

Philanthropic Foundations, Public Benefit and Social Change

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Doctor of Philosophy

'I, Kathryn Hinds, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.'

Abstract

This thesis investigates the role of philanthropic foundations in social change. History shows that individual philanthropists, such as Andrew Carnegie, have had a considerable influence on our public life, and more recently, much has been made of the financial gifts to the public realm by entrepreneurs, such as Bill Gates and Jeff Bezos. However, commentators have been troubled by the essentially conservative nature of these gifts and the avoidance of tax payments which would be a more sustained contribution to public life than one-off gifts. Philanthropic foundations sit uneasily within democracies, as expressions of the choices of powerful individuals, seemingly outside the control of state authorities and without representation of the citizenry as to how they spend their money.

Some philanthropic foundations in the UK have expressed a desire to fundamentally alter societal structures to further social justice goals rather than simply alleviating the suffering of individuals. This ambition is problematic since, without representation, they lack moral legitimacy.

I follow the grant programmes of two foundations which have publicly committed to structural change. They are both endowed so they do not need to fundraise or appeal to donors. I explore how they constructed their moral legitimacy to act in the policy fields of crime and employment. I chart their achievements to consider whether their efforts contribute to social change or reinforce the ideologies of the government.

I take a critical realist perspective and use Margaret Archer's morphogenetic cycle to understand the potential of their work to alter social arrangements. I combine this model with Boltanski and Thevenot's work on how organizations justify themselves to society in terms of the common good or public benefit in order to understand their underlying ideologies which prompt the pursuance of one solution above another.

Impact Statement

This thesis has the potential to impact on the practice of grant programme design since it makes some recommendations as to how to design a programme that seeks to effect structural change over the amelioration of an individual's lot. To this end, it considers the notion of public benefit, the aim of all philanthropic foundations in this country. Lessons from the analysis could be used to structure a process for developing new programmes. It examines the relations between foundations and their grant holders and suggests how these might be re-imagined so as to move beyond protective relations.

It contributes to critical realist studies by combining the work of Archer with the pragmatists, Boltanski and Thevenot, to apply conceptions of the common good and how these might be used to drive forward strategies for social change in the morphogenetic cycle. It attempts to clarify what is meant by public benefit and, in so doing, makes distinctions between social and individual change.

It adds to our understanding of organizations, particularly a little examined group of entities. Foundations are often difficult to access and therefore not often studied. The critical realism aspect of this work will contribute to organization studies, continuing the work of other scholars in the field. Fuller dissemination plans can be found in Appendix 5.

It is also of current significance since it addresses concerns about social justice, equality and democracy. It speaks to debates about our common good and within the narrow context of a grant programme, it explores how foundations might act to bring about progressive social change.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank Dr Kate Mackenzie Davey for persuading me to undertake this work and supervising me for six years. I am very grateful to Professor Priscilla Alderson, Dr Aris Komporozos-Athanasίου and Dr Yana Manyukhina who took me on when my relationship with Kate broke down. It cannot have been easy to work with someone so advanced in their studies and I appreciate the grace and insight you have all brought to the task. I particularly wish to thank Priscilla who has shown such loyalty to the project and has fought to get me registered and enrolled when my health has not been great and I have been less than responsive.

This project has been book ended by cancer. My earlier breast cancer prompted some thoughts about my life achievements or lack of them and I wanted to say something about my experiences in the funding world. More recently, my brain tumour delayed the ending but reminded me of my mortality and encouraged me to finish.

Throughout all of this, my brother, Patrick, has been a source of strength. Most particularly coming to hospital and holding my hand when I was frightened – a small thing but important and comforting. I would like to thank my sister, Lucy, who, of all the members of my family, has been the most encouraging and has had a cheerleading role in the completion of the thesis – your belief in me has been important.

I would like to thank my respondents for their patience in answering my questions and allowing me access to their work. I have not been an easy questioner and, on occasion, have made them uncomfortable. I hope the final thesis is somehow useful for them.

I would like to thank my friends and colleagues, Mercy, Katherine, Tessa, Debbie, Michelle and Graham for the interest they have shown in the outcome. I would also like to thank the numerous medical professionals who took care of me last summer and continue to care for me – most particularly Judy Hill and Beverly Kemp. I would like to thank Professor Sandy Oliver who has

tolerated my working on the thesis during working hours and has made sure that I am not overburdened with other work so I can complete.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge my parents for somehow providing me with the self-belief that I could complete this work – your upbringing gave me my intellectual confidence – I don't know how you did it, but thank you!

Contents

pg.no.

Chapter One: Introduction

Overview of Thesis and its Central Arguments.....	15
Research Questions.....	19
Definition of Philanthropy.....	19
What is an endowed foundation?.....	21
Why am I interested in this topic?.....	23
What is the broader significance of the study?.....	25
What is the contribution to knowledge?.....	27
Structure of this thesis.....	28

Chapter Two: Philanthropy and Social Change: a literature review

Introduction.....	29
Situating Philanthropy in Society: Relations between Philanthropy, the State, Civil Society, and the Market	
- Philanthropy and Democracy.....	30
- Philanthropy and the Market.....	32
- Philanthropy and Civil Society.....	36
Empirical research into Philanthropy.....	36
Relations with government	
- Philanthropies in municipalities.....	38
- Policy influencing.....	42
Relations with grant holders.....	46
Empirical research with grant holders.....	47
- Agenda setting.....	47
- Professionalization of the voluntary sector.....	47
- Negotiated relationships.....	50
Arguing for moral legitimacy.....	52
Empirical research.....	53

- Organizations and public benefit.....55
- Legitimation and representation.....58

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Introduction..... 64

Critical Realism.....64

What do we mean by society?.....68

The morphogenetic approach.....70

- Social structures and necessary relations.....73
- Situational logics.....74
- the morphogenesis of agency.....78
- Morphostasis or morphogenesis?.....80

Overlap between Archer and Boltanski and Thevenot.....83

Moral legitimacy and the Orders of Worth.....85

Conclusion.....92

Chapter Four: Method

Introduction.....94

Research Questions.....94

Case Study Methods.....95

Discourse Analysis.....96

Recruitment and data collection.....100

- What data have I collected from the field sites?.....101
- Interviews.....104
- Meeting observations.....104

Ethics.....104

Data collection timelines.....106

Analytic procedures.....111

The Family Trust: data.....	114
The City Fund: data.....	115
Process – frame analysis.....	116
Qualitative rigour in Critical Discourse Analysis.....	119

Chapter Five: Case Studies Description

Introduction.....	122
The Family Trust	
- The historical context.....	122
- The organization.....	122
- The programme.....	124
- The Pathway projects.....	125
- The policy context.....	127
-Welfare benefits.....	129
- Transforming Rehabilitation.....	129
The City Fund	
- The historical context.....	130
- The organization.....	131
- The programme.....	133
- The policy context	
- The Work Programme.....	136
- Precarious work.....	138
Conclusion.....	139

Chapter Six: The Construction of the Moral Legitimacy of the two Field Sites

Introduction.....	140
Results from the textual content analysis.....	140
History and its effects: the Family Trust.....	144
History and its effects: the City Fund.....	147

Democracy: Relations with the civic world.....	149
- Corporate agency.....	150
- Representation.....	154
Measurement: Relations with the industrial World	161
- The Product.....	162
- Evidence.....	166
Conclusion.....	169

Chapter Seven: The Policy Arguments of the two Foundations

Introduction.....	171
What did they seek to change?	
- The Family Trust.....	172
- The City Fund.....	172
Personal Reflections.....	173
Study of wo/man.....	176
Science of Society.....	185
Prescriptions for Improvements:	
- The heteronormative family – the domestic world.....	190
- The entrepreneurial self – the industrial world.....	195
- The Living Wage Campaign and Trade Unions – the civic world.....	202
What happened?.....	206
Conclusion.....	209

Chapter Eight: Grant Holder Relations

Introduction.....	212
Personal reflections.....	212
Description of the projects	
- The Family Trust.....	215
- The City Fund.....	217
Necessary Relations.....	218
The cultural level	
- breach rates of probation orders – Family Trust.....	220
- Supply side ideology – the City Fund.....	221
The structural level	

- integration and solidarity – de-coupling.....	224
Evaluation relations.....	224
Sustainability.....	229
Partnership?.....	231
Conclusion.....	234

Chapter Nine: Discussion and Implications

Introduction.....	234 8
-------------------	------------------

<u>Limitations.....</u>	<u>236</u>
-------------------------	------------

47

Implications

- For social science.....	238
- For social change.....	239
- For practice.....	240

Conclusion.....	244
-----------------	-----

<u>Limitations.....</u>	<u>247</u>
-------------------------	------------

<u>Dissemination plans.....</u>	<u>248</u>
---------------------------------	------------

References.....	249
------------------------	------------

Appendices.....	272
------------------------	------------

Appendix 1 – ethics forms

Appendix 2 – Orders of Worth terms

Appendix 3 – Argument frames of the Family Trust

Appendix 4 – Argument frames of the City Fund

Appendix 5 – Dissemination Plans

List of Figures

Figure 1: The Morphogenetic Cycle.....	71
Figure 2: The morphogenesis of structure.....	72
Figure 3: The morphogenesis of culture.....	72
Figure 4. The morphogenesis of agency.....	73
Table 1: The necessary relations of endowed foundations.....	74
Table 2: Situational Logics of the Necessary Relations of Endowed Foundations.....	78
figure 5 Corporate and primary agency in the morephogenetic sequence.....	79
Table 3: Cultural and structural morphogenesis / morphostasis at the systemic and social levels...81	
Table 4: Orders of Worth.....	88
Table 5: Family Trust: Data collected and used in analysis.....	102
Table 6: City Fund: Data collection and used in analysis.....	103
Figure 6: The City Fund – Employment Programme Research Timeline.....	108
Figure 7 : Timeline of Family Trust’s Criminal Justice Programme.....	110
Table 7: Examples of identity statements.....	112
Table 8: Legitimation strategies from Van Leeuwen and Wodak translated into Orders of Worth categories.....	117
Figure 8: The Alliance Pathway.....	126
Table 9: Characteristics of the projects funded in the Pathway Programme.....	127
Table 10: Characteristics of the Organizations funded in the employability Programme..	134
Table 11: Examples of identity statements.....	140
Table 12: Results of <u>textual Content</u> Analysis.....	142

Table 13: Cultural Emergent Powers of Philanthropic Foundations.....168

Table 14: Morphostatic arguments of the Family Trust.....184

Table 15: The morphostatic arguments of the City Fund.....200

Table 16: ~~M~~morphogenetic arguments of the City Fund.....205

Table 17: Cultural and structural morphogenesis / morphostasis at the systemic and social levels –
summary of policy arguments.....209

Table 18: ~~T~~he necessary relations with grant holders.....218

Table 19: Implications for social science.....237

Table 20 : ~~R~~elations with policy makers – complementary / supplementary relations.....240

Table 21: ~~R~~elations with employers (City Fund) – adversarial relations.....240

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Overview of Thesis and its Central Arguments

This project considers the role of philanthropy in social change. History tells us that philanthropy and philanthropists have changed society radically and unexpectedly but the story of English philanthropy reveals the consequences of their gifts as very far from the intentions of the original donors (Owen 1965). Present day foundations struggle to establish the benefits of their work, when its full effects may only be seen over decades and centuries.

In this study, endowed philanthropic foundations are the focus. These organizations use the interest from capital gifted by wealthy individuals, groups of anonymous subscribers or corporations with the aim of supporting future generations and their needs, some, as yet, unimagined. In the case of the philanthropist, philanthropy is associated with change because these entrepreneurs have become wealthy and changed themselves, at least, and have affected both the private and public sector (Acs and Phillips 2002). Andrew Carnegie's part in the establishment of the public library system (Harvey et al. 2011) and the involvement of philanthropists in the UK academies programme (Ball 2008) are two examples of their effects on public life. Subscribers may be motivated by more local concerns and, in the past, contributed to parish funds for the alleviation of poverty of their neighbours (Owen 1965). Today, this tradition is continued through the community foundation movement which raises money to distribute and to develop an endowment for the residents of a defined physical area, such as a city (Jung and Harrow 2013).

Some philanthropic foundations promote social change as an important part of their mission and the keystone of their legacy (e.g. Esmee Fairbairn Foundation, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation). They describe this kind of change as structural or systemic, as opposed to the improvement of the individual. However, their role in social change is disputed. Critics have argued

that it is impossible for them to challenge or change fundamental structures in capitalist societies because the basis of their agency, their endowment, is a consequence of the inequalities produced by capitalism (Edwards 2010, Hay and Muller 2014, McGoey 2012, Reich 2016). So philanthropic foundations are limited to the improvement of the individual and reproducing the status quo because of this underlying paradox (Loseke 1997).

The thesis will explore this paradox. History confirms that philanthropies and charitable foundations have been behind the emergence of our educational system (Owen 1965), the setting up of hospitals with the associated advances in medical science (Prochaska 1992, Owen 1965), the development of social work (Villadsen 2011), and the probation service (McWilliams 1983), and advances in social sciences, linked to understanding the nature and extent of poverty (Gillie 1996). However, the underlying paradox remains that these social developments emerge, partly, from organizations and individuals that epitomise the vested interests of the establishment with little incentive to disrupt the status quo.

I will examine this paradox using Margaret Archer's morphogenetic cycle of change (1995) and Boltanski and Thevenot's work (2006) on ~~Orders-economies~~ of worth. The advantage of using Archer's model is that it explains change as an effect of time, where original intentions have unexpected outcomes, and it theorises the constraints present in situations to explain why change is resisted or promoted.

Additionally, Boltanski and Thevenot's categorisation of Orders of Worth identifies the commonly shared schemas about justice and the common good which support the justification of social change and allow the co-ordination of action (Cloutier et al. 2017). By bringing together Archer's model and Boltanski and Thevenot's framework, this project will add an understanding of 'situation' to Boltanski and Thevenot's work. The Orders of Worth schema (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006) contributes to Archer's work by identifying models of justice, latent in the Cultural System, but available to all protagonists in disputes about change.

Archer's morphogenetic model explains change as emergent from interactions between three distinct strata of reality – structural powers, cultural powers and human agency. Social institutions, such as philanthropic foundations, possess powers that can remain latent or can be engaged by agents to reproduce or transform society. Structural emergent powers include material resources, organizational identities and social relations with clients and sponsors. Cultural emergent powers comprise ideas concerning society, used by organisations to justify their positions. In this case, these include ideas about charity and relatedly notions of public benefit. Her inclusion of human agency recognises that change requires human intention, creative imagination as well as the ability to plan in order to engage these emergent powers and make them active.

Philanthropic foundations can be explained both as a mechanism for transferring resources from the wealthy to the disadvantaged through their grant making, and as organizations structurally and materially embedded in the vested interests of the establishment. These explanations are rooted both in the cultural powers of charity and public benefit as manifested in their trust deeds and social mission, and in the structural powers of the material resources afforded by their endowment.

I examine the justifications for social changes made by the foundations in the context of two grant programmes. Underlying these justifications is their organizational legitimacy which constrain and enable their actions (Suchman 1995). As they grapple with the problems thrown up by their grant programmes, I consider their rationalizations, grounded in their moral organizational legitimacy.

Although legitimation relates to the production of practices and procedures within an organization, it also plays a part in the broader social and political struggles that the organization undertakes to establish its position in society (Vaara and Tienari 2008). An examination of ideological discourse is particularly pertinent to this type of organization because the charitable mission of alleviating poverty implies a challenge to the social order about what kind of society is

possible or desirable. Without contestation and controversy, human agents consciously or unconsciously reproduce society (Archer 1995, Boltanski and Thevenot 2006, Boltanski 2011).

Ideology has been defined variously but it can be understood as a system of belief that maintains dominant positions in society (Eagleton 2007). It has been identified as one of the ways that establishment interests justify and maintain their grip on resources, by making their authority appear to be natural and therefore unquestionable (Levy and Egan 2003, Gramsci 1971). The Orderseconomies of Wworth, identified by Boltanski and Thevenot, have been called ideologies (Dey and Lehner 2017), since they are systems of belief about justice in political governance, often unconsciously used by protagonists to promote or defend their interests in disputes. Therefore, I use Boltanski and Thevenot's analysis to reveal the ideologies underlying the arguments of agents in philanthropic foundations as they promote social change.

In this study, I examine the legitimation strategies of two philanthropic organizations as they develop their grant programmes in the policy areas of employment and criminal justice. Researchers have used Archer's model to explore the emergence over time of, for example, Cambodian civil society (Edwards and Brehm 2015) and the economic transitioning of forest communities (Lyon and Parkins 2013). I acknowledge the important historical role that philanthropies have played in developing the welfare state in this country, but, by analysing their reasoning, I consider how or if they move between being representatives of the establishment and becoming institutional entrepreneurs (Mutch 2007) or enabling more disruptive organising. It would not be possible to measure their contribution to social change because fundamental social change takes many unexpected turns over decades. However, Archer's morphogenetic cycle gives me-us some strategies for making an assessment of the potential for grant programmes to contribute to social justice in the ways in which they are designed.

I analyse the work of two endowed foundations which have made public commitments to structural change beyond the amelioration of individual disadvantage. One of these, the Family

Trust was founded by wealthy individuals and the other, the City Fund, is the consequence of a political reform of parish charities at the end of the nineteenth century. I follow two grant programmes and the associated policy influencing work of the foundations to understand the effects of the programmes on the foundations themselves as well as the impacts on their policy environments.

The following research questions structure this study

Research Questions

Central Question: How do constructions of the common good affect the identity and actions of leaders of philanthropic organizations in the course of campaigns to influence societal structures and systems?

- 1. How do two endowed foundations constitute their moral legitimacy to promote social change through their organizational identity produced on their websites and by their leaders?**
 - 2a. How did this moral legitimacy support their arguments for social change in the fields of penal and unemployment policy?**
 - 2b. What happened as a result of their grant programmes?**
- 3. How did the leaders of the organization constitute their relations with grant holders?**

Definition of Philanthropy

Although Daly (2012) argues that philanthropy is a contested term, both she and Sulek (2009) identify philanthropy as concerned with goodness. Sulek (2009) traces this back to Bacon who distinguishes between those with the inclination to do good with those who are in the habit of doing good, identifying the latter with philanthropy and, as a consequence, emphasising action as a core characteristic of philanthropy (Daly 2012).

However, in his examination of dictionary definitions of philanthropy, Sulek (2009) detected a shift in meaning of the word 'philanthropy' from a general 'love of mankind' to the specific act of giving money in the nineteenth century. He suggests that this change comes about because of popular conceptions of philanthropic gifts from charitable institutions founded by wealthy individuals whose fortunes came out of the industrial revolution in England and reform in the political system as a result of the American Revolution.

The focus on large financial gifts narrows the definition of philanthropy and distinguishes it from acts of charity, defined by Gross (2003) as personal responses to need by individuals, and supports the view that all philanthropists are wealthy. According to Gross, philanthropy is concerned specifically with the greater objective of societal change through rational and institutionalised giving.

It is fruitful to consider the philanthropist as a way of understanding philanthropy as they bring personal experiences and interests to the task of charitable giving, and so shape our ideas about philanthropy. Acs and Phillips (2002) link philanthropy and entrepreneurship. It is no surprise that philanthropists are also entrepreneurs since they have to acquire considerable wealth in order to give it away. However, like philanthropy, definitions of an entrepreneur are notoriously vague (Douhan and Henrekson 2007, Jones and Spicer 2005), but there is some agreement that the concept of entrepreneur encompasses notions of creativity, wealth creation, an aptitude for exploiting opportunity and an interest in innovation and change (Douhan and Henrekson 2007, Harvey et al. 2011, Acs and Phillips 2002). Therefore, we may expect that alongside their wealth, philanthropic organizations may be characterised by an interest in new ideas and societal impact as well as an ability to see opportunities for social change.

Entrepreneurs are also symbols of capitalism (Schumpeter 1942). They play a central role in the ability of capitalist societies to renew themselves through innovations and technological change (Douhan and Henrekson 2007, Schumpeter 1942). Their wealth enables greater agency and

individual choice, and the notion of entrepreneur is the apogee of individualism (Acs and Phillips 2002). As providers of philanthropic funds, entrepreneurs can be seeking opportunities for 'hyperagency' (Schervish 2005 pg 488, Acs and Phillips 2002, Harvey et al. 2011) in shaping the locales and institutions framing our lives. Their experience of and reputation for business success provides a legitimacy to act (Maclean et al. 2015) as well as the strategies and skills for giving rationally and efficiently.

Indeed, entrepreneurs may embody change, as, sometimes, they come from backgrounds of personal and economic disadvantage (Harvey et al. 2011). Their wealth creation may be motivated by a desire to change their economic inheritance, but they can go on to affect the social inheritance of those from the same background, for example Andrew Carnegie gave much of his money to projects in his home town of Dunfermline (Harvey et al. 2011).

Accounts of giving establish both the importance of compassion as a motivation and the cultural system of capitalism where the wealthy are expected to contribute to the common good (Maclean et al. 2015, Chernow 1999). Further, capitalism is central to understanding philanthropy, both as a mechanism for creating wealthy individuals and as a narrative focusing on the individual and their capacity for making choices. In considering the entrepreneur as philanthropist, the themes of wealth, rationality, agency and change emerge as core to the identity of both.

What is an endowed foundation?

An endowed charitable foundation uses the interest from capital investments to fund charitable projects (Anheier 2001, Prewitt 2006). It differs from fundraising charities, such as Comic Relief, in that it does not need to appeal to the public for resources. The capital is endowed on the foundation by wealthy individuals, families, subscribing individuals or businesses, and occasionally by government (Jung et al. 2018). If it is a family trust, members of the family usually sit on the governing board as trustees. In fundraising charities, the governing board is made up of trustees, often with a business background, serving for a fixed term. In a family trust where the original donor

is still living, the trustee group will be usually engaged with the foundation over their lifetime (Jung et al. 2018). Older endowed foundations may adopt fixed terms for their trustees with members coming from backgrounds useful to their work rather than fulfilling the criteria of a relationship to the founding philanthropist.

The smaller foundations might have one member of staff who prepares reports for the trustees and makes sure that the annual returns to the Charity Commission, the regulator, are filed. Larger foundations will have more staff, often employing policy and public relations personnel as well as grant administrators.

Every year each foundation is required to send in their annual accounts to the Charity Commission and a trustee report, outlining how their funds have contributed to public benefit. All their funds must be spent in pursuit of 13 charitable purposes, expanded in 2011, ranging from the prevention or relief of poverty to the promotion of the efficiency of the armed forces of the Crown (Charity Commission 2014). [From a financial perspective . a focus on grant making spending levels alone is insufficient to assess foundation behaviour or decisions, and that one key consideration in recent studies has been the ratio of grantmaking spend to overall assets held.\(Pharaoh and Walker \(2019\).](#)

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In 2016, there were 13,000 grant making trusts, dispersing £2.7 billion, in the UK. The largest of these was the Wellcome Trust which spent £751 million (Pembridge et al. 2018). The Directory of Social Change calculates that in 2018 grant making trusts would spend £5.4 billion, an increase of £355 million or 9% from its previous 2016 edition. Approximately 60% of the funders will increase the amount of money given from the previous edition of the directory.

Of the 150 largest UK grant making trusts, about 50 were family trusts (Pembridge et al. 2018) which are most likely to be endowed foundations. Other grant makers were large charities, such as Oxfam; fundraisers for particular illnesses, such as Arthritis UK; business related, such as The Asda Foundation; lottery bodies, such the Arts Council; guilds, such as the Clothworkers Guild; fundraising charities, such as Children in Need; religious charities; and hospitals, such as the Maudsley Charity (Pembridge et al. 2018). [Both field sites appeared in the list of largest foundations.The Association of Charitable Foundations publishes an annual account of the trends of grantmaking in this country :](#)

'The Foundation Giving Trends series presents annual research and analysis on trends in the giving, spending, income and assets of philanthropically-funded foundations. It tracks the contribution of foundations to public benefit, while building transparency and an up-to-date evidence platform for practitioners, policymakers and researchers...'(from introduction 2017/8 –Pharoah and Walker 2019).

Both field sites were ranked among the largest of the UK foundations, by grantmaking spend in relation to assets in 2018; being among the first 100 foundations of a 300-leading UK foundation database. (Pharoah and Walker 2019)

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Community Foundations exist as a hybrid between fundraising charities and grant makers (Ostrower 2007). They are often referred to as place-based grant makers (Gluckler and Ries 2012) and differ from private, family charities in their links to community development and ideals of bottom up change (Harrow and Jung 2015). They seek funds from members of their community, either distributing the money immediately or investing it to create an endowment to distribute the interest. In 2018, in the UK, there were 46 community foundations, with a total endowment of £580m, making mainly small grants (average £3,200) to local community projects (UK Community Foundations Network 2018). One of the field sites, the City Fund, can be thought of as the first community foundation in the country (Owen 1965).

Why am I interested in this topic?

This research project comes from my own experiences working for a charitable foundation where I designed and ran a grant programme concerned explicitly with developing evidence from funded projects.

The foundation was a think tank which had been a major funder in the health field historically, but is now known as a respected commentator on health policy. In developing their ideas for a new grant programme, the CEO and his head of funding had imagined a virtuous circle of learning from practice on the ground in London, and passing it on to the policy commentators working within the Fund and vice versa. In order to fulfil this ambition, I structured the programme

so that the projects proposed by agencies and accepted into our funded portfolio became small research projects which would test out the ideas of the practitioners as they implemented their programmes. However, implementing the programme created problems that I had not expected.

Firstly, the grant holders did not understand the changed nature of the funding relationship between us. They expected to fill in grant monitoring forms that reported on targets and deadlines. Our new requirements to analyse data in order to inform decision making was alien and threatening. They also struggled to carry out this complex task, given their previous and current experiences of other funders which required reporting of data, rather than assessment of achievement towards their outcomes. Many of them felt we overstepped the line in the extent to which we engaged or interfered even with their work. They were dubious about our reassurances that project failure was not regarded by us as a grant failure if it generated knowledge about why the project had failed (Marsh et al. 2008). Therefore, we continued to get upbeat assessments of projects, often unsubstantiated.

Back at the office, relations with senior managers became tenser as we struggled to develop evidence for success of the programme's projects. I argued that the programme's achievements rested on the quality of the evidence generated, not on whether the projects themselves were valuable. Indeed, one indicator of success for our programme was the variety of attainment levels reported in the evaluations, so it was possible to make comparisons between the projects. We were effective in collaborating with some of our grant holders to create meaningful and insightful evaluations which made substantiated and defensible assessments of relative success, but these were not the tales of excellence that the senior managers wanted and expected. The CEO was disappointed that the projects had not been able to demonstrate models, tested in trial conditions, which could then be promoted to the NHS and other policy makers.

As I left the organization after a difficult couple of years, I reflected on my naivety at the outset and how much more complex the task of 'learning from grants' was. The programme helped

me to understand the nature of relations between funder and funded, but I could not fully explain the actions and motivations of the Fund's senior management. The rhetoric justifying the programme seemed to be decoupled from the reality of the Fund's expectations and actions, leading managers to disregard the evidence produced by our evaluations.

My experience illustrates the role played by evaluation in maintaining trust relations between funder and funded on condition that evaluation reports confined themselves to narrow descriptions of achievement. Thus, evaluation supports the legitimacy of both funder and funded, despite critical voices on both sides which question the intrinsic value of these accounts (Ebrahim 2002, McNulty 2012, Legge 1984). The doubts of the CEO about the programme can be understood against a backdrop of the evidence-based movement, where the legitimacy of policy standpoints is strengthened if warranting evidence is generated by a narrow group of methods, promoted by validating bodies such as the Cochrane Collaboration and NICE.

At the time of my exit, I noticed that other foundations in my network were also taking up the call of 'learning from grants', a phrase which appeared in annual reports and on the lips of CEOs speaking from conference platforms. I wondered if they would be more successful than I had been. So, I became interested in why funders pursued evaluation given the complexities and expense of doing it well coupled with the small probability of gaining an honest account. It seemed as though the [philanthropic](#) foundation was at the centre of relations that made it difficult to generate knowledge from their funded clients and doubtful that their evaluations would meet the espoused standards of policy makers. As I thought about it further, the likelihood of 'learning from grants' seemed more and more improbable. So, these experiences and reflections prompted this PhD research project.

What is the broader significance of the study?

The criticisms of symbolic evaluations and onerous monitoring requirements levelled at foundations (e.g. Ebrahim 2002, McNulty 2012, O'Dwyer and Unerman 2008) are not widely shared

by the general public since these are managerial issues arising from relations between funder and funded. However, social commentators have questioned the legitimacy of high-profile philanthropists, focussing on issues of wealth inequality and tax avoidance. These criticisms inevitably affect the organizations that the philanthropists have founded.

In the 21st century, concerns about inequality in Western societies have been growing (Picketty 2014, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010), fuelled by the financial crisis of 2008 (Varoufakis 2018) and increasingly urgent in the light of climate change (Monbiot 2017). Campaigns, such as the Occupy movement, have focussed on the disparity between the wealthy and the rest by using the slogan 'We are the 99%' to draw attention to the 1% representing a wealthy elite controlling many of the resources relied on by the 99% (Stiglitz 2011). In response to these criticisms, companies have established corporate social responsibility initiatives (McDonnell et al. 2015) and high-profile individuals have created charities to distribute their wealth for the public good.

Many of these individuals have become wealthy by exploiting technological advances in computing in the same way as earlier philanthropists benefited from developments in manufacturing. The Victorian age was marked by an outpouring of philanthropic effort, prompted by pervasive poverty of the rising population (Owen 1965). Eventually, British society accepted a more collective approach was needed and the state began to encroach on areas then controlled by voluntary effort. Current debates about philanthropists have questioned the legitimacy of a powerful individual shaping public matters, formally the concern of local authorities (Pidd 2018, Hay and Muller 2014). In effect, this recourse to an individual's ideas about social solutions is a reversal of the position of the early 20th century when the welfare state was developing as collective approaches to need were becoming more recognised (Owen 1965).

The establishment of a charitable fund in the name of Mark Zuckerberg's first-born raised questions about his intentions, suggesting that the legal status of his charitable organization conferred many more personal benefits over public ones, the most notably the avoidance of tax

(Rhodes and Bloom 2018). Commentators have suggested that philanthropy disguises the retention of control by displays of benevolence which maintain, nonetheless, the choice of the philanthropist as to how the money is spent (Hay and Muller 2014, McGoey 2012). Zuckerberg is criticised for his housing projects in San Francisco because of the role his company played in generating the housing crisis which prompted his philanthropic response (Rhodes and Bloom 2018). Thus, his gift can be seen as self-serving in that it houses his workers, much in the same way as earlier manufacturers built model towns for their employees.

Notwithstanding that the US and UK tax systems differ significantly, in structure, incentives for giving and regulatory frameworks, both systems confer tax advantages to individual and organised philanthropy, and do so in different degrees and in different ways to wealthier rather than less wealthy citizens and organisations. These tax advantages have a bearing on the moral legitimacy of philanthropies in democracies.

The personal histories of these wealthy individuals influence their interests and some have created social businesses, either to add to their own wealth, for example setting up teaching academies which use computer technology as teaching aids (Morozov 2016), or to influence the public realm so that solutions from the private sector are applied to public services (Ball 2008). Critics have pointed out that the focus of grant makers on business-like behaviours reduces social service to economic output and relegates collective action in favour of individual initiative (Edwards 2010, Nickel and Eikenberry 2010, McGoey 2012).

In our times, the notion of philanthropy produces conflicted responses, with scepticism about corporate gifts and wealthy givers coupled with continued enthusiasm for fundraising events, such as Comic Relief and Children in Need. It would seem a good moment to investigate the contribution of charitable foundations to structural change since the volatility of the markets and the insecurities of climate change threaten the stability of our societies (Sayer 2015).

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What is the contribution to knowledge?

There are few organizations, other than political parties, that espouse broad societal change as a central goal and also have some resources to follow through on their ideas. This is an ideal opportunity to examine how ideas about social change are played out through the implementation of a grants programme.

This study examines the contribution of philanthropic foundations to structural change by applying a model of social change, developed by Archer (1995). It goes further than current research into foundation effectiveness which often considers internal governance procedures (e.g. Minzner et al. 2014) and relations with stakeholders (e.g. Ebrahim 2002).

It reveals the part that arguments based in moral legitimacy play in decision making. These justifications affect the direction of grant programmes, their main vehicle for promoting their ideas about social change. Although researchers have used Boltanski and Thevenot's (2006) grammar to examine the contribution of social movements to societal change (e.g. Gond et al. 2016), this is the first time it has been used to analyse the involvement of a more establishment type of organization which also espouses the need for fundamental shifts in social arrangements.

Structure of this Thesis

In the next chapter, I consider how research has looked at the contribution to social change of philanthropists and their foundations. I go on to discuss the issue of their legitimacy in pursuing societal transformation, and review literature that investigates challenges to the status quo in the corporate sector by social movements.

Then I lay out my theoretical framework, discussing its foundations in critical realism before going on to describe Archer's morphogenetic model. Boltanski and Thevenot's grammar is introduced and the overlap between the two frameworks is explained in order to justify their use together in this project. I move on to describe my methods and analytic approach.

The three findings chapters cover the analysis of data from the two field sites and examine: organizational identity; their justifications for social change; and whether they transformed or reproduced society as they pursued the aims of their grant programmes; and their relations with their grant holders.

In the discussion and conclusion, I consider the findings and the implications for policy and the practice of developing a grant programme.

In this chapter, I have laid out the central arguments of the thesis and defined my area of interest. In explaining my own experience and the wider significance of my study, I have identified the constraints that stakeholder relations place on actors in these organizations and the legitimacy deficit experienced by wealthy individuals in societies that question income inequality. Situational constraints and moral legitimacy are the central concerns of this study and will be investigated using Archer's model of a morphogenetic society and Boltanski and Thevenot's grammar, the [Orders economies of Wworth](#).

Chapter 2: Philanthropy and Social Change: A literature Review

Introduction

Although philanthropists and their foundations have been implicated in the social change throughout history (Owen 1965, Schmitt 2015), it is only recently that some foundations have openly espoused commitments to structural change and more targeted policy influencing activities (Finger 2018, Snyder 2016, Rogers 2015). There is some doubt that these newer foundations are very different from traditional funders (Scott 2009), however they have been distinguished from older foundations by their interest in return for their investment, in terms of social change (Snyder 2015), increased funding of research and policy publications (Reckhow 2016), and funding actors outside the status quo (Snyder 2015).

The new foundations are also much richer with wealth arising from technology firms and financial services (Bishop and Green 2008). Their great wealth encourages a belief in their capacity for transformative social change and terms such as philanthrocapitalism, strategic philanthropy and venture philanthropy suppose an interest in social impact (Rogers 2015, Bishop and Green 2008). These ambitions have gained greater currency in the context of the neoliberal commitments to a smaller state, a managerialist turn in public management (Hood 2001, Pollitt 2000) and the withdrawal of publicly funded welfare services in times of austerity (Macmillan 2011). The new philanthropies can afford the financial investment needed to demonstrate alternative provision to state run public services and they are aligned with the prevailing rhetoric of business solutions to public problems, promoted by the advocates of New Public Management (Rogers 2015).

I examine research on these foundations in particular because of their openly ambitious programmes of structural and systemic change rather than the amelioration of social conditions for deserving individuals. I consider their relations with government and the public sector, the object of

their lobbying activities, and their relations with grant holders which are positioned by them as potential alternative providers of public services. I take these to be their necessary relations which make their interventions in the public realm possible (Bhaskar 2014). Without the state, they could not exist as they would have no legal parameters and no object, purpose or context for their activities. Without grant holders, they would have no channel through which they could achieve their social mission or connect to the end beneficiaries of their grants.

In the second half of this chapter, I examine how legitimacy deficits identified by researchers concerned about these new philanthropies are managed by organizations, wishing to influence societies politically. In this section, I consider a wider group of organizations to see what can be learnt about disputes concerning the public good between corporations, social movements and governments.

Firstly, I sketch out the relations between philanthropy, the state, civil society and the market in order to put under the spotlight the legitimacy of philanthropies operating in Western democracies, especially given the new breed of foundations concerned to change society in fundamentally disruptive ways. This section lays the groundwork for the examination of empirical material that investigates these relations as well as the studies concerning the substantive debates about the common good.

Situating Philanthropy in Society: Relations between Philanthropy, the State, Civil Society and the Market

Philanthropy and Democracy

Concerns about the legitimacy of philanthropies, essentially aristocratic organizations, within democratic societies rest on the tension between autonomy and accountability (Heydemann and Toepler 2006, Healy and Donnelly-Cox 2016, Reich 2016, Sievers 2010, Horvath and Powell 2016). Their power to make decisions as to how they dispose of their funds for the public good without necessarily engaging the public is fundamentally non-democratic. Their legitimacy is not in

crisis as political spokespeople are not advocating their abolition, however, the institution of philanthropy remains problematic in representative democracies (Heydemann and Toepler 2006). Autonomy is a boon but it is also alienating since foundations need not take account of voter approval, unlike politicians, nor consumer demand, unlike businesses. They have no competitors and no members or investors to hold them to account (Reich 2016, Weinryb 2009).

Oversight and regulation are light touch in both the US and the UK (Reich 2016, Baker 2012). In the US, foundations are required to pay out 5% of their assets annually and in the UK, trustees are asked to account for the organization's contribution to public benefit. Foundations are not required to evaluate their grant programmes, they do not need to advertise or publish their grant making strategies (Phillips and Jung 2016). They can carry on funding their programmes regardless of whether these programmes have useful outcomes. Moreover, they have been accused of secrecy with the public knowing very little about them (Reich 2016, Rogers 2015).

Foundations are accountable to their donors as they are set up to carry out the wishes of their founders, even after death, and as such express the individual liberty of wealthy people. Further, they benefit from tax subsidies for which citizens pay in lost tax revenue (Reich 2016, Hay and Muller 2014, McGoey 2012). Therefore, philanthropies are difficult to justify in a democratic state. However, Reich (2016) points to two possible contributions to democracies: their support for plural approaches which diminishes government orthodoxies about public goods, as well as decentralising their distribution; and, because of their insulation from public accountability, their ability to work over longer time horizons and take more experimental approaches to social problems.

Foundations are in a position to contribute to public goods, such as the arts or education, which cannot be met by the market because public goods are, by definition, freely available to all and are not depleted through consumption (Young 2000). Since business prefers customers and exclusive products, the market under produces public goods. The basic function of states is to

produce public goods, but politicians will only support those goods that are preferred by the median voter. Therefore, the idiosyncrasy of donors can lead to a broader range of public goods being provided (Frumkin 2006). This makes their lack of accountability into a virtue since they need not compete with firms or exclude people from consuming goods, and they are free to fund minority tastes or controversial projects, unlike publicly elected officials. Additionally, foundations play a valuable role in supporting civil society organizations which form the basis of democracies through their participation in debates about what constitutes the common good (Sievers 2010). Without civil society organizations, political representatives would find it harder to understand the priorities and concerns of citizens.

Further, foundations are well placed to be the experimenters in society (Reich 2016, Anheier and Leat 2006). Social policy requires experiments to test out what delivers the best outcomes for citizens, but a proportion of these must fail in order to make a comparison between strategies. This is not an acceptable risk for elected officials since the public is impatient of failure, considering unsuccessful schemes a waste of money. Unlike business, foundations are not subject to the demands for short term profits from impatient investors and shareholders. Inevitably, democracies are biased in favour of the present, with the electorate preferring politicians who meet current concerns (Runciman 2017). Therefore, long term problems such as climate change pose challenges for democracies. Problems, such as these, may be responded to by organizations without these time pressures.

Philanthropy and the Market

However, the capacity of foundations to take up this experimental challenge is hampered by their adoption of science and business models that advocate the short-term measurement of outcomes (Sievers 2010). These models attempt to combine the predictability of applied science with the efficiencies of business but the danger for democracy and civil society is that these concerns replace civic goals with narrower concerns about efficacy and markets. Sievers (2010) identifies three issues with this approach: a growing instrumentalism leading to top-down decision

making; a failure to take into account the reflexivity of social life where the grant making process is reduced to one of managerial expertise rather than democratic interaction; and the reinforcement of the concept of the private determination of important public interests. Reich (2016) notes that this managerial impetus to decision making has led to risk adverse grant making and more conservative, business-oriented trustee boards.

The ability for philanthropy to disrupt democracy rather than simply contribute public goods has been growing. This trend is supported by the increased legitimacy of private sector solutions to public problems and the resultant decrease in the legitimacy of the public sector, ushered in by the rise of New Public Management in the 1990s (Horvath and Powell 2016). Outsourcing public sector provision to the private sector brought new competitors for the voluntary sector as well as accompanying practices, such as a greater quantification and commodification of service provision and a conceptualization of citizens as consumers (Hwang and Powell 2009). Wealthy individuals from the business world, coming with these practices and ideologies from the private sector, spearheaded new forms of philanthropy called strategic or venture philanthropy (Hay and Muller 2014, Bishop and Green 2008, Horvath and Powell 2016, Moody 2008).

The move from contributing to public goods in the early twentieth century to more disruptive forms of philanthropy in this century is marked by three distinctive features (Horvath and Powell 2016): greater influence on public discourse through the media, deployed to change the conversation about public priorities; the promotion of the redemptive values of competition and the moral superiority of choice; and the search for new models of funding for public goods in cash strapped municipalities and states, struggling to provide services. Earlier models of philanthropy aimed to contribute to the plurality of public goods, but new forms seek to control public provision by offering alternative providers (Horvath and Powell 2016). This disruption of democracy by philanthropies is perhaps most marked in the United States where very rich individuals with a high media profile influence federal government policy, particularly in the education field.

European and UK philanthropies have had different histories with the UK perhaps closest to the American experience (Anheier 2001). ~~Doggan~~[Dogana](#) (2006) sets out the reasons for the differences between US and European foundations. One explanation for more and wealthier US foundations is the absence of a strong socialist party in America and, relatedly, the presence of a strong voluntary sector. Clearly, socialist parties have resisted placing parts of the state into private hands. In the twentieth century, European philanthropies have been disrupted by wars where their wealth has been confiscated by governments and foundations have been shut down. Foundations have also been closely associated with the Catholic Church, and have been the victims of cleavages between the church and anti-clerical movements in France, Spain and Austria. Outdated [\(Dogana 2006\)](#) legislation has made it harder to set up foundations in states such as France, the UK and Belgium. State funding of education is far greater in Europe, affecting the missions of foundations, unable to fund as the US foundations do, in the areas of mass education, the arts, science and research since these are financed by the State.

In the UK, government policy since the 1980s has attempted to encourage a culture of giving, culminating in the recent notion of the Big Society where philanthropy would contribute to the empowerment of communities and the reform of public services as well as promoting 'citizen action' (Cabinet Office 2010, Daly 2011). This encouragement marks a reduction in public sector services, brought about by austerity measures after the financial crash in 2008. There has been some doubt expressed about philanthropy's willingness or capacity to fund the shortfall in services that the notion the Big Society suggests. In part, this may be due to philanthropists' greater interest in innovation than picking up the bill for public services (Healy and Donnelly-Cox 2016). This reluctance may also be the result of the changing relations between civil society organizations and funders (Daly 2011). Increasingly, philanthropies see themselves as investors in public services rather than simply donors, taking on a much more business-oriented view of their role (Ostrander 2007).

Ostrander (2007) notes the increasing phenomenon of donor control through donor networks, intermediaries and venture philanthropy. Although she is commenting on the situation in the United States, Daly (2011) has noticed a similar trend occurring in the UK. Donor control is marked by the absence of social relations between donors and the grant recipients where the recipient of the donation is unable to negotiate the purpose of the grant or clarify their own needs. Donor networks are inaccessible to fundraisers or advocates, since donors prefer to do their own research before they make their funding decisions (Eickenberry 2009). Intermediaries, such as financial consultants helping individuals to set up their own charitable funds, make redundant or protect against unsolicited appeals from recipients and fundraisers. Similarly, in the UK, management consultancies, such as New Philanthropy Capital, evaluate organizations in order to recommend them to funders, although it is unclear as to the basis of their recommendation (Daly 2011). These moves by consultancies further constitute philanthropy as a commercial product rather than a contributor to the public good (Daly 2011). Lastly, highly engaged philanthropists and their foundations involve themselves closely with their grant holders, in forms of philanthropy called venture or strategic philanthropy. This model emphasises a more business-like arrangement where the grant is called an 'investment' rather than a gift and the donor expects a return on their investment (Grant 2016, Eickenberry and Kluver 2004, Moody 2008). Donors are encouraged to become decision makers in organizations or sometimes to set up their own (Morino and Shore 2005). In this case, donor and recipient become conflated around the notion of investor, and the public value of civil society organizations is missed in the new business designations (Daly 2011).

Healy and Donnelly-Cox (2016) identify tensions present in the relations between philanthropies and government, most notably between private property and civil society, which may make the ambitions behind the calls to replace government funding with private donations unrealisable. These tensions describe the contradictions in the relations between government and philanthropic foundations, where each side is in uneasy relations with the other and seeks accommodations to maintain the balance of the status quo (Archer 1995).

Philanthropy and Civil Society

Unlike the relations between government and philanthropic foundations, relations with civil society organizations are based on mutual benefit and support which lend themselves most easily to the maintenance of the status quo, since disruption would endanger the existence of the grant holder and impact on the ability of the foundation to fulfil its mission. The trend for greater donor control identified by Ostrander (2007) may serve to intensify the closeness of these relations as it becomes difficult to distinguish between funder and recipient.

In the next section I consider recent empirical research in philanthropic foundations and, in particular, how researchers have examined the tensions for philanthropic foundations in their relations with the state and how changing relations between them and their funded clients affect their connections with communities of need. Before reviewing the material, I consider the empirical literature as a whole.

Empirical Research into Philanthropy

In this current golden age of philanthropy, Rogers (2015) notes the difficulties in studying philanthropies, citing their private nature as a barrier to accessing data; normative concerns about questioning generosity; the funding of social science by philanthropy and the resultant conflicts of interest; the mutual concerns of philanthropists and social scientists, leading to a blindness about those on the same 'team'; and the problems for social scientists in studying above their own social class. The lack of accountability mechanisms makes philanthropists and those working in foundations particularly difficult to access and this has contributed to a dearth of material on philanthropic foundations.

