HETERARCHIES AND "PHILANTHROPIC GOVERNANCE" GLOBAL: CONTROVERSIES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL CONTROL OF SOCIAL POLICIES

Heterarquias e "governança filantrópica" global: implicações e controvérsias para o controle social das políticas sociais

Hétérarchies et "gouvernance philanthropique" mondiale: implications et controverses pour le contrôle démocratique des politiques publiques.

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Abstract: This article deepens considerations on the "philanthropic governance" process in England, through analysis on the structure and practices of philanthropic organizations, their discourse, connections, ideological influences, and agenda for change. The research's methodological outline is referenced in the "ethnography network," a new approach which combines the Social Network Analysis (SNA) tools with traditional ethnographic methods. The data reveal processes of materialization of a "new global governance regime" where the discourse around education and development have the effect of turning populations economically useful and politically tame to the dominant global interests. Despite of the apparent novelty, the motivations and activities of the new philanthropists are not in essence different from the old forms of "cultural imperialism."

Keywords: Education policy. Philanthropy. Networks. Heterarchy. Neoliberalism

Resumo: Este artigo aprofunda reflexões sobre o processo de "governance filantrópica", mediante análises sobre a estrutura e as práticas de organizações filantrópicas, seus discursos, conexões, influências ideológicas e agendas para a mudança. Os delineamentos metodológicos da pesquisa são referenciados na "etnografia da rede", uma nova abordagem que combina ferramentas da *Social Network Analysis* (SNA) com métodos etnográficos tradicionais. Os dados evidenciam processos de materialização de um "novo regime de governança global" onde os discursos em torno da educação e do desenvolvimento têm o efeito de tornar populações economicamente úteis e politicamente dóceis em relação aos interesses globais dominantes. Apesar de sua aparente novidade, as motivações e atividades dos novos filantropos não diferem, em essência, das antigas formas do imperialismo cultural.

Palavras-chave: Políticas de educação. Filantropia. Redes. Heterarquia. Neoliberalismo

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Heterarchies and "philanthropic governance" global: controversies and implications for social control of social policies

Cet article approfondit les réflexions sur le processus de «gouvernance philanthropique » au moyen d'analyses sur la structure et les pratiques d'organisations philanthropiques, leurs discours, influences idéologiques et agendas politiques. Les contours méthodologiques de cette recherche se fondent sur l'« ethnographie du réseau », une nouvelle approche combinant les outils de la *Social Network Analysis* (S.N.A.) et des méthodes ethnographiques traditionnelles. Nos données mettent en évidence des processus de matérialisation d'un « nouveau régime de gouvernance mondiale » où les discours sur l'éducation et le développement ont pour but de rendre des populations économiquement utiles et politiquement dociles envers les intérêts mondiaux dominants. Malgré leur apparente nouveauté, les motivations et les activités des nouveaux philanthropes ne diffèrent que peu, dans leur essence, des anciennes formes d'« impérialisme culturel ».

Mots-clés: Politiques d'éducation. Philanthropie. Réseaux. Hétérarchie. Neoliberalism

Introdução

During the last decade of the 20th century, the rise of a new group of political actors served as the catalyst and driving force for a paradigmatic political change. *New* venture philanthropists, social entrepreneurs and neoliberal policy advocates, among other players in the political arena, together with the new ways in which they configure and perform their political agendas, have brought important changes to the way in which education policy is enacted. These changes also have implications on the way in which policy analysis and, consequently, policy research methods are understood. In particular, it will be necessary to take account of, on the one hand, the "operation codes and rationalities" of these actors and, on the other hand, "the various substantive, social and spatio-temporal interdependencies" in which their action is inscribed. As suggested below, the new political landscape is constituted by a dense network of interconnections and new and renewed alliances that operate through the use of "different symbolic media of communication such as money, law or knowledge" (Jessop 2002, 228).

This paper furthers some of the ideas sketched in previous work and develops what was termed there as 'philanthropic governance' (Ball and Olmedo 2012). It focuses on the structure and practices of a set of new philanthropic individuals and organisations and analyses their discourses, connections, ideological influences and agendas for change. It also reflects on the new

ways through which philanthropic activity has gained an increasingly important political dimension, becoming a central explanatory variable of recent changes and new initiatives in national and international political agendas. It is argued that policy research and analysis need to attend to the principles, new roles and policy structures through which these philanthropic *ensembles* are operating. Their political and economic agendas have been, with a few exceptions, underestimated (Frumkin 2006), particularly within the field of education policy. Ironically, much has already been written in the popular media about the activities of a new group of *super*rich (and not so *super*) and their foundations, trusts and charities, who are engaged in finding and funding solutions to the world's problems. A simple Internet search reveals a vast number of references, newspaper notes, blogs, comments, etc., in which these are generally presented as generous and disinterested businesspeople who are now willing to give back what they learnt (and earned) throughout their highly successful careers. However, as the following sections argue, the allegedly 'charitable' and bountiful nature of their activities could lead to naïve and uncritical conclusions about their role and impact within the public sphere.

The analysis portrayed here is part of a broader research agenda that aims to understand and explain how neoliberalism 'gets done in practice', that is to unpack the mechanisms by which neoliberal discourses and rationalities take shape and transform our everyday lives and experiences. As Ball (2012, 5) suggests, such approach is necessarily situated within "a broad set of epistemological and ontological shifts across political science, sociology and social geography which involve a lessening of interest in social structures, and an increasing emphasis on flows and mobilities". Such a research programme also highlights the new configuration of social life, which has become increasingly 'networked' (Urry 2003). Indeed, the network has "become the foundational unit of analysis for our understanding of the global economy" (Dicken et al. 2001, 89). It is important to note at this point that the term 'network' is understood here in a dual sense: on the one hand, it is considered purely as a *method*, that is "an analytic technique for looking at the structure of policy communities and their social relationships"; on the other hand, and simultaneously, the network is seen as a *conceptual device* that is "used to represent a set of 'real changes' in the forms of governance of education, both nationally and globally" (Ball 2012, 6).

