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The Atlantic Philanthropies – a study of the enactment of philanthrocapitalism in Ireland

Thesis presented by
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for the degree of
Doctor of Social Science

University College Cork
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May 2022

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Declaration

This is to certify that the work I am submitting is my own and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. All external references and sources are clearly acknowledged and identified within the contents. I have read and understood the regulations of University College Cork concerning plagiarism."

Signed  **Date** 16 May 2022

Abstract

This research is concerned with the contemporary manifestation of philanthropy known as philanthrocapitalism. Characteristics of this model include the application of business language and methods to philanthropic giving and the assumption that government alone can no longer solve social issues. Of central concern to this study is the argument that the rise of philanthrocapitalism is undermining democracy, whereby certain philanthropic organisations have 'taken on the role of the state – essentially setting and implementing policy through their independent funding choices' (Eikenberry, 2006a: 588-9).

Irish philanthropic giving operates at a comparatively lower level to other European countries. To date there has been little research on the operation of foundations within the model of philanthrocapitalism in Ireland. One foundation, which adopted this approach, *The Atlantic Philanthropies* (AP), disbursed $1.3 billion in funding to Irish organisations over a period of three decades. The enactment of a philanthrocapitalist model of giving by AP, in its operating characteristics and its use of discourses, is the focus of this thesis.

Selected texts written by AP about its funding for prevention and early intervention approaches to children's services forms the empirical research conducted as part of this study. An analysis of the discourses used in these texts identifies children and parent's individual behaviour as problematic and this is the cause and result of wider social problems. Previous responses to the identified problems, by other actors, are framed as insufficient and the support of philanthropy (i.e. AP) is required. In its self-representation of its own role, AP adopts the triple role of helper-investor-governor. As a governor, AP exerts philanthropic governing capacity by shaping not only their own but the Irish government's response to these identified problems.

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I am lucky to have a circle of close friends some of whom I first encountered in other periods of education – from as far back as Junior Infants to the completion of my undergraduate degree – and others who I have met through work. I am thankful to them for their support which sustained me during this long period of study.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

> *The Government is…determined to help build a sustainable model of philanthropy in Ireland.*
>
> *Philanthropy in Ireland does not have a great history, but it is a form of patriotism and should be recognised as such. Today we have more models of philanthropy available, more information on the various causes and charities in need of assistance, and more transparency around the impact of the work being done than ever before.*
>
> **Extract of speech by the former Taoiseach, Leo Varadkar T.D., at the 20th Anniversary Summit of The Wheel, 23 May 2019.**

In Ireland and internationally, there is widespread uncritical celebration of the increasing prominence of large philanthropic organisations and philanthropic giving. As illustrated in the quotation above from the former Taoiseach, Leo Varadkar, this uncritical celebration has even gone so far as to claim philanthropy constitutes a form of patriotism. Against this background, this study is centrally concerned with the argument that the rise of 'philanthrocapitalism' is undermining democracy, whereby certain philanthropic organisations have 'taken on the role of the state – essentially setting and implementing policy through their independent funding choices' (Eikenberry, 2006a: 588-9), but without any democratic mandate or accountability. Through a detailed analysis of texts published by the American philanthropic foundation *The Atlantic Philanthropies* regarding funding for prevention and early intervention approaches to delivering children's services in Ireland, I examine if and how the foundation represents itself as taking on a role previously reserved for the state.

I begin this study by exploring the origins of the concept of philanthropy and its various meanings throughout history. The concept of philanthrocapitalism, and its widespread infusion of philanthropy with

business methods, language and rationalities, is then explained. As will be discussed, philanthrocapitalism was popularised by Matthew Bishop and Michael Green in their 2008 book *Philanthrocapitalism: How the Rich can Save the World.* The book is based on interviews with prominent philanthropists such as Bill Gates, George Soros and Bono. In his foreword to the book Bill Clinton states that the concept of philanthrocapitalism drives the Clinton Foundation. Critiques of philanthrocapitalism and its consequences for democracy and society as a whole are then outlined. Following on from this, I develop a profile of the most prominent philanthropic foundation in Ireland in the past thirty years, *The Atlantic Philanthropies* (AP), and consider its operation in the context of the general literature on philanthropy and more specifically philanthrocapitalism. The significance of the language used by philanthropic foundations is often overlooked, yet it can provide important insights into how these organisations represent and assume their role in society. Using a discourse analysis approach, informed by Carol Bacchi's (2009) *What's the Problem Represented to be?* (WPR) framework, I analyse texts produced by AP about the funding it provided to organisations adopting a prevention and early intervention approach to the delivery of children's services as part of its Children and Youth Programme in Ireland. In so doing, I analyse what 'problems' AP sees itself addressing and the role it represents itself as having in tackling these problems. Based on this research I set out how AP has enacted the main elements of philanthrocapitalism both in its operating style and its use of discourses about its prevention and early intervention funding. I consider how this has enabled it to assume the role of a significant and governing policy actor.

In this first chapter, I introduce the background and rationale for this study, and explain its importance. I begin by considering the increasing significance of philanthropic giving internationally, in the context of greater income inequality. Research published by Oxfam, highlights for the last three years, a growing gap between the richest one per cent and the poorest half of the globe (Chan et al., 2019; Coffey et al., 2020;

Berkhout, et al., 2021). Those in the top income bracket are increasingly redistributing their wealth in a controlled way through philanthropic giving (Wealth-X, 2019). I argue that it is necessary to undertake a critical interrogation of philanthropy, and the meaning ascribed to it, both generally and specifically in relation to AP's work, in Ireland. Recent discussions around policy development, changes to the tax environment and legislative amendments in the area of philanthropy bring the need for such a critical perspective to the fore in Ireland (Minister for Community and Rural Affairs, 2021; Philanthropy Ireland, 2019a; Coalition for Civil Society Freedom, 2019). I then outline how using discourse analysis provides valuable insights into the role of philanthropic organisations in liberal democracies (Jensen, 2013; Eikenberry, 2005; Wirgau et al, 2010). In particular, I argue that such an approach affords insights into how foundations represent the problems they are trying to address and their self-representation in responding to these problems. Having explained why this study and its methodological approach are important, I outline the study's research questions and aims. Finally, I provide an outline of the remaining chapters of this thesis.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Global context

Each year Oxfam publishes a report highlighting the extent of global income inequality to coincide with the gathering of world leaders and elites at the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos. In the 2019 edition of the report, the non-governmental organisation highlighted that a decade after the 2008 global financial crash, there were twice as many billionaires (Chan et al., 2019). The report partially attributes this to the growth in the individual wealth of the richest individuals (i.e. millionaires becoming billionaires), as well as pointing out that global tax rates are at their lowest in decades. The latter has been driven by a neoliberal agenda of free market capitalism and government support for the increased role of the private sector in society. Policies such as low income and corporate tax rates have helped to fuel wealth creation (Chan

et. al.,2019). Yet, while the wealth of billionaires increased, the poorest have seen their incomes drop. The most startling illustration of this inequality is the fact that 26 individuals possess the same wealth as 'the poorest half of humanity' (Chan et al., 2019: 12). In the midst of the COVID-19 global pandemic the gap has become starker. Over a 24-week period, from 18th March to 4th September 2020, the richest individuals saw their wealth increase by one-third (Institute for Policy Studies, 2020). This is against a backdrop of mass temporary unemployment and permanent job losses (ESCAP et al., 2020). The latest report from Oxfam (Berkhout et al., 2021) highlights that the richest 1,000 people on the planet have recouped the losses they suffered due to the pandemic. In contrast, it may take 10 years for those in low-paid jobs to do the same.

To tackle the income inequality gap, Oxfam calls on governments to address tax laws that favour the rich over the poor (Chan et. al., 2019). Greater tax justice would mean a more equal distribution of resources from the haves to the have-nots. In the absence of major global reform of tax laws, the wealthy have increasingly been engaging in philanthropic giving towards causes that they deem worthy of support. Increased philanthropic activity is indicated by a recent rise in the number of foundations. Worldwide Initiatives for Grantmaker Support (WINGS) (2018), drawing on data from the Donors and Foundations Networks in Europe (DAFNE), points out the relatively young profile of Europe's 129,000 foundations. For example, in France the number of foundations doubled between 2001 and 2014, while in Switzerland half of the foundations are in existence for less than two decades (Observatoire de la Fondation de France, 2015 referenced in WING, 2018: 19). Wealth-X's (2019) Billionaire Census found philanthropic giving popular amongst high-net wealth individuals, particularly those worth over $5 billion. High profile campaigns, such as *The Giving Pledge*[1], which aim to 'shift the

[1] This is an initiative of Warren Buffett and Bill and Melinda Gates whereby billionaires commit to giving at least half their wealth away within their lifetime. To date there are 220 signatories (May 2021) to the pledge. However, signatories make a moral commitment and are not legally obligated to donate their wealth to any specific causes.

social norms of philanthropy among the world's wealthiest people and inspire people to give more, establish their giving plans sooner, and give in smarter ways', seek to legitimate philanthropy as a means of redistributing wealth (The Giving Pledge, n.d.). While just seven out of the 26 individuals named in Oxfam's 2019 report had signed this pledge, many more were also engaged in high profile giving (Chan et al., 2019). This included Amazon founder and the world's wealthiest person Jeff Bezos and the sons of the founder of the second largest privately held company in the United States of America, the Koch brothers. Bezos has engaged in high profile philanthropy through his Day One Fund which targeted its initial support towards the immediate needs of vulnerable families (Bezos Day One Fund, n.d.). The Kochs have funded a number of organisations aimed at influencing the rise of right-wing politics including a group, Americans for Prosperity, opposing climate change (Mayer, 2016). Alongside these high profile givers, low profile and anonymous giving is an unknown but important feature of philanthropic activity (Wealth-X, 2016).

The growth in activity over the past two to three decades has led to the emergence of what has been termed 'philanthrocapitalism'. This term describes a particular approach and model of philanthropic giving. Philanthrocapitalism, discussed in detail in Chapter 2, was coined in the pages of *The Economist* magazine and refers to the application of business methods and approaches to philanthropy (Bishop, 2006). In Bishop's later work with Michael Green (2009) the term is described as reflecting 'the growing recognition by the leaders of capitalism that giving back part of their fortune to improve society is as much a part of the system as making the money in the first place' (Bishop and Green, 2009: x). The origins of the term philanthrocapitalism are traced to Ted Turner's pledge of $1 billion to support causes championed by the UN in 1997. While an unconventional action at the time, within two decades this was to 'become de rigeur' most notably due to the commitments made by both Warren Buffett and Bill Gates to give away their own fortunes in 'an effort to save and improve the lives of millions of the world's poorest people'

(Bishop and Green, 2015: 541). The setting up of The Giving Pledge has been a means through which Gates and Buffett have encouraged other billionaires to do the same.

Bishop and Green's understanding of philanthrocapitalism is predicated on the assumption that governments alone cannot solve social problems. This has led critics to assert that unlike democratically elected governments who decide and are accountable for where tax income is directed, the wealthy are becoming de facto mini-governments deciding policy direction, but with no accountability (Frumkin, 2006, Eikenberry, 2006a). According to these critics, a move away from unitary systems of government towards multiple systems of governance has provided the space for the involvement of philanthropic actors in the development and implementation of policy (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010). Essentially, the use and redistribution of financial and other resources by philanthropic actors to provide these services means they are influencing the direction and implementation of social policy, in a similar way to the redistribution of taxes by elected governments (Op.Cit.). Governments themselves often encourage reliance on philanthropy in the provision of public services (Jung and Harrow, 2015). Therefore, the involvement of actors such as philanthropic foundations in governing and policymaking should 'be examined as carefully as any policy actor' (Almog-Bar and Zychlinski, 2013: 203).

The reduction in the size of government is another feature of a neoliberal agenda that 'has fuelled the perception that philanthropy and its institutions are a viable means to solve collective problems' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009: 974). This increased involvement of philanthropic foundations, and other actors, in policy development and implementation is described in various ways. Swyngedouw (2005: 1992) refers to this as 'governance beyond the state', stating that it relates to the increasing proliferation of 'institutional arrangements of 'governing' which give a much greater role in policy-making, administration and implementation' to both civil society and economic entities. These roles are traditionally the

domain of national and local governments but philanthropy has increasingly begun to occupy this space through neoliberal policies of outsourcing and privatization[2]. The shift in this direction has also been described as New Public Governance, which is concerned with 'both a plural state, where multiple inter-dependent actors contribute to the delivery of public services and a pluralist state, where multiple processes inform the policy making system' (Osborne, 2006: 384).

The extension of philanthropy into the space of governing is evident, according to Nickel and Eikenberry (2010) in the legitimacy afforded to entertainment celebrities such as Bono and Angelina Jolie whose humanitarian work is given the same status as policy making carried out by government officials. Furthermore, high profile philanthropy forums attract 'as much or more attention in the media than some official government gatherings' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 273). This illustrates that often, the idea of philanthropic giving is framed as a benign virtuous act without consideration given to the resulting power relations it exposes. Donors tend to be celebrated for acts of generosity and questions about the purpose of charity or the power philanthropists exert are broadly lacking (Reich, 2018). Other examples of this include the almost annual special philanthropy edition of *Forbes* business magazine, venerating businesses that 'give back'.

While much scholarly research and media commentary has framed philanthropy as benevolent there is an emerging critical analysis. Academic research, which has offered a more critical perspective of philanthrocapitalism, has been interdisciplinary and included fields such as public administration (Eikenberry, 2006a; 2006b and Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010); political science (Reich, 2013; 2018); public policy (Tomkins-Stange, 2016), and economic sociology (McGoey, 2015). In the media, articles in publications such as *The Atlantic*, (Madrigal, 2018); *The*

[2] In Ireland a mixed economy of welfare has meant that other actors, such as religious orders and community and voluntary sector organisations have been involved in service delivery (Adshead and Millar, 2003).

Guardian, (Maloney, 2015); *Aljazeera*, (Moseley, 2015), as well as a widely publicised book written by journalist Anand Giridharadas (2019a) have brought these debates to the public sphere. These authors and commentators have all provided a critical analysis of the embedding of philanthropy within profit making and the legitimacy and consequences for democracy of philanthropic actors moving into the space previously reserved for government. In her book titled *No Such Thing As a Free Gift*, McGoey (2015) argues that philanthropic giving within the context of profit making activity is often just an opportunity to make further profit. Therefore, philanthropy becomes solely part of a for-profit motive. Reich (2018), as a political scientist, focuses his analysis on the consequences of philanthropic giving for democracy. In considering this, Reich (2018) proposes that the laws and policies governing philanthropy strongly influence its operation in democratic affairs and if these were to be amended, philanthropy could have a more positive influence on liberal democracy. Finally, Tomkins-Stange (2016) provides an in-depth account of how philanthropic foundations actually exert their role as policy makers in her book, *Policy Patrons*. Her research concludes that not only do foundations use their wealth to fund education projects but also to influence policy reform in areas that align to their funding objectives. Separate to this, journalist Giridharadas (2019a), in his book titled *Winners Take All – the elite charade changing the world,* argues that the win-win proposition put forward by elites, the argument that philanthropists can both make a return or profit from their investments while at the same time 'giving-back' to society, is a fallacy. While this latter work is aimed at a more public audience it has brought the debate about philanthropy to the fore in media publications such as *The Guardian, Time* and *The Atlantic* (Graves, 2018; Giridharadas, 2018 and 2019b). This critical academic research and commentary has largely been based in North America and directed towards high-profile foundations and their founders, but whose grants may extend beyond the geographic boundaries of the continent. Yet the questions and critical analysis put forward by these authors have wider significance outside of the context of the United States.

1.1.2 Irish Context

My research explores these debates about philanthropy in the Irish context and with reference to The Atlantic Philanthropies (AP). Over a period of three decades this foundation dispersed $1.3bn[3] in funding to Irish educational and civil society organisations. While it is difficult to quantify the total amount of philanthropic activity in Ireland, the scale of funding provided by this foundation makes it one of the most significant philanthropic entities in the state in recent times[4] and one that operates within the model of philanthrocapitalism. Its operation in Ireland at a scale similar to Bishop and Green's philanthrocapitalism is illustrated by the assertion, by the former Irish President Mary Robinson, that AP and its founder have succeeded in 'transforming the higher education system, deepening respect for human rights, investing in programmes on ageing, palliative care and children services, and moving the peace process forward to anchor a more stable society on our island.' (The Atlantic Philanthropies and The Magnum Foundation, 2014: 51). The latter reference to the peace process reflects the large-scale social issues the funding has tackled on the island of Ireland. Furthermore, in his contribution to this publication, Matthew Bishop directly connects Chuck Feeney's approach to philanthropic giving to philanthrocapitalism noting that he knew 'how the right building in the right place can be used to leverage large additional sums of money from other sources, including fellow philanthropists and government' (The Atlantic Philanthropies and The Magnum Foundation, 2014: 35).

[3] Much of the texts about AP's grantmaking uses the currency of US Dollars even when referring to funding dispersed in Ireland. To avoid the complication of exchange rates, which vary between the present day and when the funding was awarded, I use the currency and amount from documents I am directly referencing. In some instances the Euro currency is used, but predominantly AP accounts for its grantmaking in dollars regardless of the region or country this takes place (see The Atlantic Philanthropies online grant database for further examples of this https://www.atlanticphilanthropies.org/grants, accessed January 2021).

[4] Historically the philanthropy of the Guinness family had a significant and visible profile in Dublin. In the 19th Century, Sir Edward Guinness set up the *Iveagh Trust* in order to address a growing housing problem in Dublin City at that time. The Trust is still in operation today as are the buildings constructed at that time to house those experiencing poverty. Guinness also contributed to the renovation of a number of landmarks in Dublin including St Patrick's Cathedral and Marsh's Library(Moore, 1960).

Despite AP's significant grantmaking activity in Ireland, according to the limited available data philanthropic giving is lower here than in other countries. A comparison of the number of foundations per population in Ireland with the rest of Europe found that there were 0.7 per 100,000 in Ireland compared to an average of 20 in the rest of Europe. There would need to be an increase of 857 philanthropic institutions to reach the European average (Forum on Philanthropy and Fundraising, 2012). Analysis of philanthropic giving by Benefacts[5] provides some information on the amount of such funding for not-for-profit organisations in Ireland. In 2015, philanthropic giving amounted to €83 million, of which €66 million (or 80%) came from three large foundations: AP, the Ireland Funds and the Community Foundation of Ireland (Benefacts, 2017). Of these three, AP was the most substantial, with total donations of €43.5 million. Benefacts (2018: 5) reported that in 2016, philanthropic giving was at €103 million, and the organisation described this as 'a tiny fraction' of the entire revenue for the community and voluntary sector in Ireland as a whole which stood at €12.1 billion. Philanthropic giving, therefore, accounted for less than 1 per cent of the sector's entire turnover. Of the total amount of philanthropic giving in 2016, €62 million came from domestic sources and €41 million from international entities, denoting for the first time that giving from domestic philanthropists was greater than their international counterparts (Philanthropy Ireland, 2019).

The latest data available from Benefacts (2019; 2020a) relates to 2017 and 2018 and is less comprehensive than the previously published analysis. In these two years philanthropic giving is noted as becoming a 'marginal and declining source of revenue for most Irish non-profits' falling from €119m in 2017[6] to €93m in 2018 (Benefacts, 2019). However, domestic philanthropy is becoming a more established source of funding

[5] Benefacts is an online database of Irish civil society organisations. It was originally set-up and co-funded by the Department of Public Expenditure Reform and AP and continues to be funded by the Department and philanthropic sources. It provides information about a wide range of bodies – charities, sport and human rights organisations for example – including the sources and levels of funding for them.

[6] While the total amount in 2017 was higher than 2016, the latter was one of the last years that AP would be awarding funding and therefore a decline was foreseen.

(for example, the total of just over €85 million in 2017 is an increase on the two previous years) and there is an indication of growth from such sources. Benefacts' calculations do not reveal the entire picture of philanthropic giving in Ireland. Benefacts (2018) describes how the data it uses includes audited financial statements, summary financial data submitted to the Charities Regulator, publicly available data on international foundations and voluntary disclosures by the larger three foundations. While it is laudable that the larger foundations offer a degree of transparency, there are countless others who do not and who are not required by law to provide such information. Therefore, building a complete picture of philanthropic giving in Ireland is not possible. An example of this is highlighted by an article in the *Sunday Business Post* profiling businessman turned philanthropist Tom Cavanagh extolling his generosity in engaging in philanthropy for over three decades (Clifford, 2019). Neither the article nor the website of Cavanagh's philanthropic organisation, Tomar Trust, specify details of the amount of funding provided by the philanthropist. While there are some details of grantees and the Trust's partners on the website, there is no indication of what level of funding has been provided. Furthermore a perusal of the website's 'Our People' section indicates that the article's author, Graham Clifford, has a close association with the Trust (Tomar Trust, n.d.), which perhaps restricts the author's desire or ability to undertake a more investigative approach to finding out or reporting more critically on the Trust's funding activity and priorities.

Part of the reason for a possible under reporting of the level of philanthropic funding is that while it appears that private trusts are required to file their financial statements with the Charities Regulator, there is no legal requirement for the Regulator to publish these accounts. The online Public Register for Charities on the Regulator's website states that '(d)ocuments are not currently published for Private Charitable Trusts' (Charities Regulator website, 2019). Therefore returning to the example of Tomar Trust, there are no financial details publicly available through the Regulator's website. Furthermore, if individuals are engaged

in anonymous giving there are no means of tracking or tracing their donations. Therefore, it is not possible to independently assess or map out the total level of funding provided by philanthropic foundations and individual philanthropists in Ireland.

Successive Irish governments have been reluctant to introduce legislation aimed at greater regulation of philanthropic foundations. In 2000, the White Paper on Supporting Voluntary Action noted the importance of funding from foundations in supporting NGOs in other European countries as well as referring to the setting up of the Community Foundation for Ireland by the Irish Government[7] (Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs, 2000). There are few concrete actions outlined with regard to growing the sector as a whole, aside from a focus on the further development of the Community Foundation for Ireland (Op.Cit). The lack of government encouragement or support has perhaps meant that, comparatively, giving has remained low. A notable exception to the lack of government intervention at a policy level in relation to philanthropy was the setting up of a Forum on Philanthropy in 2006[8], with members comprising of representatives from the Department of An Taoiseach, the then Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, and five philanthropic organisations (Minister for the Environment, Community and Local Government, 2013). The work of the Forum was expanded to include fundraising in 2012 and a subsequent report with four key recommendations was published (Forum on Philanthropy and Fundraising, 2012). The report recommended 1) Launching a "Giving Campaign"; 2) The introduction of fiscal and tax measures to increase giving; 3) Increasing capacity around fundraising amongst not-for-profits and 4) Establishing a Social Innovation Fund. In the intervening period up

[7] The Community Foundation for Ireland was set up in 2000 with an initial investment of €1m. Through the support of business, donors and family foundations the foundation has grown an endowment fund of €45m along with awarding €65m in grants in its first two decades of existence (Community Foundation for Ireland, n.d; 2021).

[8] The original Terms of Reference for the Forum were – 'facilitating dialogue between the public sector and those involved in, or promoting philanthropy; improving access to contacts across public bodies on information on opportunities for philanthropy; increasing understanding among funders public and private of the non-profit sector; exploring ways of influencing wealth advisors so that they include philanthropy as a worthy and desirable option to their clients; other means that may emerge' (Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, 2007).

to 2020, three of these four recommendations have been realised with the one on tax changes the only one 'not activated' (Community Foundation for Ireland, 2019). In 2013, the Onepercent Difference Campaign was launched by the then Minister for the Environment, Community and Local Government, with the aim of encouraging the public to give 1% of their time or money to a good cause (Minihan, 2013). A Social Innovation Fund was created in 2012, becoming operational in 2015, with each euro raised from philanthropic sources matched by the government[9]. Additional funding for Fundraising Ireland was provided to increase the fundraising capacity amongst organisations in the sector (Minister for the Environment, Community and Local Government, 2013).

In response to the lack of progress on developing a more tax friendly environment for philanthropic foundations, Philanthropy Ireland, the representative body for the philanthropic sector, has called on the government to develop a more effective and supportive regime in order to increase the number of foundations operating in Ireland. To support this call, the organisation commissioned research on the impact of changes, introduced in 2013, to the tax treatment of charitable donations (Philanthropy Ireland, 2019a). The report concludes that these changes have not 'been effective in mobilising large scale philanthropic giving' and calls for 'changes in policy to better align with international best practice in encouraging higher levels of philanthropic giving and to provide for greater inclusion' (Philanthropy Ireland, 2019b: n.p.). Other advocates in the sector have asserted that 'philanthropy in Ireland is in the halfpenny place' (Community Foundation for Ireland, 2019). Perhaps in response to this assertion from the philanthropy sector, An Taoiseach Leo Varadkar stated that the government is 'determined to help build a sustainable model of philanthropy in Ireland' at The Wheel's[10] Annual Conference in May 2019, (Varadkar: 2019: n.p.). This was further supported by a

[9] Once operational the fund became known as Social Innovation Fund Ireland and it rebranded in June 2020 to Rethink Ireland – Our Social Innovation Fund (Rethink Ireland, 2020a). According to its latest Annual Report the fund had by the end of 2019 created 'a cumulative social innovation fund of over €55.9m' from philanthropic and government sources (Rethink Ireland, 2020b: 6).
[10] The Wheel is a national association of charities and not for profit organisations in Ireland.

response to a parliamentary question, whereby the then Minister for State with responsibility for Rural and Community Development stated that his department was 'in discussions with relevant stakeholders with a view to developing a targeted and effective strategy for the further development of philanthropy in Ireland' (Minister of State at the Department of Rural and Community Development, 2019a). The development of the strategy is to include the commissioning of research on the current profile of philanthropy in Ireland as well as a public consultation (Minister of State at the Department of Rural and Community Development, 2019b). An economic consultancy firm, Indecon, has been commissioned to undertake this research and it was due to be completed and submitted to the Minister in early 2021 to help with the 'development of a strategy on philanthropy in consultation with stakeholders during 2021' (Minister for Community and Rural Affairs, 2020; 2021). The COVID-19 pandemic has reinforced the government's commitment to growing both the Social Innovation Fund (Rethink Ireland) and the Community Foundation for Ireland. In response to the impact that the pandemic has had on the fundraising capacity of not-for-profit organisations, both of these entities have been charged with administering and distributing funding initiated and co-funded by the Irish government[11]. It is envisaged, therefore, that these two foundations will be an integral and critical part of any co-ordinated policy or strategy going forward. There is clearly some policy in development and alongside this, an opportunity to examine what role philanthropy has in Irish society within this context.

Legislative change, which would allow funding from international philanthropic organisations for campaign and advocacy work, is also under consideration. This proposed legislative change provides the

[11] As part of the Irish government's €40m package of funding support for the community and voluntary sector, a €5m philanthropy fund was established to 'focus on supporting responses to the COVID-19 crisis that require innovative and adaptive solutions to existing and emerging challenges' (Department of Rural and Community Development, 2020). Rethink Ireland were charged with administering this fund, Innovate Together, and it looked to raise further funds for the initiative from private donors. A further allocation of €6m in funding was distributed by the Community Foundation for Ireland. This fund comprised of the proceeds of a public telethon, RTE does Comic Relief, which raised €3m with a further €3m matched by government funding (Community Foundation for Ireland, 2020a).

opportunity for debate on philanthropy's role in supporting work that has a direct impact on democracy. Under the Electoral Act 1997, as amended in 2001, there are restrictions on receiving funding for 'political purposes' for 'third party' organisations[12]. The provisions of the Act mean that an individual or organisation receiving a donation of over €100 for 'political purposes' would be obliged to register with the Standards in Public Office Commission (SIPO), the body charged with overseeing ethics in public office. Funding or donations for such purposes from 'non-Irish citizens not resident in Ireland and from companies that do not have a place of business on the island of Ireland' are also disallowed (IHREC, 2019: 2). These restrictions mean that international philanthropic organisations cannot provide funding to Irish NGOs undertaking work for 'political purposes'.

The case of Amnesty International Ireland (Amnesty) and funding it received from the Open Society Foundation (OSF)[13], in relation to its work on abortion, has brought to the fore questions about what constitutes work deemed to be for 'political purposes' and whether the organisation should be allowed to receive funding from international philanthropists for such purposes. In August 2015, the OSF provided a grant to Amnesty International Ireland to fund a campaign with the aim of increasing political support to hold a referendum to legalise abortion (RTE, 2018a; 2018b)[14]. In November 2017, SIPO contacted Amnesty to say that this work fell within the definition of 'political purposes'. SIPO

[12] A 2001 amendment introduced a new definition of 'political purposes' and what constitutes a 'third party'. The provisions mean that an individual or organisation receiving a donation of over €100 for 'political purposes' would be obliged to register with the Standards in Public Office Commission (SIPO), the body charged with overseeing ethics in public office. Activities included in the definition of political purposes included – 'to promote or oppose, directly or indirectly, the interests of a third party in connection with the conduct or management of any campaign conducted with a view to promoting or procuring a particular outcome in relation to a policy or policies or functions of the Government or any political authority; otherwise to influence the outcome of the election or a referendum or campaign' (IHREC, 2019: 2).