Foundations themselves fund research and some of this has been about their own programmes, commissioned from management consultants and reported either in grey literature or in some peer reviewed journals (e.g. Diaz 1996). Philanthropies have started their own journals to discuss funding practice and evaluation techniques. The *Foundation Review*, for example, has been

set up by the Dorothy A. Johnson Center for Philanthropy at Grand Valley State University and aims to share best practice amongst foundations. Nevertheless this does not exclude contributors' critique and challenge. These articles are not critical examinations of philanthropies but rather are reports and reflections on grant making practice.

Some research has studied foundations at a distance by using material collected about their tax returns and information, in the States and Canada, about where and on what they have spent their money (Suarez and Lee 2011, Suarez 2012, 2018, Azbug et al. 2016, Moseley and Galaskiewicz 2015, Phillips 2018, Snyder 2016, Ashley 2014, Finger 2018).

Some research is conducted into the views of grant holders about their relations with foundations (Carman 2009, Benjamin 2008, Ebrahim 2002, Delfin and Tang 2008, Tacon et al. 2017). These studies are written to suggest ways in which foundations might improve their relations with their clients. There is some research on relations between funders and social entrepreneurs but this does not seem to be a large literature at the moment and this may be because of the different nature of those relations.

The majority of studies are conducted in the US, with a very few in the UK and Europe. There are some legal differences that are reflected in the literature. Notably, in the US tax code philanthropies are a type of 501(c)3 organization which are candidates for different degrees of tax exemption because of their non-profit nature (Hall 2006). Non-profits include various types of organization, including political parties and trade unions, but generally the literature from the US refers to charities as non-profits. The other difference is the emphasis placed on regulation during the set-up of foundations and their continuing operation. In the UK and Europe, it is difficult to establish a foundation, requiring state permission in some European nations, but once the body has been founded, it can operate without much interference. In the States, the opposite is true, since it is relatively easy to create a foundation by signing a standard trust deed, but there is greater accountability after establishment, most particularly the requirement to spend 5% of assets annually

(Heydemann and Toepler 2006). Hence there is more information from all US foundations as to what they have spent their 5% on.

In the next section, I consider first what the research says about the relations between philanthropies and government. These studies pick up concerns about the role of philanthropies in democracies, both at the municipal and the central government level. Secondly, I review literature concerned with the changing relations between philanthropies and their clients. I have chosen to focus on these relations because of their necessary nature for philanthropies in their pursuit of social change. Both these groups of studies serve to illustrate relations characterised by Archer (1995) as ones of contradiction and complementarity and so will be reviewed with that characterisation in mind.

Relations with Government Philanthropy in Municipalities

A few studies have considered the effects of philanthropic foundations on city government. In each of the studies, the social and political context of the metropolis affects the extent of influence and engagement, but there are some common themes, notably the parlous state of city finances, tense relations between the foundations and the city, and the marginalization of civil society.

Some studies have examined the role of foundations on cities facing austerity in Europe (Chorianopoulous and Tselepi 2018⁶, Ravazzi 2016), American cities such as Detroit dealing with bankruptcy (Thomson 2018⁹) and ones needing regeneration after the flight of manufacturing jobs, such as Baltimore (Davies and Pill 2012) and Cleveland and Atlanta (Guthrie et al. 2008). Others have examined the importation of policies by philanthropists and foundations, developed in other contexts, including policies for climate change resilience introduced to Melbourne (Davidson and Glesson 2018) and cash transfer schemes for relieving poverty brought to New York City by Mayor Bloomberg (Smith et al. 2014).

Public goods theory suggests that where the state withdraws funding, philanthropic giving will make up the shortfall (Healy and Donnelly-Cox 2016). Ravazzi (2016) identified the countercyclical role of the three foundations she studied, in that they provided stability in times of austerity when local government was struggling to provide services due to cuts in funding by central government. In Milan, a wealthy foundation, connected to a bank, funded in parallel to the city government and where it was active, the city authorities withdrew its support. In Turin, two foundations worked closely with the local authority, transferring its funds directly into municipal coffers. Here, policy makers lost some of their decision-making autonomy but local services were maintained continuously.

Cities such as Detroit, Baltimore and Athens have faced bankruptcy or public sector cuts as a result of the financial crash, or in the case of Athens, financial bailouts with austerity measures from the European Union (Thomson 2018, Davies and Pill 2012, Chorianopoulos and Tselepi 2018⁷). Each city was encouraged to take up public private partnerships but the city governments experienced tensions with their foundation partners; often finding the funds vital to maintain and develop important public services, but sometimes having to battle for control against organizations with little public accountability, and greater freedom than elected officials to decide how to use their resources (Thomson 2018, Ravazzi 2016). Much of revitalization work was done at a neighbourhood-level, where philanthropies were active in outreach to communities but the voices of the disadvantaged were weakened as city authorities forged alliances with the foundations themselves rather than neighbourhood governance bodies (Davies and Pill 2012, Thomson 2018). NGOs funded by foundations were more accountable to their distant international funders, rather than the local communities they were trying to help (Chorianopoulos and Tselepi 2018⁷). So although cities were grateful for the financial support of the foundations, studies all mentioned the democratic deficit that such interventions brought with them, restricting the autonomy of the city authorities (Ravazzi 2016, Thomson 2018) as well as increasing the marginalization of disadvantaged communities (Davies and Pill 2012).

Research found that foundations aligned their strategies with those promoting regeneration of property values as a way of bringing wealth back to the city, seen in Baltimore (Davies and Pill 2012), and Cleveland (Guthrie 2008). This priority on real estate weakened citizens' voice, although some foundations promoted 'capacity building' amongst marginal groups to enable their representations to city managers (Davies and Pill 2012) and did some tokenistic outreach (Thomson 2018). Davies and Pill (2012) give the impression that residents were encouraged to fit in with powerful business interests operating in Baltimore. Therefore, this capacity building did not enable citizens to influence major decisions about housing, demolitions and use of city land.

Policy transfer by philanthropic elites was examined by Davidson and Glesson (2018) in the context of climate change resilience plans for cities, developed by the Rockefeller Foundation and adopted by Melbourne city authorities. The concern expressed by the authors was the lack of embeddedness in local planning procedures or alignment with the institutional governance structures of the city and the surrounding area. This seemed to be a result of a blueprint developed by an international foundation, with little regard or knowledge of the local situation of Melbourne. They noted that the resilience plan for the metropolitan area of Melbourne had been developed but was not mentioned in local planning documents.

Smith et al. (2014) followed Mayor Bloomberg's adoption of a proven intervention to support poor families, particularly children, in their education, health and nutrition needs. This programme, *Oportunidades*, had been developed for rural communities in Mexico and had involved a centralised cash transfer from the government into accounts for children and young adults as long as they attended and remained in school. The programme for New York City, *Opportunity NYC*, was taken up by Mayor Bloomberg to coincide with his election campaigns. He claimed to be reversing the trend of transplanting ideas developed in the North into contexts of the South, by choosing a highly evaluated programme from the South to address problems in the North. The decision to adopt the programme was sudden and took the Mayor's poverty commission by

surprise. It was funded by Bloomberg's own foundation as well as other philanthropies, attracted, in part, by its track record legitimated by evaluations of its rural programmes. The private nature of the funding made it harder to question the decisions made concerning the project and so, reduced public oversight. Over the short timeframe allowed by the pilot and demanded by the election cycle, the programme failed to deliver on its promises. Its design and implementation were rushed and planners failed to take into account its urban context as well as the myriad other services available to poor families in the city. Its adoption also masked the cuts and closure of established public sector programmes serving the same population, which were of far greater financial value to poor communities than Opportunity NYC. Once Mayor Bloomberg was re-elected, the experimental programme was closed down, perhaps because it had served its purpose in directing the attention of the electorate to the Mayor's commitment to tackling poverty; and because the short funding cycle, supported by the philanthropies but not sustained by public funding, did not enable a full assessment of its possibilities.

Smith et al. (2014) characterise this episode as an example of oligarchic diffusion of policy, yet it also demonstrates the problems with philanthropic funding identified by writers such as Reich, Horvath and Powell, Seivers, McGoey and others, namely lack of engagement with democratic processes, short term funding and the replacement of public services with private enterprises. Each of these studies illustrates the difficult balancing act between state intervention and philanthropic action. Philanthropies both supported city governments (Ravazzi 2017 Thomson 2018) but also skewed priorities (Smith et al. 2014). Far from supporting citizens from disadvantaged communities so they might exert some control on city authorities, foundations colluded with commercial interests to improve property values (Thomson 2018, Davies and Pill 2012). The private nature of their giving protected their actions from democratic controls, further disempowering the citizenry (Chorianopoulos and Tselepi 2017, Davies and Pill 2012, Smith et al. 2014, Thomson 2018).

Policy Influencing

Democratic accountability has been a particular concern for academics studying the new breed of philanthropies. Researchers have examined the activities of the new foundations to determine whether they are acting as interest groups promoting a particular agenda to federal government in the United States (e.g. Finger et al. 2018, Miller et al. 2017, Quinn et al. 2014, Reckhow et al. 2018, 2014). There are restrictions on lobbying by philanthropies in both the US and the UK, making the identification of policy influencing particularly crucial in the critique of foundations (Mandeville et al. 2007).

The importance of discretion in their political lobbying role is illustrated by Maclean et al's (2016) study into the behaviour of a philanthropist network, in relation to the UK Conservative government's proposal to cap tax relief on donations. One of the reasons given for the reform was a belief expressed by David Cameron, then the Prime Minister, that charitable donations were a form of tax avoidance by the rich. This argument for the reform from the government encouraged a philanthropist network to remain at a discreet distance from the campaign that was fronted by charitable organizations. The well-connected philanthropists introduced campaigners to significant political figures. However, they themselves remained in the background, refusing to get involved personally in the media campaign, since they considered their wealthy profile a disadvantage at a time of state withdrawal from public provision due to austerity measures.

This campaign was successful, perhaps because it capitalised on the contradictions of the Conservative government encouraging giving yet at the same penalising donors by capping relief. Other lobbying has been less effective. Jung et al. (2014) examined the Corston Coalition of funders which attempted to influence the UK government in order to reduce the number of women in prison. The authors suggest that progress was not made in part because there was no policy window where policy was in flux and therefore open to influence (Kingdon 1995). Penal policy tends to be conservative, risk adverse and highly technical, therefore not amenable to experimentation (Jung et al. 2014). Education policy, on the other hand, is often devised by politicians to suit a

particular ideological agenda. Increasingly, wealthy individuals have become nodal players in networks engaged in privatising state education in the UK (Ball 2008). For example, Peter Lampl, founder of the Sutton Trust, has paid the fees of able students to attend private schools, blurring the lines between state and fee-paying education (Ball 2008).

Direct engagement in shaping public services is investigated by researchers looking at the impact of new philanthropies on education policy in the United States where philanthropic foundations have been implicated in the charter school movement (Quinn et al. 2014) and the performance measurement of teachers (Reckhow et al. 2018). These studies examined the content of the foundations' proposals for reform and the strategies that were used to lobby federal and state government.

Their reforms spread managerial practices supported by an entrepreneurial discourse (Quinn et al. 2014) which emphasised measurement, scaling up and expansion, financial sustainability and leadership, and can be understood as an expression of the social values of philanthropic leaders (Healy and Donnelly-Cox 2018). Foundations lobbied for the establishment of charter schools which are independent of central government oversight and operate as non-profit organizations with a business ethos and are organized into chains of schools. They have also been engaged in the promotion of performance measurement of teachers, developing new measurement instruments rather than recognising existing teacher credentials (Reckhow et al. 2014, 2018, Miller and Mophew. 2017). They have also promoted curriculum reform, where education authorities are encouraged to mandate computerised testing of students, known as the 'Common Core'. These changes have been criticised as strategies to promote the interests of the computer companies associated with philanthropists and their foundations (McShane and Hatfield 2015). These reforms conform to rationales found in the new public management movement where market-based judgements are applied to public service (Pollitt 2000, Hood 2001).

Foundations have preferred to distance themselves from frontline lobbying, funding intermediary groups and coalitions which would take forward this agenda (Reckhow 2016, Mandeville et al. 2007). An important strategy has been to fund policy research which, unlike university research, supports the argument of the lobbyist rather than exploring the complexity of social problems. Reckhow (2018) notes the transfer of funding from universities to think tanks and policy intermediaries to advance their political positions. This pattern of grant making suggests that these foundations are trying to influence the ideas of policy makers.

Foundations have been identified as agenda-setting organizations in the field of education policy and have used empirical research to promote ideas about evidence-based performance assessment for teachers amongst state education boards (Miller et al. 2017). However, this has been a partial use, tailored to promoting a policy with little evidence of efficacy (Miller et al. 2017). This use of social science as a lobbying tool is not new, but it may be becoming institutionalized with the founding of universities by philanthropists (Guilhot 2007).

Older foundations have tended to fund in states where they have established relations rather than on the basis of need (Moseley and Galaskiewicz 2015) but other studies examining newer foundations have noted the targeting of particular states more likely to be sympathetic to a reform agenda. Finger et al. (2018) compared the grant giving profile of these new foundations with the older ones to find that new foundations tended to work with education officials in states where there was already a reform organization at work; there was high need relating to child poverty; and weak teacher unions. The older foundations tended to favour more urban states which had previously received grants. Their conclusions suggest a more deliberate strategy than older foundations which tended to fund organizations or state authorities where they already had satisfactory relations. Additionally, policy influencing foundations are part of complex networks (Ball 2008, Reckhow and Tompkins-Stange 2018, Snyder 2015). Reckhow and Tompkins-Stange (2018) mapped out the dominant players and their funders in discourses relating to teacher performance.

Over time, they found a convergence in the messages of advocates funded by a small group of foundations. Equally, Snyder (2015) has found that the network ties between the newer foundations are denser than those between older foundations.

Critics of philanthropic involvement in education policy come from both the left and the right (McShane and Hatfield 2015). However, there is a shared concern about accountability about how education reforms were developed by foundations in private conversations with policy makers. From interviews with critics, McShane and Hatfield (2015) noted the unanimity of disapproval for the actions of the larger foundations in promoting a testing regime imposed on children by state education authorities without consultation with teachers to assess its pedagogic value. In the encouragement of the use of computers in the classroom by technology entrepreneurs, critics have noted a conflict of interest (McShane and Hatfield 2015), whilst others have questioned the appropriateness of the involvement in public health policy by large foundations with holdings in companies such as Coca Cola and pharmaceuticals (Stuckler et al. 2011).

Not all gifts from philanthropists are accepted by the state. Pospisilova (2018) recounts the actions of the government of the Czech Republic which refused an offer from the philanthropist, George Soros, to fund a higher education establishment. In her examination of the discourse concerning this decision, she identifies a concern for the party in power to distance itself from the previous administration's ambitions to be closer to the American and Western university tradition. She points to the greater questioning of the legitimacy of foundations in a state where philanthropies had been outlawed by the communist regime for forty years as playing a key role in debates about the gift from Soros.

The authors of the empirical articles in this section expressed reservations about the nature and extent of the influence of unrepresentative foundations in public policy, especially in education. Their concerns centred on the legitimacy of a small wealthy elite to have such a disproportionate influence on public policy (Rogers 2015, McShane and Hatfield 2015, Reckhow and Tompkins-Stange

2018, Phillips 2017). These criticisms reflect an essential understanding of philanthropic government relations as one of compromise, i.e. there is an uneasy balancing act between the two institutions (Archer 1995). If philanthropic foundations are too overt in their lobbying, they risk a public backlash and the potential withdrawal of their charitable status by the authorities. This explains the often covert actions of philanthropists and their foundations (Maclean et al. 2015). On the other hand, government can be grateful for the extra funds made available for public sector use, particularly in times of austerity (Ravazzi 2016), and are therefore likely to overlook political lobbying.

Authors also identified that these new foundations were bringing about social change, in education policy in the United States and city regeneration. This is largely due to the amount of money at their disposal, but is also a result of the tactics they deployed in targeting states and funding research and intermediaries to promote their chosen agendas. However, this social change is deliberately top down as is seen in the marginalisation of teachers' unions in debates about teacher evaluation reforms and the weakness of citizen representation in city regeneration programmes (Reckhow 2016, Finger 2018, Davies and Pill 2012). Philanthropies retain the power to decide how their money is spent, and, in the US, these priorities reflect the views of the wealthy, favouring cuts in public education and health care, rather than those of the general public who prefer to give their money to religious charities and organizations which tackle poverty (Page et al. 2013). Thus, the new philanthropies reinforce the power relations between the classes, and in this estimation, can be considered to be contributing to the status quo rather than fundamentally transforming society.

Relations with Grant holders

We come to the second necessary relation of philanthropic organizations, namely the one with their grant recipients, the service delivery charity or the social movement organization. These relations encompass contractual agreements between principals and their agents (Benjamin 2008),

but also characterise the relations between donors and beneficiaries as in the clients of service providers or the citizen in advocacy movements. The grant recipient organizations serve as the intermediaries between donors and beneficiaries. In examining the relations between philanthropic foundations and grant recipients, I understand their beliefs about how social change for the broader public could be achieved.

Empirical Research

I consider what the empirical research tells us about each of these theories as they operate in capacity building programmes.

Agenda Setting

What distinguishes this relation from others is the emphasis on technical support, the intervention of management consultants and the retention of decision making about interventions within the foundations themselves. (Scherer (2017)). Lake et al. (2000) describes an early example of the shift. Agenda setters seem most apparent in foundations concerned to make a significant social change. This is perhaps most marked in the charter school movement where funders set up their own charter schools, supporting management professionals to scale up their schools to create chains of schools (Quinn et al. 2014). The theme of thought leadership and technical assistance to bring about systems change is identified by Bryan and Isett (2018) as a key intervention when they considered a foundation's efforts to change local juvenile justice systems. In this example, grant holders were, for the most part, grateful for the help, but some would have preferred some financial support. Some respondents also expressed a concern about credit taking for the changes.

Professionalization of the Voluntary Sector

Hwang and Powell (2009) consider the effect of the professionalization of non-profits on the activities, focus and careers of charitable agency staff. They identify the requirements of foundations for measurable outcomes as driving changes towards greater rationalization of charitable practice. Foundations have promoted management consultants and encouraged hiring of

people with managerial qualifications and training. Management consultants have been used by foundations to ensure greater conformity to the ideals of the funder through assessing the grant holders' needs, training charity leaders and evaluating projects. Greater engagement through consultants has required a different skill set for funding staff, as well as more time and resources to maintain this new type of relationship (Cornforth and Mordaunt 2011). Through this engagement and promotion of management skills, the leadership of charities has changed from people with substantive expertise to those with management and business qualifications. Hwang and Powell (2009) argue that these developments have intensified the rationalization of charitable practice, where the organization enters into an instrumental relation with their clients in order to secure funding and survive.

The push to more accountable relations has not been without problems for funders. Benjamin (2008, 2010) identifies tensions experienced by funders as they attempted to monitor performance using outcome measurement tools and thus move from philanthropic to accountability relations. Essentially their respondents were concerned about the legitimacy of their role within this interdependent relationship. Their new accountability relationships questioned the notion of a partnership based on shared values as the funding staff became more instrumental in their judgements about the efforts of their grant holders. Tensions also arose when the grant holder challenged the funder over their authority to set the outcomes for their projects, since the funding staff were not experts in the grant holder's field. Lastly, those allocating funds struggled with considerations of the capacity and skills of the grant holder to deliver on the outcomes they had identified. The conversations about capacity revealed how difficult it was to decide on successful and competent practice.

Scherer (2017) characterises foundations with an interest in developing the capacity of service provider as that of supporter. From interviews with senior officials, she discovered that staff in these foundations are likely to have a fundraising background in the non-profit sector. Their

accountability concerns were to minimise the burden for grant holders as well as encourage them to learn from their work rather than influence the foundation itself (Scherer 2017). The focus of their work is on the sustainability of the organization through the increase in professional capacity.

Carman (2009) questioned the assumption that funders were all moving towards greater performance measurement through different forms of evaluation including site visits, descriptions of delivery and outcomes measurement. She found that increased monitoring was true of federal, state and local government, as well as local US fundraising charities, the United Way, but private foundations and community foundations were much more varied in their use of evaluation, suggesting more philanthropic relations than accountability ones. Grant holders found the increased monitoring requirements variously, a resource drain and distraction; a promotional tool and a strategic management tool. The larger organizations found evaluation more useful because of their capacity to manage it better (Carman and Fredericks 2008). This suggests that the larger organizations had become more professionalised which had the added benefits of increasing their likelihood of successful fundraising.

There have been evaluations of capacity building programmes, but difficulties in defining capacity building and the range of organizations participating in such programmes have limited the generalisability of results (Minzner et al. 2014). Improvement in financial management has made charities more sustainable, although this appeared to be based on the reputation gained from having a capacity building grant rather than the achievement of outcomes (Faulk and Stewart 2017). From their randomised controlled trial of a capacity building programme, Minzner et al. (2014) was able to conclude that the intervention supported improvements in organizational development in the area of management systems, programme delivery, fundraising capacity, leadership skills and community engagement. However, the indicators were limited to self-report and were not independently verified.

Both of the previous sections include empirical material that show the considerable external influence of foundations, exercised through monitoring requirements and proxies, such as management consultants. These developments chart a shift from former social relations between philanthropies and non-profits (Ostrander and Shervish 1990) to one of greater control seen in accountability relationships (Benjamin 2008, Ostrander 2007). As reciprocal relations between funder and funded have become less likely, relations between grant holder and their clients are also similarly affected (Hwang and Powell 2009). However, there may be instances of resource dependency where grant holders are able to negotiate with their funders more easily.

Negotiated Relationships

There are some foundations where negotiations between donor and grant holder are the cornerstone of their practice. These foundations may be characterised as focusing on grassroots organizing to bring about social change (Ostrander 2004, Silver 2007, McCarthy et al. 2004). Typically, these foundations have a feminist, environmental or labour movement focus (Ostrander 2004, McCarthy et al. 2004, Kohl-Arenas 2014, Rosaldo 2016).

Progressive foundations in the United States were set up by people who experienced and engaged in the politics of the sixties, and were anxious to continue their activism as they became wealthy or inherited wealth (Silver 2007). These political concerns are most apparent in funds set up to support women's groups (Brilliant 2000). In accordance with its political beliefs in change coming from the grassroots, a feminist foundation, studied by Ostrander, defined the characteristics of a social change organization, i.e. it must be run by the women it is helping; it must engage with the root causes of social problems; and its change agenda must be motivated by social justice. However, this foundation did not stipulate what the grant holder would do or how it would achieve change, leaving those decisions to its leaders (Ostrander 2004). Despite having staff and a board made up of activists, further dialogue with grant holders was sought after a rising number of proposals were turned down. This engagement informed the decision makers about the changing needs of their

grant holders and their different conceptions of organising. This conversation affected the grant criteria. In this foundation as in others (Silver 2007, McCarthy et al. 2004), efforts were made to bring the beneficiary closer to the donors. This was done through populating the foundation's board with previously funded community activists and staffing the foundation similarly.

Co-operation between donors and activists to bring about grassroots-led social change was possible but not straightforward. Silver (2007) found that class distinctions remained either through deliberate intention when fundraising donors were separated from the activist-led decision-making boards, or more implicitly in integrationist strategies, where donors sought legitimation from activists for their political work rather than their donations. In the first instance, activists felt disengaged and relatively powerless as to the source of their agency, i.e. the budget. In the second, activists felt the burden of legitimating the political contribution of the donors as well as acknowledging their donations. Silver (2007) concluded that class distinctions were maintained despite the best intentions of the foundations.

Activist staff also learnt to manage their more conservative boards. Kohl-Arenas (2014) documents the framing of a grant programme as health and education support for children by the director of a foundation in order to support migrant farm workers to organise in the 1950s and 60s for their employment rights. Interestingly, as soon as the workers started to organize strikes, the foundation withdrew its support. Likewise, activists on the staff of foundations committed to environmental justice adjusted their language to promote more progressively political projects using terms such as 'public health' and 'children's health' (McCarthy et al. 2004, pg. 258) which were considered less threatening and more acceptable for their boards.

In these foundations, cultural ideas about justice were influential in how programmes were framed and clients recruited. Their political ideas affected their material resources since some also fundraised, not because of need, but because fundraising was a way of engaging wealthy individuals with concerns about social justice.

Arguing for Moral Legitimacy

In our considerations of the necessary relations between philanthropies and government and their funded clients, two problems with legitimacy have emerged. Firstly, philanthropies lack representativeness and therefore a democratic legitimacy which challenges their claims to understand and therefore provide for the public's benefit. Secondly, the inter-organizational relations between funder and funded blur organizational boundaries where it becomes unclear as to the legitimate role of the funder in a partner organization and whether the recipient organizations are able to represent the public to the donor.

Legitimacy has been identified as an 'anchor-point' (Suchman 1995, pg 571) for understanding organizations. It contributes to an organization's persistence and survival (DiMaggio and Powell 1991) by making it comprehensible and predictable. Scholars have defined legitimacy in various ways but the most accepted is Suchman's that legitimacy is 'a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper and appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions' (Suchman 1995, pg. 574). Later, Deephouse et al. (2017) suggested the definition: 'Organizational legitimacy is the perceived appropriateness of an organization to a social system in terms of rules, values, norms, and definitions' (Deephouse et al. 2017, pg. 9). This definition sheds the notion of 'desirable' thought to confuse organizational legitimacy with organizational reputation and status (Deephouse and Suchman 2008); and incorporates more recent thinking on legitimacy as the outcome of audience perception and evaluation (Bitektine and Haack 2011, Tost 2011). These definitions of legitimacy see it as connecting the organization to wider social values and the shared norms of acceptable behaviour in the larger social system (Dowling and Pfeffer 1975).

Suchman (1995) identifies three types of legitimacy: pragmatic, cognitive and moral. Pragmatic legitimacy judgements feature self-interest where an organization is endorsed by its dependent constituencies on the basis of mutual benefit, whilst cognitive legitimacy is based on

judgements about comprehensibility and a general taken-for-grantedness. Moral legitimacy is evaluated on the basis of the audience's socially constructed value system.

Relations between charitable foundations and grant holders and applicants rest on a pragmatic legitimacy where the resource dependency of the applicant encourages an alliance with the foundation. As for cognitive legitimacy, the general public may accept foundations as legitimate when they conform to the regulation of the Charity Commission. However, moral legitimacy may be harder to achieve, since the consequences of their giving may not be immediately apparent particularly if the foundation engages with the more socially transformative goals of tackling injustices, such as inequality. Their complete discretion on how their money is used deprives them of democratic legitimacy, since they do not face the penalties of resource dependent actors, either through consumers exiting as might be experienced by business, or through supporters turning to others as might be experienced by governments or political groups (Weinryb 2009). Thus, the two issues regarding moral legitimacy for endowed foundations are questions as to the nature of their contribution to public benefits (e.g. Reich 2016) and their lack of legitimacy from representation since they do not have members or subscribers (Weinryb 2009, Hall 2002).

Empirical Research

Recent empirical research has investigated legitimation and its role in connecting organizations to society in two major ways. Researchers in the first stream examine how private sector organizations protect themselves from criticism by emphasising their contributions to public benefits; and in the second, researchers show how corporations build constituencies to demonstrate their representativeness. The majority of the articles take a neo-Gramscian perspective in order to explore how texts maintain a neoliberal hegemony in the face of challenges from social and political activists (Levy and Egan 2003) and most use critical discourse analysis to examine texts.

The first of these two streams of research considers how corporate organizations, most notably multi-national corporations, manage relations with governments and civil society in order to

maintain neoliberal ideologies and the primacy of market discourse during controversies (Vaara and Tienari 2008, 2002, Joutsenvirta and Vaara 2015, Vaara et al. 2005, Vaara et al. 2006, Vaara 2014, Nyberg et al. 2017, Joutsenvirta 2011, Lupu et al. 2017). Within this stream, writers have identified the discourses of sustainability and the sustainable organization as a significant threat to market discourses since they question the priorities of profit and the economy over collective social goods such as the environment (Trediga et al. 2014). Thus, researchers have explored this ideological contestation by examining texts emerging out of corporate social responsibility and sustainability reporting (Laine 2005, Laine 2009, Laine 2010, Livesey 2001, Livesey 2002, Livesey 2002a, Milne et al. 2006, Milne et al. 2009, Spence 2007, Trediga et al. 2014, Cho et al. 2015). Others have considered the legitimacy of the social entrepreneur as a special case of the conflict between private and public benefit (Green et al. 2016, Hustinx and De Waele 2015, Garrow and Hasenfeld 2014, Vanroose and D’Espallier 2013, Pedrini and Ferri 2016, Siti-Nabitha et al. 2018, Lopatta et al. 2017). The second stream of studies investigates how corporations construct constituencies to bolster their legitimacy claims through the idea of representation (Murray et al. 2016, Nyberg et al. 2013, Herlin and Solidander 2017, Rueede and Krautzer 2015, Fraussen and Halpin 2017). This is examined at the level of the citizen and at the organizational level where researchers have investigated how NGOs have protected their legitimacy in their collaborations with corporations.

This body of research contributes to our understanding of philanthropic legitimacy. The first frames debates about social goods in capitalist democracies, where notions of worth in market discourses clash with those of civil society (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006). Endowed charities exemplify a paradox since they use the market to generate their income, yet their mission is directed towards alleviating collective societal ills, such as poverty. Examining this paradox throws light on the struggle between the different orders of social goods, i.e. the market and civil society, which generate their own expectations of what is good and right (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006). The second addresses the issue of representation, a concern for philanthropies which are criticised as

without an obvious constituency and therefore lacking a mandate (Weinryb 2009). I discuss each stream in turn.

Organizations and Public Benefit

Organizations are part of complex political systems that shape and construct their political contexts (Levy 2008). The dominant political context in the last few decades has been neoliberalism (Crouch 2011). As an economic theory, neoliberalism emphasizes the efficiency of markets to promote privatization and globalization, downplaying the role of the state, whilst at the same time disguising the reproduced inequalities across and within jurisdictions (Levy 2008, Kaplinsky 2004). The work of corporate political activity aims to reconcile private and public benefit (Scherer and Palazzo 2011) and through legitimation maintain the hegemony of the market world (Levy 2008, Levy and Egan 2003).

The benefits of Western capitalism and globalisation have long been promoted by businessmen in the face of the threat from communism (Maclean et al. 2018). Maclean et al. (2018) chart how international business travel exported ideas of globalization between 1947 and 1967 to areas of the globe, non-aligned to either East or West but considered vulnerable to communism. They analysed the speeches of Conrad Hilton, and other related documents, as he opened a new hotel in foreign cities. This paper helps us understand broad macro political discourse in organizational texts as it supports Western ideals of democracy and free markets against the threat of communism. The clash of political regimes is taken up by Lupu et al. (2017) as they examine the effects of these discourses on post-communist states.

At the organizational level, Vaara and colleagues (Vaara and Tienari 2008, 2002, Joutsenvirta and Vaara 2015, Vaara et al. 2005, Vaara et al. 2006) have focussed on the discursive strategies of multi-national corporations deployed to legitimate their transnational operations in the context of national politics. Additionally, they have studied the transnational institution of the Eurozone through the prism of the Finnish national press (Vaara 2014). These studies have examined media

texts, public communication material from organizations and transcripts from interviews. Using critical discourse analysis, their analyses reveal the neoliberal discourses supporting arguments used in controversies such as privatization, mergers and acquisitions, restructuring and national financial crisis. These cases provide examples where private corporations produce both private and public goods, for example maintaining employment in one part of Finland whilst shutting down other plants to ensure the corporation's profitability (Vaara and Tienari 2008).

Whilst Vaara and colleagues consider how the stability offered by neoliberalism is maintained by organizational discourses, others (Nyberg et al. 2017, Joutsenvirta 2011) consider how corporations respond to challenges to market hegemony from social activists. These papers describe conflicting frames to show how market discourses are maintained in the face of opposition. Nyberg and colleagues drew on Boltanski and Thevenot's work (2006) on social critique to pitch the discourse of the market against one of collective welfare in the context of an inquiry into fracking, whilst Joutsenvirta (2011) used moral and rational frames to understand environmental conflicts surrounding the timber industry in Finland.

Criticisms from social activists have been met by the defensive initiatives of setting up corporate social responsibility boards and / or disseminating corporate social reports (McDonnell et al. 2015). The risks mitigated by corporate social responsibility initiatives are the threat of regulation from national government and damage to reputation which reduces the social license to operate (Pegram et al. 2009, Herlin and Solitander 2017). Thus, these initiatives can be seen as essentially political efforts (Levy 1997).

The greatest threat to the neoliberal hegemony has been the sustainable development movement because of its fundamental questioning of economic growth as a marker of success and the availability of infinite natural resources (Trediga et al. 2014). Thus, it challenges the idea of organizational control of markets and assets. Researchers have examined sustainability reports as texts where work is done to maintain a market hegemony in the face of these threats (Laine 2005,

Laine 2009, Laine 2010, Livesey 2001, Livesey 2002, Livesey 2002a, Milne et al. 2006, Milne et al. 2009, Spence 2007, Trediga et al. 2014, Cho et al. 2015). They have used critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003, Laclau and Mouffe 1985) to understand how the notion of sustainable development is constructed by corporations in their reports and in interviews with corporate sustainability directors. Successive studies have shown how neoliberal discourses of the market weaken the revolutionary challenge of sustainability through strategies such as: emphasising corporations as change agents regarding sustainability (Trediga et al. 2014); eroding the radical nature of the challenge by stressing the evolutionary nature of change (Laine 2010); and by using metaphors such as 'the journey' to postpone change (Milne et al. 2006). These rhetorics maintain economic growth as a marker of success with only minor adjustments to our way of life required, characterised as 'business as usual' (Laine 2005, Milne et al. 2006).

Social entrepreneurs can be seen as a more concrete manifestation of the conflict between public and private benefit. However, commentators have noted mission drift in those charities funded by government, as they have sought to fulfil their contractual obligations whilst at the same time delivering services that meet their core values (Green et al. 2016, Hustinx and De Waele 2015). Garrow and Hasenfeld (2014), for example, find that social enterprises delivering employment services for those less able to work, such as the mentally ill or disabled, tread a difficult path between the necessity to be commercially viable and the ambition to be caring and responsive employers. They seem caught between logics that emphasise leadership, income and business-like practices and those logics based on giving voice (Nicholls 2010). They concluded that the commercially minded organisations were more likely to exploit their workers, paying them the minimum wage with sometimes a disregard for their physical or social needs. Mission drift has been particularly noted in the microfinance sector where the juxtaposition between economic and social values is pointed. Here researchers have examined the tensions between shareholder value and the extent of their outreach programmes to poorer members of society (Vanroose and D'Espallier 2013, Pedrini and Ferri 2016, Siti-Nabitha et al. 2018, Lopatta et al. 2017). Their findings echo others in

that market discourses of profitability take priority over civil society discourses of equity, development and social justice.

These empirical studies show how neoliberalism is established and maintained through political and ideological discourse, in controversial situations where neoliberalism is challenged. Philanthropic organizations also operate within these regimes and must contend with them. These studies are relevant to this study in so far as they convey the pervasiveness and dominance of neoliberalism as well as identifying discourse analysis as the preferred method of investigating legitimacy in organizations engaged in political activities.

However, philanthropies are not engaged in making money, but rather they are charged with giving it away. Philanthropies and charities are expected to show public benefit (Charity Commission 2014) rather than personal gain. The analyses of sustainability and social entrepreneur discourses identify attempts by organizations to bring together the conflicting worlds of the market and civil society but research reveals how environmental and social concerns are subverted and corrupted for business ends (e.g. Trediga et al. 2014, Milne et al. 2006). Further, business logics in welfare fields can lead to the exploitation of the vulnerable (Garrow and Hasenfeld 2014). Endowed philanthropic organizations epitomise this clash of economies of worth between the market and civil society (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006) where they are maintained by the market, but are enjoined to alleviate collective ills. Therefore their legitimacy is challenging to construct and vulnerable to criticism.

Legitimation and Representation

Researchers in the first stream were concerned specifically with argumentation and rhetoric used to produce meaning during periods of contestation (Levy 2008). In the second stream, researchers have been concerned with how organizations create legitimacy through the formation of constituencies. Corporate political activities require alignment between the interests of the corporation and those of other interest groups such as industry associations, politicians and non-

governmental organizations (Nyberg et al. 2013) to accomplish influence in fields of contestation (Van Bommel and Spicer 2011). Research has considered how corporations create the citizen and the public in public debates about tax and climate change (Murray et al. 2016, Nyberg et al. 2013); how NGOs protect their reputations in collaborative relationships with the corporate sector in order to maintain their representative legitimacy (Herlin and Solitander 2017, Rueede and Krautzer 2015); and the affordances that different types of representation, i.e. membership or subscribership, give to advocacy groups (Fraussen and Halpin 2017).

Political constituencies require citizens so some studies have focussed on how corporations use the notion of citizenship to preserve the hegemony of capitalism. In one study, researchers revealed the sleight of hand performed in texts defending the mining industry against taxation. Here a 'phantom' public was constructed through advertisements, pamphlets and other media (Murray et al. 2016). Nyberg et al. (2013) investigated how corporations construct citizens as active constituents, responsible consumers, ethical employees and ecopreneurs in the context of debates about climate change in Australia.

Others have emphasised the importance of NGOs as partners and collaborators to support their legitimacy claims (Marrano and Tashman 2012, Herlin and Solitander 2017, Rueede and Krautzer 2015) as they are engaged to form part of the corporation's constituency. Partnerships with NGOs are important for transnational corporations in situations where they face the liabilities of foreignness (Oetzel and Doh 2009) and NGOs can provide local information and social embeddedness (Webb et al. 2009). NGOs reap the trust dividend as they are associated with public benefits rather than private profit and so corporations gain a social license to operate through these associations (Marano and Tashman 2012).

In cases of adversarial relations, the reputation of the corporation is at risk, but the reputation of NGOs is threatened in situations of collaboration between industry and non-profit organizations (Herlin and Solitander 2017). Thus, researchers have examined how NGOs have

maintained their reputations in the controversial area of water conservation and in cross sector partnerships (Herlin and Solitander 2017, Rueede and Krautzer 2015). Using CSR and organizational ethics guidelines, Herlin and Solitander (2017) identified the strategies deployed by NGOs to distance themselves from moral responsibility in their partnerships. From interviews with managers, Rueede and Kreutzer (2015) examined how NGOs constructed particular narratives depending on their audience. In both cases, NGOs accessed valuable resources, such as monetary sponsorship and practical expertise, but maintained their legitimacy through distancing techniques, such as a denial of proximity and the use of technical accountability measures in decision making rather than moral deliberation.

How NGOs generate legitimacy through their relations with their constituencies was discussed by Fraussen and Halpin (2017). Unlike research on the corporate construction of the public and citizenship (Nyberg et al. 2013), and the NGO protectiveness of their reputation to retain legitimacy in collaborations (Herlin and Solitander 2017), this research examined how digital communication strategies with organizations' own stakeholders were affected by the basis of legitimacy claims. Claims might be based on the ideas of representation or solidarity (Halpin 2006). Representation rested on the potential physical presence of members and so density of membership is crucial to the validity of claims. Organizations that boasted a high number of members were more likely to be consulted by policy makers. Solidarity rested on subscribers that shared the values of the organization because the subject of their representations could not be present, such as the environment.

Alliances, collaborations and related claims of representativeness increase the legitimacy of transnational corporations since they improve their democratic credentials which are also important for philanthropic organizations. Endowed foundations have neither members nor current subscribers so representation creates particular problems for them (Weinryb 2009). Efforts to create the citizen are found in charitable discourses associated with the deserving poor where the

poor are constructed as the unfortunate citizen and therefore worthy of concern and interest (Loseke 1997). Collaboration appears to be an obvious strategy. The most important partnership is with their grant holders since these organizations offer valuable resources in terms of local knowledge and field expertise, not available internally to the funder. To protect their reputation, endowed foundations may practise the strategies identified by Herlin and Solitander (2017), such as recourse to technical decision making rather than moral deliberation (Ebrahim 2005).

In considering how this type of research informs the legitimacy of endowed foundations, we can argue that they are positioned closer to the unrepresentative corporation rather than its challengers which use the notion of solidarity to increase their legitimacy. Their unrepresentativeness identifies the endowed foundation as an organization with a vested interest in the status quo. However, this goes against their espoused mission of changing society more fundamentally by addressing such ills as social injustice and inequality. Research has not explored the legitimation issues for organizations such as these which appear structurally to epitomise the establishment, yet advocate revolutionary change.

These empirical studies help us to understand the part that philanthropies play in maintaining dominant hegemonies in western societies. Philanthropies abide by the authority of the state; they epitomise the dominance of the economic realm; and their discursive work establishes a consensual legitimacy with civil society (Levy 2008).

We can see relations between material and discursive dimensions of this maintenance. Economically, there were asymmetries between foundations and city governments, where the foundations were able to exert some coercion because of their resources. In their co-option of grant holders, similar asymmetries were at work where there were suggestions that foundations appropriated the value added by the charitable agencies, in the course of their funding.

Discursively they aligned themselves to neoliberal ideals of a small state in the promotion of alternative school provision; flexible labour in the reduction of the professional skills of teachers to

metrics so they are more replaceable and interchangeable; and the notion of free trade, promoting competition between schools in discourses about scaling up and sustainability. Other major discursive tactics included the emphasis on rationalization of the voluntary practice, where leaders with substantive knowledge were replaced by those with managerial expertise. This seems to increase the isomorphism of organizations so that they resemble each other and gain legitimacy through this resemblance.

However, ideologies are fragile and can be challenged. Researchers challenged the foundations on the grounds of their moral legitimacy. Democratic accountability was identified as lacking for all these organizations and led to covert behaviour in order to preserve their relations with government. Co-option of grant holders suggested too great a control which did not allow for change from the bottom up.

Further, as different conceptions of morality multiply, it has become more difficult to determine how moral legitimacy is judged. Moral legitimacy is particularly crucial for endowed foundations as the basis of their mission is to use their funds to produce benefit for all which tackles injustices such as poverty, ignorance and inequality (Charity Commission 2014). The imperative of public benefit implies a search for justice.

Endowed foundations can challenge the status quo, for example over housing policy (e.g. Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2018), to influence the policies and actions of others, as well as be challenged themselves over their decisions, as in the recent investigation by the Charity Commission into a grant made by the Joseph Rowntree [Charitable](#) Trust to a Northern Irish group linked to terrorism (BBC 2018). But what would prompt them to do so? Each of these negotiations with multiple audiences offer degrees of stability and certainty (Reineke et al. 2017). However, all of these agreements or compromises are fragile (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006), suggesting that there is not a simple dichotomy between legitimate and illegitimate organizations as claimed by Barley

(2007), but rather moral legitimacy is dynamic and evolving as it is negotiated and re-negotiated by different audiences (Reineke et al. 2017).

Relations between charitable foundations and grant holders and applicants rest on a pragmatic legitimacy where the resource dependency of the applicant encourages an alliance with the foundation. As for cognitive legitimacy, the general public may accept foundations as legitimate when they conform to the regulation of the Charity Commission. However, moral legitimacy may be harder to achieve, since the consequences of their giving may not be immediately apparent particularly if the foundation engages with the more socially transformative goals of tackling injustices such as inequality. Their complete discretion on how their money is used deprives them of democratic legitimacy, since they do not face the penalties of resource dependent actors, either through consumers exiting as might be experienced by business, or through supporters turning to others as might be experienced by governments or political groups (Weinryb 2009). Thus, the two issues regarding moral legitimacy for endowed foundations are questions as to the nature of their contribution to public benefits (e.g. Reich 2016) and their lack of legitimacy from representation since they do not have members or subscribers (Weinryb 2009, Hall 2002)

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

In this chapter I introduce the two theoretical frameworks that I am using to structure my analysis. I take a critical realist position regarding my ontology and epistemology which is in line with Archer's (1995, 2010) work on morphogenesis. I supplement this model with the work of two pragmatists, Boltanski and Thevenot (2006), using their empirically derived framework of the Orders of Worth. Although these two philosophical traditions differ on ontological grounds, I consider the Orders of Worth to be examples of enduring, autonomous structures with emergent causal powers. Therefore, I argue in this chapter that this framework can be used in conjunction with Archer's model which addresses the issue of how the interactions of people with enduring, autonomous structures, both material and cultural, reproduce or transform society.

These models allow me to explain how the two field sites engage with social problems through their grant programmes in the course of which their agency transforms or reproduces social relations. Below, I describe the two models in more detail and also how they overlap. Firstly, I discuss critical realism and how this philosophy affects the study of society.

Critical Realism

Critical realism, as a philosophy of science, underpins this project. Reed (2005) has identified it as the coming metatheory in management and organization studies, although Contu and Wilmott (2005) have disagreed, regarding it as a more marginal interest. They note the dearth of key terms from Critical Realism in studies and collections purporting to support this philosophy and the relative absence of citations from the work of its central figure, Roy Bhaskar. Nevertheless, it has been used to understand how organizations change and reproduce themselves, (Fairclough 2005, Ackroyd 2012), and scholars in the institutional theory tradition have borrowed from it to explain change and stasis in terms of the interactions between structure and agency (e.g. Mutch

2007, Delbridge and Edwards 2008). There has been a published handbook which sets out research strategies that use critical realism as the philosophical underpinning for the study of organizations (Edwards et al. 2014).

Critical realism positions itself between positivism and social constructionism. It acknowledges a world 'out-there', like positivism, but does not limit its understanding of the world to observed events as in empirical science (Bhaskar 2014). It prioritises ontology over epistemology and argues that the real world is independent of our knowledge of it. It rejects both the epistemological position of positivism which limits our knowledge to what can be observed, and the position of social constructionism which argues that we cannot know a real world beyond the meanings we construct. *Social constructionism examines the jointly constructed meanings of the world that form the basis of our shared assumptions about reality.* Both positions imply an infallibility, that the world equals what we can observe, or that the world is unknowable beyond our constructions. Critical realism argues that these positions betray a conflation between ontology and epistemology, or in other words, between the referent (the object) of enquiry and the reference (our knowledge of the object) (Al-Moudi and Wilmott 2011).

