and critique the role of companies such as Adidas, Coca-Cola, Sony and Visa, as well as FIFA and the government of South Africa in the systemic process of underdevelopment and production of inequality. While interventions such as this are to be welcomed, ultimately the field of SDP research is still without the development of a theory of how this process incorporates subjects, and culturally fixes them within a global discourse concerning sport’s centralisation as Northern, or perhaps even white European.

Forde & Kota (2016) highlight many of the issues currently at play in the Football for Development & Peace sector (FDP), where ultimately the contestations between powerful and powerless depend on definitions of ‘social change’, thus defining the limits of the possible. The

involvement of actors such as FIFA, necessarily subordinates wider understandings of 'social change' and emancipation to narrow definitions of behaviour change and improvements in education, or employment status (Forde & Kota, 2016: 450-452).

Spandler & Mckeown (2012), in an article highlighting the *hegemonic masculinities* at play in the use of football in social and welfare programmes in the UK, draw upon Bourdieu to suggest that the use of football especially does not necessarily correspond to dominant social relations, as often it challenges them through participation (football is still predominantly played by working class males) and by the virtues extolled: of collective sacrifice and discipline, for example (see Bourdieu, 1986: 214; in Spandler & McKeown, 2012: 399-401). As such, whilst it would be easy for us to say that football contains at least the likelihood to reproduce oppressive gender relations, it also contains the possibility to challenge them (*ibid*). Whilst it is true that the present configuration of forces in SDP do, as Darnell (2012a: 31-32) has suggested, cohere with discourses of neoliberal development and neo-colonial conceptions of a paternal Global North relationship with a 'child-like' Global South, it is in fact the potential of using sport as a revolutionary tool that still exhilarates agitators. People who work on the front-line with communities are convinced that their praxis offers an *alternative*, not an apology, to neo-liberal forms of development (see Lindsey & Grattan, 2012).

This debate on the forces within SDP that are stronger or weaker than one another can be crystallised into the problematic of alternatives to neoliberal subjugation – to radical means of living and being in the world; are they increased by SDP, can they survive or are they in fact negated by SDP? This question is taken up by Thorpe & Rhinehart (2012) who examine two SDP NGOs under neoliberal conditions: Skateistan and Surf Aid International, and the constraints upon their freedom to act under the conditions of neoliberalism as the writers understand it. Agency – and thus the possibility to act as an agent in the pursuit of social change – is a crucial question in this regard:

“So, while agency is stimulated (and simulated), actual freedom of choice lessens. How these NGOs may operate becomes less and less their choice, and more and more umbrellaed by governmental policy, which includes an ever increasing marketization of the NGOs themselves.” (Thorpe & Rhinehart, 2012: 120)

Hayhurst expounds that the institutional environment is fundamentally inhospitable for articulating genuinely radical alternatives in SDP (2009; 2011). Hayhurst (2009) examines the political institutional environment at the uppermost echelons of SDP, highlighting the policy framework of SDP and the discourse that comprises it, drawing examples from key policy documents in the development of the sector. She makes an impassioned and well-argued case for using a postcolonial theoretical framework, driven by Foucauldian thought. Hayhurst argues that there are contradictions and incoherencies within SDP policy discourse which refer

to non-existent or circuitous relationships, and that they reproduce unequal exchange relationships by assimilating actors into mainstream neoliberal development (2009: 211-224). In this conception, the policy framework is squarely geared towards improvements within certain *limits of the possible*. Counter forces that seek another way of social life, perhaps extolling the virtues of political and social justice and redistribution, are absorbed into the discourse of governance, rendering them one of a number of pluralities, giving the lie to democratic participation and disempowering them by their multitude (see Hardt & Negri, 2004)⁷. In later work, Hayhurst (2011: 534) picks up the technology of governmentality that global corporate social engagement's (GCSE) infiltration into SDP represents, and in so doing unites institutional analysis with the impact of governmentality on the local. As discussed later in this chapter, this work stops short of detailing the exact techniques of governmentality and how they function within and between organisations and actors; a central concern of my research and a contribution that I will make to the corpus.

Other critical work brings the issue of imperialism to the fore also. Giulianotti, one of the principal contributors to critical work on SDP, in *Sport: A Critical Sociology* (2005) summarises and critically evaluates the various contributions of sociological theories to the study of sport, from Emile Durkheim to the civilising tendency of sport in Norbert Elias (1994). In further work, he discusses the transnational discourses of SDP officials, reflecting on the real instances in which staff members and leaders of SDP organisations acknowledge their own participation in what Giulianotti terms "quasi-imperialistic" activities (2011: 66-69), before making recommendations on how the sector may be positively transformed, and contribute more widely to the development agenda. These last attempts at normativity do seem somewhat at odds with work that highlights the possibility for neo-colonial repositioning via SDP (Giulianotti, 2004), and jointly-authored research (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007: 167), evaluating Baudrillard's contributions to the idea of the decay of the social in hyperreal⁸ and simulated culture as mass-viewed forms, such as sport, take hold of the imagination (Baudrillard, 1983: 12-13; in Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007: 167). In this, the authors then centralise football in a study of globalisation and argue for the understanding of *glocalisation* in the context of football's spread, echoing Hardt & Negri's (2004) understanding of global interconnectivity as "highly variable interrelations between homogenizing and heterogenizing impulses" (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2007: 182). This use of the concept of hyperreality, in my view, develops and revalorises Barthes's notion of the spectacle of sport and its effect on time and space (2007); an argument developed later in this thesis.

⁷Hardt & Negri's *Multitude* (2004) explains the current geopolitical possibilities of alternatives set against their plurality and multiplicity. Power, in its current form, necessitates a space to allow alternatives to form and grow.

⁸ See also, der Derian (1990) for hyperreality and simulation, this time looking at international relations and technologies of war.

Most recently, one of the most important current and critical contributors to the study of SDP, Darnell, has attempted to rectify the default position of studying SDP in terms of efficacy, or the critique of specific forms of intervention, in a number of articles (2007; 2010; 2012) and a book (2012a). The first article (2007) uses Foucauldian notions of discourse, along with hegemony theory, in order to deconstruct the well-intentioned efforts of one particular SDP organisation, 'Right to Play'. Darnell brings to light the necessary dichotomy between empowered and disempowered in the reproduction of racial discourses embedded within the development process which the intervention unintentionally relies upon (Darnell, 2007: 561). In a subsequent article (2010), Darnell takes the same methodology and complements it with Hardt & Negri's *Empire* (2001). Darnell focuses on the discourse that SDP interns are (re)producing, and finds neoliberal social relations central, typified in Foucault's notion of *Bio-power* which:

“... [is] not simply a characteristic of capitalism, useful for regulating and producing workers (though this remains part of its utility) but the omnipresence of bio-power 'ties' labor to the body in the logic of capitalism and its pursuits. While material labor is far from extinct, sport and play, as sites where the corporeal is 'made', cannot be detached from the dominant capitalist relationships in the geo-political context in which SDP programs take place.” (Darnell, 2010: 400-401)

Undoubtedly, work such as this reconnects critical theory with development studies, and Darnell shows how this can be realised using SDP. The focus on race, biopolitics, and inequality in discourses of neoliberalism places Darnell, and Hayhurst as vital to critical scholarly work on SDP. However, within Darnell's work, there are tensions which are not easily reconciled. First of all, Darnell highlights the tendency in positivist camps to renew calls for improved monitoring and evaluation, presumably with the intention of finding out if they work (2012a: 91). Darnell also indicates that the data led economism of SDP, and the political utility of results, suggests programmes with a nature of governmentality (though he does not go into any details) (2012a: 89). In a jointly authored response to Lindsey & Grattan's (2012) assertion that the local in the global south has enormous resistance potential to assert itself over dominant neoliberal discourses in SDP, Darnell and Hayhurst state that “struggles for development are neither enhanced or reduced by the act of sporting opportunities” (2012: 17). It is my argument here that M&E, unless conceptualised in some currently undiscovered counter-discursive form that gives primacy to interpretative and 'self-represented' experience of marginalised people, actually deepens the assimilation of the subjects of SDP into neoliberal discourses of development, marginalises their alternatives, and constrains the limits of the possible. Indeed, the function of data gathering and reporting in SDP, as I argue throughout this thesis, is to compile human experience and standardise it. Darnell seems to agree, situating M&E in a global political economy that produces underdevelopment, whilst demanding

evidence that interventions work within the political economy of that same underdevelopment (2012a: 89).

I expand on this by arguing that M&E is institutionalisation in its rawest form and the bedrock of the enlightenment project that empowers claims to objective truth, in the politics of power that Darnell describes (*ibid*). M&E, therefore, or ‘proving’ SDP in one form or another works, is fundamentally a technical instrument of power and must be scrutinised deeply.

Secondly, I argue later that the hegemonic neoliberal system of power that Darnell describes is, in fact, better characterised as a form of *governmentality*, a distinction Darnell does not make; though he does indicate the incompatibility of hegemony with Foucauldian theory (2012a: 31-32). It is governmentality and its inscription deeper into social life that is in fact the social formation we should engage with.

Thirdly, a contention here is that Darnell gives too much credence to Gramscian hegemony (2012a: 14-17). Hegemony can, I contend, mask the detail in microtechniques of power that absorb or assimilate subjects in discourses in the fashion, for example, that I explain in my previous point. Power is based, in studies that formulate hegemony, in a nexus of civil society, private capital and virtual spaces of control, through a mixture of coercion and consent. They begin though with power from *above*.

Undoubtedly, there are elements of Darnell that ‘fit’ with a *governmentality* perspective, but the analyses are limited in the absence of detail on how and where power functions. Overemphasising hegemony, I contend, camouflages exactly where, within the formulation of power, subjects are both being assimilated and exerting influence concurrently (Foucault, 2004: 29). Reprioritising a focus on the micro level – on the technical detail of what people do with each other – I argue in the next chapter, has the greatest potential for the study of SDP and revolutionising our understanding of it. One of the peripheries that, I contend, requires greater attention, is the nexus between corporate engagement – what some have called CSR or GCSE – and SDP NGOS and implementing organisations. How this is conceptualised in SDP research is of crucial importance to the rest of this thesis.

Technologies of Global Corporate Social Engagement/Corporate Social Responsibility

The previous section classified the literature on SDP and closed with an explanation of the condition of critical scholarship on the subject. Critical work, as already highlighted on numerous occasions, necessitates a comprehension of the actual dynamics of power at play in society. In order to illuminate the power dynamics within SDP, it is necessary to understand specific structures, and to dissect their influence. Connection with specific phenomena

therefore, such as funding structures, aid agencies, and CSR, within development it is argued here, can assist us in understanding the operationalizing of power in SDP. This foray into what seems to be, to SDP, only a loosely related world, I explain as a crucial dimension for the understanding of how governmental power functions (see Hayhurst, 2011).

As discussed in the introduction, I take one such example: GCSE (frequently this is referred to in SDP literature as 'CSR'; I retain that concept, defined in the last chapter, and the reader should be reminded of Hayhurst's (2011) use of GCSE rather than CSR, placing the latter as one constituent part of the former) and argue that this may, as Hayhurst demonstrated, provide a most pertinent manifestation of a technology of governmentality in SDP. The literature summarised in this current section discusses how CSR/GCSE has been interrogated, and then connects this with the wider discussion of power in SDP. It is essential to this thesis to illustrate academic treatment of CSR/GCSE in order to firstly demonstrate how the treatment of CSR, in my research, as constitutive and relational to SDP practice by way of rationalities is novel, and secondly, so that in later chapters (5 to 7) the historical context for comprehending corporate engagement with SDP is founded.

CSR's institutional nature – engrained as it now is in business practice – means it stands apart from 'philanthropy', which concerns the wealthy (as individuals or as a company) simply 'giving' to causes and disadvantaged groups. CSR has become a hot topic in SDP, both in its praxis and in the academic engagement with it. The European Commission (EC) defines it simply as "the responsibility of enterprises for their impact on society" (EC, 2014). This definition is actually more inclusive than it immediately appears, as it incorporates a company's business practice into what CSR is and should be, thus transcending the donation of funding. Some are far more generous, and give CSR a narrower definition than that from the proponent angle, namely the investment of companies into communities for social impact (see Cregan, 2008; Levermore, 2010).

Hayhurst's (2011) alternate view of CSR insists that CSR is one component in a number of interventions, from private capital interests, encapsulated under global corporate social engagement (GCSE). This catch-all takes account of the numerous different means by which a company can engage in 'socially-minded' corporate activity.

The academic literature on GCSE in general is sorely inadequate in terms of scope and breadth, as far as this research is concerned, especially given the levels of capital involved – a point emphasised by Carroll (1999: 268-70). Despite the volume of contributions within business and corporate journals, most only refer to the praxis of GCSE, and principally how to make it more effective. Without theoretical consideration of its origins, its material consequences, and its discursive construction, we can't hope to really understand it as a technology of power.

There are some notable exceptions to this in the literature though, and it is to these which we will shortly turn.

Within the body of work that discusses CSR/GCSE, some attention has already been given to SDP and its connection to corporate power; for example *the Journal of Corporate Citizenship*. Within this broadly apologist literature – ‘apologist’ in the sense that it tends to be uniformly *pro*-corporate engagement in SDP - there are some minor variations in perspective. Whilst some (for example Smith and Westerbeek, 2007; Walters, 2009) look at GCSE from the perspective of its potential social benefits, Cregan (2008) is one of a number of corporate eulogists, extolling the brand benefits of investment in the SDP sector as a principal component of any CSR portfolio. In the “ideal of team sport, we discover the opportunity ‘to share our values’”, a sentiment not uncommon in this type of normative business literature (see also Prescott & Phelan, 2008). Examples which demonstrate the opportunism of SDP organisations are used, including the Special Olympics’ strategic move to align themselves with large brands (clearly not satisfied with their current funding relationship with Coca Cola) by using football and raising the profile of their use of this sport (Cregan, 2008).

Some claim to have made a departure from the positivist literature on CSR, but in truth remain in the realm of describing what ‘works’ and what does not; that is to say: what CSR programmes deliver, either for the beneficiaries or donors (see also Holmes, Banda, & Chawansky, 2015). Levermore (2010) and Ponte *et al* (2009) make contributions in the sense that their methods provide new insights to critically engage with the SDP sector. In the former, Levermore employs a historical methodology of analysing the previous CSR records of certain businesses (scandals, media profile), whilst juxtaposing them with recent CSR initiatives, and placing them within the historical trend *vis a vis* their new attraction to discrete SDP interventions. He does this using Ponte *et al*’s (2009: 302-3) typology, which is developed (in the latter) using primary research of examples from a specific CSR campaign (the ‘RED’ initiative which channels money to the Global Fund to fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria), discourse analysis, and finally drawing conclusions on the implications for generating profits from ‘helping’ those in developing countries, whilst developing brand awareness.

Levermore’s work is notable because it attempts a significant departure from the norm. He critiques the world of CSR and emphasises the top-down power structure evident in many SDP initiatives. He rightly highlights the growth of CSR-funded SDP interventions coinciding with major sporting events, such as the FIFA 2010 World Cup in South Africa, describing this as either a business decision, or a branding exercise. Levermore stresses the relative weaknesses and strengths of initiatives that are by degrees either *proximate* or *distant* to a company’s workforce and base of operations, and either *engaged* or *disengaged* with a company’s strategy (Ponte *et al*, 2009: 302). Ponte *et al*’s attack on certain forms and instances of CSR as used by

big brands in global channels of communication, production and consumption provides us with ideal types for CSR. But they go further than Levermore by conceptualising their critique of CSR as essentially *capital accumulation*. In their view, analysis of CSR should include an engagement with how it realises profit by achieving “a double capitalisation: capitalisation via sales and profit; and capitalisation via improvement of brand image, another asset” (*ibid*). This links to my research in two ways: the analysis in Ponte *et al* and in Levermore insinuates a utility to CSR investments that is not intended; and second because we see an undeniable connection between SDP and the corporate which is recognised in scholarly work; a connection which can be a conduit or pathway for ideas, knowledge and practice to transmit between different actors. This is a point I elaborate further in Chapter 5.

The explicit call that GCSE is not simply ‘doing good’ for beneficiaries, that business cases weigh heavy in decision making, and profit is still king, is an important observation that has been deployed in critical work on CSR/GCSE. But importantly, there are also unintentional - or perhaps, some might argue, intentional - consequences.

Rajak (2011) stands apart, in one of the few pieces of academic literature to get beneath the veneer of GCSE in a fashion that the broadly positivist literature simply does not emulate. Instantly, in her introduction, she warns that:

“...in receiving gifts we can unwittingly be embracing our own enslavement. The veiled power of the gift to empower the donor while oppressing the recipient was summed up most poignantly in the words spoken to me by a community worker from South Africa’s platinum mines: ‘As long as we’re dependant on handouts from the mining companies, we’ll be their slaves.’” (2011: 2)

And later, when discussing the new role firms seem to have found for themselves in the architecture of international development:

“It has become commonplace to hear the language of commerce and that of community, of enterprise and ‘the social’ coupled together where once they were seen as antithetical; as instruments of capital become agents of social improvement, merging bottom line economics with a new register of corporate responsibility. The CSR movement thus claims the happy confluence of economic value and ethical values packaged together in the new human (or humane) face of capitalism.” (2011: 4-6)

This intersection of the private and civil societies provides an interesting starting point for critical work into CSR/GCSE as a technology of power and governmentality in SDP. Rajak is acknowledging the de-politicisation of CSR here, and how the discourse produced seems ahistorical in nature (for a wider discussion on de-politicisation of development see Fine, 2009 and Schuurman, 2009). In mainstream CSR literature, the erasing of its political history as a

dynamo in the growth of private capital grounds CSR/GCSE as a phenomenon to be assessed on the grounds of efficiency. Criticality is impossible when considering phenomena in this way. There seems to be an attempt to critically engage with the practice and discourse of GCSE within Rajak's work, and there is undoubtedly a real elucidation of how power is exercised through GCSE itself: its performance, its constellation of partners and interests, and the victimisation implicit in 'giving', are all visible in this work. Rajak's book is firmly grounded in critical theory, successfully making a departure from the literature which simply reviews what makes 'good' and 'bad' GCSE for companies seeking the 'triple bottom-line' (economic, social and environmental). Her discourse analysis exposes how dichotomous and sometimes antithetical narratives have, over a period of time, been made to seem parallel, convergent, and most commonly mutually beneficial (exemplified by the 'triple bottom line' rhetoric).

This fundamental departure from the normative, which teaches the reader how to access more CSR programmes, how to direct the programmes better for social change, or how to be more strategic in its delivery, is the only way to unsettle the ethics of the thing. Critique tends to focus on GCSE only to the point of its practical function within a given system, where CSR/GCSE in praxis is engaged with. However its relevance for systemic analysis, and what it tells us about discourse, technologies of power, and the governance of our lives, is never really fully explained. Rajak is a trailblazer in her brave departure from this trend.

Monitoring & Evaluation in SDP

Two particular concepts are important in the literature around SDP: '*monitoring*' and '*evaluation*' – together 'Monitoring & Evaluation' (M&E). Throughout this thesis, these concepts will be referred to often because they form, I argue, a foundational construct of the operation of governmentality – or governmental power – in SDP. Governmentality, as discussed previously, does not need to mean 'of government' (see for example Hayhurst, 2011; Rose, 2007). Rather, techniques used in governing appear in a variety of private, civil, and public sectors. M&E is, I argue in a novel contribution to the study of SDP, the more common name for microtechniques within a technology of governmentality in SDP that record social reality (Chapters 5-7). They are important because throughout the literature on SDP, M&E is most commonly advocated for in the following ways: (1) that M&E should be improved (Coalter, 2007; 2010; Dudfield, 2014; Simons, 2014) and (2) it should be expanded in scope throughout the sector (Aqcumen *et al*, 2014; Coalter, 2009), and finally (3), that it should be geared towards what works and what does not 'work' (Kidd, 2014).

M&E is important to briefly define and then to discuss how SDP literature has treated them. Levermore (2011) is one of the writers that gives this subject the greatest attention. What are

these two terms referential to? To *monitor*, is to “check technical quality”, to “act as monitor of”, or “to observe or record (the activity or performance) of (an engine or other device)” (Collins, 2014). The advocates of *evaluation* describe its indispensability in the identification of areas for improvement in programmes (Levermore, 2011: 340). In noun form, *evaluation* refers to “an assessment of the worth of”, but in verb form, *to evaluate* is to “judge or assess the worth of”, or “appraise”, deriving around the 19th century from the French word *evaluer* (Collins 2014b). Discursively connected to the notion of value, this concept has some resonance with the attribution of price or value to an object or subject, and speaks to “highlighting how the objectives of programmes are being met and how the programme is working at different levels” (Levermore, 2011: 340). The lesson-learning of the organisation conducting the evaluation (or an external party on its behalf) is commonly defined as the purpose of such evaluation (Gasper, 2000: 18, cited in Levermore, 2011: 340).

The social missions to combat society’s ills denote the *surveillance* of quality and its value: one participant achieved a qualification; we spent £X in helping the participant to achieve the qualification. Therefore £X is the value of this qualification.

The assumption that the techniques deployed in M&E of SDP programmes are valid and impervious to critique is not necessarily universally accepted. Arguments for the expansion of quality M&E in SDP can be compared with those that question its economism, and its universally objective ‘scientific’ rationale (Darnell, 2012a: 145). Kidd (2014), who notes the ‘what works’ and ‘what doesn’t’ dynamic in the normative considerations around SDP practice, can be juxtaposed with Levermore (2011) who despite coming from a broadly critiquing (and occasionally positivist camp) highlights the questionable nature of claims to objectivity:

“Some argue that much of the current evaluation used shows signs of being top-down Western-led exercises, which displays culturally insensitive traits whilst ignoring broader epistemological issues associated with programmes... Indeed, if the drive to improve research is based on an implicit model of Western scientific rationality there may be a danger of dismissing – and perhaps just missing – authentic local voices in the evaluation process.” (Levermore, 2011: 351)

Therefore, developing these critiques with an anatomical examination of M&E in SDP, as constituent of the functioning of power in SDP allows detailed analysis of M&E in SDP and its connection to more perceptible forms of power; a task not yet taken up by critical scholars of SDP. These more perceptible forms of power, though, are important, and how they interrelate in the constellation of actors in SDP is a subject that I begin to address next.

GCSE and the actors within SDP

The actors within the SDP sector are many, playing multi-faceted and ambiguous roles, and traversing boundaries within typologies. There are sporting federations (national and international), national governments, international organisations (such as the UN or the Commonwealth), aid agencies (such as NORAD and USAID), large international funding NGOs (such as Comic Relief), academics and research institutions, Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs, such as the streetfootballworld network) and of course the multitude of SDP NGOs delivering projects. As Giulianotti (2014: 13-17) has indicated from his research, a substantial number of SDP partnerships now involve two or more government agencies, NGOs, or private sector organisations. Therefore corporate/private interests must be considered as at least as important as the governmental/public interests. My research found GCSE/CSR schemes that specifically invest in SDP within the architectures of MNCs such as Nike, Adidas, Chevrolet, and of course BINGOs such as FIFA. We can summarise some of the main players here (Fig. 2.2) which the research will expand upon and further clarify, especially in chapter 5 which discusses the different actors and the interconnections between them.

GCSE and CSR are crucial to the SDP sector for a number of reasons. It can be seen that CSR programmes are not solely the realm of firms, and we can see international sporting bodies use CSR to 'sell' the brand of their sport widely on the grounds of its supposed social benefits, its wide participation, and its brand appeal. FIFA (2009; 2009-10; 2010; 2010a; 2010b; 2010c; 2011; 2011a; 2011b; 2015) and the way it uses investments around World Cups and the FIFA Football for Hope fund is perhaps the best example of this (see Chapter 5). This marks a battleground out for how to do 'good business' as a federation; one that stands in marked contrast with the behaviour of some international sporting federations (see Sugden & Tomlinson, 1998). GCSE also provides a growing body of funding for organisations to resource SDP interventions – the public equivalent of these funds can be difficult to access sometimes due to a perceived lack of evidence base for SDP, and a consideration that some interventions are 'development light'⁹. Bilateral aid agencies, for example, only recently began to include 'sport'; rather, traditional aid and emergency assistance take priority.

Moving to a truly 'critical' analysis of the relationship between SDP and CSR/GCSE necessitates moving beyond the discussion of the 'business case' for GCSE, and/or the means by which CSR can be made more effective for firms (discussions embodied in the work of, for example, Cregan, 2008; Walters 2009; Smith & Westerbeek, 2007; Prescott & Phelan, 2008). Lindsay Hayhurst departs in this way, using GCSE as an umbrella term to capture various forms of corporate engagement with social issues via SDP (2011: 535). These include CSR (Adidas

⁹This has been made clear to the researcher from 12 years' experience working in the SDP sector, most often from practitioners within more traditional international development NGOs.

partnering with SOS Children's villages for example to build 20 villages in Africa), Professional Sport league philanthropy (for example the NBA running camps in Africa for grassroots players, in which education on HIV/AIDS is delivered), cause-related marketing (such as 'Live-Strong' by Nike with Lance Armstrong), private foundation philanthropy (such as Reebok's Foundation, or FIFA's Football for Hope Fund), sport celebrity diplomacy (such as Laureus Sport for Good Foundation's academy members, or Right to Play's athlete ambassadors), consumer-based philanthropy (where limited edition products are sold with a percentage of profits donated to charitable causes), market multilateralism (for example Puma's partnership with the United Nations Environment Programme or Manchester United's partnership with UNICEF), and the more traditionally understandable corporate-NGO partnership (for example Adidas's partnership with Right to Play) (*ibid*). GCSE is the broader term encompassing CSR as a constituent.

Hayhurst (2011: 544) goes on to use Cutler's arguments on how MNCs can legitimise themselves with Rose & Miller's (1992; 2010) work on governmental rationality in social spaces to characterise GCSE as a political rationality which is applied as a governmental technology in SDP. Both Rose & Miller and Cutler emphasise the roles of 'expertise' in the governance of conduct, and the way Hayhurst uses this in her feminist postcolonial exploration of the application of the technology of GCSE in Sport for Girl's Development (SGD) is extremely interesting and persuasive.

I argue that Hayhurst has made great strides on the subject of GCSE in SDP. Her development of different forms of understanding the private sector's 'socially responsible' actions travels perhaps the greatest distance to understanding why there has been so much opportunity for SDP initiatives to connect with MNCs, and why the realm for governing conduct in SDP has been so vulnerable to a particular 'private' rationality concerning the way 'things should be done'. However, Hayhurst's examination stops short of detailing how the interventions of GCSE in SDP are constituted and their dynamism in relation to power.

Understanding GCSE in this way would be a tempting means to engage with the specific question of why it is so attractive to investment, and crucial to understanding how the concept is constructed as the 'friendly face' of capitalism. It side-steps the issue of whether GCSE 'works', reframing this question as a moot point, as Rajak has shown: if it did not appear to 'work' in some way, then it would be consigned to the scrapheap of well-meaning missionary interventions and paid no more attention (2011: 14).

Fig.2.2 Examples of types of actor and their engagement with SDP

Type of Actor:	<i>SDP Non-Governmental Organisations</i>	<i>Transnational Advocacy Networks</i>	<i>Funding organisations</i>	<i>National Sporting Federations</i>	<i>International Sporting Federations/ Business International NGOs (BINGOs)</i>	<i>Multi-National Corporations (and their GCSE programmes)</i>	<i>International Organisations</i>	<i>Research Institutions</i>
Examples:	Right to Play, Grassroot Soccer, Magic Bus	streetfootball world network	Comic Relief, Laureus Sport for Good Foundation,	The FA, The English Cricket Board (ECB), Sport England	FIFA, ICC, ISF,	Nike, Adidas, Vodafone	UN Office for Sport, Development and Peace, Commonwealth office for Sport, Development and Peace	University of Brighton School of sport and leisure management, Swiss Academy for Development (SAD), Solent University, Substance
Mode of engagement with SDP:	Delivery of projects, articulation of 'why sport works', seeking funding from other partners, delivering outcomes for funders, representing beneficiaries	Coordination and collective advocacy for organisations that use sport, sometimes a certain sport	Funding of projects, articulation of 'why sport works'	Funding of sport, Funding of projects, articulation of 'why sport works', articulation of 'why particular national sport works', sending players/athletes to visit projects or 'open' initiatives	Funding of sport, Funding of projects, articulation of 'why sport works', articulation of 'why particular sports work' internationally, Mega Events, provision of athletes to publicise SDP/GCSE initiatives	Brand awareness, funding of sports, advertisement at national and international professional sporting events, funding of SDP projects, articulation of 'why sport works', use of sports stars	Advocacy on 'how and why sport works', funding of sports, advertisement at national and international professional sporting events, funding of SDP projects, articulation of 'why sport works', use of sports stars	Knowledge platforms, research into 'how and why sport works', funding of sports

How does it appear to 'work'? What is the system of interconnections that gives power its possibilities in SDP and how are they rationally underpinned? I believe we can answer questions on 'how' by looking intently at the micro level in SDP and making explorations into the tools that SDP uses to justify itself, and thus expand on Darnell's (2012a) and Hayhurst's (2011) work. In the following chapter, I make the case for perspectives of *governmentality*, *biopower*, and *rationalities* (I take my primary support for this from Rose, 1999; Fairclough, 1992; Darnell, 2012a; and Foucault, 1977; 1980) and develop the work of Hayhurst (2011).

Conclusion: Novelty in the study of SDP

There is a small but growing body of work, critical and otherwise, from within the field of research concerning SDP. There have been enormous strides made in the last five years to instate criticality, seen elsewhere in the study of sport as a social phenomenon, and the use of sport in some form of moral economy. The contention, argued in this literature review here, is that, thus far, these attempts have inadequately brought to light a real understanding of the dynamics of power and their performance in SDP.

In reviewing the literature, there is a temptation to highlight the possibility of a configuration of perceived interests, justified on the basis of the economic development benefits of the SDP sector for beneficiaries, and a willing acceptance of the terms and conditions by SDP practitioners, rooted in a desire to perpetuate programmes and continue to provide services. Capital, no doubt, appears to be a beneficiary. But resting on this argument risks surrendering to economic reductionism, and in so doing only sabotaging any expansive possibilities for critical research. If we were instead to reinstate *governmentality* as an evaluative lens through which to gaze upon SDP, as Hayhurst (2011) has, and develop this using micro level empirical analysis on the one hand, and multi-dimensional analysis (see Fairclough, 1992: 10) of a wider sphere of influence (in this case GCSE/CSR) on the other, then, I argue, we retain the possibility for understanding the nexus of power relations contained within. This analytical mode, first introduced by Foucault in a series of lectures (see 1980; 2004), and later developed more broadly by Rose (1999), provides a valuable yet under-utilised insight into what might be happening in the performance of SDP. This is the project of my research: to empirically connect practice and discourse at local, nodal, peripheries, with the seemingly larger actors behaving at levels superficially 'above', using the perspective of governmentality to analyse as such. That there are large transnational and multi-sectoral forces at work must be acknowledged in the context of connections to the local, I contend, segueing into the debate between Lindsey & Grattan (2012) and Darnell & Hayhurst (2012). I make this step in order to begin the progression towards the rendering of opaque processes as transparent, where they incorporate individuals and communities into logical systems of order (Fairclough, 1992: 10).

I will now evaluate the intersection of knowledge/truth and dominant ways of being and 'doing' in SDP. I will spend the next chapter grounding this undertaking in theoretical perspective before my methodology chapter (Chapter 4), which extols a multidisciplinary form of qualitative interpretivist research with 'insider' and 'scavenger' elements. I then move on to three empirical chapters that subject the data gathered from the world of SDP to Critical Discourse Analysis.

Chapter 3. Understanding Power in SDP

Introduction

Theory is used in order to make sense of the world. Making explicit and justifying the theoretical perspectives used is a necessary prerequisite of interpretivist work. This is especially so in work that is critical of positivism – as my own is – because of positivism’s claims to the non-ideological and to apoliticism, and anti-positivists’ stance that we are theorising all the time, whether we recognise it or not. As discussed in the previous chapter, Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E) – the expansion of, the improvement of the standard of, etc. – has been advocated by many academics (Coalter, 2007; 2009; 2010; 2011; Kidd, 2014: iv; Levermore, 2008: 189; Simons, 2014: 79). This is a point my research problematises by viewing M&E as a crucial component in the power dynamics of SDP.

As stated in the introduction, I make four arguments based upon my empirical research. The first of these disentangles critical studies of SDP and CSR/ GCSE from ‘top-down’ and unidirectional conclusions, emphasising instead alignments in discourse in two ways: corporations aligning themselves as socially responsible, and SDP NGOs aligning themselves as professional and corporate, in their administration and practice. The logical basis of such alignments is the subject of my second argument: that the constitution of these claims to consistency are the product of microtechniques of monitoring & evaluation (M&E) in SDP. Developing Hayhurst’s (2011) analysis of GCSE in SDP, I argue it is to these microtechniques that scholars should turn to, to understand one of the primary constituents of a technology of governmentality in SDP. The third argument concerns the property which the microtechniques of SDP attempt to capture: ‘change’. This can be change in behaviour, employment status, or knowledge. The last argument advances a new understanding of systematised M&E pursuant of ‘change’, as reliant upon particularly adjustable meanings of *time* and *space*.

Theory must now be justified and explained *vis-à-vis* its contribution to furthering the examination of the content of M&E: strategies, techniques, apparatuses, and discourses of how SDP is ‘done’ in order to demonstrate the “contestation, operationalization and transformation of more or less rationalized schemes...” (Rose, 1999: 20) and how these constitute the technologies of governmentality that Hayhurst (2011) accurately identified as so pernicious. As such, this analysis offers the possibility of a genuinely disruptive intervention to SPD in the field, and - building on the literature review in chapter 2 - offers a novel, critical standpoint in the corpus of scholarly work on SDP.

In this chapter I locate *power* in SDP as the central problematic to which this thesis will address itself. I then set out the case for the selection of a governmentality perspective to prioritise and elucidate its operation in SDP. To do so, I evaluate various concepts and theoretical positions from competing perspectives, jettisoning those whose critical explanatory potential I argue cannot bear the weight of this task. The claim is made for theoretical frameworks to move beyond two broad trends in academic discourse on SDP: (1) the calls for increased validation and Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E), and (2) an overreliance on the concept of 'hegemony'. In so doing, I evaluate, then discard historical materialist arguments in favour of a post-structural approach. Identifying Foucauldian *governmentality* - a term used to describe a perspective to look at *regimes of truth* and the seeking of authority to govern, otherwise known as the "conduct of conduct" (Foucault, 2000: 341; Rose, 1999: 19) - as a formidable lens, I examine the possibilities for its application to the discourse and praxis of SDP. I apply this perspective, in chapters 5-7, to the "ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics" (Foucault, 2009: 108) of the exercise of governmental power.

Power: towards a Critical Theory of SDP

The last chapter evaluated the critical treatment of SDP to date and identified a number of critical scholars making valuable contributions (Chawansky, 2012; Darnell, 2007; 2010; 2012; 2012a; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; 2012; Giulianotti, 2005; 2011; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; Spandler & McKeown, 2012). But I demonstrated that critical theory in SDP has not reconciled debates on human agency vs. issues of power (for example Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; vs Lindsay & Grattan, 2012). I argue here that we must attempt to remedy this by changing the terms of the debate in a nuanced way, by clarifying the dynamics of power in SDP.

Power has been conceived of in a variety of ways in SDP research. Some deploy a broadly postcolonial standpoint (Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2011), whilst some use the radical power theory of Lukes (2005) which highlights the less visible dimensions of power, or the subaltern view of Freire (2005) to explain the convergence and divergence of various forms of alternatives to power of any given time (for example Forde & Kota, 2016).

As stated in the introduction, the definition of power that I use is Foucauldian. To briefly summarise here, Foucault conceived of power in a very different way to the critical theorists that had come before him and had influenced him so (see Adorno, 2007; Adorno & Horkheimer, 1976; see also Agger, 1991a). In the historical materialist tradition (which crudely underpinned the approach of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory generally), power was relational in that it was exercised by some and endured by many, predominantly in

asymmetrical class relations. Change was possible but within the context of class struggle, which changed the relational position of power. The phenomenon that anchored power in the historical materialist understanding of history was labour and the ability for the capitalist class to extract surplus value from the labour of the working class (Marx, 2013; see also Agger, 1991a; Calhoun & Karaganis, 2001; Harvey, 2012; Cox, 1987; Gill & Law, 1988; Wallerstein, 2004).

Neo-Marxists, and some the critical theorists, continued to give primacy to economic forces and social relations in the functioning of power on the global stage but began to try to understand the role of culture in the subordination of society. Robert Cox (1987) in the late 1980s, in a celebrated work on power and production in the global political economy, attempted to internationalise the theories of the Frankfurt school, reinstalling social relations as a principal criterion for relevance in the study of international relations. For Cox, capital, now more mobile than ever before, was fundamentally related to new forms of productive and state power. World order, and all the phenomena available to researchers of international relations, must be underpinned by a theoretical understanding of this, Cox argued. The neo-Marxist, Wallerstein (2004), who brought World-Systems thinking to the mainstream, instead insisted on a spatial understanding of SDP as a technology for exploitation of the *periphery* by the *core*. Jameson (1991) though, in his critical evaluation of the aesthetics and theory of postmodernism, focused on cultural and academic forms, and made a devastating argument on the arrival of postmodernism just at the stage when late capitalism needed it most, stating that in some ways, this could have been expected (1991: xxi - xvii). Cultural praxis such as sport, and state relations on the basis of trade and aid, in these views, are exported as a product in a moral economy that incorporates subjects into a framework of thought that relies fundamentally on the primacy of a free-market economy, exploited by those at the centre, with the help of satellites in the periphery. However appealing this explanation seems, it is reductionist, reliant on production and over simplistic. Despite making huge contributions to radical thinking in the twentieth century and giving hope to marginalised populations in what was then the east, or the third world, materialism failed to rattle the architecture of power with its global narrative. Instead, post-structuralists and postcolonialists emerged out of the 1950s and 60s (see Fanon, 1961; Freire, 2005; Said, 1978) with withering critiques of the eurocentrism of Marxist thought in its depiction of *the other*; narratives predicated on racial supremacy and colonial subjugation.

Fiscal austerity, the primacy of markets, the freedom of capital, and the privatisation of public services- the supposed hallmarks of *neoliberalism* are railed against by those writers who try to explain why - in the face of such flagrant moves to dispossess and widen inequality - the revolutions that leftists were expecting never came to pass.

Harvey (see 1990; 2003; 2005) developed his own theory of the late stage of capitalism. In his work we can begin to perceive what a materialist critique of SDP might involve. Harvey drew influence from the second volume of Marx's *Capital* to create the concept of the *spatio-temporal fix* (Harvey, 2005: 87-89), which remedies surplus (unproductive) capital, accumulated in late capitalism¹⁰. Harvey saw space and time shifting in meaning, experience, and possibility as late capitalism progressed (2003: 88-89). In this vein, we might categorise GCSE in SDP as a 'spatio-temporal fix', i.e. a manifestation of a crisis of 'overaccumulation' – that is, of surplus capital unsuccessfully seeking profitable opportunity – which results in capital being invested in long-term capital projects or social expenditures or displaced spatially in investments in new markets, new processes or techniques (Harvey, 2003: 108-9).

Whilst not, strictly speaking, a long-term capital project, education and research of the kind that goes on in the social expenditures of GCSE, and the investments of companies in their workforces and supply chains, certainly fits this description. GCSE and SDP also promise the possibilities of new markets being opened up. Indeed, in later empirical chapters, some companies identify this as a very real outcome of GCSE/SDP investments. Both appear to lend credence to a putative historical materialist approach to the field, especially when seeking to explain why the SDP sector is so attractive to investment. It is both spatial – in the sense that it is a new market within the nexus of development interventions, highly visible and media friendly – and temporal – in the sense that it purports to provide long term benefits, which although difficult to measure, could be realised for both the labour-force, a company and the consumer. It could also explain why companies see it as so important now, and why so many GCSE journals espouse investment in community or social-sport because sport tends to share values aligned with the corporate branding such as individual achievement, team work, competition, and success (see for example Cregan, 2008). But does this answer the question of power in SDP and GCSE? It seems not. At best it seems to insinuate 'why' the environment for GCSE and SDP is so fertile and why the moment for these phenomena seems to have arrived. Such analysis elides questions of identity, agency, and multiplicity of meaning with the result that some of the more subtle but no less pernicious or pervasive ways in which society organises, monitors, and disciplines itself would be masked. Neglect of the micro-level again, is the critical area of vulnerability. Therefore, historical materialism cannot on its own theorise the operation of power in SDP and GCSE.

These tendencies extend also to the discipline of Development Studies. Schuurman (2009), in some ways influenced by the 'new imperialism' perspective of Harvey, identifies the 'twilight zone' that critical development theory currently finds itself in. He highlights the reliance,

¹⁰ Not be confused with Harvey's concept of 'space-time compression', which also has relevance to this study and which is explained in full later in this section

implicit or otherwise, on empiricism and normativity in the discipline of development studies, but also in the wider body of development research. Two camps have formed, with critical development theorists refusing to engage on the one hand with empirical researchers and normative practitioners on the other (2009: 835). Fine (2009: 891), in a discussion of development in general, demonstrates development orthodoxy's failure to engage with its own historicism, where development, in both theory and praxis, has become the welcoming recipient of the *newer economics imperialism*, where narrative is utilised only to select economic and analytic models for understanding behaviour (Fine, 2009: 891).

Approaches underpinned by historical materialism have been acutely concerned with capital and its deployment, and are therefore vulnerable to an economic reductionism. It necessarily begins at the level of the core and with the exercise of forces from the core upon the periphery. This, to me, cannot speak to explanations of practice in the day-to-day, and cannot adequately conform to a governmentality perspective. As Foucault argued, political economy is a form of knowledge in governmental rationalities; not the fulcrum of power (2009: 108-9).

Foucauldian power

Foucault distanced himself from understanding power in this way, which he saw as essentially "negative". Foucault saw power as productive – as positive – in a quest to understand the *functioning* of power in society. And it was the *functioning* of power specifically, contrary to the historical materialists who focused on the *result* of power – which set Foucault apart. By focusing on function, *location* of power in Foucault's work is easier to comprehend than its ontology. Power is everywhere for Foucault. It is discursively constructed in the day-to-day of everything that human beings in society do with each other – our practices, techniques, and means of organising ourselves and each other. It is neither an agency nor a structure (Foucault, 1981: 68). Instead, power now constitutes all of our interactions with one another in a tendency that Foucault referred to as *governmentality* - a term which Foucault gave to the full spectrum of actors' practice in their attempts to govern their lives and to seek authority over themselves and others:

"I intend this concept of 'governmentality' to cover the whole range of practices that constitute, define, organize, and instrumentalize the strategies that individuals in their freedom can use in dealing with each other." (Foucault, 1997: 300)

Power relies, fundamentally, on *regimes of truth*: the pervasiveness of quests to authoritatively describe what *is* in the world that manifest themselves in the day-to-day of everything that people do (Foucault, 1981: 68). Power in this sense is only visible as it functions. Its operation – as it works – gives it tangibility. Therefore, in distinction to historical materialists, in order to

see power it is at the peripheries as well as at the core, that attention must be directed. This *nodal* conception denotes power as distributed in discursive networks of understanding, such as *common sense* (2004: 29).

Power is not something that some have and others are subject to. It is exercised in networks, between actors, and individuals (Foucault, 2004: 29). Foucault understood *biopolitics* as the political power exercised over every aspect of human life, its production and reproduction (2009: 359-366). Whilst monetary policy of any government is deployed to this end, it is not the monetary system that empowers the politics of society. Instead, the quest to realign the services of society to the problematic faced - the 'faults' within society - which the services are intended to remedy (Foucault, 2008: 25-51). I apply this by focusing on the apparatuses of biopolitical understanding deployed in SDP: the various techniques used by SDP NGOs to understand and order their work, in practices of M&E, biologically (who, how old, how many, ethnicity, status).