[13] The Open Society Fountation is 'the world's largest private funder of independent groups working for justice, democratic governance, and human rights' (The Open Society Foundation, n.d.). The foundation is in operation since 1984 and has provided funding for projects in 120 countries.

[14] The Abortion Rights Campaign (ARC) was forced to return a grant they received from OSF. On this occasion the Standards in Public Office Commission (SIPO) concluded that the award was in contravention to the legislation, despite protestations from ARC that the grant from OSF was to be used 'to fund educational and stigma-busting projects' as opposed to campaigning activities (Abortion Rights Campaign, 2017).

concluded that the grant, therefore, was a 'prohibited donation' and ordered Amnesty to return the funding. In response, Amnesty stated that the work 'was not directed at a particular referendum outcome as no referendum was scheduled at that point' (Coalition for Civil Society Freedom, 2019: 7). The organisation subsequently launched a judicial review against SIPO's decision. In July 2018, the original decision was defeated due to the acceptance by SIPO that its 'decision was procedurally flawed' (Op.Cit.: 8). The media coverage around these issues brought to the fore for the first time the question of receiving philanthropic funding from international sources for certain activities carried out by civil society organisations.

A statutory body charged with building a culture of respect for human rights, the Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission (IHREC) (2019), and the Coalition for Civil Society Freedom (the Coalition)[15] (2019) have both prepared submissions on the difficulties with the Electoral Act 1997 as it stands. Both IHREC and the Coalition claim that the amendment inserted in 2001 has resulted in a 'chilling effect' on the day-to-day work of civil society organisations in Ireland[16]. In particular, the Coalition argues that responding to an inquiry from SIPO, such as in the Amnesty case, can create an undue administrative burden for a civil society organisation. The argument of both the Coalition and IHREC in lobbying for change in this area is that the role of civil society organisations is being suppressed. However, neither organisation raises questions about what role philanthropy might play in illuminating certain voices in civil society. The restriction on receiving funding from international entities is particularly problematic for those engaged in human rights work, as IHREC's submission highlights that 'most independent funding of human

[15] Leading members of the coalition include - The Wheel, Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL), Uplift Amnesty International Ireland, Front Line Defenders and Transparency International.
[16] As described in the next section, AP provided significant funding for advocacy and campaign work undertaken by its Irish grantees in the first two decades of this century. In its analysis of the problems with the Electoral Act 1997, as amended 2001, the Coalition for Civil Society Freedom (2019) notes that its members observed a more stringent approach applied by SIPO in monitoring compliance with the Act in recent of years. The coalition observes that this was out of step with the previous approach applied by SIPO. Therefore, it appears that the approach by SIPO prior to 2016 meant that AP grantees were not subject to the same level of scrutiny regarding the source of funding for advocacy and campaign work.

rights work comes from trusts and foundations based outside of Ireland' (European Union Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) (2017) quoted in IHREC, 2019: 5)[17].

To address the shortcomings of the current legislation, Independent Senator Lynn Ruane brought forward a Private Member's Bill in May 2019[18]. The wording of the Bill is almost exactly that which was proposed in the Coalition's (2019) submission. The review of the definition of 'political purposes' as proposed by Senator Ruane's Bill will allow funding from international sources for civil society campaigns on issues of the philanthropist's or their foundation's choosing. While this funding will not be permitted to fund election candidates or referendum campaigns directly, the proposed legislation will permit international foundations to fund work, which, may bring about the need for constitutional change. The role that AP played in the run up to the announcement of the Marriage Referendum, as discussed in the next section and in Chapter Three, is indicative of this. The enactment of this legislation should bring to the fore debates about the influence and involvement of philanthropic organisations in social policy that are being advanced in the international literature.

In sum, the context in which philanthropic foundations operate in Ireland is one characterised by a low level of activity and an underdeveloped policy and legislative environment. The development of a government policy to support the growth and promotion of philanthropy is at an advanced stage and it is likely to be influenced by the recent joint government and philanthropy action which came about in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. The more stringent approach to scrutinising donations from foreign philanthropic foundations that has been applied in recent years by SIPO is likely to be balanced with a more supportive legislative framework. Given the likelihood of developments in these two

[17] This quote is in fact a reference from a letter from a number of civil society organisations who are part of the Coalition on Civil Society Freedom and not the opinion of the FRA.
[18] The Electoral (Civil Society Freedom) (Amendment) Bill 2019.

domains, this in-depth examination of the work of the largest foundation that has operated in Ireland in recent times makes an important contribution to both policy and academic debates on philanthropy. It provides an important contribution as it examines a case study or incidence of philanthrocapitalism and how one foundation has enacted this model of philanthropy in a specific geographic context and time.

1.2 Rationale

In this section, I explain the rationale for my focus on AP by demonstrating how this organisation has had a central role in public life in Ireland over the past three decades. In particular, I argue that the foundation has been influential in the areas of constitutional change and policy development (especially in the area of children and youth policy). Despite this significant role, there has been little critical research or media commentary regarding the work of this private foundation in Irish life. In Ireland, the limited research on philanthropy has been largely descriptive (for example Donoghue's (2004) work on the landscape of foundations) and there is a distinct lack of analysis that critically interrogates philanthropy, with just one or two notable exceptions such as McCrea (2014). Debates in the public sphere are few and far between with little criticism targeted at such giving. Where commentators have been critical, they tend to focus on what philanthropists are funding, rather than concern about the power philanthropic wealth can exert (O'Brien, 2013; Waters, 2006). Furthermore, much of the media commentary has been celebratory about individual philanthropists (O'Clery, 2003, 2017; Costello, 2017; Clifford, 2019)[19]. As a starting point, my research undertakes an analysis of one of the largest philanthropic foundations in Ireland, The Atlantic Philanthropies (AP). I examine how AP enacts philanthrocapitalism through its problem representation and self-

[19] An exception to this is Phelan's (2019) article on the controversy regarding funding provided by an international businessman to Mayo GAA. The author raises similar arguments that arise in the literature including the motivations of philanthropists for giving, the imposition of business style practices on grantees, the power dynamics between funder and grantee about how funding should be directed and issues of transparency and accountability. While the focus of the article and the controversy is on sport the more measured analysis of the power dynamics, in particular, could be applied to other situations.

representation in its pronouncements about its funding of prevention and early intervention in children's services.

The significant amount of funding that AP has provided for educational and community and voluntary organisations should not be understated. Amongst the wide range of issues it has targeted through its grantmaking, AP has played a significant role in supporting a number of constitutional changes through its grantmaking in Ireland. Advocating for an amendment to the constitution can result in significant and far-reaching change in Irish society. Civil society organisations funded by AP have played a crucial role in two referendums – the Children Referendum in 2012 and the Marriage Referendum in 2015 (Referendum Commission website, n.d.). The civil society campaign for the Children Referendum, Yes for Children, comprised of three organisations, Barnardos, the Children's Rights Alliance (CRA) and the Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. All three were AP grantees and received $15.6million, $4.6million and $2.5million respectively in funding from the foundation (The Atlantic Philanthropies, n.d.a). Both Barnardos and CRA also received funding from the One Foundation. The purpose of this joint funding was, in part, to increase the two organisations' engagement in advocacy, including advocating for a referendum on children's rights. At the same time AP was also providing substantial funding in the area of human rights and amongst its grantees were the Gay and Lesbian Equality Network (GLEN), the Irish Council for Civil Liberties (ICCL), and Marriage Equality. These organisations received $4.7million, $12.4million and $0.5million respectively (Op.Cit.). Again, as part of their AP funded advocacy strategies, each campaigned for the equal right to marry for members of the LGBT community, a right that could only be achieved through constitutional change.

While AP did not directly fund a campaign to change the constitution in 2012 and 2015, it is clear that funding up to the point of the referendum campaigns was influential in bringing about the reason for the vote. For both of these referendums, the provisions of the Electoral Act (1997) as

amended regarding electoral finances, meant that AP and other philanthropic organisations could not directly fund a referendum campaign. In relation to the Marriage Referendum, the former director of GLEN, Brian Sheehan emphasised that, 'Yes Equality, the umbrella organisation unifying the "Yes" vote, was fully funded through its own fundraising efforts and not by Atlantic' (Collins, 2017: 53). Despite this fact, the campaign benefited from the expertise of personnel from the three funded organisations previously referred to, including those seconded to the campaign office (see Healy, Sheehan and Whelan, 2015 for a detailed account of the mechanics of the *Yes Equality* campaign). This mirrors the approach of the Children Referendum whereby personnel from AP-funded children's organisations took part in amongst other things 'a national tour to encourage voters in communities throughout Ireland to support the referendum on 10th November' (Children's Rights Alliance, 2012). Furthermore, AP stated that '(b)efore the referendum was called Atlantic supported a public education campaign about children's rights' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2017).

Connecting the influence that AP had in bringing about constitutional change around marriage, former chairperson of GLEN, Kieran Rose, stated, 'I believe the referendum on marriage and civil partnership would have happened without Atlantic funding, but it wouldn't have happened so quickly' (Collins, 2017: 57). Therefore, while on the one hand AP emphasises that they did not provide direct funding for campaigns involved in any of these referendums, on the other they clearly name the realisation of these rights in the constitution as areas of success in terms of their funding in Ireland. A visual depiction of this success, the celebration of the Marriage Equality Yes vote, is evident on AP's website (The Atlantic Philanthropies, n.d.b). The influence that AP has had on bringing about these constitutional changes merits further consideration of the role they have played in Irish democracy.

A second significant feature of AP's work has been its 'partnership' with various Irish governments in the development and implementation of

policy (see Chapter Three for further detail). AP's movement into the space of governing is evident in its prominence in various Programmes for Government. A review of past Programmes for Government reveals that AP and philanthropy more generally has become a partner in the development and implementation of policy. References such as 'philanthropic partners' and 'in co-operation', 'co-funded and managed', as well as mentioning AP directly by name, indicates that individual governments of the day have identified philanthropy, and in particular AP, as a significant stakeholder (Government of Ireland, 2007; 2011, and 2016). In the government blueprint, Programme for Partnership Government, developed by Fine Gael with the support of Fianna Fáil, through a Confidence and Supply agreement[20] – the government stated that it would 'support and continue programmes in disadvantaged areas similar to those currently supported by Atlantic Philanthropies' (Government of Ireland, 2016: 81). These programmes are a continuation of the prevention and early intervention approach to children's services, which form the basis of my empirical research and the analysis presented in Chapter Five. The Programme for Government document also acknowledged the gap in funding '(d)ue to the winding down of major philanthropic organisations, such as Atlantic Philanthropies and The One Foundation' (p.132). To close this gap, the government, in reference to one of the recommendations of the Forum on Philanthropy and Fundraising in 2012, committed to raising 'a minimum of €50m to provide growth capital to Ireland's best social innovations and to invest in on-going innovation that improves social outcomes and contributes to world-class social infrastructure' (Op.Cit.). The focus on expanding the Social Innovation Fund is reinforced further in the latest Programme for Government. This current commitment relates to securing 'additional philanthropic funding sources specifically for community-based programmes and projects in the areas of climate justice, rural and

[20] The Confidence and Supply Agreement was a separate document to the Programme for Government. This political agreement between Fianna Fail and Fine Gael meant that the former agreed to abstain or vote against opposition motions of no confidence in government ministers. Fianna Fáil also agreed to vote for or abstain on financial legislation. While doing so however, they are still recognised as an opposition party and not part of government (Fine Gael, 2016). This arrangement was in existence from 2016 to early 2020.

community development' (Government of Ireland, 2020: 92). The focus on innovation is reflective of the business style language that is used by many philanthropic foundations (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009).

A further emphasis of AP's funding has been its focus on the creation and use of evidence. A study commissioned by AP, and carried out by the Institute of Public Administration (IPA), highlights that at a roundtable event, held as part of the project, public servants and AP grantees concurred that 'Atlantic's intervention has greatly increased the evidence of what works in Ireland' (Boyle, 2017: 14). The study also highlighted that a lasting benefit of the partnership between AP and the Irish government has been 'a better evidence base' (Op.Cit.). This move towards evidence creation is not unique to Ireland. Globally, philanthropy can afford 'to build the base of knowledge and evidence needed to redirect public policy' (Fiester, 2017a: 13). The adoption of an evidence-based approach to policy making is explored further in Chapter Three.

These examples illustrate that there has already been a debate about the influence of AP in Ireland. Yet despite this, there has been little research which has critically examined what the role of AP has been and how they have given shape to the issues their funding has addressed and their self-representation.

1.3 Research Questions and Aim

Over the past fifteen years, I have worked in roles where the policy making process has been a central feature. My professional experience has included working as a researcher to inform the development of anti-poverty and housing policies in the public sector, advocating for positive policy change on behalf of low-income families, children and older people in the community and voluntary sector, and working as a management consultant in the private sector. While working in the community and voluntary sector, I worked for organisations partially funded by philanthropic foundations and one in particular, which was almost entirely funded by AP. Through this experience it has been apparent to me that philanthropic funding can transform a non-governmental organisation in

terms of allowing it to move from being volunteer-led, in some instances, to employing professionals to raise the profile of the issues it is working on. For example, GLEN was originally a grass-roots organisation led by volunteers and part-time staff. However, it substantially expanded its staff team following the confirmation of significant grant funding from AP in 2005 (GLEN, 2004a, 2004b).

Many commentators have argued that globally, philanthropic organisations are playing an increasingly significant role in shaping the direction and nature of policy responses across a wide range of social issues. In Ireland, philanthropy has been influential in a number of policy areas, including in how services for children are developed and delivered. This includes a co-funding partnership between the Irish government and AP to support a prevention and early intervention approach to delivering these services. My research takes this instance of philanthropic co-funding with government as a site of entry to examine how AP's discourse shapes both the problems its funding is addressing and its self-representation. The methodological approach to this research draws on two arguments in the literature. The first of these is Jensen's (2013) assertion that what foundations say about themselves matters given the vast amount of wealth they hold. The second is McCrea's (2014) call for a closer examination of the discourses used by foundations in Ireland. To this end, I explore the discourses used by AP in texts about their funding for prevention and early intervention approaches to children's services. In this study, I focus on how AP represents the social issues it is addressing and what its role is in responding to these.

The research questions I address are:

1) How does AP define the problems to which its prevention and early intervention funding are responding?
2) How does AP represent its own role in responding to these problems?
3) In its texts about prevention and early intervention initiatives, can it be said that AP has assumed the role of a governor by 'tak(ing) on

roles previously reserved for governments' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 270) and 'implement(ed) policy through their independent funding choices' (Eikenberry, 2006a: 588-9)?.

The research explores AP's discourses through the use of discourse analysis with Bacchi's (2009) *What's the Problem Represented to be?* (WPR) framework informing my analytical approach. Using a modified version of WPR, I explore how AP's problem and role representation is given shape.

1.4 Methodological Rationale

In Chapter Two, I highlight the contested nature of the concept of philanthropy (Daly, 2011) and its practice within the context of capitalism (Bishop and Green, 2009, 2015; McGoey, 2015; Eikenberry, 2006a; Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009). The motivations for individuals engaged in philanthropy highlight that it is not just a straightforward transaction or action, but rather one that can have different meanings for philanthropists themselves and the foundations they create (Anheier and Leat, 2013). These different meanings can be evident in the discourses they use when describing their work. Prewitt's (2006) description of 'cliché terms' used by philanthropists and their organisations highlights the potential to explore the meanings behind their use. The impact of the use of rhetoric by foundations is alluded to by Prewitt (2006: 373) as he comments that their annual reports and associated documents 'read more like campaign documents than balanced accounts of modest successes, false starts, and even a few failures'. Furthermore, he goes on to explain that, '(w)e would have a surer sense of what has and can be achieved if foundations' language better matched the realities' (Op.Cit.). This assertion points to how philanthropists and their foundations carefully craft what it is they say about their work and how they wish it to be conveyed to a wider public audience. Given the vast amounts of wealth that foundations hold and distribute, what they 'say and do matters and has consequences' (Jensen, 2013: 114).

The collective power and dominance that philanthropic foundations can exert may not be as evident in Ireland as the United States. In the latter, foundation leaders are frequently represented as playing a central role 'in making the United States a more just and democratic society' (O'Connor, 2010: 330; cited in Jensen, 2013). Yet, it is clear that prominent Irish political leaders have an appetite to increase philanthropic activity given the declaration by the former Taoiseach at The Wheel's conference in 2019 and government endorsement, through the provision of funding, for the Community Foundation for Ireland and Rethink Ireland, in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Many commentators have highlighted the ideological work performed by philanthropic foundations and how they promote one way of thinking about societal issues and forgetting that 'there are alternatives to the status quo' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8). Jensen (2013: 107) explains that foundations can 'utilize their particular way of viewing the world to influence a society's norms, morality, perspectives, and political principles'. A central means of considering the implication of this is through an examination of how foundations shape the social problems they are trying to address in texts written about their funding priorities. Nickel and Eikenberry (2009: 974) assert that the neoliberal agenda of government retrenchment 'has fuelled the perception that philanthropy and its institutions are a viable means to solve collective problems'. But what role do philanthropic foundations represent themselves as having in this regard? An exploration of documents written by philanthropic foundations about their work can reveal what vision they have for their role in liberal democracies.

In McCrea's (2014) seminal critical research on the One Foundation, a philanthropic foundation operating in Ireland, she calls for 'a closer reading of the values, discourse and practices' used by these organisations (McCrea, 2014: 45). This acts as a starting point for the development of my own methodological framework. An analysis of the discourse of one philanthropic foundation, AP, which has played a prominent role in funding the third level education and civil society sectors in Ireland can provide insights into how it positions itself in relation to

social issues. By undertaking an analysis of the discourses used by AP, my research aims to provide 'a fuller understanding of their public role' (McCrea, 2014: 45). In 2014, a blog post on AP's website written by the foundation's President and CEO, Christopher Oechsli, clearly demonstrates this point. Up to this time, the organisation emphasised that they were a 'spend down' foundation[21] (Proscio, 2010b). The post, written at the time that AP began making its final grants, attempts to re-construct its use of discourse in order to emphasise a more dramatic end to its grantmaking than merely a depletion of its assets (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2 for a more detailed discussion of this blog post).

Research and commentary to date regarding AP's work in Ireland has not provided a detailed examination of its role and how it represents itself. As will be shown, AP operates within the philanthrocapitalist model of philanthropy, meaning that it manifests and adopts the practices and discourses of the market (see Chapter 2 (Section 2.3) and Brest, 2015; Barkan 2013; Levine, 2016; Sievers, 2011). Another significant feature of this model of philanthropy is that it assumes that governments alone cannot solve complex social issues. As I describe earlier in this chapter and later in Chapter 3, collaboration with government was a central feature of AP's work in Ireland. AP's role as a partner with the government aligns with a global shift towards philanthropic actors moving into the space of governing. To this end, my research aims to provide a systematic analysis of AP's self-representation of its role is in this context. By examining an incidence of funding provided by AP, I explore how these ideas are reflected and enacted in the foundation's discourses.

As will be seen, my research moves between reviewing the international literature on philanthropy, situating the work of AP within this and analysing the selected texts used in my empirical research. When

[21] Unlike other foundations, who often have perpetual endownments, AP's goal was to spend down its entire fortune within Chuck Feeney's lifetime. The aptly titled *Zero is the Hero* publication on AP's website provides an overview of how the entire endowment was dispersed over three decades (Bertoni, 2020a). Transfering and distributing his entire fortune through AP was a central feature of Feeney's *Giving While Living* philosphy which is discussed further in Chapter 3.

analysing the chosen texts about one area of AP's funding I returned to the literature to develop meaning about the discourses used by AP (Minichello and Kottler, 2010). The analysis of documents offers a means of obtaining the language and words of participants without undertaking face-to-face consultations or interviews (Creswell, 2009). Adapting Bacchi's *What's the Problem Represented to be?* (WPR) (2009) framework enables me to structure my approach to analysing the selected texts. Rather than applying all six questions from the framework in my study, I use the first two questions to explore and consider how problems and AP's role are represented in the texts. This allows for an exploration of AP's representation of the social issues it is seeking to address and its self-representation in responding to these. Analysing AP's problem representation and self-representation enables me to explore and understand how their funding has contributed to and influenced Irish public policymaking. A rationale put forward for conducting textual analysis is 'where the organisation and meaning of the material itself is the major focus of research' (Deacon et al, 2007: 16). This is particularly relevant for my research as a central focus is AP's self-representation of its role. Bryman's (2012: 528) description of discourse analysis further emphasizes this point as he explains that 'versions of the world, of society, events and inner psychological worlds are produced in discourse'. This method of inquiry enables me to develop an understanding of AP's self-representation.

In Chapter Three I provide a detailed account of the work funded by AP during its three decades of operation globally and in Ireland. While initially the foundation was haphazard in how it directed its funding, in 2002 AP decided to focus on supporting a number of strategic programme areas. My empirical research focuses on one of those programmes, AP's Children and Youth Programme. Much of the funding provided for this programme was directed at children, and their parents, living in disadvantaged areas. Partnership with government was a key characteristic of this work. As part of a co-funding arrangement with government, grants were directed towards improving service provider

standards and practices by utilising a prevention and early intervention approach to children's services (Paulsell et al, 2009). This serves as an example of what Nickel and Eikenberry (2010) describe as the improvement of human wellbeing by intervening in funding the delivery of services, which tend to be initiated by or the responsibility of the state. Taking this as a site or incidence of AP's funding, I analyse the use of discourses in texts produced by AP about this work.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

Having set out the context and rationale for undertaking this research, in this section I describe the structure of the thesis and provide an outline of the remaining chapters. Essentially, my approach is to move from theoretical debates in the international literature about philanthropy, and in particular philanthrocapitalism, to the contextualisation of the foundation under study, AP, and finally to the specific, in terms of my empirical focus on texts about AP's prevention and early intervention funding. In between this, I describe my overall research and methodological approach. The concluding chapter draws out the main findings of this research by responding to the research questions set out earlier in this chapter.

In Chapter Two, I consider the concept of philanthropy and its shifting meanings over time. I discuss the emergence of 'philanthrocapitalism' and debates about whether we should welcome or worry about its rise. I explore what questions the debates in the literature raise for my own research. The literature I have engaged with is cross-disciplinary drawing on sources from the fields of theology, sociology, public administration and political science. The arguments put forward by those in support of philanthrocapitalism include the notion that the total amount of philanthropic funding is miniscule when compared to government resources. In contrast, critics contend that those who have amassed great wealth are shaping responses to the social issues of their choosing and that they are exerting a role that is unaccountable to any checks or balances.

I provide an in-depth analysis of AP and its work globally and in Ireland in Chapter Three. I consider the foundation's origins and the influence of its founder, Chuck Feeney, on its operation. In the context of AP's work in Ireland, I discuss where it has directed its funding and the characteristics of its approach. I examine how AP has tried to realise its stated objective to bring about lasting change in Ireland. Finally, I consider the media and political debates which are critical of AP and the organisations and issues it has funded.

The methodological approach to my research is set out in Chapter Four. I begin by outlining my own positionality and how this relates to the research. I then describe my approach to undertaking an analysis of the discourses used in texts about AP's prevention and early intervention initiatives. This account draws on the broader field of discourse analysis and explains how I have used Bacchi's (2009) WPR framework to operationalise my use of discourse analysis. The institutional ethical framework governing my research and other political issues are explored. The chapter concludes with a description of the empirical focus and selected texts that form my analysis.

Chapter Five provides my analysis of selected texts concerning AP's funding for prevention and early intervention work. The chapter begins by looking at how AP represents the 'problems' its prevention and early intervention work tackles. This is followed by an-depth discussion of its role representation and the assumptions underpinning it. My analysis considers how the discourses used by AP embody the main characteristics of philanthrocapitalism and the use of a marketized discourse. I draw out connections in the selected texts with the literature on philanthropy reviewed in Chapter Two.

In my concluding chapter, Chapter Six, I establish the main arguments put forward in this research. I respond directly to the three research questions and draw together the key elements of the literature, the main

operating characteristics of AP and the discourses they use in their texts about the prevention and early intervention funding. In particular, I highlight how AP has enacted the model of philanthrocapitalism both in its shaping of the social issues its funding addresses and in how it represents its role in responding to these. The use of a marketised discourse and business approaches is central to both of these representations. In its representation of the problems AP is responding to, the texts focus on both individual and social problems and how the two are nested within each other. Of central importance to its self-representation, AP identifies other approaches to tackling these problems as problematic. In response to this, I argue that AP adopts the triple role of helper-investor-governor and that these three roles are inter-related. I demonstrate how AP has adopted both hyperagency and philanthropic governing capacity both in its operational characteristics and in its use of discourses in the selected texts. I consider how this research contributes to both Irish and international research on philanthropy and areas that are worthy of further research. The chapter concludes with reference to the final wind down of AP and the legacy it has left behind in terms of the Irish government's partnership with philanthropy in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Chapter Two: Philanthropy, Philanthrocapitalism and Democracy

2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the critical literature on philanthropic foundations, and to consider how it can inform my analysis of AP's activities in Ireland. In order to understand debates about the contribution of large philanthropic organisations to transformations in contemporary liberal democracies, I consider the origins of this contested concept (Daly, 2011) and distinctions drawn between philanthropy and charity (Ostrower, 1995). Throughout its history, the concept of philanthropy has referred simultaneously to both a virtuous characteristic of the individual as well as describing a way of helping the less well off. Drawing on Sulek's (2010a; 2010b) seminal work, and others (Mukkonen, 2009; Sievers, 2010) I consider how the word philanthropy has been used from ancient times to the late 1900s. In so doing, I briefly reflect on the association of philanthropy with religious practices (Singer, 2013; Lawton and Morgan, 2007) and how this connects the word with a moral characteristic of the individual.

My research seeks to explore philanthropy as it operates within contemporary society. One model of philanthropy that I consider in detail is 'philanthrocapitalism'. This model assumes that governments alone cannot solve social issues. The application of business practices, by the wealthy and the organisations they set up to re-distribute their wealth to the 'less well-off', is another significant feature of philanthrocapitalism (Bishop and Green, 2009; 2015). The growth in this form of philanthropy is attributed to a number of reasons, including increased wealth, a growing gap between the rich and poor (Seery, Caistor et al., 2014; Chan et al., 2019) and government retrenchment in the context of neoliberal policies (Eikenberry, 2006a; 2007). It is apparent that the literature includes those who support this model of philanthropy (Bishop and

Green, 2009, 2015) and those who are critics (McGoey, 2015; Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010). Some acknowledge that today's social problems are so complex that an innovative response is required and that philanthropy has become an integral part of this solution (Schmitt, 2015; Reckhow, 2015). Others argue that this model of philanthropy amounts to mega philanthropic organisations acting like 'mini-governments' by implementing 'policy through their independent funding choices' and thereby undermining democracy (Eikenberry, 2006a: 588-9). The chapter concludes with some observations on the questions and issues raised by the debate about philanthrocapitalism for my own research.

2.1 Philanthropy, its etymology and history

The term philanthropy has existed since ancient times. The concept is described as having 'altered in different ways over time, within and across different contexts' (Daly, 2011: 36). Daly's (2011) argument that philanthropy is a contested concept includes the acknowledgement that the word is often substituted with other terms such as 'charity'. My own distinction between these two terms draws on the work of Ostrower (1995), as well as others, who describes charity as focusing 'on the relief of severe and immediate needs' (Ostrower, 1995: n.p.). Both Gross (2003) and Frumkin (2006) concur with this approach, with Gross rooting the concept of charity in religious beliefs whereby it 'engages individuals in concrete, direct acts of compassion and connection to other people' (Gross, 2003: 31), while Frumkin (2006: 5) views charity as 'the temporary alleviation of the symptoms felt by the poor'. In contrast, Ostrower (1995) defines philanthropy as 'a broader concept, which, while including charity also encompasses the wider range of private giving for public purposes' (n.p). While it can also be rooted in religious beliefs it includes applying 'reason to the solution of social ills and needs' (Frumkin, 2006: 5.). Effectively, philanthropy seeks 'to make charity unnecessary and obsolete' (Sandberg, 2012: 940; Gross, 2003). Therefore, my own understanding of charity, as distinct from philanthropy, is that it is an immediate action such as giving money to an individual or organisation collecting on the street. In contrast to this, I use philanthropy

to refer to a more long-term strategy, which seeks to tackle the issues that make charity necessary.