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Critical realists argue that science can help us understand something of the real world, and through revision, our understanding can be improved (Bhaskar 2014, Archer 1995). It encourages broad and mixed strategies of knowing, including both an interest in the material and in hermeneutics, since it acknowledges that the social world is both material and constructed by human beings (Bhaskar 2014, Sayer 2000, Archer 1995, Fairclough 2005). However, critical realism, as a philosophy, affects these strategies as it insists on research that draws on a greater variety of data than observations of events or objects, and theorises deeper causal mechanisms from the patterns of observations in differing contexts (Bhaskar 2014).

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Critical realists describe social reality as stratified, being made up of three levels, the empirical, the actual and the real to develop the idea of depth ontology (Reed 2005). The empirical level involves how we sense and interpret reality; the actual involves observable events, objects, relationships independent of our understanding of them; and the third deeper level is the real, made

up of entities that are unobservable, but have causal properties. The real world involves these underlying mechanisms, for example gravity in physics, and class in social science. These unseen realities generate observable patterns and events of the empirical and actual worlds. Each level is the ground of the next level but is irreducible to it (Reed and Harvey 1992).

Critical realist epistemology does not rely on replication in experimental conditions to establish causality since it argues that the open nature of society precludes the closed conditions necessary for replication (Reed 2005, Fleetwood et al 2017). In critical realism, the role of enquiry is to understand the underlying mechanisms that give rise to the results of experiments and other social actions by investigating observable patterns and theorising the links between empirical observations and their generating mechanisms (O'Mahoney and Vincent 2014). In this project, the structures of philanthropy interact with the agency of the leaders of the foundations to generate observed effects in the outcomes of their grant programmes.

Critical realists conceive of change as coming about through the interactions between structure and agency. In other words, change is brought about by people (the agents) interacting with structures (resources, institutions, cultural systems, political systems) in order to change themselves, other agents and structures. Understanding change is about explaining these interactions in the open system of society, through an analysis of the relative contributions of structures and agency to change (Archer 1995). Critical realists employ an analytical dualism separating the structures that contain~~s~~ and constrain~~s~~ from the agency that engages them in order to clarify these contributions. In so doing, they avoid the conflation of empirical science where interventions are presented unquestioningly as amalgams of structure and agency (Pawson and Tilley 1997).

There is a temporal aspect to this understanding. Agents inherit the structures they affect and they are constrained by them so the possibilities of change are narrowed but not determined. The structures, emergent from the actions of previous social agents, have causal powers themselves

which can be harnessed by agents, or they can remain latent. Structures, therefore, make agency possible (Giddens 1986). Critical realists engage with the co-evolving nature of society through the idea of the emergent and latent powers of structures, which are triggered (or not) by human agents. Therefore, in order to understand the role of philanthropic leaders in social change I intend to analyse how the leaders of the foundations use the structures presented by the institution of philanthropy and cultural ideas of social justice. These structural resources include amongst others the founding philanthropists' narratives, the material assets of budgets and offices and the cultural ideas of solidarity, citizenship and the deserving poor.

In this tradition, researchers have sought better explanations of social phenomena than experimental studies and ethnographies. They avoid thin descriptions based on quantitative empirical data since this will not give a full explanation without contextual information (Fleetwood et al. 2017). Similarly, their ethnographies seek to make connections to other contexts through generalisations based on their theorised mechanisms of change, rather than limiting their explanation to one locale (Rees and Gatenby 2014). Therefore, I have chosen to compare two field sites.

Critical realism involves the researcher in an iterative process where analysis moves between concrete events to more abstract levels and back to concrete events, in order to understand concrete events more deeply. This study explores the necessary relations between the institution of philanthropy, in its material and cultural aspects, and the state and its funded clients, to reveal the underlying situational logics, formed by interests, which direct action. It uses data from the two field sites to understand how the leaders of philanthropies use culturally accepted and politically developed ideas about social justice to advance their agenda for social change. As I established in the literature review, philanthropies are organizations of the elite. Thus, I am considering essentially power asymmetries and the presence of ideologies to justify these asymmetries. Ideologies are an example of a generating mechanism that prompts action or inspires

belief, invisible and operating often unconscious level. Their study requires an investigation that moves between concrete effects and belief systems.

To investigate the paradox inherent in philanthropic foundations, I consider specifically how they argue for social change, essentially against their elite position, yet at the same time in pursuance of their social mission. To do this, I position the actors as competent and able to use models of social justice in particular situations where they choose to dispute current social arrangements (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006).

However, since ideologies operate at an unconscious level (Boltanski 2011, Eagleton 2007), it is at moments of dispute, that the fragility of ideology becomes exposed (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006). I understand the grant programme as a response to a social problem as a moment where the grant programme designers deliberately engage in a dispute with the government or other institutions in society. I consider if this engagement leads to a transformation or reproduction of power relations within their field of interest and if it prompts reflexivity of their own position in power hierarchies. Thus, I combine a critical realist understanding in my interests in the powers of institutional and material structures and the cultural powers of ideologies and their interaction with actors with a concern to examine their actions in the situation of a dispute.

What do we mean by society?

In order to examine social change, the concept of society, the context for change, must be defined. Societal change is impossible to predict because society is an open system, open because it is peopled (Bhaskar 2014). Archer identifies three unique characteristics of society (Archer 1995, pg.1), namely:

1. 'It is inseparable from human activity since society depends on our activities to transform or reproduce it;

2. It can be changed and there is no preferable state, as its form is a consequence of historically situated activity;
3. Human beings are affected by the societies in which we live.'

The critical realist commitment to an ontology of mind independent reality suggests that the study of society may not be possible, since these characteristics imply that society is a creation of human meaning making activity, and therefore not independent of human reflexivity (Bhaskar 2014). Indeed, Archer (1995) identifies the relationship between the individual and society as the central problem of sociology. However, she argues that the individuals and collectives transform or reproduce society through activities, and over time, these activities through repetition become enduring structures, manifested as buildings, systems, such as the education system, practices or institutions, which in turn direct, enable and constrain the future actions of others. These enduring structures allow us to study society (Bhaskar 2014). Each structure has emergent causal powers which remain latent until actors trigger them. Therefore, society is an evolving summation of past actions of different individuals and collectives. However, society does not reflect the desires and ideals of single individuals because in efforts to transform it, society resists individuals and collectives, and in its transformation, society becomes something else that does not conform to anyone's ideal. For this reason, we can study society since it is not co-terminus with individual thought but rather it is the residual of collective activity.

Social science methodologists have responded to the problems of studying relations between the individual and society by creating two epistemologies, labelled by Archer as the "science of society" which denies the constituting powers of humans; and the "study of wo/man" which invalidates the importance of what is, has been and will be constituted as society in the process of human interaction. Archer identifies downwards conflation as the key strategy in the science of society approach, as seen in Durkheim's work, where society is assumed to mould the individual who is passive to these forces. In the study of wo/man, explanations of social change are made in terms

of the individual, and society is treated as an aggregate of individuals. Sociologists, such as Weber, explain change by reducing social effects to the individual and render structure as passive, not acting back on people. The problem in this case, Archer argues, is upwards conflation.

Archer identifies the weaknesses of approaches that do not fully explore the interaction between the individual and society, and which fail to address how individuals, organised into collectives, affect social change. Archer (1995) advocates an analytical dualism that separates out the effects of structures and the actions of agents, over time.

In the next section, I discuss Archer's model of social change, the morphogenetic approach. The advantage of this model is its demonstration of analytical dualism, but also its examination of the possibilities of social change emerging from the necessary relations between entities, in this case philanthropic foundations, the state, the market and civil society.

The Morphogenetic Approach

Archer's model of social change is phased over time. It involves the elaboration or reproduction of social structures by people, interacting with social structures which are the result of the result of prior social relations, conditioned by an antecedent structural context. Morphogenesis is the process which elaborates or changes a system's given form, state or structure whilst morphostasis refers to those processes which preserve, maintain a system's given form or state.

Archer sets out her cycle thus (pg. 157):

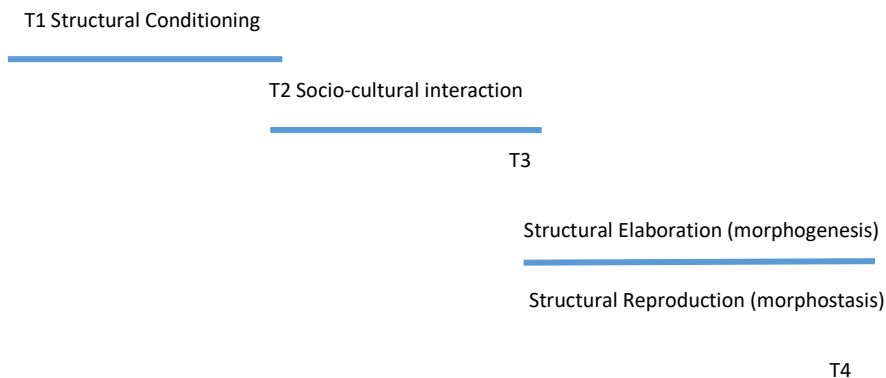
At Time 1, we find the pre-conditions for social change that structure the context of the action.

At Time 2, there is the interaction between agents and the structures in the context

At Time 3, the outcomes of the interactions of the agents and the structures in the context emerge, leading to either elaboration or reproduction.

At Time 4, the cycle starts again.

Figure 1: The Morphogenetic Cycle (Archer 1995, pg 157)



There are two types of structure which have emergent causal powers: material structures – e.g. money, buildings, practices; and cultural structures e.g. doctrines. These constrain the possibilities for change and define different situations. In seeking analytical dualism, Archer clearly delineates each stage of the cycle relating to these types of structure. Therefore, there are internal and necessary relations within and between social structures (SS) and also between components of the cultural system (CS). Social structures have causal effects on social interactions (SI) and the cultural system influences socio-cultural (S-C) interactions causally. There are causal relationships between groups and individuals at the SI and S-C level. SI modifies the composition of SS by changing the internal and necessary relationships and introducing new relations, or SI reproduces existing structural relations. Likewise, S-C interaction elaborates the CS system by modifying current relationships or introducing new ideas, or the interaction reproduces existing cultural relations.

She sums up the morphogenesis of structure and culture in these two figures, pg. 163:

Fig 2: The morphogenesis of structure (Archer 1995, pg 163)

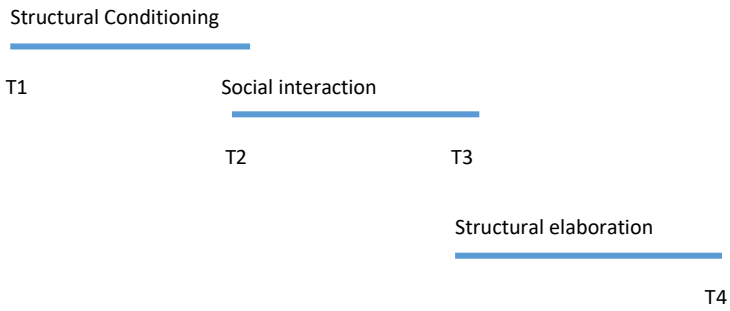
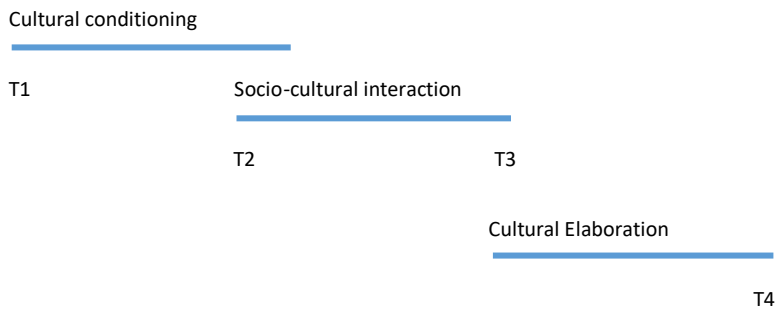


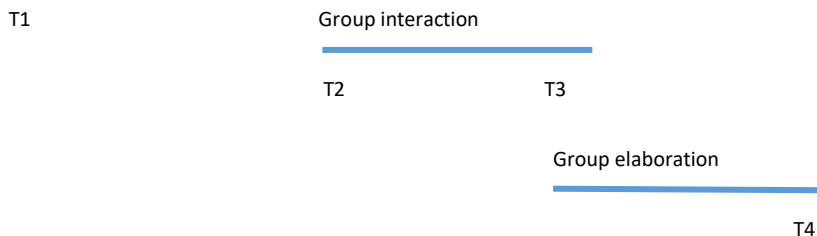
Fig 3. The morphogenesis of culture (Archer 1995, pg.163)



In pursuing analytic dualism, she sets out how agents, working in groups, are changed as the result of the alteration of structures. This is depicted in fig. 4, (Archer 1995 pg. 194):

Fig 4. The morphogenesis of Agency

Socio-cultural conditioning of groups



In the next section, I describe her conception of social structures in more detail.

Social Structures and Necessary Relations

Social structures are results of interactions of previous cycles of change and necessary relations are the components of social structures. It is possible to identify these social structures because they are enduring, autonomous and they exert a causal influence. The notion of necessary relations enables the making of statements about the components of social structures without reference to current agents.

Structural emergent powers (SEPs) refer to material and institutional resources available to actors as they reproduce or change their relations with necessary partners. These powers relate to mind independent reality, a key part of the critical realist ontology, and can be called upon by actors in combination with discourse to effect social change. Without material resources, rhetoric is usually ineffective. -In table 1, I identify grant holders and the charity commission, the government regulator, as philanthropic foundations minimal necessary relations because without them, the institution of philanthropy would not be possible. Without regulation, the foundations would not have legal legitimacy and would forego the advantage of tax relief. Without grant holders, the essential meaning of their existence would disappear. Philanthropic foundations also have relations with levels of government, the private sector and the public sector but these are contingent on the focus of their grant programmes. The SEPs between foundations and grant holders are a mixture of financial resources, contractual obligations, and regulated practice, as in fundraising prescribed by

application forms and accountability by monitoring forms. These SEPs enable the grant to be made and accounted for. With regards to regulation, documents accounting for their grant making and the management of the organization are returned to the Charity Commission to enable a claim to charitable status and tax relief.

SEPs do not fully describe relations between institutions, since action is co-ordinated by a shared understanding as to its purpose. Thus, cultural emergent powers (CEPs) allow us to identify the ideational context of these relations. *CEPs contain shared ideological understandings which offer short cuts and make co-ordinated action easier and more likely.*

—With grant holders, there is ~~an shared~~ understanding of the needs and circumstances of the beneficiaries, bound up in the concept of the deserving poor. *This involves the disciplining of the poor by the ruling classes who define expected moral standards that allow beneficiaries access to largesse and morally excuse denying resources to the ‘undeserving poor’,* and the collective ideals of measurement to account for social impact. The concern for regulators is the achievement of public benefit by the philanthropic foundations. This concern is explicitly addressed in trustee statements, and once that test has been passed, then the foundation is considered a legitimate contributor to the charitable sector.

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Table 1: The necessary relations of endowed foundations

	Grant holders	Government Regulator / Charity Commission
Structural emergent powers (SEP)	Contracts	Annual returns to Commission
	Applications	Trustees statements
	Monitoring forms	Accounts
	Project funding	Tax relief
Cultural emergent powers (CEP)	The deserving poor	Public benefit
	Measurement of social impact	

Situational logics

The exercise of these powers is dependent on reception and realisation by people. The potential of SEPs/CEPs to influence conditions and shape action is affected by the interests we were

born with. The main effect of our inherited interests is that it divides the population into those with vested interests in the maintenance of society or those interested in its change. This predisposes people to different courses of action during their life course. Vested interests are connected to particular positions and if positions alter then so do interests. Those people who are in crisis, have a vested interest in removing their problems, whilst those in benefit, have an interest in maintaining their position. The former is likely to favour actions leading to morphogenesis and the later morphostasis. There are costs involved in not protecting interests and there are two ways in which opportunity costs assert influence: the achievement of projects; and assessments of which projects might be considered. The foundations are referred to as part of the establishment and as elite organizations to indicate their positioning in relation to those with fewer reasons to maintain the status quo (Glucksberg and Russell-Prywata (2020)).

So, our interests condition the situations we find ourselves in and provide us with prompts as to what course of action to take, particularly if there is uncertainty or some kind of dispute. Situations are shaped very differently if structural components, i.e. necessary relations, are in tension with each other or exhibit coherence. Complementary relations offer a smooth contextual service where it is not in the interests of either party to disrupt relations. On the other hand, contradictory relations exhibit incongruence and both parties engage in a balancing act to make the relationship work in their respective interests. However, opportunities for transformation are present as one party may gain some advantage which will tip the balance and alter relations.

Archer identifies four situational logics which predispose agents to particular courses of action ~~in~~ practical exigencies:

1- Necessary complementarities – these relations give rise to the logic of protection as this relation brings material benefits for each group. Institutions are mutually reinforcing and within the system of relations, there are high levels of integration. Each institution has something to lose from disruption, so changes do not produce obvious advantages. The relations between funder and grant

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holder fall into this category, since the funder benefits from the legitimacy accorded to their role of making grants, both in terms of regulation and public recognition of a social good. The grant holder gains funds and increased sustainability.

Ideationally, the notion of philanthropy evokes doctrines, such as the deserving poor, voluntarism and public benefit which work together to guide both thought and action. These ideas are consistent with philanthropy and facilitate it.

This complementary logic discourages innovation and diversification and reinforces traditional action in order to protect the parties from loss of interest. The tendency in these relations is morphostasis.

[2.1](#) Necessary incompatibilities – this situational logic is one of compromise and therefore there is the potential for change, however the tendency is towards morphostasis. Institutions are necessarily related but the effects of their operation are to threaten the endurance of the relation itself. If one party accrues bonuses, then the other incurs penalties and this renders the relationship unstable, so not all parties can promote their interests without damaging the relationship. Therefore, the promotion of interests has to be a balancing act. The relations between the philanthropic foundations and the state suggest this logic. The balancing act of public benefit set against tax relief exemplifies this situation. The criticisms levelled at the new philanthropies may be a sign that this relation is becoming unbalanced.

For philanthropic foundations, the ideational compromise this relation represents is one between capitalism and democracy, where one doctrine seeks to correct another so that they become compatible. Wealthy capitalists have to live within democratic states since democracies enable the accumulation of private wealth supported by legal and financial systems and free association which generates co-operation and innovation (Reich 2016). Philanthropies are an illustration of the tensions between these two doctrines. The influence of wealthy, unaccountable elites on public affairs challenges ideas about

democratic representation; whilst the demands of democratic accountability threaten the privacy of the wealthy. To correct this incompatibility, philanthropies may fund proxies to lobby government so they are not directly associated with political impact (Reckhow 2016, Maclean et al 2015), and they might commission research to emphasise impersonal rationality rather than interested action (Guilhot 2007).

These situational logics relating to philanthropies are summarised in table 2.

In the second two logics, Archer considers the effects of factors external to the institutions that may change their course. In my study, these contingent relations are the possibilities of influence by external factors related to the social problems tackled by their grant programmes. These logics are contingent compatibilities and contingent incompatibilities.

[3-2](#) Contingent compatibilities– this is the logic of opportunism. Material resources offered from outside the necessary relations may be highly compatible with the interests of particular groups. In states of compromise, contingent resources may provide groups with an opportunity to break out of the stalemate to realise their interests. The situational logic of protection can be weakened if some, usually the marginal, can make new gains through external relationships.

Contingent compatibilities can offer new ideas, bringing choices that groups are free to take up or reject. Opportunists take advantage of these ideas to alter their situations. The tendency of this logic is towards morphogenesis.

[4-3](#) Contingent incompatibilities – the final logic is one of elimination. In these situations, external influences are so destructive that they overwhelm internal relations, so that the social structures cannot reproduce the social relations fostered by necessary complementarity or groups can't preserve the sustaining balance of resources to preserve necessary incompatibilities. War is the ultimate example of this contingency, but another

example, more pertinent to philanthropies, is the take-over of charitable hospitals, and the subsequent elimination of this institutional form, by the state at the creation of the National Health Service.

Ideationally, this logic is one of incompatibility between two doctrines, where followers of doctrine A insist on counterposing the ideas of doctrine B's adherents. A choice is forced and indifference is impossible, making the question of alignment inescapable. This situation exposes practitioners to alternatives and presents collectives in society with a diversity of ideas. This logic is morphogenetic.

Table 2: Situational Logics of the Necessary Relations of Endowed Foundations

	Grant holders	Government Regulation
SEPs	Complementary	Incompatible
	Protection	Compromise
	Reputation gains	Tax relief
	Sustainability	Public benefit
CEPs	Complementary	Incompatible
	Protection	Correction
	The deserving poor	Democracy and capitalism
	Voluntarism	
	Public benefit	

The Morphogenesis of Agency

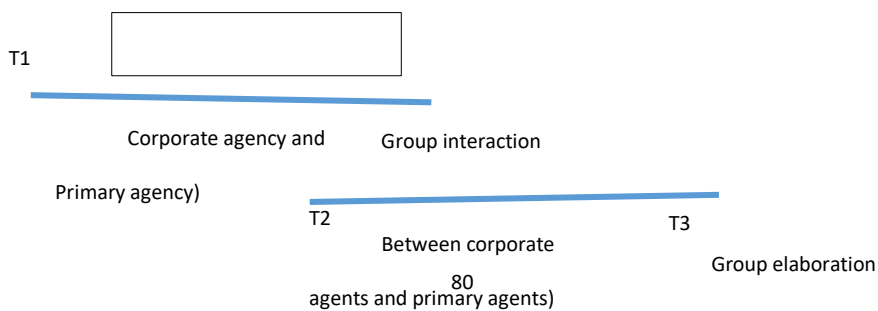
Having considered how structural and cultural emergent powers are configured so as to allow for change, Archer turns to consider the people who harness (or not) these emergent powers. She presents a stratified model of people, comprising the categories of person, agent and actor. A person represents an individual with continuity of consciousness and personal identity to enable a distinction between ourselves and society. For the morphogenesis of agency, this conception allows for acting and planning which depends on a continuous sense of self. This understanding of agency

is rooted in the notion of common humanity. However, the person, essentially in her bodily needs and her individual perspectives, also represents instability and impermanence which denies her the authority needed to challenge stable and enduring structures on her own (Boltanski 2011). Thus, the reproduction or transformation of structure calls for the action of collectives.

Agents are representatives of collectives with the same life chances e.g. propertied and property-less, powerful and powerless, discriminators and subjects of discrimination. As such, they are instances of the socio-cultural system into which they are born, when relative advantages are distributed as part of each person's involuntary birth-right. Archer makes a distinction between corporate agents and primary agents. Corporate agents articulate what they want and have organized themselves to get it through concerted action, for example by creating social movements and defensive associations. Primary agents lack a say in structural and cultural modelling as they do not express their interests or organize themselves to realise them. An individual may be a corporate agent in one part of her life, and a primary agent in another. Corporate agents are linked to primary agents in that they shape the context for all agents. In turn, primary agents react and respond to their context as part of living within it. In these responses to their context, they reconstitute the environment which corporate agency seeks to control.

Morphostasis demands an account of the divide between corporate and primary agents and how some given pre-grouping is reproduced during interaction. In contrast, morphogenesis calls for a discussion of how corporate and primary agents are re-grouped in the course of interaction.

figure 5; Corporate and primary agency in the morphogenetic sequence (Archer 1995, pg264)



Finally, the social actor is not a collective but arises from agency which conditions who comes to occupy different social roles. Actors occupy the roles that agents create but, unlike persons, actors entail necessary and internal relations, and resources and rules. Actors are role incumbents and roles have properties irreducible to the characteristics of the occupants in that, it is the role that is enduring rather than the person who occupies it. Moreover, actors only adopt roles because they are also an agent that has acquired interests at birth. These interests are acquired involuntaristically, but roles are occupied from choice.

Agents strongly condition what kinds of actors most people become as they transform the structural context. New positions are defined by the conflicts pursued by agents, but these roles carry the traits of compromise and concessions made in the course of reaching consensus. The social actor and the social agent are not necessarily different people, rather the distinction is temporal as the social agent is transformed into the actor. To complete the cycle, actors are anchored in the person to allow them to bring reflexivity and creativity to roles.

Morphostasis or Morphogenesis?

The achievement of morphogenesis for social movements and the successful reproduction of the status quo by defensive associations depend on the resources available to them from their pre-conditioning. These resources consist of wealth, sanctions and expertise, and their distribution is important since it controls participation in conflict. Those with the most resources will be responsible for the majority of changes, so we might expect that philanthropists and their foundations would be successful agents in bringing about social change. The distribution of resources affects participation as greater concentrations of resources mean narrower participation,

less concentration, more varied participation. With their role in distributing resources, philanthropic foundations may facilitate more varied participation in disputes about the common good.

Skilful corporate agents deploy their resources in relation to the resources of other corporate agents. Any imbalance of resources then power will be a feature of the interaction. The interaction of the agents and the SEPs and CEPs produces morphogenesis or morphostasis and at the same time, the SEPs and CEPs influence each other to generate pathways to change. Culture influences structure if the powerful group approves a doctrine, and then material interest groups embrace these ideas. Structure effects culture when particular ideas are linked to material interests. Archer identifies four configurations of SEPs and CEPs that affect the likelihood of change or stasis in societies:

1. Conjunction between structural and cultural morphostasis

This configuration suggests a totalitarian state, with a unified population, not yet subject to ideational oppositions. The social structure does not contain any organised marginal groups which interact to disrupt the hegemony. Cultural ideas are homogenous and reproduce social relations. Resources are retained by a small elite and this confines most people to the status of primary agents.

2. The disjunction between cultural morphostasis and structural morphogenesis

In this configuration, culture continues to reproduce the society, but in the structural field, there is substantial growth in different material interest groups. These new groups are pre-occupied with self-definition, self-assertion and self-advancement through social interaction within a stable social context. However, culture slows their progress as new groups derive no benefits from cultural status and they may be sanctioned, coerced and censured. So, new corporate agents have a structural motive for acquiring new ideas and can become anti-traditionalist.

These new corporate groups might go in two directions. In exploiting the weak spots in the compromises holding institutions together, they may destabilize the consensus and enter into a competitive mode where one interest group tries to eliminate the other. On the other hand, if they have no new ideas to disrupt the cultural hegemony, they may resort to interpretive adaptation. In this situation, new groups will look for compatible ideas that increase their draw without alienating their supporters. Thus, they follow a logic of opportunity, with an interest in sectionalism. Once the groups have let loose new ideas then the hegemony is undermined and cultural elaboration also occurs

3. The disjunction between cultural morphogenesis and structural morphostasis

Here, cultural morphogenesis is underway but structural stability acts as a break. Ideational diversification is dependent on distinct groups who have enough power to introduce and maintain specialised ideas. Structural influences can impede the emergence of new material groups, but can only slow the development of new ideal interest groups.

The two directions open to these new agents are to engage in competitive conflicts of ideas; or to add to the diversification of ideas. These strategies promote deeper cleavages and further sectionalism and draw primary agents into cultural competition or specialization. This new fund of ideas presents competitive advantages and new opportunities for material interest groups, e.g. as taken up during the Reformation and the Enlightenment, and at the same time, cultural morphogenesis changes people from traditionalists into evaluators of the alternatives. Therefore, cultural change leads to the revision of structural conditions.

4. The conjunction between cultural morphogenesis and structural morphogenesis

This is the prime configuration for the rapid shrinkage of the category of primary agents and their transformation into new, varied and more powerful interest groups as they acquire the characteristics of corporate agency, i.e. articulation and organization. This is the opposite of

configuration one, as the distribution of resources is much flatter. However, this type is rare since it is unlikely that both structure and culture will change at the same time. It might be considered as one possible future for configurations two and three with the alternative being a return to one.

It is characterised as a mix of competing and divergent interest groups in structural and cultural domains. Groups compete for material sponsorship and adjust their ideas in order to attract more diverse sponsors. Re-unification or reproduction is not possible in the face of divided and sectionalist groups. The outcome of this endless cycle is dependent on the resources and relations of the groups in interaction. These differing consequences are summarised in table 3 below.

Table 3: Cultural and structural morphogenesis / morphostasis at the systemic and social levels.

	Contradictions		Complementarities	
	Necessary	Contingent	Necessary	Contingent
Situational Logic	Correction	Elimination	Protection	Opportunism
CEPs				
C S Level	Syncretism	Pluralism	Systematization	Specialization
S-C Level	Unification	Cleavage	Reproduction	Sectionalism
SEPs				
S S Level	Compromise	Competition	Integration	Differentiation
S I Level	Containment	Polarisation	Solidarity	Diversification

From Archer 1995 p. 303

Overlap between Archer and Boltanski and Thevenot

Archer's model is used in this project because it enables a distinction to be made between transformative social change or the reproduction of society. The key features of transformation are

the organization of collectives into corporate agents and the shrinkage of primary agents as they join corporate agents or create new collective agencies. This can be translated into the funding of grassroots organizing as pursued by the foundations studied by Ostrander (2004) and Silver (2007). Further, the model points out the importance of separating out structural and cultural forces to fully understand their interaction and their engagement by collectives and interest groups. Finally, it articulates the constraints placed on agents as they face different situations, and allows us to assess the likelihood of social transformation without waiting for history to play out.

It shares features with Boltanski and Thevenot's (2006) model, the Orders of Worth. Both models emphasize the importance of collectives in bringing about change. Boltanski (2011) recognises the significance of individual experience in radical critique, but, like Archer and her conceptions of person and agent, this experience can only drive social change if it is harnessed to wider shared grievances, where collective understandings give personal knowledge legitimacy. Both authors identify common humanity as a fundamental principle; Archer in terms of social interaction as the only means by which society is transformed or recreated; Boltanski in terms of the essential equality of human beings which pre-supposes a search for justice.

Dispute is a key term for Boltanski and Thevenot (2006), as it supplies a moment when the stability of the agreed order is challenged. Archer does not identify dispute as the modality of change, but rather clarifies the logics underpinning disputatious situations, based on calculations of interest. This anchoring of dispute in interest, enables the construction of a hierarchy of haves and have-nots which informs the motivations behind actions.

Structural emergent powers and cultural emergent powers are echoed in Boltanski and Thevenot's Orders of Worth. In their necessary relations, these orders involve both material components, for example the categories of objects, tests and evidence, and ideational structures, such as higher principles and states of worth. These are brought together to present an ideological scheme which facilitates an examination of justification. Archer pays less attention to ideologies as

the unconscious drivers of action and although she recognises the divisions in society due to pre-conditioning, birth rights and unequal distribution of resources, regimes of domination and power asymmetries are not the central focus of her model. On the other hand, Boltanski and Thevenot are concerned with how actors construct the common good, in order to co-ordinate action at a pragmatic level, and, at a reflexive level, to challenge the status quo in the search for justice.

Thus, Archer presents a helpful view of social change in society in its totality which I will use to identify the type of social production, morphogenesis or morphostasis, emerging from the organizations' efforts to influence public policy. Boltanski and Thevenot provide me with a strategy to focus my analysis on disputes and a framework for identifying the ideologies of the organizations which the actors use to justify and persuade.

I now turn to describing Boltanski and Thevenot's model in more detail.

Moral Legitimacy and Orders of Worth

The work of Boltanski and Thevenot (2006) can be considered as a reconciliation of Bourdieu's critical sociology and French pragmatism (Gadinger 2016, Cloutier et al. 2017). It links the micro instances of action in particular situations with the macro structures of normative and moral principles (Gadinger 2016) to build a model of justice. To understand how our concept of justice operates in society, the analytical separation of action and morality is transcended by a focus on disputes, where actors justify their actions in the face of critique from others (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006, Gadinger 2016, Cloutier et al. 2017, Annisette et al. 2011). In conflict, actors refer, they argue, to commonly held judgements about worth (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006). Thus, researchers in this tradition are interested in the social work of achieving agreement and the co-ordination of action in the context of a multiplicity of conceptions of the common good (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006, Gadinger 2016, Cloutier et al. 2017). The organization is the ideal place to study how individuals negotiate these plural Orders of Worth to co-ordinate collective action (Cloutier et al. 2017).

Justifying their role in bringing about the common good, or more specifically public benefit, is a key task for foundation leaders as it establishes their organizational legitimacy. Organizational legitimacy has been defined as a mixture of pragmatic, cognitive and moral legitimacy (Suchman 1995), but arguably moral legitimacy has become more important as organizations are expected increasingly to contribute to public life (Scherer and Palazzo 2011). Further, as different conceptions of morality multiply, it has become more difficult to determine how moral legitimacy is judged. Moral legitimacy is particularly crucial for endowed foundations as the basis of their mission is to use their funds to produce benefit for all which tackles injustices such as poverty, ignorance and inequality (Charity Commission 2014). The imperative of public benefit implies a search for justice.

Moral legitimacy in organizations has been explained as normative isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1991) where organizations align themselves with professional norms. However, this explanation does not recognise the plurality of professional norms or the competing values within them (Reinecke et al. 2017). It has also been conceived as dialogue with stakeholders as organizations negotiate their place in society (Scherer and Palazzo 2011). This conception of moral legitimacy focuses on the procedural aspects of moral legitimacy, but does not consider the content of arguments and how actors decide on which argument is better. In order to make that kind of judgement, actors need to apply higher level constructions of the 'common good' as it applies to each situation (Reinecke et al. 2017). The communicative approach also does not consider why some voices are more dominant than others and it privileges consensus (Gond et al. 2016). The Orders of Worth perspective stresses the skills and competences of actors to challenge domination as well as acknowledging that consensus is usually fragile and sometimes not possible.

Boltanski and Thevenot (2006) developed their Orders of Worth framework by examining early works of political philosophy since these spelled out the principles of governing a polity and establishing a justifiable order among persons. The early nature of these works suggested that they were enduring models of political management, and political philosophy was preferred because of

its practical nature, as well as the presumption of justice underpinning the theses (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006). These works identified the 'common good' as well as clarifying the constraints in arguments. They included works by St Augustine, Adam Smith and Rousseau. Once Boltanski and Thevenot had identified the models of justice and the capabilities of actors in these works of political philosophy, they moved on to consider how these Orders of Worth are interpreted in worlds of action. To do this, they analysed manuals used in the business world written to regulate and advise organizations.

Boltanski and Thevenot (2006) identified six common worlds which could be used by philanthropies: the market world, drawn on by philanthropists promoting enterprise as a way out of poverty; the world of fame, used by fundraisers to raise money through celebrity endorsement; the industrial world, present in the rationalizing processes of grant monitoring forms and evaluations; the inspired world linking charity to notions of religious grace; the domestic world, represented by family trusts and giving over generations; and the civic world, based on notions of social solidarity and reflected in the accountability of decision making to external stakeholders. Subsequently, they have added the projective world, based on ideas of flexibility and connectivity (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005), and the green world, based on environmental concerns. The outlines of these common worlds are set out in table 4.

Table 4: Orders of Worth

World	Market	Fame	Industrial	Inspired	Domestic	Civic	Projective	Green
Common higher Principle	Competition	Public opinion	Efficiency	Inspiration	Tradition	Collectives	Flexible connectivity	Sustainability
State of worthiness	Desirable	Fame	Efficient	Inexpressible and ethereal	Hierarchical superiority	Rule governed and representative	Flexible	Sustainable
Human dignity	Interest	Desire to be recognised	Work	Creation	Habit	Civil rights	Spontaneity	Preservation
Subjects	Competitors	Stars and their fans	Professionals, experts	Visionaries	Superiors and inferiors	Collectives and their representatives	Partners and brokers	Inhabitants
Objects	Wealth	Names in the media	Means, methods, factors, causes	The waking dream	Rules of etiquette	Legal forms, legislation, regulation, policy	Projects	Nature
Investment formula	Opportunism	Giving up secrets, reveal everything to the public, make messages simple to appeal to	Progress	Escape from habits and routine, calling into question, shed one's rational mental outlook, demonstrate	Rejection of selfishness, consideration, duties to those for whom one is responsible, making	The renunciation of the particular, solidarity, transcending divisions, renunciation of immediate interest in	Establish connections	No discount of present utility

		majority opinion		creativity and inventiveness	relations harmonious	favour of collective interests, struggle for a cause		
Model tests	Deal	Presentation of an event, press conference, demonstration, open house	Trial	Vagabondage of the mind, adventure, quest, pathfinding, lived experience	Family celebrations, nomination, conversation, distinction	Demonstration of a just cause	Mobilisation of a network	Greening
Judgement	Price	Public opinion	Effective	The stroke of genius	Knowing how to bestow trust	The verdict of the vote	Ease of connectivity	Ecological balance
Evidence	Money	Success	Measurement	Intuition	Exemplary anecdote	Legal test	Number of connections	Long term impact
State of deficiency	Enslavement to money	Indifference and banality	Treating people as things	Temptation to come down to earth	Lack of inhibition	Division	Bondage	Pollution

Adapted from Reinecke et al. (2017)

I consider aspects of their model of justice and their framework of the common worlds, to understand this model in more detail.

Boltanski and Thevenot contend that all public justifications rest on a conceptualisation of justice where protagonists argue for a common good that is beneficial to all. They aim to develop an encompassing model of justice, from which one could identify different common worlds to which actors refer when they are justifying their actions. These common worlds can then be categorised into Orders of Worth. The first principle of this model is one of common humanity which maintains that each human being is essentially equal to another (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006). This sets limits on what can be justified, for example the argument for eugenics is unjustified since it pre-supposes that some members of society are not equal to others.

Unlike Bourdieu who accorded greater insight to sociologists, Boltanski and Thevenot argue that ordinary individuals have the capabilities to critically analyse and make judgements about justifications (Gradinger 2016, Cloutier et al. 2017). Since all members have the power to enter all the common worlds because of their common dignity, they have equal capacity to act for the common good and have the ability to shift between orders as the situation demands. Critical reflexivity develops as agents engage in disputes (Annisette et al. 2011)

Each of the worlds has a higher common principle which provides criteria for making comparisons and judging whether someone or something is worthy or not. Arguments must follow the rules of acceptability for that common world, so they are comprehensible to others, and contribute overall to the common good. Since the common worlds are incompatible and therefore, autonomous, and situations contain plural worlds, co-ordination of action requires an assessment of equivalence and a ranking of orders where actors clarify what people, objects and items have in common in order to come to a judgement about action. These situations involve tests which adjudicate as to the worthiness of the person or the object, for example in the market world the higher common principle is competition and the measure is price. Tests resolve uncertainty in

legitimacy struggles in situations where there is a combination of several higher common principles. For example, a grant making decision is partly based on the managerial competence of the applicant (industrial order of worth) rather than the strength of the personal relationship between the funder and the applicant (domestic order of worth).

Moral legitimacy is a constant achievement which reflects the provisional agreements between multiple Orders of Worth (Renieke et al. 2017). Since no world is superior to another, actors can agree to suspend the dispute without resorting to a test, and allow the worlds to co-exist. These truces vary in degrees of stability and the tensions between the common worlds are never truly resolved. The pluralism found in organizational contexts creates uncertainty, not just about the ability of the organization to meet the criteria of worth, but which Oorder of Worth applies to a particular situation.

Moving away from moral legitimacy as a dichotomous variable, this model sees legitimacy as a dynamic negotiation between the organization and different audiences. Therefore, organizations must construct a composite legitimacy drawing on different worlds in their search for moral legitimacy acceptable to various audiences. In some worlds they will be able to claim high worth but in others less. For example, the emphasis on rational governance for some endowed foundations would suggest high industrial worth but low inspired worth, associated more with earlier religious giving practice. The relations between the worlds will be the site of much activity as actors negotiate with stakeholders to construct their moral legitimacy.

Power relies on an actor's ability to mobilise different Orders of Worth from the proposed broad model of justice. However, this ability is not equally distributed, so actors of high worth within a particular world are considered more worthy spokespeople. Justifications are also justifications of power which highlights its normative regulation and how moral justification can alter power dynamics (Gond et al. 2016). Objects that are used to negotiate power, i.e. wealth, sanctions and expertise (Archer 1995), are associated with particular common worlds; wealth with the market

world; sanctions with the civic world; and expertise with the industrial world. A wealthy entrepreneur may use the worthiness generated by a record of success to access policy makers to drive a social agenda (Maclean et al. 2016) as well as spending money to create new realities (Schervish 2005). Foundations can point to their worthiness both in complying with regulation and in the judicious application of sanctions during grant management. Foundations may also take evidence-based positions to establish their credentials when they speak about social problems.

Although justifications strengthen social arrangements with imputations of worthiness, situations of domination where justifications are imposed are not justifiable, since domination serves personal interests of the few who benefit, rather than providing potential benefit to all (Boltanski 2011). Archer (1995) concedes that change may be imposed by force, but Boltanski and Thevenot (2006) restrict the use of their model to instances where violence or the threat of violence is not present, in order to understand the persuasive strategies used by actors.

This model suggests that Orders of Worth are merely rhetorical, but Boltanski and Thevenot argue that worthiness requires material sacrifice and tangible investment. Worthy beings are those that have made some sacrifice of personal pleasure to become spokespeople for their world, and to serve as its guarantor and example for others who are less worthy. As with tests, each world has a particular investment formula that grants worthiness. Philanthropists demonstrate particular worthiness, since by giving up their wealth they establish high moral worth.

Conclusion

By adopting a combination of these two models I will be able to understand whether power relations between agents have shifted to transform society, specifically whether new corporate agents form; to investigate whether the grant programmes have a reciprocal effect on the organizations; to identify the moral arguments that the organizations use to justify their engagement in social problems; and the moral arguments their leaders use with others to reproduce or transform society.

By examining their websites to understand their arguments for their legitimacy to act in public policy arenas, I will explore their pre-conditioning as represented in their organizational identities, specifically which Orders of Worth are drawn upon as they make their case to their publics. The outline of necessary relations provides a lens to consider their relations with policy makers and grant holders in each grant programme, and how they use notions of the common good to protect or correct their relations. In their arguments for social, systemic or structural change, I examine their moral framing in documents and pamphlets promoting their vision of a just society. Finally, Archer's identification of the re-grouping of interest groups in society as the key indicator of morphostasis or morphogenesis allows me to judge the potential for structural change arising from the grant programmes. Whilst the analysis of their ideological discourse about the common good, provides an account of a generalizable causal mechanism underpinning these effects.

By bringing together these two models from Archer and from Boltanski and Thevenot, this thesis represents an innovation in method. Critical realist ontology allows for an examination of material reality alongside the sense-making of human actors to account for social change.

The thesis goes beyond ideas associated with the benign fallibility syndrome (Anheier and Leat 2019) which seems to locate problems of the assessment of achievement within governance without considering the importance of discourse as a driver of action.

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Chapter Four: Method

Introduction

In this chapter I set out the process I followed to collect and analyse the data. I recruited two field sites in 2013 and visited them intermittently over a period of about four years. This is not an ethnographic study, since I was not a regular or continuous presence at the foundations, but rather I attempted to visit and observe major events throughout the life of their grant programmes over four years. I also collected the material they produced to support and advocate for the issues relating to their programme.

I present the rationale for my choice of methods and analytic strategy, how I chose the organizations and the process of recruitment. The data collection process is laid out in a timeline for both organizations. I go through each of my research questions and describe how I analysed the data. Finally, I consider how the study meets quality requirements for critical discourse analysis research. I start with outlining my research questions.

Research Questions

My central research question will be answered by the four sub-questions listed below. The central question addresses the issue of the construction of the common good which underpins much of the legitimacy discourses concerning philanthropic organizations (Healy and Donnelly-Cox 2016). It also draws attention to their mission to influence social change. The first two sub-questions focus on the identity of the organizations as constructed by their leaders and how it produces their moral legitimacy which, in turn, informs and enables their arguments for social change. These two questions will use Boltanski and Thevenot's (2006) framework to identify the Orders of Worth most commonly drawn upon.

The second two questions address the relations between the foundations and their funded clients and the policy makers they are trying to influence, ministers and officials at the Ministry of Justice in the case of the Family Trust, and employers in the case of the City Fund. This will use Archer's (1995) model in combination with the Orders of Worth schema. The focus of these two questions is social change. By answering these two questions, I hope to understand the relationship between their arguments for the common good and their necessary relations as they are played out in the contingent circumstances of their grant programmes. The final question allows me to assess whether these organizations contribute to social change or reproduce social relations.

I will return to the central question in my discussion.

Central Question: How do constructions of the common good affect the identity and actions of leaders of philanthropic organizations in the course of campaigns to influence societal structures and systems?

- 1. How do two endowed foundations constitute their moral legitimacy to promote social change through their organizational identity produced on their websites and by their leaders?**
- 2a. How did this moral legitimacy support their arguments for social change in the fields of penal and unemployment policy?**
- 2b. What happened as a result of their grant programmes?**
- 2. How did the leaders of the organization constitute their relations with grant holders?**

Case Study Methods

This study takes a case study approach using critical discourse analysis (Vaara and Tienari 2002) and frame analysis (Creed et al. 2002) to explore the structures around leader agency in philanthropic organizations. Case study research has been used to produce empirically based

hypotheses which are tested in various field sites (Yin 1994). It has also been used by ethnographers to produce rich descriptions of individual organizations without the particular aim of generalising to other similar organizations or about comparable processes (Stake 2006). In contrast, critical realist case studies aim to provide a rich description of their field sites in order to identify the generative mechanisms responsible for the observable patterns of behaviour (Kessler and Bach 2014).

In case study research, the unit of analysis is the organization and my data comprise text from their website, policy documents, published on the website, and interviews with senior managers. The data has been collected over a period of four years from 2014 to 2018 (see timelines pgs. 108/9). I have chosen two cases, the Family Trust and the City Fund, that explicitly use evaluation and research in their claims about their contribution to society because of my interest in philanthropic agency through the use of evidence. The two cases have similar ambitions to influence policy but are different in their history and approach to grant making and thus allow an exploration of isomorphism across two organizations in the same sector (Buchanan 2012, Toft and Reynolds 2005). Studying two organizations, I can reflect on similarities to develop an institutional picture as well as examine contingent differences between the organizations. As such, they represent comparative cases.