Methodologically, the research design of the work presented in this paper is necessarily open and flexible, and explores the possibilities of what Howard (2002) calls 'network ethnography', a new approach that combines tools from Social Network Analysis (SNA) with more traditional ethnographic methods. As he suggests, "whereas social network analysis renders an overarching sketch of interaction, it will fail to capture detail on incommensurate yet

meaningful relationships" (Howard 2002, 550). Complementing SNA tools with the use of qualitative approaches addresses that limitation, as the latter "add an awareness of *context* which aids the interpretation of network maps and measures; they add an appreciation of the perception of the *network from the inside*; and an appreciation of the *content of ties* in terms of quality, meaning, and *changes over time*"[2] (Edwards 2010, 24). The challenge is therefore to design new conceptual categories and methods that would help us develop a broader understanding of such relationships and address the 'social' dimension of policy networks. As Dicken et al. (2001, 89) point out, "such a methodology requires us to identify actors in networks, their ongoing relations and the structural outcomes of these relations". The methods that were developed through the work of the project were thought and designed to engage with those requirements and followed a three-stage course. Initially, a series of extensive Internet searchers were conducted with the aim of identifying those players involved in the newly emerging political arena. The main sources of information in this first stage were institutional and organisations' websites, events, newspaper articles, personal and collective blogs, YouTube videos, Twitter and Facebook. Second, the information obtained through those searches was used to build and analyse a variety of policy networks[3] and to identify significant cases, nodes and hegemons within them. The second stage of the research concentrated on the selection of a particular case study within the network. Finally, at this point, a new iteration of Internet searches and further semi-structured interviews with the key players identified were conducted with the aim of generating a better understanding of the networking and governance processes around selected cases. All the data gathered at this final stage of the research was stored in a second database[4], which provided the basis for further discourse analysis. It is important to point out that the research process is still ongoing and has already opened new lines of enquiry that are currently under exploration by members of the research team. Indeed, also by their very nature, the networks are constantly evolving and the databases are regularly amended and updated.

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[2] Stress in original.

[3] Microsoft Access and NodeXL (an open source template for Microsoft Excel) were used to create the databases where all the information was stored and the network diagrams were generated.

[4] In this case the documents, transcriptions and materials were analysed using the qualitative data analysis software QSR NVivo 10.

Thinking 'heterarchically': *Creative capitalism*, the *Big Society* and policy networks as the framework for 'global philanthropic governance'

Rather than an abrupt rupture with previous modes of governance, the new configuration explored here entails both continuities and, at the same time, new horizons and historical contingencies, which open new possibilities for policy and politics. These transformations in the existing forms of governmentality and power regimes are deeply rooted within the political economy and political philosophy of neoliberalism, having profound implications in the government of what Rose (1996) defined as 'advanced liberal democracies'. In short, the new neoliberal social contract differs from more traditional forms of liberalism in that, while the latter is based on the principle of *exchange*, the former is articulated around the principle of *competition* (Foucault 2010). Such shift in the constitutive rationale of societal organisation implies new forms of economic, political and institutional relations and, subsequently, new identities and new roles for individuals and groups. More specifically, as Rose points out, these relations, identities and roles orbit around three different axes. The first entails "a new relation between expertise and politics" (Rose 1996, 54), which is from now on rewritten in terms of new neoliberal "calculabilities" (Foucault 2002, 69), based on the imperative principles of accountancy and financial management. As a result, marketisation, monetarisation and audit become the three main technologies of government in the new configuration (see Ball 2007). The second axis is based on "a new pluralisation of 'social' technologies" (Rose 1996, 56) and strategies of diversification and decentralisation. These are part of a deeper transformation of the political sphere wherein the processes of 'degovernmentalisation of the state' (Rose 1996) are producing new forms of political organisation in which governments no longer exert monopolistic control over state actions. The latter are now shared and enacted by a heterogeneous group of actors with different backgrounds, profiles and interests. The new rationalities and processes of government involved in this second switch are similar to what Rhodes (1996) captured as 'governing without government'. Finally, the third axis produces the 'specification of a *new* "subject of government"' (Rose 1996, 57), that is a move from the individual as citizen (in the liberal conception of the term) to the individual as *omni*-consumer/customer, who is expected to act in all settings and circumstances according to the principles of rational choice theory and/or is cajoled by behavioural economic incentives. Freedom, liberty and autonomy are, therefore, the core values of the new subject, which are underpinned by the market-blended logics of choice and competition.

The interplay of these three axes is also at the centre of the delegitimisation and deconstruction of the Keynesian Welfare State and the gradual *enactment* of what Jessop (2002) calls the Schumpeterian Competition State, which in turn implies a redefinition of the boundaries and the contents of what was traditionally understood as the field of policy and politics (Ball 2007). The resulting model displaces the apparently incompatibility between anarchic (market-based) and hierarchic (state-centred) forms of co-ordination and replaces them with more flexible structures (heterarchies) where relationships, responsibilities and processes of decision-making are shared at different instances by old and new actors (Jessop 1998). As stated above, these new "reflexive, self-regulatory and horizontal" *spaces of governance* are modelled following the "logic of competitive market relations whereby multiple formally equal actors (acting or aspiring to act as sources of authority) consult, trade and compete over the deployment of various instruments of authority (…) both intrinsically and in their relations with each other" (Shamir, 2008, p. 4). Governing within this new configuration, understood broadly in a foucauldian sense as the 'management of population and things' (Foucault 1979), requires building up a set of conceptions, new policy technologies and apparatuses intended to operate in complex networked contexts.

> In this sense, the recent expansion of networks at the expense of markets and hierarchies and of governance at the expense of government is not just a pendular swing in some regular succession of dominant modes of policy-making. It reflects a shift in the fundamental structures of the real world and a corresponding shift in the centre of gravity around which policy cycle moves. (Jessop 1998, 32)

In short, heterarchies (see Diagram 1) consist of different forms of coordinated relationships: inter-personal networking, inter-organisational relations, and/or inter-systemic steering levels. As Jessop (2002) indicates, the first two are familiar to researchers in the social sciences as they are also present in previous modes of coordination. The third is more complex and characteristic of heterarchical policy spaces. It comprises the attempts and activities of individuals and organisations to take control of, or to steer, the structures of systems in which they are not necessarily directed, represented or involved. By working on the context and conditions in which these systems operate, the intention of heterarchical activities is to strategically influence others' agendas and internal processes of decision making, while avoiding the need to become directly involved in their "raw operations". It involves moving away from previous top-down forms of imperative coordination and points towards what Rose and Miller (1992) identified as processes of 'governing at a distance', which also encompass processes of

continuous dialogue and the creation of alliances between political and other actors from different fields.