At its most basic level, it is widely posited that the word philanthropy refers to love for humankind (Anheier & List, 2005; Brest, 2005; Sievers 2010; Sulek, 2010a, 2010b). The origins of this meaning can be traced to the ancient Greek word 'philanthrôpía' which when broken down means:

> 'philéô' - 'affectionate regard of friendship' a specific type of 'love' distinct from familial or romantic love; and
> 'anthrôpas' – which refers to humankind (Sulek, 2010b: 386)

Philanthropy has been understood as both a moral or virtuous characteristic of the individual as well as a means by which those who 'have' can protect and provide for those who 'have not'. This is evident in the original use of the word during ancient times whereby it was associated within theological and philosophical contexts 'by an educated elite' in defining 'a catalyst of human progress' (Sulek, 2010b: 398), and where the temples, the administrative centres of the ancient cities, looked after the needs of the impoverished (Mukkonen, 2009). These early forms of philanthropy contained an element of reciprocity, as philanthropy was not only beneficial to the community but was also associated with 'honor for the benefactor' (Sievers, 2010: 13). Aristotle saw the reciprocal nature of philanthropy as a combination of 'personal and communal good' and furthermore when it was properly administered 'part of the virtue that defines the character of both the good person and the good community' (Sievers, 2010:13). Reciprocal exchange in relation to giving is a central feature of Marcel Mauss' essay on gifting originally published in 1950. In the foreword to the 1990 translation of the essay, the anthropologist Mary Douglas explains that Mauss proclaims that 'each gift is part of a system of reciprocity in which the honour of giver and recipient are engaged' (Mauss, 1990: xi). Philanthropy can therefore be seen as a virtuous trait and the definition of doing good, which itself is seen to be the return the giver receives, that is, the benefit of an upstanding character. Similar to

the concept of 'help', it can be argued that philanthropy is set within the context of 'fearful contemplations of the future of one's soul' and the belief that 'only through help is the individual raised to the level of true humanity' (Gronemeyer, 2010: 58-60). Views such as this focus more on what the giving does for the giver rather than for the recipient.

Modern day philanthropy has moved towards a discourse of 'empowerment' and is closely associated with the work of Carnegie and Rockefeller[22]. These philanthropists aimed to 'address the root causes of poverty' by bringing about 'permanent solutions' to address social problems (Sealander 2003 referenced in Sulek, 2010a: 201). Carnegie believed that no long-term good would come from alms giving and instead focused on providing 'part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so' (Wooster, 2000: 6). An examination of the strategies employed by Carnegie and Rockefeller indicates that they were predicated on the belief that philanthropy should help to empower those who are living in poverty (Frumkin, 2006). Carnegie did this by providing the funding to build almost 2,000 libraries across the United States and further afield, including Ireland[23], as he saw 'reading as self-improvement' and believed that those 'strong enough…to educate themselves would eventually rise in society' (Levine, 2016: 2). However, this individualistic view fails to take account of other factors that can impede or support success (e.g. lack of social capital, inequality). While both Carnegie and Rockefeller are frequently lauded for their generosity in redistributing their wealth through philanthropic giving, less frequently cited, aside from those engaged in a more critical analysis of philanthropy, was their mistreatment of their factory workers and labourers (McGoey, 2012). This is an indication that the veneer of philanthropy should be interrogated.

[22] Both Carnegie and Rockefeller made their fortunes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Carnegie, an immigrant to the US from Scotland, was 'self-made and self-educated' and gained his wealth through manufacturing and selling steel (Levine, 2016: 1). Rockefeller was an oil baron and founded the Standard Oil Company (Connely, 1937).

[23] In 2019, An Post unveiled a new set of stamps to mark the centenary of the death of Andrew Carnegie. The press release marking the launch states that the stamps 'celebrates the rich Irish dividend from the classic 'rags to riches' story of philanthropist Andrew Carnegie' (An Post, 2019). A further example of the 'patriotic' narrative about philanthropy put forward by An Taoiseach Leo Varadkar in his speech earlier this year.

The adoption of what were deemed to be scientific methods from the natural and social sciences was also a hallmark of philanthropy in the early 1900s. This modernist early twentieth century giving became known as 'scientific philanthropy'. Sievers (2010) provides an example of this approach, which has parallels to the science of modern medicine. He describes it as follows:

> '(a)pplied to social problem solving, this approach pursued the discovery of causal agents behind negative social patterns, agents with a role akin to that of germs in disease, and then sought their eradication through the application of the proper remedies, equivalent to medical antidotes' (Sievers, 2010: 124).

However, Sievers (2010) cautions against the use of a scientific approach to solving social problems, which he states, are far more complex and contain too many variables (such as environmental or political factors) to allow them to be solved in such a manner. The emergence of scientific philanthropy is characterised not only by a shift in the approach to giving to a more long-term strategy, but it also saw the expansion of foundations as an institutional means of carrying out this work. It is the work of foundations that my research is concerned with. Individuals from a wide variety of professions such as law and academia lead these foundations (Sievers, 2010). While foundations may have gained more prominence as a means of conducting philanthropic giving in the 20th century, they are not a new invention. They have, in fact, existed for thousands of years (Anheier and Leat, 2013). Originating in the Latin term 'fund' or 'fond', essentially they are 'a separate, identifiable asset…donated to a particular purpose, usually public in nature' (Anheier and List, 2005).

The roots of the modern philanthropic foundation are attributed to the US and the growth in responses to 'perceived social responsibilities and moral obligations' of entrepreneurs in the 'postbellum reconstruction period and the rapid industrialization that followed' (Anheier and Leat, 2013: 451). The source of a foundation's assets can come from either the

private wealth of an individual or the assets of a company or corporation (Anheier and List, 2005). Unlike charity, which involves the immediate donation of money, foundations are more enduring as they involve the establishment of an endowment. A foundation's giving is based on the income from the endowment as opposed to its corpus (i.e. the main source of wealth or the financial asset of the foundation) thereby ensuring that it continues in perpetuity (Levine, 2016). For community foundations, assets can originate from a variety of sources (such as individuals and companies) and the grants they administer are 'for specified communal purpose' (Anheier and List, 2005:101) (see reference to the Community Foundation for Ireland in Chapter One). This type of foundation is distinct from others as its function is to provide grants in specific geographic areas and it can often comprise of individual grant funds from different sources (Anheier and Leat, 2013).

In the 20th century, foundations became commonplace as a means of philanthropic giving and with the aim of influencing 'social progress and public opinion' (Roelofs, 2007: 481). The work and influence of foundations and their philanthropic activities has not been without criticism. Their influence was so great that they often redirected the attention of social movements away from their original area of focus and towards more palatable areas of change. Francis (2019) argues that the Garland fund, a philanthropic entity operating in the 1920s and providing grants for work on civil rights causes, redirected the National Association of Advancement of Coloured People's (NAACP) work away from racial violence (lynching) and towards education as a means of achieving racial justice. From the start, the work of mega-foundations such as those of Carnegie and Rockefeller 'provoked hostility across the political spectrum' (Barkan, 2013: 47). Their critics identified them as 'centers of plutocratic power that threatened democratic governance' (Op.Cit.). Similarly, in the early 20th century, the Walsh Commission's investigation into industrial relations in the United States concluded that a small number of wealthy families extended their control beyond industry to social services and education by creating 'enormous privately managed funds for indefinite

purposes, hereinafter designated ‘foundations’’ (Tomkins-Stange, 2016: 12). Effectively, foundations were seen as a means by which those who amassed great wealth during the Gilded Age, a period of economic boom in the late 1800s which followed the American Civil War, could repair their reputations, which may have been damaged through bad business practices. Their philanthropic actions can therefore be seen as being akin to the religious notion that morals can be upheld or redeemed through giving.

2.2 What is philanthrocapitalism?

Matthew Bishop, a journalist with *The Economist*, coined the phrase philanthrocapitalism to reflect the increased integration of philanthropy within capitalism. At its core, philanthrocapitalism is predicated on a belief that there is ‘a growing role for private sector actors in addressing the biggest social and environmental challenges facing the planet’ (Bishop and Green, 2015: 541). According to Bishop philanthrocapitalism is a commitment from ‘entrepreneurial philanthropists and business leaders to drive social and environmental progress by changing how business and government operate’ (Bishop, 2013:474). These changes are characterised by three main components: an acceptance that the social issues of today ‘can no longer be solved by government alone’ (Bishop and Green, 2015: 541), the incorporation of business practices as a means of operation, and the integration of philanthropy within profit making.

The move away from social issues being addressed solely by government is attributed to a number of reasons including fiscal constraints and a discontent among citizens about the ‘failure of government to get to grips with certain challenges such as climate change and rising inequality’ (Bishop and Green, 2015: 542). Equally, governments are acknowledging the potential to partner with the private sector ‘in solving society’s toughest problems’ (Bishop and Green, 2015: 542). Eikenberry, throughout her work, highlights the significance of neoliberal government cutbacks and the move away from the

implementation of social policy by one (i.e. government) and towards multiple systems of governance as a key aspect of the context for this current rise in philanthropic giving (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009; 2010; 2013 and Eikenberry 2006a; 2007). Focusing on the US context, she traces the shift to President Reagan's neoliberal agenda, which has been followed by moves by Presidents Bush, Clinton and Bush (George W.) towards 'less taxes, fewer social welfare subsidies and more charity' (Eikenberry, 2007: 858). This agenda has included a move towards 'philanthropic support and voluntary action' and a 'campaign to reduce the size of "big" government' (Eikenberry, 2006b: 170). An illustrative example of this is how the former New York Mayor, Michael Bloomberg, engaged philanthropists 'to finance pilot projects that …are too risky to ask taxpayers to pay for initially', with successful projects enabling the leveraging of government resources to allow a further 'expansion of the project part of the city budget' (Bishop, 2013: 481). Smyllie et al (2011: 1144) explain that philanthropy is 'an innovator and risk-taker across the gamut of issues, as well as powerful enough to be a conscience and agitator with governments as needed'. The reason philanthropy is innovative is explained in the following terms: 'it's not spending tax payers' money, there's not the politics, it can be experimental, can undertake research, you don't see government always doing that. They have to look at equity and fairness and the political view of things' (Op.Cit. 1146). Therefore, philanthrocapitalism has the potential to reach beyond the constraints of governments, in terms of their accountability and transparency of the redistribution of taxes, and take risks in the development of innovative solutions to a wide range of social issues.

Central to philanthrocapitalists' commitment to good causes is the adoption of the practices of the private sector. Bishop and Green (2015) are not alone in their assertions regarding the increased use of business methods by 21st century philanthropists. Barkan (2013: 49) emphasises that these philanthropists conduct 'business-style philanthropy' which focuses on 'return on investment, grantee accountability, numerical data to verify results, social entrepreneurship, and public-private partnership'.

Levine (2016: 4) asserts that the use of the word ‘grant’ is often replaced with the title of ‘portfolio of “investments”’, which are collectively ‘directed towards achieving a policy goal’. Sievers (2011), while not directly referring to philanthrocapitalism, but rather the merger between the ‘scientific philanthropy’ of the early twentieth century and the influence of the use of business methods, latterly in the field of philanthropy, lists a wide range of terms frequently used:

> ‘investments (rather than grants), value chain, scaling-up, impact, branding, performance metrics, bottom-line, measureable outcomes, theory of change, entrepreneurship, logic model, market segment, benchmarking, re-engineering, and similar terms drawn from the scientific and business worlds’ (Sievers, 2011: 392).

The use of terminology such as ‘investing’ presses foundation staff to ‘use their donors’ resources as effectively as possible’ ensuring that personnel are conscious that a ‘grant dollar spent on a poorly designed strategy or a low-performing organisation is a lost opportunity to support a more effective one’ (Brest, 2005:136).

The inclusion of philanthropy as an integral part of business corporations’ work through cause marketing or corporate social responsibility is another feature of philanthrocapitalism. However, this is not an altruistic response to growing social issues, but rather it becomes an integral part of profitmaking and a win-win for all those involved. Bill Gates, writing in Time magazine, best captures this as follows:

> ‘...if companies are going to get more involved, they need to earn some kind of return…it is not just about doing more corporate philanthropy or asking companies to be virtuous. It’s about giving them a real incentive to apply their expertise in new ways, making it possible to earn a return while serving the public who have been left out’ (Gates, 2008 referenced in McGoey, 2012: 194).

Earning a return on investment is a central feature of business practice and this becomes embedded in philanthrocapitalism. Consumption philanthropy is a particularly noteworthy example of this as it refers to

when there is ‘a perceived charitable aspect associated with purchasing a service or product’, i.e. part of the purchase price is directed towards a charitable initiative (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009: 975). The (PRODUCT) RED™ campaign[24], for instance, claims to combine ‘consumption with philanthropy and social responsibility’ (Op.Cit. 979). The campaign, which has a global reach in terms of donations and impact, has products available worldwide and donations go towards addressing the global AIDS crisis. At a more micro-level, Nickel and Eikenberry (2013) explore the concept of gastrophilanthropy, which refers to the consumption of food, such as the ‘charitable cupcake’, for a good cause. However, they conclude that the consumption of such a product is not an opportunity to influence social change, but rather it stabilizes the market by encouraging further consumption.

In Bishop and Green’s (2009) seminal book about philanthrocapitalism, the authors highlight the widespread support and adoption of this model of philanthropy by celebrities, media moguls, tech-entrepreneurs and former politicians. The book categorises Chuck Feeney and AP’s work in this context. Through extensive interviews with a number of these high-profile philanthropists the authors highlight how this model is being employed on both an individual and collective basis to address a wide range of complex social issues. The use of extensive examples is indicative of the increased prominence of this model philanthropy over the past two decades. The widespread adoption of this manifestation of philanthropy, has meant that the concept has become contested. Edwards (2010) describes philanthrocapitalism as ‘a lose and diverse coalition of different approaches and motivations’ (p.19). Included in this diverse grouping are social entrepreneurs, social enterprises, venture philanthropists and corporate social responsibility. Balancing the contribution of philanthropy to business and business to philanthropic

[24] (PRODUCT) RED™ is a campaign spearheaded by Bono that aims to bring both individual consumers and businesses together to create a ‘sustainable flow of money…to fight AIDS’. This is achieved through the sale of (RED) products (such as iPods, T-shirts etc). The purchase price of which goes towards ‘the fight against AIDS. Companies involved include Gap, Apple and Moleskine. See http://www.red.org/en/about for more details.

giving, Edwards (2010) describes how some ‘approaches try to strengthen the social impact of economic activity, and others aim to build the economic suitability of social action. Some do both, or at least claim to do so…’ (p.27). Further nuance related to the term is highlighted in Haydon et al’s (2021) systematic review of academic research in this area. Similar to Edwards, the authors identified the integration of philanthropy within business and vice-a-versa. The review, which incorporated texts published post 2008, noted ‘a myriad of critical, theoretical and functional interpretations of philanthrocapitalism’ (p. 356). The latter categorisation concerned with philanthrocapitalism’s practical characteristics and features.

Research on the use of discourse by philanthropic foundations, indicates that this often seeks to distance philanthropy from what it aims to achieve. Rather, these discourses focus on self-promotion and the act of philanthropy itself. Wirgau et al’s (2010: 613) research reinforces this point as the authors argue that the use of business discourse not only colonizes the discourse of philanthropy but depoliticizes ‘the root causes of social problems that philanthropy is asked to confront’ along with ‘the marginalization of those in need’. This is also supported by Jensen’s (2013) analysis of foundations engaged in funding anti-racism work. A primary conclusion of this research was that rather than promoting the work of racial justice, the discourses used by foundations primarily promoted the role of philanthropy. Essentially, this provides an insight into how foundations wish to position and represent themselves in society and how their discourses reinforce this. The use of a marketized discourse, in the context of a neoliberal agenda, is essentially ‘an uncritical celebration of philanthropy’ that ‘ceases to talk about poverty and instead talks about those who feel bad about poverty’ (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 982). This is also referred to in Eikenberry and Mirabella’s (2018) analysis of the discourse of effective philanthropy and philanthrocapitalism. The authors assert that neoliberal discourses influence donors to ‘seek out new approaches to philanthropy that are dedicated to “solving the world’s problems”’ (Op.Cit: 43). In this way, effective philanthropists fail to talk

about the issues they wish to eradicate and instead focus on devising new ways of addressing social problems and as I argue in Chapter Five a new way of representing these problems.

2.3 The emergence and rise of the transnational philanthrocapitalist class

Conducting research on large philanthropic foundations is particularly relevant given the increase in philanthropic activity over the past twenty to thirty years, as outlined in the previous chapter. There has been a growth in foundations in both Europe and many of the countries in the Global South in the past two to three decades (WINGS, 2018). In the United States, the last two decades of the 20th century saw the number of foundations double and their asset value increase by 1100% (Porter and Kramer, 1999). In 2010, there were 75,500 foundations with $565 billion in assets. Within two years this had increased to 86,162 and $715 billion respectively (Foundation Center, n.d.). However, between 2012 and 2014, the number of foundations remained steady at around 86,000-87,000 (WINGS, 2018). In Canada, there are 9,987 foundations with CAN$36.2 billion in assets, while the corresponding figures in the UK are 8,000 and £33 billion respectively (Anheier and Leat 2013). Charitable giving from foundations rose from $13 billion in 1996 to $32 billion in 2006 (Soskis, 2014). This increased philanthropic activity has also been characterised by an increase in the level of individual wealth being held by foundations. For instance, there were 164 foundations holding in excess of $100 million in assets in 1995, compared to 556 in 2010. The number with $1 billion in assets has increased from 16 to 42 respectively (Tomkins-Stange, 2016). However, Wolf Ditkoff et al (2018) caution that just 1.2 per cent of assets have been donated by America's most wealthy families meaning that most will find it difficult to spend even half of their wealth within their lifetime.

The current prominence of philanthropy as a means of tackling social issues has been referred to as a fifth golden age of philanthropy (Bishop and Green 2008, 2015). Previous eras of increased activity included 'the

Renaissance, the emergence of joint-stock capitalism in the 18th century, the Victorian era, and the age of Andrew Carnegie in America' (Bishop and Green 2015: 543). What each of these eras has in common is the use of innovation by the entrepreneurs or businesspeople of the day to tackle social problems (Ibid.). The recent growth and prominence of philanthropy, however, is not attributable to one single reason but, as several commentators have argued, rather a combination of circumstances that have come to create an impetus around increased activity. Eikenberry (2006a) notes that a rise in the significance of philanthropy can be attributed to 'government downsizing and growing reliance on philanthropy, the growing gap between rich and poor and high profile giving' (Eikenberry, 2006a: 587). The first of these acknowledges that specific government actions or policies are opening up a need for greater philanthropy. The second sees a growing need for philanthropy within a context of increased wealth and poverty and a widening gap between the two. High profile giving which predominantly takes place within a market model is a third context within which philanthropy has developed.

Public spending cutbacks and a 'reduced capacity of government in most advanced economies' (Anheier and Leat, 2013: 450) as part of a widely adopted neoliberal agenda has led to an increased role for philanthropy. This has included a move towards privatisation of the public sector and a roll back in available resources to fund public services (Barkan, 2013). This shift opens up the space for philanthropy. As the state moves away from directing the incomes of the rich (through taxes) towards the poor (through social welfare supports), increasingly it has been recognised as a legitimate means of redistributing wealth. Philanthropists, therefore, increasingly take on the 'roles previously reserved for governments as they redistribute resources via philanthropic organisations' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 270). Eikenberry (2006a) reinforces this point and further illustrates this shift when referencing the calls by then President George W. Bush, 'for philanthropy as an appropriate response to disaster relief' (Eikenberry, 2006a: 586). Such a shift no longer sees the funding of

human services as a role for government but for ‘charity’. Nickel and Eikenberry (2010) describe this as a move away from ‘hierarchically organized, unitary systems of government to horizontally organized and relatively fragmented systems of governance’ (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 269). Thus, the role previously reserved solely for government is being devolved to multiple actors, which include philanthropy and global non-governmental organisations. Bishop and Green (2015) assert that government’s inability to adequately tackle social issues, due to economic restraints has led to an agitation amongst the ‘global citizenry’. The millennial generation sees the need to assert a desire for ‘social purpose to infuse every part of life’ with the evolution of social media developing a deeper ‘sense of connectivity and agency’ (Bishop and Green, 2015: 542).

The widening gap between those who have and those who have not is a reason for the growth in the perceived need for philanthropy (Eikenberry, 2006a). This is explained in part by an increase in ‘mega-wealthy individuals who can give and a growing number of poor people in need of such gifts’ (Eikenberry, 2006a: 586). In the first instance, there has been substantial growth in the financial prosperity of the top one-per cent and in the area of high-tech wealth (Barkan, 2013). Financialisaton and the growth of the finance sector has played a contributory role in this. The growth of large institutional investors has put pressure on the payment of profits to shareholders and thus created a significant non-wage income for those at the top of the income distribution (Sayer, 2015). In parallel, the weakening of the Trade Union movement, due to declining membership, has meant that employees no longer have the same level of influence on wage increases. Previously, Trade Unions could exert pressure on employers to raise pay in line with increased demand and productivity (ibid.). As noted in Chapter One, data from Oxfam’s annual analysis of income inequality shows continued growth in the number of billionaires, even in the context of the financial crisis a decade ago and the Covid-19 pandemic (Seery, Caistor et al., 2014; Chan et al., 2019; Coffey et al., 2021). The fact that 26 individuals hold the same level of

wealth as the poorest half of the population is indicative of this (Chan et al., 2019). Despite this extreme inequality, Wealth-X, a global company collating data on wealth, estimates that 70 per cent of the world's billionaires are engaged in philanthropy (Wealth-X, 2014).

The success of the market, and therefore a corresponding increase in the individual wealth needed to become a philanthropist is ironic given that 'capitalism creates the need for philanthropy in the first place' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009: 979). Furthermore, this increase in activity cannot all be accounted for by merely a rise in altruism, but as Nickel and Eikenberry, (2010), referencing Chua (2003), state, owes more to the fact that 'foreign investors engage in philanthropic activity as a means to place a screen between the impact of global capitalism and its effects' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 272). It could be said that the authors, therefore, see philanthropy as merely cosmetic and not as the benevolent act which it is often held up to be. This idea is further interrogated by Nickel and Eikenberry (2009), who argue that situating philanthropy within a market context, such as through consumption philanthropy, is problematic as it tells 'a story of benevolence of the market' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009: 979). Thus, as they suggest, philanthropy can often amount to an ideological function, public relations or marketing ploy, rather than an altruistic act. This is not a new phenomenon as previous manifestations of help and philanthropy focus on what giving does for the giver rather than the recipient.

Finally, it must be acknowledged that 'peer pressure' is another factor contributing to the recent growth in philanthropic giving. Research conducted on the motivations for setting up a foundation identifies the influence of peer pressure to engage in philanthropy (Anheier and Leat, 2013). The launch of The Giving Pledge by Bill Gates and Warren Buffett in 2010 is indicative of this and has reinforced the notion that more billionaires should follow in their footsteps and commit over half their wealth to good causes during their lifetime. The influence of peers in encouraging each other to give shows how philanthropy has become not

only about donating financial resources but about the development of relationships also. As Nickel and Eikenberry (2013) acknowledge in their definition of philanthropy, not only does philanthropy take the form of donations of a few to multi-millions of dollars, but it also encompasses the 'establishment of relationships', such as those between foundations and decision makers and governors (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2013: n.p. para. 3). For instance, networking events form a key element of The Giving Pledge with the elite membership meeting to share their learning around their philanthropic endeavours. Essentially, the idea that philanthropy is merely a one way 'transaction' or the transfer of resources from those who have, to those who have not, is widely rejected. Philanthropy can drive the development of powerful social networks amongst donors through networking and fundraising events (Frumkin, 2006). Data from Wealth-X (2016) notes that the top 'passion, interest [or] hobby' of billionaires is philanthropy. The idea that philanthropy is seen to be a 'hobby' is worthy of further comment. It is unclear whether the question in Wealth-X's census frames philanthropy in this manner or whether philanthropists themselves view giving in this way. Nonetheless, the use of the term 'hobby' infers that philanthropic giving is perceived to be a sideline activity and not one that is seeking to influence social change and shape responses to social issues as a career.

In Ireland, the convergence of the provision of social services by religious organisations and the onset of the Celtic Tiger opened-up the space for the emergence of philanthropic funding. Historically health, education and social welfare services were the purview of Catholic organisations. Religious orders traditionally led the provision of these services and it was only from the second half of the 20th Century onwards that the Irish state begun to provide funding in this area (Donoghue et al., 1998). By the mid-1990s the state accounted for almost two-thirds of funding to the non-profit sector with just 0.1 per cent coming from private foundations (Ibid.). The Irish model of neoliberalism which emerged at the start of the 21st Century was characterised by a combination of American neoliberalism and European welfarism or as being 'between Boston and

Berlin' (Kitchin et al., 2012). During the Celtic Tiger Years the move towards neoliberal policies, such as attracting foreign direct investment and the cultivation of a policies which created a property boom, did not result in a rollback of welfare provision. However, neither did welfare services benefit from the boon of the country's wealth by receiving an investment in quality (Ibid.).

2.4 Should we welcome or worry about the rise of philanthrocapitalism?

The growth in wealth and, correspondingly, in philanthropic giving over the past two decades, has meant that what philanthropists set out to achieve becomes increasingly relevant for society as a whole and subject to debate. With increased financial resources at the disposal of philanthropic foundations, how, and on what, these resources are directed raise significant questions for democracy.

2.4.1 Support for Philanthrocapitalism

According to Edwards (2009), supporters of philanthrocapitalism, and often philanthrocapitalists themselves, identify two main rationales for this approach to solving social issues. Firstly, it is predicted that over time, philanthrocapitalism will 'compensate for a projected decline in aid from governments and NGOs', inferring that the practice of philanthrocapitalism will generate a maintainable amount of funding to solve social problems (Edwards, 2009: 36). Yet 'the total amount of philanthropic funding in any modern society is small compared to government and for-profit resources' (Sievers, 2011: 384). Moreover, it is argued that philanthropy provides a balancing and 'positive effect of supporting pluralism' which 'outweighs whatever detrimental effects might flow from its lack of democratic control' (Op.Cit.). Secondly, supporters believe that by applying the practices of the private sector to solving these social problems it 'will achieve better more sustainable results' (Op.Cit.). Schmitt (2015) concurs with this latter point, acknowledging that invariably the long-term objective of utilising innovative approaches is that

once their success is proven, governments will ‘pick up and expand programs’ (Foster, 2009 quoted by Schmitt, 2015: 249). Reckhow (2015) refers to this as the replication model, with such an approach involving ‘selecting local laboratories for strategies that reformers hope to replicate on a broader scale’ (Reckhow, 2015: 553). It is arguable how successful such an approach is. Reckhow (2015) notes that an evaluation of the Annenberg Challenge, a co-funded project targeting educational reform in Chicago, cast doubt over its success as it declared that ‘it did not dramatically alter education outcomes’ (Fleishman, 2009 in Reckhow, 2015: 553). Jung and Harrow (2015: 50) determine that the effectiveness or success of ‘philanthropic innovation is predominantly based on grant evaluations and project reports commissioned by foundations’. These reports are unlikely to provide a balanced account of any failures or false starts (Prewitt, 2006).

Bishop and Green (2015) in their discussion on philanthrocapitalism acknowledge that there is an increasing involvement of philanthropic actors in ‘efforts to solve big problems, especially when those solutions require innovation and entrepreneurship’ (Bishop and Green, 2015: 542). This push towards innovation is an acknowledgement that government must collaborate with other actors to solve the complex social issues of today. For civil society, Anheier and Leat (2013) posit that foundations can ‘help fund innovative, risky projects that neither market nor state would support’ (Anheier and Leat, 2013: 458). In Australia, Smyllie et al (2011) identify that philanthropy ‘plays a significant role as innovator and change agent in addressing indigenous disadvantage’ (Smyllie and Scaife, 2009 quoted in Smyllie et al. 2011: 1141). The success of such innovation ‘is measured by the willingness of government to subsidize or completely fund projects begun by philanthropy’ (Op. Cit.). Therefore, supporters of philanthrocapitalism argue that it enables greater innovation and risk-taking in responding to and addressing social issues.