Cases enable an ethno-methodological approach to data analysis in that the meaning of utterances can be anchored in a specific context where there are practical consequences (Potter 1996). As my focus is on the persuasive arguments of the organisations, I concentrate on the use of language. In producing sequences of events, case studies present opportunities to explore how actors use language for particular ends. They offer context, important for understanding the specifics of interaction. They show the instrumental use of language, taken up by actors to construct realities, myths and ceremonies (Potter 1996, Suddaby and Greenwood 2005). Therefore, I use discourse analysis where language is closely examined to understand their construction of the common good in their policy contexts.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse is a broad term with various meanings due in part to its theoretical and disciplinary antecedents in a wide range of sociological, anthropological, philosophical, linguistic and literary studies (Grant et al. 2004, Putnam and Cooren 2004, Alvesson and Kärreman 2000). For my purposes, I follow Grant et al.'s (2004) definition of the term 'organizational discourse' to refer to 'the structured collections of texts embodied in the practices of talking and writing (as well as a wide variety of visual representations and cultural artefacts) that bring organizationally related objects into being as these texts are produced, disseminated and consumed'. Researchers pursuing discourse analyses are often interested how language and talk construct organizations (Berger and Luckmann 1967). In this study, I am specifically interested in how a sense of legitimacy is created in relation to discourses.

Discourse analysis is concerned with interaction, often through examining conversations. Approaches to analysis focus on the meanings of immediate exchanges and at the same time seek to uncover traces of other conversations held at earlier stages in the organization's history (Fairclough 1992). These different layers of meanings in conversation affect action in that they restrict the range of resources available to managers as they create and reproduce the organization. This mixture of action and interpretation is expressed in the terms 'text' and 'agency', and discourse analysis is concerned with how texts effect action and how agents shape texts (Putnam and Cooren 2004). The stability of texts and their capacity to endure outside the local interaction of their creation mean that they affect actions apart from their original genesis. Thus, we can say that texts have an agency of their own as they act to constitute the organization (Weick 1995) and make a difference as to how organizations carry out their business (Putnam and Cooren 2004).

There are two methodological approaches to discourse analysis, broadly labelled as 'language in use' and 'context sensitive approaches' (Grant et al. 2004). 'Language in use' approaches draw on research traditions associated with linguists and semiotics, and a typical

strategy is conversation analysis (Schegloff 1984). Here the concerns are to examine the structures and rules of local and temporally bound conversations but also to explore meaning beyond that instance of communication to develop the story of the unfolding interaction (Putnam and Fairhurst 2001). 'Context sensitive' approaches take the view that discourse analysis can and should contribute to a greater understanding of how social, political and historical forces affect local interactions and actions in organizations (Grant et al. 2004). The most prominent of these is critical discourse analysis (CDA) which aims to reveal how language relates to ideology, power and socio-cultural exchange (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Van Leeuwen 1993). In these approaches, any text is 'a link in a chain of texts, reacting to, drawing in and transforming other texts' (Fairclough and Wodak 1997 pg. 262). In this way, discourse analysis, enables us to bridge the gap between the local practices of the foundations as they develop and implement their grant programmes and the larger concerns of their place in society and their licence to engage in public policy influencing.

Discourse analysis can be associated with post-modernist epistemologies and social constructivist ontologies (Hardy and Thomas 2015) but Fairclough (2005) argues that critical realism underpins critical discourse analysis. CDA treats discourses as structures created through relations and processes that provide agents with sets of limitations and affordances on their practice. Discourses can be articulated as part of a stratified ontology. At one level, critical discourse analysts consider relations between discursive and non-discursive, i.e. material, elements in order to give a full explanation of the event. At another level, they explore relations between the discursive elements of an event and the discursive elements of networks of social practices, termed orders of discourse (Fairclough 2005). Agents who compose and speak texts do so using implicit social practices which are the conduit of deeper social structures. Thus, CDA examines concrete events as a moment of discourse, but also seeks to understand the impact of pre-constructed discourse on the event as utilised through the agents' social practice.

In distancing himself from conceptions of organizations as a collection of processes in constant flux (e.g. Clegg et al. 2005), Fairclough (2005) describes organizations as durable entities with their own causal powers, which shape events but are always contingent on powers of other social agents. Further his assumption that “Organizational structures are hegemonic structures, structures which are based in and reproduce particular power relations between groups of social agents, which constitute ‘fixes’ with enduring capacity to manage the contradictions of organizations in ways which allow them to get on with their main business more or less successfully” (pg 931) lays out the ground for examining the organizations in this study. Under examination are the social relations between funder and funded which, inevitably, involves an investigation of hegemony given the power differentials between the two groups of social agents. Equally, social relations between funder and policy makers exhibit power differentials, even if power is based less on resources and more on representative legitimacy.

A debate in discourse analysis has been how to bring an understanding of context to bear on micro textual analysis carried out in analysis (Fairclough 2005, Phillips and Oswick 2012, Barry et al. 2006, Leitch and Palmer 2010). Researchers are urged to increase the saliency of their work by connecting their textual analysis to the material aspects of organizational life (Phillips and Oswick 2012). The examination of text within a context marks out CDA from other forms of discourse analysis (Leitch and Palmer 2010) since its critical stance leads researchers to interrogate the hegemonic nature of discourses in respect of those in positions of privilege and those at the margins (Keenoy et al. 1997). Its basis in critical realism leads the researcher to theorize links between macro societal contexts such as the institution of philanthropy and texts relating to organizational processes such as the implementation of a grant programme and roles in influencing public policy.

Therefore, CDA, as a research strategy, aligns with critical realism since its focus is on both structure and agency. Its concerns about hegemonic relations in the context of social and political action fit with this organizational context, both in its relational aspects and its ideational aspect.

Further, discourse links legitimation to ideology, power relations and historical context (Joutsenvirta and Vaara 2015) and is used in this study to understand how leaders in these organizations frame their arguments so that reality is (re)produced in such a way that certain outcomes are realised rather than others. Since their grant programmes are designed to address problems of social inequality and injustice, these are necessarily controversial and thus inevitably involve ideological struggle (Vaara and Tienaari 2008). So CDA helps us understand how legitimation is carried out and how discourses mobilise consent from the dominated and in so doing, creates legitimacy for the organizations.

Recruitment and Data Collection

I started my recruitment in 2013 by listing the major endowed foundations with offices in London and then approaching those which had publicly espoused the use of evidence as an important part of their funding strategies and a commitment to tackling the root causes of social injustice. However, I relied, in the end, on my existing contacts to get access to the two field organizations.

Initial meetings with both sites established the aim of the study, which programmes I might follow and who the key respondents were. At the outset, I recognized that this study could not follow a programme from its inception to the final reporting stage of evaluations as this would take five to six years, which was longer than my proposed period of data collection. I was fortunate in that the two field sites had programmes of differing maturity, one in the early stages and one coming to the end of a funding stage. The 'Moving on Up' programme, devised by the City Fund, was in the process of being shaped by consultations with the voluntary sector in London. It was hoped that this initiative would support young black men into employment. The criminal justice programme of the Family Trust, was in the middle of its most recent iteration and was expecting the formative evaluation of its current projects to be completed soon. These projects were supporting young adults (18-25 years old) currently in the justice system or in danger of becoming part of it.

In these early meetings, I negotiated access to these programmes as a way of covering the different types of report that would be produced. I sent a memorandum of understanding to both organizations and was assigned two contacts, the Director of Special Initiatives in the City Fund and the Programme Manager for the Criminal Justice Programme in the Family Trust. I agreed to present a seminar of findings to both sites once I had completed my analysis.

My contacts agreed to send me relevant material and I followed up on any documents mentioned in interviews and in meetings. I asked if I could attend any meetings of relevance regarding their programmes and their efforts to develop and commission evidence.

I enjoyed reconnecting with people I had lost touch with and was delighted with the warmth of their welcome. However, I did feel some unease as the study, inevitably, would be critical of work that these leaders were proud of, and who were also friends, in some cases. Leaders in the Family Trust were particularly wary of my interest, and anxious to reassure themselves that I fully understood the recent changes to the foundation that they had implemented. I took this anxiety as an indicator of the newness of this direction and the uncertainty as to its legitimacy and efficacy. Leaders at the City Fund were much more laid back since there had been no recent upheaval and I was studying their funding practices established some years ago.

What data have I collected from the field sites?

The data from each of the sites is of slightly different character because of the stage of their programmes. The Family Trust projects were up and running and contributing to the externally run evaluation process. Therefore, formative evaluations were available. On the other hand, the City Fund were just starting to award grants to their projects and so materials informing the scoping of the grant programme were more pertinent.

Although I read a wide selection of material from the Family Trust, I decided to analyse only those documents that were clearly authored by them. This narrowed my choice of document considerably since most of their policy documents were written by their partners in their Alliance.

However, it meant that I focussed on documents that I could defend as examples of their agency. Although the evaluation reports were written by their evaluators, these were taken to be representative of the social relations between them and their grant holders, therefore they were included in the analysis.

Table 5: Family Trust: Data collected and used in analysis

Data Type	Data Collected	Data Used in the Analysis
Interviews	Programme manager of Criminal Justice Programme (2 interviews)	Question 1: All interviews
	Director of Programmes (2 interviews)	Question 2: Programme manager interviews
	CEO	Question 3: All interviews
	Trustee	
Meeting observations	Alliance meeting	Background material which informed collection and personal reflections
	Project meeting	
	Trustees meeting	Question 3: reflections drawn on to position myself in relation to the grant programme
	Alliance Conference	
Published Policy Documents	Formative evaluation of Alliance projects	Question 2: Pathways from Crime Pamphlet
	Previous evaluations of earlier projects in the group – formative and summative	Written Evidence to Justice Committee consultation
	Materials from project to inform evaluations such as case studies	Oral Evidence transcripts to Justice Committee Inquiry
	Commissioned research discussing the issues of the programme more broadly.	Question 3: Evaluations of the programme examined in relation to grantee / funder relations
	Newsletters	Question 4: Government response to Justice Committee Inquiry

	Written evidence to Justice Committee Inquiry at the House of Commons	
	Transcripts of oral evidence to Justice Committee Inquiry	
Published History of the Organization	A History of the [Family] Trust (Waterson and Wyndham 2013)	Question 1: Chairs' afterword
Internal organizational documents	Strategy documents	Question 4
Website material	About us pages Our Programmes pages	Question 1

I took the same approach with the City Fund, but this was slightly more difficult as their policy documents were all commissioned research. They set out their argument for their programme in 'Action Plan to Increase Employment Rates for Young Black Men in London'. This was written by a management consultant who became very heavily involved with the programme, so I took this document to be a legitimate expression of their agency. Evaluation reports were included even though they were authored by their evaluators for the same reasons as above.

Table 6: City Fund: Data collection and used in analysis

Data Type	Data Collected	Materials Used in Data Analysis
Interviews	Director of Special Initiatives (3 interviews)	Question 1: all interviews
	CEO (2 interviews)	Question 2: Director of Special Initiatives
	Director of Policy (2 interviews)	Question 3: all interviews
	Trustee	Question 4: second round of interviews
Meeting Observations	Grant-making committee Learning meeting held with funded groups	Question 3: reflections drawn on when considering the unfolding of grant programme.

Published reports	Evaluation planning workshop with evaluators and members of the foundation (recorded and transcribed)	Question 3: evaluation planning workshop transcript when considering relations between grant holders and funder
	Advisory Group meeting	
	Celebratory event at the end of the programme	
	Action Plan to Increase Employment Rates for Young Black Men in London	Question 2: Action Plan, Good Work Standard Question 3: Evaluation Reports
	Work in Progress	
Internal documents	Good Work Standard – Consultation response to GLA strategy	
	Evaluation Reports	
	Quinquennial review	Question 3 – Quinquennial review, papers for grant committee, consultations about programme
	Reports on consultation meetings	
	Evaluation of Funding Programme	Question 4: Funding Evaluation and Funding strategy
	Funding strategy	
	Documents associated with consultations about programme	
	Papers for the grant committee	
	Minutes of the London Advisory Group	
	Progress reports to the trustee committee	
Website materials	About us pages	Question 1
	Our programmes pages	
	Storify – online organizational history	

Interviews

I chose to interview only the leaders, those at director level and one programme manager in the Family Trust -in the organizations, including trustees of both foundations, the trustees were chosen by staff as knowledgeable about the programmes I was following and acted as champions for the work . This strategy was chosen, since I decided that these people would be most anxious about and most responsible for the legitimating processes of the organization. They also shape and authorise material on websites and in publications. In the first round of interviews, I asked each interviewee to choose a document that had some bearing on their programme and their activities relating to evidence and evaluation. This strategy enabled a discussion that could range from a particular instance to broader concerns and tactics of the organization. As such, the first round of interviews was semi- structured, whilst the second round was fairly unstructured.

The first part of the interview concerned their history in the organization and their views about the programme and its genesis. We then discussed the document. I asked them why it was developed, what role it played in their work, how they used it and what they thought about it.

For the second round of interviews, I reviewed the transcripts for gaps in my understanding about their processes and their intentions. My own intellectual process had moved on considerably in the interim and I wanted to explore with them the link between legitimacy, change and evaluation. These ideas became the basis of the enquiry for the second round.

All the interviews were transcribed by Indian Scribes – www.indianscribes.com – and were checked by me to make sure that they were accurate.

Meeting Observations

I asked my contact to notify me of any meetings of interest. Since I knew something of funder processes it was straightforward to suggest likely events.

At the City Fund I was able to go to the grant making committee that made the first round of grants to the 'Moving on Up' programme. At this meeting I was interested in the discussion about the projects and what the decision makers, the trustees, were particularly interested in. I attended a workshop run for senior managers where they developed a framework for evaluating their whole programme. I managed to record this meeting and I had part of the meeting transcribed. I observed a learning event meeting held with grant holders to support them in their learning from their work. I also went to their advisory group meeting and attended a celebratory event at the end of the programme where they launched their evaluation. I noted my observations after the initial set up meeting and a catch-up meeting about a year later.

At the Family Trust, I went to an Alliance coalition meeting to hear about the progress of the funded projects. I attended a conference where various projects were showcased. I joined a trustees' meeting where the interim reports of the evaluation were presented by the principal investigator from Sheffield Hallam University. I went with the programme manager to visit a project. I wrote notes about the two set up meetings I had with the CEO and the Director of Programmes to gain access to the site.

I noted all meetings and wrote up my notes as soon as possible after the event. I also recorded my impressions and feelings about these encounters.

Ethics

Each interviewee was sent a consent form and an information sheet before our meeting (see Appendix 1). I went through the consent form with them before they signed. They had opportunities to ask questions and understood that they could withdraw at any stage. When I interviewed for a second time, I reminded them of the consent they had given. I introduced myself at meetings I attended, explaining the purpose of the study. For the recorded meeting, I asked permission to record from the participants.

The Birkbeck School of Management research ethics committee approved my research

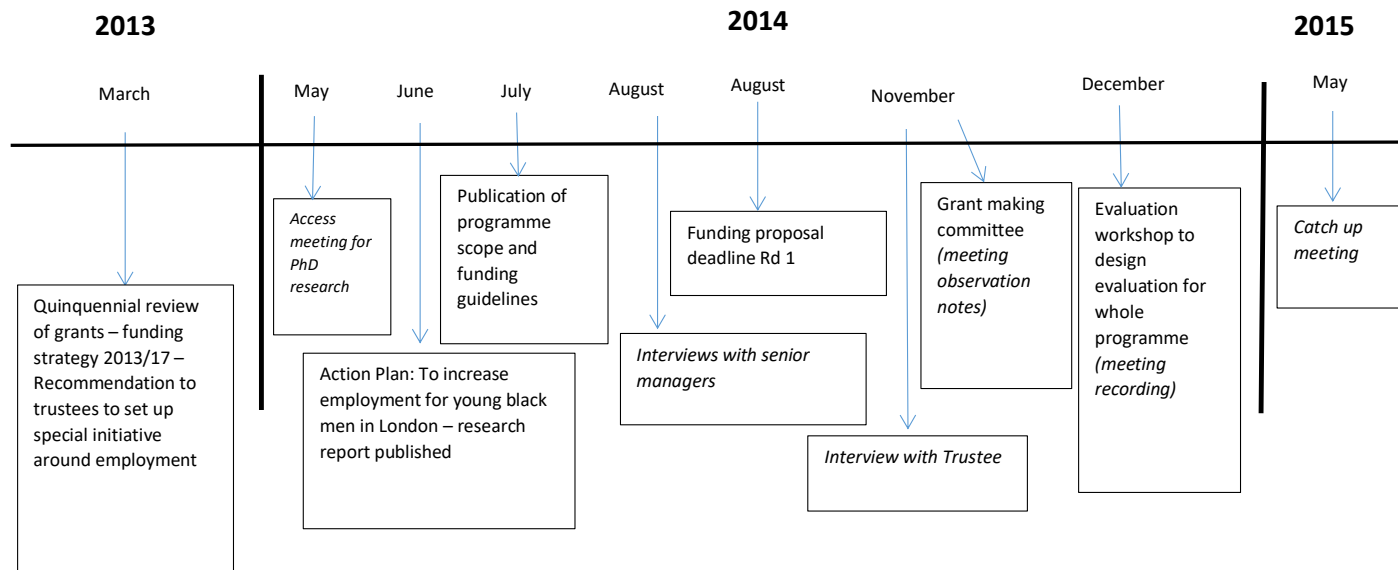
All interview data is stored on my laptop which is password protected. Other documents have been downloaded from their websites and are publicly available. I have sent them copies of my written-up case studies to ensure that I was representing their work correctly.

The organizations are readily identified from these public documents and so I cannot protect the anonymity of my respondents. Therefore, I propose to embargo the publication of this thesis for ten years. I will make every effort to disguise the organizations and the individuals when I publish journal articles.

Data Collection Timelines

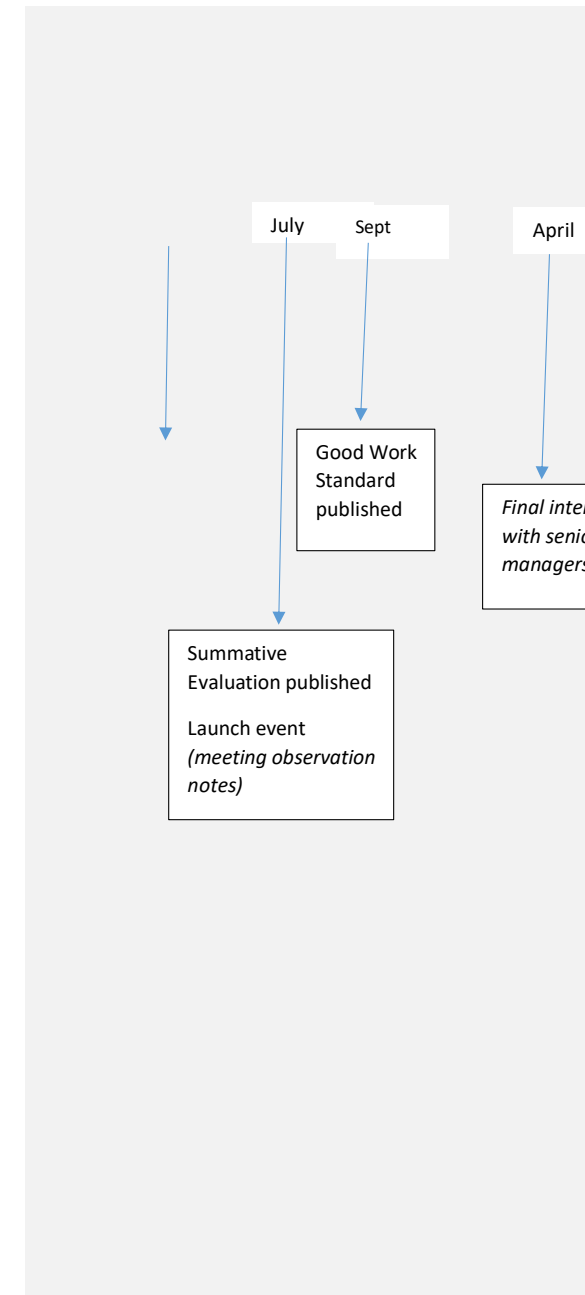
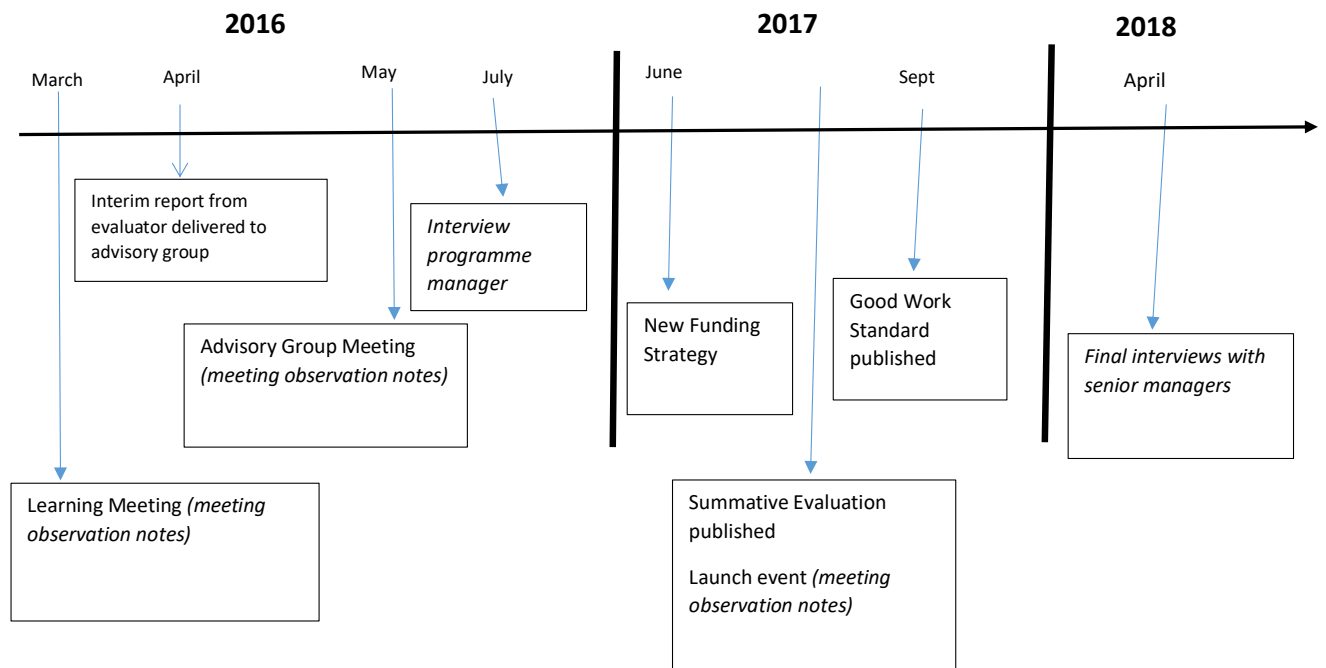
To summarise the data collection of the Family Trust and the City Fund, I set out the time line of their projects in figure 6 and 7 and the points at which I collected data.

Figure 6: The City Fund – Employment Programme Research Timeline



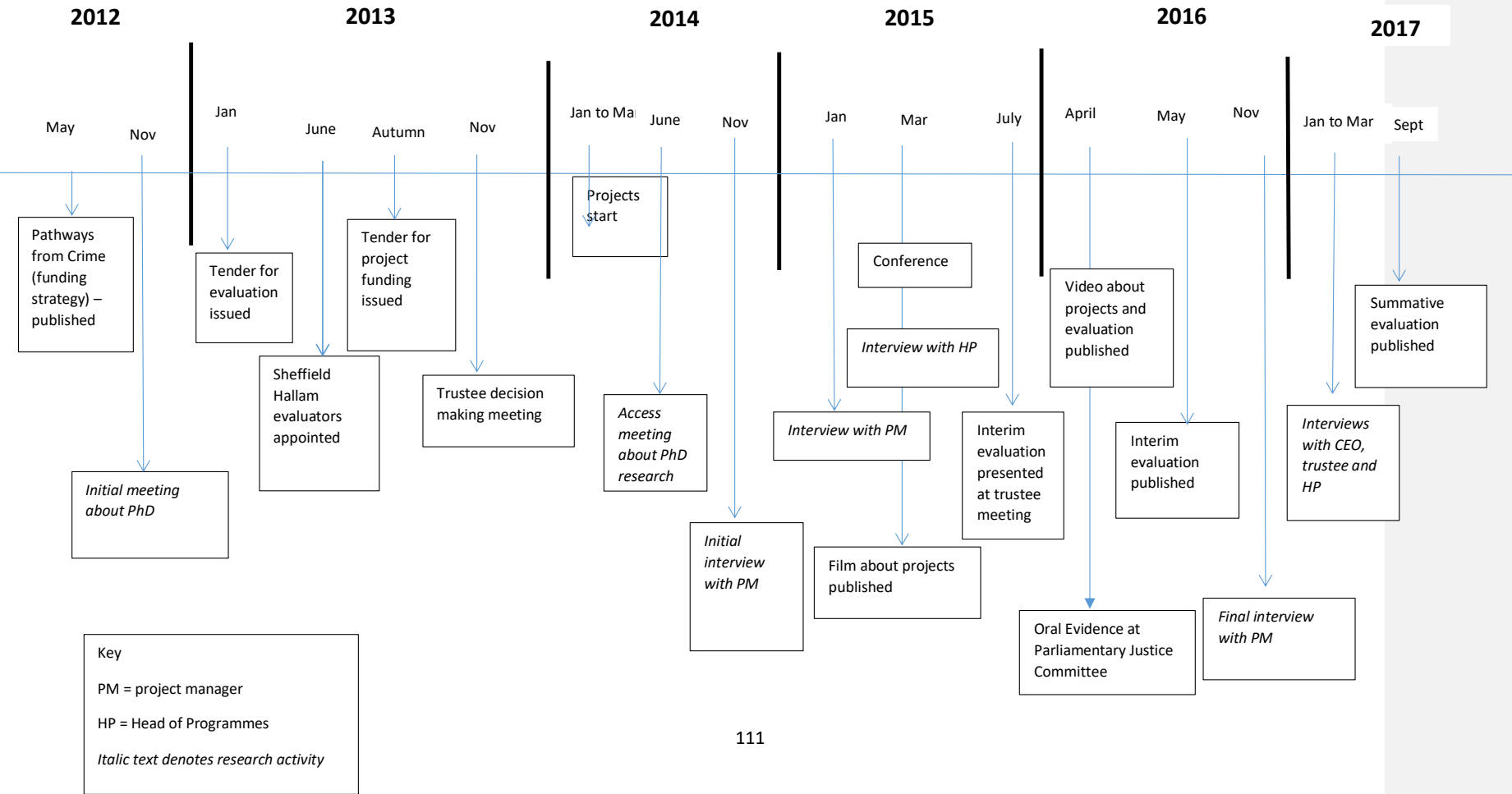
2017

2018



Italic text denotes research activity

Figure 7 : Timeline of Family Trust’s Criminal Justice Programme during data collection



Analytic Procedures

The difficulties in establishing if social change is happening or has occurred, make the evaluation of the philanthropic achievement especially problematic, never mind considering if the change in question is progressive. These uncertainties create ambiguities for their work since it is unclear how their performance and results from their programmes contribute to change (Sillince and Brown 2009). Therefore, the maintenance of an identity which creates coherence, but, at the same time, is fluid enough to allow for organizing in the face of such uncertainties is a key task for these organizations.

Organizational identity as an amalgam of past choices made by organizational actors and a resource for future choices (Whetten 2006). Its identity must allow it to be recognisably part of the institutional field but at the same time, exhibit enough difference to promote loyalty to a particular organization rather than others. Collective identities are influential since they provide a cognitive, normative and emotional connection for members which supports interactions with others from the group (Polleta and Jasper 2001). These both motivate staff and provide guidance for behaviour.

The characteristic identity claim tells us about the central, enduring or distinctive aspects of the organization (Whetten 2006). As institutions develop, discourses and related texts create the vocabulary and norms which establish meanings and create relations of power and knowledge (Heracleous and Barrett 2001). These discourses play an important part in the constitution of organizational identity.

In my example, the two foundations have the task of presenting their goals so that multiple constituencies can engage with them and participate in their work. Persuasive texts promote the self-identification of audiences with their messages to support cooperation (Sillince and Brown 2009). I decided to use website material since this was an officially sanctioned presentation of their identity and as such written to engage with multiple audiences to persuade others of their

legitimacy (Sillince and Brown 2009). To this end, I extracted data that represented the central, distinctive and enduring aspects of their work as a way of understanding their identity (Albert and Whetten 1985, Sillince and Brown 2009). This information was found on the 'About us' pages which included information about their history. I downloaded introductions to their grant programmes as examples of distinctive and central aspects of their work. To back up this analysis, I extracted statements from the first round of interviews with the organizations' leaders relating to enduring, central and distinctive aspects of their organizations. Additionally, I used the chair's afterword in a history of the Family Trust (Waterson and Wyndham 2013) as a way of generating more material about the enduring aspects of the foundation. An example of each kind of statement taken from the websites is set out in table 7.

Table 7: Examples of identity statements

Example statement	The Family Trust	The City Fund
Enduring aspect	Since its foundation the [Family Trust] has been in the vanguard of social change. Inspired by Christian Quaker beliefs and a vision for a more just society, [the Founders], used their increasing wealth, (whilst living modestly themselves), drawn from the company, to tackle profound social ills, including juvenile crime and urban poverty.	For more than century we have been at the forefront of efforts to help London's poor to help themselves.
Central aspect	The Trust's mission is to use all of our assets, especially our money, to work with others to bring about structural change for a more just and equal society.	We aim to tackle poverty and inequality in London and we do this by: funding voluntary and charity groups – each year we make grants totalling around £7.5 million and at any one time we are supporting up to 400 organisations; funding independent research; and providing knowledge and expertise on London's social

Distinctive aspect	Standing apart from other philanthropists, even rejecting the term itself and the patronage it implied, [the Founders] were influential social reformers who worked ceaselessly to improve the communities around them.	issues to policymakers and journalists. A key component of this [strategy] is amplifying the voices of those who are experiencing the problems which civil society is trying to address. We believe these voices need to be central to work that tackles poverty and inequality.
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In order to establish which Orders of Worth they are drawing on, I coded these statements for vocabulary associated with each Order of Worth, as set out in Partiotta et al. (2011). The full list of words is provided in Appendix 2. This narrowed down the Orders of Worth associated with each organization.

Then I re-read the descriptions of the Orders of Worth in On Justification (pgs. 159-213) which were dominant for each organization in my textual content analysis to confirm the connections between the Orders of Worth and the identity text from the organizations (Neilson 2018). The findings consist of an account of their identities, analysed as an example of an order or Orders of Worth.

This analysis enables a picture of the pre-conditioning of the organizations and their leaders in terms of their moral legitimacy. This provides some explanation as to the reasoning underpinning their grant programmes and why they structured their grant programmes as they did.

Each programme had a different focus. The criminal justice programme was focused on changing policy and so the data consists of policy reports directed at opinion formers in the criminal justice system. Therefore, it was reasonably straightforward to identify documents to analyse. The 'Moving on Up' programme was concentrated on supporting voluntary sector organizations to deliver specialist services. The policy makers were more difficult to identify and I concluded that the

notion of 'employers' was too disparate. I included, therefore, a response to a Greater London Authority (GLA) consultation about the quality of jobs, since this was an indirect way of influencing employers and part of their employment initiative if not directly about young black men.

The Family Trust

Data

The Family Trust is an example of an agenda setting organization as it directs much of its efforts at engaging policy makers at all levels. To answer this question, I analysed documents concerned with their arguments for distinct young adult provision in the criminal justice system. Specifically, the Trust argued for the expansion of existing juvenile arrangements to include young adults up to the age of 25, where currently it exists until the age of 20. They made this argument in many policy documents, but I have concentrated on the 'Pathways from Crime' pamphlet, written and oral evidence given to the House of Commons Justice Committee inquiry into the management of young adults in the criminal justice system and the interviews with the Programme Manager of their criminal justice work. The reason for choosing these documents is that they are clearly authored by the Trust, as all of their related policy documents are written by other members of their criminal justice alliance (afterwards referred as 'the Alliance').

The 'Pathways from Crime' pamphlet was written to promote the work of their first pilot studies in Birmingham, London and West Mercia to politicians, policy-makers and practitioners. It encourages others to take forward their work with this age group and to embrace their claims that young adults need distinct provision. Moreover, I assume that this pamphlet sets out their rationale for their future funding round which was based on the ten points of the pathway, introduced and discussed in this pamphlet. However, this is not explicit in the document.

It was written under the auspices of the Alliance, made up of campaigning, service delivery and policy organizations working in the field. It could be argued that this pamphlet represents the views of the Alliance rather than the Trust. However, the Trust not only convenes this Alliance, but provides the secretariat. Further, senior officers sit on its management group, which steers and

implements the actions of the Alliance. Therefore, I considered this document to be representative of the views of the Trust.

I examined the contributions made by the Trust to a public inquiry on the treatment of young adults in the criminal justice system, conducted by the House of Commons Justice Committee. The Trust, under the name of the Alliance, submitted written evidence and participated in an oral evidence session, held at the House of Commons in April 2016. The Committee published its report in October 2016, and the Government responded in January 2017.

I take this sequence of events as an example of the Trust's contribution to public policy debate. I analysed their written response to the consultation, as well as a transcript of the oral evidence session where the programme manager of the criminal justice programme gave evidence. I also returned to the interviews of the programme manager since he had much to say on the purpose and content of their programme.

The City Fund

Data

The intervention of the City Fund can be characterised as capacity building of the voluntary sector, and much of their policy influencing work was directed towards their grant holders. To this end, they ran learning events every six months to encourage greater reflection by project workers and to find out how the work was progressing. These efforts and others appeared to be directed at persuading their voluntary partners to take on the 'Work Programme' model, devised by government and adjust it to the needs of young black men. However, they did undertake more public lobbying and published the booklet 'Action Plan to Increase Employment Rates for Young Black Men in London', henceforward referred to as Action Plan, to set out their ambition for the programme and to highlight the plight of this group. This is the core document for their arguments to improve the employment opportunities for young black men and makes the argument for why the City Fund chose to focus on this disadvantaged group.

In parallel, they ran an initiative that focused on improving the quality of jobs for all. This seemed to evolve over the period of my interest and I did not follow it closely, partly because they found it difficult to recruit voluntary agencies through the traditional grant making route that were skilled enough to negotiate with employers to change work practices. However, they did respond to a consultation run by the GLA to define a good quality job. I include this in my analysis since it was intended to influence employers, although the text was more concerned with enriching careers rather than supporting the achievement of employment.

I also used the interviews of the Director of Special Initiatives who was most engaged in setting up the Moving on Up programme, setting the parameters of the evaluation and liaising with the groups. She was the most knowledgeable about the programme and its intentions.

Process

Creed et al. (2002) make the case for the use of frame analysis in organizational research since it helps us understand the environmental, cultural and societal dimensions of policy and social action as it is situated in organizations. It has been developed by policy analysts as a way of understanding the array of arguments and counter arguments that surround complex social issues (Gamson and Lasch 1983, Schon and Rein 1994). I used this analytic approach to answer the question about their policy arguments (Questions 2a/b) since it allows for an explanation of their arguments as well as an identification of the underlying Orders of Worth that inform and constrain these proposals. Creed et al. (2002) advocate its use in understanding organizational change, but here it is used to identify the sense making frames or organizing principles (Goffman 1974) that these actors use as they propose solutions to the problem of youth offending and the employment of young black men.

I am particularly interested in identifying the role that Orders of Worth play in their consideration of action. To conduct the analysis, I constructed a table in which I combined relevant categories from Creed et al. (2002) and Creed et al. (2002a), as well as adding the category, 'Orders

of Worth' (for the full list of categories in appendix 3/4). This category connects the findings from the previous analysis and enables a reading of their arguments couched in the ideologies underlying their identities. To complete my analysis of their legitimation strategies, I look at the types of legitimating strategies identified by Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) and translated them into the sub-categories from the Orders of Worth. The fourth legitimation strategy, mythopoesis, does not have a direct translation, so I looked for stories and narratives that supported legitimation and could be investigated in terms of authority, knowledge and morality. These strategies then formed the basis of my analysis and are set out in table 8.

Table 8: Legitimation strategies from Van Leeuwen and Wodak translated into Orders of Worth categories

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) – Legitimation strategies	Boltanski and Thevenot (2006) – Orders of Worth sub-categories	Justification for translation
Authorization	Subjects / state of worthiness	Authorization refers to traditions and customs and particularly to the persons in which authority is vested; subjects refers to highly valued individuals and states of worthiness refers to the authority vested in an individual who have high worth in a particular order. This category focuses on legitimacy as a personal attribute, accrued from the traditions of the order of worth.
Rationalization	Tests / Judgements / Evidence	Rationalization refers to the utility of specific actions based on knowledge claims that are accepted in a given context as relevant; the tests category refers to the adjudication between worlds in order to come to a compromise, and relies on evidence and judgements that are relevant to the context of the order of

Moral Evaluation	Common higher principle	<p>worth. This category is based on knowledge claims.</p> <p>Moral evaluation refers to legitimation based on specific value systems that provide a moral basis for claims; the common higher principle provides moral criteria for making judgements as to whether something is worthy or not. This category is based on moral claims.</p>
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Firstly, I read the pamphlets, Pathways from Crime and Action Plan, as the fullest example of their arguments and identified their major arguments. For the Family Trust, these were: biological maturity is more important than chronological age; distinct provision for 18-25 year olds is needed; and community sentences are more effective than custodial ones. For the City Fund, these were: young black men face racism from employers and job centre staff when seeking work; they work hard to overcome negative preconceptions; and employers discriminate against them. I used the other documents to supplement my understanding of the arguments. I managed the data in Nvivo 10 and used the categories as nodes.

In writing up the analysis, I first focussed on the content of the arguments and this covered the statement of the problem; what solutions they advocated; what were their motivations for advocating for these solutions; and what other actions they had taken to support their arguments. I then applied Archer's table (pg.303) to the data to identify the potential for systems change, i.e. whether the foundations could be changing society (morphogenesis) or reproducing it (morphostasis).

To conclude the analysis, I describe what emerged from their efforts to influence policy. I use the internal strategies that came after the programmes, where they reflected on their learning from the intervention and laid out what their next steps would be. Additionally, I examine the

response of the government to the parliamentary enquiry into the treatment of young adults in prison as a concrete instance of the response from policy makers to lobbying from the Family Trust.

From this analysis, I identify where the outcomes of their grant programmes place them in Archer's morphogenesis and morphostasis table, reproduced on page 209, in terms of their relations with policy makers and with grant holders

Lastly, I analysed the interviews to understand their relations with their grant holders. I included in this analysis an examination of their evaluation reports as a concrete manifestation of their contractual relations with their grant holders. In these accounts, I was interested to understand the extent of donor control, and therefore I looked for examples where the grant holder organizations were clearly separated and recognised as an independent organization from the funder, and conversely where the grant holder and the funder were conflated by respondents. This analysis sheds some light on the relations of complementarity (Archer 1995), identified in the theoretical framework. However, I also looked for instances where the relations were contradictory and respondents described efforts to balance interests.

As a precursor to the analysis of each programme, I present my own reflections of the grant programmes, using my notes from various meetings, I attended. This gives the reader a sense of the temporal unfolding of the programme, but also how it affected me as the author of this study. The questions I had as I observed the meetings inevitably affected the conduct of the interviews and gave me some clues as to what to look for in the various accounts of the programme.

Qualitative Rigour in Critical Discourse Analysis Research

Mullet (2018) sets out criteria for assessing rigour in critical discourse analysis studies which I have attempted to respond to in the design of this research project. The first of these is an awareness of my positionality (Morrow 2005). I hold multiple and conflicting positions in relation to this project, that of past practitioner in the field, friend to some respondents and current compiler of evidence at a reviewing facility at UCL. These positions have affected, inevitably, the decisions I have

taken and my responses to the material I have collected. The recognition and articulation of these multiple roles both gives insight into these positions and informs my own assumptions and knowledge (Haynes 2012). I explored this further when I wrote about my impressions of the programmes using notes from my self-reflexive journal.

I have responded to the issue of adequacy of data (Lincoln and Guba 1985) by collecting data from a variety of sources and using a purposive sampling strategy in only collecting data relevant to the two grant programmes, as well as material relating to organizational identity. I have clearly articulated my analytical framework in chapter three and have re-read the data to immerse myself in the material I was analysing (Miles and Huberman 1994).

Finally, I have deployed theoretical triangulation by taking into account four levels of context (Wodak and Meyer 2009). I have examined immediate language, notably in the vocabulary used to articulate identity frames in question one. In questions one, two and three, I have considered interdiscursive relations between the Orders of Worth in terms of identity, their arguments for social change and their compromises with other partners. In the case study write up, I have discussed the immediate social context of both grant programmes. My results illuminate the broad social context of the place of these two philanthropies in a democratic society which my literature review identifies as problematic.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have set out the procedures I followed to collect and analyse the data from the two field sites as a necessary precursor to the results chapters. Next, I describe the field sites to set the scene for the analysis and root the organizations in their social, historical and organizational contexts.

Chapter Five: Case Study Description of the Two Foundations

Introduction

To set the scene for the textual analysis, I describe the two organizations, their grant programmes and the major policy changes in the penal and employment systems affecting their programmes during their operation. This allows the texts to be embedded in their context.

The origins of both foundations are described to enable links to be made between their histories and their current practice. This contributes to establishing their identities before I examine texts in detail. I describe major policy changes to the welfare and penal system that will make sense of the arguments they make for changes to public policy.

The Family Trust

The Historical Context

To understand the historical context, I outline the achievements of one of the founding philanthropists since she was a leading campaigner for penal reform and thus her career connects strongly to the work of the Trust today. Her career provides the historical context for the grant programme and is drawn on by senior managers to establish the organization's legitimacy based on her contributions to the reform of the criminal justice system regarding juveniles.

At the start of the twentieth century, her religious connections brought her into contact with reformers in America who were setting up the first juvenile courts in Chicago. These she visited (Roberts 2013, Logan 2014). She campaigned for the greater involvement of women in hearing juvenile cases as magistrates and acted as a volunteer probation officer to these early juvenile courts (Logan 2002, 2014). She followed up all the cases of young girls in the courts, attempting to find

them work or to support them in other ways (Logan 2002, 2014, Roberts 2013). These volunteers, often women, were sometimes denigrated as 'child savers' (Logan 2002).

Child saving was a 'conservative and romantic' movement (Platt 1969 pg 21) originating in America at the end of the nineteenth century. Platt was critical of the movement, arguing that it arose as the result of bored, middle-class women with little to do at home. Both Platt and Logan position the predominantly working-class children as victims of middle-class women, but Logan (2002) allows that prominent female magistrates, such as the founder, were influential in bringing a more progressive perspective to rehabilitation such as probation and psychological guidance.

The campaign for reform of juvenile corrections was responsible for creating new legal institutions, i.e. the juvenile courts and new correctional institutions, i.e. the reformatory school. In the British context, magistrates were urged to use psychological examination in the course of their work to understand the offender, alongside calls for greater use of probation (Logan 2014). The founder opened a child guidance clinic in 1924 and pioneered observation centres for children to enable assessments of children's mental state (Logan 2014, Roberts 2013). Like women, adolescents were assumed to be ruled by their biology, puberty in their case, and therefore their cases should be dealt with by specialists (Logan 2002). Early juvenile courts were attended by doctors as well as probation workers.

Many of the ideas for the probation profession had been developed by under-employed middle-class women, sent as missionaries by temperance societies to rescue families from domestic violence in the late nineteenth century (Logan 2002). Indeed, philanthropy provides the cornerstone of ideas for all modern social work, including a belief in the moral reformation of paupers; the personal engagement with the poor as seen in prison visiting; and the principle of self-help rather than state help (Villadsen 2007). McWilliams (1983, 1986) charts the move from the explicitly religious role of the missionaries where the volunteers intervened on behalf of the criminals to plea for mercy to one where they wrote reports diagnosing the social problems of the offender. In the

end, this increasing use of scientific rhetoric played a part in transforming the missionary into the social worker and probation officer.

Thus, the founder constructed for herself a role in social reform as well as using her connections to promote and support social innovations, such as women magistrates, probation work and juvenile courts. She was appointed as an expert on juvenile justice policy by the Home Office in 1925 and influenced the subsequent Children and Young Persons Act in 1933 (Roberts 2013). She also set up the first purpose-built children's remand home with her husband which provided for physical needs as well as assessing mental health, an innovation inspired by new ideas from psychology (Roberts 2013).

The Organization

The founding philanthropists set up the Family Trust in 1920. Other trusts were created by them and their son but the majority were dissolved or merged to form the Family Trust in 1994 (Waterson and Wyndham 2013). Traditionally, the Trust has been managed by the family. In 2015, out of the eleven members of the board, eight are members of the founders' family including the chair. Of the three remaining trustees, one has a background in the public sector, both at a national and local level, one is a finance and property consultant, and one is an academic.

Their expenditure in 2013/14 was £3,143,395. They split their budget between funding small development projects in the city associated with the factories that created the wealth of the founding philanthropist, and larger policy focused programmes with a national remit. These programmes are focussed in areas of historical concern to the charity, such as criminal justice, or of more recent political interest, such as immigration and financial resilience. In 2015 they produced 32 publications in support of their policy influencing work. They attend all the main political party annual conferences. Their head office moved to central London in 2003 from the founders' home city in order to be nearer to central government to enable lobbying on behalf of their communities of interest with material arising from their grant programmes.