And this contention that the pervasiveness and diffusion of power amongst all in society, and in practice and discourse at peripheries as well as the core of late-capitalist, neoliberal society, ultimately necessitates the application of Foucauldian perspective of power in any formation of social action. Its conception as such permits its application in a wide range of social practices, for example within the field of international development, as some prominent theorists have pointed out at length (see Cornwall, 2002; 2004; Brock, Cornwall & Gaventa, 2001).

Understanding governmentality in SDP must account for these interventions and their content. It is here then that I now pivot to post-structural understandings of power that can reinstall the primacy of everyday practices and administrative techniques that embody governmentality, in the interventions that SDP delivers.

The expansion of Foucauldian theory

The Foucauldian post-structural conceptions that I adopt, of the governmentality of SDP can examine and understand these processes, and make transparent their opacity, in a fashion that class-based approaches cannot in their reductionism. The constellation of practices, administrations, techniques, rules and procedures in SDP together form general codes of practice in what have been called "technologies of power" (Hardt & Negri, 2001: 24-25). Critical research on SDP must in some way reflect the tensions within SDP and pull apart technologies of power.

Hardt & Negri (2001; 2004) re-instate production to Foucault's biopolitics, and their identification of Deleuze & Guattari's explicit paradox of power (see Deleuze & Guattari, 2013:

542): that whilst power envelops all aspects of life, it also loses its capacity to mediate social forces, and thus creates a new melange of “maximum plurality and uncontainable singularization” (Hardt & Negri, 2001: 24-5). This clearly has repercussions for thought on all of civil society, for NGOs, for the welfare state, and for radical alternatives which are constrained within an ever expanding multiplicity. The huge array of difference – of seemingly competing viewpoints, of actors, organisations, always diversifying- is in fact, for Hardt & Negri, the ends of empire. Difference or multiplicity, therefore, may not be an indication of resistance by the subaltern *per se*, but of incorporation into what Foucault, in *Discipline and Punish*, called the “society of control” (1977: 218-225). Indeed the lack of ‘fit’ of Southern narratives with the archetype of neoliberalism, is in fact to be expected. Such agency, and even resistance, is in fact necessary (see Hardt & Negri, 2001: 34; 2004: 99-115), where a multiplicity of interest in *network power* sustains an imperial tendency (*ibid*).

Darnell (2012a; see also: 2007; 2010; 2012; and Darnell & Hayhurst 2012) poses a number of methodological insights using Hardt & Negri’s *Empire* (2001), interweaving interviews with SDP practitioners with issues around race and biopolitics. Here we can see how elements of post-structural thought can be complemented by examining geopolitics and social relations, creating the possibility for a re-evaluation of SDP in the context of globalisation. This method implicitly rejects the idea that Marxian analysis is ultimately incompatible with post-structural, postmodern or postcolonial works. Loeppky (2005) uses a similar approach - marrying discursive analysis with political economy - when tackling foreign policy in the United States, drawing on Campbell (1998) to reveal the construction of security as discursive in the context of the apparent pervasiveness of threat from biological agents.

Hayhurst (2009; 2011) builds upon her work with Darnell, focusses on key SDP policy texts containing the object ‘partnership’, unsettling their meaning by tracking their prominence within policy documents. Hayhurst is unconcerned with the current trend within development literature to evaluate the effectiveness of its interventions and turns instead to Harvey (2003; 2005) to locate it within the functions of the global political economy (Hayhurst, 2009: 205-223). In a later work discussed in the previous chapter, she engages specifically with the concept of governmentality and uses this in a postcolonial critique of GCSE in SDP (2011).

As the first explicit engagement in SDP with the work of Hardt & Negri (2001), of Foucault (1974; 1977; 1980; 2008), and of Gramsci (2010), there is much to be welcomed in the work of Darnell and Hayhurst. The critique that follows, and by extension this research as a whole, is intended to develop the work they have begun.

Darnell and Hayhurst’s insistence on an understanding of the power processes in SDP (as essentially representative of Northern neo-colonial neoliberalism) has not gone unquestioned. As seen in the last chapter, Lindsey & Grattan rightly make the case for unsettling euro-

centricism, in favour of balance with local agency in the South, using a case study from Zambian SDP organisations (2012: 94-104).

Thus far, genuine elucidation of the historical and political conditions of governmentality within SDP have not been available to scholars of the sector, leading to what I would describe as only a loose connection to analyses of the operation of power that we might find in other social sciences and exemplified in the work of Rose (1999), Rose & Miller (2010) and Miller & Rose (2008). Within Darnell, there is a strong case for understanding SDP in the context of biopolitics, neoliberalism, and race. The connection here to unsettling dominant meta-narratives is undeniable. However, the work does not quite achieve the aims it sets.

It seems to me that Lindsey & Grattan (2012) were correct in that plurality and heterogeneity in Darnell & Hayhurst (2012) are replaced by the concepts of hegemony and neoliberalism. Important though they are, the absence of heterogeneity results in the failure to analyse the multiplicity of attempts to govern certain spaces in SDP that produces its power dynamic. It is not just the interests of firms, for example, or hegemonies of neoliberal ideologies, or international sports federations, or the most powerful of NGOs, which control discourse within SDP. There is in fact a battle of discourse going on constantly with the character of heterogeneous sources of authority that seek to govern conduct (Rose, 1999: pp. 20-22). NGOs jostle for space, research institutions create new tools and platforms, rules are set by international institutions governing the safeguarding and welfare of players in sports. There are myriad attempts to set agendas and all of these have various degrees of 'traction' amongst their intended audiences. They are rationalised, and when they appear as 'logical' to actors they can govern, with permission, certain behaviours and structures within SDP. It is, in my view, only by looking at these various examples at the micro-level, that we reveal something about the power dynamics of this. What we need, therefore, are perspectives that enable such investigations.

The problematic of 'hegemony' is foremost in the thinking of Darnell, subordinating other more illuminating frameworks of thought. Following Rose (1999), I argue for a reassessment of the value of the concept of hegemony for our research field and advocate its abandonment in favour of *rationalities*, understood through the study of *governmentality* (1999: 25-29). Der Derian has noted that overreliance on Gramscian hegemony can lead some researchers to a delimitation by over-focusing on state and class power (Der Derian, 1990: 303), a tendency evident in Darnell's work (2012a: 14-17), with its excessively Northern explication of neoliberal tendencies, that Lindsey & Grattan aimed to remedy. The connections between the North and South and what these connections facilitate, is missing. Darnell's reliance on the concept of hegemony represents a lacuna which undermines his analysis.

Though differing in their mode of application and their quarry, postmodern and post-structural theory offers a means of departure from the overreliance on neoliberalism and Gramscian hegemony identified above. A canon of thought throughout the twentieth century (Derrida 1997; influenced by Heidegger, 2000) which when applied to texts, theory and aesthetics, sought to develop a theory of communicative analysis and philosophy focused on fluidity of, and power behind, meaning (see for summary Agger, 1991: 113). Derrida's writing was famously impenetrable, associated by various writers at times with postmodernism (more commonly understood to be a branch of philosophical critique of aesthetics), at times with post-structuralism (perhaps less suitably associated than Foucault in this regard, due to post-structuralism's closer relation to critical theories of social, political and philosophical realities), and at times, with no one at all, and he defended a deconstructive method on the basis of its potential to demystify texts in social sciences.

Post-structuralism stretched out as one of the most challenging and critical forms of enquiry. Lyotard (1984) rejected the totalising grand narratives of Marxism and liberalism, whilst Barthes (1972) used semiology and focused on *spectacle* and *myth*. In a beautiful book largely overlooked in the study of sport, Barthes asked the question: *What is Sport?* (2007). Here he examines the signifiers and hidden dynamics of sport as a spectacle, elaborating on his discussion of amateur wrestling at the beginning of *Mythologies* (1972: 15-25). Particularly fascinating is his meditation on the way certain sports impact on our experience of time and space, all the more resonant when considered in the context of the apparent acceleration of production in our daily lives in late capitalism (Harvey, 2003)¹¹. This perspective of sport as a 'sped up' spectacle is incredibly useful when considering the application of sport more widely and the processes of M&E that I evaluate within the seventh chapter. Interventions within our lives are increasingly monitored, and time bound, for the assessment of their efficacy, and changes that result are fixed spatially and temporally: person A changed on X date, at Y time. This requires us to suspend temporarily what we know or intuitively feel about place and space, about time and timing. In so doing, the fluidity and complexity of social life is codified into artificially bordered moments that justify if intervention X 'worked'. Just as the full spectrum of human endeavour (training) that leads to an outcome (a win, a loss) is masked in the spectacle of sport as Barthes describes (2007: 12), the M&E of SDP interventions disguises the indeterminate boundaries of human experience across time and space.

Foucault's contribution to the post-structural canon, broad in its referents but indebted to Nietzsche's critique of the enlightenment quest for a universal knowledge (Agger, 1991: 117), can be broadly categorised in two ways: firstly, on the constitutive role of discourse in subject-

¹¹ I expand on this point in a section below within this chapter

object relations, and secondly on the centrality of *biopolitics* and *governmentality* to *societies of control*.

For Foucault, discourse constitutes objects themselves, and changes them as discourse is practised. Referring to his earlier work, the conception of 'madness' and the incorporation of this object in *Madness and Civilization* (2001, originally published in 1964), Foucault discusses the relations of statements - when they refer to the same object - forming groups despite being apparently varying in appearance in time and form. It leads to the surmising that:

"One might, perhaps one should, conclude from this multiplicity of objects that it is not possible to accept, as a valid unity forming a group of statements, a 'discourse, concerning madness'. Perhaps one should confine one's attention to those groups of statements that have one and the same object: the discourses on melancholia, or neurosis, for example. But one would soon realize that each of these discourses in turn constituted its object and worked it to the point of transforming it altogether. So that the problem arises of knowing whether the unity of a discourse is based not so much on the permanence and uniqueness of an object as on the space in which various objects emerge and are continuously transformed." (Foucault, 2002: 35-6)

For Foucault, discourse changes objects, and constitutes their reality, but it also importantly places subjects in relation to one another. One of the systems which govern this process is *discursive formations*. Fairclough characterises this concept, sometimes overlapping in Foucault with the term 'discourse', as "systems of rules which make it possible for certain statements but not others to occur at particular times, places and institutional locations" (1992: 40). The importance of these systems of rules in the study of discourse and power is given by Foucault as such:

"Would not the typical relation that would enable us to individualize a group of statements concerning madness then be: the rule of simultaneous or successive emergence of the various objects that are named, described, analysed, appreciated, or judged in that relation? The unity of discourses on madness would not be based upon the existence of the object of 'madness', or the constitution of a single horizon of objectivity; it would be the interplay of the rules that make possible the appearance of objects during a given period of time: objects that are shaped by measures of discrimination and repression, objects that are differentiated in daily practice, in law, in religious casuistry, in medical diagnosis, objects that are manifested in pathological descriptions, objects that are circumscribed by medical codes, practices, treatment, and care. Moreover the unity of the discourses on madness would be the interplay of the rules that define the transformations of these different objects, their non-identity

through time, the break produced in them, the internal discontinuity that suspends their permanence.” (Foucault, 2002: 36)

The discursive formations which Foucault makes reference to consist of a number of sets of rules in the formation of statements and texts, these being rules of formation for the following: for ‘objects’, for ‘enunciative modalities’, for ‘subject positions’, for ‘concepts’, and for ‘strategies’ (Foucault, 2002: 31-39). In Foucault’s account of discursive formations, we saw the development of an understanding of how they interrelate, always depending on one another and overlapping. But more than this, they transform their objects of analysis. They are constitutive: speaking or writing about a thing means transforming its meaning.

For Foucault, the ways in which discourses form and define is always in relation to other discourses. Foucault wrote on ‘interdiscursivity’ in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1974). Though the term was related in some ways to the ‘intertextuality’ of Kristeva (1986), we need to distinguish the two. Intertextuality is about the relations between texts, statements where a text is explicitly referred to or drawn upon for another text (Fairclough, 1992: 85). However in Foucault, interdiscursivity concerns the relations between discursive formations, or discourses (Baker & Ellece, 2011: 62), and goes beyond conceptions of being independent of discourse to being embedded in and constitutive of discourse (Fairclough, 1992: 85 & 101-136). This is important for this thesis, because within these relations between groups of discourse events, we retain the possibility for the discursive formations of SDP to be reliant upon, other discursive formations.

But also, we have the discursive interplay between the operations of the SDP organisation – the programmes – and that of its bodies that are seeking funding. Does the SDP NGO project itself using language that is alien to potential sponsors? Of course not. It applies to the GCSE of a corporation by using the language it understands. It interdiscursively depends on the discursive formation of the juridical, legal and technical language of those it relies upon for support, both explicitly, and without ever fully acknowledging it. In terms of a governmental rationality, the logic of corporate ‘expertise’ helps govern the conduct of SDP practitioners in the space in which they operate (Rose & Miller, 2010; Hayhurst, 2011; Cutler, 2010). The apparatuses which constitute this conduct, I detail during the three empirical chapters which we come to shortly (5-7).

The means by which this happens is through technologies of power: systems that incorporate subjects into their workings. It was Foucault’s later works which emphasised this: the second major contribution he makes, this time on power, biopolitics and governmentality. In *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault made a departure from the primacy of discourse (1974), and began to focus on power. In this, his major genealogical study, discourse remains central to social processes and practices, but becomes secondary to systems of power (Fairclough,

1992: 49-50). Power works by incorporating subjects into practices; that is to say, into organised practices and techniques, in which participants actively play a role in their own governance. This *governmentality* is embodied amongst subjects by 'microtechniques' such as the 'examination' in schools, hospitals and prisons (Foucault, 1979: 185-194; see also Fairclough, 1992: 50-53; Rose, 1999: 18).

In a series of lectures just a few years after publishing *Discipline & Punish*, he came to know governmentality as the single most important operationalisation of power under the conditions of postmodern liberalism; indeed it was the defining characteristic of it. He gave it a definition thus:

"By this word 'governmentality' I mean three things: First, by 'governmentality' I understand the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument. Second, by 'governmentality' I understand the tendency, the line of force, that for a long time, and throughout the West, has constantly led towards the pre-eminence over all other types of power – sovereignty, discipline, and so on – of the type of power that we can call 'government' and which has led to the development of a series of specific governmental apparatuses (*appareils*) on the one hand [and, on the other] to the development of a series of knowledges (*savoirs*). Finally, by 'governmentality' I think we should understand the process, or rather, the result of the process by which the state of justice of the Middle Ages became the administrative state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and was gradually 'governmentalized.'" (2009: 108-9)

This is not to say that any individual or number of agents are necessarily wielding this power, but rather that we constantly collaborate in creating the conditions for our own ensnarement in technologies of governmentality. Power, thus, is productive in the sense that it creates spaces for objects and subjects, producing reality, and truths (Foucault, 1977: 194).

The principal means, in Foucault's genealogical work, by which power is exercised in governmental modernity, is *biopower*: the governing of the body and the production of populations as biological subjects. Foucault began to use biopower and *biopolitics* in his book *The History of Sexuality* (1981) but it perhaps is most important to his empirical explanation of the European passage from *disciplinary society* to a *society of control* (1977) - whereby subjects are no longer disciplined using visible displays of violence, but rather incorporated into technologies and practices of power and surveillance that far outweigh the threat either to themselves or the state.

Biopolitics is crucial for critical scholarship in SDP (see also Lemke, 2001: 201). Biopolitics, though contested in terms of meaning, even within Foucault (Wallenstein, 2013: 7-12), is the governance of human vital production and reproduction in the social realm. It is the politics of the corporeal and one of the defining features of the governmentality of liberal reason. It is reliant upon the form of political reason that is governmentality, which creates techniques for intervening in individuals' bodies and lives, and the means for individuals to police themselves, or care for themselves (Foucault, 2009: 108; Lemke, 2001: 201; Wallenstein, 2013: 12). Biopower refers to the set of policies laws, rules, codes and norms that govern and intervene in the life of the human being via conceptions of it as a body: a life, or a natural object that is sexual, reproductive, racial, medical, sane or insane (Foucault, 1981; see also Darnell, 2010: 398-9; Fairclough, 1992: 50; Pickett, 2005: 15-20;). Darnell has applied this concept to SDP and concluded that biopower is fundamental to SDP in that:

“... power is mobilized positively through the ability to motivate, rather than punish or repress... Sport and play – discursively intelligible as socially beneficial and culturally normative – gain legitimacy through bio-power, imbued with the ability to motivate individuals to transform life through sport-based processes of body management.” (2010: 398-9)

As Hardt & Negri argue in their book *Empire*, that all critique of social life now must recognise the biopolitical nature of power (2000: 24-5), where the extension of disciplinarity extends beyond the usually studied social institutions of government and public provision, through fluctuating networks, flexible and driven from below as well as above.

Racial categories as expressions of biopower are also crucial to Darnell's understanding of the biopolitics of the SDP movement, with 'the other', and sociocultural difference at the forefront of both his theoretical framework and the results from his interviews with Canadian SDP volunteers. It provides us with an opportunity to reconnect the theoretical insights of the twentieth century poststructuralists with the 21st century study of SDP. Biopower is discursive in nature, for example in the relations between doctor and patient, judge and criminal, teacher and student - within those encounters and discursive practices which Foucault calls 'examination' and 'confession' (Foucault, 1977: 44-5 & 184-194; Sheridan, 140 & 154-5; Fairclough, 1992: 51-55) - where subjects are placed in relation to one another. “That is why, in all the mechanisms of discipline, the examination is highly ritualized. In it are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth” (Foucault, 1977: 184). The evaluation of individuals in programmes in SDP, indeed in all development interventions, can be viewed through this lens.

Foucault was not alone in considering examinations and evaluations. Considering governance in recording data it is important to include Deleuze (1992). The moments in which change

'happens' in SDP, are solidified in spreadsheets, participant registers, on self-reporting surveys, and in randomised control trials. These moments where instances of reality are monitored and evaluated were predicted in Deleuze's characterisation of individuals' records as objectified data 'dividuals', collectivized and individualized simultaneously, becoming "masses, samples, data, markets, or 'banks'" (1992: 5). It says to us that *the development moment* – the instant at which change or 'improvement' has happened - has taken place. The monitoring of SDP programmes is the microtechnique of recording reality that SDP organisations deploy in the governance of the moment in which development takes place. I argue, in characterising M&E in SDP in this way we see a sped-up, datarised and seemingly verifiable instant in which sport is considered to have, or have not created the conditions for change and recorded the change itself. Accepting this argument means that we should not just accept calls to monitor and evaluate SDP programmes on face-value, without critique; without engagement with the idea of who this serves, how it subordinates, and how it reproduces experience in governable ways.

A concern remains that academics in SDP continue to recommend that there should be an increase in monitoring & evaluation (M&E) (Coalter, 2007; 2009; 2010; 2011; Kidd, 2014: iv; Levermore, 2008: 189; Simons, 2014: 79). We can call this uncritical, because it masks the possibilities within M&E itself: its perniciousness, its monopolisation by positivist discourse, and its incorporation of individuals into systems in which they have no oversight. Those same systems of recording, analysing, and controlling behaviour could be the same systems which incorporate and delimit the possibilities for the subaltern. For Deleuze, these systems were the "coils of the serpent", virtual and otherwise (1992: 3-7). They enveloped participants in incomprehensible systems which recorded information about behaviour, and about 'progress' towards certain desirable societal goals. And this is why governmental perspectives are so salient when applied to interventions in the body politic. A governmentality perspective empowers research that investigates power in attempts to 'improve lives' and record reality, because it allows us to find power in everyday practices and administrative techniques that humans use to make sense of the world.

Foucauldian Governmentality and Rationalities in SDP

More recent scholars of governmentality have developed the concept and targeted its lens at a wide array of social and policy environments.

For Nikolas Rose, in *Powers of Freedom* (1999), Foucault's work on governmentality, rationality, power and truth, lends the possibility for seeing apparently coherent systems of thought in historical moments in a different way. Rose called into question the consistency and the seemingly rational connection between constructions of thought. Quests for consistency

among strategies, seen to be linked to one another, in this view, are usually attempts at, rather than real coherencies in, knowledges (Rose, 1999: 24). Certain epistemic quests for truth may give political rationalities – governing, or governance, rendering itself technical, linking itself to available technologies that seem permissible – a social form in the space of practice, and its surveillance (*ibid*: 26).

Rose gives a persuasive example of this using the apparent synchronicity of *neoliberalism* that I discussed in the introduction. Let's remind ourselves of this: critiques of welfare and big government seem, in the last 20 years to be born of post-war neoliberal economic thought, exemplified for instance by the work of Milton Friedman (2002). We would be forgiven for thinking that this viewpoint preceded and anticipated the move to neoliberal thought, practice, and reproduction of the social order. But in Rose's view, these critiques of welfare were rationalising government in a new way, one not necessarily of a piece with the narrative of coherent, aggressive efforts, inspired apparently by a proto- reading of Adam Smith (Rose, 1999: 27) which sought to delimit the power and reach of the state:

“They were, rather, contingent lash-ups of thought and action, in which various problems of governing were resolved through drawing upon instruments and procedures that happened to be available, in which new ways of governing were invented in a rather *ad hoc* way, as practical attempts to think about and act upon specific problems in particular locales, and various other existing techniques and practices were merely dressed up in new clothes. ... And such rationalities were then embodied in, or came to infuse, a whole variety of practices and assemblages for regulating economic life, medical care, welfare benefits, professional activity and so forth...” (*ibid*)

So the coherence of an apparently discreet ideology, such as *neoliberalism*, does not actually mean a coherence of thought and praxis. Instead, it is a constellation of thought, technical and policy frameworks that appears credible and comprehensible for a period of time. It is this quest to take discreet thoughts and connect them, to render the resulting connections as credible, Rose argues, that indicates a quest to govern (*ibid*). Analyses therefore cannot be unidirectional, and should not overemphasise ‘top-down’ perspectives. In chapter five, I apply this approach to the alignments between discourses of actors in SDP. My research indicates that SDP and CSR relations must be understood in light of specific alignments in discourse; alignments which are populated and justified by the productions of microtechniques of M&E.

In Rose, we can begin to see how we might interrogate microtechniques as a means by which power is operationalized in SDP. Analysing power through the perspective of governmentality requires the problematisation of the governance of conduct, requiring...

“... a particular point of view which brings certain questions into focus: that dimension of our history composed by the invention, contestation, operationalization, and transformation of more or less rationalized schemes, programmes, techniques and devices which seek to shape conduct so as to achieve certain ends.” (Rose, 1999: 20)

The question becomes not whether SDP/GCSE relations represent a particularly pernicious manifestation of neoliberal development, but what the content of *neoliberalism*, as it is commonly understood itself, is. We must understand the functioning of power by asking: what are the techno-strategic apparatuses that constitute attempts to govern conduct in a technology of governmentality? In posing the question this way, possibilities to unsettle the operation of power are left open. In Chapters 5 and 6 I explore the systems of control that individuals and collectives within SDP subject themselves to.

Examining the strategies, techniques, apparatuses, and discourses of how SDP is ‘done’ will demonstrate the “contestation, operationalization and transformation of more or less rationalized schemes...” (Rose, 1999: 20). As such, this analysis also offers the possibility of a genuinely disruptive intervention in these regimes of truth in SDP.

Much of the empirical data described in this thesis describes techniques that are broadly cohering to the aims of biopolitics: to the governance of the human body, and the knowledges that understand it, in the social realm. Registers, online recording software, M&E – these are all techniques for the comprehension of biological ‘facts’. For example, the recording of HIV/AIDS knowledge and behaviour, the indication of sexual preferences, employment status or ethnicity. Furthermore SDP programmes gather information on geography, social background, and levels of education, all within the principles of management of the population, the governance of society as a body of rational human subjects.

What remains in this chapter is the need to ground this theory in empirical examples from the research I have completed. In so doing, I now preview the arguments made from the findings explained later in this thesis - and make clear the theoretical support for each, using the ideas around governmentality proposed by Rose.

Power and alignments in the constellation of actors in SDP

I summarise here the theoretical support for the following argument: GCSE and CSR have been identified as technologies of governmentality in SDP in a postcolonial feminist critical assessment of a Northern-based, corporate-led Sport, Gender and Development SGD partnership (Hayhurst, 2011). But this analysis overemphasised top-down forces, and failed to dissect the constituent parts and justifications for such an infiltration of corporate influence

into civil society. My research expands upon Hayhurst's work and makes a novel contribution by indicating that the SDP and CSR relationship can be understood in two specific alignments in discourse that are taking place: that the corporate aligns itself as socially responsible and that the SDP NGO aligns itself as professional and corporatized. The latter of these alignments requires a logical basis: a comprehensible and standardised range of rationalities upon which to base the claims to connections with other distinct realms or actors.

Deploying a functional and nodal understanding of power dictates the need to analyse relations between actors and individuals in their infinite detail (Foucault 2004: 29). For Foucault, the state (civil society and class relations) is just a location in which we might empirically observe functions of power – not the originator of the exercise of power. Acceptance of this necessitates rejecting arguments that place certain forms of practice, agency or structure, as more powerful than others. What we should instead invest our efforts in is knowledge, administrative and technical apparatus: what people 'say', 'write' and 'do' with each other in SDP becomes the crucially important terrain of enquiry. Examining the connections between corporate actors and SDP NGOs in light of this enhanced conception of power enables researchers to see alignment of corporate actors by justifying their practices as socially responsible. This is empowered by the SDP NGOs as much as the corporates themselves, as the former provides focal points for the latter's impulses.

This cannot be explained solely by the fact that the corporate is financially rich and the NGO comparatively poor. As Foucault argued, political economy is the major form of knowledge in governmentality, and not its *raison d'être* (2009: 108-9). Capital and its flow through the system of SDP rests upon the inter-exchange of ideas throughout widely arrayed systems. These 'knowledges' (Rose, 1999: 18) are, my research shows, strikingly coherent in seemingly disparate places. These understandings, I argue, are justified on the basis of logical and rational claims to objectively verifiable performance against stated aims by the SDP organisation. Such aspirations fundamentally configure behaviour of actors and crucially they change the way people talk and write. In the case of SDP, this can be the understanding of what organisations should be, and how they should make change, in order to create 'better' human beings (see Darnell, 2010). These incoherent or semi-coherent 'common sense' understandings, given a name or an overarching concept, are, in short, ways and means of rationally justifying, or appealing to, the connections between illogical collections of ideas (Rose 1999: 27).

Though CSR/GCSE has been an incredibly effective vehicle for the transmission of certain ideas between different parts of the system (Hayhurst 2011), we should look deeper into CSR, and beyond seeing it as simply a technology of governmentality in a hierarchical system of control of the relatively powerless. Instead, CSR is a particularly telling way in which SDP actors connect logically with dominant rationalities using their banks of data about the work they do,

and the participants in their programmes. My research indicates that SDP actors use logical bases in a techno-strategic project to align to rational understandings of desirable organisational qualities.

Civil society as understood here in the context of SDP operates in a transnational space. We see this manifested in organisations operating in virtual spaces that are contributed to from various territories. On platforms such as sportanddev.org, or in online communities such as www.streetfootballworld.org and on social networks such as twitter.com, facebook.com, and linkedin.com. These Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) (Keck & Sikkink; 2002) form a method of surveillance, where the best of NGOs' performance is demonstrated, for example where 'best practice' advice is published, or reports rationalising the effectiveness of organisations. This, along with perceptions of how corporations organise and administer their practice, becomes extremely intoxicating for SDP NGOs.

I therefore operationalise the insight from elements of organisation theory (Leclercq-Vandelannoitte, 2011; Morgan 2006), and Hardt & Negri's *Multitude* (2004) to examine the process of connecting, aligning and collectivising in SDP. In the fifth chapter, I demarcate three specific sectoral realms: the private, not-for-profit, and the public; and four spatial realms: the local, national, transnational and global.

The logical basis of 'quality' *monitoring and evaluation* underpins discursive alignments: the way in which individuals and groups are given order through administrative techniques. These 'microtechniques' - which can be as simple as an attendance register or best-practice guide, and as complicated as a multi-million dollar participant database - incorporate people into systems, standardising practices; capturing biological and behavioural data about people. They are the fundamental technology of governmentality in SDP, and in wider society they are the fundamental apparatuses of the biopolitical society that Foucault described (2008). This is why it is so important to critically engage with such techniques and make them transparent.

Power in SDP as microtechniques

The intricacies of monitoring & evaluation in development interventions have not escaped critical attention (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Guijt, Arevalo & Saladores, 1998; Kay, 2009; Jeanes & Lindsey, 2014). But their full potential in governmental systems of power, especially in the context of SDP, has not been fully analysed. I demonstrate, in chapter 6, that the microtechniques described are the fulcrum of a power of governmentality in SDP: the examining and recording of SDP participants, and their 'changes' to more desirable versions of themselves in SDP programmes, renders SDP participants' experiences comprehensible and dominatable. Foucault's notion of *panopticism* in *Discipline and Punish* (1977) describes a

situation in societies of control in which the surveilled cohere to the rules and norms of the system of power because of the permanence and pervasiveness of surveillance itself, irrespective of whether it is 'real' or not. This is the condition that creates the possibility for biopolitical incorporation, and for inscription of what is good and bad.

Der Derian (1990: 304) has internationalised this idea, but specifically referred to the monitoring and surveillance bodies, apparatuses, and technologies in a post-cold-war international arena between states. Opportunities exist, therefore, for this method of thinking to be extended to an understanding of the technocratic structures of international civil society, of which SDP is an active component, monitoring individual progress, tracking change in participants, seeking to prescribe and proscribe behaviour. Rose describes these techniques in his book *Powers of Freedom* where education, a principal secondary tool in SDP, has now become a technology of the formation of the rational individual (1999: 77). Applying the perspective of the governmentalisation of the state suggested by Rose at the national level of states (1999: 149), we can see training, 'best-practice', recording, analysing, not as desirable practices in the quest to alleviate suffering, but as self-imposed tools to further enmesh individuals in increasing complex rational systems. Governmentality was, for Foucault, the quest for authority ever deeper into the realms of biological and social production. Once recognised as such, and acknowledged as embedded within most, if not all, attempts to rationally understand and direct social conduct, SDP cannot with a straight face, be held as an attempt at true social justice.

Hardt & Negri contextualise this point in *Empire* when discussing the multiplicity of social interventions and alternatives, and the policing function of attempts at social development made by NGOs:

"The deployments of the imperial machine are defined by a whole series of new characteristics, such as the unbounded terrain of its activities, the singularization and symbolic localization of its actions, and the connection of repressive action to all the aspects of the biopolitical structure of society. For lack of a better term we continue to call these 'interventions.' This is merely a terminological and not a conceptual deficiency, for these are not really interventions into independent juridical territories but rather actions within a unified world by the ruling structure of production and communication. In effect, intervention has been internalized and universalized." (2000: 35)

Governmentality now encompasses NGOs, indeed civil society itself as a policing function; a power of freedom. Social welfare can be seen to be a governable space which MNCs take over (Cutler, 2010: 157-185), and where power becomes operable in a space to govern the health, production, and relations of society (Rose & Miller 2010: 272-3).

Being an NGO – we might add here, especially being an NGO that absorbs itself in not just the funding and resources from GCSE programmes, but the technical know-how of it too - necessitates delivering programmes, and this is both introverted in the shape of the discipline organisations exert on themselves, by incorporating their participants into systems of rationality, and extroverted in the forays into communities that are morally, nationally, racially or juridically defined as 'needy'. As Rose has shown, 'community' and 'freedom' are both now governmental concepts (1999: 61-97), essential in the control of subjects. By becoming free, and a member of a community, both considered in much normative and positivist literature to be desirable attributes, the realms of the possible are fundamentally diminished. Governmentality is delimiting in its effect. Conduct cannot be governed without being rendered knowable, and in SDP, it is the microtechniques of monitoring & evaluation that render it such.

Data – gathered and codified as 'knowable' - are gathered in the pursuit of an understanding of *change*, specifically and most often, 'behaviour change'. This is what systematised M&E is attempting to detect in SDP, and it is the project of the microtechniques meant to detect it.

Understanding Space and Time in SDP: Theoretical support

What do these techniques of monitoring & evaluation require in order to become *real*? They produce data, which is used to scientifically translate events into comprehensible constructions of meaning. That is to say, they produce numbers of things that have *happened* in a moment in time, as a result of SDP programmes; numbers which are "to be mined, visualised, analysed and interpreted however we wish" (Davies, 2016). This production of representations of data is distinct from the production of 'facts', which we see in its most recent form towards the end of the 15th century with the instantiation of 'double-entry book-keeping' and the standardisation of book-keeping techniques (Poovey, 1998: 29-33, in Davies, 2016). Facts in business practice contributed to the scientific understanding of society in the enlightenment, but did so with the requirement for centralised policing and standardisation of procedures across spaces (*ibid*). Understanding *time* and *space* now, and what happens to these concepts, is the project of chapter 7.

I argue in chapter 7 that systematised M&E as a microtechnique in SDP is reliant upon the spatial and temporal qualities it is given by SDP practitioners in order to allocate 'changes' in participants. Unsettling time and space as constructs is the fundamental issue we must grapple with in order to make transparent the opaque processes of microtechniques of M&E in SDP.

Time and *space* generally appear as accepted, unproblematic concepts in literature on SDP. But this belies their contested nature. The most conventional definitions in Collins English dictionary demonstrate 15 definitions for the word 'space' (2016). Space is defined as "the

unlimited three-dimensional expanse in which all material objects are located” in one and as “an interval of distance or time between two points, objects, or events” (Collins, 2016) in another. In architecture, two broad, often confused camps seem to exist: first, space as a thought category for understanding the world, and second as a ‘thing’ or a quality which can be manipulated (Forty, 2000, cited in *Defining Space*, 2008: 195). Space is a fluid concept, and necessitates the abandonment of its comprehension as simply a place where things happen; in genuinely critical accounts, it must be seen as socially constructed, produced through practice, discourse and action (Lefebvre, 1974, cited in Facer, 2014: 121), and largely indeterminable as a concept.

Time on the other hand, is often assumed to be unidirectional: a “continuum of instants, or a succession of durationless ‘nows’” (Read, 2002: 193); despite the problematisation of the understanding of what time is (*ibid*): i.e. time is everything that ‘happened’ between an unfixed point in dimensions and this contemporary point now. This is an area where scholars have been found wanting, treating time and space as unproblematic concepts in the study of SDP. The “realistic deadlines” (Coalter 2009: 17) and delimited timeframes for programme interventions belie the heterogeneous experiences of participants in programmes, inculcated infinitely differently in terms of their temporal qualities. This reveals a tendency to decode success temporally in terms of how programmers understand it. Time and space seem to be delimited due to the perceptions of SDP practitioners. It speaks to the need to transcend traditional analyses of power in SDP and look at existing constructions of meaning in a novel way. A critique of existing thought on SDP must acknowledge the absence of considerations of time and space, and evaluate their use as categories of relevance in the study of development beyond SDP.

To do so we must turn to a diverse range of thought to revalorise the concepts of time and space and in so doing preview some of the arguments from the penultimate chapter of this thesis, using post-structural perspectives from Barthes (2007), Der Derian (1990), and Rose (1999). I reformulate the conception of the deployment of ‘time’ and ‘space’ in the M&E process in SDP.

Der Derian (1990) examined new military techniques, demonstrating that the technological deployment of practices and apparatuses in international relations can be understood as the exercise of a discursive power, and that that power is *chronopolitical*, in that it elevates speed/pace/chronology over place/space/geography in its political effects (Der Derian, 1990: 297). This can be seen in the example of a remotely piloted missile or bomb, or a radar operator that can react to threats and initiate (sometimes his/her initiation is not needed), quickly, a counterattack. Time and space, and the mastery of each in technological processes is crucial to scientifically-based rational projects with clearly defined goals. As in the field of weaponised

mastery of temporality and spatiality, the technical apparatuses of social interventions are geared towards the administration of 'improvements' as they are recorded in fixed places and times.

Why does this matter? The rendering of events as recordable and knowable is a foundational requirement of projects of governmentality, because the *knowable* can be systematised and incorporated into banks of other knowable events. Accepting this empowers researchers – such as myself – to specifically anatomise the microtechniques of specific interventions and their use of time and space, whilst simultaneously opening terrains where new knowledges can be created in the pursuit of social change.

It follows then that the production of data by microtechniques in governmental technologies only partially conveys what's at stake. The fulcrum of power in SDP, and the constitutor of governmental rationalities, I argue, are these microtechniques of M&E. A representation of the compression of space and time (see Harvey, 1990) speaks to the need to analyse SDP in a novel way. For Harvey, as we see in the idea of *space-time compression*, capitalism is radically changing the configuration of time and space, reducing the "friction of distance" and speeding up time in production (2008: XX). Barthes (2007), has applied the idea of the fluidity of time and space to the sporting spectacle. That sport happens in an *enunciative modality* (Foucault, 2002: 31-9) or *moment* but that this is actually a compression of years and months of tuning, testing, tweaking, trialling, training, is the sleight of hand. What results is an appearance of the explosive moment, which gives the lie to the myth of the spectacle. Barthes recognised this. Much like Marx's (2013: 116-118) commodity fetishism, the moment of consumption - which is just a moment in a universe of moments - is divorced from the productive forces from whence it came. The production process is hidden from us in vest and shorts wreathed in sweat in front of 80,000 people, and from a million more of us in front of television sets.

But it is the technological processes involved in the production and consumption of sport that cache the empirical detail of the moments that build that spectacle. Nations, clubs, organisations - all discursive constructions - cohere to rules, gendered assumptions, institutional frameworks, and at the event, to the latest scientific advice. Interdiscursively these things mingle, and 'results' are produced which in turn inculcate ever more all-encompassing systems of thought. Systems survey, test, watch, police, examine, and search spectators, athletes, and coaches. These are then submitted to microtechniques of rule books, blood-tests, examinations, equipment checks.

Without ambition to scope the full variety of these constructions in this thesis, in embracing the analytical possibilities which are yielded upon refusing to accept the surface appearance of things, there is an opportunity to shed light on procedures employed in time and space in a very different way. Here, sport is the driver, the method, and the tool by which an intervention

is realised in SDP. Elite sport, in praxis, appears as a process in which we are shown strength, fast machines, and crafted instruments being thrust faster, for longer, higher, and stronger, through time and space. We marvel at the achievements. But questioning what constitutes these successes opens optics to the capillaries, and the nodes of power which might be at work here, with important implications where there are similar tricks of the hand over time and space.

In sport for development and peace then, where is the moment? What I propose is, that marrying this understanding of sport with Foucauldian notions of governmentality (Rose, 1999) reveals something about the moment of *development*. The moment on the field when 'development is delivered', measured, examined, systematically analysed and justified. Change, in SDP, is understood as being recordable in a moment: a point at which some participant has made a desired improvement or transformation in character or behaviour. These moments are then collated and given meaning as an indication that a societal change has happened in the programme of SDP. Participation in the programme intervention is flattened out, homogenising the complexities of human experiences. The myriad of changes collected in this way are then valorised by their presentation as signifying a desirable change in communities.

Conclusion

This chapter has summarised the theoretical influences that underpin the arguments of this thesis, and beginning with a critique of the work of Darnell, argued for a genuinely critical study of SDP that subordinates the concepts of hegemony, and neoliberalism, to the more fundamental tendencies of governmentality and rationalities proposed by Nikolas Rose.

Much of the early work on SDP contained critiques of the sector, but this was bordered and ultimately parsimonious. In a departure from the work of Kidd (2008), Coalter (2007) and Banda *et al* (2008), work that critiqued the forms and manifestations that SDP took could be found in Lindsey & Grattan (2012), Rookwood & Palmer (2011), and Beacom (2014). In Hartmann & Kwauk (2011), Hayhurst (2009; 2011), Spandler & McKeown (2012), Darnell (2012; 2012a), and Darnell & Hayhurst (2012) we see the development of critical work.

In sum, Darnell, and Hayhurst have allowed us to read SDP in the context of postcolonial and post-structural thought. But those same scholars that Darnell and Hayhurst applied to the field of SDP, provide an opportunity to abandon the concept of hegemony that Darnell favours, instead bringing to the forefront the concepts of *rationalities* and *governmentality*, which Rose (1999), following Foucault, has reinvigorated. These concepts allow us as readers of SDP to make the following arguments about the state of SDP research at the moment: First, that an over-reliance on overarching concepts such as hegemony – which Darnell & Hayhurst are

especially prone to rest upon (2012: 187) - can lead to a) an absence of identification of the heterogeneous sources of authority that seek to govern conduct (Rose, 1999: 20-22 & 66), and b) an obscuring of the micro-techniques that actually incorporate participants into biopolitical systems of power, as per the tendency of governmentality. This is a point made by Darnell & Hayhurst themselves when they recall Coalter's caution against an over-reliance on evidence based impact research (Coalter, 2008; 2009, in Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011: 193); advice which would incorporate those individuals and participants even further¹². Secondly, in all critical accounts so far of SDP, there has been little or no attention paid to *space* and *time* as criteria for relevance.

In short, this means that the mechanics of power have been successfully and repeatedly elided by a canon of work which, while drawing on concepts such as hegemony and referring to the impacts of neoliberalism, has failed to adequately describe and explain the dynamics of power in SDP. I exploit my positionality as a practitioner within the sector, with a broad understanding of the 'feel' of SDP sites, interactions and discourses, to this end. This departure represents a valuable contribution to the existing literature and presents a foundation upon which new interpretative studies can be based. Therefore, what is now necessary is a swift move to a discussion of research methodologies that re-instantiate practitioner research to SDP, before three empirical chapters that discuss findings from my research within the SDP sector. As we will see, the empirical research I have conducted at the micro-level has led me to conclude that sport as an intervention to effect a change in societies' relations, production and reproduction, speaks in the clearest terms to other ways in which communities are the subject of development interventions involving any 'measuring' or 'evaluating' tool whatsoever. So conceived, the analysis and explication of sport, remarkably given its formerly marginal status, now offers the possibility to at once transform SDP from a marginal branch within development studies but also to reinvigorate the wider academic discipline of development itself.

¹² I acknowledge my own role here, as an active participant in the increase in monitoring & evaluation in the SDP sector. Despite this, I do recognise its potential to create Deleuze's data-"dividuals" (1992: 7).

Chapter 4. Methodology

Introduction

The theoretical perspectives discussed in the last chapter are the lens I view SDP through and the assumptions I make about power within it. The methodologies I select in interrogating issues of the dynamic of power in SDP however, enable the analysis of data collected, therefore anchoring findings I will make the case for.

The selection of methodology for research must be subjected to a critical engagement parallel with that of the research topic, demystifying it where possible, and 'cracking' its appearance as a set of technical procedures for observing a phenomenon. By reflecting on the methodology employed in this research study, and its utility in the academic study of SDP, the central methodological problematic – the critical analysis of the selection of technical and theoretical methods and their application to the subject field - is dealt with here.

This chapter begins by outlining the project and research methodology used, before setting out the phases of research. I then discuss the ethical implications of the research study, raising a number of problematics that I discuss at length, before reconnecting with the theory discussed in the previous chapter. Finally, before concluding, the sites of research practice are listed and discussed.

Overview of Methodology

To begin this chapter I now sketch an overview of the methodologies I have deployed, before detailing each component in turn later in the chapter. The methodology was initially developed between 2012 and 2013 as I completed a Post-Graduate Certificate in Research Methodologies (a compulsory requirement for PhD researchers at the University of Brighton). During this period I settled on an interpretative position and decided that the project would benefit from an analytic technique that could be specifically applied to discourse. This was because all the data I was intending on gathering were only instances of discourse. The methodology continued to be refined throughout the source selection and data collection phases up to 2016, specifically with a focus on how the data would be treated.

The research benefitted from numerous research techniques during the course of the study. Each of these related to phases of research and different points in time. As with many research projects these were not linear, and often overlapped, but broadly the phases of the research can be broken down into: *source selection*; *data collection*; and *treatment of the data*.