2.4.2 Critiques of Philanthrocapitalism

There has been wide-ranging criticism directed towards philanthrocapitalism, and questions regarding its implications for democracy. McGoey (2012, 2015) strongly rejects the claim that the application of business and scientific methods to giving is new. She refers to the work of the mid-nineteenth century philanthropists, their application of scientific methods and the use of the term venture philanthropy in 1969 by John D. Rockefeller III at a US congressional hearing. However, what sets philanthrocapitalism apart from previous manifestations is that it is strongly motivated by reciprocity. McGoey (2015: 194) argues that 'it is the very openness of the opportunities for private gain' that distinguishes it from previous forms of philanthropy. This is particularly true when we consider philanthropy, which takes place within the realm of consumerism and adopts a marketized discourse and other forms of philanthrocapitalism such as social enterprises and corporate social responsibility. Nickel and Eikenberry (2010: 276) argue that the use of such a discourse 'fails to stand apart from that which creates the need for philanthropy in the first place'. By adopting the discourse of the market, philanthropy fails to be transformative by eradicating the causes of the problems that it seeks to address. Essentially, engaging in these types of philanthropy applauds and further supports the very system that has created the need for philanthropy in the first place. Thus, it does not address underlying inequality but merely continues to contribute to the market and to capitalism, which, as a key driver of income and other forms of inequality, has created the need for philanthropy in the first place. The authors argue that such action essentially celebrates 'global capitalism' at the same time as 'sympathizing with its victims' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009: 979). Philanthropy, therefore, acts as a tool, which reinforces the position of those disadvantaged by the market. Such giving 'allows wealthy elites to cover up their hegemonic control over society, which perpetuates their wealth and powerful positions' (Eikenberry, 2006b: 182). She goes on to illustrate these power dynamics by referring to the 'perception that people who need help are inferior and the help they receive is a gift in response to a deficit rather than an entitlement or

earning' (Eikenberry, 2006b: 183). Therefore the power very much rests with an individual who is engaged in philanthropy, the nature of which seeks to create a 'them and us' relationship (Eikenberry, 2006b: 183). The concept of self-responsibility, put forward by neoliberals in the 1970s is connected to this. The assumption is that the benefits provided by the welfare state may deter 'individuals from improving their own living conditions' (Pendenza and Lamattina, 2019: 101). Therefore access to welfare is, similar to Eikenberry's (2006b) argument regarding philanthropists, seen not as an entitlement but as a gift. This promotes the idea that individuals 'are responsible for his or her own destiny' (Op.Cit.).

A critical aspect of my research is concerned with what Nickel and Eikenberry (2010: 270) refer to as 'philanthropic governing capacity', that is, 'the possession of enough wealth to impact human well-being'. This term is similar to what Schervish (1997) describes as the ability of high-net wealth individuals to adopt 'hyperagency' in their philanthropic giving. Hyperagency refers to how philanthropic actors beyond existing as agents within 'a given institutional framework…. are capable of establishing the institutional framework which they and others live' (Schervish, 1997: 86). Schervish (1997) ascribes hyperagency to those wealthy individuals who seek 'to shape rather than merely support a charitable cause' (Op.Cit.). Bishop and Green (2009: 12) acknowledge that philanthrocapitalists act as 'hyperagents' as they have 'the capacity to do some essential things far better than anyone else'. However, the authors acknowledge that these hyperagents are not accountable to an electorate or shareholders and this lack of accountability has been central to many critiques of philanthrocapitalism. Other critiques of philanthrocapitalists have referred to how decisions about what to fund are made and their influence on systems of governance.

Decision-making

It is widely argued that philanthropists and their foundations, through their funding priorities, are making important decisions about what direction

public policy should take (Sievers, 2010) or ‘which diseases are eradicated’ (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 272). At the centre of criticisms about how decisions are made in philanthropic organisations are concerns about the restricted number of individuals involved and how they are appointed to positions of leadership. Decisions about what to fund are often made by a select few individuals who are handpicked by the philanthropist to serve on a foundation’s board or as an executive member of staff (Kapoor, 2013). Those charged with leadership roles in foundations, along with the ‘so-called “one per cent” who control approximately one half of all income and property, share a culture in which certain beliefs are prominent’ (Levine, 2016: 4). Pronouncements on the social issues which are deemed most important to address and, therefore, to fund, are made solely by those who have amassed great wealth and social capital along with their (often business) associates. Decisions are reinforced by the fact that ‘foundation executives and other influential people have their own networks’ where they ‘can influence each other to support particular causes’ (Levine, 2016: 5). Furthermore, ‘the one-per cent who make up the oligarchy hold common views. Opinions are expressed, formed, and strongly mutually enforced in…informal settings’ (Levine, 2016: 6). Effectively ‘foundations are created and governed by a country’s elite’ (Anheier and Leat, 2013: 459). and professional appointments often straddle the political and philanthropic spheres. In the United States, for example, an advisor to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, McGeorge Bundy became president of the Ford Foundation, and later a professor at a university before returning to work as a scholar at the Carnegie Foundation (Levine, 2016). Similarly, Arne Duncan, a former Secretary of Education in President Obama’s administration was previously a ‘superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools’ which reaped the benefits of the Gates Foundation ‘sponsored’ education initiatives and who, in turn, appointed a number of former executives and grantees of the foundation to his staff (Tomkins-Stange, 2016: 81).

Given the concentration of the global elite within both the government and philanthropic foundations, a pertinent question is 'who exactly are these wealth actors to take unto themselves to interpret public needs to act as a miniature and undemocratic regimes?' (Frumkin, 2006: 56). There is an exclusion of outside expertise or a lack of opportunity for potential grantees to state their case for funding to inform this decision-making. Many foundations disallow unsolicited applications for funding and they set out key goals they wish to achieve (often in areas of personal interest). Thus, larger, more high profile organisations are often more successful in attracting a foundation's attention and, therefore, 'have an advantage in attracting the largest donations' from philanthropists (Radon, 2008: 38). Research on the causes supported by the wealthy indicates that invariably those most likely to benefit from philanthropic donations are those closest to the donor. Reich (2013) examines the practice of giving in the United States and concludes that it does not stand up to the ideal notion that giving has 'something to do with caring for needs of strangers' as the majority of giving relates to 'support for religious organisations with support of education and health trailing far behind, and assistance for the needy lagging still further behind' (p.522). The connection between the giver and the causes to which they give leads Reich (2013: 523) to conclude that 'philanthropy appears to be more about the pursuit of one's projects, a mechanism for the expression of one's values or preferences rather than a mechanism for redistribution or relief for the poor'. Therefore, giving tends to focus on a reinforcement of the status quo of the giver.

Influence on governance and policy-making

The funding choices of large philanthropic organisations have wide public policy implications. Philanthrocapitalists have gained greater influence in setting government agendas and 'often by filling in the missing capacity in an era of austerity' (Schmitt, 2015: 551). In many instances, philanthropy becomes another 'arm of government' (Schmitt, 2015: 551). Levine (2016) refers to a blurring of lines between government and philanthropy, particularly when considering the combined resources and influence of

the two. This can lead to philanthropic actors and foundations significantly affecting policy direction, the appointment of officials and election of local representatives. The level of influence that philanthrocapitalists can have on structures of governance is most evident through the example of the Gates Foundation. The Foundation had previously provided the World Health Organisation with ten per cent of its overall budget. According to Nickel and Eikenberry (2010), effectively, it 'privately legislated and administered health-care policy by funding research and health-care provision in disease specific areas around the world' (p. 271-2). It could be argued that the development of policy through a unitary system of government has some level of legitimacy and/or accountability as elected representatives, or public officials who oversee it are assumed to be acting in the best interests of the public. However, in the case of philanthropy, the only criterion for implementing such policy is amassing great amounts of wealth. In the case of the Gates Foundation, it 'has more wealth…than many nations around the world' (Eikenberry, 2006a: 589). Therefore, as Eikenberry states, 'philanthropists and philanthropic groups can become mini-governments' that can, 'through their individual funding decisions, make public policy decisions on their own, without input from other citizens or elected representatives' (Op.Cit.). Horvarth and Powell (2016) argue that a tension exists between philanthropy and the provision of public services and goods by the state. In particular, they argue that current manifestations of philanthropy both set the agenda of what services should be provided as well as being central to their provision. This can mean creating new systems of provision (e.g. in the area of education the advent of charter schools).

The impact of philanthropy on systems of governance is a critical theme in Eikenberry's (2006a) writing. She asserts that little attention has been given to 'philanthropy's growing influence on democratic governance' (p.587) and the political nature of philanthropy. The development of social policy through philanthropy is rarely contested as 'we mistakenly identify government wealth as being political and individual wealth as being apolitical' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 271). However, these authors

argue that the accumulations of wealth, regardless of whether it is by government or private individuals, and its subsequent redistribution and its connections with wellbeing through the development of policy 'are always political' (Op.Cit.). Furthermore, policy developed by philanthropists is often legitimized solely by the individual's ability to accumulate wealth as they 'bypass the state and dictate social policy through the reallocation of profit according to their individual preferences' (Op.Cit.). This latter point is supported by Levine (2016: 1) who contends that 'the concentration of wealth and power may undermine democratic institutions' and goes beyond doing well to undercutting our basic democracy.

Accountability

The public policy orientation of philanthropy is evident throughout its history and includes Carnegie's investment in public libraries (Levine, 2016) and the Gates Foundation's support for public education in the US (McGoey, 2015). Horvarth and Powell (2016) distinguish the former's approach to supporting public services as 'contributory' and complimentary to government provision. However, the 'disruptive' approach of philanthropists such as Gates seeks to offer a substitute for government provision. Yet, despite this level of philanthropic giving directed towards the public sphere, and its disruptive intent, there is a distinct lack of 'obligation to report, explain or justify' the selected activities and direction of funding (Tomei, 2013: 404). Unlike governments who are accountable to voters and businesses that must report to shareholders, philanthropic foundations lack any oversight that may question their funding choices. It is also unlikely their decisions about what to fund will be called into question by their 'clients' or those they fund (Anheier and Leat, 2013). They are perhaps 'the most unaccountable organisations in democratic society' (Anheier and Leat, 2013: 465). Accountability by an organisation to an authorised body comprises of two constituent parts - one part giving an account of their activities to the other. The use of the term 'obligation to report' indicates that 'the giving of the account is required' and furthermore it 'suggests

that those to whom the account is given have available some kind of sanction…or reward' depending on the level of satisfaction with the report (Tomei, 2013: 404). This latter point is particularly important. As it stands, without structures of accountability, philanthropy suffers no consequences should their work fail. It can be argued that organisations that serve the public should come under state oversight (Brody and Tyler, 2009). Considering the areas that philanthropy funds, the failure of a project can have damaging consequences. For example, for those funding reform of the public education system 'the harm falls on the children and their parents, not on the foundation's donor' (Levine, 2016: 9).

According to Nickel and Eikenberry (2010: 273), holding philanthropists accountable for actions and decisions that often 'govern our lives' is critical. While we can somewhat hold our elected representatives and government officials to account for policy decisions and implementation, we cannot do the same with private individuals. Therefore philanthropy 'maintains elite hegemonic control, and creates an 'us versus them' asymmetric relationship among citizens, all of which are detrimental to democracy' (Op.Cit.). Tomkins Stange (2016) observes that foundations use public relations to negotiate their role as a private foundation in the public sphere. Recurring themes in the literature identify the need for greater scrutiny of the role played by foundations with 'far greater journalistic coverage and analysis – though not necessarily with the alarmist tone of an expose – of the influence of foundations and individual philanthropists at all levels' (Schmitt, 2015: 551). Giridharadas' (2019a) book has partially addressed this latter point and the publicity it has garnered has led to more debates about philanthropy in the media.

The pursuit of philanthropists' own priorities is funded not only through private individual wealth, but also through the tax foregone on this wealth, which essentially amounts to public funds. A lack of accountability structures mean that these priorities are not subjected to government oversight or control. They also 'fund causes and organisations that may

rely on state funding in the medium to long run' (Anheier and Leat, 2013: 467). So, while philanthropy may provide funding for specific projects in the short-term, ultimately the costs for the continuation of this work may fall on the state (through state agencies and bodies). Amongst the reasons for the need for accountability for philanthropic organisations identified by Brody and Tyler (2009) is the public subsidy they receive through tax reliefs. The tax treatment of philanthropic donations, through reliefs, should mean the public can question the use of such money. The provision of tax relief and 'other legal privileges' for foundations 'are part of another powerful argument for viewing foundations as having a duty of public accountability' (Anheier and Leat, 2013: 465). The awarding of tax relief ultimately amounts to a public subsidy or tax foregone belonging to the taxpayer (Barkan, 2013 and Aheheier and Leat, 2013). This is because 'a substantial portion' of their giving 'has been diverted from the public treasury where voters would have determined its use' (Barkan, 2013: 48).

A detailed account of the tax foregone through donations to foundations in the United States demonstrates this (Porter and Kramer, 1999 and repeated in Anheier and Leat, 2013):

> 'if an individual gives $100 to charity $40 dollars is tax foregone. A similar donation made by a philanthropist to a foundation, results in the same tax foregone however, but in the former example the full donation will be used by charity for public good. In the latter the money goes to a perpetual fund.
>
> The law in the United States indicates that just 5% of the asset must be distributed in grants. In general on average 5.5 per cent is dispersed therefore in latter case only $5.50 goes to the public good. Thus unlike the individual donating to a charity the social benefit of the tax foregone is not immediately demonstrated. And the 'taxpayers contribute up front for much of the expected social benefit that could be attributed to foundations over time' (Ibid).

It is therefore possible to conclude that 'foundations are a socially expensive and hence inequitable way of allocating private funds to public

purposes' (Porter and Kramer, 1999 referenced in Anheier and Leat, 2013: 464).

2.5 Conclusions and questions for my research

This chapter has provided a review of the main debates arising in the international literature, which are relevant to my empirical research. I argue that the concept of philanthropy and its manifestation as philanthrocapitalism are both contested. The original meaning of the concept is described as referring to those who have, giving to those who have not. However, the reciprocal nature of gift giving, means that the donor also benefits by being associated with having a virtuous character (Mukkonen, 2009; Sievers, 2010). Within contemporary debates, this contestation centres on whether philanthropy can help to solve complex social problems (Bishop and Green, 2009; 2015) or if through donations of high net wealth, philanthropy exerts undemocratic power by making pronouncements about what, how and by whom these problems should be solved (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010; Sievers, 2010).

As explained in an AP text, in the last decade and a half, the foundation has endeavoured to 'bring about lasting change' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015a: 9) by addressing the most urgent problems in its geographic areas of operation. AP's founder, Chuck Feeney proposes that solving these issues requires the application of 'the same acumen, creativity and tenacity' (Feeney, 2011:8) that he applied in his business career. While Feeney's initial approach was ad-hoc and did not conform to the features of philanthrocapitalist approaches, the adoption of a managerialist approach by the foundation in the latter part of its operation aligned more closely with this manifestation of philanthropic giving. As will be seen in the next chapter the organisation established its strategic direction at the start of this century and it applied the use of business practices and terminology similar to those highlighted by Sievers (2011) and Barkan (2013), such as strategic planning and the use of evaluation tools and an approach called the logic model framework. All of these

practices fall within the realm of ‘evidence-based’ approaches to policymaking.

The arguments presented in the literature relate directly to my research questions and the empirical focus of my study. Following the argument that philanthropists not only support (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010) but shape the causes to which they provide funding (Frumkin, 2006), I explore how AP represents the ‘problems’ to which its prevention and early intervention initiatives are responding. The concentration of decision-making amongst the one-per cent within foundations is part of this and I consider the influence this has on how problems are shaped (Kapoor, 2013; Levine 2016). Furthermore, in light of claims that philanthrocapitalism contributes to the upholding and celebration of capitalism, I consider whether their definition of these ‘problems’ is informed by neoliberal discourses given that that these inform how philanthropists develop responses to such issues (Eikenberry and Mirabella, 2018).

Secondly, I consider AP’s self-representation and how it enacts philanthrocapitalism both in its operating characteristics and in the discourses used in the selected prevention and early intervention texts. The perception that philanthropy is a virtuous act can act as a means of disguising the power dynamics that can be exerted through the foundation / grantee relationship. I consider whether the origins of the word philanthropy and its connections to the word ‘help’ are evident in AP’s use of discourses about their role (Gronemeyer, 2010) and if the associated power dynamics are enacted in such a representation (Eikenberry, 2006a). Given the identification of AP as a philanthrocapitalist foundation (The Magnum Foundation and The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2014) I also consider whether AP adopts the practices of the business world and a marketized discourse (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010). Connected to this is the proposition that philanthrocapitalism opens up the space of governing to philanthropic foundations as government can no longer solve social problems alone. Therefore, my

exploration of AP's texts considers whether the foundation has adopted the role of governor and influenced the direction and implementation of policy in Ireland. In this latter context, I consider whether AP establishes itself as a legitimate governor in relation its funding priorities and whether it has adopted philanthropic governing capacity.

Chapter Three: The Atlantic Philanthropies: A Catalyst for Change in Ireland?

3.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the organizational trajectory of *The Atlantic Philanthropies* (AP), which is the focus of my empirical research[25]. Drawing on biographical information about its founder, documentation on its operation, and academic and media commentary, I develop a profile of its work both globally and in Ireland. I situate the key characteristics of the foundation within the literature reviewed in the previous chapter and in particular, the assertion that it falls within the model of philanthrocapitalism (Bishop and Green, 2009; The Magnum Foundation and The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2014). There has been little in-depth, independent, critical analysis of AP's operation in Ireland. Research about AP has either been commissioned by the foundation itself (Boyle, 2016; Proscio, (2010a; 2010b; 2012a; 2012b; 2014; 2015)) or written by those with a close association with the organisation (Rhodes and Healy, 2006).

The most comprehensive source of information about AP's founder, Chuck Feeney, offers an uncritical account of how he amassed his great wealth and the practices he and his business partners used to maximise their profits (O'Clery, 2013). The work of AP is synonymous with Feeney. As part of the biographical account of Feeney's life, I consider the experiences and motivation behind his decision to give away his entire wealth. Most particularly, I outline how this act is constructed, particularly by O'Clery (2013), as being grounded in the definition of philanthropy that highlights the moral and virtuous characteristics of the individual. This in turn forms part of AP's own narrative and it acts as a means of masking

[25] Throughout the thesis I refer to *The Atlantic Philanthropies* as AP. In this chapter I draw on reports and documents written and published by AP. In the in-text referencing for these materials I use the foundation's full name.

the capitalist origins of the foundation's resources, that is in the accumulation of great wealth by one individual.

The main focus of my research is the operation of large philanthropic organisations in contemporary society. I examine the work of AP within this context and within the context of the model of philanthrocapitalism discussed in the previous chapter. As noted in Chapter One, AP's operation in Ireland is situated within the broader landscape of a comparatively low-level philanthropic activity, highlighting its significance (Forum on Philanthropy and Fundraising, 2012). I consider the origins of AP's collaboration with government and how this became a central aspect of its work in Ireland (Boyle, 2017; Boyle and Shannon, 2018). Finally, I draw on critical commentary about the organisation and its founder in relation to its involvement in political and democratic affairs in Ireland (Waters, 2006; O'Brien, 2015a).

3.1 The Founder – 'Chuck is Atlantic and Atlantic is Chuck'

It is evident from a review of AP's website and its publications that the life of its founder Charles 'Chuck' Feeney forms an important part of the narrative of the organisation. In her contribution to the two-volume publication on the capital projects of AP, former President of Ireland Mary Robinson writes 'Chuck is Atlantic and Atlantic is Chuck' (The Magnum Foundation and The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2014: 51). This short assertion sums up the influence that Feeney has had on the operation of the foundation. *The Irish Times* journalist Conor O'Clery's (2013) biography of the philanthropist, *The Billionaire Who Wasn't: How Chuck Feeney Made and Gave Away a Fortune Without Anyone Knowing*, provides the only detailed account to date of his personal and business life. In agreeing to co-operate with the journalist on the book, Feeney 'released' his family and personal and business associates from 'long standing vows of secrecy', along with providing access to his archives (O'Clery, 2013: ix). The biography, therefore, provides a unique, albeit

semi-authorized[26], perspective that is not found elsewhere, regarding his life and work and how these influenced his philanthropic giving. However, the book lacks any critical analysis of how Feeney amassed his wealth[27] and its content is influential in developing and reinforcing a highly celebratory narrative about Feeney and his foundation. For example, in the opening paragraph of the book, O'Clery (2013) describes that in his first encounter with Feeney, the billionaire was wearing a cheap watch – a fact that has been as closely associated with him as giving his entire wealth away (see for example O'Clery, 2003, 2017; Dudley Edwards, 2005; Oliver, 2002). Much like the title of the book – *The Billionaire Who Wasn't* – it seeks to distance Feeney from his wealth.

This narrative about Feeney, which is, as Robinson asserts in her comments, effectively AP's narrative, constructs him as an ordinary individual. This includes a focus on the fact that he travels economy class and in general lives modestly. This representation seeks to distance Feeney from the extreme wealth he has amassed and the capitalist circumstances that allowed him to do so. It seeks to connect with the reader, proposing that this ordinary man has done something extraordinary in giving away his wealth. Both Kapoor (2013) and Nickel and Eikenberry (2009) highlight a similar representation by Angelina Jolie regarding her engagement in humanitarian work in Africa. Kapoor highlights that in Jolie's (2003) account of her travels in Africa, she describes herself as 'just an American who wants to learn about Africa', thereby distancing herself from extreme wealth (Jolie, 2003: 11 referenced in Kapoor, 2013). Essentially 'the public may be inspired by

[26] O'Clery notes in the biography that Feeney 'did not seek any control over the final product' (p.ix).

[27] Various incidents throughout Feeney's career are open to more critical analysis. For example, in describing Feeney's actions at the start of his career O'Clery (2013: 120) notes him as being 'like a character out of a spy movies, always one step ahead of the immigration police'. Furthermore, the author fails to question the actions of Feeney and his colleagues when they opened a duty-free concession in Saipan. Quoting Feeney's former business partners, the author fails to critically evaluate the consequences of their assertions that 'We made Saipan the biggest tax haven in the United States, waving the flag. We had legislation enacted that exempted Saipan-sourced income from being taxed. We build the whole thing. It was a gold mine. No tax."(p. 84). Rather, the author builds a picture of the establishment of a business empire at any cost and the amassing of great wealth by those at its helm noting that rising cash dividends meant that 'by 1977, the annual dividend was $34 million' with Feeney taking $12 million of this (Op.Cit.).

Jolie's efforts but can rarely escape the market that made her efforts possible. The only way to follow Jolie's footsteps is to accumulate vast sums of money' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009: 982). This similar construction is evident in the discussions and narrative about Feeney's life. The use of metaphors such as the $15 watch seek to connect this former multi-billionaire with the public.

While the narrative about Feeney contributes to AP's self-representation, it is evident from O'Clery's biography that experiences and milestones from Feeney's life also shape the development of the foundation. Schervish (1997) found in his in-depth research with millionaires that experiences from a donor's youth could often shape their philanthropic giving in later life. O'Clery (2013) highlights events from Feeney's early life and the character traits that are paralleled in his approach to philanthropy. Firstly, Feeney's Irish-Catholic heritage was perhaps influential in his decision to carry out business investments and later engage in philanthropy in Ireland. Secondly, Feeney's entrepreneurial skills were evident from the early days of his youth when he maximized his income in his caddying job at a local golf club and later applied these in his successful business career. Similar to Bishop and Green's (2009; 2015) description of philanthrocapitalism, Feeney applied a business approach to his philanthropy, often directing his giving towards 'relatively unplanned, large-scale, opportunity-driven' projects (Proscio, 2012b: 7). A third influence on his giving style was his preference for engaging in anonymous giving. This partly reflects his time, as part of the National Security Agency in the US Air Force, and the start of his business career where he operated secretly out of Liechtenstein avoiding the immigration police. Finally, and perhaps most influential, was Feeney's time studying at Cornell University. After graduating, Feeney established a business partnership with a fellow Cornellian that resulted in the development of a global brand known as Duty Free Shops (DFS), the shares from which formed a significant portion of his wealth. The university has also been the largest benefactor of his philanthropy, receiving almost $1 billion in grants throughout the lifetime of AP. Both Reich (2013) and Ostrower

(1995) identify the tendency for philanthropists to give to causes they have a close association with, which is clearly evident in relation to Feeney donating to Cornell.

While Feeney encouraged his DFS business partners to engage in charitable giving in the late 1960s and early 1970s[28], it was not until much later in the latter decade that Feeney began to consider a much more far-reaching decision to give away his entire wealth. In The Atlantic Philanthropies (2010: 1), Feeney describes his underlying motivation as follows 'I had one idea that never changed in my mind – that you should use your wealth to help people…'. Feeney's decision to give away his wealth is similar to what Schervish (1997) describes as relating to urgency and effectiveness or 'a desire to make a difference' (p. 98). O'Clery (2013) describes how at this time, Feeney began to discuss his thinking in detail with long time business advisor Harvey Dale. Their conversations included discussing the literature on philanthropy, particularly Andrew Carnegie's (1889) essay *The Gospel of Wealth*. Most particularly they focused on anonymous giving that is without ceremony or celebration. The original proposal therefore was to anchor Feeney's giving to the often-lauded Carnegie and other philanthropists associated with the Gilded Age.

Feeney's motivation to give his wealth away was 'partly to experience the joy of giving, not just its solemn obligations' (Proscio (2010b: 7). Such an assertion alludes to the reciprocal nature of philanthropy, with Feeney engaging in giving to experience joy at the same time as situating his action within the idea of a virtuous act (all he wanted in return was to feel joyful) (Sievers, 2010). The literature also identifies motivations for philanthropic giving which are driven by a desire to benefit from tax relief (Anheier and Leat, 2013; Radon, 2008). While it is not clear that this was

[28] Feeney's engagement in charitable giving began when he suggested to his DFS business partners in the late 1960s and early 1970s that the company give a percentage of their profits to good causes. While charitable giving by companies was not a popular activity, they went along with Feeney's suggestion and set up a charitable trust, which, similar to the description outlined in the previous chapter, aimed to address the immediate symptoms of social issues by giving to 'the homeless, the blind and the aged' (O'Clery, 2013: 75).

a motivating reason for Feeney to give away his entire wealth, it is evident that he and his advisors chose to establish and carry out transactions in relation to the setting up of the foundation in countries with more favourable tax laws. In 1982, *The Atlantic Foundation*, a precursor to what became known as *The Atlantic Philanthropies*, was set up in Bermuda, a territory which 'did not levy taxes on charities or foundations, and did not require public disclosures of foundations', thereby allowing Feeney to conduct his philanthropy with anonymity (O'Clery, 2013: 100). Two years later, when it was time to move his entire DFS shareholding and other business interests into this irrevocable trust (an entity whose terms cannot be modified without the grantor's permission), the transaction took place in the Bahamas because such a vast proposed transaction would attract levies of tens of millions of dollars if conducted in Bermuda. Feeney still retained a substantial amount of money, $40 million, plus assets valued up to $30 million to provide for his family. The secrecy surrounding the transfer of his wealth to the trust meant that he still appeared on the Forbes rich list.

Feeney's desire to conduct his giving anonymously is perhaps the strongest influence that he has had on AP. The motivations for such an approach are seen as both a desire to 'hide from public scrutiny' (Schervish, 1994: 13) and a means of avoiding unsolicited applications for grants (Flew, 2015). O'Clery (2013) confirms that this was partly the case as a member of the board of the foundation articulated in relation to the early days of the foundation's giving that they '…didn't want to receive solicitations; we didn't want to be bothered with phone calls' (p.119). However, the end of the quote – '(w)e were a private foundation, but were not trying to hide anything' (Op.Cit.) - along with an assertion in The Atlantic Philanthropies (2010: 3) regarding the exit from anonymity - 'for the sake of transparency and with the hope of encouraging other wealthy people to explore Giving While Living' - appears to offer contradictory insights into whether or not they were avoiding public scrutiny. Operating anonymously, therefore, also raises questions about transparency and accountability. While in later years, AP published a comprehensive and

searchable grant database on its website (The Atlantic Philanthropies, n.d.a), in the early days of its operation, it is unclear what influenced its funding priorities save for serendipitous interactions by its founder, such as in Ireland, (see Section 3.3) or the expertise of its board members. A move towards transparency came much later in the foundation's lifetime and perhaps after its strategic direction was decided, thereby raising questions as to who and how decisions of what to fund were initially made.

Despite his initial desire to remain anonymous in his giving, when AP publicly disclosed their work, Feeney began to promote his philosophy of *Giving While Living*, that is 'the decision by a donor to spend his or her philanthropic resources while alive, and generally, but not necessarily, with the donor's active participation in the giving program' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2010: 2). This has led to Feeney becoming 'something of a media figure' (Proscio (2012b) p.iii). The promotion of *Giving While Living* is evident on both the organisation's website and in The Atlantic Philanthropies (2010) which seeks to provide guidance on, and profile individuals adopting this philosophy. In 2009, Feeney was invited by Bill Gates and Warren Buffett to participate in early discussions that informed the development of The Giving Pledge, a commitment from billionaires to give away half of their wealth within their lifetime. However, while Feeney was supportive of the pledge, he initially declined to commit to signing it as he 'had already transferred virtually all…personal and family assets to The Atlantic Foundation…over 25 years ago' (Feeney, 2011: 1). As the pledge gained momentum, however, he began to reconsider his position. A year later, as he approached his 80th birthday, he not only signed the pledge but also committed to sharing his 'almost 30 years of personal and institutional experience engaging with the wide range of philanthropic issues and choices' (Feeney, 2011: 2). Proscio (2012b: 22) asserts that Feeney's 'prime contribution to global philanthropy has been his advocacy of the idea that great wealth provides a uniquely satisfying opportunity to do good in the here and now – that money raised for philanthropy [should] be spent at the time that it's raised, or close to it'.