This emphasis on generating policy focused information from their grant making is relatively new and was established by the previous chief executive. The current CEO has been in post since 2008, and the head of programmes since 2009. It is a small staff team, (10 people), consisting of a CEO, a head of programmes, a head of finance, an internal affairs manager, three programme managers, a communications manager and two administrators. The staff is mainly female (7/11), of mainly white ethnicity (9/11), with representatives from sexual minorities, and most with backgrounds working in the voluntary sector. Both of the leaders in the Trust, the CEO and the Head of Programmes, worked for other funders before they took on their roles. The staff is well educated (for example senior managers hold a PhD in a scientific discipline and an MSc in Criminology). In 2015, most of the trustees were white (10/11) and 7 out of 11 members were women. They come from the professional class, such as teaching, with backgrounds in the public or charitable sector.

The Programme

Their criminal justice programme is long-standing, dating back to the founders, with its specific focus on young adults accounting for around two thirds of the budget since 2008. To support and inform the programme, the Trust has funded three generations of pilot projects. The most recent of these began in 2013/14, when they invested £858,449 in 6 demonstration projects and related campaigning and policy advocacy work. Their six service projects received £50K a year from the Fund with matched funding from statutory services. The criminal justice programme is their most mature programme and the focus on young adults came out of a commission set up in 2004 where experts identified the needs of young adults as a gap for policy making and the voluntary sector. This same commission identified the issue of 'maturity' as meriting attention, and managers in the Trust have interpreted this by engaging with recent developments in neuroscience. The ambition for the practice projects was to build on progress made by the youth justice system. The organization created an advisory and campaigning coalition, [the Alliance], to help shape and steer the programme. This has a separate website but the main contact on the website is the Trust's programme manager for the criminal justice programme.

Members of this coalition are engaged in criminal justice work and they include campaigning organisations, such as the Prison Reform Trust and the Howard League for Penal Reform. Individual organizations from the Alliance have produced reports to support the policy and campaigning work. This group meets every quarter to hear about the progress of the grants and the evaluations, as well as to discuss ongoing lobbying and campaigning strategies. They produce publications and run conferences on matters of concern to them. All the major publications from this stream of this work are held on the Alliance's website. The quarterly meetings are supported by staff at the Trust and held at their offices.

As of 2016, their demonstration projects were in the third year of operation. In order to be funded, applicants had to demonstrate that they addressed a specific problem for young people along a criminal justice pathway mapped out by the Trust as a result of a previous project and desk research. The aim of the programme was to fill evidence gaps for young people's services along this pathway in order to present recommendations to policy makers in an attempt to create a holistic system of care for these vulnerable young people. Applicants responded to a tender issued by the Trust in August 2013 with an expression of interest. Seventy-four expressions of interest were received. If they were successful at this stage, they were asked to fill out a full application. These were initially considered by staff and a trustee, before the final six being put forward to trustees for approval.

The previous iteration of pilots established the potential for young adult specific services within a probation context. They were evaluated by Oxford University and Catch22. They conducted a formative and summative evaluation and a cost benefit analysis was carried out by Matrix Evidence. For the most recent group of projects, they commissioned a formative and summative evaluation from Sheffield Hallam University. The formative evaluation was published in early 2016 and the summative evaluation reported in 2017. All evaluation reports are published on the Alliance website.

The programme manager spoke with each of the project managers regularly on the phone and visited them every 6 months. The agencies were expected to report quarterly to the Trust on their progress and to produce case studies. They were also required to send the Trust their annual accounts. They were invited to report on their progress at Alliance meetings and every year they attended a meeting at Sheffield Hallam University to discuss the evaluation. Money was released every quarter.

The Pathway Projects

The Pathway Programme was launched in January 2014 to test approaches that take account of maturity and transitions for young adults at key points on a pathway through the criminal justice system. This pathway was developed after the end of the previous projects and provided a framework for deciding on the next projects. The final six projects were conceived as representing ‘collectively a *whole pathway approach* to working with 16-24 year olds throughout the criminal justice process’ (Wong et al. 2016 pg. 1). The pathway is represented in figure 8.

Figure 8: The Alliance Pathway



The six charities funded through the initiative are: Addaction, Advance, PACT (Prison Advice and Care Trust), The Prince's Trust, Remedi, and Together for Mental Wellbeing. Table 9 gives a brief overview of their work and identifies the pathway point which corresponds to their work.

Table 9: Characteristic of the projects funded in the Pathway Programme (Wong et al. 2016, pg 2)

Pathway Project	Location	Age Range	Key intervention	Pathway point (s)
Addaction	Liverpool	16-24	Treatment and one-to-one support	1 - policing and arrest 5 - sentencing
Advance Minerva	Tri-borough area of London	18-24	Early stage tailored support for young women	1 - Policing and arrest
PACT	HMP/YOIs in West Midlands	16-24	Family and relationship support	8 - Custody 9 - Resettlement
Prince's Trust	HMP/YOIs in Staffordshire	16-24	Mentoring to support entry to education, training and employment	8 - Custody 9 - Resettlement
Remedi	South Yorkshire	17-24	Restorative mentoring	3 - Restorative justice 6 - Community sentence
Together	Rotherham	17-24	Early stage mental health assessment	1 - Policing and arrest 2 - Diversion

(ADD source)

Policy Context

We must assume that this pathway does not exist in a policy vacuum and that the situation of young people and the criminal justice system is affected by the policies of the government.

During the period of this grant programme, the Coalition and Conservative governments cut the benefit entitlement for this age group, namely 16-24 year olds. This had the effect of reducing the

possibilities of adult independence for these young people. Additionally, the government brought in changes to the probation services. These reforms are discussed briefly below.

Welfare Benefits

In their assessment of the effects of class inequalities in the transition to adulthood, Berrington et al. (2017) conclude the recent financial crisis and the resulting austerity regime of the Coalition and the Conservative governments have made it harder for young people to enter stable employment, remain out of debt and establish themselves enough to start a family. Fergusson (2013) has argued that rising social inequality created, in part, by the withdrawal of welfare entitlements to young people is an important factor in youth crime.

Young people, aged 18, have access to Job Seeker Allowance (JSA), but at lower rates (£57.90 per week) until they are 25. This does not afford financial independence (Berrington et al. 2017). JSA regimes are increasingly punitive and sanctions are readily applied, resulting in many young people choosing not to register or facing sanctions that mean they are left without financial support (Fergusson 2017). At a ~~recent~~ Conservative conference, David Cameron announced an ambition to cut all benefits for those under 21 (The Independent 2013).

In the 2015 budget, the government removed entitlement to housing benefit for most childless 18-21 year olds from April 2017 (The Independent 2015) and capped housing benefit to single adults under 35, so they can only claim for a bed-sit or a single room in a shared house (Berrington and Stone 2014). These changes to housing benefit have led to increased fears of homelessness amongst the young. ~~Recent~~ Estimates suggest that 83,000 young people were in touch with homeless agencies in 2013/14, and there was a 40% increase in young homeless people in the London area in 2011/12 (Watts et al. 2015).

Transforming Rehabilitation

In May 2013, the Coalition government published its plans for reform of the probation services (Ministry of Justice 2013). These changes included: a new supervision regime for those on sentences of less than 12 months; a 'through the prison gate' resettlement services ensuring

continuous support from prison into the community; an opening up of the market to new rehabilitation providers; new payment incentives so that providers focus on desistance; and a new national probation service to manage the most serious offenders in order to protect the public.

These changes could not have been predicted by the Trust at the start of their programme in 2005, but we can assume that the service changes affected the projects they funded.

Commentators suggest that the changes presage a direction that favours punishment rather than rehabilitation; a greater centralisation of service delivery; and a dismantling of the contribution of the voluntary sector to local probation work (Burke and Collett 2016, Fitzgibbon and Lea 2014, McNeill 2013). In effect, it is a privatisation of probation since the reform takes away local autonomy from probation workers and centralises decision making through service contracts with the state (Fitzgibbon and Lea 2014).

Their criminal justice programme displays remarkable coherence as it emerges from the career of and takes inspiration from their founding philanthropist. Within this broad concern for children in the criminal justice system are themes associated with new scientific disciplines of psychology and, today, neuroscience; personal interventions with young people, as delivered by probation and youth work; and attempts to shape the criminal justice system on the basis of age in the light of new understandings about childhood. This coherence must strengthen their identity since they can argue they are continuing the considerable legacy of their founder.

The City Fund

Historical Context

The historical context for this foundation is less important than the Family Trust as it has no charismatic founder, but rather it is an outcome of social reform. However, there are some historical echoes that may have influenced their current concerns.

This organization was set up in 1889 when, as a result of a Royal Commission, churches in the City of London amalgamated their parish funds for the poor into two endowments. This decision

was prompted by the migration of the poor out of these parishes as the City became the country's financial centre and many of charitable bequests lay unspent. The money was invested so the interest could be distributed to good causes serving all of Londoners. In 1986, the government created a new endowment as it wound up the Greater London Council and asked this organization to take on the management of its funds. In 2010, all three endowments were amalgamated to be administered by the organization for the benefit of Londoners.

In 1889, the commissioners tasked with creating a foundation to manage and grant aid institutions in London decided to commit the new organization to funding polytechnics, a new educational form that provided vocational training as well as social activities for lower middle-class boys. The commissioners tied the hands of the board by committing a large proportion of their income to the polytechnic cause, but the trustees wisely invested in property and so enabled the endowment to increase in value as property prices rose (Owen 1965). This has created one of the largest endowments held by a trust dedicated to London and Londoners.

The Organization

Their offices are located in the City of London, close to the parishes where their endowment originates. Annually they spend about £7 million and made 134 grants in 2014, and they have approximately 400 grants in management at any one time. From 2013 to 2017 their funding priorities are concentrated on projects concerning employment, advice, social justice, violence and small groups. My interest is in the employment priority, which has a budget of £2 million made up of funds from the City Fund and another charitable foundation serving the capital. This is classed as a special initiative which means higher individual awards to different projects and greater investment in evaluation in order to draw out lessons from the implementation and results of the interventions. The special initiatives are considered flagship programmes. This strategy is not new for the Fund and has been a characteristic of their work for at least 20 years. Projects funded through the special initiative programmes are often evaluated externally and staff from the grant holding agencies receives training in evaluation.

The type of project tends towards service delivery but the Fund has also supported campaigning work and commissioned think tanks and universities to do literature reviews as well as secondary analysis of data. In 2014, they published 25 separate reports connected to their priorities and to social issues affecting Londoners. They have a reputation for using their evaluations to influence decision makers and choose their funding topics with policy outputs in mind. They will also joint fund with other funders interested in the same topic and therefore have strong working relationships with other funders. Joint funding agreements increase the amount of budget for these initiatives and add to the influential voices to take forward policy messages. It means shared decision making at proposal stage and involvement by the other funder in evaluation design. Advisory committees oversee the special initiatives and representatives of other funders will have places on these boards.

Decisions on which grants to support are made at the board of trustees. In 2014, the trustees are made up of: individuals with connections to the City of London including financiers, accountants and lawyers; voluntary sector activists and retired civil servants with third sector expertise; journalists and policy advisors to government and charities; local councillors; and church representatives. The board represents a mix of ethnicity (4/16 from BME communities) and gender (8/16 female). There are grant making boards for each of the priority areas and committees to oversee the investments and assets of the endowment.

The staff team is small, with 19 members, and relatively stable. The senior managers have worked at the fund for on average 10 years. The team is made up of a chief executive, a director of special initiatives and evaluation, a director of policy and grants, a director of finance, a publications and IT manager, a communications manager, a finance manager, four grant management officers and eight administrative staff. The staff team reflect the ethnicities and identities of communities in London in that they are ethnically diverse (7/19) with two directors of ethnic minority heritage, of differing sexual orientation and predominantly women (10/19), and their working backgrounds are

in the voluntary sector. The last job of the CEO was running a large national mental health charity. They are well educated with some holding further degrees, and, one of the senior managers has an MA in Evaluation.

The Programme

The employability programme was developed as a result of their five-year review of their programmes. They have long been interested in employment issues and have funded in this area for many years. These concerns have recently been exacerbated by the austerity regime of the Conservative and Coalition governments, and staff and trustees were troubled about the plight of young black men whom they considered to be a particularly vulnerable group. Further, they were disappointed by the projects in their employment portfolio over the previous five years, since most were focused on getting young people into work but not about their progression or about the quality of their employment. Therefore, they decided to create a programme that would target young black men and support projects that specifically addressed career progression and improving the job quality of this group. They attracted another London based funder to contribute funds and the call for proposals was sent out in August 2013. The first grant making committee met in December 2013, and accepted 6 projects into their portfolio. These projects were funded for two years. Managers intended to run another round of funding but they were disappointed by the results from the first funding round so they decided to curtail the programme and fund more focussed work in a couple of boroughs.

To support the development of the funding scope, they commissioned two reports, [Action Plan] (Black Training and Enterprise Group 2013) relating specifically to the employability programme, and a more general [Progression in Work] (Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion 2013). These were written by a think tank, specialising in employment issues, and a consultancy dedicated to ethnic issues with an interest in training and employment. The consultancy also provided expertise to the grant making board when it came to making decisions about which projects to support in the employability programme. Initially, it ran the learning groups set up to

support the successful applicants in their evaluation efforts. The projects met together every 6 months to discuss the progress of their work.

The Director of Policy and Grants, interested in the career progression aspect of the work, set up two workshops for agencies interested in applying in order to discuss the issue and to generate ideas and future applications to his programme. The focus would be on employers rather than individuals. He had difficulties in finding voluntary sector agencies with the skills and experience to tackle this issue so he took the route of commissioning particular pieces of consultancy from one agency and consulting with the Trades Union Congress to identify other possible avenues of funding.

The Director of Special Initiatives oversaw the evaluation of the employability programme. To this end, she set up a workshop with a consultancy so that senior staff from the Fund and the contributing trust could develop a theory of change for the programme as a whole. This resulted in an evaluation framework for the programme. She visited all the projects regularly to find out how their work was progressing and released payment to them. She did not necessarily attend the learning sessions since she felt that project staff may be less open with each other if a representative from the funder was present at their discussions. She had a personal grant management workload of about 50 grants, so the time she spent with each was limited.

In order to release the money, project staff filled in a monitoring form every 6 months and submitted annual accounts. An advisory committee met every 6 months. It was made up of trustees from the two funders, trade union representatives, experts in the field of equalities and employment, a representative from Job Centre Plus, staff from a local college and it was chaired by a BME entrepreneur. In May 2016, this committee met to discuss the formative evaluation report from the external evaluators. The summative evaluation report was completed by March 2017.

There were six projects funded and evaluated in the employability programme and they are described briefly in the table below.

Table 10: Characteristics of the Organizations funded in the employability Programme

Name of Organization	Model/Approach	Outcomes
Borough of operation		
Action West London Brent, Ealing and other West London Boroughs	Recruitment Agency	<p>Informing young people about specific employment opportunities and requirements;</p> <p>Improving general understanding of the world of work and employer expectations;</p> <p>Helping young people to clarify employment goals;</p> <p>Improving job application skills</p>
Elevation Networks Haringey	Mentoring	<p>Improving general understanding of the world of work and employer expectations;</p> <p>Facilitating engagement / interaction with employers;</p> <p>Helping young people to clarify employment goals;</p> <p>Improving soft skills;</p> <p>Building character – raising aspiration, motivation, confidence, improving attitude, growing resilience;</p> <p>Changing young people’s expectations about the possibilities open to them.</p>
Hackney CVS Hackney	Holistic approach, focussing on aspiration and motivation	<p>Building character – raising aspiration, motivation, confidence, improving attitude, growing resilience;</p> <p>Changing young people’s expectations about the possibilities open to them;</p> <p>Improving soft skills;</p> <p>Improving general understanding of the world of work and employer expectations</p>
London Youth: Build it South London	Work experience (construction)	<p>Providing work experience;</p> <p>Improving general understanding of the world of work and employer expectations;</p> <p>Facilitating engagement / interaction with employers;</p>

		<p>Helping young people to clarify employment goals;</p> <p>Improving job application skills.</p>
Making the Leap London wide	Developing social skills and aspirations	<p>Building character – raising aspiration, motivation, confidence, improving attitude, growing resilience;</p> <p>Changing young people’s expectations about the possibilities open to them;</p> <p>Helping young people to clarify employment goals;</p> <p>Improving job application skills;</p> <p>Improving general understanding of the world of work and employer expectations.</p>
Step Ahead London wide	Recruitment Agency	<p>Informing young people about specific employment opportunities and requirements;</p> <p>Improving job application skills;</p> <p>Helping young people to clarify employment goals;</p> <p>Improving general understanding of the world of work and employer expectations.</p>

Adapted from the Moving on Up: Evaluation Report (TSIP 2017 pg 44)

The Policy Context

In this context, the major government programme concerning unemployment was the Work Programme which is described below. This programme provided the comparator for the employability intervention and was referred to by senior managers in the design of their programme. The rise of precarious work, often termed the ‘gig’ economy, also has implications for the aspects of their programme concerned with decent jobs and opportunities for career progression. These contextual factors are discussed briefly below.

The Work Programme

The Work Programme (WP) was set up in 2011 by the Conservative / Liberal Democrat Coalition government and closed in April 2017. It represented an extension and intensification of previous employment programmes, e.g. New Deal for Families, developed by the Labour government (Rees et

al. 2014). It extended the employability programme provision to all the unemployed, including the disabled, lone parents and the chronically sick who had previously been excluded from requirements to seek work. It intensified the New Deal programmes by sub-contracting all provision to mainly private sector providers and relying on a payment by results system to reward outcomes relating to sustained employment (Rees et al. 2014, Ingold and Stuart 2016). The commissioning of providers, called 'Primes', by the Department of Work and Pensions did not stipulate how providers would deliver the outcomes, so called 'black box' commissioning, but they limited resources to such an extent that provision tended to be standardised and low-cost interventions (Fuertes and Lindsay 2016).

The programme failed to meet its minimum targets in its first three years. Ingold and Stuart (2016) argue that was partially a result of a flawed programme design which emphasised demand side interventions but remained based on supply side ideology. Much of the effort of primes was directed towards large companies in order to intervene in their recruitment processes and move attention towards their unemployed clients. However, their outreach did not extend to SMEs because of a shortage of resources and no networks of local businesses they could use to enable greater reach. This lack of coverage meant that the primes could not generate enough demand for their clients (Ingold and Stuart 2016). Moreover, the focus of their work with the unemployed was based on ideological assumptions concerning the lack of motivation of job seekers, rather than an acknowledgement of weak demand because of the recession (Ingold and Stuart 2016, Fuertes and Lindsay 2016, Deeming 2015).

Some voluntary sector organizations participated in the supply chain set up by regional primes, sometimes offering specialist services to clients with particular needs. In a Scottish study, such organizations reported a changing relationship with their clients, focussing on short term outcomes and the sanctioning of behaviour, and differences in the types of clients they worked with (Egdell et al. 2016). There was some suspicion that primes were using the voluntary sector providers

to park clients with complex needs and therefore, making it difficult for specialists to sustain their involvement (Egdell et al. 2016). Others point to the primes as invading the field of employability services and marginalising long standing voluntary organizations (Taylor et al. 2016). The expansion of a private sector presence led to a less diverse landscape of providers in Scotland with fewer opportunities for funders to commission alternative provision (Egdell et al. 2016).

Precarious Work

Self-employment and companies with a single owner-manager have risen by 40% in the UK since the financial crash in 2008 with 1 in 7 workers (~ 4.8 million people) declaring this is their main form of activity (Adams 2018). These self-employed individuals include workers undertaking 'gigs' such as those participating as Uber drivers, Deliveroo couriers and TaskRabbit workers.

Precarious work, or 'gigs', has these five features (Stanford 2017): it is conducted on an on-demand basis with no guarantee of on-going engagement; producers are compensated on a piece work basis; producers supply their own equipment but the capital outlay is small; the organizing entity is separate from the consumer; and there is some form of digital intermediation utilised to commission work. None of these features, except the last, are particular to the twenty first century and as Stanford (2017) argues, precarious work in the form of piece work, has always been a feature of capitalist production.

The advantage for employers with contracting work to the self-employed lies in the savings on national insurance contributions and results in the lack of employment protection for the sub-contractors (Adams et al. 2018, Stanford 2017). The attractions of self-employment are lower income tax, and so greater take home pay for workers (Adams et al. 2018) and greater flexibility, particularly appealing for women (Adams et al. 2018, Poon 2019, Stanford 2017).

For this foundation, the key themes are employment and the physical city with its diverse nature. A link can be made from its historical association with the polytechnic movement to its employment programme. Its involvement with place is echoed in its description of the projects as

located in different boroughs. Ethnic diversity is reflected both in the nature of its priority but also in the make-up of the staff, board and advisory group.

Conclusion

This chapter aims to provide a historical, organization and policy context for the programmes in order to make sense of the following analysis. Additionally, it provides some clues as to the identities of the organizations which are built on in future chapters. It establishes some similarities in terms of programme intent concerning practice, i.e. individual support to disadvantaged young people, and policy, i.e. the commissioning of research and attention to the policy context, but also points to differences such as distinct historical origins. Thus, the chapter provides the ground for the analysis of the data.

Chapter Six: The Construction of the Moral Legitimacy of the two Field Sites

Introduction

In this chapter, I consider the pre-conditioning of the organizations before I examine their arguments in the context of their grant programmes. This chapter provides an understanding of the ideological ground of the agency of the organizations' leaders. As such, it is an exploration of their necessary relations with an emphasis on their cultural emergent powers, which were explored in chapter three. I use Boltanski and Thevenot's (2006) Orders of Worth framework to unpack their arguments for the common good, made to justify their role in social change. In this work of legitimation, I focus on the tensions between democracy and capitalism, identified as a key concern for foundations in the literature review and as an essential aspect of their relations with the state and public policy. I then move on to consider the challenges of measurement as they move from a concern with the deserving poor to one of structural change. These challenges affect inevitably their relations with their grant holders.

Firstly, I report on the ~~textual content~~ analysis conducted to establish the dominant Orders of Worth of both foundations from an examination of websites and interviews. Then I discuss the data in terms of the Orders of Worth and how the orders shaped and were shaped by their histories and how they interacted to speak to concerns about democracy and measurement. At the end, I review the material in order to shed light on the necessary relations of both foundations as they embark on their programmes to advance social justice in the fields of penal and employment policy.

Results from the ~~textualContent~~ Analysis

The interviews and the downloaded web materials were analysed and collated into files containing references relating to enduring, central and distinctive aspects of their identity, totalling 92 pages of text. These were then coded for words and phrases indicating one of the Orders of

Worth as described by Boltanski and Thevenot (2006). This resulted in 1,432 references in the Family Trust text, and 1,337 in the City Fund text.

Table 11: Examples of identity statements

Identity Aspect	The Family Trust	The City Fund
Enduring aspect	As a family trust, we enable younger family members to take up trusteeship and we recognise the need to capture for them what has hitherto been passed orally from generation to generation.	For more than century we have been at the forefront of efforts to help London's poor to help themselves.
Central aspect	The Trust's mission is to use all of our assets, especially our money, to work with others to bring about structural change for a more just and equal society.	We aim to tackle poverty and inequality in London and we do this by: funding voluntary and charity groups – each year we make grants totalling around £7.5 million and at any one time we are supporting up to 400 organisations; funding independent research; and providing knowledge and expertise on London's social issues to policymakers and journalists.
Distinctive aspect	The Trust sees itself as a change-maker rather than a grant maker, creating portfolios of work through which are trying to bring about systemic change.	We support work providing greater insights into the root causes of London's social problems and how they can be overcome.

The coding was completed by working through the text and then referring back to 'On Justification' to check whether the words or phrases fitted with the initial coding of a particular world, (for a fuller list of terms see Appendix 2). Some terms were more problematic than others, for example the word 'promote' could be taken as an indicator of the world of fame or the civic

world. By consulting the description of the Orders of Worth, I decided to code the term to the civic world as the text suggested that causes were being promoted rather than people. Another group of words connected to money, such as cost, investment and expenses were coded initially to the market world, but after considering the descriptions of the market and industrial world, I decided to code these terms to the industrial world because money was being used instrumentally rather than as an end in itself. These decisions made the texts more coherent, since Boltanski and Thevenot (2006) maintain that there is no compromise between the market and civic world, suggesting a fundamental incompatibility between these two Orders of Worth, making a strong presence of both worlds in the text incomprehensible.

Table 12: Results of textual-Content Analysis

Order of Worth	Examples of Terms in Texts	Family Trust % Coverage	City Fund % Coverage
Civic	Partnership; alliance; social justice; equality; human rights; committee; proposals; convenor; consultation; public policy; elections; manifesto; grassroots; platform; independence; activism; the welfare state; playing fields; bricks and mortar; to join forces; inclusion; bridge the divide; share; trade union; 'speak truth to power'; margins of society; poverty line.	40%	50%
Industrial	Vanguard; pioneering; forefront; objectivity; evidence; experiment; research; data; testing; what works; outcomes; impact; administration; overheads; cost; training; products; taskforce; review; strategic; blueprint; nuts and bolts; component; expertise; professionals; progressive; make better; move on; momentum; realistic; judicious use.	26%	41%
Domestic	Grandpa; wife; generations; heritage; long term view; picking up the baton; enduring; head; heart; backbone; modest; discreet; constancy; service; host; walk our talk; brought up; traditional; conversations; home; outsiders.	23%	5%
Inspired		2%	0.3%
Fame		2%	3%
Market		4%	1%

The coding of the text identified three dominant intertwined worlds; the domestic, civic and industrial worlds. The parts of the texts associated with the history of the Family Trust had units of meaning linked to the domestic world, whilst this coding was not present for the City Fund, so I start with a consideration of the histories of both foundations and how it affected their justifications. In the analysis of the civic and industrial worlds, common to both foundations, the notion of the common good from the domestic world affected how arguments from the other worlds were used by the leaders of the Family Trust. After discussing the arguments for legitimacy relating to their history, I cover their relations with the civic and industrial worlds. In their relations with the civic world, I focus on their vexed relations with democracy and the ideal of the collective will, and for the industrial, I consider what the shift from the concerns with the amelioration of conditions for deserving individuals to an emphasis on structural change might mean for evidence, evaluation and measurement.

History and its Effects

The Family Trust

In the domestic world, the common good is understood as the maintenance of hierarchical authority based on personal relations, indicated by metaphors using parts of the body and the use of conversations to transmit lessons from the older generations to younger members.

For the Family Trust, their legitimacy rested in part on the legacy of their founders:

Since its foundation the [Family] Trust has been in the vanguard of social change. Inspired by [religious] beliefs and a vision for a more just society, [the founders] used their increasing wealth, (whilst living modestly themselves), drawn from the company, to tackle profound social ills, including juvenile crime and urban poverty. [...]

In time, [the founders'] children became Trustees and their son, [name], took over as Chair in 1959. [The son], his sisters and many of their descendants have all given time to being trustees and have

added generously to the Trust's endowment. Our current interim Chair is [name], a great granddaughter of the founders.' (Website)

This extract demonstrates the transmission of authority through the generations by the continuous engagement of the family with the trustee board. Although wealth is mentioned, the text downplays its importance by the use of the word '*modestly*' in brackets to suggest that living within the moral precepts of their religious beliefs was more important to the founders than their fortune. Trustees are also described as generously contributing to the endowment, the enabler of their vision for a more just society. Thus money, although necessary, is not important in itself.

Much of the coding associated with this order of worth was concentrated in the interview with the trustee, a member of the founders' family who reflected on her religious childhood and how it impacted on her trustee role:

'...because all of the older trustees of my generation, we too were all brought up-- whether we're [Christians] or practising [Christians] now or not, we were all brought up as [Christians] and we all went to [Christian] schools. So, those principles and values and ways of being and ways of doing, sort of go through us a little bit like letters through rock. But the next generation don't have that. They have it to some degree and some of the next generation are [Christians] and some were-- we'd married out as it were, um, and have not been brought up in [Christian sect] ...' (Trustee interview)

This passage not only illustrates the importance of the Christian faith to the trustee but also emphasises the idea of transmission of religious values and practices across the generations. She mourns the dilution of her faith amongst the current group of trustees and mentions efforts by members of the family to inform new trustees and the staff about their Christian faith and its principles. However, this Christian distinctiveness is also valued by members of staff who point to it as being a core part of the organization's identity:

'...although we say we're [Christian] actually, isn't that what we say? Because now we're not [Christians] and we're not a [Christian] trust but we have very strong [Christian] roots, [...] it's in our job descriptions that we are comfortable to work within a [Christian] social justice framework....'
(Senior manager, interview)

From this history and shared beliefs comes a sense of responsibility. This responsibility is situated in the role of trustee, as a figure of authority, who undertakes their work out of an appreciation of duty:

'Being a trustee is a big responsibility and is unpaid voluntary service. As a staff team we therefore consider it very important to service the board well and make the task as stress free as possible. Our board members are very generous with their time and often represent the Trust at external events. In particular, family members are sometimes asked to speak about family and values-driven philanthropy, both in the UK and overseas.' (Website)

Here the labours of leadership are supported by staff who *'service the board'*, the trustees' dutiful nature is emphasised by the two synonyms, *'unpaid'* and *'voluntary'* to describe their contribution. Not only are they dutiful, they are also *'generous'*, thus exhibiting the qualities of worthy leaders in the domestic world (Boltanski & Thevenot 2006). In the passage, hierarchy is expressed between the dutiful trustees, with the family trustees singled out, and the staff who serve them.

Their leadership was also described as discreet and not seeking the limelight:

'I hope not in a brash way. I mean, you know, I think we were accused of being brash and pushy when we first emerged. If you see what I mean. But I think now, especially with this team, we're, you know, we're respected for what we produce, which was what I wanted. Because we don't have huge sums of money but on the other hand, you don't necessarily need money to change systems.'
(Trustee interview)

The criticism of brashness is countered by her opinion that the organization is '*respected*' because of the quality of their work, produced over a period. The trustee goes on to downgrade the wealth of the organization, wealth being associated with brashness, claiming that money is less important than their ideas.

The website and interview text position the family trustees as a source of legitimacy because of their generosity, hard work and modest natures. These attributes are more important than the inherited wealth of the family and are used to offset any taint that personal fortunes might bring to an organization promoting social justice.

The City Fund

On the other hand, the City Fund has no founding philanthropist, but rather is an outcome of the reform of parochial charities attached to churches in the City of London in late Victorian England. Therefore, they do not need to establish a legitimacy that deals with the inequality produced by personal wealth. The amalgamation of the parish funds enabled a more just distribution to the poor throughout London rather than limiting the funding to the geographical boundaries of the City's parishes. Indeed, their foundation is the epitome of modern charity in that it is divorced from religious sentiment and based on rational and utilitarian argument.

'Our history shows that you can make progress on London's social issues and that should give us the confidence to face the new challenges that emerge. We know that poverty is still a problem in London, with 27% of the population being below the official poverty line (after housing costs). This means that we as a charitable organisation still have an important job to do, working alongside Londoners to improve the lives of everyone who lives in this city.' (Storify)

In this extract, their justification for poverty alleviation as their central purpose is underpinned by a statistic, '*27% of the population being below the official poverty line.*' This rational approach supports a Victorian ideal of improvement, expressed in the last sentence.

In their historical account of their organization, they list the land and properties they have bought or improved, emphasising their role in providing for civic amenities, including playing fields and open spaces, such as part of Hampstead Heath and places of entertainment and art such as the Sadlers Wells theatre and the Whitechapel Art Gallery. Further, property ownership and development are a source of their wealth, but buildings are consciously linked to social welfare outcomes.

'As we move into the present day, the Trust continues to set a precedent for funding causes others have failed to engage with, from working with the Latin American community, to tackling faith-based abuse. We've also instilled this philosophy into bricks and mortar: for example Resource for London, a subsidiary of ours where London's voluntary sector comes together to work meet and exhibit, and The Foundry (...), a brand new RIBA award-winning social justice and human rights centre in Vauxhall, south London, funded in partnership with four other organisations....' (Storify)

Poverty is the continual focus of their work. The Victorian theme of betterment is used to rationalise their emphasis on education and employment where the funding of early polytechnics is the key example in attempts to enable working people to improve their social mobility.

'In a way it's [the Fund] always seen its role as enabling or tackling poverty by enabling people to better themselves one way or another. Yeah, education certainly being a route and employment being the most important route out of poverty.' (Senior Manager, interview)

Finally, they highlight a series of firsts in their grant making to draw attention to the pioneering nature of their funding, including money to the first Citizens Advice Bureau to support access to the benefits of the welfare state; grants to build experimental housing which combined social provision with sheltered accommodation; money for the establishment of centres and think tanks associated with refugees and ethnic minorities; early funding to the Terence Higgins Trust; and grants for the first hospice in London.

The two foundations argue for their legitimacy in different ways. For the Family Trust, legitimacy is centred on the persons of the founders and their descendants with an emphasis on their religious inheritance. The City Fund bases their legitimacy on the materiality of London and concrete change as evidenced by buildings and public parks. Both foundations make claims to be pioneering. The founding philanthropists of the Family Trust are identified with the '*vanguard of social change*' whilst the City Fund's text points to their responsibility for a series of firsts with a material reality in London.

However, the Family Trust has a more difficult job in constructing their moral legitimacy because their organization is based on an historical inequality since their endowment is the product of personal fortune. Therefore, the texts and the interviewees downplay wealth by emphasising modesty and religious beliefs. Discourses from the civic world provides leaders of the Family Trust with opportunities to position themselves as seeking legitimate social change through collaboration and consultation, moving away from personal relations of the domestic world towards ones expressing the collective will. These texts draw on the civic world to build a picture of shared responsibilities. With its foundation in social reform, the identity of the City Fund is more easily associated with the civic world with its material concerns about the physical entity of London.

Democracy

Relations with the Civic World

In this world, importance is attached to collective persons rather than individuals. As such, it is the world most closely associated with the corporate agent (Archer 1995). The values of solidarity and inclusion motivate action. A person of worth is the representative of the collective and gives up personal interests. Through legal forms and legislation, just causes are pursued in the name of the collective will.

This world had the greatest proportion of coding in the texts at 40% (The Family Trust) and 50% (The City Fund) and it represents an important part of their legitimation arguments. I identified

two themes common across the two organizations, namely: corporate agency and representation. I discuss each in turn.

Corporate Agency

In this section, I explore how this idea of the collective is handled by both foundations. The collective can be experienced as a social structure, such as the welfare state, developed by past collective action and containing a shared understanding as to its uses and powers. Collective or corporate agency is the way in which these structures are altered at the societal level (Archer 1995, Boltanski 2011). The notion of the corporate agent presents some difficulties for the foundations because of the power imbalance between those working in the foundations and their voluntary sector clients and their lack of membership, either made up of subscribers to the foundations or contributors to their funds through fundraising or lotteries.

The City Fund is concerned about inclusion in the city which represents both a structure developed collectively and the arena in which its corporate agency is deployed. Their contribution of public amenities and their funding of research into air pollution associate them with material benefits and issues particular to London, as a city. They identify immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers as especially in need of '*a sense of belonging*' (website).

'We believe it is important to support these Londoners who are at the margins of society to resolve their immigration status, so they can fully participate in London life.' (Website, City Fund)

Participation is the state of worthiness, and the Fund supports work that overcomes the barriers to participation:

'We fund a research series with Loughborough University on what the public regard as a decent standard of living – that is one that allows them to meet their basic needs and participate in society at a minimum level.' (Website, City Fund)

The desire to improve the lives of individuals is contained within the framework of the welfare system, as in the example below:

'At [the City Fund], we seek to prevent homelessness through funding work that addresses its systemic causes. Our priority is to ensure London has enough affordable, high-quality homes for people on low incomes, and that the voices of people affected by housing need are heard by decision-makers. Our funded work on welfare reform seeks to ensure that there is a sufficient safety net for those that need it. We have also supported work to tackle inequalities in access to safe, decent and affordable housing. We hope that this drive for prevention will reduce the need for funding homelessness services in the longer term. Until then, we have funded some work that benefits homeless people or sheds light on the worsening homelessness problem in London.' (Website, City Fund)

Although the text uses the word *'affordable'* suggesting an individualistic market orientation, this goal is framed within a broad, collective idea of a *'safety net'* to prevent homelessness. The text promotes the foundation as operating within collective structures. For the Family Trust, the corporate agent is harder to identify since their legitimacy is built on the reputation of their individual, charismatic founders, rather than a physical place, so expressions of civic and collective responsibility are less resonant. In a similar text to the one above, the Family Trust explains its approach to food poverty:

'We decide on the structural change we are aiming to bring about and work with partners to bring it about. For example, we wouldn't look at what can be done to alleviate poverty, but at what can be done structurally to prevent it. We wouldn't fund a food bank but we might fund a piece of work to find out why food banks are thriving and what can be done at a policy level to prevent them from needing to be opened.' (Website, Family Trust)

In this extract, the first sentence makes clear their leadership role in defining solutions and the implementation of their ideas. Although their intention moves from the provision of food to the individual towards a structural and preventative intervention as in the City Fund example, here the spotlight is on the Trust as the sole agent unlike the City Fund which brought in the '*voices of people affected*' and the welfare system, as in '*welfare reform*' and '*safety net*' in their consideration of the problem of homelessness.

However, solidarity had some limits for the City Fund. In a discussion about the funding of trade unions in the context of improving the terms and conditions of low paid work, the problem about funding these entities appeared to hinge on whether trade unions were legally eligible for funds:

Researcher: *If somebody say if a group came along and said, "We're going to do a membership drive. We're going to get people signed up for the trade union," would you fund that?*

Manager: *Love to but it's not charitable activity.*

Researcher: *Right. Is it not?*

Manager: *Is it not? No. That's – that's something trade unions should do but we can't fund people joining a trade union.*

When pressed, the manager clarified that funding trade unions would be seen as a political activity and therefore would not be accepted as legitimate by trustees.

Manager: *Because actually if you really wanted to [...] change [the] fast food [industry], you'd unionize.*

Researcher: *Yeah. Yeah. And you wouldn't fund that.*

Manager: *I can't see our Trustees ever doing that.*

Researcher: Why?

Manager: Why? Because they would not see it as a charitable activity. [...] Do you think it's a charitable activity?

Researcher: I can't remember the definitions of charity. But if it's about...poverty [...] and if you had been able to show by your research that actually people who [work in] sectors that are not unionized ... are poorer sectors...

Manager: Yeah, there's lots of evidence for that.

Researcher: Yeah. Then... And it's [the programme] about supporting [...] people in poverty... then surely supporting people to take collective action...

Manager: Yeah, I think it's seen as being political.

Researcher: Right. It's not party political is it?

Manager: No. No. But yeah, I can't imagine any charitable foundation doing that [...] I think they would be buried by the media and all the rest of it you know.

His argument about the media is unconvincing since the Fund's commitment to resolving immigration status would include supporting illegal immigrants until their status is resolved. This cause might be more inflammatory for some parts of the media than supporting the encouragement of trade union membership. Rather the immigrant and the low paid worker are presented as individuals rather than agents, and so it seems that the collective organizing of the poor is problematic because the trustees would consider it political. Moreover, he claimed that the purpose of collective organizing to challenge power relations was essentially not charitable, and therefore outside their remit. Neither foundation included initiatives that set out to turn primary agents into corporate agents by enabling individuals to come together, identify a cause and then

organize themselves as agents to challenge existing power relations. Instead, they portrayed themselves as the conduit between individual voices to powerful policy makers:

'Our strap line is the eighteenth century [Christian] imperative to 'speak truth to power' and to this end we aim to bring the voices of marginalised and disadvantaged people to be heard in the 'corridors of power'.' (Website, Family Trust)

'A key component of this is amplifying the voices of those who are experiencing the problems which civil society is trying to address. We believe these voices need to be central to work that tackles poverty and inequality.' (Website, City Fund)

Representation

The two extracts above can be understood as an expression of representation, a key task in the civic world. A worthy representative is one who is without personal interest and, therefore, can transcend divisions and unify others. Their independence from interest allows them to exercise freedom of speech. Representatives are authorised by the collective membership, and membership is the first act of overcoming the barrier of individualism (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006). In this section, I consider how the foundation leaders dealt with the issue of interest.

The Family Trust struggled to acknowledge the historical contribution from their charismatic founders whilst at the same time, subsume their own efforts into more anonymous arrangements. On their website, they differentiate themselves from other philanthropies by using their founders as exemplars of activism rather than 'patronage', suggesting a repudiation of the division between rich and poor, and link the work of the Trust to community improvement through their founders' reputation:

'Standing apart from other philanthropists, even rejecting the term itself and the patronage it implied, [the founders] were influential social reformers who worked ceaselessly to improve the communities around them.' (Website, Family Trust)

Here the founders, and by extension the foundation, earn their right to represent communities by their selfless efforts, *'worked ceaselessly'*, at reform. So, the reputation of the founders for healing division builds the leadership credentials for the foundation, created in their name. Therefore, the Family Trust emphasised their current role in convening alliances to take forward their concerns, where individual contribution was subsumed into partnership:

'The Trust works with think tanks, campaigning organisations and the media to increase informed public dialogue about some of the difficult issues of our age. We provide opportunities for grant-holders to influence policy makers and also for them to come together and share learning.' (Website, Family Trust)

Independence from interest was mentioned as an important consideration in both organizations, particularly when it came to campaigning.

'What we have is our independence. We can fund things which might... be more difficult [...] we can do things a bit more extreme in that sense. [...] Well, for example, [...] you can fund causes which are very unpopular like gypsies and travellers or illegal immigrants or, you know, which would really struggle to get any money. And we can think long term in that sense. And funding campaigning work's not very popular.' (Senior manager, interview, City Fund)

The manager links the independence of the foundation to unpopular causes and campaigning in particular. This establishes a moral legitimacy based on civic values of just causes, pursued despite popular opinion because of their intrinsic justice rather than the interest that could be gained by waging more acceptable campaigns. Independence gives them advantages when representing their causes to powerful others:

'Also we haven't got a sort of vested interest in it, or a threat. So there's nothing that the Ministry can do to us that will stop us working. Whereas if we had a grant from them, you can't, you know,

you're limited in what you can say. But because we're independent we can be stroppy if we want to be.' (Senior manager, Family Trust)

The notion of independence is used here as an advantage since it suggests that the organization is incorruptible because it is disinterested. Critics have used the notion of independence against foundations as marker of elitism and as exhibiting a lack of democratic legitimacy (e.g. Reich 2016), but independence is converted here into an attractive quality since it distances the organization from personal dealings, considered impure in the civic world.

This freedom from interest is continued in the character of the managers themselves who were aware of the responsibility to remain disinterested. At the City Fund, one assured me, the employment programme was *'not a personal crusade'*. The dialogue between voluntary groups and foundation staff was problematic since the responsibility for deciding on the parameters of the programmes rested with the foundation, which inevitably reduced the influence of the grassroots. Without a membership and with a commitment to funding unpopular causes, the justification for the direction of their programmes was argued carefully:

'At the [Fund] we do not have enough resources to support all the work that is needed to make London fairer. In developing our funding strategy, we have reflected on what the key drivers of poverty and inequality are and considered where we can best make a difference. We have reviewed what others are doing, consulted widely and as far as possible have taken account of significant issues such as Brexit and changes to the economy.' (Website, City Fund)

Here there are three arguments that build up the legitimacy for the City Fund. Firstly, the text identifies the scarcity of resources which creates the ground of their decision making. Then it focuses on issues where there is common agreement about the necessity of engagement in order to bring about fairness, namely poverty and inequality. Finally, it outlines their efforts towards transparency through a consideration of the work of others as well as broad consultation.

This disinterested approach, valued in the civic world, is compromised in this anecdote told by a manager from the Family Trust, where personal connections were used to progress social justice by bringing together people in an unlikely dialogue:

'I think we're more engaged with them, um, I think we give them – we call it more opportunities, it is more opportunities to – so we can connect people up quite a lot, because people are – because of this complementarity. So we were funding a new right of centre think tank to do some work on immigration – it's quite a good example, actually. So right of centre think tank, very much coming out of the Conservative Party, um, with [...] Conservative values and links. So they were going to have a round table to talk about immigration, and they'd invited lots of business people, and I think one or two organizations that they knew about.

We put them in touch with half a dozen organizations that are working on the ground. They got no idea about – and this was organizations of migrant people – who could join their round table to give their side. If we hadn't been there, [...] I don't know what they would have found out, because they just had people who were from business. [...] they hadn't at all thought about gender, or you know, [...] they just hadn't thought about [this issue] because they're clever, good people, [who] wanted to do something better than the current Conservative policy on migration. But they – but that's not a world they're in. So because we're closely in touch with all those voluntary organizations, we could say to them, come to this round table, give your views.' (Senior manager, interview, Family Trust)

In this extract, the civic world remains intact by references to 'round tables', and ideas of unity, 'connect[ing] people up' but are linked to the domestic world by reference to the body, 'in touch'. The story, an exemplary anecdote standing as a test in the domestic world, demonstrates the softening of formal procedures through the use of personal connections to bring about a more just account of immigration experiences.

However, staff acknowledged the difficulty of the power imbalance between them and their applicants:

'[...] Generally, in the [Fund], we try not to play try not to play God, despite the fact that as a funder, you're always inevitably in that semi-, demi-god position. We're not [saying]... "This is exactly what we want and we're just looking for someone to deliver it." We're not [...] – we want to be open to ideas, suggestions, proposals but within some kind of framework.' (Senior manager, City Fund)

This anxiety to encourage the voluntary sector to come forward with their ideas was keenly felt by all three managers at the City Fund and steps were taken to discuss the programmes with potential applicants to reach an agreement that this was a justified initiative. However, a senior manager at the Family Trust maintained a sense of personal responsibility that was irreducible to more anonymous procedures.