A large number of sources were selected in the early part of the research project (2010-2013), but this process continued through to the point at which I ceased to interview participants (in 2016).

There are a number of component parts to the methodology that relate to each phase and build together the overall methodology I employed (fig.4.1). The methodology I have used is *interpretivist* and *qualitative*, using elements of *insider research* and, finally, *analysing* data using *critical discourse analysis* (CDA). The rationale for selecting these methods is detailed individually in discussion below. But briefly here, qualitative interpretivist methods are useful when collecting instances of discourse. Discourse in this sense sits in contrast to methods which claim objective or quantitative characteristics. Interpretivist and qualitative methods apply throughout, whereas CDA (itself interpretive and qualitative) is put to work in the treatment of the data phase. The rationale for using the method of CDA is that it is a means of critically engaging with instances of discourse which is demonstrably effective at revealing hidden meaning (Fairclough, 1992).

To overview each method briefly, interpretivist research is a subjective mode of enquiry that emphasises perspectives of social forms, signs, symbols, values and norms. Made famous by Max Weber (1973; 2003) and later the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School (Adorno, 2003; 2007; Adorno & Horkheimer, 1976), the term is a catch all for a broad range of social science research that rejects objectivism and positivism in their ontological and epistemological assumptions. Ontologically, an objectivist position states that the world is independent of the consciousness of social actors, and can be empirically observed. I on the other hand adopt a constructive position that assumes the being and meaning of objects and subjects in the world is continually being achieved, reproduced and changed (see Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1974; 1977). Using interviews, interpretations and observations, the research engages qualitative research methods that translate human experience of the social world into subjective conclusions. Therefore, the epistemological position I take is that of a gatherer of various constructions of social reality which collectively assist me in forming subjective conclusions.

I interpret the interpretations of others, either in written or spoken form. This contrasts with the positivist position that applies a test to a social phenomenon and then looks for objectively verifiable results, as the natural sciences do in research activity epitomised in the 'Randomised Control Trial' (RCT). This research rejects this notion that Durkheim conceived - that the social sciences could be seen as an extension of the natural sciences into the realm of society, and that this could be objectively observed and subject to permanent laws (Durkheim, 1982: 50-59). The epistemology that underpins this research therefore, is fluid, unfixed, and multi-nodal. These ideas, based on Foucault's notions of discourse and power, install knowledge as discursively constructed (Fairclough, 1992: 35-6). On this reading, it is dynamic in the sense

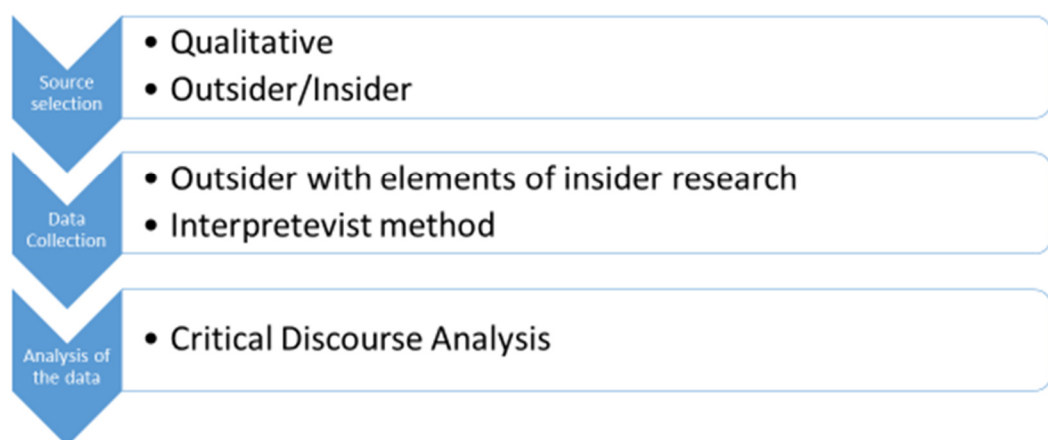
that the fixity of knowledge around concepts is changing in a struggle between various nodes of power, and productive in the sense that language is always producing and reproducing the possibility of *absolute* meanings (Derrida, 1997).

The positionality I hold is that of an outsider, who works within the field I study. But this is a piece of qualitative research from an outside perspective which draws on elements of insider research. Insider research refers to research by whole and complete members of organisations or institutions (Adler & Adler, 1987, cited in Brannick & Coghlan, 2007: 59). The sector is my research field and not my organisation, despite my contemporary position representing a component part of the Sport for Development & Peace sector (SDP) I am researching.

In analysing data, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the method I've selected for interrogating instances of discourse that appear in all their forms: speech acts, writings, performances, discussions, practices and the production of rules, laws, policies, tactics and strategies. I follow a four-part set of guidelines for the delivery of CDA against the subject matter (which I explain fully below) based upon the prerequisites set out by Fairclough (1992: 225-240). CDA allows researchers to contextualise findings, placing the results of data analysis in wider possible considerations. Whilst CDA might only be implicit in the drawing of conclusions and arguments in the research process, it is explicit in the placing of those arguments in their wider potential; in short, CDA can give researchers a greater understanding of what their findings and arguments might *mean*.

Fig.4.1 Phases of research and components of methodology

Phases of research study



This brief summary of the research methodology is supplemented with detailed descriptions below. However, before detailing as such, I briefly summarise the research project.

The research project

The project of this research is to analyse and interrogate the power dynamics that form the governmental rationalities of SDP. As I described in detail in the introduction, this involved the direction of resources towards 4 objectives. These were:

1. To demarcate the sectoral and territorial boundaries of the SDP and GCSE/CSR sector.
2. To scrutinise the discursive relationships, and the logical and *rational* claims to connections between the superficially separate spheres of SDP NGOs (from civil society) and GCSE/CSR (the private sector).
3. To interrogate the specific technical apparatuses that empower these rational claims.
4. To analyse how, conceptually, the *truths* in these claims gain prominence, and credibility in the SDP and private sectors.

The tasks set in pursuit of these objectives, did not however, run chronologically. For example, the literature review, although complete in its first draft in 2012, has been continually updated through to 2016, three years after interviews started (in 2013). I continued to select material documentation to critically analyse as an opportunistic endeavour. I scavenged these whenever possible over the period between 2010 and 2016, and even, in some examples, drew from older material I had gathered from conferences (for example Generations for Peace, 2008). A further research task developed during the course of the study. This involved a case study of a particular online monitoring & evaluation system which I undertook after hearing the responses of interviewees in 2014.

Sources

This section details the sources of data, the exclusions and inclusions, and the justifications as such. To fulfil the requirement of the first three research objectives, data have been drawn from a number of empirical sources. These are detailed in fig.4.2 (below). Taken together, the data constitute not a totality in the sense of completeness, but a comprehensive 'snapshot' of interpretations. A combination of lived experiences with empirical study of discourse and text gives a sense of the 'feel' of SDP in a given moment in time. Historical tendencies can still be identified; but the necessity of speaking of multiple truths and knowledges in the world of SDP should be acknowledged also.

Data collection

The means of data collection employed during this research included semi-structured interviews with SDP practitioners and leadership, informal conversations, reading of texts, and the 'feel' of places and sites of SDP. Within the structure of these interviews - conducted after obtaining consent (sometimes verbally recorded, sometimes via email or in written consent forms) and guaranteeing confidentiality and anonymity - a reflexive journal was kept, and participants' responses were recorded either on a Dictaphone or in written notes.

In addition to interviews with research participants, elements of insider research at a number of conferences and events over a four year period feature. For presentations, permission was secured to use content afterwards for the study, except when the presentation was public, and in some cases with access to the documents and material presented, and from notes taken during the presentation.

Administrative documents and systems, principally involving the reporting, recording, codifying and monitoring of participants', behaviours and activities are also analysed. I draw these from a number of sources (discussed above). But this is only done where the documents are either freely available, or consent has been gained for their use.

I also took one M&E platform/system: *Iris* – a system which records data on participants in SDP programmes - and conducted 3 semi-structured interviews with individuals specifically on the subject of their use of the system (included in the 16 interviews above). The selection of the system was made based upon ease of access and the wide application (and thus relevance) of the system in the sector. Permission was attained by a licensee in order to entitle me to conduct this aspect of the research. The system was especially valuable to the study in that it incorporated data gathering, data storage, and reporting.

I observed the system being used by SDP staff and allowed them to demonstrate its function over 4 individual 1 hour time slots. I did not observe the entry of data on the 'front line' by coaches and educators. I was informed that the system allows people to directly input data via a 'tablet', on site or at the field of play, but that this was not currently taking place. The methodology for this component of the research does not significantly deviate from that of the rest of this research (interpretative qualitative critical data gathering using elements of insider research), and provides empirical insight crucial to my main research question on the power dynamics of SDP.

Exclusions and inclusions

'Data', as it is understood in this research paper, are the combination of material I chose to be included within the study. Therefore, it is necessary to detail here what is included and excluded and how these decisions were made.

First, what types of data are included within the research? These can all be found in table 1 above. Broadly, they fall into two groups: 1) material that pertains to normative considerations in SDP; and 2) interviews with participants from within SDP. The nature of the type of research I conducted – which is positioned as 'outsider' but with elements of insider research - means that there is a general historical 'feeling' that makes its way into the interpretation of the data. This problematizes the idea that there are purposeful exclusions. But I contend that this adds to the richness of the research, and by no means dilutes the overall conclusions reached.

Every piece of material sourced is produced by or associated explicitly with an organisation or individual that is working within or associated with the SDP sector; a sector constituted by numerous actors and collectives of actors, who perform acts which ally sport to some kind of desired change in society (chapter 5 discusses the constellation of actors in SDP and their interconnections). The introduction contained some examples of this type of endeavour, citing organisations involved. The literature review chapter explained the anatomy of a typical type of SDP actor: the SDP NGO.

Notwithstanding these prior explanations, I will now endeavour to flesh-out the designations of the inclusions from SDP practitioners and organisations (found in Figs.4.2-4.4). I do so here only by describing the origins of some of these contributions to the research in very general terms, so as to protect anonymity.

Excepted from the need to anonymise are the freely available normative and marketing documents that are contained within the sample. A full list of these can be found in this chapter (Fig.4.3). From this sample came normative and marketing documents from SDP NGOs (Craig Bellamy Foundation, 2015; 2015a; EFDN, 2016; Generations for Peace, 2008; Grassroot Soccer, 2009; 2014; MYSA, 2014; Right to Play, 2008; streetfootballworld, 2014; 2015; 2015a; The Football Club Social Alliance, 2015a), CSR/GCSE schemes (FIFA, 2009-10; 2009; 2010; 2010a; 2010b; 2010c; 2011; 2011a; 2011b; 2015; Laureus Sport for Good Foundation, 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015; Manchester City Football Club, 2015; Premier League, 2014), CSR/GCSE advocacy organisations (Prescott & Phelan, 2008; World Council for Sustainable Development, 2000), published academics or published collaborations between academics and practitioners (Coalter, 2009; Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Cregan, 2008; Simonazzi, 2010; Simons, 2014; Steffgen, 2013; Woodcock, Cronin & Forde, 2012), research consultancies (Aqumen *et al*, 2014; inFocus,

2016; Laureus Sport for Good Foundation & Ecorys, 2013), online communities (LinkedIn, 2014; Sportanddev.org, 2010; 2015; 2015a), state agencies (PEPFAR, 2007; Sport England, 2014), international organisations (DAC, 1991; United Nations, 2013; The World Bank, 2004) national governing bodies (The Football Association, 2008), and confederations (UEFA, 2013). This selection from a cross section of SDP actors performs various functions in the research findings but, as we will see later, confirms interesting findings regarding the appearance of similar instances of discourse in seemingly disparate places.

The participants in interviews, and those who supplied conference, presentation and speech material were all practitioners in SDP programmes, leaders or managers of SDP organisations, or people involved in or employed by CSR/GCSE schemes with a stake in SDP. Some of the participants were more than one of these designations at any one time, and some migrated from one position to another (for example one participant formerly led a major CSR initiative that invested in SDP, and later became a leader of an SDP organisation).

Respondents came from a variety of places. Two were from Asia, two were from Africa, and an additional six were European but working for African or Asian-based organisations. Five interview respondents spoke from the positionality of participants in CSR programmes (though at least two of these were qualified to speak from an SDP practitioner perspective also). The remainder of the respondents were from Europe, America and Australasia. Women and men were represented, and sexual orientation was not limited to heterosexuals.

In terms of the organisations represented in the interview responses or presentations, four are based in Europe, whilst three were based in Africa or Asia solely, whilst an additional two were based in Europe with satellites in developing countries. Three multinational companies are represented, and two NGOs with significant international reach.

The table below (Fig.4.4) lists the inclusion and exclusion criteria for all the sources.

In selecting appropriate sites for data collection, I took SDP in a broader definition than some who have hitherto subjected the sector to academic rigour. SDP includes all NGOs, firms, public bodies, and individuals that invest time and resource into using sport to achieve changes in economies, society, populations, and individual behaviour. In Coalter (2007) and Darnell (2012), there is an implicit assumption that SDP refers to organisations and individuals that are involved in *international development*. I broaden this to include organisations within my own country of residence (the UK) and Europe due to the behaviour of SDP organisations being directed 'transnationally' in many cases, both 'virtually' – online, on social media, and using M&E platforms - and in reality, and I do not exclude companies, sporting federations (national and international) and state agencies if involved within SDP.

Fig.4.2 – Sources of data and means of collection

<i>Sources</i>	<i>Number of inclusions</i>	<i>Data collection</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Ethical Considerations</i>
Normative documentation	18	Freely available material from SDP/GCSE organisations' websites, or from conferences	'Best practice' documents, M&E reports, collaborations between SDP practitioners and academics	Permissions not necessary – freely available; directly referenced and not anonymised; no substantive ethical considerations.
Marketing documentation	16	Freely available text on Monitoring & Evaluation and SDP/GCSE/CSR, from organisations' websites, or from conferences.	Glossy marketing brochures promoting programmes, or results	Permissions not necessary – freely available; directly referenced and not anonymised; no substantive ethical considerations.
Presentations, speeches	6	Requested presentation content, and transcriptions from speakers (where I saw them)	Speech scripts, PowerPoint slides, PDFs	Permission secured from presentation deliverer/conference organiser; Insider research critique.
Interviews with SDP practitioners	16	Audio content, and notes from interviews; reflexive journals	Critical Discourse Analysis	Insider research critique; anonymised interviews.
Demonstration of an M&E platform/system	1 (4 hours)	Observation of M&E system being used, plus 3 interviews (included in interview totals above)	Observations, notes, Critical Discourse Analysis	Insider research critique; anonymised interviews.
The "feel" of SDP	NA	13 years' experience of working within SDP/GCSE; 4 (4 x 1 hr timeslots) hours observing the use of 'Iris' online M&E platform.	Memories, thoughts and feelings; subjective perceptions of various 'trends' in discourse	Insider research critique; inability to source permission to use feelings; anonymous contributions; lapses in memory.

To view SDP as principally made up of NGOs exclusively in the domain of international development is a mistake, I argue, and excludes actors of great significance. I argue this for three reasons: first, isolating international development and SDP is too narrow and neglects

the influence of other parties that are configuring behaviour towards SDP, such as companies, sports federations (national and international) and fans. Second, SDP NGOs, whether working in the global North or South, will tend to work in collectives that transcend their countries and regions; in short, they operate transnationally. In international development broadly this behaviour tends to be reserved for the largest of the NGOs, but in SDP relatively small NGOs can access transnational networks (such as the streetfootballworld network). Lastly, the previous two contentions – that there are larger transnational and multi-sectoral forces at work – necessitates that the search for the location of power must be *beyond* a given sector studied itself. So, to find power in SDP we must look beyond SDP as it is traditionally treated and understood.

I selected sources representative of the broader definition of SDP that I have set out. Fig.4.3 details these sources, but in the case of interviews, presentations, and speeches, I have anonymised the contributors. For conference speeches and presentations, I include the year I collected the data, but not the location. This is a necessary precaution. Despite the rapid growth of SDP in recent years, there remains a smaller number of conferences and collectives than in many other social sectors, therefore identifying which country the data was gathered from risks the anonymity of respondents.

The spectrum of material though is clear (Fig.4.3). In total, 56 sources were gathered as part of this research (18 normative documents, 16 marketing documents, 16 interviews and 6 presentations/speeches at conferences). Of these, in total, 20 pertained to SDP and/or CSR content regarding both the Global North and the Global South combined. 11 more pertained to solely the Global North, and 25 concerned the Global South.

Much of the source material for this research comes from a branch of SDP that tends to use one specific sport. I draw examples from others, but predominantly I work on research material from SDP organisations that use football. This will, in some examples, be immediately obvious to the reader. But in others, and wherever possible, I anonymise the other characteristics from which the examples come, to protect sources all the more. The reasons for not making this a study purely on the Football for Development and Peace (FDP) sector, are that first, these organisations are increasingly broadening out to other sports (for example, the community schemes of Premier League football clubs in the UK, increasingly known as Club Community Organisations, or CCOs) and second that these organisations use platforms and tools that are shared by, or feed into, wider National Governing Body and state apparatus (again, see chapter 5), for example Sport England, which is responsible for grassroots participation in all England sports. Thirdly, the organisations and individuals create transnational communities which are

not solely about a specific sport¹³. Fourth and finally, not delimiting the specific sub-sector of SDP helps protect the anonymity of contributors.

The 56 data sources I have divided into four categories (Fig.4.3) but for purposes of inclusions/exclusions I combined three categories (marketing documentation, normative documentation, and presentations/speeches) into one, to create two sets of questions for two larger categories for exclusion/inclusion of sources of data (fig. 4.4). Material available online, and from SDP organisations, conferences, and partners, for example corporations producing material that pertains to SDP, and material on 'what works' in investing in SDP, or why corporations should invest in it, on various subjects and with various objectives was combined; and, second, interviews with SDP practitioners were kept separate for the purposes of deciding what data was included.

There were four questions asked of any data from printed and online material sourced from SDP organisations. These questions essentially gave a framework for determining the relevance of material sourced to the research questions. There is a huge amount of 'collateral' (a term sometimes used for this type of material) in the world of SDP, and so it was necessary to have some fairly specific layers of verification in the shape of questions, that would exclude irrelevant material.

For interview data, I wanted to include a range of individuals from various different 'levels' of the sector, including not just senior managers and people at director level, but also those at the delivery level, the micro-level, or at the 'frontline' dealing with SDP participants. People from the Global North and the Global South were interviewed as part of the research. The sixteen interviews over four years (between 2013 and 2016) that I eventually completed, could have been sixteen more; there were many potential candidates for interviews. But eventually a saturation point for data was reached, and similar responses appeared in a variety of interviews.

¹³ See the International Platform for Sport and Development (www.sportanddev.org) for example.

Fig.4.3: Itemised Data Sources

Data type	Anonymised citation (if necessary)	Non-anonymised citation	Region being discussed in Global North of Global South	Sourced
Normative documentation	NA	Aqumen <i>et al.</i> (2014)	Global North + Global South	Online
	NA	Coalter (2009)	Global South	Online
	NA	Coalter & Taylor (2010)	Global South	Online
	NA	Cregan (2008)	Global North + Global South	Online
	NA	DAC (1991)	Global South	Online
	NA	inFocus (2016)	Global North + Global South	Online
	NA	Laureus Sport for Good Foundation & Ecorys (2013)	Global North	Online
	NA	LinkedIn (2014)	Global South	Online
	NA	PEPFAR (2007)	Global South	Online
	NA	Prescott & Phelan (2008)	Global North + Global South	Online
	NA	Right to Play (2008)	Global South	Online
	NA	Simonazzi (2010)	Global South	Requested
	NA	Simons (2014)	Global South	Online
	NA	Sportanddev.org (2010; 2015)	Global North + Global South	Online
	NA	Steffgen (2013)	Global South	Online
	Marketing Documentation	NA	The World Bank (2004)	Global South
NA		Woodcock, Cronin & Forde (2012)	Global South	Online
NA		World Business Council For Sustainable Development (2000)	Global North + Global South	Online
NA		Craig Bellamy Foundation (2015, 2015a)	Global South	Online
NA		EFDN (2016)	Global North	Online
NA		FIFA (2009-10; 2009; 2010; 2010a; 2010b; 2010c; 2011; 2011a; 2011b; 2015)	Global North + Global South	Conference
NA		Generations for Peace (2008)	Global South	Conference
NA		Grassroot Soccer (2009; 2014)	Global South	Online
NA		Laureus Sport for Good Foundation (2012; 2013; 2014; 2015)	Global North + Global South	Online
NA		Manchester City Football Club (2015)	Global North + Global South	Online
NA		MYSA (2014)	Global South	Online
NA		Premier League (2014)	Global South	Online
NA		Sport England (2014)	Global North	Online
NA		Sportanddev.org (2015a)	Global North + Global South	Online
NA		streetfootballworld (2014; 2015; 2015a)	Global North + Global South	Online
Interviews		NA	The Football Association (2008)	Global North + Global South
	NA	The Football Club Social Alliance (2015a)	Global North + Global South	Online
	NA	UEFA (2013)	Global North + Global South	Online
	NA	United Nations (2015)	Global South	Online
	David (2013)	NA	Global North + Global South	Interview - telephone
	Graham (2013)	NA	Global North	Interview - in-person
	Grant (2013)	NA	Global North	Interview - in-person
	Harry (2014)	NA	Global South	Interview - in-person
	Hauser (2016)	NA	Global North	Interview - telephone
	Howard (2013)	NA	Global South	Interview - in-person
	Keale (2013)	NA	Global North + Global South	Interview - in-person
	Malcolm (2014)	NA	Global North	Interview - in-person
	Masters (2013)	NA	Global North + Global South	Interview - in-person
	Patience (2014)	NA	Global North + Global South	Interview - telephone
	Pride (2016)	NA	Global South	Interview - telephone
	Raja (2016)	NA	Global South	Interview - telephone
Tupelo (2013)	NA	Global North + Global South	Interview - in-person	
Valerie (2014)	NA	Global South	Interview - telephone	
Vikesh (2014)	NA	Global North	Interview - in-person	
Vincent (2014)	NA	Global North	Interview - in-person	
Presentations and Speeches	Dean (2013)	NA	Global North	Conference pres'/speech
	Grant (2013)	NA	Global North	Conference pres'/speech
	Holly (2013)	NA	Global South	Conference pres'/speech
	Hon (2013)	NA	Global North + Global South	Conference pres'/speech
	Hone (2013)	NA	Global South	Conference pres'/speech
	Mina (2013)	NA	Global South	Conference pres'/speech

The sample was decided via two principles: ease of access, and a subjective assessment of interviewees' experience of SDP. To begin with, it was important that I could gain access to potential respondents, and understand their role in the sector. There were some potential respondents that I met and decided not to interview, because I could not make an adequate assessment of how they fitted in to the SDP sector, either because their organisation was opaque to me at the time, or because I hadn't got to know them well enough. After the positionality of respondents was assessed in each case, I then sought consent. Time to conduct more interviews eventually ran out, and I settled on the material collected from the sixteen respondents.

Fig.4.4: Inclusion Criteria for Data

Inclusion criteria for data				
Sources detailed in Table 1:	Question 1:	Question 2:	Question 3:	Question 4:
Printed material/Online text/Presentations/conference material	Is the material providing guidelines that are viewed by SDP practitioners to pertain to SDP or SDP/CSR 'best practice', or M&E? Y = Proceed to question 2. N = Exclude.	Is the material produced by organisations or individuals that are working on SDP projects or providing advice for SDP related organisations? Y = Proceed to question 3. N = Exclude.	Has permission been obtained for its use, or is it freely available from the internet, produced for an academic journal or book, the organisation/individual, or available to pick up from a conference, or office, where material is freely available? Y = Proceed to question 4. N = Exclude.	Are there instances found where the material appears to have informed discourse in SDP, or contributes to it? Y = Include N = Exclude.
Interviews	Is the participant currently or recently (within the last 24 months) working in SDP, or on SDP research? Y = Proceed to question 2. N = Exclude.	Is the participant willing to take part in the research and can provide recordable audible consent or written consent? Y = Include N = Exclude.		

Interviews were not the only source of data that were collected however. Printed 'hard copy' material was gathered at conferences where they were being freely distributed, or from field offices and headquarters where marketing, best practice advice, and guidance is given out to visitors for free. Some printed material – which was, incidentally, of limited use in the research – was applied for or subscribed to from an International Sporting Federations. Some material was gathered from presentations at conferences. Where this is the case, permission was gained from the individual who presented the material. Most material however was online, freely available (see table 1 & 2) to be downloaded or viewed on the internet.

Ethical considerations

In any qualitative research ethics are paramount. This section discusses ethical issues and their implications for the research. First, standard ethical issues regarding consent and anonymity are discussed. Next I focus on identity and positionality, before finally discussing the ethical implications of the elements of the study that borrow from insider research.

University of Brighton Tier 2 ethical approval was attained for this research study in 2015. The ethical standards by which qualitative research can be judged may be both 'standard' (in that they are speaking to one or more of a number of criterion within a given set of ethical guidelines which tend to apply in all qualitative research projects) or they are more nuanced. The standard ethical questions that must be addressed are dealt with first, before examining some of the more complex ethical nuances of this research project.

A number of standard ethical questions arise in any research project involving data collection, especially where that project involves interviews or surveys with participants or respondents, and a number of guidelines exist for these standards. Using the 'Respect Project' (Respect, 2004) standards for qualitative research provides a number of subject areas for academic work to consider. Not all of these are relevant to every study, but in each there remains the possibility of raising questions about whether given ethical considerations are pertinent at a given time, or likely to be pertinent in the future. During this research, the standard concerns which necessitated address were on the subject of consent, inclusion, and confidentiality.

Consent is changeable referring as it does to a state of mind about an object, and it is a conscious choice to allow a given action (Hurd, 1996: 125). The issues of consent arises because the research was conducted with people who were sharing their perspectives with a nominal 'outsider'; they were in short giving something away. Consent - the permission for something to happen or be taken - has two implications for research based upon the actions they give permission for. The first, consent changes the morality of another person's conduct - "to make an action right when it would be wrong" (Hurd, 1996: 123). Attendance at a dinner party is trespassing, for example, without consent, and a gift is theft (*ibid*). The meaning of an action is changed therefore, *a priori* and after the fact. The second implication for the action of others is that it permits another to enact a potentially 'wrong' or illegal act (*ibid*).

These two implications are important because the actions of the researcher must be settled as both 'morally right' in the interpretation of those who I sought consent from (research participants) and fully transparent to them. In this instance it was important to share fully the goals of the research project, and the potential implications of the research. Specifically here I focused on the idea that relations of power could be raised in the results. It was important for

research participants to be aware that asymmetries, whilst not indicating wrongdoing or the need for accusations, could make some research participants feel as if they were participating in structures of dominance over one or more groups of people. Their perception then of the morality of sharing with an outsider who had access to the 'inside' was important.

I mitigated against this concern by being fully transparent about the research goals and securing consent verbally (in telephone conversations) which were sometimes recorded on Dictaphones (in 1:1 face-to-face situations), and written consent was secured where interviews were not recorded and the interviews were conducted in person. Anonymity was guaranteed to research participants (more on this shortly).

Ethical socio-economic research using qualitative methods should include the voices of the traditionally marginalised (Respect, 2004). This necessity is amplified further in work that seeks to understand power (and thus its effect on inclusion). The ethics of inclusion, of under-represented groups, and of marginalised communities is difficult to fully address, especially in research conducted by a white male from a Western European country. I endeavoured to include people from the widest possible spectrum in the research. In total, 24 sources (a combination of interviews, presentations and conference speeches) were included in this research. Of those contributions, there are representatives from marginalised communities in the Global South, Black and Minority Ethnic people, Lesbian/Gay/Bisexuals, and women. This is not to say that the participants in the research from these groups were specifically representing these groups in their research responses, nor was data collected from them with that explicit intent. Rather, this point is meant to emphasise that the research was not focused on collecting data solely from the Global North, from men, and from heterosexuals.

The last set of standard ethical issues that arises from this research concerns the protection of the confidentiality of research participants. Participants may perceive risk to their own positionality when participating in research of this kind. For example, a participant might feel that disclosing something that may or may not be seen as commercially confidential could jeopardise their job, or their access to their peers within their sector. Therefore, I took great care to anonymise responses and their origins. I used a number of methods to ensure this. First, I took the names of all research respondents and coded them, first by a randomly selected number, which corresponded to a pre-selected name (used in the empirical chapters later). I anonymised quotes by removing places, organisations, and communities. In a case study in chapter six I randomly assigned the name from a list of six Greek gods, using a six-sided dice roll, to a monitoring and evaluation platform that I studied. These techniques ensure that the identity of research participants remains confidential in perpetuity.

Research Problematics and ethical implications: The organisational self & insider research

In addition to a standard set of ethical questions that arose during the research study, a further collection of issues were accounted for; a constellation of research dilemmas and limitations, that whilst not solely in the realm of ethics, certainly had ethical implications. These arose not because of general issues in qualitative research but because of specifics in the particular mode of study. These were concerns around the 'organisational self' and with the element of the study that could be considered 'insider research'.

The 'organisation' is a fluid concept with multiple interpretations. It is in practice, a complicated structure of meaning and this is true whether talking about a tiny two person company or a multi-million pound corporate. We can find fascinating accounts of the nature of organisations in modern thought (especially since the industrial revolution) and renewed attempts by modernist scholars to understand the change in conditions of social relations under the growth of capitalism. However, beginning in the late 1980s, those of a broadly post-structural persuasion began to use the thinking of writers such as Foucault (1970; 1974; 1979; 1980; 1981; 1997), Lyotard (1984), Derrida (1997), and Deleuze (1992; Deleuze & Guattari, 2013; 2013a), to elucidate the organisation as a *discursive construction*. Cooper & Burrell (1988) began a series of papers in *Organization Studies* which framed the struggles between modernists on the one hand, and postmodernists on the other, grounding their settlement on a reference to the insistence of Weber (1973; 2003) to understand the liberal capitalist form of organisation as a place of modern bureaucratic control, where the 'iron cage of rationality' reconstitutes itself over subjects. The crucial departure that Weber makes for organisational studies, in Cooper & Burrell's view, is that organisations may be seen as *process* in the mastery of the social and physical world, rather than, as a modernist might insist, a "circumscribed administrative-economic function" (1988: 92). For post-structuralists, this did not go far enough, and the distinction between some form of procedural, functional, 'real' world, and the world of language and imagination, was untenable.

Despite this challenge, as Cooper & Burrell (1988: 94) note, the tendency within organisational studies has been to view organisations as quasi-stable collections of people, processes, and things. This is therefore, fundamentally modern in discursive terms, they argue, because the language of organisations – the discourse – is, in a Derridean fashion, fundamentally referential, referring to something other than itself (*ibid*). Systems do not have meanings beyond their human projections. Decentring the human agent from its position of rationalisation, and recentralising the researcher as a member of an observer-community, constructing *interpretations* of the world, interpretations which hold "no absolute or universal status." (*ibid*)

Acknowledging the canon of academic thought on organisations as discursively constructed is important methodologically as it decentralises claims to rational objective researcher positions. Within organisational studies, these ideas are not new; it is common to find arguments which view the organisation as a discursive construction (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000; 2000a; Boden, 1994; Deetz, 1992; Fairhurst & Putnam, 2004: 5-26; Leclercq-Vandelannoitte, 2011; Taylor & Cooren, 1997).

My situation as a researcher within an organisational field that I also worked in was complicated and necessarily delimited. Throughout my work, it was necessary to both acknowledge and understand interpretative research in the formation of the 'organisational-self' (Fineman, 2001; Morgan, 2006), and the mutuality/dichotomy between the formations of the *self* on the one hand and *identity* on the other.

Certain realms of SDP practice became 'off limits', in part due to sectoral and professional restrictions – such as ethically gaining access to participants without creating the perception that the research in some way jeopardised the reputation of the sector or an organisation. It is important to clarify therefore that it is not possible to convey *in toto* the experience of the most vulnerable to governmental forms of societal control. Excluded from this research are the subjective experiences of SDP participants themselves. This is because the opacity of the processes in which they are enmeshed and their relationship to those processes, and their perceptions of how those processes constitute enough material for a separate thesis. This is however, a limitation of the research and a delimiter of the totality of the sphere of influence of governmental power that I describe. Halting here necessitates the suspension of capturing the experience of that entrapment itself, for further research.

Questions of 'positionality', can also be research strengths. Perhaps the most important of these centre on 'insider research', focusing on the 'feel' of SDP over three years. This feel comes from my work as an organisational employee or consultant in a number of organisations within SDP between 2010 and 2016. This necessitates that I must acknowledge the effect of those organisational pressures on my identity, and on my consciousness. On the one hand there are academics who value work from within; organisational research that can be 'outsider' or 'insider'. But on the other, there are those that believe that the self within the confines of a construction of regulations and policies is such that it is ensnared within the trap of the organisational self (Fineman, 2001; Morgan, 2006) in which the mind may not discern the rules about what can and cannot be said at a given time. Theorising the organisation's effect on socialisation and identity is not new. Following Weber's theory of the 'iron cage of rationality', Morgan (2006) speaks of the organisation as being a 'psychic prison', where 'thought traps' contain and reproduce dominant discourses and restrict the realms of the possible. Fineman precedes this with a somewhat deeper analysis, arguing for an understanding of the

organisation as a place of organisational control, where emotions are an active and expressive form of behaviour and identity control. In Fineman's view:

“The process is a clear, and powerful, attempt to control the way employees present themselves emotionally – for commercial ends. But it also strays into wider, and arguably more sensitive, territory – how employees see themselves and how they feel... The incursion into self-identity has raised both psychological and ethical questions.”
(2001: 220-225)

Critiquing our own position – our membership - within an organisation or a sector can then be a powerful research tool, providing experiential insights that seemingly ‘objective’ research cannot. Complexity becomes a methodological strength, providing richness, whilst defying attempts to find single unifying causes for phenomena. As Giulianotti & Armstrong show, entering the field is itself an intense and sometimes traumatic experience for the researcher, confounding and multiplying the imponderability of classifications in daily life (Giulianotti & Armstrong, 1997: 3).

Registering the context of the organisation within the research seems unavoidable. This means I had to reflexively find a way of engaging with my own thought traps, my own organisational prison, and try to understand how I am producing my own new fluid realities in the research process (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). As described in the beginning of this chapter, identity, and the construction of the self, are clearly crucial, mediating both the researcher's active transformation of the world studied, and the interpretation of the research (Butler, 1990). My identity as a researcher is unavoidably gendered and racialized (Butler, 1990: 133), embodied, and relational (Campbell, 1998: 9), where identity is constituted in relation to difference (*ibid*). The implications for this and the organisational self are obvious: where those are performatively within the group or organisation, they are perceived as included; where they are not perceived as included they are discursively excluded. This cannot just be in a world external to the researcher; indeed it must be reflexively acknowledged in the research process itself, because I, as the researcher, am making conscious and subconscious decisions about who to place in and outside of the organisation(s).

Hosking & Pluut make central the processes and “ongoing relational constructions” in self-other interactions (2010: 60). This has implications for the researcher as identity cannot be ‘fixed’ before the research starts. This has implications for the organisational-self, because it cannot be assumed that in researching, the organisational-self is, or ever was, the only relevant identity or self. Similarly, the researcher's position as the ‘seeker of truth’ and expert is called into question (*ibid*).

Acceptance then, of certain procedural formalities problematises research of the type I have undertaken. Interviews, though semi-structured and permitted to wander, involved pre-written 'starter' questions that I read, and then recorded the answers for. The space for 'free-forming' was limited by the organisational acceptance of the conventional in this sense. In order to remain 'accepted', this was not a path I felt I could deviate from. My organisational self in this mode was configured towards sustained embeddedness within the social norms of the sector of SDP.

This is something that Foucault would have recognised in the research process. Foucault's idea of 'the self' used to some degree a notion of what he called 'aestheticization', which works on the principle that the self works upon the self; or perhaps, the self transforms the self (Veyne, 2010: 105-7). The concept of aestheticization is not a moral argument about self-improvement (Veyne, 2010: 105-6) but the means by which the human beings discipline, transform, and 'style' their selves to be what a society expects of them. It is thus, fundamentally contingent upon the 'style' of existence at a given historical moment (*ibid*).

We need to view research as an agent of change, and the self as unsettled, fluid (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000: 279-300) and as 'becoming' just as subjectivities become (Adams & Holman Jones, 2011: 108-112). The self, be it organisational or otherwise, is finally in a constant productive state, transforming itself and becoming something all the time.

In summary, acknowledging the 'organisational self' permits the possibility of a breakthrough by reflexively critiquing the researcher's own organisational self, without explicitly challenging the researchers active participation as an employee, consultant or active agent of change. In short, that the sectoral and organisational confines in which someone works effects the interpretation of events and actions is unavoidable; acknowledging this fact and allowing it to enrich the research is both reasonable and effective in servicing the research aims.

I have intentionally avoided researching, wherever possible, the organisation I work for. Instead I research *the sector* I work in. But there are elements of this research that have benefitted from my positionality. It is my situation as an employee that has, at times, given me access to individuals and content from within the sector, granted to me as one considered to be an insider from within the sector. Therefore this intention of excluding my own employer is somewhat complicated. Conversations with others are, in a positivist frame of reference, potential minefields, because unknowingly, the line between researcher and professional within the research topic is blurred resolutely. This study must then be considered a piece of qualitative interpretative research by an outsider with elements of insider research employed.

Insider research has been criticised on the grounds of its necessary subjectivity and its lack of quality, and for the overlooking of important objects and events because of familiarity with the

field (Burgess, 1984: 24). In terms of ethics, it would serve the study here to make some points about 'insider research' itself. The term undoubtedly has some negative connotations that I wish to dispel from the outset. Its justification derives from its utility, as noted by Adler & Adler and Brannick & Coghlan as:

"... research by complete members of organizational systems and communities in and on their own organizations, in contrast to organizational research that is conducted by researchers who temporarily join the organization for the purposes and for the duration of the research." (Adler & Adler, 1987, cited in Brannick & Coghlan, 2007: 59)

My research does not hold true to the requirements of either ethnographic research or writing. The issue of familiarities and biases in qualitative research are important also, but this is discussed at length by Cownie, who argues that in ethnographic research there is always a mix of familiarity and distance with and from the research topic (2004: 24-25). Whilst detachment may be sacrificed, the "depth of data is a valuable compensation" (Adler & Adler, 1987: 81, cited in Cownie, 2004: 25). Adler & Adler make the case strongly for accepting this risk:

"We believe that the native experience does not destroy but, rather, enhances the data-gathering process. Data gathering does not occur only through the detached observational role, but through the subjectively immersed role as well." (1987: 84)

Capturing, the day-to-day of participants' lives, is similar to some ethnographies (Brewer, 2000: 10), but my methodology was closer to that of a 'scavenger' which defies coherence with one or other methodological discipline (Halberstram, 1998: 13; cited in Waite, 2015: 51) and one in which an *outsider* exists as an accepted *insider* (see Venkatesh, 2008). The term 'scavenger' perhaps carries with it some negative connotations. In some ways the approach is better described as 'opportunistic'. In practice, this meant using unforeseen circumstances as opportunities for research. For example, I would pick up marketing material from the lobbies of companies and NGOs, and I once used a long delay in an airport midway on a journey with some of my peers from SDP as an opportunity to interview some of them; discreetly of course. Combining a variety of theoretical and methodological sources, I use a qualitative interpretivist research methodology to both gather data and analyse it through critical discourse analysis (CDA), and interrogate interviews with real people, departing from more commonplace tendency in CDA to interrogate texts. Opportunism (or 'scavenging') therefore denotes the collection of sources from the opportunities afforded by the researcher's 'everyday'.

But in this instance, this is not just the commonplace of the participants, but also the commonplace of the researcher within the research field. When the day-to-day is 'known', it complicates its 'knowability' as a research topic even further. That is to say, the meaning and origin of certain content within this research has to be assumed to be based upon more than

just the data samples from which the researcher originally claims to have harvested it. This goes beyond Frazer's inference of meaning where "in practise, an act has no meaning for an observer unless he shows or infers the thoughts and emotions of the agent" (Frazer, 1922: ix), to a situation where the researcher must acknowledge that there is an inference of meaning given to the agent, even if this is not purposeful. My thesis, similarly cannot be considered 'participatory', despite my day-to-day participation in the SDP sector. This is because no specific action arises from my work (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995: 1669-1676): no specific revolutionary or evolutionary changes are suggested to everyday practice in SDP (see also West, 1999; for issues in participatory research).

I settle these issues by following Brannick and Coghlan (2007: 59-74) in making the case emphatically for acknowledging 'role-duality' – where the researcher makes clear the existence in at least two different socially constructed roles at the same time, to himself/herself, and to others - and 'pre-understanding' – where values, meanings, and social norms have already biased a particular view on a given research field. I give no credibility to detached observational roles; it's of note that relatively conventional social scientists find themselves in support of immersion in subject matter. As Bourdieu studied in *Homo Academicus*, it is a reflexive account with the 'known' – the apparently familiar - which can produce the most authoritative of accounts (Bourdieu, 1984, cited in Cownie, 2004). I therefore remain in favour of this particular brand of research in the context of both the interpretative considerations and ethical implications of my organisational self.

Sites of research practice

In sum, these are fundamentally issues around the positionality of the researcher; where do I sit in place and space in relation to the research field? Because I have rejected the notion of situating the research in one particular geography, it is necessary to bring together the spatial elements of the research in contemplating the 'transnational'.

The research itself corresponds to a primary site of ethnographic practice (see Rajak, 2011: 27): the transnational arena of the SDP sector. Without a central geographic reference point – or perhaps better described as being multi-nodal in reference points - this problematizes the notion of 'place' within the study. The use of the term 'transnational', as opposed to 'international' here, is justified by the space in which many of the interactions subjected to my methodology take place in. Frequently, they are online in documents shared between practitioners or on web forums, but also they are from conferences and sites of work and production that are regional, national and international at the same time, both by and for people and organisations that are operating in and across more than one territory. The word

'transnational' itself implies something that exists or works across nations or perhaps preferably, state boundaries (Evans & Newnham, 1998: 541-2). Specifically and in recent history, this refers to three types of movements across states: (1) physical movement of things and people; (2) movement of information, knowledge and ideas; and (3) capital, money and credit (*ibid*). It is not simple to situate some of the interactions this study analyses, despite the obvious movements of ideas, people and knowledge especially, and whilst I suggest that we temporarily locate this within a broad term of the transnational, the 'place' in which this research takes place is clearly fluid. The performance of governmentality in SDP appears between borders and statehood, both local and transnational at the same time, transcending the debate between Darnell & Hayhurst (2012) and Lindsey & Grattan (2012) which pitched global neoliberal hegemony as the core factor in the performance of SDP against individual agency in the global South.

Analysis of the data – Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

How the data is interrogated forms perhaps the most vital constellation of issues in the research study. For this reason, this section sketches out the methodological characteristics of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) before describing its application to data gathered during the course of this research.

The means by which a researcher can evaluate instances of discourse generated in the research process are many. I selected a methodology for discourse analysis which was applicable in a Foucauldian theoretical perspective. After reviewing variations in discourse analysis (see Bates *et al*, 1998; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough & Woodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 2001), I settled on a simple and applicable variant of CDA, applied throughout this research. CDA is a means of reading data collected through historical and interdiscursive tendencies, teasing out tensions, and placing findings within wider social forces.

Building on the theoretical discussion of Foucault and Fairclough in the previous chapter, I highlight some methodological guidelines for CDA from Fairclough (1992: 225-240).

CDA serves a dual function: it is both a way to interrogate data and a means of situating findings within their wider societal and historical tendencies. In short, whilst it is implicit in the discovery of findings and subsequent arguments as the researcher goes about her/his work, CDA is explicit in its situation of findings in wider questions of their potential to change knowledge: historicising them, and placing them in the context of political struggle.