A final area of influence that Feeney has had on AP, and perhaps the most significant in the current era of philanthrocapitalism, has been his own individual approach and style of giving. The early days of Feeney's giving are described as being in the style of an 'entrepreneurial start-up company' without 'formal program plans' (Proscio, 2012b: 35). This style is also evident in relation to the Founding Chairman's category of grants, which is distinct from the programmes of giving established by AP's Board described in the next section. Proscio (2012b) outlines how effectively two different styles of giving operated in parallel at AP under the direction of the Board and Feeney. Two-thirds of annual grants were directed towards activities 'guided by its independent Board of Directors', which often took the form of a 'methodical, planned and long-range approach' (Op.Cit.: iv). These activities 'enjoyed Mr. Feeney's quiet support over the years, but have otherwise received little guidance from him' (Op.Cit.). Through the Founding Chairman's grants Feeney continued to utilise his 'entrepreneurial approach to philanthropy' by 'spotting opportunities and seizing them' (Op.Cit.) and in 'identifying and recommending "big bets" projects' (The Magnum Foundation and The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2014: 28). In his letter to *The Giving Pledge*, Feeney describes how his business career has influenced his philanthropy by noting that 'the same methods of working and values' drive this work and that the same acumen should motivate those engaged in philanthropy (Feeney, 2011: 2). This style was most evident in the latter years of his grant-making whereby he committed AP to donating $350 million to his Alma Mater, Cornell University, as part of a 'competition to create a new high-tech university campus in New York City' (Proscio, 2012b: 17). The retention of this category and style of funding has meant that the original donor continued to retain some control over the direction of the foundation's giving throughout its lifetime.

3.2 Bringing about lasting change?

As previously discussed, at the centre of philanthrocapitalism is a belief that social issues have become so complex that government alone

cannot solve them. Philanthrocapitalists therefore, position themselves as part of the solution to these problems and take on the role of governor in the context of a pluralistic approach to policy development and implementation. While AP spent much of the first two decades of its existence operating anonymously, in the late 1990s Feeney publicly revealed his engagement in philanthropy[29] to *The New York Times* (Miller, 1997). In the years that followed this disclosure, the foundation developed a more strategic and far-reaching approach, which aligned it more closely to philanthrocapitalism. In 2002, after donating a cumulative total of $2.2 billion, the Board formally decided that 'Atlantic would be a limited-life organisation that would complete grantmaking by 2016 and close its doors by 2020' (The Magnum Foundation and The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2014: 28). By committing to a limited life-time, it was hoped that the foundation would have 'the ability to make a critical difference *now*, creating social forces whose benefit to humankind, over time, would exceed even the best financial return on an endowment left perpetually in the hands of investment managers' (Proscio, 2010b: 8). Therefore, as opposed to merely supporting a charitable cause, the foundation aimed to 'shape' or 'make a big difference' to an issue (Schervish, 1997: 86). This was certainly at the forefront of the organisation's board as one Trustee commented 'you're much more likely to make a difference by doing something big right now than by dribbling the money out to the end of time' (Prosico, 2010b: 8).

After committing to becoming a limited life foundation, there was still $3.5 billion remaining in the endowment (The Magnum Foundation and The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2014). In order to maximise the impact of these resources on social issues, the foundation 'began a systematic process of strategic assessment of global opportunities where Atlantic could have

[29] In 1997, a disclosure to the New York Supreme Court by an intermediary working with Feeney and his business partners, of the transfer of ownership of the DFS shares to the foundation meant that Feeney's giving might be revealed. In anticipation of this, it was decided to disclose the nature and extent of Feeney's giving in an interview with *The New York Times* (Miller, 1997). In contrast to Schervish (1997) assertion that invariably a representative of the grantee would be aware of a donor's giving, grantees became aware that they were a beneficent of one generous donor and not as they had been led to believe, 'several generous "clients" who wished to remain anonymous' (Miller, 1997: n.p.).

the greatest and most immediate impact in changing trajectories for disadvantaged and marginalized people, communities and nations' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015a: 9). For the first time, AP established a mission for the organisation - 'to bring about lasting changes that will improve the lives of disadvantaged and vulnerable people' (Op.Cit.). The use of this discourse by the foundation asserts the organisation's intention to have a major impact on the lives of those less well off. In 2003, AP formally adopted four programmes of giving that would become the focus of all of its global giving. The chosen programmes were – Ageing, Children and Youth, Population Health, and Reconciliation and Human Rights. These were chosen based on three main criteria – the areas of expertise of both the staff and board of the foundation, the social needs of the countries where the foundation operated and the ability, in AP's view, 'to make a meaningful, long-term difference' (Proscio, 2010b: 28).

With the setting of both the organisation's strategic direction and the timeline for getting there, the organisation undertook an intensive planning process to determine the work to be undertaken in these four areas. This included setting out the programme goals, developing a strategy to achieve these and the commencement of each of the programme's work. While these plans did not specifically refer to the time limited nature of their activities it was clear that 'there was a sense of urgency and finality to them' (Proscio, 2010b: 29). Primarily, the organisation adopted another feature of philanthrocapitalism - the use of business language and practices (Barkan, 2013; Brest, 2005; Levine, 2016). As previously noted, Feeney approached his philanthropic giving by using the same acumen that guided his business career. The setting out of AP's strategic direction saw the embedding of business language and practices across all of its work. Some of the key features of AP's approach included – engaging in strategic planning with grantees, embedding evaluation, such as the logic model framework in its funded work and leveraging the resources of actors such as governments or other philanthropic foundations. There was a strong focus on 'improving

public policy, which would ultimately affect far more people than the foundation – or even all of philanthropy combined – could accomplish on its own' (Proscio, 2010b: 30). This assertion aligns with the focus of my research, as it could be argued that AP is acting with 'philanthropic governing capacity' or possessing 'enough wealth to impact human well being' by indicating its intention to influence the direction of public policy (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 270).

Over subsequent years, the staff of AP began to build up the programmes of work in their respective thematic areas. However, the multi-year study that AP commissioned the Center for Strategic Philanthropy and Civil Society at Duke University to undertake indicates that, at the same time the organisation was planning for its exit (see Proscio, 2010b; 2012a; 2012b; 2014; 2015). The closure of AP has preoccupied the leadership of the organisation since 2003, with each of the three CEOs, John Healy, Gara LaMarche and Chris Oechsli, setting out their own vision of what the end of AP might look like[30]. A consistent theme in their three differing approaches was ensuring that AP's legacy reflected the organisation's work and grant-making over three decades. In a document titled *Legacy and Purpose*, which *was* endorsed by Feeney, John Healy identified what he envisioned would be the hallmarks of AP's work once it closed (Proscio, 2010b). This included acknowledgement of the value of giving while living, the organisation's focus on the disadvantaged and vulnerable, and an operating style, which was described as 'modest and selfless' (Proscio, 2010b: 26). In 2007, Gara LaMarche took over as CEO. A notable focus of LaMarche's long-term strategy was his belief that that 'we won't have a meaningful legacy…if we don't imagine the end of Atlantic and work back from there' (Prosico,

[30] Similar to Levine's (2016) assertion that foundation leadership is often concentrated amongst the 1 per cent, three out of four of AP's CEOs had a close relationship with Feeney. The first CEO, Harvey Dale, was a long-time business advisor who was instrumental in the setting up of AP and its initial grantmaking. Dale's successor, John Healy was previously head of one of AP's first Irish grantees, the Irish American Partnership and the two developed a close relationship. The third CEO, Gara LaMarche, came from outside of the Foundation. His departure is detailed in a chapter in O'Clery, (2013) titled *Blood on the Floor* and its contents indicates that the choice of an outsider did not end well. AP's final CEO Christopher Oechsli was also a long-time advisor of Feeney and was charged with leading the eventual wind-down of the foundation.

2010b: 25). However, while Healy and LaMarche spent much time planning their vision of the organisation's exit from grant-making (see detailed account in Proscio, 2010b and 2012a), the execution of AP's closure was finally implemented by Christopher Oechsli who became CEO in 2011.

Oechsli's vision for the organisation's legacy is most indicative of the systemic change that AP set out to achieve. Unlike LaMarche, he envisioned a longer-term impact for the organisation's legacy by focusing on imagining 'the world of Atlantic's programs 10 or 15 years *into the future*, and then work back from that' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015: 12). He executed this through the development of a new programme of funding called GOAL (Global Opportunity (A)nd Leverage). The main objective of GOAL was to 'maximise prospects for lasting systemic change that will improve the lives and opportunities of vulnerable and disadvantaged populations within the countries in which we work and across geographic boundaries' (Op.Cit.). The programme had three main elements: 'communicating the lessons to influential audiences, supporting leaders in each field and fostering networks among them, and fortifying leading institutions as "champions" to carry the strongest efforts into the future" (Proscio, 2014: ii). Grants awarded under GOAL would essentially be concerned with maximising 'prospects for lasting *systemic* change' (Proscio, 2014: 2). While these grants would 'harvest the work of the Foundation's past decade…it would not necessarily resemble that work' (Op.Cit.). In many ways GOAL is a further reflection of 'hyperagency', whereby AP aimed to have an impact far beyond their financial donation, which would include shaping 'the institutional framework' of policies governing the lives of them and of others (Schervish, 1997). Furthermore the decision-making around what exactly might be funded by GOAL mirrored what is referred to in the literature as decision-making by a select few elites (Anheier and Leat, 2013; Levine, 2016). All final decision-making on grants was to be taken by Oechsli who believed that it required 'some personal and organizational distance from the management of discrete programs in particular countries' (Prosico, 2015:

2). Thus the work under GOAL took more of a ‘top-down’, (i.e. directed by the CEO) approach as opposed to the ‘bottom up’ (directed by programme staff) approach of the previous decade whereby staff members decided on the specific areas and sub-programmes of work.

In contrast to the discussions which viewed the final stage of the foundation’s existence as focused on a ‘wind-down’ of its existing programmes, GOAL and Oechsli envisioned the conclusion of AP’s grant-making more dramatically. In a post on AP’s website Oechsli (2014) describes how the final stage of the foundation’s grants would bring its work together to a climax:

> Like a symphony, the themes, movements and passages in our prior grantmaking are coming together in a crescendo that we hope will resonate long after the playing of the final note (Oechsli, 2014: n.p.).

The conclusion of the post established a direct move away from the language previously used as Oechsli states:

> Atlantic is not “spending down,” but rather gearing up in focused, intentional and powerful ways to maximise impact, amplify some of the big bets we’ve previously made and capture and share out stories to show what has been, and will be, accomplished. Stay tuned. The symphony is building and there are key movements to come (Op. Cit.).

This extract points to the importance of the use of language and discourse by the foundation in setting out its role in society. The text rejects the language used to date and attempts to distance itself from the phrase “spending down”. Such a phrase constructs an image of there being nothing left. To counteract this, Oechsli (2014) uses words such as ‘up’ ‘maximise’ ‘amplify’ which seek to signify the development of something greater. The imagery of a symphony and its crescendo seeks to evoke the idea that the final actions of the foundation will be memorable and climactic. My research will seek to explore more closely the discourses used in AP’s self-representation.

3.3 The Atlantic Philanthropies: 'a catalytic role' in Ireland

The Atlantic Philanthropies (2015a) describes how Chuck Feeney and his foundation have played what they pronounce as, 'a catalytic role' (p.3) in Ireland. AP's grantmaking in the country began in the late 1980s. At this time the country was experiencing a recession with one in five of the labour force unemployed. A high proportion of the unemployed were male heads of households and possibly the main breadwinner in the family. In 1987, almost one-third of the population was living below the 60 per cent relative poverty line (Callan and Nolan, 1993). Emigration was also high as few employment opportunities meant many young graduates left the country after receiving their qualifications. The Atlantic Philanthropies (2015a) describes how this 'brain drain had potentially devastating implications for Ireland's future' (p. 4). It was this aspect of the recession that the foundation decided to target its initial grantmaking towards in Ireland: the development of a world-class third level education sector. The type of projects it supported included 'academic appointments, research, teaching and learning and the non-academic infrastructure…university libraries, sports facilities and student housing…university fundraising efforts...access programmes for disadvantaged students' (Rhodes and Healy, 2006: 64). The rationale for such a focus was that 'education is the pathway to social advancement and economic prosperity' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015a: 7). At this early phase of its grant-making in Ireland, 93 per cent of AP's funding went towards third level institutions (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015a). During this time funding was also provided to support not-for-profits particularly in the general areas of human rights and social justice.

In line with AP's overall approach to giving, grant-making in Ireland was also conducted anonymously. However, the identity of the donor was less anonymous here than in the US as many 'university presidents and other beneficiaries said they had met Mr Feeney several times' (Miller, 1997: n.p.). Similar to his grant-making in other geographic areas, Feeney initially identified projects to fund in a haphazard and in some respects

serendipitous way. For example, an early beneficiary of funding was the Irish American Partnership, an organisation Feeney read about in a newspaper article. Another early grantee was the University of Limerick (UL) (formerly the National Institute of Higher Education Limerick), whose president, Ed Walsh[31], Feeney first encountered by chance while attending lunch with John Healy the managing director of the aforementioned Irish American Partnership[32]. While the foundation began to develop a more formalized structure in 1990, it continued to operate covertly as Tara Consultants. The organisation's Dublin office was described in a newspaper article, written after the disclosure of Feeney's giving in *The New York Times*, as being an 'unpretentious office on Baggot Street….a brass plaque on the door, marked Tara House…the only indication of the huge financial transactions that occur behind it' (MacCarthaigh, 1997: n.p.).

Over the course of three decades, the foundation awarded 1,029 grants, totalling $1.3 billion, to a wide range of public and not-for-profit organisations in Ireland. The largest proportion of this funding (35 per cent) was directed towards the third level education sector. The Atlantic Philanthropies (2015a) states that the foundation's grant-making in Ireland assisted in 'stimulating a knowledge economy...protecting and expanding human and civil rights' (Op.Cit.: 3). After the adoption of the four main global programme areas in 2003, AP's Irish grant-making began focusing on three of these four areas: Ageing, Children and Youth, and Reconciliation and Human Rights. Implicit in its grantmaking strategy, the foundation wanted to 'ensure quality services for those most in need; bring evidence to bear on policy and practice; and strengthen the voices of the most marginalised communities' (The Atlantic Philanthropies,

[31] A profile piece of Walsh in *The Irish Times* newspaper in 2009 describes him as a consummate academic while at the same time the third-level education sector's greatest critic. The same piece notes that a friend describes Walsh as 'a meritocrat' who believes in 'the virtues of competition and is not influenced by social background' (Holden, 2009: n.p.).
[32] Both of these individuals would play a significant part in AP's operation in Ireland. Healy would later become CEO and President of the AP. Walsh would later become a friend of the philanthropist (O'Clery, 2013) and his university would become AP's top Irish grantee receiving $181m in total over three decades (The Atlantic Philanthropies, n.d.a.).

2015a: 10). Of particular relevance to my own research has been its influence in ‘transforming the design and delivery of services; particularly those targeted towards children (Op.Cit.). A central feature of its work was its engagement with the Irish government as a means of leveraging its funding potential by securing co-funding and governmental support for its projects (e.g. Programme for Research in Third Level Institutions, Prevention and Early Intervention Programme).

As outlined in Chapter Two, Nickel and Eikenberry (2013) acknowledge that philanthropy not only comprises of a financial transaction but it can also include the establishment of relationships such as those with governments. The importance of building relationships with the Irish government and other actors in Ireland is highlighted by Boyle (2016) as he states that a key strength of AP’s work was ‘brokering relationships with and between government agencies and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) and creating neutral, safe spaces where participants could come together and work on resource allocation and delivery targets’ (Boyle, 2016: 3). From the start of its grantmaking in Ireland, AP engaged both indirectly and directly with the Irish government, primarily through the co-funding of projects and programmes of work. For example, its first substantial grant, for $14.8 million, to develop a research facility at the University of Limerick, received matched funding from the government (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015a). However, a more formal partnership between the two actors was later established and this perhaps laid the foundation for future collaboration in the areas of ageing, children and youth policy and service development.

During the early 1990s, government support for third level education was extremely low, with just €2 million available for research and €2.5 million for capital projects for all seven universities. At this time, AP experienced an increase in liquidity, following the sale of the DFS shares, and it decided to begin discussions with the Irish government to develop a co-funded programme of financial support for the university sector. The outcome of these discussions led to the establishment of the Programme

for Research in Third Level Institutions (PRTLI) a programme aimed at 'strengthening the capacity of Irish universities to undertake basic research of international quality' (Rhodes and Healy, 2006: 65). The initial proposal was for both AP and the Irish government to provide matched funding of IR£75 million each. Over three cycles of funding, approximately IR£605 million was targeted towards research in universities, with AP providing almost one third of the total amount. O'Clery (2013: 270) describes this as 'the biggest single act of education philanthropy in modern Europe'. This is supported by reference in The Atlantic Philanthropies (2015a: 8) to data quoted by the European Commission which states that the initiative resulted in 'a threefold increase in the research base, and in 50 companies where impact has been validated, a commercial impact of €754m [$964.4m]'. This provides a further illustration of AP's exertion of hyperagency. The funding provided did not just lead to increased research activity but it further shaped the institutional framework that the research exists within by creating a commercial output and value.

O'Clery (2013) provides some interesting insights into the relationship between AP and the Irish government in developing the PRTLI. This includes how initial meetings between the two entities were held in secret and left unrecorded in writing so that they would not be subject to freedom of information requests. Furthermore, he recounts how a change of Minister at the Department of Education led to a policy shift towards those experiencing educational disadvantage as the funding of universities was seen to be supporting 'bastions of privilege' (O'Clery, 2013: 274). This resulted in a pause in funding for the PRTLI, which was not well received by AP or Feeney. Healy recounts to the author a meeting with the then Taoiseach whereby AP effectively provided an ultimatum:

> 'I said we didn't have to spend our money in Ireland, and "if you're not going to continue in a serious way, then we'll pull out'' the Taoiseach replied "this is something we can resolve"' (O'Clery, 2013: 274).

The funding for the initiative was subsequently reinstated. However, this anecdote reveals some worrying aspects about the collaboration. The first relates to the lack of transparency in recording meetings between the two. The second concerns the influence that AP had on the government in forcing it to maintain funding for PRTLI.

My research considers whether AP represents itself as having the role of governor in the achievement of its goal 'to bring lasting improvements in the lives of disadvantaged' children and young people through 'demonstrating that prevention and early intervention are effective' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2005: 10). In particular, I examine texts about this funding to identify how AP represents its role. Collaboration with the Irish government was a cornerstone to achieving this goal. The perceived success of the PRTLI has meant that since 2012 the two actors have co-funded 19 projects across AP's priority areas of children and youth, and ageing. These projects have benefited from a total of almost €360 million, with €260 million being provided from public finances. Boyle (2016: 3) identifies three main features of this collaboration: 'the development of a partnership approach, the development and use of evidence, and the reform of service delivery'. The influence of the work co-funded by AP is referred to in recent programmes for government (Government of Ireland, 2007; 2011; 2016). Boyle (2016) highlights the value of Programme for Government commitments, noting that it 'gives an impetus for reform at both political and official level' (Boyle, 2016: 6). Therefore not only does this reform receive support from civil servants, but an acknowledgement from the elected government of the day to pursue an approach advocated by the foundation. Furthermore, an acknowledgement in a publicly scrutinised document, such as the Programme for Government, and one that the government will be held accountable to, confers a degree of legitimacy on AP as partner in the implementation of policy. AP's influence extended beyond politicians to public servants also as Proscio (2014: 21) highlights that an official in the Department of Health stated that they were 'a logical partner…a very authoritative voice for good policy. They have a lot of expertise on board, and the credibility of

someone who's independent'. The trustworthiness that the official in the Department of Health affords to AP lends a sense of legitimacy to AP's role in funding such work.

According to reports commissioned and funded by AP, a major legacy of its grant-making in Ireland has been its influence on policy-making driven by evidence and service delivery reform. Proscio (2012b: 20) describes how 'the principles of evidence-based practice and early intervention had become all but trademarks' of AP's work in Ireland. Boyle and Shannon (2018) emphasise that AP insisted that 'evaluation be built into co-funded investments from the start' (p.44) and this was written into the Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) agreed with government. The focus on evidence to prove the impact of AP's grants was seen to be critical in terms of influencing and garnering support from the Department of Public Expenditure Reform and private funders (Healy and Keogh, 2014). Evidence-based policymaking to influence practice and collaboration with government is most apparent in AP's prevention and early intervention funding. The use of evidence was a cornerstone of the development of programmes supported by this funding and they were subjected to 'the most extensive and rigorous evaluations in the history of the Irish state' (Proscio, 2014: 20-1). The type of evidence supported by AP not only included evaluation but also initiating large scale data gathering projects such as Growing up in Ireland, The Longitudinal Study on Ageing (TILDA) and the Irish non-profit database, Benefacts (see Chapter One for an example of the type of data Benefacts generates).

Most significant in driving forward an evidence agenda was the setting up of the Centre for Effective Services (CES), a self-defined 'think and do tank' which reflected its 'emphasis on practical outcomes' (Kiely and Meade, 2018: 8). The latter entity received mixed reviews in the interviews conducted with civil servants as part of the IPA study (Boyle, 2016). While the CES' work connected to the Department of Children and Youth Affairs has been viewed as influential, work on policy issues in the areas of education and community development 'were less well regarded

by policymakers' (Op.Cit., 30). Other concerns raised related to 'outsourcing policy knowledge and expertise, which… might be better located within government to build up capacity there rather than with a separate body' (Op.Cit.). There has been a general sense amongst public servants that CES acts as an intermediary by making research relevant and useable to practitioners and policymakers. The impact of new approaches and the use of evidence was influential in feeding 'into wider government reform initiatives that seek to enhance the evidence base such as comprehensive reviews of expenditure and the operation of the Irish government economic and evaluation service' (Boyle, 2016: 4). Service delivery reform has amongst other things included 'a stronger focus on commissioning and competing for outcomes' (Op.Cit.). Boyle (2016: 4) found in his research that while policymaking and service delivery was heading in this direction, the contribution of AP made 'things happen more quickly and more comprehensively than they would have otherwise'. Overall, public servants commend that evidence has improved and its use to show programme effectiveness can support the scaling up of successful interventions (Boyle, 2017).

The move towards evidence-based policymaking in Ireland merits further consideration given that this approach is being adopted across the globe. Kiely and Meade (2018) examine this phenomenon in the context of the youth work field. They argue that this move towards evidence coincided with the economic collapse and a pre-occupation 'with effectiveness and value for money in the public and welfare fields' which 'were becoming live political issues at that time and they would intensify as austerity became entrenched' (Op.Cit., 8). The influence of the use of evidence is best summed up by Kiely and Meade's (2018: 9) conclusion that the 'expectation that policy and practice must / will be evidence-based has become hegemonic in Ireland'. Drawing on critical assessment of evidence-based approaches in the wider literature, they highlight that it can be referred to as 'a slogan' and 'the rhetorical effect of which is to discredit oppositional or dissenting approaches' (Kiely and Meade, 2018: 9).

The focus on commissioning, which has also become part of service delivery reform in Ireland driven by AP's funding, has been criticised by members of the community and voluntary sector. Two leading organisations within the sector, The Wheel and Clann Credo, published a report (O'Connor, 2016) on this issue, the impetus for which is noted as follows: 'the current drift in policy towards a commissioning model focused on minimising public-spending may compromise the quality of services and threaten the viability of the community and voluntary sector itself' (Op.Cit.: 1). Furthermore, the final report from the IPA study comments that 'there is a danger that when Atlantic exits the scene, the trials and evaluation will diminish as budgets tighten and the emphasis is on spending money to maximise services and keeping the business going' (Boyle and Shannon, 2018: 45). This poses questions about the sustainability of AP's approach to service delivery and the commitment from government to continuing this way of doing things.

3.4 Critiquing the role of philanthropy in Irish democracy

To fully understand the impact that AP has had in Ireland, it is useful to situate it within wider philanthropic activity in the country. During the years of AP's active grantmaking, philanthropic giving was comparatively lower than in other European countries. As noted in Chapter One, Ireland has a comparatively lower number of foundations with just 0.7 per 100,000 versus the European average of 20 (Forum on Philanthropy and Fundraising, 2012). The Community Foundation for Ireland (2019) estimates that there are currently between 50 and 100 active grantmaking organisations versus 8,000 in the United Kingdom. AP has been a dominant feature in terms of the annual level of philanthropic giving for the past three decades (see also Benefacts, 2017; 2018 and 2019). The dominance of AP as a funder is highlighted by the fact that the foundation's exit was predicted to result in a fall in funding of between $40 and $50 million annually (Proscio, 2012b: 24). There was also a high dependency on AP funding by grantees in Ireland. Grantees were classified by AP as being 'dependent' if one-third or more of their budget

was received from the foundation (Proscio, 2012a, 2012b). An analysis of the funding received by AP's Irish grantees undertaken between 2005 and 2007 found that 60 per cent received one-third or more of their budgets from the foundation. This is compared to 35 per cent of AP's global grantees receiving this level of funding. The loss of funding, therefore, as AP scaled back its operation and prepared to exit, has meant that without alternative sources of funding, many organisations had to close, reduce staff numbers and cutback programmes of work (Crosbie, 2013).

A second foundation, which provided significant funding to non-governmental organisations in Ireland, is *The One Foundation,* which was set up by Declan Ryan. It had a more limited lifetime than AP, only operating for a ten-year period between 2004 and 2013. The alignment of objectives of both AP and The One Foundation in the area of children and youth and in the area of immigration made collaboration a logical endeavour. In Proscio's (2010a: ii) account of the collaboration between the two organisations, it is noted that their partnership was not deliberate, but merely 'from a calculation that philanthropy in Ireland represents a tiny percentage of resources affecting children and immigrants, and that foundations are much more likely to influence large public systems by working in concert than by pursuing separate unrelated agendas'. More specifically, this collaboration aimed to 'improve the effectiveness of public expenditure' (Op.Cit.). While there was no formal written agreement in place with regard to the two organisations' collaboration, the boards of both had approved the funding relationship. Proscio (2010a) details the collaborative relationship between the organisations and clearly indicates their different approaches to grantmaking. This included how they differed in their processes of determining what organisations would receive grant funding and their reporting requirements of grantees. While they agreed on funding work in the broad area of children and youth, AP favoured an approach that included testing innovative solutions of service provision while The One Foundation focused on 'pursuing policy change and improved service through

investments in organisations and delivery mechanisms' (Proscio, 2010a: 4). Despite this difference in approach, the two organisations jointly invested €60 million in grantees common to them both between 2004 and 2010.

While more general research on philanthropy in Ireland has been largely descriptive as opposed to analytical[33], The One Foundation was the focus of perhaps the only in-depth critical analysis of philanthropy in Ireland. McCrea's (2014) PhD thesis focuses on the relationship between The One Foundation and the Migrant Rights Centre of Ireland (MRCI). In her review of the Irish literature on philanthropy, McCrea (2014) draws heavily on the work of Donoghue (2004) who develops an 'analysis of the roles and identities of foundations in Ireland' (McCrea, 2014: 26). In her analysis of Donoghue's research contribution, McCrea identifies an important gap, as she states that 'many of the deeper political questions at stake in the growth of foundation philanthropy remain unexplored' (p.44). McCrea (2014) makes an important contribution to addressing this gap through her own research as she seeks 'to evaluate the philanthropy-community work relationship' (p.6) in the context of her own commitment to equality of condition that is 'to eliminate…or at least massively to reduce the current scale of inequality' (Baker, Lynch, Cantillon and Walsh, 2004: 33 quoted in McCrea, 2014: 6). Her central research question explores the relationship between a venture philanthropy foundation (The One Foundation), and a grantee grounded in community work amongst the migrant community (MRCI). She identifies the tensions between these two, which are also recognised by the foundation itself as its CEO commented 'One and MRCI would not be natural allies (One = business links, Ryanair/non union associations etc.) but we have managed to forge an alliance anyway' (McCrea, 2014: 126)[34]. Amongst

[33]Research conducted to date includes establishing the landscape of philanthropic foundations in Ireland (Donoghue, 2004), quantifying the annual level of philanthropic giving (McKinsey and Company, 2009) and small-scale research projects profiling specific types of philanthropic giving such as corporate giving (UCD Marketing Development Programme, 2014) and small grants schemes (Philanthropy Ireland, 2013).

[34] Part of the endowment of the One Foundation came from the assets of Ryanair with its co-founder, Declan Ryan an heir to this fortune (Proscio, 2010a). The airline has in the past been

her findings, McCrea (2014) concludes MRCI's strong community development ethos 'set it apart from the rationalities of its funder' (p. 258), that The One Foundation influenced MRCI moving from a flatter to hierarchical structure of decision-making, as well as encouraging a more 'progressively assertive' public discourse about its unique approach (p. 259).