'How I describe this, which I think people find useful is that our version or our method of attempting to power share, which-- a lot of nonsense is talked about power, I have absolutely no intention of not taking my power after decades and decades of building it and you hear a lot of faux humility nonsense about, you know, giving away your power and not using your power as a funder, you know. If the best I can do is not use my power, then P45 for me, you know. I think, you know, that's poor cop out. But, of course, it's you, you know, yourself being a funder that it's, you know-- there's absolutely never, a way of completely neutralizing that power [...] and I think the best way of neutralizing that is by being very upfront about it and not trying not to have any power. Power sharing is not the same as power abdication.' (Senior manager, Family Trust)

In this extract, the senior manager is critiquing the civic world by suggesting that individuals may hide behind notions of equality to avoid the responsibilities of leadership. She justifies her capacity to use her power because she has established her authority over many decades, in the

same way as the endowment has increased in value over time. Here, the notion of natural authority acquired over years and generations runs counter to the critiques from the civic world of the reproduced advantage of engenderment.

The absence of membership means that the organizations argue for their legitimacy through their accountability practices and openness to scrutiny. Formal and transparent procedures secure legitimacy, not just in their campaigning strategies but also in internal processes. These arguments centre on the board and its legitimacy.

For the City Fund, being publicly accountable, is demonstrated by the process of electing trustees:

'How does the Board come about? The Board comes about partly by organizations that have nomination rights to us; others, by advertising and interviewing and trying to get the skills base that we need, the diversity that we need. But the people who benefit don't vote for them. There isn't that linear arrangement of democracy as normally construed. But it's as accountable as any other charity in that sense.' (Senior manager, City Fund)

However, the manager acknowledges that these democratic processes are limited to a small elite with nomination rights. This restriction may act to preserve the independence of the board so it is not tainted by interested parties wishing to subvert its membership to gain some advantage in the grant making stages of the board's deliberation.

At the Family Trust, some of the trustees come from the founding family, so their position is inherited. This presents some problems for their legitimacy so the website text emphasises the trustees' adherence to lists of principles of public life. The Register of Conflicts indicates a more formal policy, valued by the civic world as a test of worth.

'Trustees are expected to abide by the Nolan principles of public life – selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty, and leadership – and to be transparent in their

declarations of any conflicts of interests arising in the course of their duties. Their Register of Conflicts is available for public inspection and each conflict is graded for its level of seriousness and appropriate action arising.’ (Website, Family Trust)

However, the hereditary nature of the trustee board means they are not elected which is a sign of unworthiness in the civic world. The explanation below appears after the paragraph above on the website and presents an argument that links the familial connection to the board with the nature of the problems the Trust is dealing with.

‘Unusually, there is no maximum period of trusteeship. While many in the charity sector believe in maximum terms of trusteeship, we find here that there is a great benefit in having long-standing trustees. As a trust, we rarely work on a short-term basis and our governance arrangements enable us to take things on ‘for the long haul’. Working as we do on structural issues and in collaborations, we find the dual factors of a shared value base and a long-term view are vital.’ (Website, Family Trust)

So, the continuity needed to tackle long term problems is found within persons, individuals from the family, rather than a continuity provided by ideals and just causes, shaped by a collective will. This arrangement reproduces division in that it materialises inequality by giving greater potential agency to those of a particular heritage. The family trustees represent, physically, the essential paradox of philanthropic foundations, where the wealth of their forebears continues to exert its influence through its distribution to alleviate the suffering of the disadvantaged, whilst the trustee role for family members reproduces the power relations between the founders and the disadvantaged originally established in the process of accumulating their wealth.

For the Family Trust, the discourse of the civic world is used to connect the family to the ideal of greater democracy and enable a pluralism which could trouble this inherited advantage. The civic world is perhaps the natural environment of the City Fund, but its managers acknowledged the

complexity of its relations with client communities. Both organizations positioned themselves as an intermediary between the disadvantaged and policy makers, but these supplicants were described as individual voices rather than collective citizens.

The final world, the industrial Order of Worth, may further dilute the domestic world by insisting on a technological and future-looking perspective which downgrades the past as old-fashioned and values objectivity over personal experience. Further, this order challenges the ideal of the collective by pursuing a view of science that individualises social effects.

Measurement

Relations with the Industrial World

The industrial world represents science, technology and progress. Its higher principle is efficiency and the capacity of people to respond usefully to needs. This world emerges from manufacturing and thus the focus is on productivity and functional performance. The language of bureaucracy and administration is used to establish a legitimacy based on isomorphic norms of the well-run organization (Bromley and Meyer 2017), and to make claims about innovation and progressive work. Lacking a membership base, the foundations relied on the rationality of the industrial world to bolster their claims to a legitimate decision-making process.

'We believe that commissioning research can improve understanding of the causes and effects of poverty and inequality in London.' (Website, City Fund)

'The Trust also funds research which is designed to influence public policy and practice in order to bring about structural change.' (Website, Family Trust)

The claims to objectivity of certain kinds of research reinforce the disinterestedness of their causes. Through its procedures and methods, science represents a particular form of collective endeavour which supersedes the concerns of any interest group.

This world had the second highest proportion of coding at 40% (The City Fund) and at 26% (The Family Trust). I identified two themes associated with this world, common to both organizations which are: the product and evidence. I discuss each in turn.

The Product

A major concern for both foundations was to make clear to their audiences that they were interested in social change, and were not simply giving money to the deserving poor. This entailed an expressed engagement with ‘*structural change*’ or ‘*systems change*’, and a move away from detailing the number and type of grants they made to outlining their efforts to alter social policy.

‘The Trust sees itself as a change-maker rather than a grantmaker, creating portfolios of work through which [it is] trying to bring about systemic change.’ (Website, Family Trust)

As the trustee from the Family Trust explained, the foundation wanted to do more than ameliorate immediate distress:

‘Joseph Rowntree’s principle of sticking [...] sticking a plaster on a wound instead of, you know, dealing with the health and safety issues, which had caused the wound in the first place or whatever. [...] But I’m very careful about saying it because, I think, there is a place for the sticking plaster stuff. Um, and for philanthropy as well. [...] Here, we are doing something quite targeted and specific. And somebody, I can’t remember who, described us as a boutique grant-maker. Whereas I think equally, there’s a huge place for the volume grant-maker that is [the] Big Lottery Fund. So, you know, we need all of it. It’s just where you work. We’re a small organization with a few million quid [...] but with an awesome reputation that [has] built carefully over time. The way in which we can work, I think that the most enduring impact or the best chance of an enduring impact, I believe, is the way in which we do work...’ (Trustee, Family Trust)

The mission of creating ‘*enduring impact*’ meant a clear differentiation between the Family Trust and their large fellow foundation, the Big Lottery Fund, described as a ‘*volume grant-maker*’.

Her comments are a criticism levelled at the industrial world from the domestic world, where standard products are disparaged in favour of more tailored, personalized output. The rationalization of a small budget is counterbalanced by their reputation, another product of their work. The trustees of the City Fund with larger amounts of money were more concerned about the legitimacy of the approach which prioritized research and evaluation over producing grants. A senior manager expressed his frustration about this attitude:

'But they've [the trustees] got no idea that actually that does cost money and so there's a fearfulness of 'Well we shouldn't be spending money on ourselves. We need to be giving it out to the groups.' And so what [...] – and this does get me, it's my bug bear – is actually our purpose? Its not about giving money to groups. Our purpose is about fulfilling our mission and what's the best way of doing that? [...] And generally most funders have not got good balance because they don't invest in the learning, evaluation, the policy, the comms work, the dissemination to enable that to happen. [...] So while we're quite progressive in comparison to most of them because most of them just give a grant and that's it. It's just like get on and do it. [...] This [...] 'get and give' so trying to move away from [this attitude] which I've struggled with over the years. Much more that line of thinking [...] is 'What is our common goal here? What is it that we're trying to achieve? We want to get here along with you.' (Senior Manager, City Fund)

The trustees' questioning of the legitimacy of spending money not directly associated with alleviating poverty is brushed aside by the manager to bring into focus the more fundamental task of reducing poverty and inequality in London. This task is linked to learning, evaluation and policy campaigning, identified as more progressive, a key value in the industrial world. However, both trustee and manager are aware that pursuance of social change is less straightforward than making grants, achievement of which are indicated by balance sheets and accounts. Efforts to realise social change involve much more ambiguous products, such as knowledge, learning, reputation and campaigning messages.

Both foundations identify research, and especially research reports, as a legitimate and concrete contribution to producing social change. Research reports fulfil vital legitimacy purposes in the industrial world. They are material products; they promote a scientific outlook; and they enable rational justification of decisions. However, research, particularly studies relying on statistics, can take attention away from social structures towards the aggregation of individual behaviour. In particular, the City Fund valued statistical studies and had funded the updating of the London poverty map, developed by the Victorian philanthropists Booth and Rowntree. On their website and in their reports and interviews, statistics played an important role in their justifications for action. As a senior manager explains, calculating a cost / benefit ratio was an important step in the development of the new programme.

'It changed tack because what we were trying to do was get people into work and we weren't thinking so much about leverage, not throughout that whole program. It's like "God, it's really costly getting someone into work." It works out to £8,000 to £10,000. Okay, you spend a million pounds, you've moved 100 people into work. Is that really a good use of our money?

As you'll see in one of the papers, I think I put this as bluntly as that. I don't think this is a good use for us. This is not leverage. What we need to be thinking through is what's new, improved or different and how can we use these projects as sort of demonstrator projects to influence the wider employment pot. Because the amount of money we're putting in one and a half million pounds a year. That's so tiny, so tiny compared to what Governments put in it.' (Senior manager, City Fund)

In this extract, he uses an individual level of analysis to make an argument for an approach that values innovation. He claims that an aggregation of individual successes is not persuasive, it is '*not leverage*'. The product for him is influence rather than employees. Innovation was seen as another product for the foundations which saw their projects in terms of demonstrations of good and new practice:

'Innovation and evidence: The Trust will work over a sustained period of time to find and build an evidence base for new solutions to old problems' (Website, Family Trust)

However, managers were careful to couch expressions of interest in new ideas using terms associated with the industrial world's link to planning, in order not to seem too impulsive and irrational:

'We don't have a blueprint of what we're expecting. We know there's a risk tolerance we can accept on this. Hey, it sounds really interesting. It's a bit wayward.' (Senior manager, City Fund)

Moreover, the payoff for successful innovation is the knowledge that it generates and through replication, the increased reputation of the Trust.

'I think we're always, as a funder, going to be most interested in innovation because we're, that's the business we're in as a small funder, is testing new ideas and seeing what works and seeing what doesn't work, um, and promoting both, um, so that people can learn from it and then it will be for bigger funders or for mainstream service funders, statutory funders to decide what they want to then focus on and roll out in mainstream practice. So, I think innovation in combination with it being realistic, that it can actually be delivered would remain our twin priorities.' (Senior manager, Family Trust)

Like the previous comment, the manager from the Family Trust is anxious to assert that the innovation must be *'realistic'*, a key virtue for those arguing from the industrial world. For both foundations, there is a clear move away from discrete achievements of individuals for their personal betterment towards an ambition of greater social change through an influencing of social systems. Each of the products, innovation and knowledge, identified by the managers and the website are ambiguous and difficult to measure.

Evidence

Planning and problem solving, central to the industrial world, were significant strategies for both organizations and added to their legitimacy by presenting the organizations as rational. One of the senior managers at the Family Trust, tasked with programme delivery, describes a deliberative process of policy making, where government policy is examined for its efficacy in practice:

'Sure, in terms of policy, we um, seek to support projects, and um, promote a portfolio of work that scrutinizes existing policy, which might include legislation, or it might be non-statutory policy. Makes the case for improvements to that policy, looks at how that policy is being applied in practice, at a local and national level, and undertakes research to propose how that policy could be reworked, strengthened, or abandoned.

An example might be um, the government's approach to managing young adults in prison. [.....] We might, or indeed we have, scrutinized existing arrangements, looked at how those arrangements are actually applied in practice, and then made a series of recommendations for how those policy documents could be improved. [...] From there, we would then seek to advocate and campaign for those changes to be put in place.' (Senior manager, Family Trust)

This ordered process suggests an expert understanding of the legislation in question, with the use of research to inform recommendations. Their aim is to be useful with a focus on improvement of policy so that it might perform better. However, another manager was more doubtful about the ability of measurement to fully capture the impact of the charismatic leadership found in the Trust:

'Because, you know, I mean, because often times, change happens because of things that either random or are unpredictable or are to do with timing and luck and people and alchemy, chemistry, you know, all of those things. How do you measure that? [...] You know, one of the things that the Trust did through the, um, through the South African conflict, was to pay for Winnie Mandela's trips to Robben Island from the East Cape, all the years that Nelson Mandela was in prison there.

And they did that just because the contacts of my predecessor who, you know, who was an activist of sorts, a [Christian] activist, [...] the ANC said that was [what was] needed to keep morale up in the townships. And, you know, please wrap me an evaluation framework around that. As it turned out, it's the one that we won. So, it's a nice story but, you know, it was just the right thing to do.' (Senior manager, Family Trust)

In this extract, the manager points to the limitations of evaluation to identify the moral value of action. For her, legitimacy is centred on the activism of a previous member of staff, rather than on the creation of an evaluation report. Personal relationships with famous leaders confer legitimacy through the closeness of the connection, the activist's good manners in acceding to the requests of the favoured political group and the consistency of the response. What is important here is the moral victory rather than the evidence base, contradicting the previous interviewee who took a far more instrumental approach to considerations of policy. In its emphasis on rational decision making and using objective measures of efficacy, the industrial world is at odds with the personal basis of authority in the domestic world.

Value for money was a common concern for both organizations. For a trustee, it was an important consideration when it came to making decisions about which proposals to fund.

'I think the thing is that [...] if you are funding things, you are inevitably looking for value for money. [...] is this money being spent well? Or [...] could this money be spent better elsewhere? [...] So even within a single trust, there is a competitive feeling about what should be funded, and what [...] isn't the same priority. [...] No, I think it would be a very bad organization if it did no research at all. The question always is should we do a little bit more research? There is a sort of reluctance, because people say we should spend our money on poverty and deprivation, [...] other people do research, we should work on the basis of their research.' (Trustee, City Fund)

This concern for spending money well internally, gives them legitimacy to comment on the spending of government. Research seems a less legitimate expenditure, opening the organization

up to criticisms of self-indulgence in the face of poverty and deprivation. In contrast, one manager from the Family Trust is in revolt against the formalism of the industrial world.

Well, cost benefit [analysis], that's very particular to services. So, we would very rarely do that because that's not the space we occupy. [...] Because we're in building social change movements by and large. But this [criminal justice] program of work was very much about the particular things that if you do them differently, create pathways out of crime for young people and thereby reduce, [...], incarceration rates and all sorts of other stuff. So, it has a different methodology. So, we have a diagrammatic expression of our approach to evaluation and impact but, to be honest, we've adapted it over time but, you know, I'd just as soon throw it in the bin to be honest....' (Senior manager, Family Trust)

This manager recognises that conventional methods of evaluation are no longer appropriate for an organization committed to bringing about social change. However, as she describes the criminal justice programme, she mentions a typical measure of individual change, 'incarceration rates', without clarifying a suitable measure of social change. She asserts that the organization is rationally scientific in that they have a 'diagrammatic expression' of their approach, but at the same time feels that it is insufficient and dispensable.

Looking at the foundations through the lens of the industrial world, the ambiguity and uncertainty of their product becomes very apparent. This uncertainty leads to a reassertion of the measurement of individual change, or a dispensing of measurement altogether. The first makes an appraisal of structural change impossible, and alienates corporate agency, a virtue in the civic world. The second response reinstalls natural authority and personal testimony, signs of worth in the domestic world.

Conclusion

From this examination of their identity, the cultural emergent powers of their necessary relations remain intact and so, they are typical philanthropic foundations, despite their attempts to distinguish themselves from mere grant makers.

Table 13: Cultural Emergent Powers of Philanthropic Foundations

	Grant holders	State Relations
CEPs	Complementary	Incompatible
	Protection	Correction
	The deserving poor	Democracy and capitalism
	Measurement of social impact	

In relation to democracy, they adhere to a transactional notion of representation, where individuals express their concerns to their representatives and rely on them to take their interests forward. In this conception, the disinterestedness of the representative is paramount. However, a more radical view of democracy emphasises the power relations between the represented and their delegates. This view holds that the essential quality of the represented is their collective nature. Organizing collectively to challenge power relations seems to go against their understanding of charity, as the example of funding trade unions suggests. Thus, the power relations of capitalism are maintained and inevitably, this notion of charity reproduces society along with their necessary relations. The idea of the collective will is central to the civic world which of all Boltanski and Thevenot’s (2006) Orders of Worth is the most overtly concerned with politics. However, since neither organization has a constituency, they rely on accepted just causes as an expression of collective will and rational structures of science, itself a collective activity, to constitute their legitimacy.

Both organizations expressed a commitment to move beyond the betterment of the deserving individual, but were unable to identify measurements that would capture structural change. This may be because of the long-time frames needed to perceive fundamental shifts, something that managers from the Family Trust most clearly recognised. The inadequacy of a social science based on empirical data to portray structural change was expressed by the managers from both organizations and this perceived lack of legitimate scientific strategies to verify systemic change pushed them back onto the individual level of analysis. However, the critique from the civic world of the industrial world warns against the promotion of technical competence at the expense of knowledge embedded in experience and its contribution to collective enrichment.

Both websites promoted arguments from the civic world as core to their mission, emphasising their role in partnerships and collaborations. This commitment to the collective will was undermined by the managers as they sought to make sense of this promise in the context of their histories and competing claims for legitimacy from the domestic and industrial worlds. In the next chapter, I examine how these identities affected their representations to policy makers for systemic change in penal and employment policy.

Chapter Seven – The Policy Arguments of the Two Foundations

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the arguments that the foundations made to change policies, either relating to the treatment of young men in the criminal justice system or relating to employment support for young black men. Both foundations focussed on the young adult age group, (16-24 years old, City Fund; 18 – 25 years old, Family Trust). This is a vulnerable group, facing an uncertain future with large numbers across Europe unemployed in the wake of the financial crash in 2008, and, in the UK, a thinning of the welfare safety net as they emerge from childhood into adult independence.

Firstly, I set out what they tried to change as well as my own reflections on their ambitions. I then consider the epistemologies they used to understand the problems facing this group and also to verify the outcomes from their programmes. I move on to their prescriptions for social change relating their ideas to the analysis from the previous chapter on their identities. I outline what I know about what happened as a result of their work, and related state policies and programmes. In the conclusion, I bring these results together to consider whether these initiatives indicate a potential for morphogenesis or morphostasis, using Archer’s formulation, discussed in Chapter three. I use Archer’s (1995) situational logics table (pg 303) to structure the analysis.

	Contradictions		Complementarities	
	Necessary	Contingent	Necessary	Contingent
Situational Logic	Correction	Elimination	Protection	Opportunism
CEPs				
C S Level	Syncretism	Pluralism	Systematization	Specialization
S-C Level	Unification	Cleavage	Reproduction	Sectionalism

SEPs

S S Level	Compromise	Competition	Integration	Differentiation
S I Level	Containment	Polarisation	Solidarity	Diversification

To begin, I set out what they sought to change through their grant programmes.

What did they seek to change?

The Family Trust

There were three arguments put forward by the Trust in their Pathways to Crime pamphlet to support their contention that 18-25 year olds deserved distinct provision in the criminal justice system, these were:

1. To support desistance, an appreciation of biological maturity is more important than sticking to the marker of chronological age. They argued for a formalised maturity assessment to be made in the pre-sentencing report and this to be taken into account during sentencing.
2. The transition at 18 years old between youth and adult services is disruptive and causes harm. Distinct and specialised provision for those between 18 and 25 would be congruent with recent developments in neuroscience and would overcome the gaps in services. Specifically, they argued for the upper age of the prisoners in Young Offenders Institutions (YOI) to be extended to 25 years.
3. Custody does not support rehabilitation for this group which is underserved by community sentences. Thus, more community provision is needed to support young adults, particularly as they have high levels of social need in terms of employment, accommodation and parenting support.

(For the full analysis of the argument frames see Appendix 3)

The City Fund

The foundation identified four areas for action in their 'Action Plan' document to improve the employment rates for young black men, aged between 16 – 24 years, these were:

1. The setting of a target to reduce the unemployment rate of young black men to the average of all young men in London. In early 2016, the advisory group agreed to change the target to a positive increase of the employment of young black men in London by 20% from 64% to 84%.
2. The provision of flexible support specialist advisors that addressed issues of racism and discrimination which could be accessed locally;
3. The engagement of employers to mentor young black men in order to set up their own businesses and to encourage black owned businesses to create more apprenticeships;
4. The development of resources that would challenge the negative stereotyping of young black men, and particularly to combat bias in recruitment decisions.

(for a full analysis of their argument frames see Appendix 4)

Personal Reflections

For the Family Trust, the major thrust of the campaign for better conditions for young adults in the criminal justice system rested on the notion of maturity, particularly the neuroscientific take on this term. I was suspicious of this biological argument and resistant to its biological reductionism. I was unclear as to the implications of an assessment of immaturity of the young adult and thought that the campaign might increase prison sentences, rather than reduce them. I looked into the issue of neuroscientific evidence and found research (Becker 2010) that confirmed my fears that the suggestion of mental instability in a defendant would probably increase the likelihood of a longer spell in jail. My respondents seemed unclear as to the implications in terms of length of sentence or to the interventions that might be offered to resolve their immaturity. The suggestion seemed to be that some form of parental-type care might overcome previous harm and enable, somehow, the individual to transition to adulthood – whatever that meant.

I could not understand why they chose to emphasise the neuroscientific argument, beyond an attachment to the newness of the science. They also harked back to [the founder] as the template on penal reform. I was hard on the respondents when they talked about neuroscience in the interviews and made the delivery manager uncomfortable. This was particularly true when I asked him what the evaluations had told him about maturity – there was a long pause and he answered another question.

The City Fund also focussed on the young adult age group but they had narrowed it to young black men and their attempts to find employment. I was surprised that they had chosen this population as I could not recall any new policy that specifically targeted or disadvantaged this group. Undoubtedly, this group suffered discrimination and therefore they were deserving but I could not see any obvious opportunities that the Fund could use to lever resources in their direction. A more obvious group seemed to me to be disabled people, since they were now expected to look for work or suffer sanctions; there were advances in assistive technologies which should enable them to work; and they were more visible after 2012 para-Olympics and campaigns concerning disabled service men and women returning from Middle Eastern conflicts. This surprise was echoed by others working in HR who they engaged with in the course of their programme. This response to their priority was dismissed by the managers as a form of racism in that the HR professionals assumed that the problem of under-employed young black men had somehow been resolved. I wondered if the HR managers were more focussed on the broader policy context where employing disabled people and closing the gender pay gap had much greater currency.

In the literature, a more pressing issue was the withdrawal of benefits by the Conservative government and the increase in benefit sanctioning which consigned many young people to poverty and dependence on families where they may have suffered abuse and experienced violence (Berrington et al. 2017, Fergusson 2014). This was barely mentioned by either foundation which surprised me. The Family Trust used the reduction in benefits as part of their argument about delays

to maturity, but the City Fund did not mention the lack of financial independence as compounding the problems faced by the young men in their programme.

There were two major policy interventions that affected their programmes, Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) which reshaped the probation service, and the Work Programme which expanded employability provision. Both these interventions were meant to increase voluntary sector provision which would replace the monopoly of the public sector with a greater variety of providers, both private and charitable. The Family Trust did not mention the TR reforms directly, beyond saying that they were inconvenient as it meant their central networks were now dispersed across the country. For the City Fund, the Work Programme, was a direct comparator for their work, and it appeared that an important outcome for them would be to demonstrate that specialist charitable provision had clear advantages over programmes offered by other prime contractors from the private sector. Managers from both foundations discussed their pilots as 'demonstration' projects and I thought that they were using the opportunities presented by these new policies to promote voluntary sector provision.

I thought this age group surely needed some support, since policy making had operated to their detriment for some years – not only the Conservative, but the Labour and Coalition governments had reduced their benefits and opportunities for independent adulthood. However, I could not see an obvious policy window for either of their chosen populations, given the age of austerity that we were living in; the conservative nature of the criminal justice system; and demands of new entrants into the work force, such as disabled people. I wondered what opportunities for change they could see.

Use of Evidence

In this section, I consider how they used evidence to present their arguments for structural or systemic change. The presentation of evidence was their central legitimisation strategy since they

did not represent a membership as a campaigning organization would. Evidence indicated expertise, identified by Archer as a key resource when bargaining with more powerful groups.

They collected evidence to demonstrate structural inequality, using an epistemology described by Archer as the 'science of society', where studies are used to show enduring patterns of disadvantage and to indicate fundamental problems with society. These studies deny the constituting work of human beings and the epistemology uses downwards conflation as a strategy to suggest that humans are the passive victims of these larger social forces. The Family Trust used neuroscience to suggest that young adults are the victims of their biology and the City Fund identified racism as the structural disadvantage faced by their beneficiaries. Additionally, they deployed an epistemology that used 'studies of wo/man', most notably in their evaluations, which views society as the aggregation of individual outcomes and denies the societal level of analysis, acting back on to the individual. This epistemology uses upwards conflation to claim that society is an amalgam of individual responses. I consider how they used each epistemology in turn.

Study of wo/man

In this section, I consider their use of an epistemology that concerns the individual level of analysis and conceives of society as an aggregation of individual behaviours. Both of the programmes looked for changes to individual behaviours; the Family Trust was concerned that their funded projects demonstrated that participants did not re-offend and were compliant with probation orders; and the City Fund set targets for their grant holders based on the number of successful placements in work for the participants.

In the oral session to the Inquiry, the programme manager showed the Trust's credentials as a legitimate organization by speaking about its commitment to use the government's own reconviction data to demonstrate the efficacy of its funding choices:

'We are hoping to have the first wave of reconviction data later this year, subject to the data lab in the Ministry of Justice being able to provide it. Some of the other initiatives that I have mentioned—

for example, with police and crime commissioners—are linked up to IDIOM, which is the national police live offending tracking data system. They have been able to report measurable, substantive reductions in reconviction rates.’ (Oral evidence to the House of Commons Justice Committee)

This comment shows the Fund as an organization trying to supplement the government’s provision rather than challenge it (Young 2000). The City Fund had a difficult first year as the funded projects failed to meet the optimistic targets they had set:

‘I think I would say it’s had a wobble. It’s had a wobble partly because the kind of measure of success, which we set ourselves in terms of the numbers of young black men into jobs, is falling well below what was expected at 89, and I think that our target was like 500 or thereabouts. So, that’s called into question a little bit, hang on a minute, you know, is it the right providers we’ve got? Is it they’re not targeting the young people that we are hoping they are? Is it, is it, you know, other issues that we need to uncover?’ (Senior manager, City Fund)

In this reflection, the manager does not question the target and its achievability, but rather the quality of the providers. The number seems inviolate. Much of the first part of the Action Plan uses statistics based on individual data, and the analysis even attempts a cost benefit analysis to illustrate the damage of unemployment to young black men:

‘Research by the National Audit Office for the Department for Work and Pensions in 2008 calculated that the gap in the employment rate between the ethnic minority and the general population (at that time 14.2 percentage points) costs the economy some £8.6 billion annually (£1.3 billion cost to the Exchequer and £7.3 billion in lost output) (National Audit Office, 2008). Further research would be required to calculate the economic cost of young black male unemployment in London. Based on the existing research, it is likely that the current cost of young black male unemployment in London amounts to tens of millions of pounds. The future costs are likely to be relatively higher than for young people on average, as the scarring effects of youth unemployment for males are higher than for females in terms of reduced earnings (ACEVO, 2012) and while the longer term penalties of youth

unemployment for black people are unknown it would not be surprising to discover that they are higher than for other ethnic groups.’ (Action Plan, p. 20, City Fund)

This is a good example of the epistemology, the study of wo/man, in that it equates individuals in employment in terms of their contribution to the overall economy, failing to recognise that there are effects on the individual of the social structure, the economy in this instance, and the relationship is more symbiotic than is allowed by this analysis.

The Family Trust contributed to risk assessment tools when they asked a research team at Birmingham University to develop a questionnaire for a proto-type maturity assessment tool. Previously, they had commissioned this team to review the ways in which different scientific traditions had considered the notion of maturity. A senior manager explains how the ‘product’ was meant to assess the maturity of the offenders:

‘So [we] were able to work with Birmingham to develop a product, and to initially test that product with our three existing sites, and the probation workers in those sites. What we honed in on was that probation have to use, they’re required by statute to use a specific assessment tool when they are initially assessing a young person, before they are sentenced.

It’s called the offender assessment system, OASys. [...] [I]t’s a risk – it’s, in effect, a risk assessment system, looking at risk of reoffending, risk of harm, and risk of harm to others, and to themselves. And looking at criminological needs. [...] What are the factors in someone’s life that relate to their offending behaviour, and how can those factors be changed to reduce that offending.’ (Senior manager, Family Trust)

This attempt to develop a risk assessment tool further splits down the individual to particular indicators of risk, that are used to calculate the type of sentence that would be appropriate, based on previous scores of other individuals.

'[The] Birmingham [research team] worked to identify the particular questions within each section which could be pulled out as a – as a sort of separate download from the eventual completed form. [...] It doesn't generate a score at the end, you're not sort of 15 out of 20 mature, which was a consideration. We did think about some sort of score-based tool, like the Glasgow Coma Score, which identifies how significant a brain injury is, for example. There are tools where you can get a score, but what they wanted was to give the professional the discretion, and the rounded judgement in their assessment of the individual. To be able to draw conclusions around the suitability of one sentence against another, one sentence intervention against another.' (Senior manager, Family Trust)

The senior manager here appears to suggest that immaturity can be judged in the same way as brain injury. This indicates a medicalisation of the criminal justice system and is in line with their stance on neuroscience. This approach neglects the contextual differences and impacts on each young offender. It suggests that public safety can be assured by using risk assessments as a technical answer to a social problem.

There were difficulties in finding and collecting data. The author of the Action Plan points to gaps in the government's and the city authorities' data, relying on the International Labour Organization for the figures, so the level of analysis switches between London and the UK over differing time periods. Equally, the Family Trust struggled to gain access to re-conviction data held by the Home Office in order to verify the success of their demonstration projects. There were doubts from both management teams about the capacity of their funded projects to collect data on outcomes:

'And we have worked with the—Sheffield [University evaluators] has worked with the groups to help them refine their outcomes framework. So, for example, one of the projects [...] didn't think that reconviction rates were important and we have sort of persuaded them that those were important,

...—. [...] then I think that we have been—certainly there was bad problems of data collection, it's always been an issue, hasn't it, but nothing too serious.' (Senior manager, Family Trust)

'They're [the funded groups] not collecting that kind of information. So – on the one hand, I can see why [think tank consultancy] were frustrated, but I don't think we'd set it up to collect that information. So hopefully now we will. I think we relied too much on the survey to tell us those things, and that survey became, you know, a bit of a noose around people's neck because young people aren't – you know there was a whole world of issues. It was too long, they weren't really filling it in honestly. They got the impression people were just doing it just to get through it. So, there's lots of issues around that.' (Senior manager, City Fund)

Given the problems in collecting and locating data on individuals, it must be assumed that the information will be incomplete and possibly inaccurate. In the first extract, the response of the project managers suggests that they did not think that reconviction data would adequately reflect the aims of the project. In the second, the young people themselves were not convinced of the value of the data collection instrument.

Science of Society

The social structure that the Family Trust focussed on was the process of becoming an adult. They were able to point to observed disruptions at the point when, socially, we are expected to take on adult responsibilities on our eighteenth birthday. The most notable indicator is the rise in crime, expressed by the age/crime curve, committed by people between the ages of 18 and 25. The transition from young offender teams to probation services is also marked by increases in compliance breaches, appearances in courts and re-arrest. Adult services expect greater personal responsibility and, when conditions are not met, there are greater consequences, as the programme manager commented:

'Whereas, as soon as the 18th birthday happens, the common practice is you get a fixed appointment, you get told about it by letter, and you're expected to turn up. If you don't you're back

in court. The police come around and arrest you, and you go back to court. That's the adult system.'
(Senior Manager, Family Trust)

The Trust aimed to replace chronological age as a marker for transition to adult services with the neuroscientific and psychological concept of 'maturity'. The quote below is from a report they commissioned from the University of Birmingham in order to understand the concept better, and was used in their Pathways from Crime pamphlet which made the case for their approach:

'[The research] points emphatically to the inappropriateness of an arbitrary age limit as the key factor determining the kind of judicial response an offender should receive, and that in the young adult group, the level of maturity exhibited by an offender is a valid factor to be considered within the legal process' (University of Birmingham 2011, p. 35, cited in Pathways from Crime, p. 21).

The notion that 18 is an 'arbitrary' age limit is underlined by reference to the birthday ritual of a cake and its 'magical' properties:

'Blowing out the candles on an 18th birthday cake does not magically transform anyone into a fully functioning and mature adult...' (Pathways from Crime, pg. 2)

However, the age of 18 is hardly arbitrary since it is the age of majority in the UK when the individual becomes a citizen, with the right to vote and sit on a jury. They gain other important rights such as the right to leave home; get married without asking for permission from their parents; own property; and leave education or training. These rights have been campaigned for, and as rights express the collective will of society. The contention of neuroscience that men's brains are not fully developed until they are 25 years old, is presented as a more fundamental truth, than evidence from psychology and criminology.

'We knew a little bit from the world of psychology about [...] things like attachment theory, and young adults [...] wanting to rebel, wanting to carve out their own adulthood, and the idea of a transition to adulthood in other fields was not new. But we didn't know, and what has only been available in the last five years or so, is the evidence from neuroscience that actually has scientifically proven that, for males, there are certain aspects of brain development that don't take place until early mid-20s. It's earlier for young women, and that reflects the difference in offending types that exists between men and women at an age.

But the correlation was extremely clear between those issues – those aspects of the brain that don't fully develop, and the types of offences that young adult men are most likely to commit. [...] And, I think with criminology and psychology there's often, I think with policy makers, there's a scepticism about the validity of the science behind those fields. Some of it is quite subjective, it might be seen as subjective, criminological theory is quite a new area, relatively, to other fields, 20 or 30 years, and draws on a lot of other academic fields to try and make its case. I think neuroscience – it's pretty clear-cut. There aren't really that many grey areas within the area of neuroscience, as I understand it.

People's brains develop differently, depending on their social circumstances, but there are certain elements of brain development that are consistent for everyone. [...] But a healthy brain, in males, and then a healthy brain in females, tend to develop in the same way, regardless of other things. Yeah, it was the most solid ground that we could work with.' (Senior Manager, Family Trust)

This text uses neuroscience to establish the rationale for their argument for young adult services to be extended to 25 years, especially for men. The speaker fails to acknowledge that the findings of neuroscience are a human interpretation of results in the same way psychologists and criminologists interpret their findings (Rose 2004). Moreover, biological science provides the ground for the social sciences but doesn't supersede them in social contexts where sociology and

psychology have more explanatory power because of their explicit engagement with society (Bhaskar 2014).

However, the engagement with neuroscience enabled an argument which positioned the young men as victims of their biology:

'So there were already lots of implications for criminal justice decision making. Is it reasonable, for example, to expect a young person to have empathy with a victim of their crime, if neurologically empathy is one of the last things to develop? Is it reasonable? Is it reasonable to apply the same sentence for theft for a young person who's opportunistically stolen something from a shop, without thinking it through? Compared to an older person, when we know from neuroscience that forward planning, and impulse control are the last things to develop in the young adult male brain.' (Senior Manager, Family Trust)

In this argument, adulthood is conceived of as the competence for rational action which young men, or in this case a young woman, do not appear capable of because of their under-developed brains, rather than the recognition by society of the new responsibilities of citizenship. This allows the Foundation to comment on delays to adult independence without making the link between the poverty created by the withdrawal and reduction in benefits, but rather attributing these delays to the new discoveries about brain development:

'In addition to the neurological and developmental maturation that occurs well into the mid-20s (outlined in detail in Appendix 4), sociologically young adults have a range of distinct issues compared to older adults. In recent decades, there has been a significant shift in the age at which the traditional social milestones of adulthood are reached. For example:

- *In 1971 the average age of first marriage was 25.6 years for males and 23.1 years for females. In 2004 this average had increased substantially to 31.4 and 29.1 respectively.*
- *The average age of the mother at the birth of her first child rose from 23.6 to 27.6 between*

1971 and 2006.

- *The age at which young adults leave the family home has increased. In 2006, 58% of males and 39% of females aged 20-24 were still living in the family home, compared to just 50% and 32% in 1991.*
- *The 'staying on rate' for post-16 education in England has more than doubled from 38% in 1970 to 78% today, with 40% of young people now going to university rather than the labour market.*

There are also some recent changes introduced by the government that will have a detrimental impact on this age group:

- *25% of young adults aged 18-24 in the UK are NEET. 18-20 year olds have a lower minimum wage than those who are 21+. 18-25 year olds are specifically excluded from receiving the forthcoming 'living' wage;*
- *Young adults aged 18-21 will be excluded from making housing benefit claims.'*

(Written Evidence to House of Commons Justice Committee Inquiry)

This is the only occasion their materials relating to maturity discuss benefits in any detail and it is placed in an appendix to their written submission to the Inquiry. Their discussion relates to the new permissions allowed to 18 year olds, such as leaving home, getting married and leaving education. The conflation between developmental effects and the results of legislation is most clearly seen in the bullet discussing the '*staying on rate*' which seems to suggest that staying in education is a choice, but in fact young people have to stay in some form of education or training, as a result of legislation by the Labour government in 2002, as an attempt to deal with the surplus of young unemployed people (Fergusson 2004). Although the text outlines the changes to the benefit system, they fail to reflect on the direct effects these will have on young people's ability to realise the rights afforded to them, merely claiming a '*detrimental impact*'.

Their championing of neuroscience as the new explanation for young men’s criminal activity and consequent desistance from crime enables the continuance of childhood into the mid-20s and appears to support the decision of governments to reduce or withdraw benefits for this age group, resulting in young people’s continued maintenance in their family homes.

Neither foundation managed to bring together the two epistemologies to avoid upwards and downwards confluents. Their ideas about neuroscience and racism did not inform their data collection which was rather dictated by what would be convincing for policy makers. Since convincing policy makers was their aim, it meant that data collection was skewed towards behaviour change of the individual, and ignored the larger social and political changes, the result of policy makers’ actions.

The Family Trust attempted to change structures by using the new discoveries of neuroscience to challenge ideas about age as a marker for change. These biological explanations may have forced a choice and moved thought away from age. However, the Trust did not engage with biology and maintained its identity by discussing transitions in terms of celebrations and parenting, very much in keeping with its Domestic World identity which respects generational transmission of values.

Further, the neuroscience discourse did not provide enough political purchase for the Trust to develop alternatives to chronology and so managers looked to maintaining the young adults in a system defined by age. The table below sums up these arguments.

Table 14: Morphostatic arguments of the Family Trust.

		Contradictions		Complementarities	
		Necessary	Contingent	Necessary	Contingent
Situational Logic	Correction	Elimination		Protection	Opportunism

CEPs

C S Level Syncretism Pluralism Systematization Specialization

Extension of age
to 25 years.

S-C Level Unification Cleavage Reproduction Sectionalism

Neuroscience vs.
age

SEPs

S S Level Compromise Competition Integration Differentiation

Support for
young adults to
comply with
probation orders.

S I Level Containment Polarisation Solidarity Diversification

With probation
service.

The City Fund, in contrast, focussed on the employment experiences of young black men, specifically in relation to the government’s Work Programme, (described in Chapter 5, p. 135). The social structure that the programme identified as the main barrier to the success of the young men was racism. The Action Plan, written to justify the programme and its focus on this population, laid out data that showed longitudinal trends in discrimination in both education and employment that

explained the disadvantages suffered by black students and young adults in the employment market. When asked in a survey, what young black men attributed to their lack of success in finding work, their answer was unequivocal:

'The other reason for [unemployment] is because of racism and I feel that the stereotype of black people follows them wherever they go.' (Action Plan, p.25)

This persistence in underperformance in employment and education statistics due to racial difference was noted by managers at the Fund:

'Then an issue subsides, more groups are funded, our relationship with them strengthens, you find out a bit more and you think it's worth pursuing. Again, Young Black Men is the same. It's the sort of issue that it's never waxed and waned. It goes on and off the agenda [...]. [...] you think racism's gone but of course it hasn't. It's coming back in a different way or people perceive it in a different way [...].' (Senior manager, City Fund)

'That we just walk away and not do anything? Do you feel that there's no point? We had a bit of that in the big [consultation] meeting. A couple of people [said], "Well, it's just racism. It's just racism. You can't do anything."' (Senior manager, City Fund)

However, the matter may be more one of age rather than race since the persistence of racial discrimination is exacerbated by the rise of youth unemployment across Western Societies from 1980s and worsened by the recent financial crash in 2008 (Fergusson 2016). As racial difference is often a marker for poverty, it is a useful discriminator for targeting extra resources to those most in need, but the concerns about young people and the difficulties of their employment is relatively recent and perhaps an effect of late capitalism (Fergusson 2004; 2016). Fergusson (2016) makes the link between the governance of the young unemployed and the criminalisation of young people and

so enables a bridge between these two programmes. Although there is no empirical evidence that increasing unemployment inevitably leads to more crime, as evidenced by the reduction in crime rates over recent years of rising poverty, joblessness and under-employment, the young men in their responses reported in the Action Plan made that link themselves:

'I honestly think it's a mix of young black men getting involved with gang life and having that gang mentality to get money through means of drug dealing violence and other illegal ways.' (Action Plan, pg. 8, City Fund)

'You have to be very strong mentally to withstand the peer pressure to do bad things and over the years it can be hard to resist, especially if they are offering you money.' (Action Plan, pg. 28, City Fund)

The accompanying text uses the phrase *'do the right thing'* to underscore the efforts of the young men to stay away from a life of crime.

'Young black men who are looking for work feel they are resisting peer pressure to follow this route rather than an alternative path into gangs and crime. They feel isolated from their peers and unsupported in their efforts to 'do the right thing'.' (Action Plan, pg. 21, City Fund)

The rise in unemployment for young black men in comparison with other ethnic groups from 2006 to 2012 in the UK was not accompanied by the rise in applications for Job Seekers Allowance in London, which showed a steady fall in applications from 2011 to 2014, ending in just over 2,000 applicants from young black male claimants from 4,000 in 2011. Thirty nine percent of their respondents in their survey were not registered as unemployed which is a high percentage for a snowball sample. These results suggest that many of these young men are not accessing the welfare

benefits they are entitled to. Writers have noted the difficulty of accessing job seekers allowance and the increasing likelihood of failing to meet a requirements to attend meetings and complete paperwork that leads to sanctioning and the stopping of benefits, in turn leading to increased homelessness, detrimental impacts on health and future prospects, although notably affecting single mothers most harshly (Narain et al. 2017, Reichman et al. 2005). Pedersen et al. (2018) suggest that people from ethnic minorities are particularly vulnerable to these decisions. The young men mention sanctioning in their comments about unemployment provision:

'Participants recounted mixed experiences of the support they received to help them find work. [...] Jobcentre Plus advisers were seen as more interested in finding reasons to sanction them than in helping them to find work.[...] Participants felt that a more encouraging attitude and greater interest from advisers would make a big difference to them. It would help them to feel more motivated in their search for work and less isolated in feeling they are doing this alone.

Almost all participants considered that work experience was critical to finding a job, based on their own experiences of being turned down for jobs due to their lack of work experience. [...]

'JobcentrePlus don't do much to help. They send you to places to get your CV done. But that doesn't help. We need help to get jobs not CVs.' [Focus group participant, Haringey] (Action Plan, pg. 28, City Fund)

The division between those participating in society, i.e. those in education, employment and training (EET) and those who are formally considered not to be participating (NEET), is delineated in the report with the young men appearing to defend themselves against the suspicion of criminal activity, to *'do the right thing'*, but acknowledging the difficulty of achieving jobseekers allowance, which itself is set at a reduced rate because of their age. Fergusson (2016) argues that the designation of NEET marks out young people as not participating in society, of choosing to be socially

excluded. This allows interventions that seek to change individual behaviour, motivation and attitudes to encourage young people to be included and to want to be, but fails to recognise that exclusion may be a deliberate action by the state to divest itself of responsibility or a deliberate action by young people as a form of resistance.

From this analysis, it appears the central issue is the state's relationship with young men, primarily, as expressed in the rate and availability of welfare benefits. Far from challenging the status quo, both organisations appear to support the position of recent policies. The Family Trust reinforces the trends to reduce and withdraw benefits from young citizens by drawing on arguments that suggest we are not fully adult until we are rationally competent. Whilst the City Fund does not question the excluding actions of state bodies but encourages the young men in their belief that their future success is down to their efforts alone.

Prescriptions for Improvement

The Heteronormative Family – The Domestic World

Having established that juvenile provision in the criminal justice system should be extended to those aged 25 and under, because of their lack of competency for rational action or their immaturity, it was unclear, at first, what the implications of this judgement on the young people would be for the managers at the Family Trust:

'It might, I guess psychological theory might say actually, this young adult is really quite mature in certain aspects of their life, and they're very good at manipulating others into doing what they want. They always lead the group, emotionally they're very resilient; they have a lot of life skills. 'They're street-wise', is a phrase you quite often hear. So, actually, the maturity is seen as a strength. Yet, they might have terrible money management skills, they might have awful personal relationships. They might be very impulsive, and so there might be a number of aspects of their immaturity which are weaknesses.