I highlight here, the essential elements of CDA. I suggest that Fairclough's use of four core guiding principles (detailed below), is well measured, achievable and yet retains enough

inherent possibilities for the unsettling of mainstream discourses to justify its adoption. The first guiding principle Fairclough argues for is what he calls a '3D multidimensional' analysis, which looks at discursive and social change in parallel. This involves the relating of texts to instances of social practice (1992: 9). The first four chapters/lectures of *Security, Territory, Population* (Foucault, 2009: 1-114) on the changes in praxis of government during the 18th Century provide a fantastic example of this technique; especially the fourth lecture where changes in the notion of government *vis-a-vis* populations are read alongside prescriptive documents, policy and academic discourse in reaction to Machiavelli's *The Prince* (2009). What this means in practice is a reading of the instances of discourse gathered – the data – in parallel to 'real-world' changes. So, a best-practice guide on how to M&E SDP programmes effectively for example, is read in the context of wider attempts to actually monitor individuals on programmes, in the wider world, and the agreed common sense frameworks that govern this. Interview material read alongside documents produced and circulated in other fora is another way to substantiate changes beyond the research field. This does not denote that results are applicable beyond the research field, but rather is a point of contextualisation.

Second, and in a related sense, we must be 'multifunctional' in analysis. This means that we need to situate research within an understanding that discursive practice changes in response to interplay between fluctuations in accepted knowledge, social relations, and identity (Fairclough, 1992: 9-10; also see Halliday, 1978). This means resisting the urge to draw conclusions that go beyond a given space and time. Again, in practical terms, data is treated only as an instance and shouldn't be used to justify conclusions with progressive or teleological considerations. This situation of constant change, uncomfortable for positivist analysis, speaks to the immanence of a constantly constructing and productive force within discourse, destroying previously held common sense. This means that genealogical analysis of certain key historical instances of language in the way Nietzsche and Foucault made use of it, is highly relevant (Fairclough, 1992: 9).

Fairclough points to a third necessity for CDA, in the shape of 'intertextuality' (interdiscursivity, is the preferred term in this thesis). This indicates the reality of texts being constructed upon and through other texts, which are articulated in certain ways which depend on specific social circumstances (*ibid*). That each instance of data (discourse) is interdiscursive - that is to say, as reliant upon and relating to multiple other discourses and texts – has been discussed enough in this research already. In practice though, this means I take instances of discourse and see if there are other instances from what may seem to a positivist as seemingly unrelated fields and I try and find mutually dependent discursive forms. The most basic example of this is the tendency of language on M&E in SDP programmes to find common purpose with the language within corporate governance, administration, social work, hospitals, prisons, or any other provision of public services.

Lastly, CDA must be critical. It must make transparent the opacity of processes involving incorporated individuals and communities (1992: 10). It must give rise to the possibility of change in revealing the machinations of complex systems. Practically this means spending time on the minutiae of SDP, looking for indications of opacity and things that could and should be more readily understandable. Written into this mission is a need to take things that seem to the participant to be common sense, and illuminate where they might in fact be contributing to the subordination of one group or another. For example, the indication of where data could be shared with participants but is not, or the homogenising tendency that data gathering in SDP is currently characterised by. In other words the treatment of data in the fourth and final instance involves subjecting it to rigorous reading in the context of its multiple, and not always obvious meanings. “Technologization of discourse” and processes the world over has added to the incomprehensibility of the day-to-day that people find themselves within (Rose & Miller, 1989). Whilst this is not top-down, linear or conspiratorial, illumination of opaque processes should be a goal of any critical analysis. The purpose of empirical insight into the microtechniques involved in SDP, found later in this research, can be seen in this way. The method here of CDA involves demonstrating how bureaucratic and technical apparatus bind and fix time & space - moments of people’s lives into values, attributes and common knowledge, in a quest to attribute change.

To begin using CDA, selection of the appropriate texts is necessary. Fairclough highlights the importance of selecting an appropriate sample from the corpus, by making an informed decision based upon adequate knowledge of the *archive*, a term which refers to the “totality of discursive practice, either recorded past practice or ongoing practice, that falls within the domain of the research project” (1992: 226-7). My competence to select appropriate material as such is based upon an in-depth knowledge of the SDP/GCSE marketing literature, and upon an intimate understanding of the general credibility of such texts from over ten years working in the sector, of attending conferences, workshops, partnership meetings, and a host of pitches to funders. I am familiar with many of the organisations working in this field globally, have collaborated with hundreds of them.

I enhance this corpus using interviews (the method for which is detailed in the section immediately above) from people who in Fairclough’s words are “in some significant relation to the social practice in focus” (1992: 227). Doing so will allow the study to understand better whether, and to what extent, individuals are aware of the power/knowledge/discursive practice element; whether a person is “conscious of the ideological investment of a particular discursive convention in some situations...” (*ibid*).

We must first look at the discourse of the discipline from which this analysis primarily draws influence. The rationale for this is set out in Fairclough:

“What is specific about a particular discursive practice depends upon the social practice of which it is a facet. Research projects in discourse analysis are, therefore, most sensibly defined first in terms of questions about particular forms of social practice, and their relations to social structure; given the focus I have been adopting, in terms of particular aspects of social or cultural change. This means that it is the disciplines which deal with these questions – sociology, political science, history – that we should look to in the first instance in defining research projects.” (1992: 226)

This task was undertaken in the previous two chapters, relating this to the history of critical thinking on sport, SDP, CSR and GCSE, and Development Studies, and abstractions from histories of critical thought in the 20th/21st centuries.

The analysis of GCSE data is very important. The implications of Hayhurst’s (2011) work are that GCSE must be seen as an operation of power by corporations in the space of social change and social welfare provision by SDP NGOs. Via apparent superior ‘know-how’, knowledge and expertise, it has rendered the space of SDP praxis governable, rationally speaking. But there is something missing in the methodology of Hayhurst: yes, GCSE as it is applied in SDP can be seen as a technology of governmentality. But how does that technology function? I use CDA on individual micro-techniques and instances of discursive production that really make up how a technology of governmentality functions in SDP to understand this. This is the novelty of my research. I attempt to subject instances where the micro-techniques of this particular technology of governmentality reveal themselves. I follow a method based upon the assumptions summarised in the section above on CDA. I analyse the transformations and creations of discourse itself within SDP/GCSE nexus, especially with reference to locations of power relations within the discursive frameworks of SDP and GCSE. This I argue, should give enormous insight into the objectives of the research project detailed above.

CDA appears in the latter part of each of the next three chapters in four parts – as multidimensional, multifunctional, interdiscursive, and critical – in discussion of findings from the empirical research I conducted.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodology of this study, and some of the key methodological considerations for my research. I began by overviewing the methodology and characterising it as a piece of *qualitative interpretative* research with *insider* elements, which deploys, in its interrogation of data, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Reminding the reader of the research project, I then indicated three phases – source selection, data collection, and analysis of data – before going into each of these in more detail.

The context of ethical issues in data collection were discussed, focusing first on relatively uniform issues of ethics approval, consent, inclusion and confidentiality in qualitative work of this type. I then went into more detail on the particular ethical implications of issues related specifically to my research project. Here, the 'organisational self' was identified and discussed, whilst also reviewing the parts of data collection that utilised elements of insider research. I acknowledged that such a method was shown to be not without contestation. The ascription of meaning is an unresolvable problematic that in fact can add a layer of richness to research findings.

Using Foucault and Foucauldian post-structural thought, and concluding that the researcher is productive, transformative of oneself, systematised, 'styled' (Foucault, 1980; Veyne, 2010; Adams and Holman Jones, 2011; Hosking & Pluut, 2010; Grant & Zeeman, 2012) and identified by difference (Campbell, 1998), it now remains to apply CDA to the material that has been gathered and collated during the course of the research. The applications of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) were discussed, and the four necessary requirements for CDA (Fairclough, 1992: 9-10) have been acknowledged, leaving only now the demonstration of their application in the sites of practice from which data have been drawn. The following three empirical chapters undertake this task.

Acknowledging the theoretical perspectives implicit in my work makes explicit the lens through which I see my research topic, and it acknowledges my biases and prejudgements concerning how the world works. The methodologies discussed here in this chapter however, are the techniques by which I gather material to answer the research question on the power dynamics that form the governmental rationalities of SDP.

The answer to this question I argue has four parts. The next three empirical chapters combine to make the following four arguments for each of those constituent parts:

First I develop Hayhurst's (2011) conception of GCSE and CSR as technologies of governmentality in SDP. I argue that the SDP and CSR relationship must be understood as two specific alignments in discourse that are taking place (see next chapter), which require a logical basis: a comprehensible and standardised range of rationalities upon which to base the claims to connections with other distinct realms or actors.

In order to comprehend a technology of governmentality we must understand what it is that it 'contains' that gives it governmental power. In this regard it is, I argue and demonstrate throughout the thesis, but specifically in detail in chapter 6, that the *microtechniques* of M&E in SDP are the practices that enable and embody the technology of governmentality that Hayhurst indicated but did not understand.

By viewing SDP M&E through the lens of governmentality we can perceive what all this data is *for*; what it is that must be evidenced. Data is gathered in the pursuit of an understanding of *change*. Specifically and most often, in the case of SDP projects, data is gathered in the pursuit of 'behaviour change'. This is what systematised M&E is attempting to detect. It is the thing that is the governmental power in SDP, and it is the project of the microtechniques meant to detect it. This is the fulcrum of the logical bases I describe in chapter 5, and thus the rationale for the alignments between different forms of actor.

Lastly, and in chapter 7, I argue that systematised M&E as a microtechnique in SDP is reliant upon the spatial and temporal qualities it is given by SDP practitioners in order to allocate 'changes' in participants. Unsettling time and space as constructs is the fundamental issue we must grapple with in order to make transparent the opaque processes of microtechniques of M&E in SDP.

Chapter 5. Alignments in the constellation of actors in SDP

Introduction

Here I develop my first argument: that previous critical work has categorised GCSE and CSR as technologies of governmentality in SDP (Hayhurst, 2011), but in doing so, has overemphasised the ‘top-down’ (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012: 92-94), omitting the actual constructions which constitute such a technology. My research indicates, and therefore I argue, that SDP and CSR relations must be understood in the context of two specific alignments in discourse: (1) that the corporate aligns itself as socially responsible and (2) that the SDP NGO aligns itself as professional and ‘corporatised’ (Naish, 2016: 297-312). Towards the end of this chapter, I introduce the claim that the latter of these alignments requires a logical basis: a comprehensible and standardised range of *rationalities* upon which to base the claims to connections with other distinct realms or actors. Therefore, this project of understanding technologies of governmentality as made possible by alignments in discourse, requires exploring the minutiae of SDP. I do so in the next chapter by examining the way monitoring & evaluation (M&E) is systematised.

A nuanced and detailed understanding of the technology of governmentality that GCSE/CSR represents in SDP, I argue, segues into the debate between Lindsey & Grattan (2012) and Darnell & Hayhurst (2012). Demonstrating that SDP is vulnerable to global neoliberal forces through Foucauldian analysis, also shows that power is not unidirectional and is in fact exercised by many, at the peripheries as well as at the core. This aids an authentic undertaking in any project of criticality: that we cannot critique the connections between superficially different forms of actors without understanding them. The project of critical theory must be to show connections to formations that transcend the subject matter itself: it must be multidimensional. For example, linking SDP to CSR explicitly and showing how the tendrils of such a formation extend into different realms.

The task of this chapter therefore is to give an overview of the actors that populate the Sport for Development & Peace sector (SDP) and to empirically examine how they interconnect and interrelate. This establishes an understanding of the overall constellation and network of ideas, actors, and formations that are deploying techniques at the micro-level in the day-to-day of SDP. These microtechniques I briefly introduced in the third chapter, where I argued for the empirical analysis of commonplace practice to understand power, and in the next chapter I examine in detail the microtechniques of monitoring & evaluation (M&E) – a project which constitutes the logical basis of the alignments in discourse I describe in this one.

Here and now, I first articulate the different types of actors in SDP before demonstrating the particular interconnections between them in the context of the importance of CSR/GCSE. As already noted in chapter 3, Michel Foucault's lens on power suggests that a functional and nodal understanding of power, at the micro level at the peripheries of systems, and in the day-to-day of what people do, should be complemented by understandings of global forces and the connections between actors and individuals at various levels of analysis (Foucault 2004: 29). Analysis of this kind permits the identification of recurrences of similar forms of thought at different levels of action. Understanding on one level – the macro – how interconnections between actors appear, and then analysing this in tandem with a different level – the micro (the task of Chapter 6) – is therefore fundamentally important to questions of dynamics of power.

This chapter begins with the constellation of organisations that make up the SDP sector and subdivides types of actors into private, public and not-for-profit. I then combine empirical observations of the constellation of actors in SDP with samples and interpretations of interviews with SDP practitioners, taking examples of the manner in which SDP organises and administers itself and reading these through the perspective of governmentality (Foucault, 1997; Rose, 1999). This methodology enables two interpretative arguments: the first concerns two discursive alignments between two types of actors (SDP implementing NGOs and Corporates) in the SDP sector, who functionally perform very different tasks in seemingly different spatial realms, but yet cohere around strikingly similar understandings of how to achieve change within the world. The first of these alignments is private companies aligned as socially responsible; the second is the corporatisation of SDP NGOs.

The second observation concerns the tendency to use M&E processes within SDP to provide logical justifications for the coherence in discourse between seemingly disparate types of organisations. These rationally underpin claims and justifications for various forms of behaviour to be considered as nominally part of the same project, and substantiates the connections between different actors, emphasised by those within the constellation of SDP.

Finally the discussion section at the end of the chapter elaborates on the contribution of CDA to the observations made and the minimum requirements for critical analysis of discourse. In so doing, I signpost realms of further enquiry for the following two empirical chapters.

Constellation of actors in SDP

The objective of this section is to provide an overview of the spatial dimensions of SDP, illustrating the constellation of actors as they relate to each other territorially and sectorally. Guilianotti's (2010) typology of the SDP sector, breaks organisations down into the types by

their methodology. Crucial to his research are the ways in which actors are subject to forces, and the degree to which this dictates action by the different parties. As I argued in chapter two, Guilianotti (2010: 213) rightly makes no distinction between those that are notionally considered to be *outside* the main world of SDP – for example the CSR department of a firm - and those that could be said to be benefitting from the accumulation process: SDP NGOs that try to attract CSR funding, for example. Nonetheless, subdividing the constellation of actors in SDP allows us to focus on actors within the domains they identify with, even if segmentations may be only superficial and oft transcended. Placing actors in relation to one another does not indicate hierarchy. Instead, this allows us to see if pretensions to coherent systems of thought and practice emerge. Using a cross-referential method to place actors within a sectoral and territorial category allows the reader to place a type of actor in both place and space. For example Transnational Advocacy Networks, or TANs for short (Keck & Sikkink, 1998), are found in the category of *Transnational Not-for-Profit*, combining their territorial and sectoral sub-categories. Professional Leagues (La Liga of Spain for example) are mostly national, and therefore become *National Private*. In the cases where actors cut across more than one territorial category, the largest possible category is referred to. For example, Multinational Companies (MNCs) that deploy some of their CSR/GCSE resources in SDP at multiple territorial levels (such as Barclays, and Standard Chartered for example) would fall into the *Global Private* type.

Remaining coherent with the aspirational and utopian characteristics of Weberian ideal types, the behaviours of actors in the cross sections of each of these categories are tendentious only, and therefore will not be consistently geared towards the categories in which they are inscribed here. In this case, for example, Confederations, which sell sponsorship at mega-events and franchise TV rights commercially, self-identify and are classed as *non-profit* because, although they behave commercially, they do not distribute profits in dividends to shareholders or an owner. Interpreting the actions and aspirations of actors within categories, rather than empirically placing them with exactitude within a type, is unavoidable.

A full typology of actors within the SDP sector is given in Fig. 5.1 below. A few examples are highlighted within each of the categories in order to reflect on the accuracy of the categorisation.

Giulianotti's three categories of SDP organisation - 'technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical' - (Giulianotti 2010: 211-214) denote their methods. In this chapter the goals are necessarily more limited, providing the spatial context for SDP and illustrating how various actors within the SDP system codify and represent their behaviour. While there are inevitable overlaps, for analytical purposes these are divided into *private*, *not-for-profit* and *public*, and within each sector my research discovered organisations in *global*, *transnational*, *national*, and *local* spaces.

Private

Private organisations distinguish themselves by directing their behaviours to commercial ends. In the global variant, huge multinationals (MNCs) are the only real organisations we find in this category, and predominantly interact with SDP by resourcing SDP programmes via CSR/GCSE foundations. Specific companies of note are Barclays (see 'Spaces for Sport') and Standard Chartered, who in 2014 funded the 'Goal' programme with Women Win. Increasingly MNC funding is allied to the voluntary engagement of corporate employees in SDP organisations. Funded projects tend to be wrapped up with evaluations or research projects, by either private research consultancies or universities. These can produce printed or online reports, some of which explicitly refer to SDP programmes whilst others package this up in wider CSR programme reporting (see for example Barclays, 2015).

MNCs are significant in that they are still one of the largest sources of revenue for SDP NGOs. Corporations such as Nike, Barclays, the Premier League, and Hyundai have all contributed funds to interventions using sport primarily via their CSR programmes. CSR, or what Hayhurst (2011) has called global corporate social engagement (GCSE) can be seen as an overall grouping for most of the manifest behaviours of MNCs towards SDP organisations. If we assume that a BINGO and International Sports Federation such as FIFA is also an MNC - a reasonable assumption: it markets a product, franchises it, pays staff, and in 2014 had a predicted turnover of US\$800 million for the four years 2011-14 (Hon presentation, 2013) - then this pot of resource grows further. FIFA has a large CSR fund called Football for Hope (FFH) which it uses to fund organisations in SDP interventions that exclusively use football (this is not to say that the SDP organisation can only use football, but FFH will only fund those parts of its work that use football).

The Premier League, invests in the charitable and community activities of all the 92 clubs of the Premier League and Football League (Premier League, 2016) - directly through the Premier league Charitable Fund or indirectly, via the Football League Trust - but also funds an international programme with the British Council (Soccerex, 2013) and provides small and medium sized grants to some SDP NGOs (Premier League, 2014).

Transnationally private actors behave territorially in situations where private commercial gain is a factor, tending to do so across only one or two states at the same time. They may be based in one place but project activity across borders for fixed periods of time. Within SDP, two very different identifiable types of actor generally fall into this category: *professional sports people* and *research consultancies*.

The professional sports world is made up of thousands of individuals, some of whom engage in forms of charitable activity. Not all of this activity could be called SDP, but some is understood as such. Engagement and involvement varies widely. For heavily engaged professionals, a good example is Craig Bellamy who, whilst a Manchester City footballer in 2007, invested in a football and education project in Sierra Leone (Craig Bellamy Foundation 2015; 2015a). For ex-professionals, perhaps there is no more high-profile example than the 'academy' of ex-professional sports people involved with Laureus via the Laureus Sport for Good Foundation, which is a CSR foundation under the auspices of the Swiss-based conglomerate Richemont Group, founders of the Laureus World Sports awards.

Primarily, athletes' engagement involves visits to projects that the Foundation resources, and providing positive media coverage that accompanies their presence. The 50 former sports people that make up the academy come from American football, athletics, cricket and a number of other sports. Dan Marino, Sean Fitzpatrick, Nawal El Moutawakel, Tony Hawk, and Tanni Grey-Thompson all make up the ranks of 'legendary' sports people (Laureus Sport for Good Foundation, 2015). SDP NGOs tend to hold professional sports people in high regard, and will recruit them as patrons, supporters, and funders if they can. It is fair to say that SDP is especially vulnerable to being 'spun' in this way, as professional sports people can and do provide an easy route for PR messaging (Levermore, 2010: 224).

An alternative type of transnational private actor can be found in the example of the Research Consultancy: private companies which win contracts from SDP NGOs or funders to research the effectiveness of programmes. Examples include the Walker Research Group, Substance, or Ecorys (see for example, Laureus Sport for Good Foundation and Ecorys, 2013). However, the relationship between research consultancies and SDP organisations is not limited to individual cases of studying a particular project or intervention. Research consultancies now produce 'platforms': data recording mechanisms for SDP projects. These pieces of software are virtual data-banks for participants in SDP programmes. Staff on SDP projects gather and upload data on participants, where reports can be collated about projects or individuals, and shared with funders (see *Iris* in the following chapter for an example of one such platform).

National examples involve actors with commercial interests driven on a scale beyond the local and regional. Undoubtedly there are companies that operate on this scale and in this way. But only a small proportion of companies will reach this scale and explicitly invest in SDP. One type of private enterprise that may invest in SDP is the national professional league. It seems an obvious CSR win for a league to invest in community initiatives that use their sport, but whether or not they do seems to depend on the commercial success of the league and the sport. Examples of leagues that do engage with SDP are the National Football League (NFL) in the US, and the Football League (England). Probably the most famous and well known example of

engagement with SDP is the Premier League’s Charitable Fund that is primarily aimed at Club Community Organisations (CCOs) of English football clubs.

Fig 5.1. Cross-referenced territorial and sectoral categories in the constellation of SDP actors (original colour)

	Global	Transnational	National	Local	Main form of interaction with SDP	Examples of actors
Public	Professional Sports People	Professional Sports	Fans	Leagues	Ambassadorial	Brigit Prinz, Didier Drogha, Natascia Badmann, Sean Fitzpatrick, Marcel Desailly, Ben Ainslie
					Funding to SDP programmes, In-kind support	Manchester United FC, Manchester City FC, Chelsea FC, Hapoel Tel Aviv FC
					Interacting with content on SDP programmes	Citizens (Manchester City FC fans), Brighton & Hove Albion FC fans
					Funding to SDP programmes, In-kind support	English Premier League, Eredivisie, National Basketball Association, National Football League
					Funding to SDP programmes, In-kind support, knowledge	Barclays, Standard Chartered, Richmond
					Funding to SDP programmes, In-kind support	Small to Medium sized Enterprises
					Funding to SDP programmes, In-kind support	Ecorys, Substance, Infocus
					Service provider to SDP programmes or funders, knowledge	University of Brighton, Southampton Solent University, Swiss Academy for Development
					Service provider to SDP programmes or funders, knowledge	Comic Relief, Big Lottery Fund, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Laureus Sport for Good Foundation
					Funding to SDP programmes	Grassroot Soccer, Coaching for Hope, Albion in the Community, Women Win, Peace Players International, The Manchester
Not-for-profit	Trusts & Foundations	SDP Implementing NGOs	SP	SP	Funding to SDP programmes	Employees of SDP implementing NGOs, employed on SDP programmes, volunteers, employees of private firms engaged in streetfootballworld, SCOUT, European Football for Development Network, International Platform for Sport & Development
					Delivery of SDP programmes, knowledge production	SDP players, participants, volunteers
					Participation in SDP programmes, monitoring thereof	
					Employment or volunteering in SDP programmes	
					Advocacy on behalf of SDP programmes, knowledge	
					Funding to SDP programmes, In-kind support	UEFA, AFC, CONMEBOL, CONCACAF, OFC, CAF
					Funding to SDP programmes, In-kind support	FIFA, IOC, IAAF
					Funding to SDP programmes, knowledge production	NORAD, USAID, British Council, DFID
					Funding to SDP programmes, knowledge production	United Nations, World Bank, IMF
					Funding to SDP programmes, training of staff knowledge	The FA
Private	Multinational Corporations	Firms	Firms	Firms	Funding to SDP programmes, In-kind support	Sport England, UK Sport, NIF
					Funding to SDP programmes, In-kind support	Local Authorities
					Funding to SDP programmes, In-kind support	
					Funding to SDP programmes, In-kind support	

Local private examples involve small to medium-sized enterprises, focused largely on local production of goods and services. Companies may provide employees to volunteer on SDP programmes, or small amounts of sponsorship or 'restricted' funding. Whilst the overall levels of engagement in this way may be relatively small, they can represent significant investments for the companies involved and are important for smaller SDP organisations.

Not-for-profit

International Federations and Confederations make up the best known actors of the not-for-profit category. This perhaps misleads observers into conceiving this activity as non-commercial, which in the case of the most renowned actors - FIFA and its confederations - seems disingenuous. International federations play particular roles in the world of sport. Broadly speaking their role is to advocate for the development of their sport at elite and grassroots levels, and commercially. How federations behave in relation to SDP is complicated.

FIFA has been one of the largest global supporters of Football for Development and Peace (FDP) organisations. It does this via a fund called Football for Hope (FFH). FIFA's FFH fund was originally codified in 2007 with the streetfootballworld network (see below on Transnational Not-for-Profits) and was born of the first FFH Festival in 2006. This fund supplies organisations with funding to spend on football-based social change programmes. This CSR exercise helps justify FIFA's lead in the implementation of World Cups: an event that has been argued to have profound negative consequences for social justice (see Gibson and Watts, 2013). A total of \$1.5m invested in 26 FDP projects in Brazil in 2013/14, compared to 108 organisations receiving \$3.1m globally during the same period (FIFA, 2015) must be considered in the context of these struggles for fairness.

International confederations coalesce around continental spatio-juridical realms (for example UEFA as the European football confederation) with varying interactions with SDP. The European Handball Federation for example, does not make large investments of time and capital in SDP, whereas UEFA does. This has an impact, one could argue, on the types of SDP interventions that SDP organisations make. For example, it would be quite difficult to find SDP NGOs that use handball. But for football it would be far easier. UEFA has funded conventionally defined SDP organisations, where it is only organisations that use sport as an intervention for some kind of desired 'positive' change in society at a grassroots level, alongside funding for organisations that produce knowledge for SDP and advocate for it, such as the United Nations Office for Sport Development and Peace, and the International Platform for Sport and Development.

A very large number of organisations now operate in a Not-for-Profit transnational space (see fig. 1.). During the course of my doctoral research, a number of the contributing respondents have been practitioners for, employees of, volunteers in, or contributors to Transnational Not-for-Profits. A central mechanism in SDP for the transnational behaviour of not-for-profits in the SDP world is the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) (Keck & Sikkink, 2002). These organisations coalesce diverse campaigns, organisations and individuals around apparently shared interests, whilst collectively applying pressure on governments, companies, and international organisations. Four interesting and differing examples can be found in the streetfootballworld network, the Football Club Social Alliance, the International Platform for Sport and Development, and the European Football for Development Network (EFDN).

The Berlin-based streetfootballworld advocates for Football for Development & Peace (FDP) organisations and also forms the secretariat of a collective bargaining network with over 100 FDP NGOs worldwide (representing 66 countries). This network's stated aim is for the advancement of the world through football. They advise FIFA on how to annually distribute almost \$1.5 million of CSR funding (streetfootballworld 2015a), and most of it goes to streetfootballworld network members. SCORT are a Swiss organisation that uses a number of professional football club's and their community foundations to support NGOs in the Global South with their education through football efforts (The Football Club Social Alliance, 2015). Running a number of projects since 2009 in Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe, they mobilise the power of the club brands for their projects to enlist participants and the clubs get international profile and CSR/brand marketing benefits. EFDN is a different type of network. As its name suggests, it works on a European level to bolster the collective bargaining of the CSR departments, trusts and foundations within professional clubs (EFDN, 2016). The International Platform for Sport and Development (sportanddev.org) is again very different. This is a virtual network of SDP organisations where actors within the sector can share information, find resources for best practice, seek new careers, and advocate for sport as a tool for development. Over time, the platform has become more robust and has published debates that engage critically with SDP. However, it is still overwhelmingly a place to find support for sport and its use.

Funding is incredibly important to SDP organisations. A relatively stable source of this funding over the years has been trusts and foundations. These tend to be NGOs which are independently constituted organisations (such as a not for profit, or UK Registered Charity) with their own fundraising campaigns which generate the funds that they distribute to other NGOs upon receipt of successful applications. Occasionally, these foundations are attached to corporations (for example the Vodafone Foundation), and sometimes they are resourced via the wealth of philanthropists (for example the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation). Comic Relief is one particularly successful and well known British foundation that has, since at least 2007,

been involved in funding SDP interventions. Perhaps the most common form of transnational not-for-profit is the implementing NGO, because they are the deliverers of SDP projects. SDP implementing NGOs do not yet have the scale that some development NGOs have achieved - there are none on the scale of Oxfam (turnover of circa £700m) for example - the largest SDP NGO appearing to be Grassroot Soccer (\$5.5m in 2013).

There is perhaps a greater *methodological* difference though between the organisations that make up the SDP-implementing NGOs and the larger group of organisations that implement development projects (though there can be overlap between them). In terms of how their praxis is structured, development organisations tend to be understood as centred on an issue, for example rights, or sexual health. Whilst SDP implementing NGOs often start with one or more issues, they tend to communicate their identity not as the issue but as their solution to it: the use of sport.

Some SDP organisations operate nationally while interacting transnationally (as members of TANs). Some well-known examples of these are Street Games (Britain), Sport Dans La Ville (France) and Kickfair (Germany). Actors of interest in the *Local not-for-profit* space are individuals at the micro level. SDP participants and SDP practitioners can act in spaces spanning from the transnational to the local, and in one-to-one interactions between SDP practitioners and participants. SDP practitioners are a diverse set of individuals who are concerned with the *delivery* of SDP programmes. 'Practitioners' include coaches, educators, and volunteers, and managers, fundraisers, trainers, directors and evaluators in bureaucratic positions. In parallel with the other categories of actors in this chapter, many actors transcend the boundaries drawn here and find themselves with dual roles, acting locally, nationally and transnationally simultaneously: bipartisan researchers may find themselves embedded within SDP organisations, perhaps guiding praxis in action research; funders, especially corporates, may send employees to volunteer on SDP programmes and beneficiaries of programmes 'graduate' to become practitioners, who then may represent SDP NGOs in TANs. Indeed all of these examples have been witnessed during the course of my research.

Fans' involvement in SDP is not simple to discern. For some time, professional football has seen some of its CSR activities as interrelated with how it interacts with fans (see examples such as CCOs, community engagement around stadium developments, etc.). Examples of this can be seen where CCOs deliver SDP activities in communities where stadia are due to be developed. Tottenham Hotspur FC are involved in this at the time of writing. But the full significance of recent examples of fans' involvement at the behest of sports clubs is yet to be discerned. One example of this is Manchester City FC's involvement of fans in how charitable funding is distributed to SDP organisations via their global foundation. Becoming a 'Cityzen' (which is an upgraded version of a club member and season ticket holder) enables fans to vote on where

funding goes. What is interesting about this, is that it is used as a platform upon which to sell Cityzen memberships (Manchester City Football Club, 2015). This may yet reveal itself to be the most archetypal of CSR relationships with SDP, where influence in CSR for SDP projects is an explicit product sold to consumers.

Certainly, the move towards social media as a means of clubs engaging with fans has a role here, and companies clearly value sports' ability to mobilise fans behind a movement. So although fans provide a more complicated example of how they interact with SDP, observing their interaction as locals in the not for profit sector might, in the future, contribute to the effort to understand CSR and SDP further.

Justifiably, for some, the most important actors in SDP are the participants. Sometimes these individuals and communities are referred to as 'beneficiaries'. Their 'journey' leading up to and through interventions, and their verifiable 'changes', are increasingly the most important justifications for SDP programmes. They form the rational and logical basis for programme interventions and they give the rational explanation for questions of why *this* or *that* intervention.

Public

The World Bank and International Monetary Fund are perhaps two of the most prominent global multilateral and international organisations which act as consortia of state representatives. The UN office for Sport, Development and Peace (UNOSDP) has strategically funded five SDP projects over the last five years and runs a series of youth leadership camps for SDP participants in various regions (United Nations, 2015), but other organisations have now entered this space, including the European Union.

Bilateral aid agencies are states that fund programmes via bilateral agreements between donor and recipient countries. Strategic agreements usually exist between two states and involve a number of measures for aid and trade. SDP, in the early part of the 21st century, began to appear more in the portfolios of these wider agreements. One agency, that has for some time supported SDP as a development intervention, is the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) in Zimbabwe, funding the Kicking AIDS Out Network as part of a wider package of interventions in its strategic agreement with Zimbabwe between 2006-2015 (NORAD, 2015: iii-5). The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) founded by the Bush administration, has supported efforts to stem the HIV/AIDS epidemic, including those efforts that use sport. In 2009 Grassroot Soccer received a grant from PEPFAR for its work in South Africa on prevention (Grassroot Soccer, 2009).

National Governing Bodies and National Federations - usually members of transnational confederations - are the organisations that are primarily responsible for the development of their respective sports at both the elite and grassroots level. They usually administer the national team for each national sport they represent also. The Football Association (England) has a long standing relationship with SDP organisations, for example.

Local authorities in the UK and parts of Europe (for example Belgium), have also been commissioning services to local providers as the state becomes ever more privatised. SDP has been a recipient of some of these funds. Health services provide a particular discursive fit with SDP NGOs, particularly because they market themselves as being involved in the 'production' of healthy people, via their base in sport and physical activity. Sport in and of itself is often deemed to be a healthy activity.

Power, interconnections and alignments

The following passages discuss my empirical research from interviews with SDP practitioners (for the full anonymised list of research participants see fig. 4.3 in chapter 4), presentations and speeches at SDP conferences, alongside normative and marketing documentation, read through Foucauldian CDA. In a novel contribution to the corpus on SDP, I demonstrate how the discursive alignments between corporates on the one hand and SDP implementing NGOs on the other can be evidenced by the recurrence of certain common sense understandings of acceptable practice, within apparently distinct spaces.

Capital, whether restricted or unrestricted, moves from organisations such as governments, bilateral aid agencies, multilaterals, corporations, Federations, CSR foundations, trusts, and professional sports teams, to implementing NGOs who engage research institutions such as consultancies and universities. This funding is then converted into programmes or interventions designed by SDP-implementing organisations and their partners and delivered to SDP participants. Sometimes, this funding moves through networking organisations or TANs who administer funding, or signpost SDP implementing organisations to where it can be sourced. Occasionally, these networks will broker deals on behalf of single or multiple organisations.

Despite these flows, I contend that movements of capital are a strategic means, and not an end. Flows of funding cannot alone denote the functioning of power in SDP. As Foucault argued, political economy dominates the epistemology of the governmental moment - constituting, as it does, the major form of knowledge production in the postmodern world - but it is not its *raison d'être* (2009: 108-9). Development and SDP alike, are vulnerable to a reductionist economism (Darnell, 2012a: 87-91). Capital's flow through SDP rests upon the inter-exchange

of ideas throughout widely arrayed systems and my analysis of data gathered during the course of my research verifies this.

Recalling the theoretical perspectives advanced in chapter 3, and the importance for critical investigation outlined there of empirical observation of tactics, strategies and techniques in a given sector, my analysis here reveals some of the disparate nodal points at which power dynamics are visible. Visibility is denoted, I assume in the passage of ideas and practices between those points, and their identifiable recurrences. These ideas are *knowledges*: common sense understandings of the world and how things work within it, repeated at various junctures. They fundamentally configure behaviour of actors and crucially they shape the way people talk and write. In the case of SDP, this can be the understanding of what organisations should be, and how they should make change, in order to create 'better' human beings (see Darnell, 2010; 2012a). These *rationalities*, by which I mean sets of incoherent or semi-coherent common sense understandings, given a name or an overarching concept, are means of rationally justifying, or appealing to, the connections between illogical collections of ideas (Rose, 1999: 27). My findings indicate that in SDP, these collections of ideas connect to one another at the intersection of the private and the not-for-profit.

Though CSR/GCSE is an incredibly effective vehicle for the transmission of certain ideas between different parts of the system (Hayhurst, 2011), a deeper analysis reveals this as constituted by an as yet undisclosed tendency: that SDP actors connect logically using banks of data about the work they do, and the participants in their programmes. I demonstrate now, below, that SDP actors are engaged in a techno-strategic project to align with rational understandings of organisational qualities which are *desirable*.

Two discursive alignments emerge. In the first instance, we see a discursive reframing of the company as 'socially responsible'. In the second instance, we see an *alignment of the praxis of SDP organisations*, their internal administration and management, their strategies, the discourse of CSR, and a discourse of corporate strategy and business practice, presented as a coherent rationality. A third component logically underpins these alignments - what I have called the *logical basis* of these interconnections - of *monitoring and evaluation* (M&E) and data. The microtechniques - which range in complexity from a simple attendance register, to a more complex best-practice guide, or a multi-million dollar participant database - incorporate people into systems, standardising practice, capturing biological and behavioural data about people. They are the fundamental technique in the technology of governmentality in SDP, and the apparatuses of the biopolitical society that Foucault described (2008), but I return to them in detail in the next chapter.

Company aligned as socially responsible

The idea of corporations creating strategically socially responsible aims is not new. Numerous think tanks and PR firms (see for example Reputation Institute, 2016) are joined by corporate and journalistic publications that espouse the virtues of the socially responsible firm. This can be partly related to customers' perceptions changing, in part through empowerment via social media, and in part "a dynamic and growing space between charities and businesses to work together" (Keale interview, 2013). Indeed this is a tendency mirrored in the market research emerging from the corporate journalism world, where "42% of how people feel about a company is based on their perceptions of the firm's corporate Social Responsibility" (Reputation Institute, 2016, cited in Forbes, 2016).

Aspirations for the values of 'doing good' to be embedded within the genetics of an organisation was a response heard regularly from those working in or with the private sector. The implication is that this reconstruction of what the company *is* should seep into its aspirations for itself (see Prescott and Phelan, 2008). One participant involved in CSR and SDP cited a speech he had made at a conference which stated that:

"... the difference between sponsorship and CSR is largely one of intent, and essentially, (in one word): ownership. If I sponsor an individual or another organisation to do something, it is really down to them. If, as a CEO of an organisation, I create (or participate in the creation of) an agenda for change, and I am prepared to use all my resources: my employees, my technical capabilities, my brand, and my money. And I am prepared to set targets for success, even though I may work with other organisations, then that is looking rather more like a CSR agenda (Grant's speech, 2013)."

The creation of change agendas by the company rather than the charity raises questions about what the company identity must *be* in its authentication to employees and consumers. Company values and 'strategic fit' are an important factor that emerged from a number of research participants:

"When a business is seeking to pursue its CSR agenda through a specific charity, there does have to be a snug fit between the charity and the business – there has to be an alignment of values and cause. It doesn't matter where the synergy comes from but it does have to be powerful and clearly articulated" (Grant's speech, 2013).

MNCs use their company values to connect to socially justifiable aims. Values, seen as transcending business objectives and presented as omnipresent, are held up as the very essence of corporate identity. Those with experience of CSR relationships based upon

engagement with the charitable activities of the NGO talked about how values externalise in a company's strategy for giving:

“What they've done is basically impose their international and national philanthropy strategy that's based around their employees and their customers, and they will only get involved with programmes that compliment these objectives; otherwise they will work with us to look at ways we can *adapt* [my emphasis] our projects in order to fall into line with this. But I don't really blame them for that: why would a company do something that doesn't make sense to its own brand and strategy?” (Graham interview, 2013).

The melange of corporate and community-based interests in the delivery of SDP programmes seemed to be an end, and not a means of CSR programmes' compulsion to 'do good'. This is something that SDP organisations appeared to feel was a powerful force from above – from the corporate - but also a tendency that SDP organisations could appeal to:

On the one hand, it is definitely about power and legitimacy, because if you look at what happened since the crash¹⁴, and the fact that I guess that many people would think that CSR is about propping up the existing order, because you know for business to kind of continue being seen as legitimate in the eyes of most people, it needs to be able to show it's also a force for good rather than just a force for destabilising the economy... for many people CSR is sort of the saviour, it's sort of trying to stabilise the whole existing order (Keale interview, 2013).

From an MNC perspective now:

We don't care about the size of the NGO. But it must be innovative. [SDP NGO name] worked with us on training [young professional people] on social issues that affected them, and on improving communications. The content was used to lobby government... Collaborations with NGOs can lead to market insight and innovation; ideas and such about consumers and markets. This is highly valuable and you can put a number on that (Hone interview, 2013).

Whilst this political work undermines the aims of not-for-profits, this tendency by companies gives something to connect their work to; a problem to solve through sport.

“And the [NGO] were helping in terms of like, mapping the route and like gaining access into all these areas and plugging it and promoting it and all that... both communications teams like joining up and working together on this and that. And there you might see a little bit more of a kind of two-way stuff and also you do have more companies now

¹⁴ The research participant refers to the financial crisis of 2007/8 here.

that kind of actually audit businesses to make sure they're fit to partner with NGOs and charities so there is kind of more pressure being exerted on businesses, who want to get into this space, and I think you know from the charity side there is [sic] business skills that are coming into charities now and I think that some charities through partnering with businesses might find that they pick up more skills from the business world. Maybe it's in terms of how they build their brand, how they market themselves, in terms of how they regulate themselves and make sure they deliver bang for buck for communities on the ground..." (Keale interview, 2013)

The communities on the ground and their issues are reinvented for the intervention and this seemed to have an upward tendency in the decoding of this to corporate audiences, and a downward effect on the design of interventions, and the internal administration of SDP NGOs. These perceived requirements of corporates are powerful connecting forces for SDP NGOs to appeal to. In so doing, they cohere to the discourse of the company as socially responsible in solving these and creating the agendas for their change. For companies, it is a dynamic whereby the 'good' work they undertake in their CSR mission justifies the identification of the problems that the work is trying to solve; their machinations to do good invent and re-invent the problems they are remedying.

Corporatisation/professionalization alignment

SDP NGOs see 'socially responsible' companies, and they interpret the way the company sees itself into their own understandings of how they can and should see themselves: desirable qualities and practices included. But they also design their own strategies based upon common sense understandings of what effective administration is. As broad historical tendencies have come to light over the last two decades, in the appearance of what was previously understood to be commercially strategic understandings of how to 'do business', this emergence has configured discourses of SDP NGOs towards means of administering themselves; means that are more commonly associated with corporations, presumably under an assumption that this increases both efficiency and the chances of finding corporate allies.