[There are now wide variety of spaces of governance in diverse social and policy fields within different spheres where the operation of these new forms of coordination can be identified. Some of these have rapidly gained international recognition particularly in political, economic and philanthropic circles. For example, in 2008, Bill Gates, at the time world's wealthiest entrepreneur[5] and presently CEO of the world's largest philanthropy[6], unveiled at the World Economic Forum celebrated in Davos the underlying principles of his personal proposal attempt to 'refine' existing capitalist logics turning it into a source of global and universal *welfare for all*:

> The genius of capitalism lies in its ability to make self-interest serve the wider interest. (…) But to harness this power so it benefits everyone, we need to refine the system. (…) Such system would have a twin mission: making profits and also improving lives for those who don't fully benefit from market forces. To make the system sustainable, we need to use profit incentives whenever you can. (…) The challenge is to design a system where market incentives, including profits and recognition, drive the change. (Gates in Kinsley 2010, 9-10)

Certainly, on the one hand, it could be claimed that Gates' ideas are deeply rooted within the most traditional and conservative principles of capitalism, and his idea of redirecting self-interest in order to serve the wider good is merely a copy of Adam Smith's well-known postulate, who back in 1776 stated: 'It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest' (Smith 1970, 119). However, on the other hand, his approach differs from the founding principles of classic capitalism in that the divisions established in the 18th and 19th centuries, and which remained in place for most of the 20th century, between private and public spheres, the economic and the social, the market and the government, are blurred, to say the least, in Gates' formulation. Moreover, in this new model, social, political and economic actors are intended to *work together* to develop solutions for social problems based on the deployment of 'market forces'. Those solutions that traditionally fell under the domains and responsibilities of the government are now shared by a new set of players and enacted through the new methods of policy that Gates calls 'creative capitalism':

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[5] Currently he occupies the second position according to Forbes. See: http://www.forbes.com/billionaires/list/
[6] As of September 2011, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation managed an asset trust endowment of $33.5 billion (see http://www.gatesfoundation.org/about/Pages/foundation-fact-sheet.aspx)

> I like to call this new system creative capitalism – an approach where governments, businesses, and nonprofits work together to stretch the reach of market forces so that more people can make a profit, or gain recognition, doing work that eases the world's inequities. (Gates in Kinsley 2010, 10)

Creative capitalism extends neoliberal sensibilities into places and spaces where it had not had access before. In essence, this constitutes a new model of global governance, which implies the development of new "methods for co-ordinating actions across different social forces with different identities, interests, and meaning systems, over different spatio-temporal horizons, and over different domains of action" (Jessop 1998, 37). On the one hand, creative capitalism is, intended to work both 'in here', through the facilitation of possibilities for the creation of new subjectivities, and 'out there', in terms of the new technologies of government within and beyond the boundaries of the nation state that would make that new subject possible (Peck and Tickell 2002). It brings together the work of local, regional, national and supra-national organisations from the economic, social and political fields, assembling the efforts of capitalist and non-capitalists organisations in the consecution of a shared neoliberal project. On the other hand, governing within this new paradigm entails a redefinition of the relationship between the domains of the economy and the social. It also involves the design of new ways of addressing social problems in which the boundaries between government and state, public and private, processes and results, common wealth and individual profit, charity and benefit, are made increasingly indistinguishable (see below).

In short, creative capitalism sketches a scenario where, as Jessop (1998, 43) portrayed it, "the invisible hand will be combined with a visible handshake". This last aspect has particularly important implications on the new role assigned to the state. Its organisation moves towards less hierarchical and less centralized forms and its role could be seen as a 'market-maker' (Ball, 2007), whose activities mainly concentrate on securing economic growth both inside and outside its borders through the facilitation of "the economic and extra-economic conditions that are currently deemed vital for success in competition with economic actors and spaces located in other states" (Jessop, 2002, p. 96). All that situates the state at the heart of processes of 'rearticulation' and 'collibration' of different modes of governance which operate through a "judicious mixing of the market, hierarchy and networks to achieve the best possible outcomes from the viewpoint of those engaged in metagovernance" (Jessop 2002, 241-242). According to this author, this new form of organisation and institutional order should be understood as an 'umbrella concept', constituting what could possibly be termed *megagovernance,* which includes

three other modes of meta-coordination: metaexchange, metaorganisation, and metaheterarchy. These forms of regulation and the practices associated with them have direct implications for and interplay with changes in each of the others. Within the field of education, there are multiple examples of the operation of such processes.

The first, *metaexchange*, "involves the reflexive redesign of individual markets (...) and/or the reflexive reordering of relations among markets by modifying their operation and articulation" (Jessop 2002, 240-241). The introduction of school choice schemes, competition both between families and also schools, new forms of evaluation and performativity are good examples of these new forms coordination.

These technologies favour new alliances and new possibilities for old and new actors to reorient their operations are examples of coordination strategies that reorganise educational markets (Ball 2007). In this respect, the enactment of different policies of school accountability, the introduction of new forms of public management and the redefinition and reinforcement of institutional evaluation agencies, such as Ofsted in the UK, are attempts to steer change in the internal organisation, structure, management and micro-culture of educational organisations (see Ball 2003). Currently, for instance, the UK government is studying the possibility of introducing a new payment scheme allowing individual schools in England to set the teachers' salary based on performance, which would be directly measured in terms of their students *gross* results (House of Commons Education Committee 2012). All the previous is intimately connected with the second form of coordination, *metaorganisation*, which comprises "the reflexive redesign of organisations, the creation of intermediating organisations, the reordering of inter-organisational relations, and the management of organisational ecologies" (Jessop 2002, 241). The Charter schools in the US (see Burch 2009) and the revamped Academies programme in England (Gunter 2011), for instance, represent political solutions that are bringing together players from different backgrounds (both public institutions and for-profit and not-for-profit private organisations and individuals) empowering competition dynamics within the public sector (Ball and Youdell 2007). Finally, *metaheterarchy* refers to "the organisation of the conditions of self-organisation by redefining the framework for heterarchy or reflexive organisation" (Jessop 2002, 241). The flagship idea of the UK coalition government represents a clear example of such heterarchical forms of governance. Within weeks of his arrival into power in 2010, the Prime Minister, David Cameron, who not having acquired an overall majority was forced to form government in coalition with the Liberal Democrats, presented his new political framework under the name of the *Big Society*. The Big Society is based on an empowerment of local communities, businesses and

individuals' participation in processes of policy enactment. The initial government plans were to give "communities the right to bid to take over local state-run services" (Cabinet Office 2010, 1). To do so, they created what was called the *Big Society Bank* that would control and facilitate a "new finance for neighbourhood groups, charities, social enterprises and other nongovernmental bodies" (Cabinet Office 2010, 3). The Big Society also implies a reinforcement of the role and contribution of local groups, charities, non-profit and for-profit social enterprises in processes of local and national policy making and policy accountability. Nat Wei, co-founder of Teach First[7] and a key contributor in a number of ARK's (Absolute Return for Kids) projects (see below), was appointed to develop these ideas further. He created the *Big Society Network*[8], which espouses a similar philosophy with Gate's 'creative capitalism'. As stated in their website:

> The Big Society Network exists to support and develop talent, innovation and enterprise to deliver social impact. By working with business, philanthropists, charities and social ventures we believe we can unleash the social energy that exists in the UK to help build a better, healthier society.[9]

Far from simply implying new recycled legislative plans, the previous programmes are facilitating the creation of new forms of *hybrid* and *interconnected* ensembles through which philanthropic institutions (like the Gates Foundation and ARK), non-profit venture funds (like NewSchools Venture Fund) and businesses (like Pearson International and Cambridge Education), join forces to compete with traditional public and private education providers. As an example, in connection with the Big Society initiative, the UK government has recently created the Free Schools scheme in England which represents yet another example of this new sensibility of governance. The New Schools Network, a charitable organisation mainly funded by the Department of Education[10], was established to promote the Free Schools programme and encourages the creation of such forms of coordination. As stated on its website:

> The more you connect, the stronger your group's offer becomes. The most successful Free School groups are those with a diverse range of individuals, skills and contacts. (...) Groups   of   teachers,   parents, organisations and charities should be allowed [this is what the Free

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[7] Teach First is a charity that trains teachers in the UK and abroad through the Teach for All network.

[8] http://www.thebigsociety.co.uk/

[9] http://www.thebigsociety.co.uk/about-us/

[10] After a competitive bid, the current grant consists of over £1 million for the academic years 2011-12 and 2012-13. But, as denounced by The Guardian, in 2010, the charity received £500.000 directly from the DfE with no bidding process at that moment. See: http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2010/jul/06/michael-gove-new-schools-transparency For details on the current grant see: http://www.education.gov.uk/inthenews/inthenews/a00199422/new-schools-network-awarded-grant-to-support-free-school-applicants?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter#)

Schools programme authorises] to set up schools with the freedom to offer what parents want.[11]

One key characteristic common to all of the previous examples, which connects them to the aim of this paper, is the fact that 'new' philanthropy is a strategic component and leverage tool for the redefinition of what has been referred to here as the state. As suggested before, philanthropic involvement has become a key and is currently co-responsible for the creation, development and expansion of such new forms of governmentality, both in terms of governance and metagovernance. The following sections suggest that contemporary philanthropy should be understood and approached from an alternative perspective. Taking the activities of ARK (Absolute Return for Kids) as starting point, the paper aims to illustrate from this point existence of new ways through which philanthropic groups, foundations, charities and other not-for-profit organisations, modify or even take full control of education policy spaces. The series of cases portrayed throughout these pages constitute what could be termed philanthropic governance *in practice*.

Old players, new rules: the role of 'new' philanthropy and the need for a 'new world order'

Certainly, philanthropy is not new nor it is the first time that important names from the fields of finance, businesses, culture and entertainment have shown an interest in getting involved in political and social matters. Throughout the second half of the 19th and the first quarter of the 20th century, successful business people and entrepreneurs, such as Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller and Edsel Ford in the US, and Joseph Rowntree and Henry Welcome in the UK, devoted substantial amounts of money to the development of social programmes and to support existing public schemes[12]. Encouraged by tax incentives, the first philanthropists exerted an influence over the public policy sphere through their activities and played a crucial role in the enactment of conservative political agendas. They acted as "'cooling-out' agencies" (Arnove 1980a, 1) promoting "stability and orderly change' in their home countries as well as "extending the "benefits" of Western science, technology, and value system abroad" (Arnove 1980a, 5). This first approach to philanthropy is known as 'scientific philanthropy' or *philanthropy 1.0* and "though beholden to the logic of cultural imperialism, was marked by a spirit of public obligation

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[11] http://newschoolsnetwork.org/network/introduction
[12] It is not my intention here to offer a detailed historical perspective on the role of philanthropy. For more detailed accounts in this sense see, for instance, Arnove (1980b), Magat (1989), Parmar (2012).

and deeply embedded in a liberal democratic ethos" (Saltman 2010, 64). However, contemporary philanthropy differs from original approaches to charitable[13] giving in at least three main aspects.

First. Policy matters: setting the basis for philanthropic governance

New philanthropists and their foundations have become key political actors not only in delivery activities but also in the conception, advocacy and negotiation of policy processes in all areas and domains of human activity, including the reorganisation and enactment of public services, civic action and community development. The underlying rational of their shared broader political and economic programme is intimately aligned with the neoliberal belief that "human well being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2007, 22). In this sense, as Parmar's study on the role of philanthropy in the US concludes, "the idea that the foundations are 'independent' of the state must be revised" (Parmar 2012, 260). As Gates had done previously, Howard Schultz (2011), chairman, president and CEO of Starbucks Coffee Company, also rose to the challenge and wrote in the HBR Blog Network:

> As corporate citizens of the world, it is our responsibility — our duty — to serve the communities where we do business by helping to improve, for example, the quality of citizens' education, employment, health care, safety, and overall daily life, plus future prospects.