There was a presumption, I think, probably an incorrect presumption by a number of agencies that immaturity always meant mitigation, or weakness, or lack of maturity - it was assumed it would be lack of maturity. The Birmingham - subsequent Birmingham project, did identify areas where young people - where immaturity might be a strength. So, I think the neuroscience work proposes that regardless of any of those strengths and weaknesses, in relation to maturity, young adult males are different to older adult males. Now that's definitive, and therefore the courts should take that into account in all settings, in all cases.' (Senior manager, Family Trust)

In this extract, the senior manager appears to be suggesting that a judgement of immaturity was immaterial to subsequent actions, as it did not seem to discriminate between delayed development 'weakness' and healthy trajectories 'strengths'. The conclusion of this argument would be a return to chronological age as a marker since neuroscience and psychology do not offer discriminatory evidence. However, when asked for instances of interventions to counter immaturity, managers promoted the idea of quasi parental support:

'I think that - I think um, I think that the transition work - that's stronger on the transition work, because somebody - when you're maturing into an adult things are happening in your brain. The idea is that if you work in the right way with somebody, you can help those things happen more quickly. So if you get a good - if somebody's kind of giving them a bit of parental type support, they'll be accelerating that - [...] But the neuroscience with the young people is trying to cure and accelerate physical things that haven't happened in their brains. (Senior manager, Family Trust)

This support was particularly important when the young adults were moving from youth services to the adult system, and case workers provided personal support to young people who struggled with these new responsibilities:

'So a simple measure like being more flexible, or letting people know about their appointment by text, rather than by letter, ringing them up, asking their mum where they are. Those sort of small

changes can make a huge difference. So that's – those are the sort of practical, soft things that can be done; it all comes back to relationships, and perseverance. [...] it's in effect, the in loci parentis idea, those are the kinds of things that, in another setting, a young adult might have their parent doing still, even though they're above 18. Very few parents would expect their 18-year-old to suddenly be without any need for any support, emotionally, or financially or otherwise.' (Senior manager, Family Trust)

Managers claimed that these types of interventions were valued by probation staff as they lowered the breach rate of probation orders:

'What we found with our T2A pilots was that Birmingham, for example, had had an astronomically high breach rate for this age group, it's why they wanted to run one of the pilots. What the pilot did was it had a group of staff who um, helped the young people out with what was going on in their lives, but also helped them to comply with the court order. [...] the key workers would text the young person two days before, the day before, the hour before. If they didn't hear from them, they'd go to their house, they'd wake them up; they'd get them out of bed. They'd take them; they'd go with them. They'd advocate for them in court. They'd make sure that they completed their unpaid work requirements in the community. They'd help them write a letter of apology to the victim. They'd also sort out any housing issues, family issues, all of that.

The level of compliance went up massively. The breach rate went down almost to zero, from about 75 percent. So the probation service absolutely loved it, because suddenly they had loads of extra capacity, they weren't dealing with breaches anymore, whereas that was taking up huge amount of time in terms of paperwork. [...] The courts noticed a massive drop-off in the number of adults coming through. (Senior Manager, Family Trust)

In their maintenance of childhood relations, the case workers are shown to support the needs of public officials and court procedures rather than the development of the young people.

The nature of the probation orders remains unquestioned and the criminal justice system is untroubled, with the notion of family support replacing the idea of public support. Equally, the young men responding to the questionnaire, sponsored by the City Fund, identified that a lack of family networks made it more difficult for them to find jobs:

'There are significant differences in the responses from EET (in employment, education or training) and NEET (not in employment, education or training) respondents to three of the questions.

Respondents who are NEET are significantly less likely to say that most of the friends are in work or education, that most of their family are in work or education, or that their friends or family could help them to get a job.' (Action Plan, pg. 24, City Fund)

For this discourse of the family to be considered heteronormative, the position of women in these texts must be considered. In the texts relating to the City Fund, unemployed young women were not discussed at all, not even to explain why they were not a priority given the high profile concerns about the gender pay gap. For the Family Trust, young female offenders were often presented as mothers, and therefore worthy of extra practical effort, but were also identified as more mature, so perhaps of less concern, because of their parenting responsibilities:

'And I think there is a particular concern about the earlier maturation of young women. So much young women will be punished because they are often forced into situations of being more mature because they have got child care responsibilities and it's not right clearly, to not give them the support they need because they are making the best of a difficult situation.' (Senior Manager, Family Trust)

Although they were more mature, they were also presented as more likely to be mentally ill, with statistics of self-harm, depression and other psychological illnesses related to abuse from violent partners linked to women in the Pathways to Crime pamphlet. The case study below brings together ideas of a 'good' mother with parenting skills provided by a case worker:

'Kelly, 21, was referred to the T2A project by her probation officer. It was clear that she lacked maturity and had very low self-esteem. She had been in a number of violent relationships, which had reduced her confidence and presented concerns for the safety of her two children, who she would leave with relatives while having a 'good time' and using drugs with her now ex-partner. Because of this behaviour, her mother and sister lost patience [and] their relationship with Kelly broke down. Just before her referral, her children were removed from the family home and placed into foster care, one with her sister. Her T2A keyworker identified that it was a priority for Kelly to mend her relationship with members of her family, who have found it difficult to understand her behaviour. It has taken time for Kelly to adjust to seeing her children being looked after and parented by her sister.

Kelly has had to deal with enormous guilt over what happened. This is being addressed through help of a counsellor accessed through T2A. To prepare Kelly for a time when her children are back in her care, T2A have provided support with debt, housing arrears and managing appointments. Kelly's children have now been removed from the Child Protection Register and she is getting on better with her sister and family. Her social worker is giving her the opportunity to prove she can care for her children. Kelly has several months of hard work ahead of her and, during this time, T2A will prioritise boosting her confidence, and improving her attitude and understanding of what it takes to be a good parent.' (Pathways from Crime, pg. 39, Family Trust)

This young adult is clearly suffering from poverty, 'debt, housing arrears', as well as expectations of childcare from relatives, social workers and the T2A worker. She demonstrated her repentance for wanting to have a 'good time' by feeling 'enormous guilt'. This case study reinforces the belief that children are the sole responsibility of their mother, as leaving them with relatives is the sign of poor parenting. [This case study vignette](#) echoes earlier stories of the Victorian middle-class volunteer ladies visiting the homes of the poor to support cleanliness and moral behaviour, a tradition that has changed into modern day social work (Villadsen 2011).

The focus on attitudes, self-esteem and confidence building suggests that young adults are individually responsible for circumstances outside of their control, such as the changing provision of probation services which, under Transforming Rehabilitation, is more paper based than person-centred, or the lack of demand in the youth employment market. For the Family Trust, this programme's interventions speak to their identity in the Domestic World and reinstates the family as the prime arena for shaping the responsible citizen, recalling birthday rituals of candles on a cake. The use of neuroscience to recast officially recognised adults as under-developed maintains their unworthy status as children, and thus allows them to become deserving, as well as pre-supposing the interventions as parental type support.

The Entrepreneurial Self – The Industrial World

In this section, calls for personal investment are considered as part of an attempt to motivate young adults to improve their lives. The City Fund, in their employment programme, encouraged their young beneficiaries to build their self-esteem as well as their future careers. Education as a way out of poverty was recognised as no longer delivering for young people. The Action Plan acknowledged that young black men had improved on their educational performance but this had not translated into jobs:

'Young black men still experience higher rates of unemployment despite their strongly improved educational attainment and regardless of their qualification level: black university graduates are twice as likely to be unemployed as white university graduates.' (Action Plan, pg. 34, City Fund)

The Fund's long engagement with the Polytechnic movement underscored its rationale for engaging with the unemployment as an important social issue:

'Historically I suppose it sits with the organization in terms of employment – education, employment have been there as issues almost...well certainly over the last I would say four or five decades but even longer. I would say the history of the organization, the Polytechnic Movement in the 'Twenties

and 'Thirties was a way of combining education and employment together, [.....] [...The Fund was one of the leaders [of the polytechnic movement]. [...] Yeah, education certainly being a route and employment being the most important route out of poverty.' (Senior manager, City Fund)

So although young black men could demonstrate that they were well educated with many attaining university degrees, their lack of success in the job market was thought to be down to lack of motivation and confidence:

'There's the self-esteem. Hackney concentrated a lot on self-esteem, how people feel [...] – [...] when you approach it on a purely pragmatic basis of: this is how you dress, this is how you do things. But in fact, you know, it's the inner confidence of individuals. So, you know, that's about sort of identity, that's about self-awareness, and I think civil society organizations are well placed to do that kind of work, all of that kind of work.' (Senior Manager, City Fund)

The views of managers at the Fund were matched by opinions from the young men themselves as reported in the Action Plan, where they thought that some young men needed to change their attitudes:

'...Employers may also have a bad impression of black boys thinking that they have no work ethic or ambition, or that the boys are no good and will cause trouble....'

'...I feel that black people can make it harder on themselves as well possibly due to laziness or lateness or a bad attitude. Also sometimes black people can become mixed up in the wrong crowd and end up with a criminal record which makes their job search that much harder....' (Action Plan, pg. 25, City Fund)

The lack of support from the wider community was identified by the young men as they thought that role models of successful black businessmen would encourage ambition in their community:

'You need positive support around you to be ambitious and to be motivated to succeed. This is lacking in black communities.'

'If you are ambitious you get laughed at.' (Action Plan, p. 29, City Fund)

Promoting black leadership played an important part in the Action Plan, and the Fund's advisory group was led by a black businessman who contributed financially as well as personally to the programme:

'He took, with his own money; he took a number of young men to America, to Atlanta to show them that, you know, it doesn't need to be like that. Because there are lots of black-led businesses there and lots of people who've done well. [...H]e was trying to inspire them in that way.' (Senior manager, City Fund)

They acknowledged the historical antecedents for lack of support, and thought the solution lay in improving the employer networks for young people so through personal contact they had greater chances of gaining employment:

'The reasons for this are historic; for every generation of black men which experiences higher than average unemployment, as has been the case in the UK for many generations, there are fewer successfully employed role models, fewer employer contacts and less knowledge of how and where to apply for jobs for the next generation. Black communities in the UK lack the networks which help many young people into internships and placements within companies that could become their future employers. Without concerted intervention, this cycle will continue into future generations and the ethnic inequalities in employment opportunities will continue. We need to create the networks and pathways through which young black men can meet employers, gain work experience, develop

career aspirations, secure employment and set up their own businesses.’ (Action Plan, pg. 35, City Fund)

In this scenario, the programme contributes to the black community by participating in a strategy to create black business and, by extension, community leaders, as exemplified by the chair of their advisory group. However, it ignores the structure of the market where it has been increasingly difficult for young people to participate, as they are inexperienced and relatively unskilled. The Labour government dealt with this surplus population by mandating 16-18 year olds remain in some form of education or training in 200~~23~~²³-year, creating the now discredited Youth Training Schemes (Fergusson 2004). It is the older group of 18 to 24 year olds who are now being encouraged into university and are staying on to postgraduate studies because they fear unemployment. This may be particularly the case for young black graduates. The emphasis on education reflects a future facing attitude in line with the industrial world, and newer ideals of investing in your entrepreneurial self to make yourself attractive to employers.

However, for those who do not wish or are unable to continue in education, the programme’s strategy appears to be to strengthen the motivation of young people to continue their job search and, for those in work, to encourage career progression.

‘Differentiations in pay make a big difference as to people’s motivations. People don’t want to do stuff if it means ten P an hour extra. “Why do I want all of that shit, aggro? Why do I need all of this to.... just for ten P? Is that really work for aggro... for being a supervisor?” Possibly not. It’s kind of like okay so people need to be in that place, need to be in that space of want – people need to be motivated. Or how can you create motivation? So yeah. I think there’s things there I think need to be tested out’ (Senior manager, City Fund)

Cost effectiveness, a central value for the Industrial world, was an important argument for

both foundations. For the Family Trust, they claimed that failure to invest in young offenders meant that society, generally, would pay at a later date in greater re-offending rates.

'A special concentration of public effort upon this group of young adults, who are in danger of going on to long and costly criminal careers, is a sensible investment by society at a time when resources, both human and material, are too scarce to allow a similar degree of attention to be paid to all age groups'. (Pathways from Crime, pg 8)

The special pleading for these populations took an economic tone for both organizations, with the government urged to make a '*sensible investment*' in the case of young offenders, and employers asked to consider recruiting young black men, not on the grounds of justice, '*the moral argument*', but rather because they would make a valuable and profitable contribution to their businesses:

'So trying [...] to make more of this issue about what is happening with the young black men in London and why aren't they getting into certain jobs and trying to give employers much more of a, have a conversation with them more than why you should be doing more. Because I mean you know the moral argument only goes a certain way with a certain number of employers, but actually it's more about you're missing out on talent.' (Senior manager, City Fund).

However, managers recognised that this sell to employers was tricky, particularly when it came to discussing progression and good quality jobs with organizations, since investing in employees often meant that they moved on subsequently. The difficulty of influencing relatively autonomous employers was evidenced by their inability to find voluntary sector organizations which could have an impact with employers. This was put down to lack of experience:

'They've [voluntary sector organizations] never had to do – do it before. "Progression? We don't do progression. How... how... how would we do that?" And I think also this thing of working with employers is really... It's a different set of skills. It's a different mindset.' (Senior manager, City Fund)

This apparent failure to fund a voluntary sector organizations to successfully engage with employers to place the unemployed, was a finding in evaluations of the Work Programme where private sector companies also failed to deliver the results they and the government expected (NAO 2014). This failure can be attributed to an over eagerness to deal with large employers and an inability to reach out to smaller, local employers because there were no local employer networks to tap into (Ingold and Stuart 2015). So, like the providers of the Work Programme, the grant holders fell back onto a supply side ideology, supported by their funder, which provided motivational trips to Atlanta, sessions to raise young people's self-esteem and support in writing CVs. The comments from the young respondents in the Action Plan suggests that these efforts would be considered inadequate:

'They [JobCentre Plus advisors] send you to places to get your CV done. But that doesn't help. We need help to get jobs not CVs.' (Action Plan, pg. 28)

Equally, research has found that the Work Programme has had a detrimental effect on the voluntary sector as large private sector primary contractors have edged out small specialist providers (Edgell et al. 2016). This effect was also noted by managers at the City Fund:

'..... and also the employment market has changed massively. I mean there used to be so many organizations in this field before doing delivery. [...] And because of the size of ah, um, programs, you know the Work Programme and you know your ability to be able to bid for any of that or even have subcontractors just you know most people kind of like no longer are doing that. You know even people like Community Links were doing loads of employment ah, contracts, that's all gone.' (Senior manager, City Fund)

The prescription of the entrepreneurial self is in line with neo-liberal rhetoric which places the responsibility for poverty on the poor themselves (Deeming 2015, Waquant 2012), whilst at the same time withdrawing state support to encourage compliance, such as the sanctioning decisions made in Job Centres. This prescription also aligns with the industrial world where the worthy individual is the productive worker, employed in an efficient factory (Boltanski and Thevenot 2006). It directs our attention to the individual and suggests interventions that work at that level. However, their work with employers, particularly on the Living Wage Campaign, prompted further thought from managers at the City Fund which encouraged interventions more in line with the civic world.

'Get people into jobs yeah, you know we've got people, who've got all those skills that they can do that and it's kind of like you can see what the outcome is. How do you measure those outcomes or how do you influence an employer and ... you know it is, it's less tangible. Ah, and also much more about rights, the employment rights at work.' (Senior manager, City Fund)

The table below sums up the policy arguments of the City Fund and their programme.

Table 15: The mophostatic arguments of the City Fund

	Contradictions		Complementarities	
	Necessary	Contingent	Necessary	Contingent
Situational Logic	Correction	Elimination	Protection	Opportunism
CEPs				
C S Level	Syncretism	Pluralism	Systematization	Specialization ethnic services adjunct to Work Programme offer

S-C Level	Unification	Cleavage	Reproduction job search, CVs and self-esteem building	Sectionalism
SEPs				
S S Level	Compromise	Competition	Integration Improved rates of employment for young black men	Differentiation
S I Level	Containment	Polarisation	Solidarity With employers	Diversification

(Adapted from Archer (1995, pg. 303))

The Living Wage Campaign and Trade Unions– The Civic World

The Living Wage Campaign was started by London Citizens, but was given a considerable boost by the City Fund in 2009, when it committed resources to strengthening its authority and reach. The Campaign aims to get commitments from employers in London to pay the living wage, a rate higher than the minimum wage which takes into account living costs in London, and in return accredits them as a Living Wage Employer. The accreditation can be seen as a kite mark of quality, and as such is considered a change granted by employers. However, this initiative in various cities across the world as well as in London has reduced the level of poverty in the adopting city (Wills et al. 2009). The problem of selling employers the idea of raising wages has been difficult. Initially, the Fund relied on economic arguments to claim that the raise would not cost the organizations more

money, but their own research showed that this was not tenable. So they have relied on messages connected to reputation gain:

*'We also found through our work on the living wage that **emphasising the reputational benefits** was key. Gathering robust evidence as to why employers should adopt certain development goals is important. [Evidence](#) we gathered on employers paying the living wage was valuable in encouraging other to sign up. These were not necessarily hard economic gains for employers (though there were some such as increased retention of staff), but often softer business benefits such as improved staff loyalty.'* (Consultation response, Good Work Standard, City Fund).

The campaign has successfully recruited several large employers which have recently included organizations such as IKEA and Aldi. In setting a standard, this initiative can be considered a contribution from the civic world in that it relies on a collective agreement as to the level of pay, and some process of monitoring as to whether it has been adhered to. However, in their response to the consultation on the Mayor's Good Work Standard, they acknowledge that there are more serious breaches in the employment contract that would not be met by the Living Wage scheme:

*'We believe there is an important role in highlighting poor practice, but this should be separate from the GWS. The Mayor should address issues relating to non-payment of wages, paying below the minimum wage, exploitation of vulnerable workers and ensuring employment tribunal awards are paid. These practices undermine the many good employers in London who abide by the rules and are likely to sign up to the GWS. With members of the Employment Legal Advice Network (an alliance of employment rights advisors providing advice to low-income workers in London) we would encourage the Mayor to **establish an Employment Rights Unit to tackle poor practice.**'* (Consultation response, Good Work Standard, City Fund)

This attitude of appealing to employers' better nature and pointing out the value added to their reputation if they pay the living wage, hardened to a recognition that some of the persistent bad behaviour needed to be tackled legally. In this, they identified that unions have an important role to play:

'I think they're [trade unions] all against low pay. Their thing would be – and I to a – I think it's part of the reason that we have such low pay is we don't have those trade union strength that we used to. Trade unions act as very important bulwark against low pay. They protect conditions. Where is low pay the greatest in those areas where there's hardly any unionization.' (Senior manager, City Fund)

Their focus rested on the gig economy and they actively encouraged their network of employment advisers to consider the strategic issues relating to precarious work rather than focussing always on individual predicaments:

'Speaker 1: But also the dynamics of work have changed a lot in terms of moving much more towards, self-employment and the gig economy ... and rights being really eroded. So ...[...] so when Uber lost its case on whether or not people were self-employed or workers, we put out statement that afternoon kind of like saying yeah, this is our take on it with the [name of think tank]. We [...] made submissions with them to select committees who were looking into the gig economy. So, it's been, it's been much more proactive ... than it had been.

Speaker 2: We also had the lead solicitor for the Uber case come and talk to the network of employment advisers that we fund as well. Worked through the finer details of ...[...] what case, rules and stuff and that's was quite useful also just for them when they are dealing with their ... with their individual clients 'cos too often they all head down dealing with individuals and we're trying through the ELAN network to get them to look up and think about, "Okay, well the strategic things," that's hard.' (Senior managers, City Fund)

However, the Fund also engaged with trade unions more directly, approaching the TUC to ask it how it might help. It funded media training for the Independent Workers of Great Britain, a conference about the gig economy and American developers of digital platforms for organizing worker campaigns to bring their programmes over to the UK. They were still doubtful as to whether what they were doing was charitable but the managers I spoke to were excited by the radical possibilities:

'Speaker 1: So, we are pushing the boundaries as far as we can in terms of organizing on the ground... and unions particularly. Because those who are contracted out in very low pay wages are very rarely in, some might be in Unison but, in the main, they are kind of a drain on unions 'cos they need a lot of organizing support and probably a lot of case work. And so, we have smaller unions that are like IWGB and United Voices of the World which are kind of led by ... [low paid workers in precarious employment]. Um, but we've now got to deal with some legal issues because we are a charity. Although we [...] fund charitable work, [the funded organization] doesn't need to be a registered charity. But there [are] a few little hiccups... around private benefit and public benefit. Determined to get there because if a bloody private, excuse me, private school can get (laughs) around this ...I am sure a trade union of low paid migrant cleaners can. So, so but we are trying to push that as far as we can

Speaker 2: That's, that's radical stuff that we are all doing at the moment.' (Senior managers, City Fund)

The hesitancy around the organization of the poor to trouble existent power relations is still present in this extract, but, in their comparison between trade unions and private schools, they could clearly see the justice of what they were attempting. In Chapter 6, the civic world was identified as the order of worth most likely to generate corporate agency. In this example, the City Fund is supporting a process where primary agents, the low paid workers, were being organized to represent themselves, to articulate their needs and to come together to re-shape their relations with

their employers. This work comes closest to the situational logic of elimination which sets up relations of competition and polarisation and is most likely to lead to structural change. Unlike the attempt of the Family Trust to bring in new ideas from neuroscience, these arguments had a political and social purchase which was being played out by others such as the GLA and the TUC. This argument is summed up by the table below.

Table 16: morphogenetic arguments of the City Fund

	Contradictions		Complementarities	
Situational Logic	Necessary	Contingent	Necessary	Contingent
	Correction	Elimination	Protection	Opportunism
CEPs				
C S Level	Syncretism	Pluralism – ideas about what is charity.	Systematization	Specialization
S-C Level	Unification	Cleavage	Reproduction	Sectionalism
SEPs				
S S Level	Compromise	Competition unions competing with employers – self organising.	Integration	Differentiation
S I Level	Containment	Polarisation	Solidarity	Diversification – new digital

What happened?

The stages of the grant programmes that I followed both closed in 2017 and were marked with final reports and evaluations. So, I consider here the immediate results of their campaigns.

The Family Trust was very successful in gaining the attention of the House of Commons Justice Committee, and in the final report of their Inquiry, their alliance was mentioned 85 times. However, the Ministry of Justice's response to the Inquiry, rejected the argument that the sentence of detention in a YOI (DYOI) should be retained for young adults up to 25 years.

'Having considered the arguments made by the Committee, we do not accept the view that there would be significant advantages to increasing the statutory upper age limit (currently reflected in detention in young offender institution [DYOI] sentencing legislation) from 21 to 25, so that people would continue to be sentenced to DYOI and classified as young adults until they reach their 25th birthday.' (Ministry of Justice response to Inquiry, pg. 7)

Their argument rested on their view that the population was too small for special provisions and was also declining. Nonetheless, they did recognise the importance of an assessment of maturity to structure interventions for this group.

'Given the dynamic nature of maturity we believe it is more important to incorporate this as a principle which informs the wider development of activity and proposed reforms rather than to develop a separate strategy for young adults based on chronological age. We are therefore rejecting the Committee's recommendation for the development of a specific strategy for young adults.' (Ministry of Justice response, pg. 5)

To assess maturity, the Ministry of Justice decided to develop its own standardised assessment tool which would replace the less formal questionnaire developed by the Trust and its alliance.

The successor programme, the 'problem-solving courts pilot' did not materialise because of problems in gaining permissions from the existing court system. Managers were aware of the complexities of gaining approval but were disappointed, understandably, that the pilots did not go ahead. Instead, the Trust sponsored a 'roadshow' of their funded projects around the country to try and persuade commissioners to adopt the models that had been developed. The evaluators did not succeed in gaining access to re-conviction rates of participants in the projects and therefore did not produce a final summative evaluation including these figures.

The City Fund completed only one round of funding and stopped the young black men initiative after two years. The projects failed to meet their targets by some margin. Their next strategy was to partner with the Mayor to focus on particular boroughs in London. In their 2018 - 22 funding strategy, their target population has changed to disabled people.

The Good Work Standard was published on the Mayor's website with seven questions about legal responsibilities of small firms coupled with some suggestions as to how they might improve their HR provision. There is no accreditation with monitoring linked to the standard.

The IWGB has gone from strength to strength, and has supported couriers for companies such as Deliveroo to get some holiday pay; has mounted campaigns to reverse the outsourcing of cleaning and security staff at the University of London; and has backed striking cab drivers, working for Addison Lee (Roberts 2018). The Fund has included a funding priority in its new strategy to support workers to self-organise.

The Work Programme closed down in 2017 due to indifferent results and a failure to improve on previous public sector models of employment support (NAO 2014). The funding model,

payment by results, was called into question as prime contractors could not meet their optimistic targets and therefore, there was not enough payment for them to survive. The Transforming Rehabilitation reforms have recently been questioned by NAO (2016) and the Chief Inspector of Probation (2019). The Chief Inspector complained about the poorer quality of service for offenders, and the NAO demonstrated that there was no improvement in outcomes by switching to a payment by results system. Indeed, some of the prime contractors were closing down because the funding model could not sustain their organizations.

Conclusion

In this analysis, I have explored the different uses of evidence to understand social or structural change. The epistemologies offered by the social sciences did not help the foundations because the split between structural understanding and individual responses to change denied the interplay between the two. In order to gain credibility with policy makers, the foundations focused on individual change which links to earlier ideas of the individual betterment of the deserving poor.

Their organizational identities give us clues as to why they prescribed particular solutions to the problems they focussed on. The prescriptions of replacement parents and encouraging an entrepreneurial spirit echo similar remedies promoted by their Victorian forebears, particularly the ideals espoused by Charity Organization Society (COS), concerned with the character of the poor and its improvement (Taylor 2018). The impulse to make the poor responsible for their own plight has been bolstered by many streams of argument throughout British history, including Malthus and his principles relating to population, and Bentham and his design of the workhouse (Dean [2013:1991](#)). It is interesting to note that these thinkers were concerned to discipline the pauper as an unemployed miscreant and potential criminal male, an image which reverberates with these case studies. More recent intellectual traditions, such as neo-liberalism, make this responsabilisation of the poor a matter of central policy concern in order to distract from policy choices in favour of wealthier elites (Waquant 2012, Deeming 2015, Taylor 2018). Charitable foundations both contribute to and

construct this discourse, and, unwittingly perhaps, reproduce the structural relations between rich and poor, as we can see in these examples.

The difficulty that the City Fund had in celebrating their support of trade unions as a structural shift which unequivocally sided with the poor suggests an anxiety in engaging with power relations as one of the structuring forces in society. Archer (1995) points to vested interests as playing a key role in decisions people make as to their course of action. For the Family Trust, the ties to their wealthy, capitalist founders made radical choices harder to surface since choosing to disrupt capital relations by championing the welfare state appears too great a paradox. The City Fund was freer in that respect, and had a stronger civic identity, relating to London, as a progressive and diverse city. I argue that these factors made it more likely that they would choose to fund organizations that trouble vested interests.

In table 17 below, I have used Archer's table (Chapter 3, pg. 303) to identify the streams of funding and where they sit in terms of morphogenesis or morphostasis. Funding to trade unions supporting 'gig' workers appeared to offer the potential of morphogenesis. The 'gig' economy is a new phenomenon with deep historical roots (Stanford 2017), but the formation of unions in response to these employment relations, even using some of the same digital strategies, represented a cleavage in ideas and forced a taking of sides. This seemed to fit with the situational logic of elimination. The maturity argument and the young black men employment programme reinforced the policies of government, by producing arguments in solidarity with policy makers about welfare benefits and the provision of employment support. This suggested the situational logic of protection. The efforts of both foundations on behalf of voluntary sector organizations to secure contracts to deliver specialist public services suggested the situational logic of opportunism which encouraged diversification without threatening the relations between principal and agent. Both of these streams would reproduce society and be morphostatic. Neither foundation was big enough to represent competition for the state's ideas in the way that the larger foundations in the

US have done, so the logic of correction was absent, and meant that the logic of protection was the dominant situational logic where the foundations were most likely to supplement government programmes rather than challenge them.

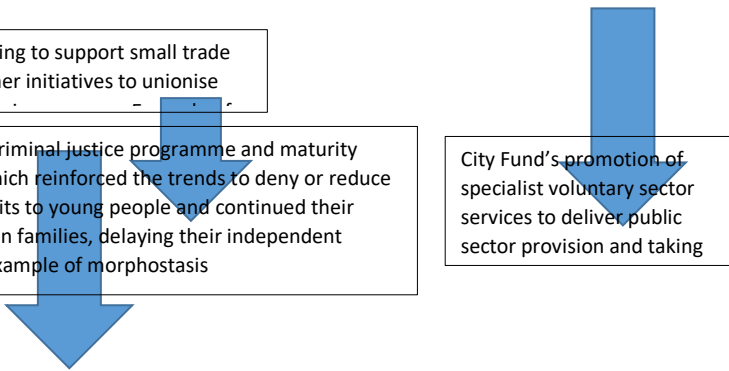
Table 17: Cultural and structural morphogenesis / morphostasis at the systemic and social levels – summary of policy arguments

	Contradictions		Complementarities	
	Necessary	Contingent	Necessary	Contingent
Situational Logic	Correction	Elimination	Protection	Opportunism
CEPs				
C S Level	Syncretism	Pluralism	Systematization	Specialization
S-C Level	Unification	Cleavage	Reproduction	Sectionalism
SEPs				
S S Level	Compromise	Competition	Integration	Differentiation
S I Level	Containment	Polarisation	Solidarity	Diversification

City Fund funding to support small trade unions and other initiatives to unionise

Family Trust criminal justice programme and maturity arguments which reinforced the trends to deny or reduce welfare benefits to young people and continued their dependency on families, delaying their independent adulthood. Example of morphostasis

City Fund's promotion of specialist voluntary sector services to deliver public sector provision and taking



Chapter Eight - Grant holder Relations

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the relations with grant holders as described by the managers at the foundations. To a degree, these relations produced the results from the projects outlined in the previous chapter. This chapter aims to relate these relationships to the morphostatic results. In chapter three, I identified the necessary relations between the two parties as exhibiting the logic of protection, where there was no advantage to either side of the relation to disrupt the status quo – the funder would lose their reputation and their legitimacy if projects failed publicly, and the grant holder would also lose their reputation and potentially funds and future funding.

I also consider their evaluations as the products of these relations and how the logic of protection is reinforced and maintained by the evaluations.

I start with my personal reflections about these relations. I am an experienced grant manager and have had opportunities to alter relationships with grant holders in my previous role at the Kings Fund, so I was interested in how the two foundations managed their grant holder relations in order to bring about societal change.

Personal reflections

The Family Trust was coming to the end of their programme and their relationships were well established. The City Fund was at the beginning and conducted an application process where they chose their funded partners, therefore there was much more information about the projects.

The Family Trust referred to their projects under the banner of their Alliance so the names of the organizations were often obscured in official documents. I attended an Alliance meeting, a trustees meeting where the formative evaluation was discussed and I accompanied the programme

manager on a standard monitoring meeting with one of their grant holders. The focus of these meetings and my comments was the evaluation of the projects. Their data consisted mainly of case studies or case stories, as I noted. The visit to the project was particularly interesting as the programme manager was less interested in the practical issues facing the project and more in the external policy environment, and the disruption caused by the privatization of the probation service. I suggested to him that it was unwise to fund in an area with so much disruption – but he was dismissive of other funders who went for ‘quick wins’! He was drawing on the Trust’s identity as an influencer over a century in this area of social policy.

The evaluation and other conversations showed that targets were unrealistic, set up was poor and the start dates were late. I thought that the projects suffered from over claiming by fundraisers who had written the bids but then had given the work to managers who had to make sense of an under-described project – this had resulted in some grumbling from the delivery teams as the trustee noted in her interview. A fundraiser at the Alliance meeting confided that the reporting was onerous and not useful for other projects in the organization.

I thought that the trustees were unimpressed by the formative evaluation with few questions for the evaluator. One trustee wondered if the projects understood the ambition of societal change. For me, it was unclear what the projects were trying to achieve. At the Alliance meeting, a couple of organizations described their work vaguely and they appeared to be fairly standard resettlement projects. I noted the use of scientific language at both the Alliance and the trustee meeting, words such ‘titrate’, ‘structure’, ‘agency’ and ‘correlation’ were used freely. I wondered if this was to impress the eminent professor present at the Alliance meeting or whether it was strategy to make the projects seem more legitimate.

At the City Fund, I attended their grant making meeting, a learning event held with their grant holders, an advisory group meeting and a final celebration to launch the evaluation and the next stage of the programme. Again, it was unclear what the projects were trying to achieve. The

questions from the trustees at the grant making meeting were about accounts and organizational management.

The targets for getting young men into work were unrealistic with the Fund encouraging organizations to increase their targets – there was no staggering in year one to take account of set up time. Projects were criticised for not being innovative but they also needed to be linked into institutions such as JobCentrePlus to gain approval. One organization was particularly praised for its origins in the private sector.

At the learning event, the two facilitators read out a list of statistics about young black men and employment but did not relate it to the project work. I wondered if they were suggesting that the groups collected and presented this type of information which would suggest that the grant holders should be policy influencing organizations rather than practical delivery organizations. The reports from the projects were mostly vague and positive. One worker started to question his programme but this departure from the script was ignored by the facilitators. Both the facilitators were anxious that some learning should come out of the meeting but were unclear what they wanted to know and the discussion tended to be unfocussed and wide-ranging. At the end, the communications officer at the Fund presented some key messages that the Fund would like the project workers to use with employers. This initiative was met with polite silence.

Likewise, the advisory group meeting focussed on policy rather than practice, with little information about the practical work of the projects. The evaluation discussion focussed on the failure to meet the targets, 80 young men in work rather than the projected 500. The advisory group set an ambitious target of improving employment for YBM from 24% to 64% without discussing the possible contribution of the funded projects. This target was mentioned at the learning event but there were no questions from the project workers. I wondered if they felt it had nothing to do with them. At the celebration event, officers at the Fund expressed disappointment in the programme even though the event was a 'celebration.' It felt a very civic affair with formal

acknowledgements to the advisory group's chair. It was dominated by older black men who were introduced as 'community leaders'. There were stories as to their experiences of looking for work and successfully overcoming the racism found in the employment exchanges.

The projects were described briefly in the evaluation reports, extracts are below.

Description of the projects

Family Trust

Text taken from Appendix 1 of the formative evaluation report (Wong et al. 2016)

Project 1

works in the London boroughs of Hammersmith & Fulham, Kensington & Chelsea and Westminster (the Tri-boroughs) to provide early stage tailored support for young women who are in contact with the criminal justice system (Stage 1 of the T2A Pathway). It offers assessment and Key Worker support to women aged 18 to 24 who have been stopped by the Police for minor offences and anti-social behaviour. Project 1 provides a gender-specific approach that recognises women's experiences of domestic and sexual abuse/violence and offers support to address needs in relation to mental health, alcohol and drugs. The service works closely with the Tri-borough Community Safety Teams and the local police teams and custody referral service. They also offer training to better equip police officers to work effectively with young women.

Project 2

provides family and relationship support during custody and following release to enable successful resettlement for young people aged 16 to 25 (points 8 and 9 of the T2A Pathway). The project operates across Staffordshire and is able to take referrals for young men from HMYOI Werrington, HMYOI Swinfen Hall and HMP Stafford and referrals for young women from HMP/YOI Drake Hall. The service combines the project's Transforming Relationships model with Family Group Conferencing to achieve improved communication and contact with families during custody and

improved resettlement prospects for release. The Project's Family Engagement Worker (FEW) works in the prisons and the community, delivering a whole-family approach to community reintegration.

Project 3

works across the West Midlands providing mentoring in the transition from custody to the community to support young people (aged 16 to 25) into employment, education and training (points 8 and 9 of the T2A Pathway). The project operates from HMYOI Brinsford and HMP Featherstone to offer young men with at least 3 months left to serve a chance to participate in a motivational group session followed by one-to-one mentoring support. The support sessions, tailored to meet individual needs, take place in the prison and in the community for up to 3 months after release, with some young people signing-up to further support schemes run by the organization, such as mentoring for self-employment and work-placements.

Project 4

works across South Yorkshire to provide restorative mentoring for young adults (aged 17 to 25) in the criminal justice system. It aims to address the harm caused by the offence and facilitate resettlement (points 3 and 6 of the T2A Pathway). The project provides a combination of mentoring (befriending, encouragement, guidance, practical and emotional support) and restorative practices (mediation, family conferencing, restorative conferencing) to promote desistance from offending. The project works closely with partners in probation and youth offending services.

Project 5

works in Rotherham with vulnerable young adults (aged 17 to 24) in contact with police and emergency services to provide early stage mental health assessment and interventions at the pre-conviction stage (points 1 and 2 of the T2A Pathway). The approach aims to divert young adults out of the criminal justice system by providing the earliest possible support. The project works closely with South Yorkshire Police; Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council; and Rotherham, Doncaster and South Humber Mental Health NHS Foundation Trust. A key aim is to increase joint working and improve information-sharing between agencies.

Project 6

works in Liverpool with young adults (aged 16 to 25) who have drug and alcohol needs. The service is offered at point of arrest or sentence in the Youth and Adult Courts to provide an opportunity for diversion where young people are charged with or convicted of offences relating to possession of illegal drugs, alcohol and anti-social behaviour (point 5 of the T2A Pathway). Referrals come from police custody suites, probation and courts. The project offers a six-week group treatment programme and one-to-one support. On successful completion the young person is offered a Conditional or Absolute Discharge.

City Fund

Text taken from interim evaluation report (TSIP 2017, p. 44)

Project 1

employs a recruitment agency model, providing personalized job search support for young men in Brent, Ealing and other west London boroughs.

The project targets young men who are work-ready, and focuses on the provision of support directly related to finding and securing work. This includes careers advice, CV writing, interview preparation and psychometric testing.

Project 2

works with young people in Haringey (previously Lambeth), who benefit from two days of group-based pre-employment training (skills assessment, career goals), culminating in a panel presentation. This is then followed by two days of mentoring circles. These four days are scheduled over a period of 2 to 4 weeks.

In the mentoring circles young people meet employees from large businesses. Sometimes, the young people are also able to participate in site visits.

Project 3

This project is a partnership between four Hackney-based organisations. Each of the projects builds from strong relationships in the local community. They take a holistic approach to helping

young people overcome the barriers they face in securing employment, with a particular focus on addressing underlying employability issues relating to aspiration and motivation. A key component of the intervention is the provision of one-to-one support by youth workers (both pastoral and job-focused).

The Inspirational Leaders programme provides a paid leadership role for young people.

Project 4

[name of organization] provides participants with on-the-job work experience on a construction site for three days a week in south London.

Project 5

provides group training in workshops and one-to-one support to its participants (e.g. action planning, mentoring, career coaching). Their focus is on improving skills, growing confidence and changing the outlook of young black men.

Project 6

is a recruitment agency model in operation across London. It provides one- and two-week employability courses, as well as one-to-one support (including mock interviews, CV writing and information on how to research jobs).

Necessary Relations

In this section I argue and present evidence for the protective relations between the funder and the grant holders. In these programmes, the relations may be transformed by the contingency of the grant programme into opportunism where services might take advantage of policy windows to develop new specialized services. However, both programmes were working in social policy areas where there were high levels of disruption to areas, traditionally associated with charities and posing a threat to their existence. Therefore, the priority would be to assure some level of funding for services already developed, rather than developing new work. Both funders appeared to take the side of the government, particularly the City Fund which mentioned the Work Programme as their comparator in conversation, and believed that charities, such as

those they funded, might have an important role to play in delivering what they saw as public services, but which had been delivered by small charities before the Conservative government imported ideas and contractors from the private sector. This was acknowledged by a manager when he noted the closure of employment services in the voluntary sector after the influx of these new providers. Inevitably, these large contractors became competitors for the voluntary sector which failed to gain contracts from central government when they competed for contracts under the new Transforming Rehabilitation policy. This process of centralization meant that local probation officers could not ask informally for help from the sector (Fitzgibbon and Lea 2014). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the private sector failed to provide the improvements that the reforms promised, partly because the rewards from the governments were not sufficient to maintain the organizations and the cheaper services did not address the often-complex problems of the users of the services.

Table 18: the necessary relations with grant holders (Archer 1995,pg.303)

	Contradictions		Complementarities	
	Necessary	Contingent	Necessary	Contingent
Situational Logic	Correction	Elimination	Protection	Opportunism
CEPs				
C S Level	Syncretism	Pluralism	Systematization	Specialization
S-C Level	Unification	Cleavage	Reproduction	Sectionalism
SEPs				
S S Level	Compromise	Competition	Integration	Differentiation
S I Level	Containment	Polarisation	Solidarity	Diversification

Breach Rates

Family Trust

For the Family Trust, success was pointed to when the agencies were able to save the probation service money and/or time:

'...but it gave us enough – it gave us – that gave us a kind of solid idea that the projects did work. Then we also were – the proof, I think, is in whether other organizations are willing to commission. One of the principles of the project were extended from a small probation team, to the whole of Staffordshire and Westminster probation area, which is the biggest in the country, apart from London. The ones based in London became nationwide, and the one that was the rural one, was kind of taken up by its local probation. So people, the Staffordshire people seeing this project, all wanted it.' (interview, senior manager)

'So we had the evaluations, and we had the evidence of people who'd been close to it thinking this can change my practice, and be better, and save lots of money.'(senior manager, interview)

'[...]What the pilot did was it had a group of staff who um, helped the young people out with what was going on in their lives, but also helped them to comply with the court order. So the court order didn't change, because of the pilot, but the key workers would text the young person two days before, the day before, the hour before. [...]

The level of compliance went up massively. The breach rate went down almost to zero, from about 75 percent. So the probation service absolutely loved it, because suddenly they had loads of extra capacity, they weren't dealing with breaches anymore, whereas that was taking up huge amount of time in terms of paperwork. The police weren't having to go around and arrest people, and difficult teenagers, difficult to arrest. Often confrontation resulted, and other offenses. The courts noticed a massive drop-off in the number of adults coming through.' (senior manager, interview)

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These extracts suggest that the task of the agencies was to support the public services, in this case probation, in the processing of the young adults through the court system as cheaply and efficiently as possible.

City Fund

Supply side ideology

The cultural emergent powers were most strongly seen in the supply side ideology as described in the evaluation report for the City Fund. In this report, the success of the programme was centred on the raised aspirations of the young men and their personal commitment to finding a job:

'MoU[Moving on Up] had the biggest impact on participants' attitude, confidence and understanding of work. Whilst some improvement was seen in career direction and more practical job application skills, survey and interview data indicates that MoU's impact was driven more by psychological outcomes – with young black men being more motivated, confident, and aware of what employers are looking for in terms of skills and behavior. (evaluation report, TSIP 2017 pg 5)

They[MOU support staff] basically showed me that if I put my mind to it, and I really want to do it, I can do it ... sometimes you just sit down and you feel like "Oh well, I'm a young black man in Hackney, too many people around me that are not doing so well, am I going to be that as well?" It just opened my eyes to the fact that it's not going to be like that if I work hard." (Participant N, Evaluation report TSIP 2017, pg 31)

Whilst the young men scored highly in terms of aspiration, it was their personal networks that let them down:

'Social capital is still a key area of disadvantage. In stark contrast to aspiration, MoU participants scored lowest on baseline survey questions relating to social capital. These questions focus on using personal relationships to find work. This was also the only outcome not to see any

improvement at follow-up, and to receive almost no references in the participant interviews.

Clearly this is an area that may need more intense, targeted support, and/or further research to explore this in more detail.’ (evaluation report pg 31)

In this text, the locus of concern moves from the individual to the community. The primacy of contact with employers was expressed clearly by one of the trustees:

‘One of the things that I, and I think we all learnt very early in the process, is unless a proposal for funding demonstrates it has strong links with employers, um, it’s not likely – I mean it’s well meaning, and everything, but it’s not – it’s not likely to produce the jobs that it needs to produce. If you’ve got – if you’ve got um, prospective employers onboard from the beginning, then the prospects are much, much better.’ (interview, trustee)

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This view was reinforced by a senior manager discussing ideas for the projects in the programme:

‘Also this cycling of doing confidence building – it doesn’t get them into jobs. You’ve got to actually think about what jobs are out there, form those links with employers, create those pathways for them and take the young people in time. It was much more like hard-nosed which I think perhaps it wouldn’t have been at the beginning. (interview, senior manager)

These ideas informed their grant making decisions:

‘But it allowed some flexibility – it will allow flexibility because people need to – need to demonstrate links with employers, track record of working with young people and how they want to do it. We’re open to suggestions. But the focus is very much getting young black men between 16 and 24 who are actively seeking work, to jobs. That’s the focus.’ (interview, senior manager)

Their evaluation did discuss the demand-side part of the recruitment process but only recommended raising awareness with employers:

- *Engaging employers is a key challenge. Supporting the young black men is only one side of the issue of their higher rates of unemployment – the supply-side. For this issue to be addressed successfully, the demand-side must also be addressed by engaging with employers. This has been a challenge for MoU projects throughout the initiative. MoU-commissioned research by YouGov suggested that there is a need to raise awareness amongst employers about opportunities for young black men – as they were not top of mind for most. The best approach to engaging employers might be to clearly identify the problem, explain what is currently being done about it, and explain what employers can and should do themselves – without laying the blame for the problem at employers’ feet. (evaluation report, page 37)*

The City Fund found it difficult to find charities that offered more than self-esteem building but at the same time the managers were uncertain as to what more could be done beyond some vague ideas about engaging with employers. Thus, although there were nods to demand side calls, the programme exhibited the hallmarks of the supply-side ideologies, in the types of projects funded and the under development of ideas to engage employers, that was so evident in the government’s Work Programme.

Both foundations took positions that placed responsibility for change on the individual rather than questioning the broader system that the individual found themselves within. In this respect they can be seen to reproduce and systematise the prevailing logics of public policy.

The Structural level – Integration and solidarity

De-coupling

There was some evidence of de-coupling being practised by the funded agencies. De-coupling protects the agencies from undue interference from outsider influences, such as funders, where one might agree to conditions of a contract to achieve the investment but not take them into

account in the day to day running of the project. De-coupling was most clearly shown in the failure to meet targets and the difficulties in collecting data.

'Job outcome data: Following up with participants is time-consuming, and so having job outcome data for 66% of participants in the Initiative is not a bad result, and indeed is better than many other employment interventions in the sector. However, more could have been done at the outset of this evaluation to increase this number, [.....]

Survey data: The response rate to the baseline and follow-up surveys was the biggest disappointment of the evaluation, particularly for three of the projects who had less than ten responses each. [...]. (evaluation report pg. 38, City Fund)

Evaluation Relations

Evaluation was an exercise in supportive relations, with respondents from both foundations emphasizing the light touch of their monitoring requirements, and the ownership of data and results.