But the explanation as to why these practices of administration transfer from private companies to charities is more complex than a simple desire to be attractive to funding. It concerns the discursive conduit that CSR becomes in its contextualising relations between corporate and non-profit entities. This is a point made about the perceptions of NGOs as deficient in certain regards – regards in which data, and M&E can be very important:

"... I think that is a key thing because I think there has been a sense – and this is not like, an uncontroversial statement - I realise there is [sic] two sides to this - but I think there

has been definitely a growing body of people that feel that the social [not-for-profit/NGO/charitable] sector got a little bit left behind the last ten or fifteen years whilst the world got more data driven, and the world, especially through technology, was just becoming more and more [...] you know, we're in the era of 'big data': so much information, so much in terms of data analytics, getting so much more sophisticated now in terms of tracking their impact on customers and on all these different stakeholders. And so, in terms of NGOs and charities with a lot less [sic] resources behind them, [they] were still, in many cases, struggling just to measure relatively basic things in terms of how money was spent and what the supposed benefit of that was, and so, I think that there is an argument to be made there that you need the social sector to be more data driven, and business can sort of help there because there is a lot of expertise there that resides that can be really directly transferred in you know to help quantify and measure." (Keale interview, 2013)

This tendency in SDP has parallels in wider society. *Big Data*, like that accumulated via social media, online behaviour, or purchasing habits, has become a staple mechanism by which individuals are incorporated into systems over which they exercise little control. Sometimes known as *meta-data*, these virtual banks of information are held in servers by private companies and analysed for patterns of behaviour, determining consumer trends and predicting purchases. The value of this, which can be seen in the stock price of Facebook, for example, is in the potential future value of what this data tells companies about consumer behaviour: what people associate with, aspire to and comment on. Discursively then, there is a certain commercial overlap between gathering of data between different spheres. It is entirely appropriate that we speak, therefore, of collection of data as a process of commercialisation, and respondents identified this as a technological transfer of practice from CSR to SDP:

"I think that initially with CSR it wasn't necessarily affecting the practice of the organisations. I think originally it was probably just a new revenue stream... and if anything that revenue stream had a lot less strings attached to it than the other ones, so it might have been less likely to affect practices than if you have say, funding from like major public sector donors or like the EU, DFID, who would attach more strings... where you had to have certain procedures and policies in order to attract and retain funding. Actually there was a lot less rigour in terms of how CSR investments were being kind of, you know, the conditions that were being attached to those. And the reporting requirements were way less burdensome, so like, even from our experience working for [SDP NGO], we had a funder like [MNC] and all they were really interested in was you sending a picture every few months and that was it. Whereas, a UN or an EU might require an audit of your organisation or something. So I think, actually, in terms of actual practices, initially it didn't [affect], but I think it would be simplistic to say that

that's like still the case, because it's not. There are a lot more creative two-way collaborations starting to crop up where you've got businesses and charities partnering with one another and kind of jointly owned and jointly created missions, that have kind of social and business goals." (Keale interview, 2013)

Jointly created missions have begun to be codified into strategies for organisational growth and social change in SDP participants. The goals for communities and the challenges to be addressed by SDP programming have begun to be interpreted and represented by SDP practitioners in corporate terms. Coherence between disparate elements in a mix of social and business goals offer insights into how ideas take hold in SDP. Strategically, as the company aligns as socially responsible, SDP aligns strategies to be more attractive to CSR agendas, appealing as NGOs doing business 'better'. Practice and administration appear configured towards new strategies. This involves the emergence of a more corporate administration within not-for-profits where there is an equivocation of 'commercialisation', with 'efficiency', and 'accuracy'. The following respondent offers an excellent illustration:

"The corporatisation of [NGO], as a charity, was something I started to see ten years ago when I was working for them. They started to really look into efficiency, and much more corporate values. And the culture changed; the appointments changed: the backgrounds of people at a senior level... They started bringing in people from places like [MNC] in their marketing departments and fundraising departments, to raise more corporate money, because they had a more effective way of raising more money for a charitable purpose." (Harry interview, 2013)

What an SDP NGO can *learn* from the corporate is seen as important (Hayhurst 2011: 540), tethering the two worlds via SDP NGOs justifications of their tactics under the logic of corporate practice and administration. The perception therefore of a viable organisation becomes one that is administrated 'commercially'. The consequences of this for company and NGO is a change in practice and a change in the way people talk about themselves and others. For example another respondent noted:

"I think the language that we use, and the language that the [SDP] sector uses has got a lot of influence from corporate social responsibility language. I don't know if that is a positive thing or not, but it just seems to be going that way... So for example a key thing around the word 'sustainability' is that it's become quite prominent in our sector, in that it's originally an 'environment' word, and now it was adopted by businesses and now in Sport for Development." (Masters interview, 2013)

The influence of CSR in the change from the common sense understanding of "sustainability" is telling. The idea seemed to be that being business-minded had advantages for SDP

organisations. Of the utmost import is to “talk the language” of corporates, and to demonstrate behaviours in a certain professional way. By implication, the identity of the SDP organisation is fixed at a starting place that is ‘unprofessional’; framed as a fault to be fixed. The problem being invented here is not external to the SDP NGO itself.

“I think there is a lot of pressure... even on us as an organisation to be more business minded in our approach and in how we work. Because we think businesses are efficient, highly successful... but over the last few years of course they haven’t proven themselves to be as efficient or successful¹⁵. But also I would say that pressure translates to partners [SDP NGOs] on the ground who are using those words, or are under pressure to become more business-like.” (Masters interview, 2013)

“Sometimes corporate spending changes NGO reasons [sic]. Sometimes they don’t think of the NGO’s goals.” (Howard interview, 2013)

Again, the connection between demonstrating change in SDP programmes and communicating it stands out. This came up consistently in documents, through presentations and speeches at conferences, and in conversations with SDP practitioners. A consultant presented one particular way of framing this problem for SDP NGOs at a conference, when giving a presentation on how to achieve financial sustainability:

“BISON

Be Informed (BI)

Stand-Out (SO)

Network (N)”

The rationale for professionalising in this way was expanded on later: SDP NGOs must be aware that CSR funding is gradually replacing international aid and funding from foundations. Therefore there are higher demands on NGOs in a more competitive marketplace. Funders are now:

“Interested in leveraging non-financial contributions

Emphasis on impact

Looking to engage public private collaboration

More ‘strategic’ giving

¹⁵ Again this refers to the financial crisis of 2007/8.

Little patience and/or time”

(Mina presentation, 2013).

This compulsion towards the externalisation, via communication, of internal administration was a salient point that came up repeatedly. In some respondents’ view, it was an identifier for the external market of funders, and for some it was more about a ‘quality mark’. This once again provided a statement which formed a connection point for other actors from the world external to the SDP NGOs to connect with, for example individual givers, governments and corporates. It seemed that communication of the professional and corporate improvements that the SDP NGOs made formed a crucial part of their strategies. Again, data were key to the process:

“We are getting more impact driven: 90% of our players are within school. 100% have more confidence; that sort of thing. Having the stats ‘Joe Public’ are interested in. We want a fundraising identity that people are interested in.” (Pride interview, 2016)

This is one of the principal means by which corporations and MNCs via CSR/GCSE interconnect with SDP as a sector. Connections with a particular discourse of corporate qualities, seen as professional and logical, were powered by verifiable data. Almost subconsciously this is juxtaposed with the not-for-profit, which is seen as unprofessional, slow, and illogical; in need of improvements. Informed by this logic, the SDP NGOs believe they can connect with this discourse via a technical appeal - the datarisation of their work - well branded and communicated. This was not an appeal that was limited to the corporate world. Indeed some intimated that state funding via bilateral aid agencies into SDP created the need to be more professional, to corporatise, creating an impulse to be explicit about this:

“We’ve moved outside of traditional SDP funding. Into [bilateral] for example. That necessitates sophistication of data. That necessitates us to become smarter to compete with other orgs, and as we change we compete now with [international development sub-sector] organisations.” (Raja telephone interview, 2016)

By the positivist understanding of their issue and the objective demonstration that their work has made a ‘positive’ change, they can appeal to a rational discourse that is initially, at least, out of reach for them. The logic is that more commercially minded SDP actors will deliver more effectively. This suggests an alignment between SDP administration and common sense understandings of corporate practice (Webb & Richelieu, 2016).

That these ideas regarding the professionalization of the administration of SDP practice circulate amongst different SDP implementing organisations is evidenced by the above quotations. Conferences and presentations provide one data source, and in a relatively small sector it was clear from respondents’ contributions that people were aware of what other SDP

actors were doing. One particular transmission method is the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN).

“We’re different to other networks. We don’t focus on one particular topic, but on the tool; on the methodology, on the fact that [sport] has a lot of aspects that work in tackling a range of issues and problems. It’s a good thing. Makes us attractive and flexible, we represent a sector in the sport world. It’s hard to invest though. They [corporate] want to invest in a theme, for example a pharmaceutical company wants to invest in HIV/AIDS rather than a tool.” (David interview, 2014)

Within a network, consistency in some way must be sought. Things that organisations share are important. Where organisations want to be part of something, they must demonstrate their similarities rather than their differences. Processes must be put into place which categorise the included from the excluded:

“For network development [we have to ask]: who becomes a member? How do we evaluate members and applicants? How do we allow them in and out of the network? How do we support members? How do we facilitate learning? How do we bring people together, both virtually and in-person?” (David interview, 2014)

This is important because it allows a window into the machinations of SDP NGOs as they work together in networks. Sometimes, disparate and differing organisations seek to justify their inclusion within a group via connections based on coherent elements. That does not mean to say those elements are coherent; rather it is the attempt to make them cohere under a logic of similarity. Conditions of entry and retention within the network then codify this logic and give it validity as a consistent set of ideas, values and rules. These ideas spread. There is a perception that logics of inclusion and exclusion are based upon shared objective notions of quality:

“There has been a ‘quality seal’ for network membership discussed. This could involve rewards potentially, and levels of inclusion with only ‘high-quality’ organisations receiving the highest accolades. These are backed-up by strict quality assurance procedures.”

Me: How do you ensure ‘quality’ though?

“Quality of programmes; evidence and monitoring & evaluation; references of key partners (for example UNICEF); willingness to integrate and add value to the network.” (Tupelo interview, 2013)

Arbitrary criteria seemed to be set, against which programmes were judged. What makes for an admissible organisation is a question which has arisen elsewhere:

“Yes there is [a quality element to inclusion within certain networks]. There are formal criteria, legal registration, are they sustainable, do they have a range of partners, but also how do they work – how do they involve participants for example – how well are they doing their M&E, are they politically and religiously independent? There are formal and qualitative elements to this process... Organisations must benefit from the network, but also must contribute and share.” (David interview, 2013).

Sharing doesn't need to be in terms of material resources. In fact, frequently sharing within networks is in the shape of ideas and best practice, or training in how to engage certain target groups. Generally accepted principles therefore continue to circulate around the system. If a funder – a corporate for example - has supported a project with cash and perhaps some employee volunteering time, and this funder is happy with the project at the end, then the corporate and the SDP NGO will perceive that there is something to be gained from communicating this amongst other partners and peers.

As mentioned in the section on corporations, there is a strong impulse felt from SDP NGOs to *be* something that CSR can fund. This manifests itself in a discursive alignment with what is perceived to be a coherent set of ideas and knowledges that rationalise corporate practices.

Verifying: monitoring and evaluation and the 'logical basis'

Perceptions of a corporate business-focused approach allow monitoring and evaluation of programmes to be increasingly central features of SDP. This was evident in programmes being considered good insofar as they had *measurable* benefits, met a *demonstrable need* in the community. Raising questions of how legitimacy is gained, successive respondents indicated processes of evaluation of SDP programmes. 'Measuring' is embedded in partnerships at the outset. These become the logical basis for connections to both corporations' aspirations to social responsibility, and the corporate/professional aspirations of SDP NGOs. It is the rational justification for the alignments between each set of actors. As one respondent noted:

“I mean I guess data is a good one, but if you look at things like that around 'proving', that's a key one... I think the reason there's been so much pressure on those things in particular is because of this whole idea that you need measured impact, so that you can get access to funding. Because people want to know what exactly it is about you that's different enough that I should unlock funding to invest in you... like what's your USP?” (Masters interview 2014)

The language of business encodes attempts to connect with a set of seemingly logical discourses. Appeals for support are then framed in terms corporates can connect with. The

implication is that SDP NGOs must be verifiable to be fundable. Informed by this logic, they can connect with this discourse via a technical appeal from the datarisation of their work. Some respondents were even more emphatic on this point that M&E is essentially for someone else, and not for the SDP implementing NGO:

“We aren’t doing a great deal [on M&E]. Our reporting is to report to funders and then to get more money. That’s what the majority of people do. We aren’t looking at Social Return on Investment or anything, and we aren’t looking at this or that flaw in our methods. We are doing it [M&E] to keep funders happy.” (Pride interview, 2016)

By the objective demonstration that their work has made a positive change, they can appeal to a rational discourse of what it is to be a commercially data-driven entity. And in networks of SDP organisations this idea of sharing and commonality beyond funding was revealed by a number of respondents. There is a culture of finding consistency between organisations, methods and discourses that seem to be shared by various people at various different levels.

The impacts SDP programmes are aiming to have are verifiable desired changes in behaviour and characteristics amongst participants (see for example, Coalter 2009: 4). For example, UK Sport’s international wing, UK Sport International has invested in a research programme alongside Comic Relief, to look at two changes in ‘personal development’ amongst participants in six SDP programmes (UK Sport & International Development through Sport, 2012: 18-19). In the case of SDP organisations that focus on HIV/AIDS, a change in participants’ practices regarding safe sex, or getting tested may be assessed; or perhaps organisations encouraging work readiness amongst unemployed young people demonstrate a change in skills for the job market. In this way groups of participants’ experiences are codified into data to ascertain who changed, and who did not. Partnerships with private sector organisations are sought in order to enact the required technologies for measurement. As one research participant told me, charities now work with companies to develop new systems of surveillance:

“... that will enable them to track their impact on [participants] way more effectively. So you see at that level, what you’ve got is a transfer of IP [Intellectual Property] and technical know-how from the business into the charity that translates into them actually getting a lot more savvy and data driven in terms of how they measure their effect on the people they exist to serve, which will then filter into more innovation, more learning, and better practices.” (Keale interview, 2013)

‘Better’ relies here upon preconceived notions of the characteristics of professional data-driven businesses. Moreover, it is not simply that an organisation is perceived to be more or less professional that determines its credibility. If we read the “transfer of intellectual property

and technical know-how from the business into the charity” into the analysis, what we are ostensibly discussing here is the corporatisation of civil society spaces.

Discussion: Critical Discourse Analysis of data

The first requirement of CDA, as spelled out by Fairclough (1992: 225-240), is that it be multidimensional in analysis, reading social reality and the practice of ‘real life’ into play. The second requirement states that the multifunctional nature of discourse –and how, it changes over time, or its ‘trajectory’ – be discussed. Thirdly the interdiscursive (Foucault, 1977) dimensions be brought into play, illuminating dependencies upon other discourses. Lastly, that criticality - the making transparent of opaque processes and the change of social conditions - be instantiated as a goal in the analytical process, suggesting further areas to subject to scrutiny in the future. This four step process forms the basis of my discussion section within each of the three empirical chapters. In completing this process in each, I link my empirical work here with the theoretical work on Foucauldian *governmentality* in chapter 3.

Multidimensional Analysis: the constellation of SDP in the world

Miller & Rose (1990) argue that we must understand how the tendency towards governmentality requires a logical comprehension and systematisation of incomprehensible and complex phenomena; a rational function of power that is pervasive in postmodern life. The gravitational pull of governmentality as a project requires technological developments in the field of information and data:

“It draws attention to the fundamental role that knowledges play in rendering aspects of existence thinkable and calculable, and amenable to deliberated and planful initiatives: a complex intellectual labour involving not only the invention of new forms of thought, but also the invention of novel procedures of documentation, computation and evaluation.” (Miller & Rose, 1990: 3)

Applying this thought to the alignments in SDP and CSR that I have described above requires a more nuanced understanding of the role that GCSE plays in the social interventions of SDP, and the wider world, than applications to date. That is not to rule out pernicious forces at work in SDP: that the private sector has been complicit in the greenwashing of corporate scandals is not new (see Rajak, 2011: 91- 141; Environmental Leader, 2010), for example. But the imposition of CSR/GCSE in social spaces changes the terms of reference for future discussion in the public sphere. Being socially responsible is now, for a company, a market force (Forbes,

2016; Reputation Institute, 2016). As Rajak puts it in her example of huge multinational mining corporations in South Africa:

“As big business is brought more closely into the development process – not only as agent of empowerment, but as its architect – novel regimes of local, national and global responsibility are emerging in which corporations are elevated as guardians of the social order and purveyors of a new global moral authority.” (2011: 1)

The knowledge objects of the de-unified, the uneducated, the culturally disparate and the anti-humanitarian have been produced and reproduced for centuries now, as the issues to be solved. The nexus where SDP meets CSR is now one place in a limitless global field of interventions in which those problems are recoded and made comprehensible in light of the techniques designed to solve them. The issues change from epoch to epoch, but the notion of ‘solutions’ has remained consistent since the Victorian era (see Clarke, 1993). These are powerful, seemingly trans-historical connecting forces for NGOs – and now private sector firms in partnership with SDP - to appeal to. In so doing, they create a space for the coherence of the company through its alignment as a socially responsible entity, and they seem to, in some way, provide the possibility for a moral authority for such a claim on behalf of the private. But in doing so, there is a wholesale sanitisation of the corporate tendrils stretching out into private life. SDP programmes become coherent with common sense understandings of the corporate as essentially social in its *raison d’être*. Aligning as such gives rise to a deeper implication of the corporate into practices within SDP programmes and the tactics they employ in their interactions with other actors.

The analysis shows that SDP is an inhabitant of a constellation of actors from three main sectors: the private, the public, and the not-for-profit. The definition of what SDP includes, that I set out in the introduction, is necessarily inclusive of all of these. This is in part due to the interconnections between a myriad of actors that transcend historical sectoral demarcations.

Spatially the terrains in which SDP behaviours are directed, seem to correspond with the traditional levels of analyses employed by International Relations: the local, national, transnational and global. In terms of a governmental rationality, the logic of corporate expertise helps govern the conduct of SDP practitioners in the space in which they operate (Rose & Miller, 2010; Hayhurst, 2011; Cutler, 2010).

Multifunctionality: The constellation of SDP over time

In geographical and sectoral categories, various actors combine to allocate resources to the achievement of social ends through sport. This has, as Brand (2008) and Prescott & Phelan

(2008) argue, begun to be perceived as a powerful force for companies. But this marks a point of departure in collaborations between not-for-profit and private sector firms. The first Millennium Development Goals, adopted in 2000, contained a pledge for a new “global partnership for development” (United Nations, 2010): nebulously urging business to work with government to end poverty. In reality, the momentum behind the change in business practices had already begun as companies had started to behave in a more socially responsible way since the 1990s as the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill (Robards, 2014), and the death of Ken Saro Wiwa during 1995 in the Niger Delta with the collaboration of Shell (Pilkington, 2009) amplified the public relations efforts of some of the world’s biggest companies. Later, ENRON compounded the view that companies were not overseen adequately, and were responsible for catastrophes in large swathes of the population’s lives.

Now 16 years on from the original Millennium Development Goals, new collaborations have been attempted at the global level. The UN has enlisted the power of corporates to master their fundamental responsibilities in human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption, in the new “United Nations Global Compact” (United Nations, 2016).

The evolution of the technological apparatuses, and the environmental conditions in which CSR can now thrive and flourish is not something we should be surprised about. Deleuze identified “ultra-rapid forms of free-floating control” (1992: 5), denoting the pace at which social interventions diversify and accelerate. Society, he contended, was constantly inventing and reinventing the mechanisms for its own subordination (a process which my analysis in the previous section also demonstrated). With each iteration, the *modus operandi* becomes increasingly divorced from its own historicity, and therefore its incomprehensibility grows and grows. The “telos of the discipline” (*ibid*), founded in complex and inter-reliant discursive structures, masks its own origins. My findings in this chapter show that the positioning of the corporate as socially responsible, and the alignment of the SDP NGO as ‘professional’ in corporate terms, has been reified at an incredible rate with little contending counter-narrative amongst actors in the field. For example, the frequent criticism of corporate scandals at, say, Barclays (Titcomb, 2015), seems to be outpaced by Barclay’s own CSR and cause-marketing efforts, which undergo constant reinvention (Barclays, 2015).

One of the key contributions of my research has been to highlight that the nature of change in a given moment relies fundamentally on the fixing of problems in a certain place and space, which post-dates the interventions meant to solve them. This was seen in the companies who created agendas for change for communities on the ground which decanted their values through the SDP NGO intervention to reconfigure the problems faced in a way the company could understand. As discussed in chapter 3, an object is an aspect of discourse referred to as such. Foucault used *madness* as an example of an object of psychopathology from the

nineteenth century (Fairclough, 1992: 41; Foucault, 2001). In my analysis, the 'undeveloped', the 'poor' and the 'marginalised' are the knowledge objects of SDP codified in the discourse of corporations (via GCSE/CSR), "the entities which particular disciplines or sciences recognize within their field of interest" (*ibid*). They are constituted not *a priori*, but rather, by all that is written about them, said about them, and so forth (Foucault, 2002: 35), denying them any claims to independence from the discourse that constitutes and transforms them (Fairclough, 1992: 41; see also Leclercq-Vandelannoitte, 2011). The interventions in their lives then, pre-date the problems they are meant to solve (Foucault 2008: 25-31). They move across time as both the remedy and the cause by way of their re-creation of the issues they offer solutions to. It is, in Foucault's conception that in the tools created to understand 'madness', that madness was reified as a knowledge object. In SDP, as one of a number of social interventions in the social space, it is the tools of social change that produce, and reproduce, the issues addressed by interventions in their own image, over time, in the discourse of the corporate.

Interdiscursivity: SDP's reliance on other regimes of truth

There are two interdiscursivities which bear spelling out. First, the theory and praxis of what a corporate organisation is, how it constructs itself, and how it administers its constituent parts. My analysis indicates that there are, concurrently, overt relations to these knowledges and specific technical appeals - or 'calls to action' - where SDP NGOs externalise in communications the changes to their internal processes. Their realignment as 'professional' represents one of the clearest examples of their institutionalisation into corporate spheres and their discursive reliance on corporate discourse.

Secondly the research indicates SDP's interdiscursivity with the terrain of international development, with the former aspiring to the latter. Again this was shown by numerous respondents to be both a question of internal realignment to a more corporate, more professional organisation, and that there were specific 'wins' to be had from communicating these alignments widely. Given that the recognition of the realignment of the public sector since the 1980s to what has been called the "New Public Management" doctrine (Hood, 1991: 3-10), which dictates that successful practices in the private sector will be successful in the public, it is to be entirely expected that alignments by SDP implementing NGOs in the cause of appeasing public bodies should be similar to those that align SDP NGOs to the corporate. Nor is this unique to the international development sector: where SDP NGOs work exclusively within 'Western' economies, the pervasiveness of this ideology of New Public Management means a greater embedding of the principles of private sector administration within the public.

SDP therefore sits at a curious intersection of a range of discourses from the private, public, and not-for-profit sectors. As Hayhurst (2011: 537) indicated in her insistence of the phenomenon being understood as a technology of governmentality, it is GCSE/CSR that has been the primary field for this intersection of artificially competing interests.

This configuration of understanding of the constellation of actors in the SDP universe and the interdiscursivity between the superficial demarcations they make for themselves, now provides the opportunity to see conduits between actors. In this way it creates the possibilities for understanding exactly *how* the technology of governmentality that corporate engagement embodies, incorporates and institutionalises SDP (the subject of the next empirical chapter).

Critical analysis: enquires into power in SDP

As above, SDP organisations connect themselves with rationalities - knowledges, ideas, logical explanations, innovations, policy, and administrative procedures – that appear to have come from elsewhere. In SDP the credibility for their connections to seemingly separate elements is underpinned by what I have called a *logical basis*: forms of systematised data and information about SDP participants' progress in programmes which are rationally justified. Rationalities though can be, and indeed are, bigger, superficially, than one or a number of sets of data. Rose (1999: 27), as we saw in the theoretical positioning chapter, used the example of neoliberalism as a political rationality, to explain a contemporary manifestation of this type of thought. In this case, neoliberalism was no more than everything that had ever been said or written about it, however incoherent (*ibid*).

The discursive connections between different forms of knowledge are manifest in praxis at the extremities: the way in which SDP organisations incorporate themselves into administrative procedures, rules and norms. But the connections between these ideas and practices, visible in the results of the research, I argue in this chapter, are rooted in and centred on 'common sense' understandings of CSR. Governmentality offers a lens for seeing apparently coherent systems of thought in historical moments in a nuanced way. *Strategies* are the theoretical and methodological rationalities for why a given thing would be done in a certain way (Rose, 1999: 24-26). The 'best practice' documents, and logical or 'outcomes frameworks' for M&E projects when analysed through this lens cease to be benign and begin to be apparent as the principle means by which SDP is institutionalised from the bottom up. Claims to consistency in strategy and apparatuses give political rationalities a social form in the creation, discipline and surveillance of practice (*ibid*). Sets of practices as technologies of governmentality, that Hayhurst (2011) so accurately identified but did not detail beyond the infiltration of 'expertise' given from corporate organisations to SDP NGOs are developed further by my analysis

indicating where discursive alignments have taken place. Numerous respondents' interviews indicated these tendencies, and presentations and speeches confirmed specific ideas forming about what a socially responsible company is, and how it connects to NGOs (in SDP via verification of efficacy). Furthermore my analysis demonstrates the response that SDP NGOs have made by aligning their internal organisation as professional and corporate in nature.

The equivalence drawn of efficiency, strength and accuracy, in the private sector becomes an alignment of a perceived competitive advantage in a functional economy with the desire for similar characteristics in the not-for-profit sector. It was not lost on some respondents that anyone who follows the scandals within supposedly successful huge companies over the last century would see this as a tenuous assumption to make, to say the least, but nonetheless, discursively, this notion has taken hold within SDP.

But what these alignments rely upon is a basis of logic which constitutes a rationality, and a claim to authoritatively describe social phenomena scientifically. The real possibilities for criticality, I argue, rest upon this identification of a logical basis. What people do in the day-to-day, and the means by which they administer themselves and others – what Foucault called the “conduct of conduct” (2000: 341) – are sometimes both the most opaque of processes and immanently important. Deleuze has warned of the incorporation of participants into subordinating systems, resulting in the subjugation of human experience to what he called “data individuals” (1992: 7); systems impossible to discern for the people who were meant to benefit from programmes. Revealing these, and analysing them and their function is therefore justified: the focus on the verifiable change in young people in SDP interventions results in an increasingly conformist character.

Transformation of societal conditions to new forms of power and knowledge are made possible by networks of individuals understanding their own incorporation into systems of power. This is only possible because as Foucault argued, power is diffused into networks and exercised by all (2004: 29). The rendering of opaque processes - processes that incorporate and institutionalise SDP and its participants – as transparent, is thus a crucial precondition for challenging this discourse. My analysis in this chapter has begun to address this lacuna.

The microtechniques which substantiate these processes are the constituents of technologies which are used to govern certain spaces, rendering them knowable and empowering a regime of truth. This is what it means to constitute a logical basis for the claim to be authoritative about this or that space; about this or that intervention; to be able to claim that this worked, and that didn't. In the next chapter, my findings reveal that examples of such microtechniques can include surveys, software, reports, studies, registers, and guidelines. These are techniques that create rational bases for knowledge, and increasingly we see them digitised in terms of the

space in which they happen (registers moving online for example, events recorded on social media).

Now it remains to excavate further the microtechniques of SDP as they are deployed by organisation, to delineate the actual “coils of the serpent” (Deleuze, 1992: 7) and unearth as yet unexamined social formations in the field of scholarly work on SDP.

Conclusion: governmentality and power in SDP

The quest to realign the services of society to the problematic faced - the faults within society - which the services are intended to remedy (Foucault, 2008: 25-51), is an opaque, yet conceptually frail contact point, which critical researchers should target. In my example of CSR/GCSE in SDP, these have been configured to a rational and corporate understanding of how to administer the doing of good.

The argument of this chapter is that previous scholarly work has categorised GCSE and CSR as technologies of governmentality in SDP (Hayhurst, 2011), but that these analyses have overemphasised the ‘top-down’ (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012). I argued therefore, that SDP and CSR relations must be understood in the context of two specific alignments in discourse: that the corporate aligns itself as socially responsible, and that the SDP NGO aligns itself as professional and ‘corporatised’, where SDP NGOs align praxis with perceptions of effective corporate administration, internally within their own organisations and externally in communications. I introduced the claim that the latter of these alignments requires a logical basis: a comprehensible and standardised range of rationalities upon which to base the claims to connections with other distinct realms or actors. Therefore, this project of understanding technologies of governmentality as made possible by alignments in discourse, is delivered by exploring the minutiae of SDP, and I do so by exploring systematised monitoring & evaluation (M&E) in the chapter that follows this one.

In an original contribution I argued that a nuanced understanding segues into the debate between Lindsey & Grattan (2012) and Darnell & Hayhurst (2012) by demonstrating that although SDP is vulnerable to global forces, Foucauldian analysis also shows that power is not unidirectional and is exercised at the peripheries also. Using CDA, I contextualised the project of the company being viewed as socially responsible. An interdiscursive understanding of CSR/GCSE and SDP relations demonstrates further connections with the fields of international development and the *New Public Management* doctrine (Hood, 1991: 3-10), which advocates for the insertion of private sector practice into other forms of organisation. Although this code of practice deploys corporate expertise and administration in the public sector, the coordination of interests make clear how adhesive this ideology is, and how attractive a

tendency it is for SDP NGOs to appeal to. Those appeals appear credible when based upon the implementation of practices that record, measure and quantify success by means coherent, seemingly, with private sector practice.

The connections between superficially different forms of actors cannot be problematised without first being understood. The project of critical theory must be to show connections to formations that transcend the subject matter itself: it must be multidimensional and interdiscursive, in order to be critical (Fairclough, 1992: 225-240). I linked SDP to CSR explicitly and showed how the tendrils of such a formation extend - in the context of wider societal tendencies towards 'Big Data', where subjects are 'datarised' into banks of comprehensible information (Deleuze, 1992: 5-7).

In this chapter, we have seen that NGO practice is aligned with corporate administration in solving the issues posed by SDP. A system of services, tactics, and techniques deployed around an alignment of resources, discourses, ideas and practice to solve problems identified by the same interventions meant to solve them. The responses seem to invent the social problems to which the techniques and technologies of governmentality are aimed. This is not what power *is*, but it is *where* it is and how it *functions*. Responses inventing problems echoes Foucault's analysis where it was not madness, sickness and sexuality that became problems toward which various remedial services, tactics and techniques were directed; rather, the services, tactics and techniques allowed the system of knowledges and common sense understandings of those very faults (madness, sickness, sexuality etc.) that made them knowledge objects (Foucault, 2001).

These practices are the capillaries of power in SDP: they are the power dynamics of the governmentality at work in SDP. A *technology of governmentality* is an appealing concept, but it is also a borderless system of ideas and concepts. M&E processes which verify the alignments, provide the logical basis for appeals to connect with what Foucault called a *Regime of Truth* (2008: 1-25). Practices and techniques, therefore, must be examined in detail and it is to the minutiae of these machinations that the research now turns.

Chapter 6: The Microtechniques of SDP

Introduction

Thus far, I have evaluated the interactions of SDP actors in terms of the knowledges and ideas that circulate between them which, I claimed, represent distinctive forms of discursive alignment. A reference to 'faults' in society creates a driving force for interventions in the lives of human participants; a framework for action under which practice is both the creation and reconfiguration of procedures, techniques and strategies towards the 'ills' of participants and the 'problems' of society (Miller & Rose, 1990: 3; Rose, 2000; 2007). This suggested that CSR/GCSE and SDP combinations helped frame, reinvent and give meaning to the societal problems that efforts were configured against.

The question must become then: how are the efforts of SDP organisations towards these problems understood in order to rationally justify their effectiveness, and thus appeal to other forms of knowledge? The conduit of participating subjects into the processes of SDP becomes important. By focusing on the means by which their activity is codified as data in a coherent way - despite a kaleidoscopic range of human action - I uncover how the *recording* of local *experience* is practically institutionalised into the rational justifications for SDP. By opening an aperture upon the microtechniques and strategies that are deployed by actors engaged in SDP, their concrete ramifications for participants of the series of practices begin to be revealed and, in turn, we can reveal the nature of power and how it functions in this context.

The corpus of data below, subjected to CDA, includes 'best practice' guides and 'quality standards', all freely available online, along with interviews with SDP practitioners. Finally, I draw from academic texts with 'appeal' to SDP practitioners, on the subject of the M&E techniques available in the sector.

My analysis outlines the means by which, at the local level, existing practices lean towards an incorporation of subjects into *governmental* dynamics of power via the use of microtechniques. The microtechniques I describe below are deployed as part of the design of organisational procedures for the monitoring & evaluation (M&E) of programmes. They provide not only the logical bases of rational claims to consistency between efforts by various actors but the coherency of thought and action, from the global to the local level, which I described in the last chapter.

The microtechniques of SDP

In the opening passages of this chapter, and the final passages of the last, I introduced the tendency within SDP to expose an increasing proportion of activities to measurement. M&E concerns a multitude of processes, technical apparatuses, studies and investments in a discursive formation combining enlightenment science, political economy and anthropology, and it is centrifugal. Every desired improvement is tested for in order to codify and matriculate who made what *change*.

'Best Practice' - the Authority of ideas in SDP

M&E does not exist in a vacuum. Its development has been standardised over time in normative documentation available to SDP from a variety of sources. Conceptual boundaries, drawn around defining characteristics of M&E, give it a transnational linguistic quality that actors can appeal to. 'Impact' is understood as the effect of actors on society or a community, and it is the central requirement of SDP programmes. Understanding impact requires comprehension of conditions prior to an intervention, how conditions have changed afterwards and the factors that resulted in those changes. These are frequently referred to as 'outcomes'. Governance and funding arrangements reflect the perceived growth in importance of this discourse. This information is valued and now, with the advance of evidence-based policy making, the funding application by NGOs to trusts, foundations and public bodies is slowly being replaced by service-based contracts founded on 'Payment by Results' (PBR) (see 'New Public Management' doctrine above). Practices designed to accounts for these developments are increasingly required by actors within the SDP sector. Tools have been developed to enable the systematization of these changes in participants, to transform multiple outcomes into banks of data, and to make claims by SDP NGOs as to who has achieved what change. These tools include a variety of data collection techniques. But the microtechniques of SDP are not exclusively limited to these tools. Indeed of paramount importance are the 'rules of the game' that SDP NGOs and their staff are expected to abide by. These rules are best characterised by normative documentation I analysed during the course of this research, exemplified in 'best practice' guidelines (found online, in hard copy form, in academic literature, and in presentations and speeches at conferences). Although their fluid and iterative nature defies easy and fixed categorisation, my research has sought to capture the crucial aspects of the advice given.

There are a number of places where advice on M&E from international organisations and research institutions can be found: how to do it, what results should look like, norms of methodology, where to find help, the quality of independent consultants (see the influential DAC, 1991; PEPFAR, 2007). Over time, 'evidence of change' has been valorised as a commodity

in itself and so it is not surprising that M&E has moved to centre stage in the discursive construction of what a 'good' SDP programme looks like:

"I would say that when I started in SDP 9 years ago, we had it on the agenda, but it was nowhere near as important as now. We looked into it, but we didn't give it the importance we give it now. It's a lot more important for how we function as an organisation, and how our network members do." (Patience telephone interview, 2014).

The changes in SDP participants have been referred to in a number of ways already. *Causality*, or more specifically *attribution*, has become of central significance; that is to say, to where can a given change be attributed and credited. This was a point echoed by numerous research participants, but exemplified by this interviewee:

"It's a big challenge. One of the key obstacles we've encountered is evidencing change; even if we've run 10,000 courses on HIV/AIDS awareness, what change have we made? Do questionnaires do it? Well no – before and after quizzes don't tell you about behaviour; just awareness and attitudes. We are very good at counting numbers [of participants]. But people like [SDP NGO] are good because they can show and demonstrate that 8 out of 10 participants actually get a job in their programme; but we can't do that." (Valerie interview, 2014).

That it is important for organisations to internally prioritise the recording of changes participants made during SDP programmes was repeated by respondents. Participants had strikingly similar ideas about how this might be achieved, for example through a 'Theory of Change' exercise, which a number of SDP NGOs have completed. This exercise allows NGOs to theorise why they exist, who for, and how exactly they make their desired changes in the communities they are meant to serve. That it was an important undertaking was clear in responses, indicating whole organisation responses:

"Well for SDP, I think it can be an exercise to think about the purpose of the NGO and the existence of it. If an NGO has a sense of direction that they think they are travelling on, then it can offer legitimacy as a development organisation but using sport. Increasingly in the competitive donor landscape, it's just not OK to maybe not know." (Raja interview, 2016)

"Most organisations do M&E, but their levels of sophistication vary. There is an understanding that M&E is important to do, and there is a willingness to invest in it. They [SDP NGOs] feel they don't have trained staff to do it in some cases, and they have to make resourcing decisions: keep doing M&E or keep a coach in some cases. It is hard. In essence, it's getting there. [Research Consultancy firm's] methodology has taken this

up. Building systems etc. But the cost of really good M&E is large. They [SDP NGOs] don't see the immediate return. We tell them that it's easier to pitch to partners with M&E but some don't get it... What we've done... is to make it mandatory that 5% of [funder] funds go to M&E. Why is it important? It's not enough to just record numbers, but you need to look at individual development and also life stories of people going through the programme, story-telling and audio visual techniques for example. M&E is not just data in and data out, it's a whole process that takes in the whole organisation and asks: what do you want to achieve as an organisation? It then helps you to work backwards. What you are going to do and how you are going to do it. Why are you here? What are you going to do to change this [these social conditions]? Change is important, but not change at any cost. Being open for change is a better way to put it. Permanent self-reflection rather than permanent change. (David interview, 2014)

Practically, discourse on how to construct M&E microtechniques becomes centralised around a few core texts that circulate online. Generalised 'best practice' guidelines (see Aqumen *et al*, 2014; Coalter, 2007; 2010), which are produced and published online, can become foundational texts for many years¹⁶; being freely available they can become widely disseminated amongst practitioners, creating global norms of behaviour. But more than this, discussion forums on social media platforms create enormous catalogues of contributions and how-to guides to be mined¹⁷.

This discourse of 'how to do' and 'what to do' lands in receptive audiences at SDP NGOs, and is decoded into material practices and techniques:

Because I was working with these orgs it made sense that I sat in on theory of change exercises... You know annual assessments etc. It's a good overlap which is around bringing people together to understand what the big change we want to see *is*, and then charting it backwards... I supported those organisations administratively with this process, asking: what are the preconditions for this or that change – then building an outcome pathway for the programmes. This bit is done visually – teasing out the outcomes that would be needed for this big change, and the outputs we would need to deliver against to get there, the assumptions, then the challenge as a team, which is

¹⁶ Both DAC (1991) and PEPFAR (2007) can be seen in this way, given that they are enormously influential works that are produced by International Organisations or state apparatuses, freely available on the web to the plethora of bodies that are seeking to use easily referenced and agreed norms in their attempts to win contracts and funding. It is thus, highly *convenient* for knowledge to become centralised in this way.

¹⁷ See LinkedIn (2014), where a group of 'M&E professionals' make regular contributions on best practice in M&E, and road test new manuals etc.

self-reflective, is the charting of specific programmes against this picture. (Raja telephone interview, 2016)

There are, within Sport for Development and Peace, specific forums and channels for the dissemination of advice and best practice, for the sharing of information, and the development of new techniques. Some of these are academic, some are more ‘corporate’ and some have loyalties to both camps. One such straddle can be found within Aquemen *et al* (2014), a document produced with the support of two separate SDP collectives (encompassing over 100 SDP NGOs in total) and a consultancy. Here can be seen an attempt to codify some practices as almost doctrinal, being that this is a set of minimum expectations for monitoring & evaluation (a slightly different set of recommendations written on behalf of the Commonwealth Secretariat, which concerns policy environments as well as M&E can be found in Kay & Dudfield, 2013: 81-92) for organisations using football for development, produced by the streetfootballworld network and the Laureus Sport for Good Foundation¹⁸. These are ‘Quality Standards’: prescriptions and normative conclusions on what is desirable in the monitoring of participants in SDP programmes. Best practice in the evaluation of what people ‘do’ in programmes, the norms detailed here can be understood best as how an organisation might understand, but more specifically *capture*, the change that is made.

The process of M&E is described in these standards and guidelines as a process of:

“... Collecting data and reviewing it to see how well and organisation is achieving its objectives. The main reason for doing this is to learn about what works well and what does not, and how to keep improving. Organisations also use data to report to their funders and beneficiaries to ensure accountability, to strengthen communication between stakeholders, and to support the development of relationships with potential future partners.” (Aquemen *et al*, 2014: 2)

The Aquemen document refers to a number of necessary prerequisites for quality M&E but also defines concepts for the reader. *Data* here refers to a body of material gathered by adhering to certain principles of good practice involving how to count, what is counted and in how the results are recorded. *Participation*, is a process whereby beneficiaries’ accounts ought to be included “to monitor and assess themselves so that they become an integral part of monitoring, evaluation and learning, and that their input informs the process”; a desirable quality in data collection methods (*ibid*).

Objectivity in data gathering is highlighted as crucially important for practitioners. For example, in a report by an SDP NGO in West Africa, the first priority is “to provide a systematic and objective assessment of the impact of the Inclusion Project and how the lives of

¹⁸ At the time of writing, this document was being spoken about fairly widely in the circles of SDP.

beneficiaries (young people with disabilities) have been improved as a result of the project” (Simonazzi, 2010: 5). Positioned as a rational assessment of the objectives that this organisation sets itself, we see a reliance on quantitative assessment of qualitative targets. For example:

“The overall aim of the pilot Inclusion Project (July 2008 – March 2010) was to promote social inclusion and insertion of people with disabilities into their communities through football training. And more specifically:

to provide low resource, high quality football coaching resources and solutions to coaches interested in including more people with disabilities in their sessions;

to support coaches to establish a safe social and physical environment for people living with disabilities to practise football in;

to support local and national organisations to combat discrimination and address stigmas around people living with disabilities through effective football activities.” (Simonazzi, 2010: 9)

But yet later:

“A. Training of football coaches

- The coaches were able to train a total of 23 teams. This means that a total of 460 young people were reached by the project (20 members x 23 teams). Of these 460, only 120 are young girls (26%) and 340 young boys (74%). And of these 460: 160 hearing impaired, 100 visually impaired, 120 intellectually impaired and 80 mobility (physical) impaired.

The objectives were fully achieved.” (*ibid*)

Yes there is an assessment of sorts, but the systematic incorporation of these participants into the project results in a ‘headcount’ of people and participants, rather than an engagement with their perceptions of change. The search for objectivity raises the question of why specific tools might be deemed to be valuable in the data collection and storage process. Tools, especially those which are digitised, can have a ‘hyperreal’ quality (Baudrillard, 2006: 20-24; Der Derian, 1990: 299) which superimposes simulation upon reality and potentially masks the frailties in any data gathering exercise.

This is the backdrop for M&E within networks and satellites of global civil society: disparate organisations with multitudes of objectives, rely on authoritative centralised forms of knowledge production upon which to refer interdiscursively. The authority of certain ideas -

of certain knowledges – forms a common sense understanding of how SDP NGOs must place themselves in the historical present.

The tools of M&E as microtechniques: Data Collection, Storage, and Reporting

The tools that SDP programmes use facilitate the claims that they have achieved their desired results. They therefore become crucially important to any research which seeks to critically assess their function in the operationalisation of governmental power. These tools allow SDP NGOs to position themselves as purveyors of social goods, and to legitimise their categorisation as members of civil society.

The micro-technical dynamics of knowledge production in the world of SDP are relevant because they count commonalities, before summarising them and drawing normative conclusions, apparently objectively. The ideological belief of SDP is that objectivity is possible, and this suggests an integration of the philosophies of enlightenment natural sciences into the rubric of social science contexts. Techniques to gather data should be objective and should minimise the biases of the data gatherer. We find this in Aqumen *et al*:

“It is important to keep an open mind about what your data is telling you, and try to see it from different perspectives. Collecting and interpreting data should be carried out as objectively as possible – in other words – in a way that is not biased or influenced by one particular view. While building internal M&E capacity cannot replace external evaluations or research, it can offer a solid base for independent studies.” (2014: 2)

In conventional M&E, data is information about participants’ social and biological attributes: age, ethnicity, religion, gender, etc. But also increasingly, we find instances where sexuality, knowledge, behaviour, and employment status are garnered (see for example Coalter & Taylor, 2010: 8; Coalter, 2009: 4; Woodcock *et al*, 2012). Occasionally, indirectly from the individual via data-sharing agreements with other organisations. The varied methods and tools by which data sets are gathered can in some ways dictate what information is recorded about participants:

“Data collection is the specific way in which information relating to the defined indicators is gathered, using traditional tools such as surveys and questionnaires or more participatory methods such as interviews, focus group discussions or story-telling. It is important to assess which tool is most relevant depending on what is required to be measured, who the target group is, and who is collecting the information.” (Aqumen *et al*, 2014: 9)

Data is then “managed” and must be “entered accurately” and securely (Aqumen *et al*, 2014: 11-14) into a form of system, sometimes online, or on a database stored on computers. These data are then consolidated, sometimes running into thousands of individual participant entries¹⁹. The consolidated data is then fed into reporting mechanisms, where staff and researchers scour data sets to look for evidence that can be fed into learning for staff and stakeholders, in detailed reports and annual reviews (*ibid*).