Insights about AP have mainly been garnered via research commissioned by the foundation itself (Proscio, 2010a; 2010b; 2012a; 2012b; 2014 and 2015) or reports written by those with a close association with the organisation (Rhodes and Healy, 2006)[35]. There is no independent research published on the collaboration between AP and the Irish government. At the conclusion of its grantmaking in Ireland, the Institute of Public Administration was awarded two grants totalling almost $300,000 to 'review the extent to which Atlantic's investments have influenced government policy' and 'to examine Atlantic's approach of working with government to influence policy and practice by monitoring co-investments until 2017' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, n.d.a.). While the publications from this initiative provide a valuable insight into the collaboration, through the analysis of information from interviews with key actors involved in collaborative work with AP, the funding of the research by AP means critical independent analysis is lacking (Boyle, 2016, 2017 and Boyle and Shannon, 2018). Therefore, while the author concludes that 'Atlantic has made a significant contribution to influencing government policy and practice' (Boyle, 2016: 3), it is difficult to ascertain how independent this insight is. Furthermore, the objectives of the research project fail to explore the consequences of this collaboration, for instance providing a more critical analysis of the influence AP had on the Irish government. As part of the wider IPA project, a roundtable discussion was held in April 2017 (Boyle, 2017). Senior civil servants, civil society actors and those engaged in philanthropy were in attendance. A

well-known for resisting the recognition of union representation although this has changed in recent years (Topham, 2018).

[35] The authors of this article on the PRTLI programme, are the former Chairman and the Chief Executive of the foundation.

report about the event provided ‘information on the views of participants on the benefits and challenges associated with government and philanthropy partnership’ (Boyle, 2017: 4). While the paper provides some interesting insights, it fails to challenge or explore the legitimacy of the collaboration. A similar approach is evident in two publications commissioned by AP which provide a global analysis of the foundation’s collaboration with government (Fiester, 2017a, 2017b). In his foreword to the first of these reports, Christopher Oechsli describes their purpose as being ‘to examine the different ways Atlantic engaged with government to achieve common goals. Which strategies and tactics worked? Which didn’t? What obstacles did we, or grantees, and government colleagues encounter?’ (Fiester, 2017a: n.p.). The primary shortcoming with the research published to date is that it begins with the premise that there is much to be learned from the collaborative approach between AP and government and it fails to consider normative questions about this relationship.

Media coverage of Feeney and AP has primarily portrayed their grantmaking as a benign gift to Irish society (some examples include MacCarthaigh, 1997; O’Clery, 2003, 2017; Cullen, 2012). However, a number of incidents have led to more negative commentary along with critical observations in parliamentary debates in the Houses of the Oireachtas. These events have largely centred on Chuck Feeney and AP’s engagement in political and democratic affairs. In 2015, The Irish Times newspaper published an in-depth report on the top American donors to Sinn Féin. The report revealed that the top donor, Chuck Feeney, had given ‘Friends of Sinn Féin’ $780,000 over a 20-year period, mainly to ‘fund the setting up of the party’s office in Washington’ (Carswell, 2015: n.p.). The donations were mainly from Feeney himself with $385,000 recorded as being donated from General Atlantic Group Ltd. and $15,000 from Americans for Peace in Ireland (Op.Cit.). O’Clery’s (2013) biography provides details of Chuck Feeney’s involvement with

the Northern Ireland peace process[36] and he describes how Feeney's this was 'applauded by the White House' (p.192). While a review of AP's comprehensive online grant database provides no evidence that the foundation itself gave money to the party, Feeney's commitment to this political cause was most likely influential in how it directed its funding in Northern Ireland with over half a billion dollars in grants designated to this region from 1991 to 2014. Work funded by AP included peace building and post-conflict initiatives. Over one-quarter of the funding provided ($154 million) was targeted towards projects in the area of reconciliation and human rights (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015b).

A controversy which could be viewed as being related to Feeney's association with Sinn Féin, emerged in 2005 when there was much negative media and Oireachtas commentary regarding the head of an AP-funded organisation, the Centre for Public Inquiry (CPI) (see Hennessy, 2005a; 2005b; Anderson, 2005). With a commitment of €4 million in funding over a five-year period, the CPI is described in AP's 2004 Annual Report as providing an opportunity 'to further the general spirit of Atlantic's philanthropic mission' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2005: 22). Established in February 2005, the aim of the CPI was 'to independently promote the highest standards of integrity, ethics and accountability' in business and political affairs and 'to investigate and publicise breaches of those standards where they ar[o]se' (Centre for Public Inquiry, n.d.). The work and funding of the CPI was outside AP's three main funding programmes in operation in Ireland, and according to O'Clery (2013) the setting up and funding of the organisation was strongly

[36] This involvement originally came about due to Feeney's friendship with Niall O'Dowd a well-known Irish-American who recruited the philanthropist as part of 'a small delegation of respected Irish-American figures to act as amateur envoys to help promote a dialogue among the three governments [Irish, British and American] and all the parties in Northern Ireland' (p. 186). Similar to his description of the early days of Feeney's career, O'Clery (2013) relays O'Dowd's account of the two men's trip to meet Sinn Féin leader, Gerry Adams, in a similar fashion to a thriller rather than a biography:

> 'They knocked on the door of a two-story house with a small garden in front. A large man came to the door and eyed the two men with suspicion. "What do youse want?" he asked. "Are youse peelers [police]?"…O'Dowd had gotten the address wrong…."Then the completely insane thing is, we're out on the street, who comes by in a big reinforced armoured taxi by Gerry Adams"….The doors of the taxi open from the inside and they climbed in and sped off. "We were in fits laughing".(p.188).

driven by Feeney[37]. The centre's initial areas of work examined a number of public controversies[38]. However, it was the background of its Director, Frank Connolly, particularly his alleged involvement with republicanism, which caused the most negative media and political commentary. O'Clery (2013: 227) indicates that prior to the commencement of CPI's work, AP were aware but 'had overlooked these claims'. While both the then Taoiseach and Tánaiste met and outlined their concerns about Connolly to Feeney and John Healy, it was not until the Tánaiste made a statement in the Dáil regarding Connolly that the organisation decided to pull the CPI's funding which subsequently led to its closure. The controversy garnered much political and media attention with many newspaper articles noting AP and Feeney's connection with CPI. In the aftermath of the controversy, questions about the legitimacy of AP were raised:

> The idea of a foreign "philanthropist" sticking his nose and his dollars into the affairs of a sovereign nation, as Chuck Feeney has done in funding the centre, is to my mind deeply unhealthy. If Mr Feeney wished to fund Frank Connolly in his investigative efforts, he might more properly have financed a newspaper or magazine to take its place in the marketplace of ideas, rather than instituting a watchdog body which could cloak itself in an aura of objectivity and claim a higher ground than the merely journalistic (Waters, 2006: n.p).

Waters (2006) raises issues similar to those identified in the previous chapter by Sievers (2010), Anheier and Leat (2013) and Nickel and Eikenberry (2010) regarding the legitimacy of decision-making of philanthropic organisations. Yet aside from Waters' (2006) article, much of the media commentary about the CPI focused on what Connolly may or may not have done and the use of parliamentary privilege in the Dáil by McDowell to discredit him (Anderson, 2005; Hennessy, 2005b).

AP's involvement in two referendum campaigns, as described in Chapter One, has resulted in similar criticism from those opposing this support. In

[37] While AP's entire archive has been donated to Cornell University a perusal of the contents shows no record of the CPI (Cornell University Library, n.d.).
[38] Reports published by the CPI during its operation included *The Great Corrib Gas Controversy* and *Trim Castle, A Monument to Bad Planning?* At the time of its closure the Centre had also commenced work on property transactions in the Dublin Docklands.

the 2015 Marriage Referendum, the contentious nature of the campaign led to critical political and media commentary with regard to the perceived support from AP in passing the referendum. Writing in The Irish Times, Breda O'Brien, a weekly columnist and patron of the Iona Institute (an 'interdenominational Christian group' opposing the marriage referendum) highlighted the levels of funding provided by AP for organisations involved in Yes Equality. This included over $11m directed towards the Irish Council for Civil Liberties, $4.5m for the Gay and Lesbian Equality Network (GLEN) and just under half a million for Marriage Equality. Highlighting AP's focus on this specific policy area, rather than more 'traditional' philanthropic endeavours, O'Brien (2015a) states:

> This is not Atlantic Philanthropies funding a hospital or school. This is foreign money being systematically invested to change public opinion, to deliver seamlessly a Yes in a referendum that has enormous consequences for family law for generations (O'Brien, 2015a: n.p.).

O'Brien's (2015b) article the following week seeks to attribute funding of €8m provided by AP to the Child and Family Agency, Tusla, as a motivation for the agency cutting €400,000 from funding for marriage counselling. She refers to the unaccountable nature of the foundation stating 'Atlantic Philanthropies, found everywhere in Irish society but remaining absolutely unaccountable' (O'Brien, 2015b: n.p). Further criticism was raised in the Houses of the Oireachtas, where Senator Ronan Mullen, who also opposed the marriage referendum, asked 'Is such massive bankrolling of social change in Ireland up to and including securing a particular result in a referendum wrong? It absolutely is.' (Kelly, 2015: n.p.).

The issues raised by both Mullen and O'Brien merit wider debate and consideration, but they have not led to a greater deal of scrutiny by academics, politicians or journalists. This may be partly due to the fact that there was widespread public support for the Marriage Referendum (it later passed with a 62% yes vote) and those criticising AP were individuals on the opposite side of the debate. Boyle (2016: 40) supports

this assertion as he states in relation to the incident 'it can be seen by those opposed as undue interference in the policy process'. However, in reference to the fact that data is available on AP's website of all grants awarded by the organisation, he goes on to state '(i)n such contentious cases it is important that there is transparency of philanthropic funding and clarity about its uses' (Op.Cit.). The debates around the Electoral Act 1997, and the proposed development of a strategy on philanthropy, as outlined in Chapter One, provide the opportune time to consider more critically the role that philanthropy has played to date in Ireland and more particularly the foundation's self-representation of its role.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have situated AP within the broader research and literature on philanthropy both internationally and in Ireland. In particular, I identify how AP has adopted some of the main features of philanthrocapitalism. This includes the use of business practices as a means of tackling social issues as well as an acknowledgement that government alone cannot solve social problems. Chuck Feeney's entrepreneurial business style has had a strong influence on how AP operates through his assertion that philanthropists should adopt the same acumen and methods as their business career. Furthermore, collaborating with government is acknowledgement that neither philanthropy nor government alone can solve social issues. In my analysis of AP's funding of prevention and early intervention initiatives, I explore how these characteristics are enacted in both its representation of the 'problems' it is seeking to address and in its self-representation. AP's influence in promoting the development of evidence-based policy making in Ireland is a hallmark of the work it has funded and the prominence of CES as a body charged with driving this agenda forward is central to this. I consider how AP incorporates this into the discourses used in its texts about its prevention and early intervention funding and how these initiatives are delivered.

Given the level of involvement that AP has had in political and democratic activities in Ireland, through its distribution of $1.3 billion in funding, it is essential that independent critical research be conducted to consider the consequences for Irish democracy. Yet despite this fact, there is a dearth of independent analytical research on the role of philanthropy in the context of Irish democracy, particularly that coming from a more critical standpoint. McCrea (2014) has partially filled this gap with her analysis of the relationship between the One Foundation and the MRCI. My research aims to further address this gap, by undertaking 'a closer reading of the values, discourses and practices' (McCrea, 2014: 45) of AP through an analysis of texts about its prevention and early intervention initiatives. Through an examination of this incidence of AP's funding I will focus on a closer examination of how AP's enacts its self-representation and, in particular, whether it seeks to adopt the role of governor.

Chapter Four: Undertaking an Analysis of Philanthropic Discourses

4.0 Introduction

In Chapter One, I refer to Prewitt's (2006) assertion that the rhetoric used by foundations in their annual reports means they often read like campaign documents. This suggests that philanthrocapitalists and their foundations carefully craft what they say about their work. In this chapter, I outline my methodological approach to studying AP's use of discourse in selected texts about their prevention and early intervention funding. Through an examination of this instance of AP's funding in Ireland, I consider how the foundation shapes the problems it seeks to address and its self-representation of its role in responding to these problems. Of particular concern to my research is how AP enacts its role as a philanthrocapitalist foundation.

I begin this chapter by providing an account of my own positionality and how my professional experience has influenced my decision to carry out this study. I outline the insider knowledge I have gained from working both in and alongside AP-funded Non-Governmental Organisations. These insights have shaped my process of analysis (Jager and Maier, 2009) and have had an important influence on my decision to carry out this particular piece of research. Therefore, I make explicit my own standpoint and the context I bring to the research and my analysis.

Taking up McCrea's (2014) challenge to give more careful consideration and examination to the discourses used by philanthropic foundations, I outline the use of discourse analysis as a method of inquiry. Documents developed independent of this research offer the opportunity to gain an understanding of how AP uses discourses to represent the problems it is seeking to address, as well as its self-representation of its own role in addressing them. Bacchi's (2009) *What's the Problem Represented to*

be? (WPR) framework informs the approach I take to analysing the selected texts. Questions one and two in the WPR framework provide a means of both interrogating the 'problems' AP's prevention and early intervention funding seeks to tackle, and their self-representation.

Given the relevance of my professional career to this research topic, I outline the main ethical themes considered throughout the research process (Spicker, 2007). The institutional framework governing research in UCC and the circumstances under which ethical approval should be sought, is also discussed. In the final section of this chapter I describe how I selected the empirical focus of my research. This includes describing the sampling process and the main features of the selected texts.

4.1 The politics of the researcher

My own professional experience to date as a policy analyst and researcher working in the Irish public, private and not for profit sectors has influenced my decision to undertake this research. In this section, I make explicit how and where this experience situates me in relation to this study. Bryman (2012) describes an important aspect of carrying out social research, that is, 'the way in which *politics* (in the non-party political sense of the working-through of power and contests over its exercise) plays an important role' (Bryman, 2012: 150). The ethical guidelines developed by the UK-based Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) (2015), are perhaps most direct in naming what these political issues may be. In the six key principles they set down for ethical research, two points in particular are relevant for my own research: 'the independence of research should be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality should be explicit' and 'research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure recognised standards of integrity are met, and quality and transparency are assured' (ESRC, 2015: 4). The first of these principles is perhaps, the most significant 'political' issue I must deal with in my research: the positionality of the researcher. Baarts (2009: 432) describes how 'ethical research requires personal authenticity in the way

one positions oneself in relation to the subject matter'. The researcher's knowledge extends not just to 'scientific knowledge' but also to 'insight into the role and status of the subject matter in society' (Op.Cit.: 433). This insight can be gained not from texts or journal articles but through the social capital of employment networks or the experience of working in organisations funded by or connected to the research topic.

Researchers carrying out discourse analysis should 'be clear about the fact that [t]he[i]r position is also the result of discursive practice' (Jager and Maier, 2009: 34). Later in this chapter, I outline the methodological approach to carrying out my research including the incorporation of Carol Bacchi's *What's the Problem Represented to be?* (WPR) framework in how I carry out discourse analysis. As part of this framework, Bacchi urges the researcher to interrogate their own positionality by applying the WPR questions to 'one's *own* proposals and problem representations' (Bacchi, and Goodwin, 2016: 24). Bacchi (2009: 19) argues that reflexivity is required 'because we are immersed in the conceptual logics of our era and because who we are…is at least in part shaped through the very problem representations we are trying to analyse'. McCrea (2014) acknowledges similar issues in her PhD and, in setting out the methodological approach to her research, details her professional connections to the organisations under study. Of particular relevance to my own positionality, McCrea worked within the sector she undertook her research in. Her research was therefore partially shaped by informal insider knowledge gained through exchanges at meetings she was part of in her professional work within the migrant sector (see McCrea, 2014: 16-17, 92). McCrea makes explicit her positionality and therefore ensures the reader is presented with a full picture of where the researcher is coming from. Consequently, in this section I refer to my knowledge and exposure to AP and to the empirical focus of my research.

In the context of this doctoral research, I acknowledge that my professional experience has allowed me to gain informal insider knowledge about AP. For over a decade and a half I have worked as a

policy analyst and researcher in the public, private and not-for-profit sectors in Ireland. I recall first hearing about AP in 2004 while working for a national anti-poverty network, OPEN, which represented local lone parent groups in Ireland. OPEN was in receipt of a grant from AP prior to the foundation setting out its strategic programmes of funding. Part of the purpose of the grant was to employ a policy worker who would undertake and commission research and this was the role I undertook with the organisation. During my time in this role, I was privy to conversations with colleagues in other NGOs who were in receipt of funding and interest from philanthropic foundations. In particular, I recall conversations about The One Foundation, who at the time appeared to operate under the radar researching organisations that aligned with their priorities. Other organisations in the sector began to talk about undertaking strategic planning and increasing their professional staff numbers, particularly in the areas of advocacy and communications, reflecting a move towards the use of business language and approaches.

In 2006, I left OPEN and spent two years working as a researcher in the public sector. This was followed by two years working in the private sector as a management consultant. Through this work, I was often involved in developing tenders for large-scale evaluation work for AP funded projects, particularly in the area of children's services. During these four years, while I was no longer employed in the community and voluntary sector, I continued to observe the work of NGOs and how they were funded both by the state and philanthropic actors. In particular, I observed the setting up of new NGOs and the continued growing professionalisation of the sector. For example, against the backdrop of cuts in funding to statutory bodies in the areas of equality and human rights, a civil society campaign, the Equality and Rights Alliance (ERA), was set up to promote the protection of equality and human rights[39]. This campaign subsequently received funding from AP enabling it to employ a worker and pursue an advocacy agenda.

[39] Crowley, (2010) provides a detailed account of the cuts made to the budget of the Equality Authority. Notably this book's publication was funded by AP.

In 2010, as the recession began to take hold, I was made redundant from my role in the private sector. Prior to this occurring, I had successfully applied to undertake an MA in Political and Public Communications at Dublin City University (DCU). At the same time, Philanthropy Ireland, the membership organisation for philanthropic and fundraising organisations in Ireland, and Clann Credo, a social finance company, launched the Ray Murphy Bursary Award for postgraduate students to undertake research in the area of philanthropy or social finance[40]. Unsure of my employment prospects in a deepening recession, I applied for this award and was successful. In my application I proposed to undertake research focusing on philanthropic 'investment' in advocacy work in Ireland. My own use of the word 'invest' was influenced by the use of this word by existing philanthropic foundations, and my intention was perhaps to utilise a language that would be familiar to the panel of assessors. For my primary research, I interviewed policy practitioners from NGOs engaged in advocacy work some of which were philanthropically funded. I also interviewed political actors and senior figures in foundations. Interviewees were revealing in their criticism and promotion of philanthropic funding as a means of achieving policy change through advocacy. My conclusion was welcoming of philanthropic funding in this area, declaring Feeney's gift to AP altruistic, but also cautionary in that policy proposals on reform of the tax and regulatory environment being advocated at the time were focused on the reciprocal nature of philanthropy. I also noted the controlled way in which philanthropy gives back its wealth to tackle the very inequality that its origins created (Feely, 2011). However, given the source of funding for my bursary I was perhaps cautious in the strength of my level of criticism in general about philanthropy in Ireland.

In 2012, I returned to work in the community and voluntary sector on a part-time basis for a philanthropically funded campaigning organisation called Start Strong. This organisation's funding came predominantly from

[40] The award was for a scholarship of €10,000 and a fee waiver from DCU.

AP, with the remainder coming from two other philanthropic foundations. The purpose of this organisation was to engage in advocacy in relation to the development of a national early years strategy and the need for increased government investment in early childhood care and education. During my time at Start Strong, I was asked to attend a three-day meeting in New York as part of the *Trans-Atlantic Forum on Inclusive Early Years*. This forum was set up and funded by AP and other European and American philanthropic organisations (King Baudouin Foundation, 2018)[41]. For me as a policy analyst, it was a real-life observation of how philanthropy can seek to adopt the role of governor as the meeting invited senior decision makers from the European Union and the US government to discuss the latest policy developments and how they could be influenced. At the end of my contract with Start Strong, I took up a full-time senior policy role in Age Action, a charity for older people. Unlike others engaged in work in the area of ageing, Age Action was not in receipt of philanthropic funding from AP. Finally, Barnardos, the organisation I have most recently worked for, has received in excess of $15 million of funding from AP during the period 1991 to 2013 (The Atlantic Philanthropies, n.d.a). Much of this funding has been used to develop services for children and families using a prevention and early intervention approach. The organisation had also in the past received significant funding for its advocacy and campaigning work.

My professional experience to date indicates that in undertaking research in this area there are what Desmond (2004: 265) refers to as 'relations of power connecting the researcher, researched and the research findings' and that they are 'a significant point of consideration'. This means that my previous and existing professional relationships matter with regard to the knowledge developed during the research process. Therefore, my experience provides me with an insight into philanthropy in Ireland that I cannot glean from a book. I am privy to the experience and opinions, both

[41] The purpose of the Forum was to facilitate the exchange of the 'newest research results, strategies, policies, innovations and best practices and create the opportunity to scale-up existing knowledge and evidence based research' (King Baudouin Foundation, 2018: n.p).

good and bad, regarding philanthropic funding in Irish civil society, including a critical analysis of AP's role in advancing its objectives in Ireland. My positionality provides a particular lens through which I carry out this research and thus generate findings. However, should my research develop findings that are critical of philanthropy what impact could this have on my existing professional relationships? While AP has ceased operating, the personnel still work within the foundation sector and could be potential future colleagues. For this reason, I was reluctant to undertake an ethnographic analysis and chose to undertake an examination of the use of language and discourse by AP in shaping the problems its funding wished to address and how it represents its role in responding to these.

4.2 Approach Adopted to the Empirical Research

In the previous section I outlined how I have interacted both directly and indirectly with philanthropic organisations in Ireland. As part of my acknowledgement of the influence this experience has had on my approach to this research, I reject the idea that there is one objective reality or way of viewing philanthropy. I accept that the meaning I develop about philanthropy is constructed through my own interactions with it, and through the literature I have engaged with. In Chapter Two I highlight that philanthropy is 'in a constant state of revision" (Bryman quoted in Grix, 2010: 61). This is particularly apparent as its original meaning and operation has been both influenced and reshaped by capitalism and neoliberal state policies in the last number of decades. Therefore, my awareness of AP's emphasis on the use of business methods and the collection of evidence connects with the corresponding literature on philanthrocapitalism and the use of a marketized discourse by philanthropic organisations (Bishop and Green, 2009; Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009). Taking a constructivist approach, I take into consideration time and space as researchers in this tradition are concerned with 'the specific contexts in which people live and work in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants' (Creswell, 2013:8). Applying this to my own research, I focus on the

specific context in which AP has operated, that is within the increased growth of philanthrocapitalism and a philanthropic sector in Ireland that has a comparatively lower level of funding than other countries.

My own professional experience means I am coming to this research with some assertions about AP and its operation as a philanthrocapitalist organisation. Despite these assertions, through the adoption of a qualitative methodology, I employ an inductive approach by developing theory from my research findings, rather than testing a specific hypothesis. The use of a qualitative methodology allows a more flexible approach, as researchers in this tradition are 'constantly reading and responding to whatever happens in the moment' as well as moving 'from specific to general and circular, alternating back and forth between data, analysis and literature' (Minichello and Kottler, 2010: 10). Therefore, while my first task was to review the literature on philanthropy I returned to this at various stages, including following my review of the texts and documents written about and by AP, my identification of the empirical focus of my research and during my analysis of the selected texts. Qualitative research allows for the exploration of the meaning ascribed to a social phenomenon. This meaning is often gathered through the use of interview or observation techniques (Creswell, 2014). For researchers, an interview acts as an 'informant' and as a means of accessing 'some reality' about, for instance, the social world (O'Rourke, 2009). Outside of an interview setting, the analysis of texts can facilitate an examination of natural settings, as they have often been developed prior to, and independent of, the research process. Documentary analysis allows the researcher to uncover meaning through the words of participants captured in texts (Creswell, 2009). By analysing documents produced by AP independent of this research, I can interrogate the language and words of the foundation and analyse the discourse/s about the problems their funding is addressing and their role in responding to these.

The analysis of documents and texts in research about philanthropic foundations has been limited. However, three studies using such an

approach have focused on how philanthropic organisations use discourse as a means of establishing their self-representation (Jensen, 2013, Eikenberry, 2005, Wirgau et al, 2010). In all three of these studies, the researchers explored the self-representation of philanthropic entities through an analysis of the discourses used in documents developed independent of the research. The types of data analysed included texts and images used on (PRODUCT) Red's website (Wirgau et al, 2010) and a catalogue of information about fundraising and philanthropy sent to high net wealth households in Massachusetts (Eikenberry, 2005). In all three studies an analysis of these sources of data allowed the researchers to consider how philanthropy is represented and promoted. My research adopts a similar approach as it seeks to understand how AP, in the context of being a philanthrocapitalist organisation, represents the problems their funding is addressing and its role in responding to these. It does so through the analysis of documents produced by AP about its prevention and early intervention funding.

Discourse analysis comprises a range of approaches across multiple disciplines – such as conversation analysis, discourse analysis for social psychology and discursive psychology – and assumes that language is not merely used to describe reality, but that it creates and acts upon this reality through the production of discourse (O'Rourke, 2009). Essentially discourse 'functions to construct the world' (Op.Cit.: 210) as 'language that comprises discourse is imbued with meaning beyond what we know as "literal meaning'' (Strauss and Feiz, 2014 :10). Undertaking research within the domain of discourse analysis is an examination of language in use (Gee, 1999). By analysing the selected texts about AP's funding for a prevention and early intervention approach to children's services, I examine how the foundation enacts philanthrocapitalism, and seeks to reinforce this model of philanthropy through its own use of language, words and discourses. This aligns with a constructivist ontology, which is 'a distinctive feature' of discourse analysis as 'the emphasis is placed on versions of reality propounded by members of the social setting being

investigated and on the fashioning of that reality through their renditions of it,' (Bryman, 2012: 529).

Critical discourse analysis is particularly relevant given the subject matter of my research as this approach is concerned with the analysis of the complexity of social phenomena (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). The social phenomenon under study in this research is philanthrocapitalism and this approach allows for an exploration of its enactment in texts developed by AP about one of its areas of funding. Through an examination of texts developed by AP, critical discourse analysis allows for a:

> 'microlevel analysis of discourses (words, phrases, conceptual metaphors) to uncover the processes by which ideologies of power abuse, control, hegemony, dominance, exclusion, injustice and inequity are created, re-created, and perpetuated in social life – processes which are often "naturalized" and taken for granted as common-sense notions" (Strauss and Feiz, 2014: 312).

The use of this approach is particularly relevant for organisations such as philanthropic foundations, as they hold substantial wealth and distribute this in a controlled way; this can lead to the exertion of ideological influence (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Researchers using critical discourse analysis are interested in how discourse (re) produces 'social domination' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 9). Moreover, Van Dijk (2001) outlines that the 'social power of groups or institutions' (Van Dijk, 2001: 354) is an integral feature of this approach to analysing texts. The operation of critical discourse analysis at a macro-level seeks to examine 'how power is enacted, reproduced or legitimated' (Jensen, 2013: 111). It seeks to de-mystify 'ideologies and power through the systematic and retractable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visible)' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3). By exploring the discourses used by AP, through the use of critical discourse analysis, I am attempting to uncover what role AP institutionalizes for itself within these texts.

As Jensen (2013) outlines in her research, undertaking a study using discourse analysis 'is often difficult to put one's hands around because there is no unitary theoretical framework' (Jensen, 2013: 110). To help

structure my approach to analysing the selected texts I operationalise the use of critical discourse analysis by drawing on elements of Bacchi's (2009) *What's the Problem Represented to be?* (WPR) framework. WPR draws on Foucault's study of problematisations, which suggests that 'the main purpose of studying problematisations is to "dismantle" objects as taken-for-granted fixed essences and to show how they have come to be' (Bacchi, 2012: 2). WPR considers that we are governed not by policy but the way in which policy responses frame a problem. As part of WPR's innovative approach to policy analysis, it is not just applicable to government policy development, but the broader concept of governance as it 'increases the purview of analysis beyond the state to include other 'governing' parties such as professionals and social scientists' (Bacchi, 2009: xx). In my research, I adapt WPR and extend its scope to reach beyond the problematisation of policy to the texts of a philanthropic organisation. The use of policy texts draws on Foucault's 'suggestion that 'practical' or 'prescriptive' texts provide an entry-point for identifying problematisations' (Bacchi, 2012: 4). While the texts I have chosen are not policy documents, they describe AP's prevention and early intervention funding and what it aims to achieve.