'Yeah, because they're [monitoring forms] very simple, but they ask for impact, and so on. Some people are better at reporting on it than others. So there's a bit of a kind of supporting people to identify it better – and to, at the beginning, to identify what they're going to measure, and how they're going to measure it, and how they're going to evaluate.

[.....]

We ask them all then to present a framework about how they're going to evaluate their work within four months of the grant being awarded. That seems to be working well. What we are trying to do is not be too dictatorial so it's not compulsory and if you've already got an evaluation framework for the organization which the project fits in, that's fine. Just send that in so we're not wedded to C[harity] E[valuation] S[ervice's] model. It's just generally making sure people are a bit more aware.

[...]We're trying to make life a bit easier for groups in terms of what they said they were going to do. We've just developed high level outcomes for the organization about what we want to achieve and try to get groups to say how far out their outcomes meet those particular... They're ticking boxes.

[.....]

What we've got now is an external organization that will coach them along the way about how they're collecting the data and then help them synthesize that data to present it. Rather than somebody else's view, it's still their data, because often evaluators use the data the groups have done anyway. It's just a slight shift and that. [...] That's evaluation. (senior manager, City Fund)

In this extract the speaker emphasizes the importance of the ownership of the data in an attempt to avoid de-coupling so that the groups are more likely to learn from their projects. However, she can see that evaluation is time consuming and not welcomed so has developed some 'tick boxes' to make compliance easier for the agencies. There is an uneasy compromise between not wanting to interfere too much in the day to day delivery of projects but at the same time needing to demonstrate efficacy to external audiences, such as the trustees.

The Family Trust insisted on the collection of reconviction data even though one organization questioned the appropriateness of this:

'And we have worked with the—[the evaluator] has worked with the groups to help them refine their outcomes framework. So for example, one of the projects uhm wasn't going to—or didn't think that reconviction rates were important and we have sort of persuaded them that those were important, as it's uh—. (senior manager, Family Trust)

Both foundations saw their funded projects as providing demonstrations as to the added value of the voluntary sector to the public sector. Thus, the evaluations they commissioned were not critical but supportive of the efforts of the funded projects. Both programmes failed to meet

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their targets by some margin. The Family Trust was relatively unconcerned since achieving targets was not their main aim:

'Project interviewees were positive about their relationship with the commissioners. It enabled the projects to develop their services in a safe environment which was not bound by meeting specific delivery targets. The commissioners were flexible with the changes made by projects to the operating models as presented in Table 3.1. They were understanding about the differences between the projected and actual numbers of service users which the projects worked with and the reasons for this. Throughout the programme, the commissioners maintained the view that what was important to them was the quality of the service which was provided rather than meeting the projected number of service users.' (Wong et al. 2017. Pg.20)

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Whilst a manager at the City fund expressed far more upset since the number of work placement was their principle indicator of success.

'I think I would say, uh, it's had a wobble. Um, it's had a wobble partly because the kind of measure of success, which we set ourselves in terms of the numbers of young black men into jobs, is falling well below what was expected at 89, and I think that our target was like 500 or thereabouts.' (senior manager, interview)

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However, these targets were imposed by the funder, with recommendations to increase the targets as a condition of funding at the grant making stage. After discussion with the trustees, the targets issue became less important and the manager identified the positive contribution the programme was making to awareness raising:

'I mean that was good with the trustees because, um – actually there was a slight difference of opinion but, you know, a few of them saying, "Look we know 89 is not a fantastic number but, you know, the fact that it's started and you've raised the issue," and dah-dah-dah. But one of them who is a black man himself was going, "Well, so I think it's good enough. Have

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you got the right providers?" So we said, "Oh well, maybe not." But generally supportive of trying to address this issue.' (senior manager, interview)

These targets were unrealistic given the time it takes to set up a project and the unlikelihood that projects would deliver the same rate of success in the first year as in subsequent years. The problems with set up were discussed in the Family Trust's evaluation;

'As suggested in Chapter 3, most projects spent the first 12 months setting up, which in part, may account for the low figures against the annual throughput targets that most of the projects were aiming for - approximately 50 clients per annum.' (Wong et al. 2016, pg.20)

There were some tensions between the foundations and their funded partners, most notably in terms of targets and the type of outcome. The failure of the projects in both programmes to meet the targets set out by the funder is dealt with by managers by changing the purpose of the programme from meeting targets to awareness raising, and discounting the data from the groups, by describing it as 'soft data' and holding out for that final validation from official figures of reconviction and linking it to issues of sustainability and legacy.

'Yes, yes, yes, yes, they're very important. I think—and I'm sure we've said before, that the—that the action of doing a series of evaluation is as important because of course the reconviction study results kind of come out far beyond the end life—beyond the end of the life of the project. It's been really helpful to have those practice projects so that we can talk with authority about different ways of working. And they can model different ways of working and most of them are being continued in one way or another' (senior manager, Family Trust)

The evaluation data of the reconviction rates lends an authority because of its official nature, and enables a life beyond the end of the programme. By using this data, the projects are aligning themselves with the aims of the probation service.

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Sustainability

The MoU Initiative was keen to support organisations, which involved the voluntary and community sector, local statutory agencies such as Job Centre Plus and local authorities/employers, to ensure the sustainability of this work.

The foundations were anxious that the projects were maintained beyond the period of the grant and the Family Trust, in particular, demanded matched funding from the public sector in order to embed the projects with their partners and make survival more likely:

'[...]So the projects are resourced to a slightly lower, but not dissimilar level to the previous pilots. But we are only, at most, contributing half the budget, in some cases it's less than half. Especially when it came to the end of our funding, it was then an insurmountable task to expect statutory funders to pick up the bill for an entire project. Even though in all cases, they were a hundred percent convinced it was the right approach. [...] The local partnerships that were formed have largely been maintained, but it wasn't possible to sustain them in their previous form. Even though people would have wanted it to continue. It was just too big a um, a cliff-edge to ensure sustainability. (senior manager, Family Trust)

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The disappointment felt by the City Fund about the failure to meet targets could be understood as an anxiety that the funded projects would not be able to take up any contracts offered by the government to deliver to this particular group.

The issue of sustainability is important for funders for two reasons, further funding from the statutory sector is a recognition of the value of their choices and it enables a continuation of their funding without spending any money and therefore creating some form of legacy.

However, sustainability demands that projects conform to public sector practice and ethos in order to survive. Good working relations with public sector partners were a marker of good practice for projects in the Family Trust's programme:

'Examples of good practice in co-operative working drawn from project and partner interviewees were as follows:

at a minimum ensuring good communication with other agencies so each understood their roles; joint meetings to share knowledge and intelligence and to identify which agency would do what; agencies, playing to their strengths, being aware of the limits of their expertise and having a good knowledge of other services. [...]. (Wong et al. 2017 pg. 20)

Although the evaluation report suggested that this partnership was sometimes not very equal:

- *saving time for statutory agency staff, for example, reducing the workload of probation staff by dealing with the 'donkey work', such as completing benefit claim forms for clients, leaving them to complete paperwork, reports and risk assessments. (Wong et al. 2016 evaluation report pg. 25)*

This ambition of sustainability inevitably contradicts the desire to challenge the system because in order to survive one must become part of the bigger system.

Partnership?

Conflations between the funder and the funded marked relations between the grant holders and the two foundations. Grant holders were treated as though they were the executive arm of the organization rather than separate organizations with particular skills in their own right.

This was especially the case in the relations between the Family Trust and its advisory group, The Alliance. A senior manager describes the relationship:

'We um, as a funder, we fund the work that is done under the T2A banner. T2A is a [FamilyTrust] programme, so we fund all of the work that takes place under its remits. Um, and have done since it was initiated in the mid to late 2000s. [...] Which is that we, more often than not, commission pieces of work to be done to support the program. Rather than wait for applications to

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come to us. So, the Trust, myself and our Head of Programmes, sit on a small management group that is drawn from the wider Alliance members.

[...]

Then we would um, more likely than not, identify an organization who we felt was best placed to deliver that work. Occasionally we will put out a public tender, and invite applications, as in the case of the one we'll talk about. But more often than not, we will identify either a member of the T2A Alliance itself, one of the 13 members of that alliance, who could do the piece of work. Or we would identify an organization that had a particular expertise in the area we were looking to fund.

[..]

So it's perhaps slightly different to other grant makers who might have less direct involvement in the development and shaping of grant proposals. I would say we're actively involved, and proactively involved from the start in working with the organization to develop that proposal. (interview, senior manager)

This is a close relationship and all the projects funded in the programme were designated as a T2A project rather than one run by separately named agencies, such as the Prince's Trust. It was quite difficult to find out who was running the projects as the implication seemed to be that it was the Alliance doing the work rather than separate charities. The amount of involvement in the development of the projects seems high and managers at the Trust might consider themselves the project designers rather than simply contributing funds. As such, it exhibits the hallmarks of an agenda setting relations as described by Scherer (2017).

Managers at the City Fund were anxious not to be seen as 'dictatorial' and to allow their applicants their own ideas:

'It'll be interesting what comes out. There is— [name, senior manager] and I were discussing this. In some senses... by the inquiries that we've been getting or rather [senior manager]'s been getting,

there is a paucity of thinking and for a paucity of thinking – read a desire not to risk – and we’re actually saying “It’s okay... Let’s try out something. If it doesn’t work, it’s okay.”

It’s not seen as a failure, but we’ve got to try something different. So if you’ve got something as an idea, then bring it forth because, if it works and this is... Nothing will be, as I said before, a silver bullet. It will be one way in which this issue can be addressed.

We don’t have a blueprint of what we’re expecting. We know there’s a risk tolerance we can accept on this. Hey, it sounds really interesting. It’s a bit wayward. (senior manager, interview)

This extract suggests that the Fund would accept any idea, however unexpected, but it soon became apparent that their ideas were fairly narrowly predicated on engagement with employers rather than focussing on the benefit system:

‘I think you can have lots and lots of funded activities, but do they actually lead to employment? So you – I think this paper mentions it, there’s a sort of merry-go-round really. You do an internship, and then you do something else, and then you do something else. But you still don’t end up with a job. One of the things that I, and I think we all learnt very early in the process, is unless a proposal for funding demonstrates it has strong links with employers, um, it’s not likely – I mean it’s well meaning, and everything, but it’s not – it’s not likely to produce the jobs that it needs to produce. If you’ve got – if you’ve got um, prospective employers onboard from the beginning, then the prospects are much, much better (trustee, City Fund)

Here we see two attempts at partnership working. The Family Trust is more explicit in their power relations than City Fund and, in this openness, is arguably fairer in their treatment of applicants. The Trust appears to tightly control the finances and the content of the programme, even to the extent of denying the independence of the delivery organizations. The City Fund appears to allow for experimentation but on further exploration has fairly clear ideas of what would make a worthy

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project, even if this is not explicitly expressed in the application process. Both foundations limit entries to their programmes in this way and the ideas that might be considered.

Conclusion

The relations between the foundations and their grant holders exhibit relations predicted by institutional theorists such as Freidland and Alford (1991) and DiMaggio and Powell (1991) in the prevalence of de-coupling and evaluation conducted as a ceremonial activity.

The analysis confirms that the parties are in a relation of protection as characterised by Archer's situational logic.

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Chapter Nine: Discussion and Implications

Introduction

This project began with a concern for evaluation and how or if it contributed to learning about social change. Over time, my interest shifted towards moral legitimacy as I realised the difficult place that philanthropies occupied in democracies. In this chapter, I discuss the research questions and the implications of the project, most particularly for the central practice for grant makers, that of designing a grant programme.

Central Question: How do constructions of the common good affect the identity and actions of leaders of philanthropic organizations in the course of campaigns to influence societal structures and systems?

The underlying constructions of the common good affected the actions of the managers of the foundations in profound ways. The Family Trust emphasised parental support for their young adult targets and downplayed welfare support which could address the poverty the young people were facing. The City Fund encouraged a Victorian attitude of self-help and personal responsibility whilst not seeming to hear complaints about the difficulties of obtaining the minimal amount of unemployment benefits that the young men were entitled to. Both foundations played into the ideas of 'the Big Society' and supported the State in its neoliberal direction of the responsabilisation of the poor.

These identities emerged from the often-unexamined histories of their organizations. These identities provided the managers with a resource to be drawn upon when designing programme and they were a source of organizational pride and distinctiveness. However, their unexamined nature meant that none of the leaders of the foundations critically evaluated their own thinking about their central task, that of designing a grant programme.

2. How do two endowed foundations constitute their moral legitimacy to promote social change through their organizational identity produced on their websites and by their leaders?

The Family Trust used ideas associated with the domestic world, such as the importance of family and personal relations, with expertise passed on through the generations to establish its legitimacy. The City Fund looked to the industrial world for its grounding ideas, focussing on measurement, self-improvement and the importance of science and evidence. Both foundations also spoke about civic rights to anchor themselves in a modern democracy, but only the City Fund appeared to move in a direction that would encourage greater democracy in its funding of small emerging unions.

2a. How did this moral legitimacy support their arguments for social change in the fields of penal and unemployment policy?

The Family Trust argued for an extended period of childhood, up to 25 years old, for those in the penal system. The City Fund funded projects that offered support to young black men to self-improve.

2b. What happened as a result of their grant programmes?

There was very little change to penal or employment policy. Some young men got jobs and undoubtedly some young adults managed to comply with probation orders and avoid another spell in jail. The evaluations were not strong enough to be able to tell what the changes might be to systems and focussed on individual outcomes. The data collection was patchy for both evaluations and it is difficult to be confident about these individual outcomes.

1. How did their relationships with their grant holders affect their ability to bring about social change?

The evaluations were the main documents that set out the relations between the funder and the funded. These exhibited evidence of a collusion between the organizations in order to produce trusting relations, important for the smooth running of projects.

Limitations

I was limited to the case studies I could gain access to. Whereas the Family Trust was very clear that they wanted to change society fundamentally, the City Fund was more circumspect so they might complain that I was judging them unfairly. Their programme was always focussed on getting higher numbers of young black men into work rather than anything challenging the inequalities of the labour market. However, it was the City Fund which had the more radical programme concerning the future of work and contained within it a greater potential for disrupting the status quo. The presence of policy materials on the websites of both organizations suggested higher ambitions than alleviating an individual's distress.

I did not incorporate the later work of Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) where two new worlds were added to the original framework. The 'green' world had little to add in this case, but the 'projective' world might have yielded some useful insights.


Implications

Implications for social science

Archer's work makes a considerable contribution to social science, especially her identification and description of situational logics which I take to be the level of the real. This level allows a certain amount of prediction, important in the study of organizations where the outcomes of their work may not be seen for some decades. The logics allow an identification of moments of equilibrium and disequilibrium, where society might be tipped into more fundamental change.

Without the logics, social science is disconnected and not ordered by meaning beyond the immediate data results. The study of wo/man rests on individual outcomes and treats society as an aggregate of individual outcomes, such as found in both the evaluation reports. Whereas the science of society, such as found in the policy reports of the foundations, obscures how the larger structures of society affect us individually.

Table19: Implications for social science

	Contradictions		Complementarities		
	Necessary	Contingent	Necessary	Contingent	
Situational	Correction	Elimination	Protection	Opportunism	The level of the real.
Logic					
CEPs					
C S Level	Syncretism	Pluralism	Systematization	Specialization	
S-C Level	Unification	Cleavage	Reproduction	Sectionalism	
SEPs					
S S Level	Compromise	Competition	Integration	Differentiation	
S I Level	Containment	Polarisation	Solidarity	Diversification	

It was not straightforward to apply Archer's framework since it could be difficult to separate out the leaders' rhetoric from their actions. In my original combination of Archer's model with Boltanski and Thevenot's, I have tried to follow evidence of the leaders' actions whilst acknowledging their ambitions. An example of this is the Family Trust's championing of neuroscience which seemed to presage cleavage from categorisations connected to age. However the projects, funded by the Trust,

did not engage with the biology of the brain and therefore did not follow through on the arguments so I concluded the logic remained protective.

Implications for social change

Archer's table and text suggests that morphogenesis emerges out of the battle of ideas or the imbalance of resources accrued to new groups who are seeking more power. In the battles against poverty and social injustice, foundations have a history of coming from new groups such as industrialists and entrepreneurs, to move towards ideas of public benefit and the common good. To bring about public benefit and progressive change that benefits the poor, these organizations need to search out opportunities for tipping the balance towards justice by reinforcing the weaker side in disputes where that is just and avoid reinforcing the dominant players, otherwise nothing will change.

The notion of 'public benefit' remains obscure. It is unclear who represents the public in the term and how they benefit or not. The public is generally affected by the lost tax revenue from foundations, which might be used more effectively by accountable governments to manage and prevent the problems that the charities try to remedy. The respondents did not discuss the meaning of public benefit directly for them, although one manager in the City Fund identified a reduction in poverty as the goal of the organization rather than giving money for an individual's progress. I take a discussion of public benefit as an invitation to consider the ends of a society and whether its priorities centre on individual progress or social justice and equality. The rhetoric of the foundations suggests they valued social justice over personal advancement. However, in societies where opportunities are more fairly shared out, richer citizens, including those working for and associated with the foundations, will lose wealth and status. Ultimately, foundations in such societies may be closed down as they represent unacceptable inequality. This may explain why the projects were funded to support individual progress, a private benefit, rather than the espoused structural change that would be part of a movement towards greater social justice.

Berlin (2013) argues that societies can have many different ends and some are incommensurate. For example, the priority of individual freedom to achieve and consume, sits uneasily alongside ideas about equality, with higher taxes for the rich thus curtailing their opportunities and choices. The conflict between these two ends is most vividly being played out in the United States where protesters of the Black Lives Matter movement are confronted by gun waving citizens protecting their private property. This dilemma is represented in the Orders of Worth where there is no compromise between the market and civic worlds.

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The importance of policy windows or opportunities is apparent. The founders of the Family Trust were lucky to live in an era when the welfare state was developing and therefore there was much more opportunity to influence the shape of these new relationships between the citizens and the state. The current foundation is working within a more technical, established and conservative environment where there are powerful ideological and vested interests to maintain the status quo. This was demonstrated when they were blocked by the criminal justice establishment from setting up a new court system. Likewise, the City Fund ignored an emerging group in employment policy, disabled people, in favour of a group they had long been associated with, an ethnic minority, even though many disabled people were being forced to enter work for the first time and therefore represented opportunities for social change.

Implications for practice

Here I focus on some principles for developing grant programmes where progressive social change might be more likely.

Don't look up

Archer identifies three resources, money, sanctions and expertise for use in negotiations for social change. The problem for the foundations is they are weak in respect to negotiating with the public and private sector. They have a little money – enough to get them invited to meet a minister, but their coffers are no match for public wealth. They are not the Gates Foundation. They have no sanctions. They can spend out and have discretion as to how to dispose of their cash but it is not enough money to be seriously missed. They have no expertise – no qualifications, no life experience of the fields in which they choose to work. There is no connection to serious research, most of their cited research is from thinktanks, for use in their role as lobbyists. They do not belong to any

research library and there does not seem to be any searching skills – e.g. evaluations of [the Work Programme](#) would have told City Fund that their conclusions were incomplete and erroneous.

They relied on the messages from their negotiating partners, policy makers to tell them what to think – they did not question the ideologies behind the reforms proposed by the government which essentially asked the poor to take on more responsibility with less protection. Therefore, they were pushed or pushed themselves into the line of least resistance i.e. supporting the government line and simply supplementing provision. When the paucity of thought of policy makers because of the ideological commitments of the government was revealed through the closure of organizations and their programmes connected to Transforming Rehabilitation and the Work Programme, the foundations were left with few tangible results.

Table 20 : relations with policy makers – complementary / supplementary relations.

	Contradictions		Complementarities	
	Necessary	Contingent	Necessary	Contingent
Situational Logic	Correction	Elimination	Protection	Opportunism
CEPs				
C S Level	Syncretism	Pluralism	Systematization	Specialization
S-C Level	Unification	Cleavage	Reproduction	Sectionalism
SEPs				
SS Level	Compromise	Competition	Integration	Differentiation
S I Level	Containment	Polarisation	Solidarity	Diversification

In tracking close to state orthodoxies – created in part by the interaction between wealthy, charitable elites and conservative government practice – the foundations do not move away from their necessary relations to take account of contingent conditions. They are not big enough to engage in correction and thus are limited to protection. Sustainability was a common enough ambition for both funders and their grant holders. However, it means that effort is directed towards maintaining the status quo in order to survive.

Table 21: relations with employers (City Fund) – adversarial relations

	Contradictions		Complementarities	
Situational Logic	Necessary	Contingent	Necessary	Contingent
	Correction	Elimination	Protection	Opportunism
CEPs				
C S Level	Syncretism	Pluralism	Systematization	Specialization
S-C Level	Unification	Cleavage	Reproduction	Sectionalism
SEPs				
S S Level	Compromise	Competition	Integration	Differentiation
S I Level	Containment	Polarisation	Solidarity	Diversification

Only the City Fund, situated in the material reality of London and constructing its moral legitimacy in the rhetoric of civic pride, moved away from looking up to policy makers. The leaders of The Family Trust had less to go on in terms of direction with a legitimacy based on vague notions of Christianity, not fully understood by staff members, and family history and therefore remained unanchored to place or concrete achievement. The City Fund benefited from the public outcry

about the conditions of workers in gig economy and, as an organization, they had associated themselves to London Living Wage Campaign. They were emboldened by the GLA's Uber case and the publicity surrounding it and this enabled a move to a more contingent response to these policy windows. They also took advantage of new technology which allowed for opportunistic experimentation of new ways of organising.

Look down

The foundations are in a stronger position as regards the organizations they fund. They have more financial stability and they can apply sanctions. The groups and their beneficiaries can supply them with field expertise and with representative legitimacy which they recognise by setting up advisory groups and consultations. However, the history of their foundations mean they have a vested interest in maintaining relations of power between them and their clients which corrodes the possibility of a true dialogue. Client organizations are treated as if they are their servants and little attention is paid to the realities of delivering projects or to the experiences of the young people on their projects. In the Family Trust's programme, the delivery organizations were not even named but rather subsumed under the umbrella of their Alliance. Both organizations conflated effort between funder and funded, where clients were not recognised as separate organizations. Thus, the funded organization could see no value in being truthful about delivery and de-coupling occurred.

One of the problems may be basing the programmes on answers or demonstrations of what the funder thinks is right. Although in these cases, there was a close correlation between this and the expectations of state policy makers. The information they have received from their previous programmes is obviously coloured by the difficulties in engaging with genuine dialogue. Possibly a more fruitful strategy might be to base programmes on some questions as this would acknowledge an ignorance and provide some direction for enquiry. It should alter the dynamics of the relationship as clients would not be under an obligation to please or demonstrate the efficacy of the

funders' / government's / prevailing opinions but could respond by pointing to contingent difficulties.

Understand the historical context

The identities of the two organizations provided much guidance for the two programmes and formed the basis of the particular moral justification for the programmes. However, because they were relatively unexamined under current contexts, neither organization managed to emerge from their Victorian forebears. Without understanding the particular charitable context, they were doomed to blindly continue down that same road.

The Family Trust did not have an analysis of the welfare state and how it related to their organization and to their beneficiaries and so were in danger of providing reasons for the further denial of state help to a vulnerable group. The situation was similar in the Moving on Up programme of the City Fund.

It would be helpful to programme design to understand the policy context much more critically and have a clearly revisable position on politics and engage with this material from their own charitable viewpoint to avoid being co-opted by the more powerful and to avoid remaining statically Victorian.

Do no harm

Both of the programmes had the potential to harm the young people they were trying to help. By insisting on neuroscientific perspectives, there was a danger that the Family Trust's initiative would lead to longer and perhaps indeterminate sentences for young people who were suffering from poverty as much as immaturity. The Trust's failure to recognise poverty and the state's role in creating this young underclass meant that they funded projects encouraging compliance with probation requirements rather than challenging the system that created young criminals.

Similarly, the City Fund was uncritical of the Work Programme. Their programme contributed to a supply side ideology which persuaded the young black men to believe that getting a job was the result of their own efforts and motivation. They did not consider the racism they faced nor notice that few of the young men were getting the right benefits therefore contributing to their poverty. The harm here is a neoliberal responsabilisation of the poor for their own poverty and a deliberate mis-direction away from policy and towards individual responsibility, making it less likely for people to come together to act.

Conclusion

Apart from the day to day management of grant programmes, the design and structure of a grant programme is the key task for all foundations. Unfortunately, there is very little guidance as to how to go about creating public benefit from grant making. Both foundations are committed to social justice goals but it is a complex and difficult task to decide what is a social justice goal.

I hope that this thesis provides some guidance as to what to consider as grant programmes are developed. I make some recommendations as to how to develop grant programmes that might trouble power relations and bring about structural change using Archer's situational logics of protection, opportunism and elimination.

Protection

In this logic, relations are mutually reinforcing and there is no value to either party to be disruptive, therefore making morphostasis likely. To avoid reproducing society and to concentrate on bringing about structural change, a grant programme:

1. Should not use 'sustainability' as a criterion for funding because it forces the grant holder to be attractive to public sector needs in order to survive and thus almost certainly reproduces the status quo and fails to innovate;

2. Should minimise evaluation. It may be important for ceremonial reasons to evaluate to reassure various audiences but it may not be valuable beyond this. Since evaluation is used to create trust relations between partners then the tendency is to produce morphostatic results. To evaluate the performance of the grant programme and its potential for social change, it would be more important to make a judgement about its level of harm and whether the programme gives advantage to the poor. If evaluation remains a central task, it should be based on questions, rather than answers and the critical literature can be helpful to develop the questions.

Opportunism

In this logic, the grant programme designer might consider the historical context of the programme in order to move from the logic of protection. In this logic, the designer might begin to uncover the underlying and latent structural emergent powers and cultural emergent powers, relating to a programme. To do this, information gathering will be important, so

3. Join a university library and develop some searching skills to gain access to critical thought about government programmes. The foundations used data from previous evaluation reports from their own programmes, which can be seen as unreliable and producing morphostasis and reports from think tanks which tend to draw on the viewpoints of dominant players such as the government. A university library would provide articles presenting a more independent view;
4. Look for policy windows where there are greater opportunities for change.

Elimination

In this logic, the foundations could go on to develop corporate agency amongst poorer groups through their grant programmes in order to bring about cleavage and choice of ways forward.

This logic focuses on the development of agency. To develop agency, grant programme designers could:

5. Test programmes through argument to ensure that they do no harm and publish the outcomes of these discussions so that others might participate in the debate;
6. Re-imagine the notion of 'public benefit'. In these programmes, the idea of 'public' appears to mean 'public sector' whereas it could come to mean different publics where the poor and the weak are encouraged to self-organise as corporate agents;
7. Involve the end beneficiaries more in the development of the programme in order to deepen understanding of the lived realities of poverty. Charitable agencies have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo in order to ensure their survival. They have undoubted expertise but their assertions should be taken with caution.

This new(ish) century confronts humanity with a series of problems, some are ancient, such as race and income inequalities, pandemics and some new, such as climate change. These problems contain within them opportunities for structural change as crises throw up questions as to what is the common good and public benefit. Some are attempting to answer these problems by proposing interventions with structural implications, such as ideas about a basic income for all; defunding local police forces; rewilding farm-land; and a revival of collective ownership of workplaces.

Conversations have started as to our societal priorities and how to negotiate between them. It would seem a good moment to join in the debates.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent Form and Information Sheet

Research Project: The role of funders in the production and use of evidence

Consent Form

Please tick the box for each statement that applies to you

1. I have read and understood the information sheet which has been given to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study
2. I understand that the information I provide will be treated as confidential
3. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time
4. I agree to be involved
5. I agree for my responses to be recorded

6. I understand that my words may be quoted in publications of research

7. I understand that the data I provide will be stored securely and destroyed after 10 years

Name (CAPITALS).....

Date

Researcher sign.....

Please return this form to Kate Hinds

E: k.hinds@ioe.ac.uk

A: Kate Hinds, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, 18 Woburn Square, London, WC1H 0NR

This research is being undertaken under the auspices of Department of Organizational Psychology, Birkbeck College, University of London, Torrington Square, London WC1.

The Role of Funders in the Production and Use of Evidence

[Information Sheet](#)

Information for Respondents

This is a PhD project that aims to understand the role of funders in the production of evidence as they develop their grant making ideas, and in the use of evidence as they review the results of their grant making. Increasingly, the argument for evidence based practice and policy has become a common place in conversations about organisational performance and management. However, many commentators have noted that good quality evidence is hard to acquire, particularly in organisational settings. As funders often commission research and evaluations, I am interested in tracking the thinking of key people in the charity as they plan for the development of knowledge.

I will not judge the quality of any evidence that may be produced. I hope, rather, to reveal the organisational strategies and processes that lead to the types of evidence produced by grant programmes, and also the sense that managers make of this evidence. This research may help other organisations who commission evaluations and research to understand their own practice and it will contribute to academic research about organizational learning.

I am using a case study design with qualitative methods of data collection, i.e. interviews and document analysis. I am taking a critical realist approach, as this allows researchers to explain changes that take place in the open systems of society.

Appendix 2 Orders of Worth Terms

<p>% Coverage 0.227653631</p>	<p>World domestic</p>	<p>The Family Trust Vocabulary / Phrases Names of family relations: grandson, great grand-daughter, grandfather, grandchildren, grandpa, great,great grand-daughter, uncle, wife, son, mother, aunt, cousins, sisters Child / adult terms: children, child, young adult, adult Terms expressing continuity over generations: generation, succeeding, heritage, inheriting, descendents, roots; origins; founder, founded, foundation</p>	<p>The City Fund Vocabulary phrases</p>	<p>% coverage 0.047120419</p>
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Terms expressing continuity: in time, longstanding, for the long haul, long term view, sustained period of time, we stick with things, enduring, over time, long time horizons, perseverance over time, decades and decades, long period of time, a very long time, in the old days, in the early days, a great age, a century, a hundred years ago, working through time, long time past, continued, go on and on and on; persistence; very little new under the sun; picking up the baton

Parts of the body: body, hand, voice(s); heart; bodies; foot; face; heads; backbone; toe

Terms expressing discretion: modestly, modest; remain below the radar; seen not heard; not to be grandiose; discreet; selflessly; brash, pushy (opposite)

Terms expressing responsibility: constancy, service, serving, serve, dignity, host; obligation; role model; worked ceaselessly, tirelessly; voluntary; foolish, silly (opposite)

Terms indicating habits: walk our talk, traditional, regularly attending, brought up; how you behave; practicing; married out (opposite)

Titles / Places of esteem: Lord, Secretary of State, JPs, Professor, Dame; Baroness; House of Lords, Cambridge; Institute

Celebrations: Queens Golden Jubilee; the Olympics; Centenary of World War 1

Terms expressing authority: patronage; drive; driving; steered; benevolent

Other terms: generously; generous; openness; nurture; unashamedly, conversation, one to one meetings, friends, a much broader church, home; outsiders

0.257681564 industrial

Terms relating to the future: future; vanguard; pioneering; modern; progress; innovation

Scientific terms: catalogue; records; objectivity; fluctuations; catalyse; evaluation; methods; neutralising; counter-effect; evidence; evidence base; typology; research; researcher; baseline; model; injection

Terms relating to measurement: graded; measures; assesses; testing; what works

Terms relating to project management; administration; impact; audit; risk; procedures; budget; cost; implement; implementation; feasibility; well-run; delivery; deadline; formalized; project; programme; products; control; oversight; report

Terms relating to planning: review, reiterated, double check; iterative; strategic; framework; strategy; operating plan; pathway

Terms relating to tools: tool; nuts and bolts; component; element; cog in their chain

Terms relating to worthy people: expertise; professionals; professionalization; skills; specialise; speciality

Terms relating to the future: new, innovative, ground-breaking, potential, pioneering, forefront, modern-day, tomorrow

Scientific terms: evaluators, research, evidence, linear, study, maximise, logic, evaluate; themes; trends; data; methods; seminars; robust; evidence base; prevalent; analysis; proof; figures; model; spectrum; input, data collection; theory; experiment; population.

Terms relating to measurement: scale; poverty line; test; parameters; the tick basis; define; assessed; living standards

Means / ends language: results, achieve, outcomes, impact, effective, solution-focussed; process; it works; causes and effects; goals; what works; positive results; productive.

Terms relating to project management: programmes; entry point; overheads; to manage; problems; demonstrator; projects; called to task; cost; training; value for money; bullet point; deliver; reduce costs; implementation; to contract; contractors; task force; assets; income; financial; administer.

Terms relating to planning: spec; allocating; framework; asset allocation; investment; think long-term; reserves; risk; risk tolerance; feasibility; plans; blueprint; review

Terms relating to machinery: seive; prong; elements; chip away; equipped; forge out; silver bullet; sledge hammer; inject; component; front-loaded; feed in

Terms relating to worthy people: skills base, expertise; skills; expert; track record; specialist

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0.021648045 inspired
0.038407821 market
0.016759777 fame
0.402932961 civic

Other terms: realistically; realistic; wasteful (inefficient)

Terms relating to the collective: partnership; work with others; partners; alliance; collectively; neighbourhoods; civil society; coalition; collaboratives; groups of people; civil life; voluntary and community sector; civic; contribute; acting together with others; public life; shared goals; networks.

Terms relating to rights and justice: socially just; public benefit; social justice; racial justice; gender justice; youth justice; the common good; equality; equal and fairer society; free from discrimination; gender equality; challenging racism; addressing racism; gender-based disadvantage; a just and peaceful society; commitment to racial, gender and economic justice; criminal justice, migration and economic justice.

Terms relating to progress: move down the track; along the journey; gone down the road; progressive; make better; develop; well down the line; improvement; improve their lot; progression; moved on; move it forward; momentum; progress; a big push; coming down the stream; to better themselves; route out of; expansion; development; for the better; growth; carrying forward.

Terms relating to responsibility: control; judicious use; not frivolous use; a good use; realistic; frittering your money away (opposite)

Terms relating to the collective: groups; movement; partnership; community; collective; partners; collaborative; networks; alliance; links; civil society; voluntary sector; citizen

Terms relating to rights and justice: race equality; diversity; diverse and multicultural; social justice; human rights; employment rights; social issues; social change; social justice; social good; fairer; fairness; citizenship; exploitation (opposite)

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0.025430067
0.504113687

Terms relating to procedures: committee; board; round table; proposals; consultation; meetings; public tender; members; to chair; governance; convening, convenor; regulator; secretariat; stakeholder; chairman; secretary; governing; procedural; policies; procedures; remits; public affairs strategy; legal, financial and compliance responsibilities; session; conflicts of interest; accountability; initiative; officials; officers

Political terms: public policy; economic policy; politics; referendum; social policy; elections; mandate; manifesto; party political agenda; party conference; represent.

Terms relating to campaigning: social justice; campaigners; grass-roots; community resilience; activists; independent; campaign; public discourse; working on the ground; groundswell of opposition; our position; champions; advocacy; lobbying; aspiration; mission; movement; independence; reform; aspire; advocate; social reformers; holding the powerful to account; agents of change; corridors of power.

Terms relating to collective material resources: resources; assets; money; building(s); custom built from the ground; problem-solving court; financial resource base; boardrooms; the welfare state

Terms relating to procedures: committee; governance; meetings; members; proposals; applications; short-list; nomination rights; paperwork; paper; advisory group; remit; recommendations; agenda; consultation; stakeholder; round table; accountable; accountability; regulatory; transparency; legitimate; policy; official; advisor; policy maker; initiative

Political terms: government, candidates; election; manifesto; veto; vote; democracy; representational; legislation

Terms relating to campaigning: platform; radical; grassroots; bottom-up; on the ground; public debate; causes; activism; champion; advocacy; fight; to speak out; struggle; independence; our stance; our position; freedom; empowerment, controversial; convening

Terms relating to collective material resources: playing fields; bricks and mortar; community hall; legal aid; Working Men's College; Citizens Advice Bureau; open spaces; green spaces; law centre; Strategic Legal Fund; sheltered accommodation; housing estate; welfare centres; London Voluntary Service Council; Hampstead Heath; Sadlers Wells; Old Vic Theatre; the welfare state

Terms relating to unity: to join forces; financial inclusion; connect people up; aligns, alignment; more than the sum of their parts; around the table; jointly; across the political spectrum; connection to people; bridge the divide; come together and share; connective tissue; integration; cross border work; (opposite) property and financial exclusion; marginalised; vested interest; pulling in different directions.

Slogans and acronyms: T2A; 'speak truth to power' ; 'social justice for all'

Terms relating to unity: to work together; comes together; brings together; working in partnership; pulling it together; inclusion; amalgamated; share; connecting up; joined; working alongside; sense of belonging; participate; pooled; trade union; unionise; unionization; not a personal crusade; not to play God; not to be too dictatorial; (opposite) vested interest;

Terms relating to the disadvantaged: poorer classes; margins of society; marginalised and vulnerable; immigrants; refugee communities; freed slaves; refugees and migrants; asylum seekers

Terms relating to financial poverty: low pay; unemployment; decent standard of living; poverty line; minimum wage; Living Wage

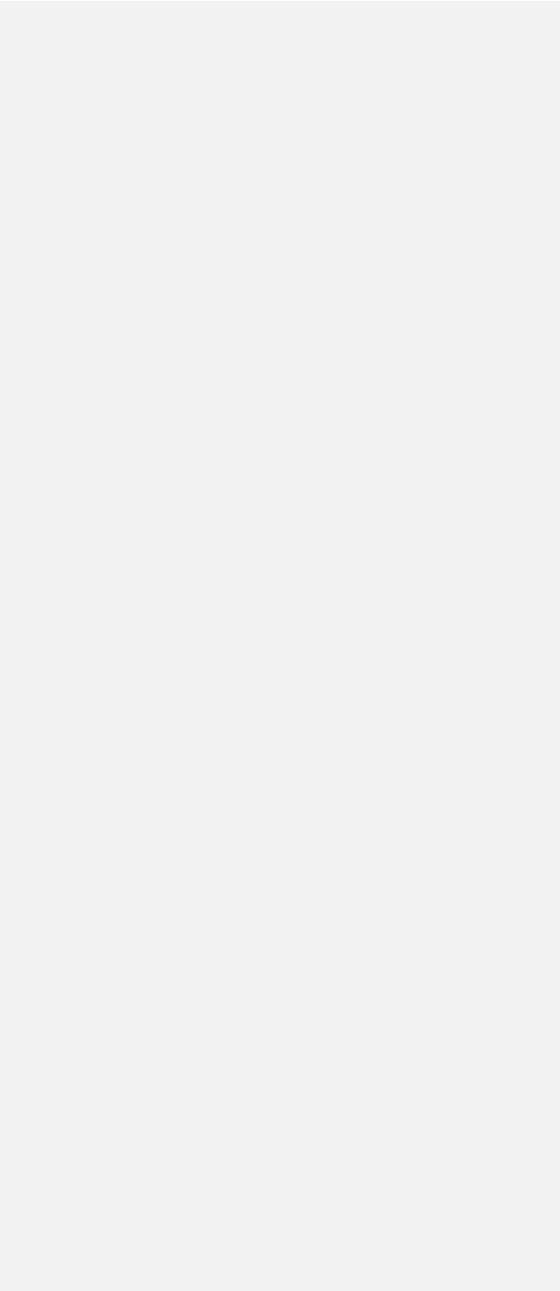
Appendix 3: Argument frames for the Family Trust

Action Frames	Biological maturity not chronological age	Distinct provision	Community not prison
Examples of idea elements: metaphors, catchphrases, depictions, exemplars	<p><i>Metaphors:</i> events vs. process - 18th Birthday party vs. 'grow out of crime', 'journeys' liable to 'derailment';</p> <p><i>Catchphrase:</i> 'Desistence [from crime] is a process rather than an event';</p> <p><i>Depiction:</i> high profile example of rioter stealing two left footed trainers;</p> <p><i>Exemplar:</i> case studies of reformed / transformed young adults.</p>	<p><i>Metaphor:</i> Words such as: gaps, splits, fractured, disconnects, shortfalls, arbitrary cut off suggesting surprising and unforeseen change leading to young adults being 'lost', 'in limbo' suggesting long term consequences, sadness, carelessness of authorities, loss for victims.</p> <p><i>Depiction:</i> Problems in dual-designated prisons - when adults arrive, drug abuse goes up</p> <p><i>Exemplars:</i> criminal justice system in Germany, good practice (plans, protocols), services - establishment of young adults teams, service reforms.</p>	<p><i>Metaphors:</i> thresholds - 'through the gate' 'window of opportunity' 'on the cusp' 'on the fringes of'</p> <p><i>Exemplars:</i> Their pilot projects; community provision rather than prison; partnerships run by statutory and voluntary sector</p>
Problem Definition	<p>Prevalence of young adults in prison is due to their neurological immaturity which causes impulsive behaviour and contributes to poor thinking skills.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Undiagnosed brain injury. • Wider social problems: homelessness, unemployment, family breakdown. 	<p>Gaps in provision at a vulnerable age lead to greater likelihood of offending and re-offending.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proposed abolition of distinct sentence, detention in a young offender institution (DYOI), for 21 to 25 year olds. • Inconsistent practice and inappropriate provision. 	<p>Prison fails to rehabilitate but courts do not know about the availability of community sentences or find there are few community options. There is lack of support capacity from probation and therefore there are problems with resettlement.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Short sentences problematic - no post release support.
Who is responsible	The Centre, the government, Criminal Justice system, Ministry of Justice.	The centre; public services, probation trusts, the criminal justice process, Ministry of Justice	Not clear

What should be done?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Widening the age range so that a larger group is considered juvenile. Assessment of maturity in pre-sentence reports resulting in mitigation of sentences. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extension to 25 for DYOI - no mixing between adult and young adults in prisons; tailored support; improvements in transition arrangements between adult and juvenile services; young adult specific community sentences; resettlement support; leadership from MoJ. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Young adult teams in probation trusts; young adult courts; courts offered community sentences as option; individualised support; reduction in target culture; young adult strategies; training; police engaged with diversion; consistency in provision; restorative justice; resettlement support for people serving short sentences; planning for resettlement in prison
What outcomes are projected?	Desistence linked to maturation	Desistence, reduction in breaches, improved compliance with probation orders	Reduction in crime; reduction in reconviction; improved compliance with probation orders; more sympathetic hearing in courts for breaches; improvement in employment, accommodation, family and health outcomes; cost benefits; victim satisfaction; reduced demand on acute provision.
Inferred Master Frame	Illness not badness	Cost effectiveness	Trust and credibility
Philanthropic Frame	Deserving poor	The entrepreneur	Social work / probation

Order of Worth	Domestic	Industrial	Civic
Cultural Building Blocks	Childhood; science; the delinquent	Accountability, Innovation, bureaucracy, choice / consumerism, the specialist	Collaboration; devolved decision making; evaluation; professional judgement; rehabilitation
Protagonist identity implications	Young adult is a victim of their biology, and therefore not responsible for impulsive behaviour because this is down to stage in maturational development.	Young adults are victims of the system / bureaucracy. They are not given choices. They go on to costly criminal careers because of gaps in services.	Individuals need to be returned to communities and we should support re-entry. They are outsiders on the threshold of their communities.
Antagonist identity implications	Formal consideration of maturity is not needed 'it is pointless' as 'we do this already'.	It is too costly to create distinct provision. There is value in mixing young and older prisoners as they have a positive influence on young adults who are 'calmer' with older inmates.	We should respect the law. The difficulty in changing the legislation makes community sentencing less possible.
Audience identity implications	Pleas to parents – 'we know that children don't become adult on 18th birthday' - polls show we understand this	Taxpayers - criminals cost us money and failures of the system creates criminals.	Taxpayer - criminals cost us money Citizen - everyone should be enabled to contribute to society
Frame amplification: tapping cultural values/beliefs to create common meanings and identities	Medicalisation of crime – (neuro) science explains behaviour. Charitable notions of redemption - 'Child saving' Mitigation of sentences throwback to missionaries to police courts.	Cost saving - long term outcomes vs short term savings. Entrepreneurial services freed from bureaucracy and rules Emphasis on enforcement from centre - legislation / strategies - but flexibility on the ground 'case by case basis'.	Notion of local collaboration and, 'partnership', builds picture of concerned citizens and professionals working together to overcome problems. Local patronage versus state intervention

Appendix 4: Argument frames for the City Fund



Action Frames	Young black men and employment	Employers and recruitment
Examples of idea elements: metaphors, catchphrases, depictions, exemplars	Implications of criminal behaviour 'do the right thing' 'on the street' 'gangs'	-
Problem Definition	Lack of parity with young white men re employment Lack of informal social networks amongst employers Few black led businesses	Racism, discrimination, negative stereotyping from media
Who is responsible	Not clear	Not clear
What should be done?	Specialist provision – local and personalised Regional co-ordinating group	raising awareness of the issue amongst employers meeting employers to gain work experience challenging negative stereotypes
What outcomes are projected?	Higher rates of employment for young black men	Higher rates of employment
Inferred Master Frame	structural racism	structural racism
Philanthropic Frame	Deserving poor	The philanthropist
Order of Worth	Industrial	Industrial/civic

Cultural Building Blocks	-	-
Protagonist identity implications	Active job seeker	Community leader
Antagonist identity implications	Young black men are lazy, lack ambition and are gang members	Employers discriminate against young black men unfairly..
Audience identity implications	Official policy maker – descriptive statistics Taxpayer – cost / benefit analysis	Employers – missing out on talent.
Frame amplification: tapping cultural values/beliefs to create common meanings and identities	Young Black men are victims of forces outside their control, i.e. racism and negative stereotypes in the media, making it harder to gain work.	-

Appendix 5

Dissemination Plans

I am committed to protecting the reputations of my informants and both organizations and the individual informants are easily identifiable, so I will not publish the complete document for 10 years. However, I will publish shorter articles and attend conferences and run seminars.

Internal seminars

For the field sites – I will offer to run a short seminar with the main findings for the two field sites.

I will run institutional seminars for UCL

I will write articles with a practice and academic focus, possible outlets are:

Practice groups – Association of Charitable Foundations, London Funders, National Centre of Voluntary Organizations

Academic articles – Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, Voluntas, Third Sector Research group; Organization Studies

Conferences

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