These reports and reviews tend to find overwhelming evidence for sport’s ability to do ‘good’ (this is not a point I intend to verify or critique; others have discussed this with the required care and attention: see Kay, 2011: 5-7; Coalter, 2007). They are sometimes launched by mega-stars from the sporting world (Laureus Sport for Good Foundation & Ecorys, 2013). One such report (*ibid*) uses methodologies from beyond the sport sector - applied within SDP - to ascertain the quantitative impact of sport on crime reduction, health and associated positive additionalities. The report proposes that Laureus and its partners have produced a certain monetary value for society in their efforts to combat crime and anti-social behaviour using sport. This equates, in the authors view, to a social return on investment. “The report shows that on average across the four programmes analysed, sport provides a return of over 5 Euros for every 1 Euro invested through savings related to reductions in crime, truancy and ill health” (Laureus Sport for Good Foundation & Ecorys, 2013: 7). The methodology for enumerating this return may well be sound, and the resulting summations entirely correct. But the claim itself signifies an interesting trend towards predictability in accounting for human behaviour. Young people are assessed as being likely or unlikely to exhibit certain behaviours and segmented as such. One example is the propensity for young people to commit a crime in later life, indicated by behaviours displayed in their early years:

“Many of the young people engaged by crime reduction sport projects, though considered ‘at risk’, may not have been involved in recorded youth crime. Early behavioural problems can nonetheless provide an indicator of future criminality ... In the absence of any prior involvement in serious youth disorder, the measurement of significant changes in risk factors for crime (and associated protective factors) can provide a suitable alternative indication of success for crime reduction projects.” (*ibid*: 11)

Here there is also a measurement of ‘unexpected’ factors in tracking and collating social characteristics which are not directly related temporally to the traits and behaviours targeted in the SDP programme. Their collection is justified on the basis of their possible future importance. These are stored, somewhere, and then give an indication as to *when* a specific desired change took place (there is more on this temporal dimension to M&E in SDP in the next

¹⁹ See *Iris*, later.

chapter). The numbers and timing of changes are held on databases for research, and used to draw substantive conclusions against a range of indices through meta-analysis.

Here we can begin to perceive what all this data is *for*; what it is that must be evidenced. Data is gathered in the pursuit of an understanding of *change*. Specifically and most often, in the case of SDP projects, data is gathered in the pursuit of 'behaviour change'. This is the project that systematised M&E sets itself to and it is the event it is attempting to detect.

The impacts SDP programmes are designed to make are changes in participants (see for example, Coalter 2009: 4). For example, UK Sport's international wing, UK Sport International has invested in a four year research programme (since 2007) alongside Comic Relief, to look at two changes in personal development – *self-esteem* and *self-efficacy* - amongst participants in 6 SDP programmes (UK Sport & International Development through Sport, 2012: 18-19). Attributes that are sought vary across SDP however. In the case of SDP organisations that focus on HIV/AIDS, a change in a participant's practices regarding safe sex, or getting tested; or participants in organisations encouraging work readiness amongst unemployed young people demonstrate a change in skills in the job market. Monitoring change involves the practice of 'tracking': maintaining contact of a participant or group over a period of time after the programme in order to record changes. In this way a group of participants' experiences are codified into data that spreads out over a predefined and discontinuous space in order to ascertain who changed. This attribution of change and the demonstrable ability to understand how this happens is perceived as being important as a component part of explanations of the overall quality level of an SDP organisation. This as a constituent component here seemed to be, for participants in the research, in a large part a contributing factor to the levels of professionalism in a given organisation.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the professionalisation of SDP NGOs is a dynamic and fluid process that is constantly reproducing itself: adjusting to changes in how the not-for-profit sector perceives the corporate world prompts 'rolling' improvements in how data is gathered and reported upon. There is evidence of this dynamic from discussions I had with SDP practitioners in the UK:

"[corporate] like to have a high level of detail, and is of a high standard, before they do anything. It gives them a lot of information. A lot of their volunteers are stepping out of their comfort zone into something that is quite foreign to them. It's about their social development too as they step out of their comfort zone... there is a protocol dimension to this... They have to show the outside world that they show a certain level of delivery. It's about making sure that anyone who is external to [the corporate] can monitor and look after external people in their organisation. [The corporate]'s processes need to be

in place, some of which they need to create... they have new things that need to get signed off, sometimes from Head Office [in the USA].” (Graham interview, 2013)

This response reflects wider opinions of SDP practitioners working with corporate funders, and is corroborated by my own experience in the field. In summary, there are three dynamics at play here: the first is a discursive alignment with the values and brand strategy of associated corporates; second, a change in norms of behaviour within the recipient SDP NGOs or community organisation; and third a measurement dimension that is projected internally towards staff from the corporate, similarly from the corporate internally within the SDP NGO, but also externally, into the community in order to justify the intervention to the public.

It is not only within the dynamics of relationships with corporate entities that SDP NGOs face a compulsion to create systems of data and monitoring, thereby implicating themselves in the partner’s agenda. The logic of this is much more widespread in fact and has a momentum of its own. Another respondent told me that there had been a drive to be better at evidencing within a certain collective of SDP NGOs. Certain tools were actually being provided by TANs to M&E their programmes, and increase the evidence base for SDP:

“There is certainly encouragement towards it [evidencing and M&E]; they [TAN] certainly are pushing organisations, as far as I’m aware, towards understanding their impact and trying to provide them with certain databases, systems and advice in order to do that. It’s very hard to push [number] organisations in the same direction. You have certain leaders that are better at it than others, mainly because they have more resources. They [TAN] are trying to invest though in systems for all. It’s a very long process though.” (Harry interview, 2013)

But furthermore there seems to be an internal driver within organisations to monitor themselves. Those which do not, or do it differently, perhaps attributing a different level of priority to the practice of M&E, are seen as not entirely keeping up with the trend within SDP and risk exclusion. This desire to cohere with the latest innovations in M&E seemed to speak to the power dynamic at play. The governmental rationalities of SDP dictate the need to reform and change the technological procedures for gathering, evaluating and reporting on data swiftly over time, as they do in other sectors (Deleuze, 1992: 2-7; Miller & Rose, 1990: 2-4; Rose, 2000; 2007). This is an area of change in practice over time that political economy approaches would find it impossible to account for. A perspective of governmentality on the other hand specifically expects, and looks for, this type of dynamic change over time.

Responding to a question around where individual organisations generally need to improve, one respondent told me:

“... It’s tricky. It’s different from case-to-case. Some NGOs are very well set-up. Bigger ones for example tend to be set-up well; for example [two relatively large SDP INGOs]. What needs to be improved for some is the *sense that it’s not just ‘nice-to-have’; it’s a necessity*; that it makes the difference between those that survive and thrive and those that have to stop operating... because partners and sponsors want to know what the impact of the money is that they are giving. And we see that at [name of organisation removed for anonymity] also, competing as we are with Right to Play, with Homeless World Cup, and others... and we need to articulate [name of organisation removed for anonymity] value as well.” (David interview, 2014. [My emphasis])

The techniques used to operationalise the necessity for M&E reported by respondents vary enormously. Respondents seemed to indicate three steps for the treatment of data in the M&E of SDP programmes: *data gathering*, *data storage*, and *reporting*.

In the research, when discussing data gathering, respondents indicated that a range of techniques were deployed, ranging from attendance registers in the most basic instances, to the more complex real-time capture of information on participants on digital online platforms via tablet devices, through to highly academic studies on programmes, including two Randomised Control Trials (RCTs) where the ramifications are more subtle. Data storage seemed to be mainly on hardware or software in computers. Sometimes spreadsheets were used to compile data (Microsoft excel for example – in some instances individuals used Key Performance Indicator – KPI – trackers which they had created themselves), but often, data was inputted from sessions onto online systems. Some of these systems fulfilled all the requirements, including reporting on data. But where this wasn’t the case, M&E processes included creative reporting. For example in presentations and ‘decks’ which display results of programmes, through to infographics compiling reported data on the changes SDP NGOs had made, and videos and images posted on social media.

Some respondents mixed different techniques within each step (data gathering, data storage, reporting) and saw the whole process as consistent with a general responsibility, to M&E programmes.

“We use attendance registers, case studies, logging if people attended courses and training.” (Pride telephone interview, 2016)

“For example for me, I use the KPI tracker to help with planning. I look at how we spend money to achieve the impacts we said we would. It makes me think what are we going to do to change this and that? I guess what it was designed for? To proactively plan. (Hauser interview, 2016)

For the past ten years, [the SDP programme] was a curriculum which was developed and tested, with pre-and-post surveys – it was about knowledge attainment and some self-reported attitudes and belief. But within a limited timeframe. Now we’ve done two RCTs. [On storage and reporting of data against changes in programme participants]: The broader bank of indicators and outcomes... These match up to organisational outcomes. (Raja interview, 2016)

“[We use] simple things like pre and post questionnaires and more recently the outcome stars, case studies, sometimes we’ve done focus groups and feedback on specific things: what went well and what didn’t?” (Hauser interview, 2016)

“Then there was consultancy support, with tools to measure those activities and outcomes. Then it was about who is going to be capturing data, and how is it going to be stored. Then [SDP NGO] abandoned the Theory of Change exercise because we already used [online data storage and reporting platform]. The [different online data storage and reporting platform was incompatible]. Some organisations found it incredibly useful. I know for a fact [two smaller grassroots SDP NGOs in the Global South] institutionalised data-collection techniques. And then [other SDP NGO], the exercise was the trigger for their beginning of their M&E too.

[Me] *Is it fair to say the mechanisms for M&E seem to circulate as ideas about ‘what to do’ amongst and around the organisations?*

Yes.” (Raja telephone interview, 2016)

The tools people used were different and tended to be ‘fit for purpose’ for the task they were set to. The mechanics of the systematic incorporation of participants’ characteristics was one of the key points of potential weakness for my research to make transparent. And so I undertook this with one case study of an online data-management system, the results of which are detailed in the following section.

Case Study: Iris - microtechnique of M&E

A case-study or example of a particular technology deployed in programmes will help illustrate the data-management systems of SDP. The management systems in which data is held and ordered are varied within the development sector, and many products exist that can be purchased on a licence. These frequently take the form of online platforms or systems that hold data in banks and summarise key points and characteristics of individuals and groups on demand. But within SDP, surprisingly few variants of these online systems are used. Globally, I

know of no more than a handful that have been proposed as 'good', tailored enough, or usable enough for SDP organisations.

I took one such platform/system, and conducted 3 semi-structured interviews with individuals specifically on the subject of their use of the system (see chapter 4 for methodology). The selection of the system was made based upon ease of access and the wide use of the system. Permission was attained by a licensee in order to entitle me to conduct this aspect of the research, and I made sure that the coverage of this system was wide enough in SDP to give it relevance to the study and warrant its inclusion.

I observed the system being used by SDP staff – including the entry of participant data - in its function for their work over 4 individual 1 hour time slots. I did not observe the entry of data on the 'front line' by coaches and educators. I was informed that the system allows people to directly input data via a tablet, on site or at the field of play, but that this was not currently taking place. This section also offers a critical insight, for those studying SDP, into the actual mechanics of governmentality in the sector; into the tools and tactics used. Discussion of the findings, below, provides insight into how the system is used, its appearance, and how it is viewed by the people that use it.

'Iris' is a system that is 'online', and it is built to record sessions, key project quantifiables, impact and SDP participants' journey through programmes. It is an online piece of software; that is, it is not held by a server within the property of the SDP NGO that delivers the activity and inputs the data. Instead servers are held by a private company and a licence for its use is sold users, which then access the system remotely via an institutional 'log-in' and unique user profiles. These licences have been purchased by a number of SDP organisations. Sometimes, these licences are purchased for organisations by larger national or international organisations on their behalf²⁰. For each organisation that uses the system, two forms of user access are provided: first, there are regular users, who can input data into pre-existing subject and session fields, record attendance and outcomes achieved, and input particulars about individual participants in SDP programmes; second, there are administrators, who can do all of this, plus create new sessions, projects and sites where participants can be added by regular users, and also add new regular users who can use the system. The administrators tended to be people that worked in the office rather than 'in the field', and regular users tended to be a mixture of delivery staff working in the field and office-based staff, or people that do both. I sat down to go through Iris with both users of the system and administrators. I asked questions that arose

²⁰ A national organisation that funds many organisations of a similar kind within a given territorial boundary may purchase or subsidise a licence so that it has data from a number of its funded projects which are comparable.

from observations, and sometimes I just sat and quietly watched as people manoeuvred their way through the system.

To begin, let me trace the way in which I experienced individuals' use of the system. New participants are recorded on registers by coaches, and entered into new participant records. These are 'contacts' that are then assigned via a few mouse clicks to particular regular activity groups. Session groups in this instance are times and places where people meet coaches or educators for sports sessions or workshops – the activities or 'outputs', that are intended to have a certain effect on the individual (for example their employment, their attainment of a qualification), or on their knowledge or behaviour. For each contact, there are a number of fields in which the user can input data, concerning particulars such as address, date of birth, ethnicity, employment status, gender. Additionally there are fields where the user can input information such as the last time a contact smoked, whether they had contact with the police and so on. All of this information can be used, if so desired by the SDP NGO, to ascertain a baseline for change: variables include how likely is it that a person 'needs' a given change, how 'impactful' this will be. When a change is recorded it is dated, and this allows the system to produce reports on when and within what timeframe outcomes were achieved. For example, if a player on a cricket programme for unemployed people gains employment, this is dated from the day in which this takes place and, later, when reports are produced over a given time period, all those from the same group of players (in the same programme) who have achieved a given outcome (such as employment) can be grouped together in a report.

There is a section within Iris that contains information about current projects. These can be updated by administrators, along with staff at Iris HQ. HQ can create 'project pots', which are then given activity groups and contacts by administrators at the SDP NGOs. This is especially useful for centrally funded projects that work in many different geographic areas, using different SDP NGOs.

For each contact, there are a number of additional facets that feed into the evidential reporting functions of the system. The 'individual case study' function allows narrative, imagery or video to be uploaded. Under a function to track certain 'outcomes' along a timeframe for each contact, users can record when someone reaches a milestone, such as employment, or a qualification. Contacts' 'engagement' with sessions and session staff can also be recorded and assigned a numerical value. Two respondents summarised the functions differently:

"It's an online database. It's an M&E tool. Primarily for stats; so, I would still call it quantitative rather than qualitative. We may use it as a data input – and we track data and outcomes on there. But the answer is a number. It's useful because it allows us to track performance against contracted targets and programme leads." (Malcolm interview, 2014)

“It’s very good because it has engagement levels, you can click on one person and see their engagement levels, (1 = disengagement, 2 = curiosity, 3= involvement, 4= achievement, 5 = autonomy), 5 = is a bit more hard hitting; like enrolling into college or employment. It’s a harder outcome.” (Vincent interview, 2014).

These engagement levels are scored by SDP staff who are face-to-face with participants at venues where activities take place. But participants in the research told me that this was too often not enough of a priority for coaches with limited time, and this was confirmed when I saw records and reports on Iris. The situation was said to be ‘improving’ though, as staff were taking monitoring and evaluation more seriously.

All of the regular user and admin input into the system creates collections of contacts, within activity groups, as part of wider projects which can then be reported on using the statistical report function of Iris. This compiles data which can then be used to report to funders or partners. The process is swift and allows a number of unique individuals to be grouped together in the progress towards a specific outcome, or number of outcomes. This functionality transcends individual projects, so, for example, a user can see all the people that gained a qualification in a given time period, regardless of whether the people included are part of the same programme. In terms of its ability to fulfil its stated function, Iris seemed comprehensive.

Iris has a slick, well-designed appearance with colours indicating when a user is on the different parts of the site. Apparently, this has added to the user experience and has given more confidence, in recent years, of Iris’ ability to move with the times. Overall, people saw it as a platform which does the job it’s supposed to, despite expected limitations:

Me: “Does [Iris] make your job easier?”

“Yeah; because of the options available. [Iris] has numerous options to bulk-add [a process whereby a number of participants can be added to a session group and a project without indicating the particulars of each individual contact], which speeds-up the process. You can pull off stats and reports straightaway. The [Iris] Head Office are very helpful and can change things for you. The best feature though is probably the statistical report function which shows all the participants engaged in the programme, their contact hours, gender breakdown, volunteering, engagement, and you can get that up in literally a minute so a funder can see it. A funder in a meeting can immediately see the data you need.” (Vincent interview, 2014).

These points were echoed by others who both found the process occasionally laborious, whilst also admitting that the system was seen to be functioning well:

“It’s good to know, as without it there would be a lot of manual counting to do. It’s very lengthy. We are getting more efficient though. It’s a requirement so it doesn’t really matter it needs to be done. I don’t love it. Don’t think anyone else does.’

But in terms of being able to report back to funders, and if we want to get info for partners, then it’s good. All the reporting is done for you. The general uploading is not time efficient though.” (Vikesh interview, 2014)

“It’s an online M&E tool that tracks a young person’s journey...“It’s everything from initial contact through to autonomy; can be enabling them to become a better citizen or to enable them to find work or training.”

Me: “What’s autonomy?”

“Disadvantaged YPs and those disaffected from mainstream society moving to where we have given them a brighter outlook.” (Vincent interview, 2014)

Another point to remark upon when discussing Iris is the data that is held centrally by Iris and gathered by SDP NGOs. I asked respondents how they felt about re-sharing data with the supposed beneficiaries of programmes. All felt that their SDP NGO should share more, but that it would have mixed or limited relevance:

“I think we should share what it’s going to be used for and how we collect it. It’s difficult to share that with kids though. Maybe with their parents... because they’re – we don’t have to – but it would be good for them to know and understand – from an ethical point of view. They’re part of data collection and we use that... They would learn from that. For the first five months of my role it wasn’t needed, and then suddenly it was. For secondary school children its better, and then from an ethical point of view, anyone else.” (Vikesh interview, 2014)

Vincent saw it slightly differently, and found it a complex issue:

“That’s a tricky one. I’m trying to get in the mind-set of a young person. Do they really care? A lot of them are turning up to play sport...Maybe the incentives offered to other YPs. Maybe it would be good to show or update case studies. I think they would be able to see what’s on offer. I don’t think they’d be overly bothered about contact hours, ethnicity, and gender breakdown.” (Vincent interview, 2014)

This disassociation of the participants from the information stored about them was intriguing to the research. Two of the three staff felt that information should be shared with participants, and the last felt it wasn’t important to them. In truth whether this is ethical or not is of lesser importance to this particular study beyond general questions of opacity. What is of far greater

import was the fact that it was the system and the constant feeding of it with new information that was generally considered to be the most crucial endeavour. Staff felt that it was for funders, for internal improvements, and for their own tracking of their progress towards targets.

Malcolm seemed to have a more intimate knowledge of the data and how it was used:

“We don’t share anything at the moment. We should share the performance of programmes that people are involved in, with the participants... We know, but does the handball coach know, or the participants know? Probably not. They should know what data we hold about them. They should know what we use it for.” (Malcolm interview, 2014)

On the overall performance of the system respondents spoke to the limitations of Iris when considering M&E within and without SDP programmes:

“Without Iris we wouldn’t know much about the programmes; if someone at [corporate] asked how many people, what types of programmes we run, we wouldn’t have been able to tell them. Now if someone asks, then 15 minutes later they’d have something decent and accurate.

What I dislike about it is that some people think that impact is just Iris and just numbers. Their thought process goes no further than Iris. That’s within [SDP NGO] and some of our partners. For example the [SDP funder] judge performance by numbers they see on the screen. Those numbers don’t tell the story of the kind of work that’s going on on-the-ground. Regardless of whether targets are being hit or not, they don’t know by looking at Iris how decent or bad our programmes are... In my opinion it doesn’t tell you how well a programme is doing in terms of actual impact. There’s no depth to the data beyond a figure. For example we put 100 people through a volleyball activator course; but beyond the number of people that went through it, we have no way of knowing the qualification was good, usable, how it was used, if it’s useful/enjoyable etc.” (Malcolm interview, 2014)

This was an especially insightful and thoughtful response, and although this only came from one of the three individuals interviewed, this individual appeared to have the greatest understanding and fluency of interaction with the Iris system. To me it spoke of a tacit conformism to the microtechnique of M&E that was being used. There seemed to be little opportunity for SDP practitioners to critically engage fundamentally with the project of M&E they were participating in.

CDA: the Microtechniques of SDP

The following passages conform to the four-part requirements of CDA set out by Fairclough (1992: 225-240). In doing so I read the key learnings from the empirical research above, and connect them with events over time, in other sectors, their interdiscursivity with other discursive formations and their critical potential.

Multidimensional Analysis: Microtechniques in the world of Governmentality

SDP is not, when considered in the global trend towards data capture and information, alone in being subjected to techniques of M&E. Writers for some time have indicated that the idea and definition of development (as in 'development assistance' to communities in developing countries) has become one so narrow now as to only include those interventions with quantifiable targets (Mosse, 2004: 642, cited in Levermore, 2011: 340). Interviewees demonstrated above the vulnerability of SDP to reliance on quantification of programmes into intelligible outcomes.

This position of SDP as mediator through its quantifiables is reliant upon constructions of discourse. Peter Miller & Nikolas Rose (1990: 4-6) argued that the politics of a social formation are indistinguishable from its language. Discourse enables the politics of social issues and problems to be comprehended. Governmentality requires the construction of intellectual technologies which allow the world to be understood (*ibid*). In other words, creating the means to make things knowable allows the project of governmentality to reify. This suggests that the alignments between actors would always need some form of technological credibility. This is a format for programmes of government and change that Miller & Rose have been highlighting for at least 25 years (*ibid*).

The data above demonstrates that discourse in SDP M&E becomes centralised around a few core texts (see Aquamen *et al*, 2014; Coalter, 2007; 2010; Prescott & Phelan, 2008). Widely dispersed amongst practitioners, these documents have institutionalised notions of 'what to do' in the M&E of SDP programmes, and constructed new global norms of behaviour. This is related to a world beyond SDP. In the new digital economy, discussion forums on social media platforms create enormous catalogues of contributions and how-to guides, on platforms such as LinkedIn, echoing Ritzer's point on *prosumption* economies where consumers become the producers of what they consume, in digital, as well as 'real' market places (Ritzer, 2010: 13-16; see also 1983: 100).

Characterised as 'best practice', guidelines circulate online, in hard copy form, in academic literature, and in presentations. These documents do not exist only in a space given to SDP.

Advice abounds on M&E from international organisations and research institutions in global norms (DAC, 1991: PEPFAR, 2007). That the advice is strikingly similar is interesting, despite the variety of nodal points from which it comes; the ‘Theory of Change’ methodology held particular traction with respondents being an example relevant to this thesis.

Coherence of practice is a powerful force in SDP. Technologies are configured towards coherencies in codifying experiences of participants in the same way. The opacity of the Iris system to participants is one such example. Deleuze’s Data-dividuals, entangled in what he called the coils of the serpent, (1992: 5-7) are perhaps better understood as a dynamic within the governmental, self-fulfilling rationality of SDP: by building systematic techniques and apparatuses – such as *Iris* - which serve technologies of governmentality in providing techniques to enter data into frameworks. Deleuze found this process terrifying and opaque, but yet everywhere in postmodern life. Technological progress in the world of ‘Big Data’ – the information stored about all of our consumer habits, movements, and ailments - on huge servers owned by private companies, captured via our credit card transactions and our online habits reflects SDPs tendencies mirrored in society at large. The explosion of new forms of data capture– via social media, or the number of ways we must identify ourselves online as ‘us’;– all speak to a societal move towards an age of information and data (Davies, 2016).

Advancements in the microtechniques of M&E in programmatic interventions such as SDP are in fact part of wider accelerating changes in our reality. There is no suggestion, however, that making these processes transparent in the world of SDP, has any credible claim to being the final piece in the jigsaw of projects of emancipation in the wider world. But all opaque processes I argue, made transparent, contribute towards projects of genuine social change and justice (Fairclough, 1992: 225-240).

Multifunctionality: The changing of Monitoring & Evaluation over time

Data gathered from research respondents, and from the various documents analysed, indicated that M&E is relatively ‘new’ in the method by which it is practiced presently. Indeed some respondents specifically indicated that 10 years ago, there was very little happening. The deficiencies in M&E highlighted by Coalter (2007; 2010), are now systematically being addressed in networks, and by the dissemination of best practice and guidance (Aqumen *et al*, 2014). The sheer effort made by SDP NGOs to move as swiftly as they have to institutionalising the microtechniques of M&E is impressive, despite being set against an agenda being set by others. The demands for M&E are not necessarily coming from SDP NGOs themselves, but from corporate partners (Aqumen *et al*, 2014; Prescott & Phelan, 2008) and

intergovernmental/multilateral organisations (Dudfield, 2014; PEPFAR, 2007; World Bank, 2004).

What we have seen above empirically is clear: that the SDP sector has moved swiftly from very little M&E, to the present where coherence by SDP practitioners to global norms of organisational behaviour are expected, through to the conditionality of 'participation' of SDP participants in the procedures that capture data about them. Incorporation's imminence to the process of M&E is plain: participants are incorporated into the process of recording themselves, not just by the act of participation and recording, but by the design of the systems – 'designed', albeit within tightly confined borders of possibilities – that are used to capture data about them. This constant change and reinvention of the processes of 'reform' of the institutions configured towards societies problems was an historical phenomenon that Deleuze highlighted, and saw as the final process in the transition to "societies of control" (1992: 3-4), a tendency Miller & Rose have indicated as powerful forces for change in the technical apparatuses and microtechniques that form technologies of governmentality (1990: 2-4). In this analysis, the strategies and tactics, as well as the technological capabilities, of programmes which gather information about subjects must change over time, as this emboldens the overall tendency of *governmentality* to justify itself rationally.

'Objectivity' of the researcher, of the data gatherer, and of the process itself are centrally positioned and given an unshakable fixed meaning. This is reified, in terms of the discourse of ethics, in their participation, by way of a sanctioning of the process by SDP participants involved. It did not seem to matter, that frequently in the research responses, the gatherers of data, were not 'objective' in the standard conception of the term; they were instead employees of the SDP organisation.

Interdiscursivity: Microtechniques and New Public Management

It would be wise here to go back to the definitions of *monitoring* and *evaluation* described in chapter 2. Levermore (2011) is one of the writers that gives this subject the greatest attention. To monitor, is to "check technical quality", to "act as monitor of", or "to observe or record (the activity or performance) of (an engine or other device)" (Collins, 2014). The advocates of 'evaluation' describe it's indispensability in the identification of areas for improvement in programmes (Levermore, 2011: 340). Discursively connected to the concept of 'value', evaluation has some resonance with the attribution of price or value to an object or subject, and speaks to "highlighting how the objectives of programmes are being met and how the programme is working at different levels" (Levermore, 2011: 340). 'Lesson learning' by the organization conducting the evaluation (or an external party conducting it for the

organization) is commonly identified as the purpose of such evaluation (Gasper, 2000: 18, cited in Levermore, 2011: 340).

Connecting these two in the context of organisations with social missions to combat society's ills, we have seen in this chapter, the surveillance of the effectiveness of SDP organisations to achieve change in the participants in their programmes. Quality levels are assessed and given a value: one participant achieved a qualification; we spent £X in helping the participant to achieve the qualification. Therefore £X is the cost of this qualification, and cost effectiveness can be assessed in this way.

Practitioners were instantiating these discursive events as mainstream ideas that were historically the realm of scientists and researchers. They popularised the notion that everything can and should be recordable, or should be disregarded; a notion advanced by discourses of 'evidence-based' policy making, a development from within the 'New Public Management' doctrine. Actors in SDP are increasingly required to undertake particular practices designed to comprehend these changes and their associated outcomes. Tools which enable the systematisation of these changes in participants transform multiple outcomes into banks of data, empowering claims by SDP NGOs regarding who has achieved what change. These tools include a variety of data collection techniques. But the microtechniques of SDP are not exclusively limited to these tools. Indeed of paramount importance are the 'rules of the game' that SDP NGOs and their staff are expected to abide by, evidenced in 'best practice' discourse.

In part, there are overt and explicit notions of this being rationalised because bigger organisations were seemingly doing M&E 'better' generating compulsive forces within SDP and the NGO sector to incorporate those techniques and strategies into their workings. There was a material underpinning to the corporatisation of charities, but this did not necessarily translate to a justification on the grounds of quality of work. The rationale instead seems to rest on more resources. Something to the tune of 'more money to do good work'.

The term I borrow for the technical apparatuses and for recording the outcomes of those activities is *microtechniques*. My conceptual assumption is that the thorough analysis of them above shows them as they are; as instances, if not instruments of the dynamics of power in SDP.

Much in the way that Davies (2015; 2015a) describes contemporary biopolitical society as one in which human beings in producing themselves make seemingly rational equations and decisions about the value of various improvements to their own lives (for a discussion on value, see also Rose, 2007: 32), SDP organisations make apparently objective assessments in the valorising of the changes their participants make in their programmes. It is therefore, a logical

basis for something else, some other form of justification. It is an *appeal* to another perceived higher form of knowledge.

Critical Analysis: power in SDP

This appeal to higher forms of knowledge came frequently in my research and populated the connection to the alignment of the SDP NGO as ‘corporate’ and ‘professional’ in practice and administration. It seemed to echo the points made by Hayhurst (2011) on GCSE representing a governmental technology that attempts to fix participants definitively as neoliberal subjects (Hayhurst, 2011). The responses from participants seem to suggest that within SDP NGOs a truth is fixed, and that is that change within the organisation itself - to become something else more credible, more like-a-private-company, more accountable, or more novel – is an end in and of itself. It is a discipline: reflection, or watching oneself; becoming, potentially, disciplining oneself. This could be characterized as a process of *aestheticization* – a term which Paul Veyne gave to Foucault’s notion of the self as working upon the self (Veyne, 2010: 105-7). As one research participant told me, M&E is a system of procedures and techniques that reflect a “permanent state of reflection, rather than a permanent state of change”, and that this must be built from an understanding of practice in SDP – that is to say, of the delivery of programmes to SDP participants – which forces introspection and the collective disciplining of the individuals who run those SDP programmes:

“M&E is not just data-in and data-out, it’s a whole process that takes in the whole organisation and asks: what do you want to achieve as an organisation? It then helps you to work backwards. What you are going to do and how you are going to do it. Why are you here? (David interview, 2014).

The indication that the entire organisation can be picked up in this process and potentially transformed, speaks of the importance of understanding holistic consequences of M&E in SDP. Here we already begin to see a relatively pervasive ‘creep’ of monitoring, and the watching of one’s’ selves, to encompass more and more categories of subjects: SDP participants, practitioners, staff of SDP NGOs, their governance structures, and their partners.

Valorisation of the changes – the outcomes – in participants, comes from a very particular re-conception of time and space in the programming of interventions, and the gathering of data in moments. Here we must perceive what all this data is *for*, and the fulcrum of power in SDP. Data is gathered in the pursuit of an evidencing of *change*. This is what systematised M&E is attempting to detect and it does this in reference to highly specific points in, and narrow conceptions of, time and space. This is the subject of the next chapter.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, what this chapter has demonstrated empirically should be summarised here. I developed the technologies of *governmentality* that Hayhurst (2011) described more fully by analysing that the constituents of this particular technology and what is it that gives it governmental power. In this regard it is, I demonstrated, that the microtechniques of M&E in SDP are the practices that enable the technology of governmentality to be so pervasive.

Particular points of interest arose in the analysis of the microtechniques of M&E I described. First the codification and coherence between different SDP organisations was described using the example of the diffusion of normative documentation such as ‘best practice’ guidelines, issued by seemingly authoritative organisations. I then moved on to describe changes in the use of tools over time and their applicability in SDP now. CDA showed that data collection via a plethora of techniques is not new. Indeed individuals’ activity on the internet generates millions of opportunities for mining and storing data constantly; data which is stored, exploited, and valorised. Using the contributions from research respondents, I illustrated how particular tools which form the microtechniques of M&E have become opaque to the point where participants cannot comprehend the data being gathered about them. The gathering of this data, I demonstrated, is configured towards the demonstration of change in participants, suggesting that this is where we must perceive what all this data is *for*. It is this pursuit of the measurement of change as a core referential upon which to cohere with other seemingly ‘higher’ discourses, which moves the function of power in SDP, and the target toward which the microtechniques of M&E are directed.

These measurements are that which the alignments between corporations/CSR and SDP NGOs rest upon. As such, these techniques constitute a profoundly political moment, for we can see now that what these microtechniques do is to *homogenise* individual experiences and place them in subservience to an altogether different agenda: that of the corporate alignment which seeks for the corporation to become more socially acceptable.

I have read the works of Foucault into this in order to articulate *why* cognition of strategies and practices is crucial to the study of governmentality, and how this enables an understanding of the functioning of power. Within the interviews we see how power plays out in the techniques and strategies that planned for and recorded evidence of change. The opacity of the Iris system to the participants’ experience recorded in it is staggering, reminding us of Deleuze’s Data-dividuals, and “the coils of the serpent” (1992: 5-7), where participants become enmeshed in ever more incomprehensible technological processes. In these processes the language of control is made of “codes that mark access to information, or reject it” (Deleuze, 1992: 4).

To monitor and evaluate in the way SDP organisations do is to rationally justify their means in the context of the political rationality of CSR under which they place themselves to operate. These are the foundations upon which the appeal to the rationalities described in the last chapter are based. All rest upon incoherent sets of logics that appear coherent within the rationality: this SDP organisation is professional; it proves it; it evaluates its programmes, and justify its existence rationally.

The rationalities of Rose (1999) in *Powers of Freedom* ring through in three ways. First, a subject's activities are rationalised: the things that are 'good' are the things that can be counted and categorised alongside other activities that are similarly numerically conditioned. Second, relatedly, this connection only holds so long as there are seemingly objective criteria that can connect relatively unrelated activities. These connections are formed by the rational basis upon which the elements are connected together. Obviously this relation between the different facets of a discourse is helped when various logically different elements (let's say for example, 20 different individuals gaining 20 different types of employment at 20 different times) can be proposed as coherent. Grouping together quantifications of individual outcomes thus becomes the principal task in the rationalisation of any social intervention. Lastly, the various programme elements seem to need to connect to other things: participants, policy, media, etc. In this sense it is a truly interdiscursive, multi-nodal attempt to provide a rational basis for the justification of a particular regime of truth: that the corporate is socially responsible and its SDP activities via CSR prove it.

This chapter has focused on the techniques that SDP organisations deploy at the micro, or local level. In the next chapter, I delve deeper into the logical basis for that rationality at the local level, towards an understanding via empirical analysis of the means by which SDP participants are incorporated into systems they cannot fully comprehend. Where this chapter has explored the particular strategies, tactics and techniques that incorporate participants, Chapter 7 interrogates the significance of *what* is recorded, and especially how its peculiar temporal and spatial framing both consolidates and amplifies the political moment of the M&E project that I have elucidated here.

Chapter 7. The Administration of Time & Space in the Microtechniques of SDP.

Introduction

The measurement of 'changes' against time is the project of M&E in SDP. The question SDP NGOs ask themselves - does the SDP programme enact changes in society by intervening in the lives of participants (?) - must implicate the perceived changes in SDP participants to objective (i.e. *rationaly observable*) locations of subject positions in space and time. In this final empirical chapter, I explore the use of *time* and *space* as concepts in the practice of M&E in SDP, and argue that it is the abstraction from given time periods – the selectivity of time references – that gives the statistical evidence in SDP programmes, gathered by the microtechniques discussed in chapter 6, their power.

In this final empirical chapter, I make an argument that systematised M&E as a microtechnique in SDP is reliant upon the spatial and temporal qualities it is given by SDP practitioners in the ordering of changes in participants. Unsettling the constructs of time and space is the fundamental issue we must grapple with, finally enabling the collective analysis of power dynamics of the governmental rationality in SDP, and connecting the work of chapter five through to this current one.

Indeterminate experiences across time and space are rendered knowable in fixing within temporal and spatial boundaries drawn around SDP interventions, and change is attributed to programmes within those boundaries, irrespective of the range of human experience over a variety of quantities of time. I will demonstrate and theoretically contextualise this as a notion of a *speed-up* of time to a single moment in which a change happens. The results show that claims regarding 'objective' change in SDP participants are paramount in SDP planners and practitioners' considerations, requiring the reconstruction of the conceptual boundaries of time and space. The power, therefore, to reconstruct time and space metaphysically in this way is a crucial criterion of relevance. This is because the gatherers of data – SDP practitioners and their microtechniques – can disrupt the meaning of time and space, but SDP participants, whose experience is being captured in the form of data, cannot.

The chapter begins by unsettling the understanding of the concepts of *time* and *space* implicit in the respondents' view of SDP, building upon the brief definitions of time and space I began in the introduction. This, firstly, concerns the fluid meaning of time in SDP, counter-posing and interrogating the strictly delimited timeframes of interventions (with participants) on the one hand with the inchoate and seemingly endless time-periods given over to reflection and change within SDP organisations themselves. I argue that this divergence illuminates the differences in how SDP organisations view their own positionality in contrast to their participants'.

Secondly, I examine the relationship between time, space, and 'change' in the participants in SDP programmes – and the perceived changes that participants in SDP programmes make in their lives. This two-part preliminary discussion enables me to deploy the enriched theoretical categories of time and space to the empirical research, once again deploying the four-part CDA of SDP. The first part connects my findings with a wider global tendency towards 'Big Data'. The second traces the history of rational knowledges of M&E and indicates how social reality has been recorded. The third concerns the interdiscursivity of governmental rationalities in SDP with that of capitalist market forces on the one hand, and with the elite sporting spectacle on the other. Finally, I argue that the newly-expanded understanding of time/space significantly disrupts claims to objectivity in SDP M&E processes, denying claims to logical coherency whilst opening realms of enquiry for further critical research and potential radical social change.

The appearance and meanings of *Time* and *Space* in SPD

'Time' and 'space' have quarried, and yet eluded, the finest minds for thousands of years. Illuminating the subject/object relationship between human movements on the one hand, and the unintelligible fields of *space* and *time*, has been a task besetting philosophers from ancient Greece onward. From Plato, to Newton (Disalle, 2002: 33-56) and Leibniz & Clarke's correspondence (Melli, 2002: 455-464), through to Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* where time and space are concepts of 'pure intuition' (Kant, 2011: 1-7; see also Russell, 1961: 101-163 & 675-690), to Heidegger (2000: 39-40), time and space have been the quarry of thinkers, occupying a lot of their own time, and occasionally a great deal of space (see the Large Hadron Collider at Cern for example).

However, as shown in chapter 3 *time* and *space* generally appear as unproblematic concepts in literature on SPD, belying their contested nature. The Collins English dictionary contains 15 definitions for the word 'space' (2016). Defining space as "the unlimited three-dimensional expanse in which all material objects are located" in one and as "an interval of distance or time between two points, objects, or events" (Collins, 2016) in another. In architecture, two broad, often confused camps seem to exist: first, space as a thought category for understanding the world, and second as a 'thing' or a quality which can be manipulated (Forty, 2000, cited in *Defining Space*, 2008: 195). Space is a fluid concept, and necessitates the abandonment of its comprehension as simply a place where things happen; in genuinely critical accounts, it must be seen as socially constructed, produced through practice, discourse and action (Lefebvre, 1974, cited in Facer, 2014: 121).

Time on the other hand, is often assumed to be unidirectional: a "continuum of instants, or a succession of durationless 'nows'" (Read, 2002: 193). Contestations exist on understanding

time as everything that happened between an unfixed point in dimensions and this contemporary point now.

Scholarly thought, with notable exceptions (see Bergson, 2001; Heidegger, 2000; Lefebvre, 1974), on space and time has primarily been confined to contributions from the natural sciences. Not entirely though. From the study of populations and poverty, positivist work on the measuring human movement over time and space has received some interest. A book on *Navigating Time and Space in Population Studies* (Merchant *et al* (eds.), 2011) contains numerous works installing the empirical notions of people's settlement and movement, for example transition and inequality in Puerto Rico (Curtis, 2011). Cornwall (2002; 2004) has used 'space' as a lens through which to view contestations over forms of practice in international development. Here, space is ultimately 'opened' for historically marginalised voices in a discourse of 'participation', masking, as it does so, the power dynamics involved in the process (2002: 3-4).

From anthropology, often concerned with issues within development studies, the work of Fabian (2002) has problematised traditional development notions of time, as well as the concepts of 'development' itself which displaces the subject- specifically those described as somehow 'primitive' - to a time other than the present, where the discourse produced by studying this referent is situated (2002: 31). The political economists of 'under-development' on the other hand, have long emphasised spatial dimensions in the imperial exploitation process. Wallerstein insisted on an understanding of the *core-periphery* relationship in the process of extracting value via satellites as being fundamentally spatially organised (2004). Explicit referrals to the fluidity of time and space are few however, and absent is the grounding of the conceptual fluctuations of space and time in empirical examples from within development as an intervention. I now remedy this lacuna as I sketch out the findings from empirical research and separate out relevant contributions. The first concerns the artificial boundaries SDP practitioners erect around interventions in M&E processes, and the second concerns the specific application of these processes to moments of 'change'.

'Time' and the Permanent State of Reflection.

One observation I make is that the temporal quality of the occurrences that constitute the experience of participants on programmes take place of an indeterminate and variable amount of time. Limitless quantities of instances, experienced, but yet all sped-up, and homogenised into the quantification of the conversions, or change of circumstances of participants, e.g. in unemployed people to 'employed'. In other words, the pace of change in people's lives is equalised in terms of speed, to the same chronological quantity: 126 people in the intervention

converted from unemployed to employed, for example. This denotes a certain exercise of a power dynamic, which is weighted towards the data gatherer: SDP NGOs. It seems that NGOs can also apply this to themselves.

As we have seen in the previous two chapters, M&E for organisations in SDP is seen by actors as constant and ongoing, a continuous procedure of learning and development within and for the SDP organisation itself (Aqumen *et al*, 2014: 13). This gives it a permanent quality in temporal dimensions. Some SDP NGOs had members of staff, even teams, devoted entirely to this permanent state of reflection and change, a tendency verified from excerpts of interviews:

“We have a research and development team... We’ve done several randomised control trials, mixed method evaluations and ongoing rigorous data gathering. Using an online data kit (ODK), and using [software name] as an online platform. We have an indicator bank, and KPIs that fit into our outcomes. We have a number of outcomes around behaviour, access to services, [...] uptake. For me it’s relevant because as a fundraiser I can get a system snapshot at any particular time.” (Raja interview, 2016)

“For me it should be about the improvement of organisations’ and their structure. It should be that what you are doing is not a total waste of time and that it’s improving people. From that should then stem an improvement in all aspects of programming... I think that M&E can be seen as being a chore, and sometimes one can feel about it like that. But creating the understanding that it’s not a chore, but the lifeblood of how we work, is something very important. (Patience interview, 2014)

But this permanent state of change over time stands in stark contrast to the predefined temporal boundaries set for the M&E, via microtechniques, of the interventions in SDP programmes themselves. Interventions, unlike the organisations themselves, rely on fixed time periods in which to measure change. Delimiting programmes in this way collectivises moments within the programmes as constituents of an overall justification of the method used. Research respondents spoke of a particular beginning and end of a programme which forms the boundary marks for collections of instants which populate programmes. Indeed, it was seen as essential in both best practice documents and interviewee responses that M&E efforts worked within tightly defined timescales; the pursuit of goals that could be allocated to a specific period, or the conditions pre the period for an intervention, and the conditions afterwards (post):

“Realistic deadlines need to be established for the achievement and measurement of the various objectives (deadlines may vary depending on the objective). This also provides a timescale for the various elements of M&E.” (Coalter, 2009: 16)

“... The argument is that we’ve gained proof of concept, so do we need to continue doing [pre and post M&E]? We think that the positive % change is done... These are the key drivers of [sector theme]. Education is just done through initial pre and post but beyond that we move to behavioural outcomes. This is about uptake of testing: % of people attending a test after intervention. Number who test who are positive. Then number who adhere to treatment. Then those who are treated how they behave and risky behaviours. (Raja interview 2016).