Responsibility and duty are two key aspects in the new moral agency brought in by neoliberal governmentality, what Shamir (2008, 4) defines as the "moralization of economic action", highlighting the fact that "while obedience had been the practical master-key of top-down bureaucracies, responsibility is the practical master-key of governance". Responsibility here is a broader and more complex concept than what is commonly understood as 'corporate social responsibility'. In fact, it has become in itself a source of authority, one "that operates at the level of individual actors, reconfiguring roles and identities (…) so as to mobilize designated actors actively to undertake and perform self-governing tasks" (Shamir 2008, 8). According to this logic, business actors, metamorphosed into charitable philanthropists, are morally expected and encouraged to take action outside the sphere of the economy, assuming a key role in the

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[13] Charity and philanthropy are used indistinctively here though strictly the two concepts have different implications both in the scope and direction of their agendas (a clear explanation of their differences can be found in Frumkin 2006)

organisation of the living conditions of their coetaneous. As Ball and Junemann (2012, 32) indicate, this could be seen as "a kind of rehabilitation for forms of capital that were subject to 'ill repute' in the public imagination". By presenting themselves as socially compromised agents, these philanthropists dilute the connections between the processes that allowed them to amass their fortunes and the social problems that they seem to be willing to tackle. Moreover, promoters of this new role of philanthropy are taking this point even further and have begun to advocate for "a new division of labour (…) between governments, businesses, charitable NGOs, and philanthropists" in order to solve "the stagnant problems of the world" (Bishop and Green 2010, 12).

As suggested in the previous section, the new heterarchical mode of governance implies a conception of policy that should be seen as the sum of collective efforts of a set of players that compete and form alliances in an ever-increasing networked political arena. On the one hand, the work of such networks could be understood as an attempt by governments in order to develop 'technologies for "governing at a distance"' (Rose and Miller 1992, 173), not needing to generate new legislation necessarily. Such technologies would allow the government to regulate, remotely and without the need of direct political intervention, the conduct of apparently autonomous individuals and organisations who are expected to "provide norms and standards for their own ambitions, judgments and conduct" (Rose and Miller 1992, 184) that are in line with the government's own interests. Those policy technologies "entail the adoption by the centre of a range of devices which seek both to create a distance between the formal institutions of the state and other social actors, and to act upon them in a different manner" (Rose and Miller 1992, 199), safeguarding the government from the economic and political risks and costs of getting directly involved *on the ground.* In this line, ARK presently runs 18 Academies in England (see, for instance, Gunter, Woods, and Woods 2008, Gunter 2011) and expects to increase that figure to 25-30 schools by 2013[14]. Amplifying the discourse of the current UK government and in line with other international organisation (such as the World Bank and the FMI) and neoliberal policy advocates, ARK asserts that increased competition, diversified provision and autonomy, and greater accountability and efficiency from a managerial perspective, will increase the standards and quality in the provision of public services while decreasing the costs (see below). Common to all their initiatives, the charity's rationale advocates for fundamental changes in the form of governance, where the state is responsible for the funding of the public services but does not necessarily need to be in charge of its delivery:

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[14] http://www.arkschools.org/schools-development

> ARK's guiding principle is that governments should fund free education for all, but not necessarily deliver it. We believe the involvement of non-state organisations is an essential mechanism for rapidly expanding the state provision and quality of secondary education. The advantages of public-private partnership - such as greater autonomy for schools, strong accountability and more efficient management - mean that children can learn effective and relevant skills, at lower cost. The increased competition may also help drive up standards in government schools. Based on our research, partnership working with governments could have a major impact on the provision of education in Africa.[15]

On the other hand, and ironically complementing the previous, it can be claimed that philanthropy operates in the opposite direction, playing a central role within processes of policy negotiation and policy advocacy at different levels, conforming what Rogers (2011) calls "philantho-policymaking". This new function of philanthropy has important consequences in terms of new structures and relationships between different social spheres, and, moreover, in the nature and boundaries between the players involved in them. In this sense, it is important to bear in mind that "whereas the political/strategic aspect is based on power that is largely territorialized and subject to political influences at a range of levels (the nation state, the region, the province, etc.) the economic aspect is more diffuse, defies territorial boundaries and is much harder for nation states to control however hard they may try to do so" (Tikly 2004, 174-175). ARK's internal organisation and *modus operandi* points in that direction and stresses the ability and flexibility of their philanthropic action to operate across different dimensions and fields within the public sphere, regardless of the geographical location:

> Originally set up by leaders of the alternative investment industry, we deliver high social returns on our philanthropy, leveraging intellectual, financial and political investment. We are headquartered in the UK and our work focuses on health, education and child protection around the globe.[16]

From this perspective, using similar *alleyways* as those employed in the field of business, this group philanthropists are gaining control of and reshaping existing processes within the political arena, changing the roles that traditional players have exerted in the past, or even displacing them entirely. As Ball and Junemann (2012, 32) argue: "strategically, philanthropy has provided a 'Trojan horse' for modernising moves that opened the 'policy door' to new actors and new ideas and sensibilities", what points to the second characteristic of new philanthropy.

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[15] http://www.arkonline.org/education/uganda/our-approach
[16] http://www.arkonline.org/about-us

Second. Doing good/doing well: Neoliberal philanthropic governance

The second difference relates to the way in which philanthropic enterprises are organised. Bishop and Green portray these new philanthropists as "hyperagents" with the "capacity to do some essential things far better than anyone else" (Bishop and Green 2010, 12). They are willing to mobilise their economic, cultural and social capitals in order to pursue their charitable agendas. Inspired by the principles that made them triumphant in the field of business, new philanthropists expect a *return* for their philanthropic action. The new rationale that drives the nature and direction of their actions has a different scope and could be summarised by the already well-known social enterprise mantra: *do good while doing well*. While connected to the improvement of the living conditions of poorer people and communities, the new philanthropists do not renounce to generate profit for themselves. This new direction in the way in which donors organise their philanthropic investments is known as "philanthrocapitalism" (Bishop and Green 2010). As Lawrence Summers (2009, 196), the former US Treasury secretary, recognised: "It is hard in this world to do well. It is hard to do good. When I hear a claim that an institution is going to do both, I reach for my wallet". In this atmosphere, donations are conceived as investments, encouraging the creation and promotion of *well-informed* for-profit ventures directed to address social problems. In the same fashion, while attending the 2013 Skoll World Forum on Social Entrepreneurship[17], Matthew Bishop, the US Business Editor and New York Bureau Chief of The Economist, celebrated through Twitter the views of one of the speakers at the Forum who stated that "visions without metrics are hallucinations". Not participating of this new business-like approach is seen as acting irresponsibly and wastefully, as Geneva Global[18] outlines on their website:

> Unaccountable and non-collaborative, traditional philanthropy isn't cutting it when it comes to tackling the world's most pressing social issues. (…) Our clients take a business-minded approach to solving social problems. They know philanthropy isn't about simply writing checks; it's about catalyzing real, positive change. With a focus on achieving outcomes, they embrace innovation and pursue opportunities

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[17] The Skoll World Forum is a programme of the Skoll Foundation, co-produced with the Skoll Centre for Social Entrepreneurship at the Saïd Business School, Oxford University. It claims to be "the premier, international platform for accelerating entrepreneurial approaches and innovative solutions to the world's most pressing social issues" (see https://skollworldforum.org/about/).