The WPR framework is built on the assumption that policy by its very nature seeks to 'make changes implying that something needs to change' (Bacchi, 2009: ix). In the selected texts, AP proposes a change or different approach to how children's services should be delivered. By examining the proposed change, we can identify how this reform is 'understood and defended' (Bacchi, 2010: 2). The change proposed in a policy is a 'problem'. WPR challenges the notion that a 'problem' exists and through its application these implied 'problems' are made explicit. Unlike other approaches to policy analysis, WPR works at the level of analysis which looks at 'how 'problems' are given a shape through the ways they are spoken about and through the 'knowledge' that are assumed in their shaping' (Bacchi: 2010: 2). Therefore WPR is not concerned with evaluating the effectiveness of a policy proposal but

rather understanding how a policy is framed and the effects of this (Bacchi, 2010).

In Chapter One, I outline the three research questions which are to be addressed in this study. The first of these considers how AP defines the 'problems' its prevention and early intervention funding is trying to respond to. In addressing my first research question, WPR allows for the consideration of how AP represents the problems its prevention and early intervention funding seeks to address and the influence that philanthrocapitalism has on the shaping of these problems. The second part of my analysis shifts the focus from problem representation to role representation. This part of my analysis focuses on the role AP adopts in the context of the foundation's response to the identified problems. In using the WPR framework, I consider not just how AP's role is represented but how the representation of that role problematises alternative responses. Therefore, rather than just analysing what this role is, I consider how AP problematises other responses in these texts. In analysing how AP constructs its role, it is necessary to consider the assumptions underlying its rejection of alternative approaches and the consequences of this framing. I am particularly concerned with exploring whether AP has 'take[n] on roles previously reserved for governments' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 270).

The WPR approach involves applying six questions to the selected policy or 'practical' texts[42]. I use questions one and two of Bacchi's framework to inform my approach to analysing the discourses present in the texts about AP's prevention and early intervention work. The framework first

[42] The WPR framework can be applied to policy or practical texts through the following six questions (Bacchi, 2009: xii):

1) What's the 'problem' (e.g. of 'problem gamblers'; 'drug-use/abuse'; domestic violence, global warming, health inequalities, terrorism, etc.) represented to be in a specific policy?
2) What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?
3) How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?
4) What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?
5) What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?
6) How / where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted or replaced?

undertakes a surface level analysis of what the policy seeks to change and what the problem is (question one). Following on from this, a deeper exploration considers the 'rationales for the proposal, deep-seated presuppositions underpinning the proposed policy change [question two and three], possible silences in the understanding of what needs to change [questions four], and the effects that are likely to accompany this particular understanding [question five]' (Bacchi, 2009: xx). The framework also considers how and where the representation of the problem is reproduced (question six). Questions three, four, five and six of Bacchi's (2009) framework look beyond AP's representation of the problems in the texts and its role in responding to these. They explore how this has come about, the silences in the texts, the effects produced by AP's construction of the problems and its role and how these are produced, disseminated and defended respectively. The scope of these questions moves beyond the analysis of the texts produced by AP on its prevention and early intervention initiative.

The first question in the WPR framework acts as a clarifying exercise, which involves 'looking at what is proposed as policy intervention' (Bacchi, 2009: 3). As a starting point, the researcher scans the text to uncover what it says needs to change. Bacchi (2009) uses the example of offering training to women in order to increase female participation in higher paid employment; such a proposal implies that women's lack of training is the problem. We can also understand a problem representation by working backwards from the proposed solution. Therefore, if the solution is to offer women training to assist them in getting into higher paid roles, there is a failure to consider or acknowledge other factors, such as the gendered nature of care or the types of work available to women (Bacchi, 2009). This question acts as an initial analysis of how a policy problematises an issue. Question two builds on this by seeking to examine what presuppositions underlie the problematisations. A number of tools are available to the researcher in undertaking this analysis. The researcher should look for binaries, concepts and categories in the text. A binary 'simplifies complex relationships' by distilling it into two opposing

sides or ‘an A / not-A relationship’ (Bacchi, 2009: 7). The A side, for example, is seen to have an advantage or to be more privileged than the not-A side. An example referred to by Bacchi (2009) is the dichotomy of licit / illicit in relation to drug and alcohol policy. Concepts are described as ‘abstract labels that are relatively open-ended’ (Op.Cit.: 8). Bacchi (2009) emphasises that while some concepts can appear uncontested, their real meaning is not uncovered ‘until we probe more deeply’ (Op.Cit.). In responding to this question it is necessary to ‘identify key concepts…to see what meanings are given to these concepts’ (Op.Cit.). Categories ‘play a central role in how governing takes place’ (Op.Cit.: 9), for example, the categorisation of people into groups.

The first part of my analysis of the selected texts began by problematising AP’s representation of the problems it seeks to address through its prevention and early intervention funding. I identified these ‘problems’ in a number of ways. Firstly, I looked for the word ‘problem’ in the texts and what is identified as being problematic. I identified key words associated with the word ‘problem’ and searched further for these in the texts to identify how the ‘problem’ is further constituted. Secondly, I draw on Bacchi’s (2009) assertion that working backwards from the proposed solution can identify problems. Thirdly, I considered the nesting of ‘problems’ within the texts; this relates to how the identified problems ‘are embedded within each other’ (Op.Cit.: 21). Fourthly, my analysis of the problem representations within the texts also explored the assumptions underpinning them. This included who is associated with these ‘problems’ (e.g. categories of individuals). Having established the problems represented as being addressed by the prevention and early intervention funding I moved on to examine AP’s self-representation.

Returning to the first WPR question, I examined the text to identify how AP represents its role. As a starting point, I looked for mentions of AP and identified what verbs are used in close proximity. I looked to see if any of these verbs were repeated or what similar meanings were used. The use of this illeism device, which refers to AP writing about itself in the third

person, allowed me to uncover their self-representation. This initial analysis helped in the construction of my framework to identify similar analogies in the text. In my analysis of this self-representation I am conscious of the themes that emerge in the literature about the role of philanthropy – the use of a discourse of helping, the adoption of a marketized discourse and the discourse associated with the role of a governor. I scanned the text for evidence of these discourses. I further develop my argument of this self-representation by counting the use of similar words. Building on the analysis developed by Question 1, I explored what concepts, binaries and categories were being used to represent AP's role. This required an unpacking of the discourses used in the role representation and developing a closer analysis of the text than that undertaken in the previous question. These assumptions referred to the implied logic that underpinned the construction of AP's role in relation to its funding for a prevention and early intervention approach to delivering children's services in Ireland.

4.3 Ethics

4.3.1 Ethical Approval – Social Research Ethics Committee (SREC), UCC

Most textbooks on research design give practical advice on how to deal with issues such as doing no harm, informed consent, undertaking covert research and ensuring confidentiality and the anonymity of research participants (Bryman, 2012, Bell, 2011 and Grix, 2010). The application of this advice is particularly appropriate to research projects that involve engaging with individual participants in focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and observations. These tenets are central to the research guidelines set down by UCC. The governance structure around ethics at the University indicates that social research, involving human participants should obtain ethical approval from the Social Research Ethics Committee (SREC) (UCC, 2007). This includes, in some instances, projects carried out by undergraduate and postgraduate students. Research requiring such approval generally involves the collection of data

through the use of methods such as questionnaires, or interviews. However, my research does not include human participants as the unit of analysis as it focuses on providing an analysis of texts and written documents. Guidance on the issue of ethics clearly states that 'research utilizing existing publicly available documents or data' (UCC, 2007: 15) does not require review by an ethics committee. Therefore my research did not require ethical approval through SREC.

4.3.2 Addressing ethical concerns throughout the research process

The SREC process focuses on the data collection element of research, yet ethical considerations should span the entire process from proposal writing to final submission. In Spicker's (2007) review of the codes of ethics published by professional research organisations – such as the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2005), Social Research Association (SRA, 2003) and British Sociological Association (BSA, 2002) – he identifies four main ethical themes in the research process. These relate to issues concerned with the impact of the research, the treatment of participants, disciplinary considerations and research relationships.

The use of textual analysis means issues about the impact of my research or the treatment of participants are not the same as those which directly involve individuals. However, AP are a 'non-participant' in my research as they are the subject of my analysis and discussion. The potential impact of my research is that it offers a critical scrutiny of AP's work. This must be balanced with the fact that '[I]n a democracy, if someone is functioning in a public role, that person is subject to public examination and criticism in that role, whether they like it or not' (Spicker, 2007: 112). Given the vast amount of funding AP has provided to public and not-for-profit organisations in Ireland, as outlined in the Chapter Three, what it says should be open to critical analysis and discussion. By ensuring that the research is made available through UCC's (n.d.) digital depository, Cork Open Research Archive (CORA), it is freely available for scrutiny and researchers and the general public can make use of the

research. Stakeholders such as AP's grantees and funding partners will also have access to this research through CORA. However, the researcher has minimal control over the misuse (e.g. taken out of context) of publicly available research.

Disciplinary considerations are also relevant for my doctoral research. Firstly, the researcher should execute high quality research. This can be achieved by ensuring that my research is grounded in a specific ontological and epistemological position, which lends itself to the application of critical discourse analysis. Spicker (2007: 102) questions whether a researcher's display of competence is truly of ethical importance, emphasising that its inclusion 'would make many student projects or courses based on experiential learning unethical'. The same can be said for doctoral candidates, as gaining competence in conducting research is a core element of the process. To gain this competence students undertake taught modules in research methods and research is co-supervised by two academics within the School of Applied Social Studies. To further strengthen this as part of the drafting process a 'friendly reader' who is an academic in the School provided independent feedback on an early draft of the thesis and this included examining the robustness of the research. The final disciplinary consideration is to advance the area of study that the research takes place in. The lack of critical analysis on philanthropic foundations is indicative of the need to make a unique contribution to this field of research in Ireland. My research advances both the national and international scholarly research on philanthropy in this regard. Firstly, it provides an Irish context to the international research examining the rise in influence of philanthrocapitalist foundations. Secondly, it contributes to the Irish research by providing a different lens through which to examine AP's work than has been achieved to date.

Research relationships with commissioners are not of concern for this study as my research is not subject to any funding or commissioning obligations. However, as a student at UCC I must adhere to the student

responsibilities in the Code of Practice for Supervision of Research Students (UCC, 2010) and other relevant codes of conduct and practice. This included adhering to the guidance of the SREC and ensuring that my research is conducted in an ethical manner and obtains ethical approval where relevant. With regard to commitments to fellow researchers, I have ensured that in building on the work of others I have accurately attributed the findings of their research.

4.4 Empirical Focus and Sampling

From the beginning of the Doctor of Social Science programme I have been interested in researching the relationship between philanthropy and democracy. As I narrowed the focus of my research topic, I began to look at if and how philanthropic foundations in Ireland have taken on the role of a governor through the initiation and implementation of policy around how services are delivered. As previously discussed, I draw on Eikenberry's (2006a: 588-9) questioning of whether certain philanthropic organisations have 'taken on the role of the state essentially setting and implementing policy through their independent funding choices', and if they have acted like a 'mini-government'. AP has been the largest philanthropic foundation operating in Ireland in the last number of decades. Given its significance, I chose to focus on the work it has funded. As I outline in Chapter Three, a co-funding partnership with the Irish government, first evident in its PRTLI collaboration, has been a significant aspect of its work (Boyle, 2016; Boyle and Shannon, 2018). This partnership, and the organisation's later co-funding relationship in the areas of ageing and children and youth, demonstrated AP's desire to have an impact beyond its own funding by influencing both the direction of government policy and the delivery of services. This significant feature of AP's work was of particular interest given the scope of my research questions.

As part of its new strategic direction from 2002, AP provided funding in three different programme areas in Ireland; one of which was Children and Youth. In its first publicly available annual report (The Atlantic

Philanthropies, 2005), the foundation describes how the Disadvantaged Children and Youth Programme, the original name for this programme, aimed 'to bring lasting improvements to the lives of disadvantaged youngsters that change the trajectory of their lives – keeping them healthy and preventing them from disconnecting from their families and communities' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2005: 10)[43]. One of the programme's objectives at a global level was to demonstrate that prevention and early intervention approaches to the delivery of children's services are effective. Within Ireland, there were three main objectives to AP's work. These were to '(1) improve provider standards and practices, (2) strengthen the child-and-youth-serving field, and (3) give voice to children's needs' (Paulsell et al, 2009: ix). Funding provided under Objective One relates directly to my empirical research[44]. Under this objective, three categories of grants were awarded: community engagement sites, innovation and planning grants. The community engagement sites in Ballymun, Darndale and Tallaght formed part of the origins of a co-funded initiative with the Irish government called the Prevention and Early Intervention Programme. Alongside this, AP also provided funding to a number of organisations to test innovative approaches to prevention and early intervention. Both the innovation grants and the community engagement sites saw the development and delivery of a programme focused on providing parenting support, training for teachers to manage classroom behaviours and developing literacy skills in children. The planning grants enabled other communities to map the needs of the population they served and consult with stakeholders to provide a strong evidence base for them to adopt and implement early intervention and prevention strategies to tackle disadvantage in their communities. A follow-up to the Prevention and Early Intervention Programme was called the Area Based Childhood Programme and this

[43] Figure A.1 in Appendix One provides a diagrammatic overview of the key components of the programme, its aim, objectives, the countries in which it operated, and the programme objectives and funding targets on the island of Ireland.
[44] Objective 2 focused on developing and funding a research infrastructure to 'support evidence-based practice and ongoing evaluation and program improvement' (p.20). This led to the establishment of two academic research centres as well as the Centre for Effective Services (CES). Objective 3 concentrated on funding children's rights advocacy organisations, including the Children's Rights Alliance (CRA).

was identified as a priority in the Irish government's 2011 Programme for Government and co-funded by the government and AP[45].

4.4.1 Selected texts

Having chosen an empirical focus for my research, it was then necessary to choose the texts, which would form my corpus of data. My research is concerned with textual data already published by AP about its work. The main challenge with identifying relevant sources was the fact that while AP's website provides a substantial amount of information on the foundation and its grantees, a large proportion of this has been developed by third parties. Over the course of its existence, the foundation has commissioned extensive research into the work it funded along with publishing work developed by grantees. Therefore, just a small body of work has been written directly by AP in relation to the empirical focus of my research. A small sample is a key feature of qualitative research as this tradition often involves 'strategic samples not presumed to represent the population' (Minichello and Kottler, 2010: 19). It was necessary, therefore, to employ a purposive sampling technique. This sampling method can be used as a means of obtaining the 'best information by selecting items or people most likely … to provide quality information and valuable insights on the research topic' (Denscombe, 2010: 35).

The selected texts developed by AP describe the scope and purpose of taking a prevention and early intervention approach to children's services. In choosing these texts, I first looked for a text that would give an overview of this approach. A report on AP's main achievements over its first thirty years of existence (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2012) briefly

[45] This 'new area based approach to child poverty' would draw on 'best international practice and existing services to tackle every aspect of child poverty' and 'the pursuit of this policy direction would be in cooperation with philanthropic partners to co-fund and manage the project' (Government of Ireland, 2011: n.p.). Budget 2013 committed to funding this new programme. Under the Budget commitment the three existing PEIP sites would continue to receive funding as well as a number of others. The timeline for the programme was 2013 to 2016. In 2013, a call for applications was announced. There were 50 applications with the three PEIP sites and ten others ultimately receiving funding. The drive towards this new approach was further solidified with the embedding of a prevention and early intervention approach to service delivery through an €8.5 million grant to TUSLA the child and family agency (TUSLA, www.tusla.ie).

describes its work across each programme and geographic area. The summary text about its funding for prevention and early intervention services describes the level of funding provided for this work as well as the main outcomes it hoped to achieve. The second text provided greater details about how this funding operated in Ireland and Northern Ireland (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015c). Finally, a detailed account of a specific programme developed under the initiative (Triple P) was chosen (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2016). The details and title of these texts are outlined in Table 4.1 and a copy of each is provided in the Appendix.

Table 4.1: Data Sample

Datum 1: Extract on Prevention and Early Intervention from The Atlantic Philanthropies (2012) *Giving While Living 30 Years of Achievements 1982 – 2012* p. 16-17. **Length**: 556 words.
Datum 2: The Atlantic Philanthropies (2015) *Prevention and Early Intervention in Ireland and Northern Ireland: Making a Real Difference in the Lives of Children and Young People* **Length:** 2214 words.
Datum 3: The Atlantic Philanthropies (2016) *Triple P Positive Parenting Programme* **Length**: 2658 words.

Taken together the texts provide an account of AP's funding in this area and this lends itself to an analysis of both AP's representations of the problems it seeks to address and its role in addressing them.

4.4.2 Description of Data

Before proceeding to my analysis in Chapter Five, this section provides a detailed description of the selected texts (Datums) that I analysed as part of my empirical research.

Datum One

Datum 1: Extract from The Atlantic Philanthropies (2012) *Giving While Living. Marking 30 Years of Achievements 1982 – 2012,* p. 16-17. **Length:** 556 words / 2 pages.

The text of Datum One is taken from a 58-page report (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015), which documents the main achievements of AP over a 30-year period (1982-2012). The report provides an overview of AP's five programme areas: Ageing, Children and Youth, Reconciliation and Human Rights, Population Health and Founding Chairman grants, in a number of countries and regions, including the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, Vietnam, the United States of America and Australia. The selected extract provides a summary of the prevention and early intervention work and the level of funding provided by AP for this work in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

On the first page, against a yellow background, a number of pieces of information are presented in large font. These are:

- The total amount of funding directed towards prevention and early intervention work on the island of Ireland.
- The monetary effectiveness of supporting early intervention initiatives.
- A quote from an AP funded evaluation of the Children and Youth Programme summing up the impact of this programme in Ireland.

The second page begins with the heading 'Engaging Early to Change Children's Lives'. There are eight short paragraphs, some just one or two sentences long, describing AP's prevention and early intervention work. The opening paragraph includes a quote from a mother who has just completed a training programme funded under AP's prevention and early intervention initiative. This quote, along with an accompanying sentence from AP, describes the community within which the training programme is delivered. The second paragraph confirms that these are the families the initiative seeks to engage. The next paragraph explains that the main aim of AP's initiatives is to intervene early in order to prevent lifelong problems and ensure more positive outcomes for young people. The fourth paragraph outlines the monetary benefits of intervening early. The

fifth paragraph describes an organisation benefitting from AP's funding. The next paragraph describes how AP's grants, in relation to prevention and early intervention, have 'leveraged' government funding, along with the level of funding provided to three organisations in the Republic of Ireland and one in Northern Ireland who have received matched funding from government. The seventh and penultimate paragraph describes how a number of AP funded programmes have been replicated in other countries. The final paragraph outlines the total amount of funding provided and how its impact will be felt for many decades. The extract concludes with a photograph and caption of a young child who benefited from participating in an AP funded programme.

Datum Two

Datum 2: The Atlantic Philanthropies (2015) *Prevention and Early Intervention in Ireland and Northern Ireland: Making a Real Difference in the Lives of Children and Young People*. **Length:** 2,214 words/8 pages.

Datum Two is substantially longer than Datum One at 2,214 words over eight pages. The document provides a more detailed account of the funding that AP provides for its prevention and early intervention work in Ireland and Northern Ireland.

The top quarter of the cover page of the document has a blue cloudy sky, which is repeated throughout the document, perhaps denoting AP's 'blue sky thinking', The middle two quarters of the cover page are white and contain AP's logo, the title of the document and the month and year of publication. The final quarter of the document is green which fades from white to a deeper shade of green at the edge of the page. Finally, a child's handprint in paint – palm blue, thumb and fingers different colours: yellow, purple, green, pink, orange – provides a splash of colour.

Unlike Datum One, this text provides a structured description of AP's prevention and early intervention work. The first three pages of the

document are divided into six separate parts titled as follows – Summary; The Situation; Atlantic's Approach; Outcomes; Conclusion, and For More Information. The next two pages list the services supported by AP's Children and Youth Programme on the island of Ireland. The final page provides the contact details for organisations funded under this programme.

The summary section condenses the content of the entire text into four brief paragraphs. Following this short quarter of a page summary, the text elaborates briefly about 'The Situation' AP wants to address. This includes stating the shortcomings of previous approaches used to support children experiencing difficulties. Next AP's approach is outlined. The text sets out three steps to this, including a focus on research and evidence. Overall AP has funded 39 interventions and 52 services for children and young people. The document then describes the outcomes of the prevention and early intervention programme. These include grantees gaining expertise in evaluation and the government's 'buy-in' to prevention and early intervention.

The Conclusion sums up what AP has achieved through this funding. It describes the lasting impact of AP and its grantees. Finally, the reader is directed to AP's and the Centre for Effective Services' websites to obtain more information about the programme. The penultimate two pages of the document provides, in tabular format, details of the services funded by AP on the island of Ireland. The table sets out the services delivered across the lifecycle of childhood and categorized under four headings. Under each service the following details are provided – the service's name; who the intervention is targeted towards (parent, teacher, child (including the target age), community or practitioner); what setting the service is delivered in and the target developmental stage (early years, primary school, youth, young adult). Finally, the last page of the document provides a list of funded organisations, their websites and the programmes they have delivered.

Datum Three

Datum 3: The Atlantic Philanthropies (2016) *Triple P Positive Parenting Programme* **Length:** 2,658 words/five pages.

While Datums One and Two provide a macro level description, Datum Three provides details of a specific project funded by AP - 'Triple P: Positive Parenting Programme' (Triple P). The text is slightly longer than Datum Two and substantially lengthier than Datum One. The document is presented on a green background. At the top of the front page is AP's logo. This is followed underneath by a matchstick image of a child and adult in the centre of a number of coloured circles (blue, green, yellow, red, pink, indigo). Below this symbol, the words 'Triple P' are written in green and on the next line 'Positive [in green] Parenting Programme [in dark blue]. Underneath this, in black font, the strapline description of the programme, 'A multi-tiered public health approach to parenting that improves child behaviour, and family and community well-being'. Finally, the date of publication, February 2016, is on the last line of this top half of the first page of the text. The second half of the page contains a green shaded text box with a four-paragraph summary of Triple P and the research conducted on its effectiveness.

The main body of the document is set out under seven separate headings as follows: The need; What is Triple P; How Triple P works; Triple P in Ireland; Findings; Next Steps; More Information. The first section describes why there is a need for the Triple P Programme. This need is identified through research conducted on the impact of early childhood experiences on adulthood. The description also refers to the positive impact of parenting interventions. The second section describes Triple P, and highlights that this parenting programme provides support for all parents in the community in which it is delivered. A wide range of stakeholders, such as teachers or family support workers, can deliver the intervention. The section also notes that this programme has been used worldwide with over four million participants.

The third section provides further practical details about how Triple P works. This section describes how there are four different levels of intervention. The fourth section describes how Triple P has been implemented in Ireland. The programme has been delivered in the midlands of the country through co-funding from AP and public bodies such as the Health Service Executive (HSE) and it targeted children in the age group three to seven. The universal element of Triple P saw the delivery of parenting newspapers throughout the two counties it operated within. This section also describes how the National University of Ireland, Galway (NUIG) carried out an evaluation of the programme.

The fifth, and most substantial, section of the document sets out the findings from NUIG's evaluation of the programme. The text describes how the research has identified a number of positive benefits from the Triple P intervention. The final two sections of the text describe what will happen next with regard to the implementation of Triple P and where to get further information on the programme.

Finally, there are three quotes integrated into the main texts of the document. These quotes are from parents participating on the Triple P programme, and a psychologist from the HSE. The parents' quotes emphasise the positive impact that the programme has had on individual families. The psychologist's quote highlights the impact of the programme on the wider community.

4.5 Conclusion

In my exploration of the contribution of large philanthropic organisations to transformations in contemporary liberal democracies, I attempt to address a gap in the Irish academic literature on philanthropy. This gap relates to a lack of critical research on the operation of philanthropy more generally, as well as the specific work of AP in Ireland. While McCrea's (2014) doctoral thesis has partially filled this gap with a study of the

relationship between The One Foundation and the Migrants Rights Centre of Ireland, she identifies a need for a greater interrogation of the discourses used by philanthropic organisations in order to develop a deeper understanding of their role in society. This chapter has set out the main methodological issues for my research including my own positionality and the ethical questions that need to be addressed. I provide an explanation and justification for my choice of methodology, discourse analysis, and outline the main steps undertaken in carrying out my empirical research. In the next chapter, I present my analysis of the texts about AP's prevention and early intervention funding which takes a more critical examination of their role in Irish society. My analysis of these texts is informed by my own interactions with the foundation and a belief that there is more than one meaning to be ascribed to AP's role.

Chapter Five: Analysing AP's Problem and Role Representation

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter I present my analysis of the use of discourses in the texts about AP's funding for prevention and early intervention approaches to children's services. In Chapter Four I described how Bacchi's (2009) *What's the Problem Represented to be?* (WPR) framework informed how I approached my analysis. The analysis contains two main components. Based on the first two questions in the WPR framework, my analysis begins by considering what problems AP represents itself as responding to and the assumptions underpinning them. This relates to a key theme in the literature that philanthropists often decide what problems to address and how these problems are defined (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010; Frumkin, 2006). I identify three problems nested in the selected texts: individual behavioural problems, social problems arising from individual behavioural problems, and the problem of the inadequacy of state and civil society responses to these interrelated problems, which need to be transformed.

Second, I discuss how AP represents its own role in responding to these problems and the assumptions underlying its self-representation. My exploration of AP's self-representation is undertaken in the context of philanthrocapitalism and in this regard I explore if and how AP has 'take(n) on roles previously reserved for government'; and what its self-representation assumes about the organisation's 'philanthropic governing capacity' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 270). As will be seen, I demonstrate that AP represents itself as having the triple role of helper-investor-governor. Furthermore, I show how this role representation is underpinned by key assumptions about the failures of neoliberalism and the welfare state, the use of evidence-based interventions and initiatives, and the potential of philanthrocapitalism.

5.1 What ‘problems’ are AP responding to?

AP’s Children and Youth Programme provided funding in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland for a prevention and early intervention approach to children’s services. On its website, AP explains that ‘[h]eading off problems before they take root in children’s lives can help young people grow and flourish’ and this is the main purpose of this funding (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2019). AP sees its prevention and early intervention funding as responding to childhood problems before they occur. Throughout the selected texts, AP proposes that prevention and early intervention initiatives tackle children’s and parents’ individual behavioural problems. Nested in this problem is the suggestion that individual behavioural problems result in broader social issues. Conversely, but less forcefully than the latter argument, the texts also suggest that individual behavioural problems are caused by societal problems. These are assumed to occur spatially at the community level and in disadvantaged areas. The texts also suggest that existing state and civil society approaches responding to these individual behavioural and social problems are inadequate, a failing that is a problem itself. AP problematises previous approaches and argues that there is a need for more business-like and evidence-based social policy and interventions, the kind it encourages and supports.

5.1.1 Individual behavioural problems

The selected texts describe how specific interventions can address children and young people’s individual behavioural problems. An explicit reference to disobedience in Datum Three (p.2 and p.4), both in the text and in the title of a workshop the Triple P programme delivers, indicates that this is the type of behaviour the interventions seek to tackle. The purpose of AP’s interventions is to intervene at the level of the individual either through training programmes for parents or services specifically targeted at children. Reflecting the hegemonic nature of neoliberalism, this representation focuses on the individual who is assumed to be self-regulating and responsible for her or his own outcomes (Pendenza and Lamattina, 2019). Absent in this representation is the impact of structural

or wider societal issues. These representations of individual behaviour as a problem emphasise that this is due to a lack of effort on the part of a parent or child, with little or no attention given to structural inequalities. While other targets of the interventions include teachers and 'the community', children and parents are the principal target (Datum Two, p.5-6). Further evident in the texts, and discussed later in the chapter, is a prominent use of the tools and language of the market in the delivery of these programmes and services as well as a move away from state responsibility. These are manifested in the text in the use of words associated with 'investing' such as 'yield' and 'return on investment'.

Children's Individual Behaviour

Table 5.1 provides selected quotes from the texts representing this first problem. In particular, it contains quotes where the word 'problem' is used in close proximity to 'behaviour(al)' (Q5.1.1 – Q5.1.3)[46]. Here the word 'problem' acts as a modifier to the word 'behaviour' and represents it as relating to causing difficulty for the individual or others.