Projects required a ‘fixing’ of boundaries in their M&E, which captured indeterminate and multiple timescales - as they are experienced by participants - in which particular moments happen, which were in turn collated and fixed in systems (such as *Iris* discussed at length in chapter 6). In other words: the tightly defined timeframe for interventions (e.g. between January 1st 2013 and July 31st 2013), the fixing of certain actions and reactions (e.g. sixteen football players participated in an employability programme) in a prefixed spatial dimension (e.g. six players in *Bristol* participated in the programme), where outcomes are achieved (e.g. six players in Bristol gained employment during the course of the programme), become the fuel for permanent and indeterminate modes of change within SDP organisations themselves.

The improvements within the players in SDP programmes stand in juxtaposition with the improvements in SDP organisations themselves in this case: improvements within players/participants = tight temporal boundaries; improvements within the SDP NGOs themselves = constant and ongoing with no fixed timeframes at all. This is important as an indication of thought processes regarding time within SDP being inconsistent in very obvious examples.

The collections of moments, or instances that make up SDP programmes themselves, are the points of interest for M&E efforts. But some particular moments are more interesting than others. The changes sought by microtechniques of M&E in SDP are also vulnerable to variations in the conceptual boundaries of time and space.

Time, Space and ‘Change’

‘Change’ as a factor in SDP programmes relies on particular, usually implicit rather than reflected upon, understanding(s) of time and space.

Both ‘time’ and ‘space’ (as shown earlier in this chapter) escape simple definition. ‘Space’, which transcends its association with the stellar - and in earthly terms necessitates the abandonment of space understood as simply “a place where things happen” - must be seen as socially constructed, produced through practice, discourse and action (Lefebvre, 1974, cited in

Facer, 2014: 121). Once understood as such, a terrain opens for the critical engagement of its utility as a category of thought. At the most intuitive level, any space will be experienced - and therefore constructed - very differently depending on whether you are male or female, part of a culturally dominant group or marginal one. Movement through space can be effortless or deeply challenging, depending upon a wide range of extrinsic social factors.

Time, on the other hand, has long been treated as an ontological “criterion for naively discriminating between ‘temporal’ entities” (Heidegger, 2000: 39). In other words, it is a concept that functions as it demarcates explicit ‘beginnings’ and ‘ends’ between occurrences. Instants, moments, or ‘nows’ cannot solely be the constituent parts of an understanding of what time is (Read, 2002: 193). This is because the experience of moments is differentiated in each individual; as is the experience of the distance between moments, which is, again, not just collections of moments. Time, therefore, cannot be understood as comprised of ‘instants’. It follows then that time cannot be understood as comprised of ‘instances’ of specific practice either. In fact Bergson (2001: 11-13) shows that time cannot be considered homogenous as it is experienced and felt. Counterintuitively then, time is not teleological.

These insights are crucial. To identify a moment of change requires having identified a prior state of being that is to some extent qualitatively different. In the moment or collection of moments prior to the intervention, a group or an individual exists in a certain way. The state of their life at such a time is usually socially undesirable in some way. Then the intervention happens, and at some stage after that a change is noted. This change is the important moment. It is the moment of ‘development’ or ‘peace’ in SDP. It is a quantifiable expressed in terms of its temporal qualities: this outcome was achieved then, or this happened between then and then.

The residue of this change is not engaged with, for example the difference in the experience of this change from other changes. Generally (though not entirely) individual reflections are lost in the more important matter of the coalescing of similar experiences into numbers: 45 people gained employment; 67% of people demonstrated increased knowledge of financial literacy, etc. This gives the SDP organisation its *raison d’être* and it is the task to which all microtechniques of M&E in SDP are directed:

“What we are looking for, or in some cases want to look for, is to prove an impact. It is actually making a change and showing that. But also it’s important for us to show how important the use of sport is and what role the sport plays. There is a mass of NGOs that work in the slums in [country]. So what does sport do that’s more impactful? What does sport do to encourage people to your programmes beyond what the other NGOs do? [That don’t use sport]” (Pride interview 2016)

Each step, each change that is being tested for, is treated like a milestone. The full spectrum and variety of human experience up to that point is cloaked in a shroud of homogeneity and its positionality in space and time is displaced in terms of meaning. A change in one individual is uniformly and manifestly then codified as the same as all the other changes in all the other individuals. Each divergence before and after, and all the 'story' of that change is given the same laundering in the M&E process. 'Time' and the temporal quality of experience – that moments are indeterminate in length - is fixed. The "continuum of instants, or a succession of durationless 'nows'" (Read, 2002: 193) is simplistically given meaning in a group of SDP participants in a given intervention in a particular place at a specific time. The impact of the project is the length of the intervention and its evaluation, presented as the collation of these instants (see *Iris* in the last chapter for proof of this). A lifetime of precursors and interdiscursive connections is masked in an artificial *wrap-around* of narrative that transforms distinctions into the indistinguishable. It becomes a form of simulation (see Baudrillard, 2006) where a cohort of individuals on broadly the same programme at approximately the same time are then packaged as experiencing the same journey, to be viewed. This is a point that even Coalter (2009) makes clear: that "realistic deadlines need to be established for the achievement and measurement of the various objectives (deadlines may vary depending on the objective). This also provides a timescale for the various elements of M&E" (Coalter, 2009: 17). Even measured against their own evaluative terms, this seems strange. Surely an investment in the pursuit of an objective is an investment realised whenever the objective is achieved? If a person gains employment, albeit six months after the programme finishes, that person has still gained employment. This speaks to a tendency to decode 'success' in terms of how others understand it (I refer to the contributions from respondents on M&E being for funders, rather than for improvement of programmes, in chapter 6).

The multitude of processes, technical apparatuses, decisions, academic articles and investments result in a megalithic discursive formation that is part enlightenment science, part anthropological, part political economy, and all encompassing. At heart, whether a health intervention or an investment in micro-credit, is a desire to measure every supposed improvement and attribute it to an intervention; that is, to give it causality. To do this requires an attribution of specific changes to fixed 'objective' measurements of time and space: this player achieved this result at this session between these times. Within a document commissioned by a group of SDP NGOs, we can see this investment of resource and persuasive power in the idea of capturing change:

"An important part of the research project was to enable organisations to strengthen their M&E systems, as well as encourage more positive attitudes to the role of M&E in enabling them to develop and improve their work... An early finding was that all organisations had set ambitious, yet vague outcomes. This made it difficult to assess

effectiveness. It was also not clear how the design of the programmes would lead to the changes, making outcome measurement difficult... To be able to measure the impact, it is necessary to be specific about what programmes want to achieve. Specific programmatic activities then have to be designed and implemented to reflect the beliefs of participants and project staff about how these desired changes can be achieved.” (Coalter, 2010: 19)

Over a period of time, ‘change’ has grown in perceived importance in discourse. Governance and funding arrangements reflect this. Even where sustainment of certain circumstances, retaining a participant’s status over time, were seen to be community-level changes. For example, one research participant shared that their organisation’s stated aim was to keep children in school for longer. The retention of a child in school in the country where the intervention was delivered resulted in a 20% increase in earnings for each additional year spent in school, it was claimed. This gave rationale to the efforts by SDP programmes to accurately attribute changes to participants and interventions:

“We are trying to collect data to report on. At [SDP NGO] it’s staying in school that is important, and so we are trying to show that 90% of participants stayed in school as a result of our programmes. We’ve got the focus as an organisation to promote, to put in more educational support, guidance, mentoring, from staff and young leaders and the computer centre to support that. 90% of [SDP NGO] players are in school whereas previously, prior to our intervention in the same area, that was a lot lower. We compare that to government stats’ where we see a lot lower percentage. (Pride interview, 2016)

“The problem with M&E is the attribution claim: how do we claim that increased attendance in school for example is linked to what we do?” (*ibid*)

And this was not the only response that showed this tendency, or desire, to attribute change to a specific programme:

“One of the things we are looking at right now is [programme] in [country] funded by [trust or foundation] and we are looking at the number of kids who are part of the projects who used to be working in [dangerous occupation unsuitable for children and young people] who are now attending school. There is a small drift from the [dangerous occupation] into the school, which is encouraging. [Consultant] has designed this self-esteem activity. Right at the beginning kids are involved and then you wonder if kids are telling you what you want to hear, and then the coaches carried out surveys with kids in five different villages and then do this annually. We then look at any changes in self-perception over that period. It’s linked to literacy training and such. It’s a complex bundle of things. There will be a workshop in July looking at all the learning from the

project to see if we learned anything about change: what changed, if anything, and what changed for the good and for the bad. (Valerie interview, 2014)

Dedicated, clearly articulate, and thoughtful staff were completely engrossed in the process of systematising change into banks of similar changes. Their dedication to this task did not in any way undermine their genuine care for the journey of participants, responding to the tasks set for them to M&E programmes in differing ways. Some preferred more quantitative measures whilst others preferred more illustrative approaches:

“[What changes are important] depends on the project. For example on disability its participation generally and transition to sustained participation, sustained, and then retained etc. But with our employability work, it’s more about employment and qualification outcomes... With [SDP programme] it can be on numbers of questionnaires. Commonalities across programmes are ‘self-esteem’ and ‘confidence’ of participants now: before and after. We use case studies so it’s much more around a story, a narrative and showing that we’ve made a positive impact on their lives. But that’s me personally as well as [SDP NGO] requirements. That motivates me intrinsically. I’m more interested in self-esteem and self-efficacy. I’m more interested in that than harder outcomes like qualifications. Because I generally think those softer outcomes have an ability to make a positive impact on their ability to achieve harder outcomes.” (Hauser interview, 2016)

Staff were, without exception, all implicated and involved in the capturing of a complex array of various human experiences and systematizing them in presentable, digestible, consumable data. The journey that participants in SDP programmes were being taken on in the course of this systematisation codified what was happening to them into a moment. For example the passage from ‘unemployed’ to ‘employed’ appearing as a single outcome amongst a multitude of similar outcomes. The way that employment, and the period of time without employment, are experienced, necessarily differs between individuals, but this cannot be accounted for within the microtechniques of SDP. Instead the moment in which the desired change has happened is *sped-up*: no matter what the content of experience up to the moment of change has been, it is compressed to an identical outcome, in a similar fashion to Harvey’s space-time compression (1990; 2008: XX).

The systems of demarcating heterogeneous experience in a different way did not seem to be available to SDP practitioners. In all cases, the changes for participants in programmes had to be codified as similar in time, space, and in terms of the changes themselves. In their collation of moments in this way SDP participants appeared to be institutionalised by the practice of SDP practitioners into societally ‘preferable’ versions of themselves. The presentation of this data by SDP NGOs then seemed to represent the institutionalisation of the SDP NGO itself.

“We have to do pre and post questionnaires that monitor attitudes. What was their attitude before and after the intervention? See whether it has shown positive improvement. With [programme] it’s more about their knowledge of [behaviour]. Their desire to work in an industry, and then developing their confidence. We monitor at the beginning and end and see the change. On the current programme it’s self-esteem.”

“The [monitoring tools] are really good to get conversations going. When I did [particular sub-group of participants], I used the [monitoring tool]. I learned a lot about the participants. It’ll talk about ten points and how you feel about your confidence towards certain situations, for example talking to people or getting a job. The ‘day-to-day’-ness of getting a job. They discuss it with us and we collectively decide on a score. It’s on a 1-10 scale. The comments equate to scoring. Then you do this the same at the end and hope for signs of improvement.” (Hauser interview, 2016)

Some practitioners did suspect that experiences contributing to the achievement, or non-achievement, of an outcome were hidden by M&E processes. It was indicated by interviewees that the monitoring tools masked something, and that the defined time period that SDP M&E required did not in fact fit neatly around the experience of participants:

“I was frustrated from time to time. I felt that I had seen things with my own eyes... complexities that weren’t reflected in the [monitoring tool] results. The process is laborious.” (Hauser interview, 2016)

“I think a big thing on the journey is: looking at some of the young leaders involved and how long they’ve been involved... you need to make sure they do go onto other things. They’ve been involved a long time. They get a job... But then they kind of come back to us... maybe at around 20-22 years old. And they keep wanting to be a young leader. Those guys we trained six years ago they are still involved even if they get a job.” (Pride interview, 2016)

“It’s not enough to just record numbers, but you need to look at individual development and also life stories of people going through the programme, story-telling and audio visual techniques. M&E is not just data in and data out, it’s a whole process that takes in the whole organisation and asks: what do you want to achieve as an organisation? It then helps you to work backwards.” (David interview, 2016)

“What we are looking for or want to look for is to prove an impact. Is it actually making a change? But also how important the sport is and what role the sport plays. There is a mass of NGOs that work in [community]. So what does the sport do that’s more impactful?” (Pride interview, 2016)

In normative documentation - 'best practice' - one can find the need for individual experiences to be compressed into tightly defined periods, during which an input produces an output, and the output then produces an outcome. This was something that featured in a number of documents (see Aqumen *et al*, 2014: 4) and clearly influenced practice:

“Following an appropriate period of time, such data would be collected again to assess the extent to which changes had occurred in the key indicators (and to evaluate the extent to which the programme had contributed to such changes).” (Coalter, 2009: 35)

And this is yet a point that Coalter is at pains to make throughout his research: that interventions and their application to sport are not the “sufficient conditions” for outcomes to manifest in and of themselves (Coalter, 2009: 21-22). Something more has to change. In some cases there were significant resources dedicated to the pursuit of these changes including the development of Randomised Control Trials (RCTs):

“It’s about preventative behaviour: when was the last time you took a test? Self-reported too... I use more the high level reports, for example from the RCTs. One we did was on [behaviour]. It was a 2 year RCT. The baseline was gathered around the lives and the challenges YPs in [community] face, then measuring knowledge attitude and behaviour over two years from the intervention... There were two RCTs done in [community]. On [intervention] and on [intervention]. It was a study, and not implicated as a programme. It’s one of the most cost-effective interventions to date. It takes [sport] coaches and provides info on where to get [intervention] and there was a 12 fold increase in the uptake of [intervention]. These are incredible outcomes. Incredibly effective.” (Raja interview, 2016)

Thinking in this way about participants’ transition from one state to another seemed to be resonant across actors. The alignment of practice in organisations now and into the future was a reality highlighted by a number of research interviewees. In addition to the effects of organisations cooperating in TANs, there were local level disseminations of ideas about how to M&E, about which techniques to use, and about the comprehension of data. The power and prevalence of these ideas was clear in the responses, and this seemed to be especially so where smaller organisations came into contact with larger, well-resourced ones:

“Thinking about how we see growth: there’s a real drive and a consensus at board level to grow, and grow our impact, but through partners. And this can be anywhere. We are good at building [sport] based curricula and building our M&E system around that... We would then provide technical support for a smaller organisation. Now, there’s an effort to be more methodical through partnership... to share and spread this elsewhere with other NGOs. How we account for our numbers if they are delivered through partners?

Quality assurances? How much can we influence our partners' admin processes and M&E? This will be the next step for [SDP NGO]. We have internal conversations about this." (Raja interview, 2016)

A tendency towards a greater inculcation of more actors, encompassing more nodal points, was clear from a number of contributors. But the means by which this happened depended upon which actors were being absorbed into the process.

"Promising youth are brought to the fore. They are evaluated and the programmes are evaluated, using an open space methodology: young participants define the agenda of the event and what they want to work on. They define what kind of outcomes they want to achieve. The tools etc. that are helpful for them in their own work." (David interview, 2016)

"Perhaps one thing from our youth leadership experience, is that [company] and some of our young leaders have been active, and it's the first time we really designed an event with one of the big partners, and they helped design the programme and sent seven staff to participate. And it worked really well. The VP of [company] was almost moved to tears. He was blown away. Life-changing. He said that they as a corporate had learned enormously from this, and they could take away a lot from this and change their own HR work and internal practices." (*ibid*)

This perhaps was one of the greatest indications of the function of power through governmental rationalities in SDP: microtechniques of M&E were perceived to have worked so well that they should transmit from organisation to organisation. And this apparently functioned at the level of South-South as well as the level of South-North, showing enormous potential for upward transmission of ideas, as well as 'top-down'. This point, seems to vindicate the use of Foucauldian theory in critical study of SDP whilst simultaneously rendering both positions in the Lindsey & Grattan/Darnell & Hayhurst (both 2012) debate as valid. The transmission of ideas in this multidirectional fashion is demonstrably assisted by important texts – best practice guidance documents – that provide digestible content on how M&E can be viably undertaken (see Aqumen *et al*, 2014; Coalter, 2009; 2010; Prescott & Phelan, 2011). This opacity in the transmission of ideas and practice denied the SDP participants something in the view of some respondents. It also denied something of the richness of experience to SDP staff:

"You just see the score and progress on the [M&E tool] before and after. The complexities and the nuances in the participant's changes are not reflected in the [M&E tool]. I would say all the pre and post stuff we do is like that." (Hauser interview, 2016)

The banks of knowable data – in reality a plurality of experiences across time and space – become the logical basis for the valorisation of the work of civil society: 78% of participants

showed increased confidence; 35 participants gained employment after six months; 60% of players demonstrated increased knowledge of HIV/AIDS and its routes of transmission after six weeks, and so on. The crucial point here is that the moment of change is necessarily in a moment, and then aggregated along with other moments. Thousands of experiences coalesced in systems of monitoring and evaluation which codify this multitude into a singularity. Whether the change is permanent or not is not important. What is instead important is that it can be observed, recorded, systematised and valorised.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Having unsettled the notions of time and space in SDP, and shown how the M&E process in particular creates profound ramifications for the participants and SPD actors alike, I now deploy the expanded theoretical categories of time and space to the empirical research. I develop - as I have also undertaken in the previous two chapters - a four-part Critical Discourse Analysis of SPD. The first multidimensional part connects my findings with a wider global tendency: 'Big Data' and the datarisation of humanity. The second multifunctional component situates M&E in SDP within the history of how social reality has been *recorded* over time and now. The third concerns the interdiscursivity of governmental rationalities in SDP with that of capitalist market forces on the one hand, and with the elite sporting spectacle on the other. And finally, I critically argue that the newly-expanded understanding of time/space significantly disrupts claims to objectivity in SDP M&E processes, opening realms of enquiry for further critical research, and potentially radical social change.

Big Data: The multidimensional correlates of SDP

Data and its collection, is not something unique to the field of NGOs, and even less so SDP. It is co-dependent upon developments in the infrastructure of the global economy and in society. It is susceptible to many, if not all, of the same analytical interventions to those which the wider sociological whole has been and continues to be subjected. I have consistently argued that attempts to understand the practices of M&E in SDP programmes must take into account commonalities with the corporate world, but it is also possible to discern functional equivalencies in the way that time and space are discursively constructed in these realms. Indeed, these motifs can be seen very broadly, for instance, in academia and popular culture. To a great extent, this is facilitated by the advent of 'Big Data' in the past two decades or so.

Data is now ubiquitous in the contemporary social world (Davies, 2015: 218; 2016; Rose, 2007: 32). Techniques for its 'capture' infiltrate many personal relationships, most transactions, all

but the most antiquated communications, and all production for markets. Furthermore, the digitalisation of data has arisen incredibly fast, during the latter part of the New Economy – dating from the late 1990s and characterised by the transition from an economy predominantly based in industrial production to one which is dominated by the production of *services*.

Our human relationships are now increasingly beginning and happening online, on laptops and mobile technology. The personal information we present online is now mined - from our social media accounts (Facebook, twitter, LinkedIn etc.), from our preferences, and our social connections. Companies (and even governments) thus find novel ways to talk to us, sell to us, and incorporate us into new and old ways of thinking about the world. The stock price of a site like Facebook, for example, is only the valorisation of the totality of all the data it collects and holds on human virtual interactions within the confines of its platform (Finger, 2012). Mobile digital applications such as Tinder are fast-growing, increasingly 'hosting' the beginnings of more and more relationships in the Global North (Gjorgievska, 2016).

Transactions, whether online or in person, frequently depend on data capture, especially where cash is not involved. In both online and real world transactions the data gathered and collated by programmes such as 'Hadoop' - an 'open source' application which assists large scale data collection and analysis software used by the like of JP Morgan Chase (DeZyre, 2015; Vijayan, 2011) – forms one of the most valuable assets of companies; assets that credit card companies for example often monetise (Edwards, 2013). Even the music we listen to now involves data captured about us, and our preferences (Cipriani, 2016), enabling smarter marketing to us as we browse the web and our music streaming platforms.

Production processes are also fundamentally configured towards the digital. In the contemporary world of service provision, digital data collection represents a new horizon for companies to valorise their work, and a new frontier for ethical and legal investigative questioning (Finn & Wadhwa, 2014: 22-26). Value is understood now in two ways: in the value of what is sold, and the value of what that sale tells a company about purchasers' preferences (Edwards, 2013). Generally, issues of digitisation and the digital aspects of production come into play, not least because there are greater amounts of data generated, along with larger up-front costs for entrepreneurs, and longer-term returns (Fleming, 2015: B1-B2). The coherencies between business done well, and not-for-profits run well (see chapter 5) should be recalled here.

SDP is vulnerable to many, if not all, of the same analytical interventions - the same modes of practice - to which that wider sociological whole has been and continues to be subjected (see Deleuze, 1992: 2-5; Miller & Rose, 1990: 1-5). Of concern here, is not the explosion of new forms of data capture about individuals *per se* - this has been underway for decades (Deleuze, 1992).

Rather it is the process, evident in all the examples above, of temporal and spatial displacement which takes place. Data, in wider society as in SDP, is captured about moments in individuals' lives, and large wholesale standardisations made for them. Subtly, our habits are collated into wholesale conclusions about limitlessly heterogeneous human experience. Those searching for jobs become one of thousands of job seekers online; those buying therapeutic services are marketed more therapies; those talking about issues of labour, class and radicalism, are identified as 'activists'. These assumptions about us require temporal and spatial displacements to be 'relevant' to the data collation process. First temporally, they must change time in two ways: (a), by drawing artificial boundaries around two distinct moments in time – for example everyone who was unemployed between April 1st 2015 and March 31st 2016 – and (b) by taking a multitude of experience and homogenising it into one, or a number of similar experiences taking place in an identical moment. The experiences – how people arrived at each of them, the duration of the experiences themselves, and their perception of them as constructions of meaning - become irrelevant to the system of data that collates and valorises them. Spatially, the process is similar: boundaries must be drawn around non-homogenous communities – everyone who “lives on the island of Java who bought a car in the last 12 months” for example – which give the lie to claims of objective measurement of practice or behaviour.

But precisely *because* the process of bending any fixed meaning of 'space' and 'time' is a foundational construct in the inculcation of participants in the social reality of postmodern life, it is crucial that critical analysts scrutinise points of weakness specifically in particular manifestations, such as SDP. This is not to say that correspondingly, in wider forms of development and regeneration programmes there are not similar tendencies (see Owusu, 2004; 118; Uitto, 2014; Stewart, 2014: 38). Placing the data collection microtechniques of SDP in the multidimensional context of attempts to harvest data about us, applying uniformity to our experiences, can only be resisted I argue, by attempting to unsettle their specificity.

Multifunctionality: historical recording of social reality

But this has not always been so. Mary Poovey (1998) argues that the reproduction of reality in modernity has changed over time. In antiquity, an 'epistemological unit' - the *fact* in this instance - represented *particular* representations of occurrences and of experiences. It was, or should have been according to Aristotelian logic in ancient times, a matter of the commonly experienced or most commonly experienced; of 'universals' (Poovey, 1998: 7-8). Baconian epistemology, from the turn of the 16th Century onwards, was sympathetic to other concerns however: the patient observation of nature which produced particular units of knowledge, detached from theory (Daston, 1991: 344, cited in Poovey, 1998: 8). What constitutes a fact –

what a unit of knowledge can be said to be – had changed from the generally experienced and common to the infinitely experienced and unique. Over time, the conceptual boundaries around the ‘objectivity’ of ‘fact’ – its immutable qualities and its foundation as a historical scientific constant, in meaning at least – had fundamentally changed.

Widely disseminated guides were produced in the 15th and 16th centuries, in order to govern uniformly how ‘facts’ were recorded. We can identify this similarly in the practice of SDP M&E, where guides and ‘best practice’ documents were produced and circulated online; guides and documents which suggest how to gather data – in a quest for conformity and uniformity across programmes. The guidebooks of bygone centuries took the shape of philosophical texts and books (see Mellis, 1588, cited in Poovey, 1998: ii), which travelled merchant routes and occupied the time of bookkeepers on trading vessels. In Ancient times, the event a single individual experienced, if this event was considered general, could be conceived of as a valid knowledge object. But in the scientific revolution, from the 17th Century onwards, singular experiences and observed particulars only gained rational significance when they were collated into wider bodies of *evidence* (Dear, 1995: 25, cited in Poovey, 1998: 9). Poovey makes the point that knowledge objects were thus only given meaning as ‘facts’ and identified as such when their superficiality was connected to something wider, weakening their claims to rational objectivity in retrospect:

“... only when such particulars were interpreted as *evidence* did they seem valuable enough to collect, because only then did they acquire meaning or even, I contend, identity as facts. Although Dear does not make this point explicitly, his distinction between an evident particular and a particular that constitutes evidence helps us to understand what I am calling the peculiarity of the modern fact. On the one hand, facts seem (and can be interpreted as being) simply the kind of deracinated particulars that Bacon claimed to value; on the other hand, facts seem (and can be said) to exist as identifiable units only when they constitute evidence for some theory – only, that is, when there is a theoretical reason to notice these particulars and name them as facts.”
(1998: 9)

This is a crucial point, because it weakens the historical claims to objectivity that the rational scientific method superficially clings to. And the influence of this epistemological approach to knowledge objects continued to grow throughout the scientific revolution to eventually encompass the natural sciences as well as natural philosophies (*ibid*). Throughout the enlightenment, the means of understanding political economy to the social scientists of the time depended on a notion of ‘the fact’ that changed to become ‘systematic’: that “evidenced a theory”, as well as a collection of “observed particulars”, into the 1800s (*ibid*). The scientific method indeed featured in the writings of Marx, who believed he was Darwin’s disciple in

deploying methods and conclusions on natural selection; tools that he felt were the validation of his historical materialist conception of class struggle by natural sciences (Angus, 2009; Ureña, 1977: 548-551). And, undoubtedly, the ideas of the enlightenment gained new momentum in the rapid expansion of forces across continents, in colonial struggles and imperial contests. The Second World War compelled new inventions, and new scientific principles to emerge: new ways of observing rationally and objectively the world, and the behaviour of people within it (Mindell, 2009: 5.3). Subsequently, the Cold War period up to the inception of 'neoliberalism' or 'late capitalism' saw new applications of science, of research, and of induction into the state, corporations and into the fabric of society itself. Explosions in behavioural research, scientific publications, medicine, biomedicine (Larsen *et al*, 2010: 577-8) and productive forces found new utilities for rational research methods.

The 'New Economy', based upon flows of information and capital, representing as it does the dramatic increase in the offering of 'services' relative to the making and selling of 'things', was a social form of political economy that's authenticity was contested, at least up to the mid-point of the first decade of the 21st century (see for example Carlsson, 2004: 246-249). But as its relevance became undeniable, 'information' became crucial. Facts began to be shaken in their claims to objectivity, whilst information – and people's general and growing sense of cynicism concerning its use - about production, relations, and policy interventions, began to be captured by all who had the means (companies and governments, mainly) in the society of control that grew from the disciplinary societies (Foucault, 2004; see also Deleuze, 1992).

Facts and later information, though, now are better understood in the main as *data* (Davies, 2016) under the conditions of postmodernity. 'Data' originates from the Latin '*datum*' meaning "that which is given" (Davies, 2015: 218). In 'the' digital economy, in a global theatre of millions of producers of content which all hold claim to some truth or other, we no longer seek to attribute the quality of certainty to 'facts'. Instead, a change has occurred in the *content* of what is 'factual':

“...we now live in a world of *data*. Instead of trusted measures and methodologies being used to produce numbers, a dizzying array of numbers is produced by default, to be mined, visualised, analysed and interpreted however we wish. If risk modelling (using notions of statistical normality) was the defining research technique of the 19th and 20th centuries, sentiment analysis is the defining one of the emerging digital era.”
(Davies, 2016)

Each of these sites are interdiscursively constituted: they are interwoven with the production of discourse within each space, and also interdiscursive with other seemingly unrelated fields (Foucault, 1974; also Fairclough, 1992). These sites are highly productive domains with *temporal* dimensions. That is to say, the enunciative modalities they produce are frequently

referential to *time*. They make reference to their time of origin and the moment at which they were produced or captured. They refer to their relevance to particular historical junctures, and they may on occasion 'expire'. But similarly, the analysis of the data collected shows that the meaning of data can be *converted* over time. In some examples, data is displayed in different ways for different audiences: for corporates, governments or foundations for which different types of "packaging and reselling [of] a programme" take place (Raja interview, 2016). Lastly, they frequently co-exist in different spaces and times simultaneously, despite SDP practitioners' efforts to fix themselves in a particular space and time. Data are gathered in the field at a moment, for example when a participant reports new employment. This event is registered and it then exists as an asset on an online piece of software, or a sheet. They are, therefore, at least transnational in nature, existing either virtually, or, in mutual dependency with other sites, transcending national boundaries and specific instances of practice. Therefore, in the understanding of the objectivities of SDP as 'data' – the principal component of what I called the 'logical bases' in chapter 5 – and their digital recording of storage as 'transnational', the understanding of systematised M&E as the most important functioning of the technology of governmentality in SDP is rendered entirely valid. The becoming of data in SDP in its transnational space, entirely explains how the alignments described in chapter 5 can be materially justified. The transnational quality of data in SDP therefore is important to any critical understanding of the capillaries of governmentality in SDP.

SDP actors are watching each other to see who is doing what, and disseminating best practice guidelines widely. It is in this way that alignment with the corporate standpoint connotes a constant self-awareness and recalibration of behaviour and activities intended to produce conformism, in which we can see Foucault's (1977: 169-70) Bentham-inspired 'panopticism'; the power, surveillance and discipline embedded within everyday structures (Foucault, 1977, 195: 224). Performatively, networks display results and make prescriptive statements. These are then systematised into knowledge banks, such as the Sport Monitor (Sport England, 2013) where knowledge is codified as best practice and a 'body of evidence' is built up to support the conclusion that sport is a great thing for society.

I have situated SDP in the here and now, within a history of meaning of objective measurements of data.

Interdiscursivity: the 'market' and SDP

Unsettling the fixity of what 'change' means in SDP, and linking its mutability to 'time' and 'space' allows us to reveal SDP as a rational project reliant upon other discursive frameworks. Two discursive formations are especially interesting: the world of 'capitalist enterprise' –

particularly in relation to the speeding up of productive processes – and a collection of knowledge objects that centre on a discourse of the sporting spectacle.

In chapter 6, and earlier in this current one, I demonstrated how, in the speeding-up of the moment in which change is captured in SDP – as an indeterminate and varying timeframe of a multitude of human experiences, compressed by M&E processes into single quantifiable moments; moments which are then captured and crystallised into objectively verifiable and homogenous outcomes – we see a parallel in changes underway regarding the productive forces of late capitalism. Harvey (2005: 3-4) asserts an interrelation between new productive forces (such as the power of financial capital), new actors (such as investment bankers and hedge fund managers) information, and time and space, under the conditions of neoliberalism (see also Harvey, 1990). In the same way that data has been valorised as a necessity in SDP and civil society more widely, new processes of information capture have become an essential feature of the pursuit of a pro-market logic that demands the ever-greater permeation of the social world by market forces, portraying this as an ethical and moral imperative, which dictates that:

“... the social good will be maximised by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market. This requires technologies of information creation and capacities to accumulate, store, transfer, analyse, and use in massive databases to guide decisions in the global marketplace. Hence neoliberalism’s intense interest in and pursuit of information technologies (leading some to proclaim the emergence of a new kind of ‘information society’). These technologies have compressed the rising density of market transactions in both space and time. They have produced a particularly intensive burst of what I have called elsewhere ‘time-space compression’. The greater the geographical range (hence the emphasis on ‘globalization’) and the shorter the term of market contracts the better.” (Harvey, 2005: 3-4)

This interrelation between data, time and space, and productive processes extends beyond the realm of the market into state enterprises. In the theatre of war, of escalation and diplomacy, the concept of speed’s mastery over space is one that social scientists have long marvelled over. In the battlefield, ‘pace’, in time, is the measure by which one side is judged stronger than another. Der Derian (1990) captures this in the simulation of war events, and in the ‘closing’ of spaces in battle by technologies of combat, such as high velocity missiles.

Time in this sense becomes both an objective imperative and an abstract concept. It is the mastery of time that gives power to the wielder of farm machinery, of weaponry, and of the social intervention. Because, just as in the productive forces of market capitalism and in the

industry of war, interventions in the social world are judged on the basis of their effectiveness *over time*.

It is the abstraction from given time periods – the selectivity of time references – that gives the statistical evidence in SDP programmes their power. Data collected by programmes, delimited by given timeframes, and collated as homogenous – circumvents the fact that what leads to a given outcome extends far beyond the intervention period itself. Human experience that dissipates over time and space beyond the 2 hours a week on a football field and 1 hour a week in a classroom, leading, not fatalistically but contingently, to a given outcome at a given time. Indeed this point is not ignored by some of the staunchest proponents of more ‘rigorous’ M&E in SDP programmes:

“Of course, it is possible that many of the measured intermediate impacts are not solely the result of taking part in the programme. This is because, in addition to taking part in sport-in-development programmes, participants will be subject to *parallel influences* (i.e. other factors which may also contribute to any measured changes).” (Coalter, 2009: 30)

The measurement of changes against time is the project of M&E in SDP. The problematic is: does the SDP programme enact changes in society by intervening in the lives of participants? And measures have to be made against this question. The enquirer then subjects the perceived changes in SDP participants to rationally observable, objective and comparable locations of subject positions in space and time. This dynamic empowers the project of governmental rationality in SDP. The question then becomes: in what other contexts does this happen, and are there similarities with the way that time and space are abstracted in SDP? One very clear example is that of elite sport. Barthes’s ‘What is Sport?’ (2007), claims that sport as spectacle has a near-mythological quality in the sense that its surface appearance belies an array of other, much less dramatic instances:

“This is the meaning of a great automobile race: that the swiftest force is only the sum of various kinds of patience, of measurements, of subtleties, of infinitely precise and infinitely demanding actions.” (Barthes, 2007: 25)

The race-day exertions of a sprint athlete, for example, are really the culmination of years, sometimes decades, of painstaking training and preparation. To complete the course in record time and beat competitors is not in fact a speedy process at all; it takes a lifetime:

“And what do they recognise in the great car racer? The victor over a much subtler enemy: time... So that here the relation between man and the machine is infinitely circumspect: what will function very fast must first be tested very slowly, for speed is never anything but the recompense of extreme deliberation.” (Barthes, 2007: 11)

This connection that SDP seems to share with sport is interesting. The trick that SDP plays in the speed-up of time, where instances of training, practice, conditioning, re-examination, over indeterminate quantities of time, are compressed in the M&E process in SDP as they are in the spectacle of sporting events. It is somehow fitting that one such discursive connection should be illuminated by a post-structural scholar on the subject of sport. In fact the result of painstakingly elongated processes condensed into a few seconds is masked; alienated, much like Marx's (2013: 116-118) commodity fetishism, in that the moment of consumption is disconnected from the productive forces which made it.

We may only speculate as to the ramifications of this. The mirror that sport's spectacle holds up to SDP perhaps gives the lie to SDP in its reconstruction of time and space, but it cannot be that this is the sole reason. It is a remarkable parallel, equal to the interdiscursivity with forces of market capitalism that Harvey (2005) describes and the technologies of war that Der Derian (1990) has devoted his work to. In this way SDP is mirroring wider global forces as much as the spectacle of sport.

Criticality: the disruption of objectivity

Der Derian (1990) set to work on the project of dismantling the epistemological position of objectivist neorealism, with all its accompanying assumptions about the international realm and its cynicism on behavioural assumptions. He did so by positioning post-structuralism as:

“A powerful epistemological activity which can help us understand something that cannot be fully understood: the impact of an array of new technological practices that have proven to be resistant if not invisible to traditional methods of analysis. These (post)modern practices are elusive because they are more ‘real’ in time than space, their power is evidenced through the exchange of signs not goods, and their effects are transparent and pervasive rather than material and discrete. They do not fit and therefore they elude the traditional and the re-formed delimitations of the international relations field: the geopolitics of realism, the structural political economy of neorealism, the possessive institutionalism of neoliberalism.” (Der Derian, 1990: 297)

Exploring certain technical apparatuses in games of war in the international sphere, Der Derian suggests that the technological deployment of apparatuses in international relations can be understood as the exercise of a discursive power, and that that power is *chronopolitical*. By this he means that it elevates speed/pace/chronology over place/space/geography in its political effects (*ibid*). Time therefore becomes a dynamic of power. Those who can speed-up time, or compact more into equal or lesser quantities of time, wield power. In Der Derian's example, a

missile should cover increasingly greater spatial quantities in quicker times. The tendency in SDP for the systematised recording of changes in participants – itself the fulcrum of power in SDP - must be viewed in light of an exercise of that power.

Der Derian's project to analyse the technologies that govern time is a valuable example of how a project of criticality in the social sciences can be foundational for social change. In chapter 6, the technological practices of M&E in SDP were shown to contribute to the operationalising of a type of quotidian power we have called governmentality. But there was something else happening which enabled the function of that power at its nodal points – something that relied upon an illusion. What my analysis also showed is that although the particular conception of *time* and *space* which I have described appears clear, settled and robust in the context of SDP, it is simultaneously vulnerable to an emancipatory project of unsettling. The rationale for such a claim is that there is a significant disjuncture between the framing of interventions that this concept demands and the normative aspirations of the actors intervening. Claims to objectivity in this process are disrupted by this critical analysis, and the contradictions within the process of rationally objectifying the changes in SDP participants is weakened conceptually.

How is this so? My analysis suggests that SDP practitioners are themselves mystified by the claims of SDP. Occasionally, it is not the claims themselves that are in doubt, but the opacity of the mechanism that has transformed 'practical interventions' into 'change'. Respondents could not, themselves, articulate to their own satisfaction what had taken place but they were all aware that something had happened in the encoding of the event(s) which constituted the SDP practice(s), which subsequently homogenised all the collective experiences. One point is especially pertinent here: it is certain that the various experiences of SDP participants transcended the 'sessions' in which the interventions took place – empirical research is not needed to make this assertion that no two SDP participants will have experienced the same 'journey' over the same time frame (Bergson, 2001: 11-13). This seems to be a substantive point in two ways: first, the experiences of being for example, unemployed, are far more unique than can be captured by a single report. This is essentially a problem of *attribution*. Processes that aspire to be scientifically justifiable will always then be at risk of failing on their own terms. In other words, the microtechniques of SDP are internally contradicted in that they attest to rational observations of the world and yet bind incomprehensible human experiences into manifestly false timeframes. The second point rests upon the temporal quality of the intervention.

This suggests that the temporal quality of the experiences that constitute the experience of unemployment span over an indeterminate and variable amount of time. They are constituted by a potentially limitless quantity of instances, consciously understood over range of timescales. But they are then, it seems, sped-up, and homogenised into the quantification of the

conversions, or change of circumstances in ignorant to knowledgeable; in unemployed to employed. The effect of the microtechniques of M&E in SDP, therefore, is to both accelerate and equalise the comprehension of pace of change in people's lives. Change is equalised in terms of speed, to the same chronological quantity.

This is a crucial power dynamic. The powerless – in this case SDP participants - cannot speed up or reconstruct time and space in the way that, metaphysically – practitioners in NGOs can. And it is *only* empowered by the microtechniques of M&E. It does not exist outside the capturing of social reality.

My intervention is intended to furnish others with the analytical tools to further weaken the rationalities, formed by the data gathered in M&E – via microtechniques – that give the lie to the solidity of meaning in other areas of social life. The microtechniques of the governmental rationalities that form social interventions should be scrutinised wherever they are employed. As Deleuze (1990: 4-5) highlighted, societies are deploying mechanisms of control which are organised in a 'numerical' language: they must be quantifiable to cohere with the language, or the authoritative discourse of the time. To quantify means the compression of a spatial event in time (for example being unemployed, playing sport on a field to learn employment skills, etc.) to a single number, which then becomes a collection of numbers. Individuals in these collectivised 'banks' (in computers and software) of data are no longer individuals: they are 'dividuals' (or data-dividuals) (*ibid*).

The surveillance thus, of the participants of SDP renders them 'knowable'. This was obvious in the example of *Iris*: an M&E platform that gathered, collated and reported data within given temporal and spatial frontiers. This has to be, ultimately, the fulcrum of power in SDP.

Foucault, in detailing the passage of older forms of power to diffused modern power we see today, argued that the power/knowledge relationship came from the bottom up, in microtechniques developed in the 18th Century.

“... perfected by obscure doctors, wardens, and schoolmasters in obscure hospitals, prisons, and schools, far removed from the great power centres of the *ancien regime*. Only later were these techniques and practices taken up and integrated” (Fraser, 1981: 276).

Their practices however, permeated different strata of neoliberal society in late-modernity. Of absolutely crucial importance was the observation or what Foucault called 'the gaze'. This technique was used to manage institutional populations in so far as they were visible. Surveillance relied on optics premised upon two forms of 'visibility': 'synoptic' and 'individualizing'. Synoptic visibility was exemplified in prison design, in Bentham's Panopticon, in the segregation of hospital patients by condition, and in the arrangement of students in

schools by ability. Individualizing visibility, was configured at exhaustive observation of individuals. Foucault's argument is that this visibility succeeded in constituting 'the individual' as an issue to be solved, simultaneously creating a new object of inquiry and a new target of power (Foucault, 1980b: 146-7, cited in Fraser, 1981: 277). Both gazes:

"... were micropractices linking together new processes of production of new knowledges with new kinds of power. They combined scientific observation of population and individuals, and hence a new "science of man", with surveillance. This link depended upon the asymmetrical character of the gaze; it was unidirectional: the scientist or warden sees the inmate but not vice versa." (*ibid*).

The participants in SDP programmes have entered, unbeknownst to them, a form of Bentham's Panopticon. They are surveilled both 'synoptically', as classifications within systems, and they are fixed as an issue to be solved in an individualizing gaze. The unidirectionality of this is undeniable. That the terrain for viewing has in part migrated to the virtual – the digital space – is something that perhaps Foucault would have predicted.

The surveillance of SDP participants in M&E microtechniques forms the fundamental operation of power in SDP. It is the essence of the technology of governmentality that transits practice between actors at various levels. M&E, has been shown here to be a crucially important function in the viability of SDP programmes, and indeed their organisation moving forward. In the search for change and changes, SDP has fixed for itself ultimately, an understanding of an undesirable state prior to the intervention, and a more desirable one afterwards (the individual as a 'case' to be solved, as above). 'Abjection' or the state of 'poverty', in an individual or group, means exclusion in one form or another, which is a point Rose makes:

"Abjection is a matter of the energies, the practices, the works of division that act upon persons and collectivities such that some ways of being, some forms of existence are cast into a zone of shame, disgrace or debasement, rendered beyond the limits of the liveable, denied the warrant of tolerability, accorded purely negative value." (Rose, 1999: 253-4)

But exclusion does not mean non-incorporation. Excluded people, in one of the advanced Western European countries, will usually be incorporated into some form of welfare provision, itself no less an expression of biopolitical power. SDP interventions fall within the provisions of social intervention, with the objective of converting 'the poor', to the benefitted.

And yet it is this conversion from abjection in moments that should especially be read critically. Here the undesirable becomes desirable, or tolerable, or valuable. Qualities that are deemed crucial in a successful population are juxtaposed with the abject, who are demeaned, and

categorised as in need of further remedial interventions. The power of this moment though, is not, ontologically speaking, in the moment itself. It holds no particular value prior to that which it is given in the M&E process. The power rather, is epistemologically in the 'recording' of the moment of change. It is in the rendering of that moment as knowable in a system of similarly knowable and comprehensible moments.