[18] Geneva Global is a philanthropic consulting company specialised in providing advise and custom services to individuals, foundations, nonprofit organizations, and corporations worldwide. For more information see: http://www.genevaglobal.co.uk/overview-about-us

for collaboration, co-investment, and aggregated giving around a common goal.[19]

In our case, ARK is currently registered as a company limited by guarantee with charitable status in the UK. In essence, such *charitable companies* are entitled to own property and generate profit, while still remaining liable for their own debts (though this applies to the charity and not its directors, who in this case should be also the trustees, and its members). Such economic surplus, generated from the provision of the services that they provide, should be "reinvested" within their own activities, however this does not exclude the alternative possibility of using their economic assets, at their own discretion, in order to trade and purchase certain services and goods with other public and private providers. ARK's structure represents a good example of the ambiguous character of the new philanthropic character, and also highlights the already mentioned blurriness between the domains of charity and profitability.

Philanthrocapitalism, therefore, implies a new "economic rationalisation of giving" (Saltman 2010, 70), which entails a change in the nature of the concepts and ideas that are circulated and involves a set of particular methods and solutions that are encouraged and enacted. ARK brings the logics of accountability, performativity and competition into play within different fields (health, education and social services) and contexts (they operate in countries from Africa, America, Asia and Europe), engaging in the re-definition of subjectivities (what is to be understood as *being a teacher* and *being a student*) and new forms of management mainly through the insertion of business practices and the creation of public-private partnerships. As stated by those business leaders and founders of ARK in their introduction to the 2012 Annual Report, the main purpose of their networked philanthropic activities reads:

> We created ARK in 2002, convinced that our combined efforts could have a greater effect on children's lives than if we each supported individual charities. We wanted to apply the same robust measurement and accountability to philanthropy as we do to business, in order to deliver programmes that transform the lives of the most disadvantaged children[20].

Philanthrocapitalism and philanthro-policymaking also have direct consequences in the definition and realms of the political sphere and more widely what could be understand as *democratic society.* As Frunking (2006, 11) suggests, "one of the most common arguments about the

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[19] http://www.genevaglobal.com/overview-our-services
[20] http://www.arkonline.org/media/59711/ARK%20Annual%20Report%202012%20PDF%20final.pdf

function of philanthropy focuses on the ability of donors to use private funds to create social and political change" and "project their values, commitments, and beliefs into the public sphere" (2).

Third. Philanthropy 'without borders': international networks andf philanthropic governance

The previous two dimensions of new philanthropy together with the heterarchical configuration of the policy arena produces the third main difference between traditional approaches to philanthropic action and its more current iterations. This final singularity is characterised by the already mentioned two distinctive 'contingencies' of the new mode of governmentality: the 'global/networked' and the 'neoliberal'. As a result of contemporary trends of economic globalisation and ascendancy of of the multinational corporations, the agendas of philanthropic foundations and their charitable companies have been correspondingly globalised. For instance, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation currently focuses its activities around four main programmes: United States Program, Global Health, Global Development, and Global Policy & Advocacy. These programmes are designed and operate according to the logic of 'grand challenges' (see Brooks et al. 2009) . These are goal-driven development agendas based on the principle of scalability and are applied independently of context as generic, technical solutions (eg. public-private partnerships, low-cost private schools, voucher schemes, etc. – see next section). Rather than acting in isolation, grand challenge programmes work as connective tissues or nodal points that gather together the interests of capitalist agents from different backgrounds (see above). The result is a network or series of networks (see Graph 1), which should be understood from this perspective as political structures that "involve the institutionalisation of beliefs, values, cultures and particular forms of behaviour" (Marsh and Smith 2000, 6).

Such global policy networks configure a complex set of relations of domination, exploitation and power. As Parmar (2012, 257) suggests, "the idea of the 'network' is a constant", they "*are the tangible evidence of how elite hegemony actually 'works', how 'power works' in ostensibly (and, to an extent, actually) 'open' democratic societies*"[21]. These new heterarchical spaces result in the creation and accumulation of what Urry (2003) calls "network capital", which "is in fact heavily skewed and typically induces resentment, as with the life- chances and lifestyles of 'global elites' and the places of excessive consumption that they generate and occupy"(Urry 2010, 8). Contacts and ties vary in intensity within the networks and can be generated in a number of different ways. They

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[21] Stress in original.

are powered by new means and technologies of communication and travel that facilitate the participation of their members in these global circles and allow the possibility to effectively live a *networked life,* both physically and virtually. Such spaces of "meetingness" (Urry 2003) have recently sprung up in all contexts heavily promoted and funded by philanthropic programmes in the shape of seminars, symposiums, conferences, summits, etc. These spaces are "central to networks" and are designed "to 'establish' and to 'cement' at least temporarily those weak ties" (Urry 2003, 161). The Clinton Global Initiative (see Ball and Olmedo 2012) and the above mentioned Skoll World Forum represent good examples of such spaces of 'meetingness':

> Each year in Oxford, nearly 1,000 distinguished delegates from the social, finance, private and public sectors convene in Oxford for three days and nights of critical debates, discussions and work sessions aimed at innovating, accelerating and scaling solutions to social challenges.[22]

In this sense, ARK also represents a good example of heterarchic philanthropic governance and its main partners and funders involve a dense network of institutions from different backgrounds, from governments to foundations, banks and international investment companies (see Graph 2). As this charitable company acknowledged in their 2011 Annual Report[23], their expenditure/investment portfolio of that year exceeded US$134 million, of which over US$97 million were destined to funding educational programmes in the UK, the US, India and Uganda.