Conclusion

This chapter has used empirical research from interviews, normative and marketing documentation and shown that *time* and *space* are crucially important concepts in the microtechniques of M&E within the technology of governmentality, as they rationally constitute connections in the world of SDP NGOs. The fulcrum of power in M&E processes, which enables the rationalities of SDP with sets of data about participants' changes, have been shown to be reliant upon fixed meanings of time and space which deny the fluidity of these concepts. We have seen that superficial borders are drawn around SDP interventions: temporally and spatially, in simulations of interventions, with the objective of confining the changes that happen to comprehensible subject positions. This process combines with a simultaneous and permanent state of reflection within some SDP organisations themselves, seemingly prompted by the M&E process and its microtechniques, and is given new import in the lens of Foucauldian governmentality.

CDA of the research findings placed the study within the wider context of the explosion in the use of data in the world (Davies, 2016; Deleuze, 1992), the historicity of attempts to capture knowledge about social practice (Poovey, 1998), the interdiscursive connections with market forces (see Harvey, 2005) and the spectacle of sport (Barthes, 2007), and the opacity of microtechniques which operationalise power in populations through surveillance (Der Derian, 1990; Foucault, 1980b).

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

Introduction

In this brief conclusion, I summarise the arguments I have made. The structure of this chapter is as follows. First, I summarise each of the four arguments, each empirical verification, and each theoretical justification. I then highlight the importance of these moving forward and their generalisability, and spotlight any unique contributions to knowledge that my work has made. I then conclude with questions for exploration beyond this work.

Summary of the arguments

To briefly summarise, the dynamics of power that form the governmental rationality in SDP are as follows: what some (Hayhurst, 2011) have called a technology of governmentality needs definition in terms of its constituent parts. I found connections between different actors in SDP, connections for which I coined a term: *discursive alignments*. I identified these in SDP NGOs, and in their corporate counterparts in CSR/GCSE initiatives. I then demonstrated the logical basis of these connections was rationally constructed from the produce of microtechniques of monitoring & evaluation (M&E). These required, I argued, the ability to measure ‘change’ in SDP participants. I then showed, that in order to measure change, the distortion of experience (in temporal and spatial terms) was necessary. This is a governmental project which seeks to record social reality.

Corporate power in SDP means money, and the flow of money tempts us to follow it in order to understand the dynamics of power in SDP. Although I argued that the larger transnational and multi-sectoral forces at work necessitated that the search for the dynamics of power must be *beyond* SDP itself, I also contended, in chapter 3, that locating power in the core has limited explanatory potential, therefore problematizing the relevance of the search for connections between actors based upon capital transactions. Foucault’s argument is that political economy constitutes the major form of knowledge production in the postmodern world - but is not its *raison d’être* (2009: 108-9). What he meant by this is that governmentality could find a means of expressing itself in the quantifications of political economy, but it was not the fulcrum of the dynamics of power. For Foucault, in any system, Capital and its flow rests upon the interchange of discourses – of knowledges, ideas, understandings, texts, and practices. I have shown, during the course of this thesis understandings of forms of practice in SDP – especially administrative practices of M&E in the quantification of results of programmes – disseminated

throughout widely arrayed systems and between actors, are the dynamic of power and the form power takes in the governmental rationalities of the sector.

The project of the power dynamics that form the governmental rationalities of SDP must be understood as a terrain of struggle specifically over *how social reality is being recorded*. I have proved this by examining in detail the practices of M&E in SDP, showing how they, and their results, connect different actors in the sector. But I have also shown what the techniques of M&E rely upon in order to collect their data: the artificial delimiting of the conceptual boundaries of 'time' and 'space'.

I now itemise each argument as it has been presented during the course of this thesis in the context of the main findings from CDA. By summarising first the empirical verifications, second the theoretical support, and third the wider conclusions of CDA, for each of these arguments, I am able to then proselytise what these mean for the study of SDP and the wider social sciences.

Argument 1: Discursive alignments and consequences for homogeneity of practice

Summary of argument

In chapter 5 I argued that two alignments emerge in the connections between CSR/GCSE and SDP NGO actors. In the first instance: a discursive alignment of companies as 'socially responsible', which situates them as purveyors of social goods. This has ramifications for SDP as the NGOs that populate the sector work closely with them, placing the company in an advantageous position. In the second instance, we see an *alignment of the praxis of SDP organisations*, their internal administration, strategies, and discourses, towards a discourse of corporate strategy and business practice, presented as a coherent rationality. The logical basis of 'quality' M&E logically underpins these two alignments, demonstrating the way in which individuals and groups are given order through administrative techniques.

This argument provides the first part of my answer to the problematic of the power dynamics forming the governmental rationalities of SDP, by constituting the connection between macro and micro levels. Understanding discursive alignments as such allows us to see the reconstitution of practice from 'core' locations (such as MNCs) and their relational parts at nodal, 'networked' points, such as the practice of NGOs at the local level. This speaks to a transition of ideas through an interconnected system and an interdiscursive framework of thought which presents those ideas as *rational*.

Empirical verification from analysis of data

Interview respondents identified spaces in which charities and companies were collaborating to deeper degrees. This seemed, in various contributions, to transcend the traditional giver-receiver relationship in which CSR was exemplified in recent history. Interviewees such as Keale (2013), demonstrated how business objectives were being decoded in terms of socially responsible aims. Moreover, values of specific businesses were appearing more and more in the practices of CSR programmes as they played out in SDP programmes.

Grant's (2013) speech emphasised the value of SDP to CSR/GCSE projects and the 'co-created' nature of projects. Furthermore, he suggested the corporate creation of CSR agendas which were put into place in SDP NGOs. Hone (2013) also made clear the need for projects to mirror principles of the sort of company that was investing in them.

In other examples SDP practitioners spoke of the imposition of corporate values into their work, shifting priorities which SDP NGOs perceived they had little choice about (Graham, 2013). This was also supported by normative documentation which suggested the need for companies and charities to invest in deeper interactions in the context of SDP, specifically, Prescott & Phelan (2008), and the Reputation Institute (2016).

Keale (2013), again, verified from the SDP practitioner angle, that NGOs perceived that they had been 'left behind' in years gone by, and that they were somehow deficient in some way. This was despite, paraphrasing Master's (2013) words in relation to the 2007/8 crisis, the fact that companies hadn't exactly shown themselves to be confident custodians. Keale, Harry, Howard, Masters, Mina, Pride, and Raja (all 2013) all identified the influence that perceptions of corporate professionalism were having on internal practice of SDP NGOs. Specifically, issues around 'data', 'proving', 'accuracy', and 'efficiency' were all highlighted as areas in which SDP NGOs believed they could be more like corporate, private sector entities.

Respondents connected this with M&E, to prove what they were doing worked. The perception was that this was (a) something that companies could do and so SDP NGOs should be able to do it, and (b) something that SDP NGOs could use to justify their work, and in so doing appeal to a 'higher' form of knowledge. I then demonstrated that these ideas circulate around systems, in normative documentation (such as Aquamen *et al*, 2014), and in 'common sense' understandings transitioning through 'networks', such as the Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) that Keck & Sikkink (1998; 2002) described.

Theoretical support for findings

Foucault's conception of power is 'nodal', visible at peripheries in an interconnected system. Foucault's understanding of power dictates the need to analyse relations between actors and individuals, at various 'levels' of society (Foucault 2004: 29). For Foucault, the state (civil society and class relations) are just locations in which we might empirically observe functions of power. Acceptance of this necessitates rejecting arguments that place certain forms of practice, agency or structure, as more powerful than others. This problematises the overemphasis of concepts such as 'hegemony' and 'neoliberalism' in critical work up to this point, embodied in the work of Darnell & Hayhurst (2012). Adopting a Foucauldian theoretical perspective necessitates that we should instead invest our efforts in knowledge, and administrative and technical apparatus at the local level. Therefore, what people 'say', 'write' and 'do' with each other in SDP becomes the crucially important terrain of enquiry.

Building on Foucault, I have operationalised the insight from elements of organisation theory (Leclercq-Vandelannoitte, 2011; Morgan, 2006), Butler on the self and identity (1990), Hardt & Negri's *Multitude* (2004) to examine the process of connecting, aligning and collectivising in SDP, and demarcated three specific sectoral realms: the private, not-for-profit, and the public; and four spatial realms: the local, national, transnational and global.

I resisted the temptation to view the flow of money between these sectoral and geographic realms, as an indication of how power functions in SDP. Flows of capital are strategic means, not ends. As Foucault demonstrated, political economy is the major form of knowledge in governmentality, and not its motivation (2009: 108-9). Capital and its flow through the system of SDP rests upon the inter-exchange of ideas. These 'knowledges', or 'common sense' understandings of the world and how things work, (Rose, 1999: 18), are, my research shows, strikingly coherent in seemingly disparate places (corporate - private, SDP NGO - not-for-profit for example). The politics of a social formation are indistinguishable from its language (Miller & Rose 1990: 4-6). In the discourse of the politics of certain social issues and problems, we see that governmentality requires the construction of intellectual technologies which permit society to be understood, and to give credibility to connections between superficially distinct events and phenomena (*ibid*).

These understandings are justified on the basis of logical and rational claims to objectively verifiable performance against stated aims by the SDP organisation. In the case of SDP, this has resulted in the understanding of what organisations should be, and how they should achieve change for communities, in order to create 'better' human beings via programmes (see Darnell, 2010). These *rationalities*, by which I mean sets of semi-coherent 'common sense' understandings, form the means of rationally justifying, or appealing to, the connections between illogical collections of ideas (Rose, 1999: 27).

Undoubtedly, CSR/GCSE has been an effective vehicle for the transmission of ideas between different parts of the system (Hayhurst, 2011), but we should look deeper into CSR, and beyond seeing it as a hierarchical system of control of the relatively powerless. SDP actors connect logically with seemingly dominant rationalities, such as CSR, using their banks of data about their programmes. This use of logical bases in a techno-strategic project by SDP NGOs, enables an alignment to rational understandings of desirable organisational qualities – usually those associated with corporate and private enterprises.

CDA: Why is this important?

Alignments in discourse have material manifestations. Practice, in the case of SDP that I have taken as my quarry, is homogenised as discourse coheres around similar codes of understanding about how the world works. Coherences should be seen in light of a wider governmental tendency in the world: to standardise the means by which social reality is recorded. This is a new departure for critical studies of SDP.

Multidimensional analysis indicated that developments in SDP saw similar parallel developments elsewhere in the world. Miller & Rose (1990: 3) showed in other spheres that governmentality's tendency is to take complex phenomena and standardise it via an evolving array of technological developments in data collection, "rendering aspects of existence thinkable and calculable, and amenable to deliberated and planful initiatives". This gravitation towards homogenising perspectives, at play in all bureaucratic and administrative endeavours is "a complex intellectual labour involving not only the invention of new forms of thought, but also the invention of novel procedures of documentation, computation and evaluation" (*ibid*). Alignments in discourse represent this tendency towards standardised knowledges, certainly embodied in the example of the two alignments I have described.

In a multifunctional sense, I showed how corporations have been institutionalised, in thought as well as in practice, as purveyors of social development for the poorest of the earth. The UN, had enshrined them as such since at least the year of the first Millennium Development Goals, and later restated their commitment to viewing MNCs as crucial in the fight against poverty (United Nations, 2010; 2016).

Private sector actors seem able to reinvent their practices in a way that public sector actors find much harder, and this coheres with the ability of interventions in CSR programmes to reinvent the problems they are meant to solve. Deleuze (1992: 5) supported the idea that this constant production of new forms of intervention which recode understandings of social problems, is a central feature of governmental rationality. This perspective on social change is

allied by Rose (1999: 253-4), demonstrating that the manifestation of power dynamics I highlight in SDP seem to have been underway for some time.

I found examples in the companies who created 'agendas for change' (see Keale interview, 2013; Grant's speech, 2013) for 'communities on the ground', or the brand values of companies which decanted through the SDP NGO intervention to reconfigure the problems faced in a way the company and its stakeholders could understand. In keeping with tendencies in the wider world, an object was shown to be an instance of discourse referred to as such. Foucault used 'madness' as an example of an object of psychopathology from the nineteenth century (Foucault, 2001: 65). In my analysis, the 'undeveloped', the 'poor' and the 'marginalised' are the knowledge objects of SDP. These are the "objects of knowledge, the entities which particular disciplines or sciences recognize within their field of interest" (Fairclough, 1992: 41). They are constituted by all that is written about them, said about them, and done to them (Foucault, 2002: 35), completely interdependent with the discourse that constitutes and transforms them (see also Leclercq-Vandelannoitte, 2011). Therefore these discursive interventions pre-date the problems they are designed to solve (Foucault 2008: 25-31).

In summary, SDP organisations connect themselves with rationalities - knowledges, innovations, logical explanations, and administrative procedures - that all apparently cohere around one overall rational understanding about parts or the whole of society: SDP participants. In SDP these connections are justified upon what I have called a *logical basis* - which appears to be forms of systematised data and information about SDP participants' 'progress' in programmes.

The omission in the corpus of critical work that this argument addresses is the failure, in accounts to date, to detail these connections as the constituent parts of a technology of governmentality. In remedying this, I demonstrated what discursive constructions this particular technology of governmentality *contains*, and furthermore what seemingly immutable truths those discourses rely upon (in this case that companies are responsible purveyors of social development and that SDP NGOs are corporate and professional in administration and structure). I then showed that the focus on the verifiable change in young people in SDP interventions must result in the institutionalisation of people who demonstrate similar changes. Data and what it says about how they change was shown to be a fundamentally important characteristic of rational and logical claims to authority in SDP; that is to say: they are the dynamics of power that form the governmental rationalities in SDP. But it has not, as yet, explained *how* they form this power dynamic. What empowers them to be such?

Argument 2: Data collection, microtechniques of M&E as the fulcrum of power

Summary of argument

The alignments I identified above as the governmental rationalities of the nexus between SDP and CSR, are founded upon a logical basis, constituted by the results from data collection from *microtechniques*, for example surveys, software, reports, studies, registers, guidelines and so on. This forms the rational justification for the connections between these different types of actors. These techniques are commonly referred to as M&E in SDP by practitioners. These techniques create rational and justifiable bases for knowledge, digitised, increasingly, in terms of the space in which they function (registers moving online for example, events recorded on social media), and they must be itemised and described in detail, including how they are understood by practitioners. I demonstrated that this is the case by combining examples of microtechniques, interviews from practitioners on the subject, and examples of normative and marketing documentation, all in the course of chapter 6.

Empirical verification from analysis of data

I demonstrated, in chapter 6, that discourse on how to 'do' M&E becomes centralised 'best practice', or normative documentation, texts that circulate globally on the web.

Such documents are important in all international development interventions (see DAC, 1991; PEPFAR, 2007), becoming foundational texts for many years. But now a number of generalised 'best practice' guidelines (see Aqumen *et al*, 2014; Coalter, 2007; 2010) exist which are produced and published online specifically for SDP. These are freely available, and can become widely disseminated amongst practitioners, creating global norms of behaviour. Increasingly, discussion forums on social media platforms create enormous catalogues of contributions and how-to guides²¹.

The resonance of these understandings for how to do M&E in SDP, and how they circulated, was verified by interview respondents (Harry, 2013; Raja, 2016), some of whom highlighted the creation of new processes for M&E, sometimes in partnership with corporates (Graham, 2013). A number of techniques were examined, some of which came from normative documentation (such as Aqumen *et al*, 2014; Laureus Sport for Good Foundation & Ecorys, 2013: 7). The practice of M&E was illustrated in terms of how SDP practitioners enacted it, along with their rationale for how they do it. I also itemised some of the processes of data collection and storage that the microtechniques of M&E enabled.

²¹ See again, LinkedIn (2014).

I took one example of an online M&E platform – *Iris* – and observed its usage, and interviewed 3 SDP practitioners who used it. This examination of the platform suggested a disassociation of the participants from the information gathered and stored on them. In other words, SDP participants did not seem to be fully cognisant of the full spectrum of information being gathered about them by SDP NGOs.

Theoretical support for findings

Foucault demonstrated that power works by incorporating subjects into organised practices and techniques, in which participants actively play a role in their own governance. This *governmentality* is, he argued, embodied amongst subjects by ‘microtechniques’ such as the ‘examination’ in schools, hospitals and prisons (Foucault, 1981, in Fairclough, 1992: 50-53; Rose, 1999: 18) and is the single most important operationalisation of power under the conditions of postmodern liberalism. Microtechniques are the manifestation of the power dynamics at work in governmentalities. Theoretically this conception of microtechniques dictates therefore, that a full understanding of them must be gained by the empirical illustration of what they are, and how they work. This is the task that Der Derian (1990) took up in analysing the new technologies of the military at the end of the Cold War, which Rose (1999) undertook when examining the administrative microtechniques of the modern liberal state, and that Deleuze (1992) explored when considering the process of datarisation of individuals in their economic lives.

In SDP, the data gathering, we saw, had a certain biological nature (a point which in chapter 3 we saw, Darnell, 2012a, would confirm). As Hardt & Negri argued, all critique of social life now must recognise the biopolitical nature of power (2000: 24-5). *Biopower* absorbs social life, categorises it, interprets it, articulates it and rearticulates it, achieving effective command over the whole life of a population, becoming an “integral, vital function that every individual embraces and reactivates of his or her accord” (*ibid*). As Foucault stated: “Life has now become... an object of power” (1994: 194).

In SDP, the microtechniques of M&E categorise the biological and demographic characteristics of participants in programmes. They are thus the subjects of a governmentality that is biopolitical in nature, where the dynamics of power are targeted towards a gathering of data about those participants. These moments of monitoring and evaluation were predicted in Deleuze’s objectified data ‘dividuals’ (1992: 5) collectivised and individualised all at once, and turned into “masses, samples, data, markets, or ‘banks’”.

CDA: Why is it important?

Taken in sum, and in light of calls for an increase in M&E (Coalter, 2007; 2009; 2010; 2011; Kidd, 2014: iv; Levermore, 2008: 189; Simons, 2014: 79), the process of M&E in SDP – as in other social interventions – has elided its own pernicious and invasive consequences. It has also been disguised as something natural, scientific, and authoritative in that its content gives it its *raison d'être*. In other words, the seemingly 'objective' status held by the data that M&E microtechniques collect, empower these microtechniques to be beyond reproach and 'above' critical categorisation.

The growth of microtechniques of M&E in SDP is coherent with developments of the same apparatuses in society at large. SDP is not alone when considered in the context of the global trend towards data capture, nor is it alone in being subjected to techniques of M&E. Scholars, pointing to other interventionist strategies have indicated that the idea and definition of development (aid or assistance to communities in developing countries) has become so narrow as to only include now those interventions with quantifiable targets (Mosse, 2004: 642, cited in Levermore, 2011: 340).

Practitioners have instantiated normative questions of practice as uncontested ideas that were historically the realm of scientists and researchers, popularising the notion that everything can and should be recordable. The value placed upon this information is high, becoming the life-blood of organisations' claims to serving their communities effectively, and offering the fibre to discursive appeals to the advance of evidence-based policy making, a development from within the 'New Public Management' doctrine.

Deleuze found this process terrifyingly opaque, but yet omnipresent. The technological progress in the world of 'Big Data' – the information stored about all of our consumer habits, movements, and ailments – and in the development of huge servers owned by private companies, captured via our credit card transactions and our online habits, is one that now dominates our experience. The explosion of new forms of data capture in this way speaks of a societal move towards an age of information and data (Davies, 2016). Accepting therefore, that advancements in the microtechniques of M&E in programmatic interventions such as SDP are in fact part of wider accelerating changes in our social reality, seems a pertinent point to make.

Echoing the points made by Hayhurst on GCSE in SDP interventions being a governmental technology that attempts to fix participants definitively as neoliberal subjects (Hayhurst, 2011), responses from participants seem to suggest that internally – within the SDP NGO that is - knowledge is fixed on a truth that change within the organisation itself - to become something else more credible, more like-a-private-company, or more accountable – is an end in and of itself. I characterised this as a discipline: reflection, or watching oneself. This process

of *aestheticisation* – a term which Paul Veyne gave to Foucault’s notion of the self as working upon the self; or perhaps, the self transforms the self (Veyne, 2010: 105-7).

All this means that the need to detail critically the microtechniques of M&E in SDP has been long overdue in its sating. Combining the interrogation of the data by CDA, I present the possibility of situating critical studies of SDP within the wider critical struggles in the world, these being the contestations of data collection in our daily lives, and the battle that individuals seemed to have acquiesced to for the recording of their habits in banks of data (Deleuze, 1992: 5-7). In short, these techniques and their application in SDP are manifestations of solutions that the governmental rationality of SDP has created in answering questions on how to record social reality.

Argument 3: The recording of change and moments of change as power

Summary of argument

But *how* can we record social reality? What must happen in order for a record to take place? These questions, I argued across chapter 6 and 7, are answered by looking at specifically ‘change’ and the collection of data about changes in SDP participants circumstances.

By viewing, as I have, SDP M&E through the perspective of governmentality I have shown what data is *for*, and what it is used to evidence: an understanding of change, specifically, in the pursuit of comprehending ‘behaviour’ or ‘situational’ change. This is what systematised M&E is detecting. It is *the* governmental power in SDP, and it is the biopolitical project of the microtechniques meant to detect it. It is the core dynamic which provides momentum in the rest of the SDP sector, and this seems to be accelerating over time. This pursuit of change is the fulcrum of the logical bases I describe in chapter 5, and thus the rationale for the alignments between different forms of actor. SDP interventions are designed to convert undesirable qualities – abjection - in society into more productive ones, and microtechniques of M&E are meant to capture these changes in data form.

Empirical verification from analysis of data

Normative documentation demonstrated that the recording of ‘change’ should be the project of systematised M&E in SDP (Aqumen *et al*, 2014, Coalter 2009; UK Sport & International Development through Sport, 2012). This was verified when placed alongside interview responses where interviewees confirmed that their M&E was pursuing change measurement

(Hauser, 2016; Masters, 2013; Malcolm, 2014; Pride, 2016; Raja, 2016; Valerie, Vikesh, 2014; Vincent, 2014), or was aiming to do that (David, 2014).

This was further verified in the case study of *Iris*, where I observed the system being used alongside three interviews with users. Here, the system was configured towards recording of participant information which was then used to create individual records which could show change of participants in programmes over time, as they achieved 'outcomes'.

Theoretical support for findings

Deleuze's observations on data are prescient here. The moments in which change 'happens' in SDP, are solidified in spreadsheets, participant registers, on self-reporting surveys, and in randomised control trials. These moments of monitoring and evaluation were predicted in Deleuze's objectified data 'dividuals' (1992: 5) where individual experience is collated into *banks*.

It says to us that *the development moment* – the instant at which 'improvement' can be measured - has been delivered. The monitoring of programmes is the form of control that SDP organisations deploy in the becoming of *the development moment*, and it permits sight of a datarised, and seemingly verifiable instant in which sport is considered to have created the conditions for change. Accepting this argument, means that we should not just accept calls to M&E SDP programmes on face-value; without critique of who this serves, and examination of what it reproduces.

CDA: Why is it important?

Best practice documentation concerning M&E and change circulates in a variety of ways, including online, at conferences, and in networks, within SDP. This suggests a coherence in practice amongst NGOs and their practitioners. Similarities are clear in presentation of results, norms of methodology, where to find help, and the quality of independent consultants, despite the variety of nodal points within the sector, together suggesting the development of global norms of behaviour. Coherence of practice is a powerful force in SDP. I have argued that technologies are configured towards this coherence in that they codify experiences and changes in participants in the same way. For example, *Iris*.

The pursuit of change was then connected to the idea of 'moments'. These moments are crystallised down into the instant in which something is seen to have happened, for example the conversion from one state to another: unemployed to employed.

I then (in chapter 7) embarked on an exposition of the specific process of monitoring of change in history. This process has changed over time, and we saw this in the case of Mary Poovey's analysis of the history of the 'fact' (1998). Poovey demonstrated that widely disseminated guides – just as now in SDP - were produced in the 15th and 16th centuries, in order to govern uniformly how 'facts' were recorded in merchant shipping. In SDP M&E, guides and 'best practice' documents were produced and circulated online; guides and documents which suggest how to gather data – in a quest for conformity and uniformity across programmes. These find parallels in the philosophical texts and manuals (see Mellis, 1588, cited in Poovey, 1998: ii), which travelled merchant routes and occupied bookkeepers on trading vessels. The exact codification of 'fact' did change over time; in antiquity, the event a single individual experienced, if this event was considered general, could be conceived of as a valid knowledge object. But in the scientific revolution, from the 17th Century onwards, singular experiences and observed particulars only gained rational significance only when they were collated into wider bodies of *evidence* (Dear, 1995: 25, cited in Poovey, 1998: 9). Poovey makes the point that knowledge objects were thus only given meaning as 'facts' when connected to something wider.

This principle – the connection to something wider – chimes with the analysis in chapter 5 and 6 where the construction of data collection was shown to be constitutive of alignments in discourse. Furthermore, the value of data in wider society – the tendency towards 'Big Data' – situates the project of codifying change into banks of similar changes in SDP, into broader historical and societal forces.

I argue for recognition of the significance of the recording and measurement of change, to critical studies of SDP. I justify this on the grounds of its unique contribution to knowledge: my research is the first to unsettle the notion of 'change' from the perspective of its recording in SDP, as the centrifugal force in programming by SDP NGOs, characterising it instead as a process of incorporation into systems of surveillance and control. I have unsettled the idea of 'change' and 'changes' as the systemic project of M&E in SDP, illustrating the governmental rationality of this technique of capturing a wide array of human experience and standardising it in order to illuminate the outlines of the opaque processes in which participants find themselves confined.

Argument 4: time and space in SDP

Summary of argument

The fourth and final argument I made is that systematised M&E, searching for the measurement of change in participants via microtechniques, is reliant upon the spatial and

temporal qualities it is given by SDP practitioners. I demonstrated, in chapter 7, that questions of 'time' and 'space' can be pursued in the following ways in SDP M&E: firstly, space and time are tightly defined in interventions which attempt to attribute 'change' to programme intervention, but yet they are given indeterminate timeframes when considering desirable changes within SDP organisations themselves. This gave rise to a second question on the use of space and time: tightly defined temporal and spatial confines are drawn around SDP interventions in the M&E process, and change is attributed to programmes within, irrespective of the multitude of human experience over a variety of quantities of time that led to that change; thirdly, this speaks of a 'speed-up' of time to an equalised single moment in which a change happens, e.g. when X could demonstrate awareness of Y knowledge. Therefore, we must accept that abstraction from given time periods – the selectivity of time references – gives statistical evidence in SDP programmes their power.

The collected data delimited by timeframes, and collated as demonstrably homogenous – circumvents every aspect of experience beyond points of time in which microtechniques are deployed in the intervention itself. I used the example of human experience that dissipates over time and space far beyond the 2 hours a week on a football field and 1 hour a week in a classroom (for example), leading, not fatalistically but contingently, to a given outcome at a given time. The potentially limitless quantity of instances which could have been discursively constructed over a range of timescales, are instead equalised into the quantification of the conversions, or change of circumstances. In short, I problematised a tendency in which the pace of change in people's lives is equalised in terms of speed, to the same chronological quantity.

Empirical verification from analysis of data

Interviewees' responses enabled me to verify that the conceptual boundaries of time and space were being shifted in the M&E process in SDP (Hauser, 2016; Pride, 2016; Raja, 2016; Valerie, 2014). I demonstrated that abstraction from given time periods gives the statistical evidence in SDP programmes their power. The conception of the story of individuals' passage through programmes was shown to be reliant on a journey as comprised of a number of 'moments' or 'instants'; a tendency in the social sciences that has already been problematised by Read (2002: 193). This tendency to comprehend experience as continuums of moments was further proved in reference back to the *Iris* platform discussed in chapter 6. The full range of human happenings over the various durations in which they were experienced, was shown to have been 'sped up' in the M&E process, and this masked something according to some respondents (Hauser, 2016).

The evangelisation of such technical procedures for standardising the collation of data in programmes was also clear (Aqumen *et al*, 2014; Coalter, 2007; 2009; 2010). And yet, the process of change within SDP NGOs was seen as something that defied neatly drawn borders. This stood in contradiction to the evangelising for tightly defined spatial and temporal boundaries in SDP programmatic interventions (for example in Coalter, 2009: 35; 2010: 19).

Theoretical support for findings

The questionable nature of time and space has not eluded some of the most important thinkers in Global Political Economy and International Relations.

I demonstrated how, in the speeding-up of the moment in which change is captured in SDP – as multitudes of human experiences over varying timeframes are compressed by M&E processes into standardised quantifiable outcomes – we see a parallel in changes underway regarding the productive forces of late capitalism. Harvey (2005: 3-4) asserts an interrelation between new productive forces (such as the power of financial capital), new actors (such as investment bankers and hedge fund managers) information, and time and space, under the conditions of neoliberalism (see also Harvey, 1990). Harvey showed how new processes of information capture cohere to a pro-market logic which demands the ever-greater permeation of the social world by market forces. This requires a compression of time and space in the production process:

“This requires technologies of information creation and capacities to accumulate, store, transfer, analyse, and use in massive databases to guide decisions in the global marketplace. Hence neoliberalism’s intense interest in and pursuit of information technologies (leading some to proclaim the emergence of a new kind of ‘information society’). These technologies have compressed the rising density of market transactions in both space and time. They have produced a particularly intensive burst of what I have called elsewhere ‘time-space compression’. The greater the geographical range (hence the emphasis on ‘globalization’) and the shorter the term of market contracts the better.” (Harvey, 2005: 3-4)

The theoretical constructs of time and space contracting as a market imperative finds a parallel development in the constructions of M&E in social interventions also. Here processes in human lives are understood as sped-up, happening in similar moments in the same way, despite being experienced in infinite variations.

Post-structural work too has encountered the concepts of time and space and found them to be discursively constructed. In state apparatus, Der Derian (1990: 297) discovered that the theatre of warfare in the immediate aftermath of the cold war was characterised by technological developments which required the prioritisation of time over space, suggesting that the technological deployment of practices can be understood as the exercise of a discursive power which is *chronopolitical*, in that it elevates speed/pace/chronology over place/space/geography in its political effects (*ibid*). The effectiveness of a missile is judged in its acceleration, top-speed and potential to strike first. The dynamics of power, in this example, are crudely driven by those who can speed up time, or compact more distances into equal or lesser quantities of time.

Delimiting the conceptual boundaries of time and space renders the subjects of SDP 'knowable', and ultimately this must be the foundation of any project of governmentality: to reorganise the practices of others into knowable conceptual boundaries in a bid create rationally coherent claims. Codifying experience in terms of time and space is thus an endeavour wielded by those who have the ability to exercise that power. In cohering to the governmental rationality that demands categorisation of data in this way, SDP has been co-opted into a process that is increasingly governing the conduct of more and more actors in international relations: the necessity to quantify experience in terms of data. As Deleuze (1990: 4-5) highlighted, societies increasingly deploy mechanisms of control organised and specified in a 'numerical' language. It is essential for other discourses that wish to measure against this tendency to cohere with the language of quantification, being that this is the authoritative discourse of the time. To quantify means the compression of a spatial event in time (for example being unemployed, playing sport on a field to learn employment skills, etc.) to a moment, which then becomes a collection of moments in a report.

Work from Roland Barthes (2007) on time compression in the spectacle of sporting events provides theoretical justification for questioning the use of time and space in SDP. Barthes finds that in the athlete and the race car driver – who appear to conquer great distances in record times – there is a trick played, whereby the spectacle of the event belies the years of work that went into it (2007: 11). In this conception, sport happens in a sped-up moment, but it is in fact a product of a lifetime of training, mechanical preparation, and the development of technology, “for speed is never anything but the recompense of extreme deliberation” (*ibid*).

CDA: Why is it important?

Unsettling time and space as constructs is the fundamental issue we must grapple with in order to make transparent the opaque processes of the governmental rationalities at play in SDP. The

measurement of changes against time is both hitherto unrecognised by academia, and the fundamental project in all M&E.

The move to living our lives in abstract digital places and spaces has consequences for the way our experience of social reality is captured (Baudrillard, 2006). Job seekers are advertised roles when they log into their emails, people who search for homeopathic remedies are sold holistic massages when they open their web browsers; those talking about issues of labour, class and radicalism on social media, become 'activists' in the eyes of authority. These assumptions about us require temporal and spatial displacements to be 'relevant' to the data collation process. Temporally, they must change in two ways: first, by drawing artificial boundaries around two distinct moments in time – for example everyone who was unemployed between April 1st 2015 and March 31st 2016 – and second, by taking a multitude of experience and homogenising it into one, or a number of similar experiences. The experiences – how people arrived at each of them, the duration of the experiences themselves, and their perception of them as constructions of meaning - become irrelevant to the system of data that collates and valorises them. Spatially, the process is similar: boundaries must be drawn around non-homogenous communities – everyone who 'lives on the island of Java who bought a car in the last 12 months' for example – which give the lie to claims to objective measurement of practice or behaviour.

Because the process of reconstructing meanings of 'space' and 'time' is a foundational construct in the inculcation of participants in the social reality of their lives, it is crucial that critical analysts scrutinise points of weakness specifically in particular manifestations, such as SDP. The microtechniques of SDP, read through the multidimensional context of daily attempts to harvest data about us, applying uniformity to our experiences, unsettles their specificity.

And this is where questions of time and space become inseparable from those of 'data'. The facts that Mary Poovey (1998) historically contextualised, have now given way to in the main to *data* (Davies, 2016) under the conditions of postmodernity. In the digital economy, where globally millions of producers of content all hold claim to some truth or other, we no longer seek to attribute the quality of certainty to 'facts'. Instead a change has occurred in the *content* of what is 'factual': "...we now live in a world of *data*. Instead of trusted measures and methodologies being used to produce numbers, a dizzying array of numbers is produced by default, to be mined, visualised, analysed and interpreted however we wish" (*ibid*).

This tendency to undermine the fixity of truth in the data collection process ultimately empowers the bending of the definitional and conceptual boundaries of time and space in SDP. It is a tendency that is indistinguishable from the forces that increasingly shape our lives as we enact them online, and in practices of production and consumption.

The question of whether SDP programmes enact changes in society by intervening in the lives of participants is answered and measured, and made objectively *rationaly observable* by these distortions, or reconstructions of the locations of subject positions in space and time, intrinsic to the M&E process. Experience, I showed, is homogenised, however multitudinous and heterogeneous. I opened here the possibility for the social sciences of sport to investigate other forms of social and political programmes in the same way, by examining configurations of time and space in social interventions.

Time and space and their usage in the M&E of SDP connects, finally, the distortion of experience with its collection and standardisation in microtechniques. These microtechniques, I argued, formed the logical basis of connections between different actors in SDP – what some (Hayhurst, 2011) have called a technology of governmentality. These four arguments as a whole demonstrated, in a unique contribution, that the dynamics which form the governmental rationality are being driven by a project to comprehend and record social reality in SDP.

Structure of the Thesis

I briefly now review the chapters, justifying the inclusion of each, without explicitly repeating the summary of the arguments above. I exclude the introduction and the conclusion (the first and eighth chapters) from this synopsis.

Chapter 2 evaluated the existing literature as it relates to SDP and CSR. I highlighted here how critical accounts in the literature – works that have highlighted governmentality and questioned power within the sector - have thus far omitted investigations at the micro-level, of what governmental power in SDP contains. I began with the corpus of scholarly SDP work, historicizing this within the history and rationale for the idea of sport as a ‘good thing’, noting the particular interrelationship between the ‘political’ and the ‘cultural’ (sport in this case). I categorised the works on SDP into 4 ‘camps’, or trends: *positivist*, *normative*, *critiquing*, and *critical*. I discussed and defined GCSE and CSR, and the particular relationship between these and SDP. I furthermore introduced the type of actors in SDP that the research is concerned with. By the end of the chapter lacunae in critical accounts of SDP had been established, omissions which I made the case for addressing using the theoretical perspectives on power in the third chapter. I justified in the third chapter, the post-structural theoretical perspectives I used in addressing the omissions in the SDP literature identified in the second. I explained and justified the use of Foucauldian analyses of power, exemplified in the later career of Michel Foucault (1977; 2000; 2004; 2008; 2009).

I demonstrated the value of a governmentality perspective on the content of M&E: strategies, techniques, apparatuses, and discourses of how SDP is 'done' in order to demonstrate the "contestation, operationalization and transformation of more or less rationalized schemes..." (Rose, 1999: 20) and how these constitute the technologies of governmentality that Hayhurst (2011) accurately identified as so pernicious.

Chapter 4 reflected on the contribution of the qualitative interpretivist methodology I employed in this study and its contribution to the central methodological problematic of how to analyse power in SDP. I justified three phases in the research process – 1. Source selection, 2. Data collection, 3. Analysis of data - of my interpretative methodology. I also highlighted the use of elements of *insider research*, despite my position as an outsider, and espoused the particular merits of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in interrogating data.

This chapter detailed all the empirical material I had collected during the course of my research endeavours, placing them into tables that categorised them. Included here were interviews (n=16), scripts from presentations and speeches (n=6) at conferences, presentation slides, normative (n=18) and marketing documentation (n=16). I discussed the ethical implications of the research study, raising a number of questions which I then discussed at length.

During chapter 5, I justified argument 1 (above), by empirically examining how SDP and CSR interrelate. I introduced discursive alignments, and the logical basis for these, making the case for an exploration of the minutiae of SDP M&E that builds these logical bases, which I conducted in the chapter that followed.

Chapter 6 then illustrated how the *recording of local experience* is practically institutionalised into the rational justifications for SDP detailing examples of the microtechniques of M&E in SDP. I demonstrated the deployment of these techniques as part of the dynamics of power that form the governmental rationalities of SDP, examining organisational procedures, proving that these provide the logical bases of rational claims to consistency between efforts by various actors, and the coherency of thought and action, from the global to the local level that I described in the fifth chapter.

In chapter 7, I explored the use of 'time' and 'space' as concepts in the M&E of SDP, and argued that the abstraction from given time periods gives the statistical evidence in SDP programmes their power. I illustrated, using empirical examples, how systematised M&E as a microtechnique in SDP is reliant upon the spatial and temporal qualities it is given by SDP practitioners in order to allocate 'changes' in participants. I argued that this is important, as I was able to show that unsettling the constructs of time and space is a fundamental issue which enabled me to piece together the power dynamics of the governmental rationality at work in SDP. I argued that newly-expanded understandings of time and space significantly and

uniquely disrupt claims to objectivity in SDP M&E processes, and in so doing open realms for further critical research, and potentially social justice.

Concluding remarks and questions for further research

I have demonstrated, during the course of this research, that the power dynamics that form the governmental rationalities of sport for development & peace are driven by a project to record social reality. In so doing I have made the case that critical studies are furthered immeasurably where they engage with the minutiae of everyday practice, as I have in the case of SDP. Projects, such as those seeking social change or justice, can create new knowledges but must in so doing pull apart existing ones. My thesis, I hope, can be part of the beginnings of a larger project, enabled by many, to recalibrate knowledge in SDP, changing practice once more, and offering alternatives to those technological programmes that are deemed valid only if they are understood as quantifiable. By focusing, as I have, on the day-to-day administration and microtechniques of SDP, I have shown that even the most stubborn claims to such rationality are capable of being wilted.

I set a number of research objectives during this study. I set out to (1) demarcate the sectoral and territorial boundaries of the SDP and GCSE/CSR sector. I completed this in the use of empirical research to itemise the various actors in SDP and place them against one another (see chapter 5). I further set myself the objective (2) to scrutinise the discursive relationships, and the logical and rational claims to connections between the superficially separate spheres of SDP NGOs (from civil society) and GCSE/CSR (the private sector). Again, in chapter 5 through to 6, these relationships were critically examined and their substance – their rationality – evaluated in the context of its enablement of power dynamics. In my interrogation (3) of the specific technical apparatuses that empower these rational claims, I revealed anatomically the variants in systems of incorporation of SDP participants, making transparent opaque machinations. And finally, I analysed how (4) the ‘truths’ in these claims gain credibility in the SDP and private sectors: through the attribution of changes in participants to SDP programmes, which in turn relies on the conceptual fluidity that SDP practitioners have attained in ‘time’ and ‘space’. The performance of this research study then, against these objectives, has achieved the aim to detail the power dynamics of SDP – their governmental rationalities and microtechniques – embedded within the thesis title.

What is the extent of the generalisability of the findings in this research? What do the arguments I have made here mean for the wider social sciences? Beginning first with the discursive alignments between corporates and SDP NGOs: I argue here that the deployment of this type of technique, which cuts across the traditional boundaries between ‘sectors’ (private,

public, not-for-profit) is one that would benefit many explorations of social interventions. Though time-consuming, it ontologically denies accusations of reduction in its micro and macro analyses. That there is corporate influence in not-for-profit spaces is perhaps not a new allegation *per se* (see Hayhurst, 2011; Hardt & Negri, 2004), but that detailing specific instances of practice (in this case M&E) to illuminate that influence is a path less-travelled. And in the example of SDP, using it to show how a technology of governmentality in SDP is constituted, is genuinely novel. The case for generalising this elsewhere will need to be made by those who search for discursive alignments in other social formations.

In the case of the arguments I make from the findings on microtechniques of M&E in SDP, I would argue that this is a constant process needed in all areas of intervention in social life. Those who employ a governmentality perspective have already been employing this method for years (see Rose, 1999; 2000; 2007; Rose & Miller, 2010) in a variety of governmental and social settings. The applicability of these findings then, is both generalizable only to the extent of those in the social sciences that seek to understand power by means of microscopically detailing practice at the peripheries, whilst being useful also to those of an empirico-rational disposition, who wish to simply anatomise or taxonomically itemise what 'is'. If my findings speak to the techniques of incorporating subjects into processes of monitoring elsewhere, beyond SDP, this is only so if those techniques, strategies and practices have been detailed extensively in the fashion I undertook here. Exactly the same logic applies to the third argument on 'change' sought by the microtechniques of M&E in SDP: if the technological instances of the monitoring of individuals seeks to evaluate such changes, and can be demonstrably verified to do so by interpretative research, then the wider applicability of both this analytical technique and the findings are self-evident.

Finally, to time and space. Here I believe the widest possible applicability is possible, and I argue, necessary. The sheer breadth and scope of interventions that seek to improve our social lives is dizzying. A huge array of technical procedures designed to convert abjection to a higher state of being. My finding – which is that this relies in SDP on specific and fluid conceptions of time and space, available to practitioners within SDP, but not participants – I posit here is almost certainly applicable elsewhere. In fact I hypothesise that should those same constructions of meaning be searched for in the M&E processes – the microtechniques – of further development interventions beyond SDP, they will be found. Therefore I contend that this is both a generalizable finding, a crucial argument, and an urgent programme of action for critical social researchers.

So, by way of concluding, I suggest some of the key questions for future research that this thesis raises, which my peers and I may wish to take up in the future.

- What powers might a sub-altern movement in SDP need to convert, and could such a construct transform the dynamics of governmental power?
- In a sector where so many academics appear to also be practitioners, what future remains for claims to positivist and 'objective' scholarly work?
- Beyond SDP, what constructions of 'time' and 'space' are being used in monitoring and evaluation processes, and what potential do the transformation of these opaque techniques hold for social justice and change?

My research has laid the groundwork for these avenues of enquiry by weakening the presumed epistemology of interventions in social life. These questions are urgent as they serve two parallel functions: all of them contain the possibility for transcending the study of SDP, whilst interrogating fundamental questions in wider philosophies. They ask whether we can really hold to the ideals of social justice in social programming. They question if distance and objectivity are really worthy of their high-standing in thought. But finally, and vitally, they encourage scholars in SDP to recognise their potential beyond the niche of sport.

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