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[22] https://skollworldforum.org/about/
[23] http://www.arkonline.org/media/35117/ark_annual_review_2011.pdf
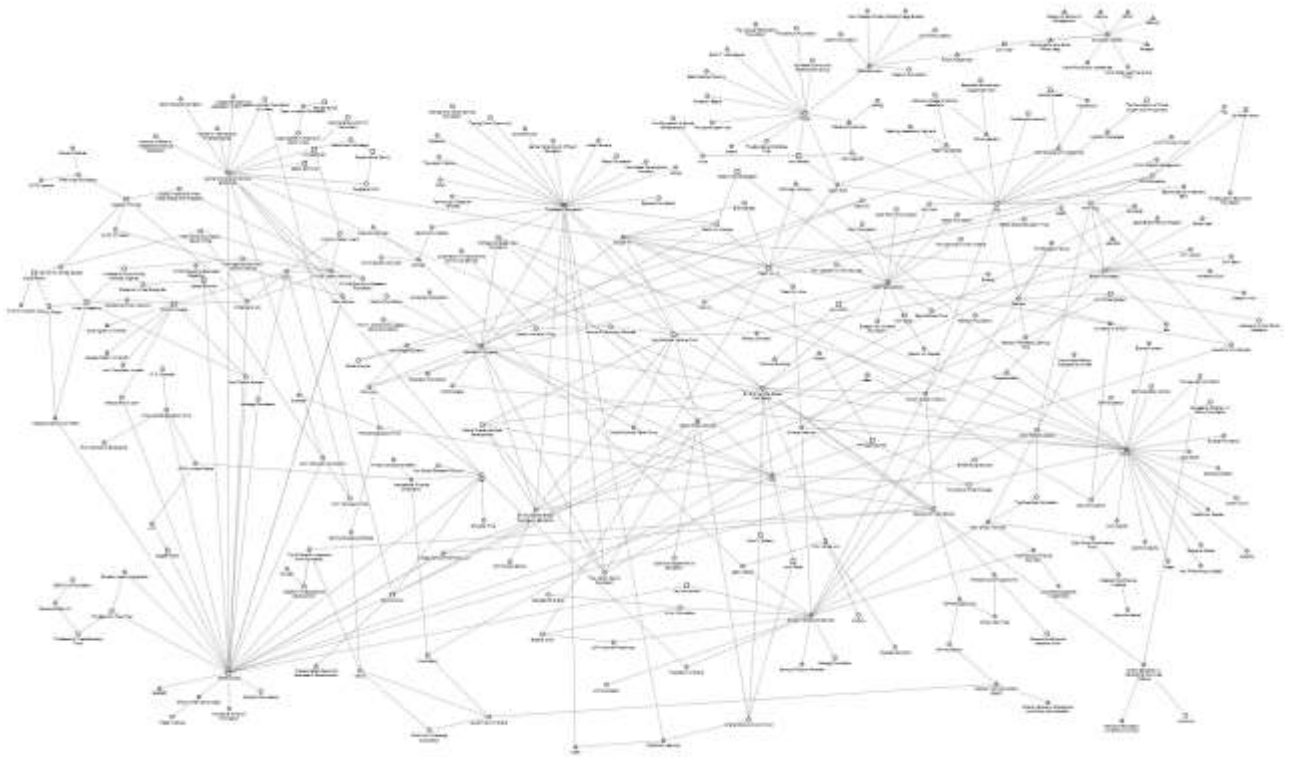
Looking more closely at some of ARK's initiatives around the globe, the three key differentiating aspects of new philanthropy can be seen. In India, for instance, the charity is currently carrying out two projects: ASPIRE (Allow Synthetic Phonics to Improve Results in English) and ENABLE (Ensure Access to Better Learning Experiences). The former is a phonics-based interactive teaching method of English that reaches over 9.000 children, though the charity expects to reach over 60.000 pupils by 2015[24]. ARK claims that ASPIRE achieves rapid results and doubles the average scores of the pupils. The latter, ENABLE, was born of ARK's belief that competition between education providers is a key aspect to ensure quality and results. After selecting 100 schools from the over 300 that were initially evaluated the programme offered school vouchers to 900 families in a deprived part of Delhi.

Our ENABLE (Ensure Access to Better Learning Experiences) pilot programme is designed to support the Indian government's policy of all children having the right to affordable, quality primary education. We believe diversity of delivery, including through private sector providers, is central to the realisation of this policy. The voucher system we are piloting enables poor Indian children to exercise their legal right to free education in low cost private schools and helps low income families find the most appropriate school.[25]

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[24] http://www.arkonline.org/education/india/looking-ahead
[25] http://www.arkonline.org/education/india/our-school-access-programme

ARK's main partners in India include the Bharti Foundation, Gray Matters Capital Foundation (the philanthropic arm of US based Gray Ghost Ventures), the Centre for Civic Society, and STIR Education. In addition to those, Dr. Pauline Dixon from the E.G. West Centre (University of Newcastle) is closely involved as an international advisor for both projects. The Bharti Foundation, is the philanthropic wing of the Bharti Group of companies. The foundation works developing educational projects including a chain of 550 primary and secondary schools (the Satya Bharti school program). Their programmes present the characteristics indicated in the previous section:

> All educational programs initiated by Bharti Foundation entail close partnerships with the government, policy makers, corporations, local communities and the general public. These programs aim at holistic development of children making them employable citizens with a deep sense of commitment to society. The intent is to develop a scalable and sustainable education model that can be replicated on a large scale by the government, educational institutions and like-minded organizations.[26]

The Centre for Civic Society is an Indian neoliberal think-tank that has been particularly active in advocating and campaigning for the privatisation of public education in India, including the introduction of school choice programmes and vouchers schemes (see Nambissan and Ball 2010). As stated on their website:

> The Centre for Civil Society is an independent, non-profit, research and educational organisation devoted to improving the quality of life for all citizens of India by reviving and reinvigorating civil society. But we don't run primary schools, or health clinics, or garbage collection programs. We do it differently: we try to change people's ideas, opinions, modes of thinking by research, seminars, and publications. We champion limited government, rule of law, free trade, and individual rights.[27]

Finally, STIR (Schools and Teachers Innovating for Results) Education is an UK-based not-for profit charitable organisation. STIR's funding partners are ARK, the British Council and the TSL Group, and the foundation is also supported economically by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID). STIR intends to improve educational outcomes for poor children by identifying, testing and scaling up innovations at a school and teacher levels. Their agenda is defined as follows:

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[26] http://www.bhartifoundation.org/home/About%20us/About%20Bharti%20Foundation/PG_AboutBhartiFoundation
[27] http://www.ccs.in/aboutus.asp

> Within 5 years STIR aims to have supported the micro-innovations of over 1,000 STIR Innovators & Partner Schools in over 15 developing world cities. We also aim to create partnerships with NGOs, governments and private sector organisations to take the most successful micro-innovations to scale, as well as creating a range of income streams for organisational sustainability. In doing so, we aim to directly increase the attainment of between 3 and 5 million children, and indirectly influence the educational outcomes of tens of millions more through its wider policy impact.[28]

In Uganda, ARK and PEAS (Promoting Equality in African Schools) are working to create a chain of secondary schools as public-private partnerships with the Ugandan government. PEAS is an UK-based charity that operates a chain of low-cost private schools in Uganda and Zambia. Teach First, which is part of the wider Teach for All network and also collaborates closely with ARK in different projects in the UK and US, currently provides PEAS with office space at their headquarters in London, and John Rendell, PEAS' CEO, is a Teach First[29] alumnus and he is currently a Teach First Ambassador[30]. The PEAS' school model, labelled as *SmartAid Schools in Africa*, is based on the principle of 'self-sustainability' and each of their schools aim to become financially independent from any source of external funding from the moment in which they are opened:

> PEAS UK fundraises to launch a secondary school, allowing it to open debt free. Then, a combination of subsidies from pioneering public-private partnerships (PPPs) with the Ugandan and Zambian government, boarding school fees and school farms, mean that within two years, the school itself will generate enough revenue to cover its running costs, including teacher salaries, indefinitely.[31]

As the ARK's Head of International Education confirmed in an interview, their Ugandan partnership with PEAS was inspired by their experience in England through the ARK Academies programme (see above). The Ugandan Ministry of Education welcomed the initiative and the first two ARK-PEAS schools were launched in March 2012. Their aim is to open 10 more private schools reaching over 21.500 children in the next decade, and to progressively extend such growth including the management of schools within the public sector, and expand into other countries in the region once the current programme settles down in Uganda:

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[28] http://www.stireducation.org/how-stir-works/
[29] Teach First is an UK-based charity part of the wider network Teach for All. They offer teacher training courses and follow up support to teachers and schools in the UK.
[30] http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/beyond-two-years/ambassador.html
[31] http://www.peas.org.uk/about-us/sustainability

We will be advocating for the integration of successful elements of our partnership model into mainstream government education policy, with the hope that our programme establishes a diversified model of delivery.Initial discussions have also taken place with the Ministry of Education which may lead to us also running newly-built government schools. This option would significantly reduce the amount of money we would need to invest in building schools, and would allow us to support thousands more young Ugandans to access a high quality secondary education. [32]

A closer analysis of model and solutions promoted by these philanthropic enterprises will be addressed in further publications, but, for the moment, these examples highlight and help us comprehend the extent and widening role played by philanthropic foundations in the elaboration and enactment of public policy and the redefinition of what it is understood as democratic policy and policy-making.

Conclusions

The programmes, initiatives, enterprises and schemes presented above are clear examples of policy flows and policy advocacy beyond and within the state reach. Their connections and alliances, agendas and methods, cross-border movements and local implementations, constitute new sites of policy within what Peck and Tickle (2003, 22) call "emergent geographies of neoliberalisation". What we are dealing with here are new forms of 'neoliberalism in action', that is a set of practices and processes, structures and relationships, which constitute what could be understood as 'doing neoliberalism'. At the same time, the work of the philanthropists and foundations sketched here also represent a different spatial dimension that challenges the principles and theoretical scaffolding in which contemporary education policy research is framed. This further idea reinforces Ball's claims for new "methods and sensibilities which are attuned to movement and flow rather than structure and place" (Ball 2012, 143) that will assist and allow us to understand "the ways in which policy is being reconceived and reconstitute in the shift from bureaucracy and hierarchy to networks and heterarchy" (Ball 2012, 138).

The concepts and cases depicted in this article reinforce Tikly's idea of 'new imperialism' as a "new regime of global governance", where "discourses around education and development have the effect of rendering populations economically useful and politically docile in relation to

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[32] http://www.arkonline.org/education/uganda/looking-ahead

dominant global interests" (Tikly 2004, 174). However, and despite their apparent novelty, the motivations of this group of philanthropists and the activities of their foundations do not differ in essence from previous old forms of 'cultural imperialism' (Arnove 1980b). Indeed, the political work carried out by the set of actors portrayed here cannot be separated from inherited social, fiscal and economic frameworks. As Parmar (2012) puts it:

> The foundation-state relationship, therefore, is not a conspiracy – it may be quite secretive and operate "behind the scenes", but it is not criminal enterprise. It is, however, strongly undemocratic, because it privileges the "right" people, usually those with the "right" social backgrounds and/or attitudes.

From this perspective, new philanthropy is contributing to the reproduction of existing imbalances of power relations, allowing "some individuals to act as their own private governments, whose power can be used to challenge that of the state and force it to re-examine its priorities and policies" (Frumkin 2006, 14). This situation makes philanthropy 'exciting' for those involved in it but, at the same time, constitutes a controversial and in cases incoherent new political framework . Furthermore, the direct involvement of these new philanthropists in the political sphere is claimed to have implications in the steering of democratic societies, and, most importantly, in terms of social accountability and control. As Frumkin (2006, 27-28) suggests, "unlike government, which has elections to set policy directions, and unlike corporations, which have shareholders to whom they must be responsive, philanthropy is able to operate across the boundaries of public and private and to do so with little or no accountability to its many stakeholders".

Identifying hidden continuities within the apparently newness of the current social, political and economic framework is particularly important if we are to imagine solutions and alternatives to the discourses which circulate in these flows of power. Criticisms have already been made and, for instance, Michael Edwards (2008, 25), the Director of Governance and Civil Society at the Ford Foundation, points out that precisely "some of the greatest inequities are caused by the nature of our economic system and the inability of politics to change it". And he continues:

> This is why a particular form of civil society is vital for social transformation, and why the world needs more civil society influence on business, not the other way around – more cooperation not competition, more collective action not individualism, and a greater willingness to work together to change the fundamental structures that

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keep most people poor so that all of us can live more fulfilling lives. (Edwards 2008, 27)

An analysis that connects old and new forms of transmission of privileges, like the ones portrayed in this article, and new paradigms that are able to conciliate apparently exclusive concepts – such as place and space, fixity and movement, history and immediacy, embodied and virtual, stable and fragile -, would enable us to envision alternatives and facilitate new possibilities for effective practices of resistance.

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Diagram 1. New forms of governance (based on Jessop, 2002)