Table 5.1 – Individual Behavioural Problems

Quote	Source
Q5.1.1: 'a group-training programme for parents of young children with persistent emotional and behavioural problems'.	Datum One, (p.17)
Q5.1.2: 'In particular, positive parenting can protect children from developing severe behavioural problems and help develop resilience'.	Datum Three, (p.2)
Q5.1.3: 'Some of the most significant population level changes in children's behaviour in Longford and Westmeath came from families within the clinically elevated range of emotional and behavioural problems'.	Datum Three, (p. 4)

[46] Quotes are coded for ease of reference in the narrative analysis. The code refers to the table number and the number of the quote in the table. For example, Q5.1.1 is the first quote in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 – Individual Behavioural Problems

Quote	Source
Q5.1.4: 'Since Triple P, I have learnt that is (sic) our behaviour not my son Harry's, that is responsible for our sleep patterns'.	Datum Three, (p.2)
Q5.1.5: 'Practitioners said it encouraged parents to self-regulate and children to become problem-solvers'.	Datum Three, (p.4)
Q5.1.6: 'Triple P is designed to equip parents with the confidence they need to be self-sufficient and able to manage family issues without requiring the ongoing support of practitioners'.	Datum Three, (p. 2)
Q5.1.7: 'This is important in terms of normalising conversations about parenting, increasing both use of proven positive parenting strategies and appropriate help-seeking behaviour'.	Datum Three, (p. 5)

In Q5.1.1, the use of the phrase 'persistent emotional and behavioural problems' implies that the focus is on addressing sustained behavioural issues rather than once off or everyday behavioural challenges. This is further reinforced in Q5.1.2 with reference to 'severe behavioural problems'. In this latter quote, the type of behaviour needing to be addressed is assumed to be at the more extreme end of the behavioural spectrum. Q5.1.3 refers to children with a 'clinically elevated range of emotional and behavioural problems', suggesting these are problems that are scientifically quantifiable and professionally diagnosed. This problem representation is also evident by working backwards from the proposed solution. The identified solution is to help children 'develop resilience' (Q5.1.2) and ultimately become 'problem-solvers' (Q5.1.5). This problem, therefore, is represented as one that children themselves can solve, if properly 'equipped'. Behavioural problems in children are thus represented as arising from children's deficiencies in problem solving and resilience.

Parents' Individual Behaviour

Parental behaviour is also identified as being part of the problem as well as the solution. A quote from a parent directly problematises their individual behaviour: 'our behaviour…is responsible for our sleep patterns' (Q5.1.4). Parents are identified as being part of the solution with practitioners encouraging parents 'to self-regulate' (Q5.1.5) along with a focus on 'positive parenting' (Q5.1.2 and throughout Datum Three). In Q5.1.1, the response to dealing with this type of behaviour is to provide 'group-training' for parents. Therefore, not only is the problem identified as existing at the individual level, but the solution is represented as being the responsibility of the parent. In Q5.1.6, parents are encouraged 'to be self-sufficient' and to become equipped with 'confidence'. Similar to the quote about children in Q5.1.5, parents are seen to be the 'problem' as they lack confidence. But while parents are encouraged to seek support, this is also identified as being stigmatized. In Q5.1.7, the Triple P programme is described as seeking to normalize 'conversations about parenting' and increase the number of parents engaged in 'help-seeking behaviour'. The use of the word normalize implies that this support is not currently viewed as such. Furthermore, Q5.1.6 refers to parents not relying on the 'ongoing support of practitioners'; therefore seeking help should be a temporary action and not something that continues. This further reinforces the solution and, therefore, the 'problem' as existing at the level of the individual.

Negative versus positive behaviour

The dichotomy of negative/positive behaviour features prominently in this problem representation. It is assumed that there is agreement about what constitutes negative behaviour.

Table 5.2 – The Dichotomy of Negative / Positive Behaviour

Quote	Source
Q5.2.1: '…the number of children with serious emotional or behavioural problems reduced by 37.5 per cent. This is compared to the non-Triple P county where the rate of serious emotional or behavioural problems increased by 8.6 per cent'.	Datum Three, (p.1)
Q5.2.2: 'The workshops target parents of children with mild to moderate behavioural difficulties and focus on specific issues'.	Datum Three, (p.3)
Q5.2.3: 'These can range from toddler tantrums to teenage rebellion, self-esteem issues, bedtime battles, disobedience or aggression'.	Datum Three, (p. 4)

In Table 5.2 it is behavioural characteristics such as 'serious emotional…problems' (Q5.2.1), 'mild to moderate…difficulties' (Q5.2.2) and 'aggression' (Q5.2.3) that require interventions of support and that are viewed as problematic. There is no discussion about how positive behaviour can be maintained or supported. The beginning of Datum One (see Q5.1.1) asserts that parents of children with individual behavioural problems participate in the training provided by local services, which are supported by AP's prevention and early intervention funding. In areas where these programmes have been successfully delivered, negative behaviour has been quantifiably reduced– 'serious emotional or behavioural problems reduced by 37.5 per cent' (Q5.2.1). Conversely, in areas where the interventions have not taken place, problematic behaviour has increased 'by 8.6 per cent' (Q5.2.1). While the intervention described in Datum Three acknowledges the impact on those with more serious behavioural problems', it also targets those with 'mild to moderate' difficulties (Q5.2.2). The focus on 'bad behaviour' persists within the Triple P Programme as illustrated by one of the workshop titles 'Dealing with Disobedience' (Datum Three, p. 4). This is further shown in Q5.2.3, which highlights the wide-ranging life cycle of childhood

behaviour that the programme aims to address ‘from toddler tantrums to teenage rebellion’, as well as the various individual issues that may arise for children such as ‘disobedience or aggression’.

5.1.2 Social ‘problems’ are the cause and result of individual behaviour

The texts suggest there is a strong interplay between social and individual behavioural problems. Overwhelmingly, causal emphasis is placed on how behavioural problems and poor parenting result in social problems, which require a more structural response rather than the other way around.

Table 5.3 – The Co-Production of Behavioural and Social Problems

Quote	Source
Q5.3.1: ‘This approach should result in more young people living happier and healthier lives, staying in school longer, attending university, finding satisfying jobs and earning better incomes. Conversely, fewer young people should end up in prison or suffer from preventable mental health problems’.	Datum One, (p.17)
Q5.3.2: ‘Children in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland can face daunting obstacles on their way to becoming healthy and contributing adults’.	Datum Two, (p.2)
Q5.3.3: ‘Long-term documented effects include problems with mental and physical health, education, family relationships and peer relationships as well as exposure to violence, exploitation and abuse’.	Datum Three, (p.2)
Q5.3.4: ‘A substantial body of evidence shows that serious conduct problems in children can impose significant psychological, social and economic burdens on these individuals for the rest of their lives’.	Datum Three, (p.2)

Table 5.3 illustrates that all three texts describe the long-term implications of individual behavioural problems as being related to a negative impact on physical and mental health and socio-economic circumstances. In Q5.3.1, the text constructs addressing individual behavioural problems as having a positive impact on life experiences for children such as educational attainment, employment and having an adequate income. Furthermore, this quote describes 'mental health problems' as being 'preventable' if children's individual behavioural problems are addressed. The latter assumes that behavioural problems are the cause, rather than a symptom, of mental health difficulties. In Datum Two, (Q5.3.2), the text connects overcoming individual behavioural problems in childhood, to becoming a 'healthy and contributing adult(s)'. Immediately, AP problematises deficiencies in childhood that need to be addressed to ensure a positive experience in adulthood. The use of the term 'contributing adult' assumes the adult will contribute to the economy and society through the use of their skills in employment and the payment of taxes. This reflects the idea of homo economicus whereby human action is viewed in relation to economic activity. Contributing adults tend to be enterprising and participate in the market as workers as opposed to being dependent on social transfers from the state. Conversely, Q5.3.3 and Q5.3.4 describe the negative outcomes of not addressing behavioural problems. This includes the impact on personal relationships, health and 'exposure to violence, exploitation and abuse' (Q5.3.3). Furthermore, individual behavioural problems are evidenced as creating 'significant psychological, social and economic burdens on these individuals for the rest of their lives' (Q5.3.4).

There is a tension in the texts regarding how behavioural problems are caused. While the representation of this problem within the idea of neoliberalism assumes that the deficiency is at the level of the individual and that they have autonomy over their actions and outcomes, the texts also propose that there is a spatial dimension to behavioural problems.

Table 5.4 Assumption that Social Problems Occur at the Level of the Community

Quote	Source
Q5.4.1: 'As this mother knows, it is challenging enough to raise a child with significant emotional problems, and more so if the family lives in a community with few resources and major social problems'.	Datum One, (p.17)
Q5.4.2: 'The neighbourhood around here, it's very hard to raise your children in. This place is overrun with drugs and gangs…	Datum One, (p.17)
Q5.4.3: 'For example, in the Republic of Ireland, an €18 million ($24 million) investment over five years to three organisations – Tallaght West Childhood Development Initiative, Preparing for Life and youngballymun – leveraged an equal commitment of support from government'.	Datum One, (p.17)
Q5.4.4: 'Archways works with local and national agencies to research promote and implement evidence-based early intervention programmes'.	Datum One, (p.17)
Q5.4.5: 'Further, the Republic of Ireland government and Atlantic co-funded the Area Based Childhood Programme to continue evidence-informed interventions to improve the long-term outcomes for children and families living in areas of disadvantage'.	Datum Two, (p. 4)

Datum One makes a direct association between the 'problem' of behaviour and an under-resourced community. It is claimed in Q5.4.1, that the challenges of raising a child with individual behavioural problems are exacerbated by living in 'a community with few resources and major social problems'. The text asserts that these social problems cause bad individual behaviour. It argues that it is not the broader societal issue that influences the 'problem' of behaviour, but rather what is occurring at the neighbourhood level (see also Q5.4.2). The connection between social

problems and spatial disadvantage is one of the assumptions underpinning the representation of social problems being caused by individual behaviour. The text proposes that by addressing individual behavioural problems in areas of disadvantage, social problems will be reduced. In Datums One and Two, social problems are assumed to occur in areas of disadvantage. In Q5.4.2 from Datum One, the sentence following Q5.4.1, the text asserts that the neighbourhood where the prevention and early intervention work is taking place 'is overrun with drugs and gangs'. Further on in the text (Q5.4.3) is the acknowledgement that funding is targeted towards three areas of disadvantage in Dublin – Tallaght, Ballymun and Darndale (where Preparing for Life is based). While in Q5.4.4, there is further reinforcement of the intervention taking place at a local level with the assertion that Archways, an organisation funded by AP, works with local agencies to deliver their programme.

Datum Two also focuses on tackling social problems in similar neighbourhoods as described in Datum One. In Q5.4.5, the quote focuses on children and families in 'areas of disadvantage'. The text also refers to the continuation of funding for projects in disadvantaged areas through co-funding between AP and the Government of Ireland. The solution, therefore, is proposed that by providing funding for these communities, there will be an improvement in individual behavioural problems leading to a reduction in wider social issues. Datum Two, therefore, reinforces the position of Datum One in that it situates social problems, caused by individual behavioural problems, in disadvantaged communities.

5.1.3 The 'problem' of state and civil society approaches to addressing behaviour and other social 'problems'

The third 'problem' identified in the texts relates to previous approaches to addressing problems occurring in childhood. These approaches are represented as problematic in contrast to those supported by AP's prevention and early intervention funding. The quotes in Table 5.5, represent state and civil society interventions as; lacking the use of

evidence (Q5.5.1), punitive (Q5.5.2) and yielding a poor return on investment (Q5.5.3). AP's funding for prevention and early intervention proposes 'to alter the approach' to addressing childhood problems (Q5.5.4) and transform service provision (Q5.5.5).

Table 5.5 The 'problem' of Previous Approaches

Quote	Source
Q5.5.1: 'Early intervention and prevention work was not a priority – despite research that it could yield lasting benefits and give a better return on investment'.	Datum Two, (p.2)
Q5.5.2: '… resources for children and young people were skewed towards intervening when difficulties had already become complex and entrenched. [L SEP]Approaches tended to be reactive, punitive, costly and of doubtful value'.	Datum Two, (p.2)
Q5.5.3: 'Intervening early can cost as little as $950, later interventions could cost as much as $352,000 over a lifetime'.	Datum One, (p.16)
Q5.5.4: '…to alter the approach on the island of Ireland to working with some of its most vulnerable children and young people'.	Datum Two. (p.2)
Q5.5.5: '…to transform child and family services in Ireland by embedding prevention and early intervention into the culture and operation of new national family support service'.	Datum Two, (p.4)
Q5.5.6: '…rather than a one-size-fits-all approach. Triple P includes a range of interventions from community education to longer, more intense programmes…'	Datum Three (p.2)
Q5.5.7: 'Once the programme was in place, ongoing feedback from participants confirmed that it had filled a significant gap in the services, support and advice available to them'.	Datum Three, (p. 4)

AP's approach vs. previous approaches

In Table 5.5, opposing representations of the distinctive and new approach proposed by AP and the old way of tackling childhood problems are presented. In Q5.5.2 AP positions itself with a degree of hubris by focusing solely on a negative construction of other approaches and failing to acknowledge what benefits they may have had. Conversely, Q5.5.1 focuses solely on a positive construction of AP's approach to addressing childhood problems. Previous approaches are described with the use of a number of negative adjectives. Responses are 'reactive', thereby represented as only intervening when a problem has emerged. In contrast, AP's approach strives to intervene early or prevent a difficulty occurring. The use of the word 'punitive' implies that the previous approach seeks to punish the child or young person, perhaps for their behaviour or a difficulty outside of their control. AP's approach emphasises that it 'could yield lasting benefits'. While previous approaches may have had some benefits, they are viewed as only being short-term and not addressing the longer-term social issues that are caused by individual behavioural problems, as outlined in the previous section. Therefore, instead of being punished, children and young people receive a benefit from AP's services.

Greater return on investment

The use of the adjective 'costly' in Q5.5.2, in relation to previous approaches is a particularly pertinent construction and emphasises AP's focus on return on investment. This is further developed in Q5.5.3 where the comparative cost of the previous approach and AP's prevention and early intervention approach is outlined. The word 'value' (Q5.5.2), similar to 'costly' and taken together with 'doubtful' suggests an inefficient use of financial resources. The problematisation of the previous approach in Q5.5.3 reinforces the cost associated with interventions, which do not use a prevention and early intervention approach. In this quote the cost of '(l)ater interventions' is significantly more expensive at $352,000 versus less than $1,000 for early intervention. The association of monetary value

with early intervention is also apparent in Q5.5.1 with the description that it provides ‘a better return on investment’. The imagery of investment is further alluded to with the term ‘yield’ (Q5.5.1) and the proposition that AP’s approaches yield benefits. While these benefits relate to service users, it represents those that avail of the service as being part of the investment interaction. This representation of the new approach proposed by AP as being more cost effective is connected to my analysis later in the chapter that proposes that AP represents its role as an investor (see Section 5.2.2). Such a focus points to the use of a marketized discourse.

Evidence-based solutions

The ‘problem’ of other approaches is that they are not evidenced-based. AP proposes, therefore, that their new approach to tackling childhood problems is underpinned by evidence. The phrase ‘doubtful value’ (Q5.5.2) is connected to this. The first word relates to an emphasis on evidence and research, which allegedly proves that AP’s approach works. Therefore previous approaches, unlike prevention and early intervention, are not proven to work. Working backwards again from the proposed solution also demonstrates this problematisation of previous approaches. AP proposes to both ‘alter’ (Q5.5.4) and ‘transform’ (Q5.5.5) services provided to children and families. Within this alteration and transformation is the concept of evidence as an underlying assumption of tackling the ‘problem’ of previous approaches. This reliance on evidence is quantifiably apparent in the texts. In Datum One there are five mentions of the word evidence, eight in Datum Two and six in Datum Three. Table 5.6 further highlights the frequent use of evidence-based and scientific language in the selected texts.

Table 5.6 – The use of Evidence Based Language

Category	Word (number of mentions)	Source
Scientific measurement	Assess(ments/ed) (3)	Datums – Two; Three
	Evaluat(ed/ion/or) (20)	Datums – Two; Three
	Evidence (-based; -informed) (19)	Datums – One; Two; Three
	Measure(d/s) (3)	Datum – Three
	Outcome(s) (10)	Datum – Two; Three

The most frequently used words relating to evidenced-based language are 'evaluat(ed/ion/or)' (n=20); and 'evidence (-based; -informed)' (n=19). The underlying assumption being that approaches should be underpinned by scientific measurement and focused on things like outcomes (n=10). The texts also focus on 'assess(ments/ed) (n-3) and measure(d/s) (n=3). Further emphasis in the texts about evidence informing the delivery of services is illustrated in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 Services Informed by Evidence and Research

Quote	Source
Q5.7.1: 'The prevention and early intervention initiative introduced a new set way of thinking about how to identify needs, design services and improve the work of service providers'.	Datum Two, (p.3)
Q5.7.2: 'A crucial aspect of the new approach was a reliance on evidence during all phases of a programme – during planning, design and implementation'.	Datum Two, (p.3)
Q5.7.3: '…to make better use of evidence of what works so they can deliver more effective services'.	Datum Two, (p.3)
Q5.7.4: 'Once the programme was in place, ongoing feedback from participants confirmed that it had filled a significant gap in the services, support and advice available to them'.	Datum Three, (p.4)

In Q5.7.1, the text emphasises that prevention and early intervention is 'a new set way' or approach to service design and delivery. A visual representation of this new approach to services is indicative in the use of a blue sky as the background design in Datum Two, denoting the 'blue-sky thinking' of AP. The concept of evidence is once more alluded to as Datum Two indicates the new approach to service delivery requires thinking about 'how to identify needs, design services and improve the work of service providers' (Q5.7.1). The identification of needs is a means of collecting knowledge or evidence, which will inform how services are designed. The concept is referred to in Q5.7.2, as the text describes the reliance 'on evidence during all phases of a programme'. Similar to Q5.7.1, this assumes that evidence will be collected and used during planning and design of this new service delivery approach. Evidence also forms a central part of the implementation of the services by determining what works (Q5.7.3) and how they can be improved (Q5.7.4). The use of evidence acts as a way of proving this approach to service delivery works. Prevention and early intervention funded programmes are therefore shaped and underpinned by the use of evidence.

5.2 What is AP's role represented to be in responding to the identified 'problems'?

The problem of state and civil society approaches to tackling childhood problems is crucial to how AP represents its roles in the selected texts and is the focus of the remainder of this chapter. As will be seen, the rise in scientific philanthropy and philanthrocapitalism is central to AP's self-representation. AP's representation of its triple role of helper-investor-governor reflects the prevailing meanings of philanthropy discussed in Chapter Two. The concept of philanthropy generally means those who have giving to those who have not. In this context, I argue that AP represents its role as a helper. AP's funding seeks to help those with individual behavioural problems. In doing so, a second representation of helping is evident, that is, helping to develop a new approach to the delivery of services for children and young people in Ireland. In the

selected texts, AP also adopts a marketized discourse by using language associated with the private sector or business world. The use of such a discourse leads to AP adopting the role of an investor. In the final role representation, I respond directly to the question of whether AP positions itself as taking on the role of governor and exerting philanthropic governing capacity.

5.2.1 The role of a helper

The etymology of the word philanthropy, 'love of mankind', is a central feature of AP's role representation of a helper. The choice of the word 'heart', for example, in Q5.8.1, is particularly reflective of this as it seeks to anchor AP's role within the idea of love of mankind. A similar meaning could have been conveyed with a word such as 'centre' or 'essence'. AP's representation of its role as a helper has two distinct elements. Firstly, through the funding AP provides, grantees can help those with individual behavioural problems. Secondly, AP represents itself as helping to reshape the delivery of services.

Helping individuals

Table 5.8 Helping Individuals

Quote	Source
Q5.8.1: 'Preventing lifelong problems by intervening early with programmes based on evidence is at the heart of Atlantic's investments'.	Datum One, (p.17)
Q5.8.2: 'Preparing for Life helps families raise happy and healthy children who are ready for school like five-year old Lucy'.	Datum One, (p17)
Q5.8.3: 'Triple P—the Positive Parenting Programme—is a free programme that offers different levels of help depending on parents' needs. That help ranges from tips in school newsletters and local newspapers, to individual workshops, to an eight-week group programme. Parents choose which level best meets their needs'.	Datum Three, (p.1)

Table 5.8 Helping Individuals

Quote	Source
Q5.8.4: 'In short, early, positive intervention helps children, their parents, schools and the wider community'.	Datum Three, (p.2)
Q5.8.5: 'Practitioners who delivered Triple P said that its implementation was successful because: 1) the programme kept things simple; and 2) it destigmatised seeking help'.	Datum Three, (p.4)

The representation of AP's role as a helper of individuals is evident in Q5.8.2, Q5.8.3 and Q5.8.4. The quote in Q5.8.2 is a photo caption from Datum Two. It describes a child who has been helped by an AP funded programme, Preparing for Life. In this quote, AP represents its funding as helping families ensure that their children are raised 'happy and healthy'. Without AP's help, as discussed in the previous section, children will have more negative outcomes such as mental and physical ill health as well as being unprepared for school. AP's role of helping individual parents is most apparent in Datum Three, which describes the Triple P Programme. While the primary aim of this programme is to help parents, AP also seeks to help 'schools and the wider community' (Q5.8.4). In its representation of its role as a helper the foundation determines who is in need of help. Those deemed to need help are described as 'vulnerable' (see Q5.5.4). The use of this term implies that those accessing prevention and early intervention services are helpless. The perception of helplessness as a deficit is developed in Q5.8.5 as the text describes that Triple P has 'destigmatised help'. The use of this phrase alludes to a tension in the text. While on the one hand, AP seeks to represent help as something that is to be encouraged, the use of the word 'destigmatised' implies that there may be a stigma attached to seeking help. While Triple P moves help-seeking to a positive action, it proposes that originally it was stigmatised (as discussed in the previous section regarding Q5.1.6 and Q5.1.7).

A further representation of AP as a 'helper' can be found in the use of the word 'support' in the selected texts. Other words with similar meaning to 'support' include 'assist' and 'help'. The word 'support' appears six times in Datum One. Four of these references relate directly to AP and the other two to the Irish government. In Datums Two and Three the word is used eight and five times respectively. The penultimate two pages of Datum Two, lists the titles of the programmes that services deliver. Two of these titles, in particular, further reinforce AP's role as a helper: 'Giving children the best start' and 'Supporting parents on their journey'. The use of the word support again reinforces a self-help representation and a focus on the individual as needing to solve a 'problem'. The use of the word 'Giving' is embedded in philanthropic discourse, most notably in The Giving Pledge, the initiative that promotes billionaires dedicating at least half of their wealth to giving back to good causes (see Chapters One (Section 1.1.1), Two (Section 2.3) and Three (Section 3.1)).

Helping to reshape service delivery

Table 5.9 Helping to Reshape Services for Children and Families

Quote	Source
Q5.9.1: 'Atlantic's investments are helping to transform the approach to serving all children in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland'**.**	Datum Two, (p. 4)
Q5.9.2: 'As Atlantic concludes its grantmaking, it is working with grantees to help them achieve their ultimate goal: making a lasting difference in the lives of children and young people'.	Datum Two, (p.4)
Q5.9.3: 'Archways, which promotes the Incredible Years training programme, is one of a number of organisations that Atlantic has supported'.	Datum One, (p.17)

AP also represents itself as helping to transform previous approaches to tackling childhood problems. This representation of helping also nests

AP's role as an investor in Q5.9.1 (see Section 5.2.2 for further discussion on this role). In this quote within the context of its role as an investor, AP represents itself as helping. While the quote does not refer to previous approaches to tackling these 'problems' as helpless, a similar proposition that the previous approach is 'vulnerable' or weak can be assumed as it is being transformed. Through AP's help, a new approach can be developed. Further evidence of its role in helping to develop a new approach to services is apparent in Q5.9.2. In this quote, AP represents itself as helping grantees, such as NGOs, community groups and in some instances, public bodies. These organisations form part of the new pluralistic approach to service delivery. This is a feature of government retrenchment, whereby services previously provided by the state are contracted out to other organisations in the private and not-for-profit sectors (see Chapter One). Finally, in Q5.9.3 the use of the word 'support' is again utilised in the description of helping 'Archways', which is one of AP's grantees.

5.2.2 'Problems' can be solved by the private sector – the role of the investor

AP proposes that the private sector has a role to play in solving the 'problems' represented in the texts. Through the adoption of business language, AP proposes that the 'problems' nested in the text can be addressed through the role of an investor. In Datums One and Two, the use of the word 'invest' is particularly discernible. Through its investments, AP is spending its entire endowment. These texts could have used the alternative verb, 'spend', in its description of the amount of money it has targeted towards prevention and early intervention and the type of work it has funded. Therefore, the texts seek to represent the expenditure of AP's monetary resources as something that will produce a return.

By representing its role as an investor, AP suggests that the response to childhood problems needs investment. More particularly, having problematised previous approaches to addressing these issues, it

suggests that child and family services need investment. They are underfunded and of 'doubtful value' (see Q5.5.2). They also propose that the response requires the application of methods used by the private sector. The term investment is closely associated with the worlds of business and commerce and is conventionally used to refer to the financing of projects that will provide a profit or financial return on the initial monetary support. The frequent use of this term is indicative of AP's operation as a philanthrocapitalist foundation. A defining feature of philanthrocapitalism is the adoption of business language and strategies to solve social problems, in addition to considering the private sector as an important collaborator.

In Datum One and Two, AP's role representation as an investor is particularly obvious through the use of "illeism". This stylistic device, meaning to refer to oneself (or in the case of an organisation itself) in the third person, enforces a sense of self-importance. In Datum One, the word and the terms 'investing' and 'investment' are mentioned seven times, all in close proximity to the foundation's name. In Datum Two, these terms are mentioned ten times, again alongside or within a couple of words of AP. There were no mentions of the word 'invest' in Datum Three and the latter document also fails to use "illeism" as a means of describing the foundation's work.

Table 5.10 Examples of the Use of the Word Invest

Quote	Source
Q5.10.1: 'Atlantic has invested $130.7 million in prevention and early intervention programmes in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland'.	Datum One (p.16)
Q5.10.2: 'The total investment is almost $38 million between 2013 and 2016'.	Datum Two (p. 4)

In Datums One (Q5.10.1) and Two (Q5.10.2), the word 'invest' is used to refer to the amount of money AP has provided for prevention and early

intervention services. In Datum One, AP uses the word invest to describe the total amount of funding provided on the island of Ireland, the total provided in the Republic of Ireland and the monetary amount given to three organisations in Dublin. Similar references are detailed in Datum Two. These repeated monetary references throughout the two texts about the levels of funding provided by AP reinforces their role as an investor as well as emphasizing the substantial funding provided to transform and alter (see Q5.5.4 and Q5.5.5) how services are delivered in Ireland.

Table 5.11 – Return on Investment

Quote	**Source**
Q5.11.1: '…the initiative funded 39 interventions to deliver 52 evidence-based services to children and young people in Ireland. Almost all of these programmes have been evaluated positively – under demanding testing'.	Datum Two (p.3)
Q5.11.2: 'A parenting programme that caters to the different levels of family need is showing consistent positive changes for both children and their parents in Ireland'.	Datum Three (p. 1)

Unlike previous approaches, which Datum Two proposes are of 'doubtful value' (see Q5.5.2), AP states that its funding will provide a return on investment. While in the business world a return on investment tends to be financial, AP's is not related to a financial gain, but rather the return is better services and outcomes for parents and children. This is highlighted in Q5.11.1 and Q5.11.2, which show the positive impact that the programmes have on children's lives. By demonstrating that prevention and early intervention works, through positive evaluations (Q5.11.1), the foundation is capturing the impact of its investment in this new approach to delivering services. In Q5.11.2, AP's investment in tackling the 'problem' of behaviour shows a return by capturing 'consistent positive change' for those individuals it is targeted at. AP's return on investment is also related to the leveraging of government funding. Through its investment, AP has succeeded in gaining '(an) equal

commitment of support from government' (see Q5.4.3). The monetary value of this support is detailed later in the text. However, the bolstering of this financial support through a commitment from the government to adopt the prevention and early intervention approach is perhaps a far more significant return and it is directly related to AP's representation of its role as a governor.

5.2.3 Adoption of the role of governor and philanthropic governing capacity

Leveraging Government Funding and Support

Addressing the 'problem' of previous approaches to delivering children's services by the state and civil society is strongly connected to AP's representation of its role as a governor. A central aspect of its representation of the role of governor is the leveraging of government funding and support – see Table 5.12.

Table 5.12 – Leveraging Government Funding and Support

Quote	Source
Q5.12.1: 'The [Children & Youth] Programme…served as a catalyst for change in encouraging [the Irish] government investment in evidence-based prevention and early intervention programmes'.	Datum One (p.16)
Q5.12.2: 'Atlantic secured co-funding with the two governments for a range of projects. In the Republic of Ireland, it was the rollout of large-scale demonstration programmes known as the Prevention and Early Intervention Programme (2006-2013) in the Greater Dublin region and the Centre for Effective Services'. Further, the Republic of Ireland government and Atlantic co-funded the Area Based Childhood Programme to continue evidence-informed interventions to improve the long-term outcomes for children and families living in	Datum Two (p.4)

Table 5.12 – Leveraging Government Funding and Support

Quote	Source
areas of disadvantage. The total investment is almost $38 million between 2013 and 2016'.	
Q5.12.3: 'By supporting families at risk, evidenced-based programmes, the sharing of knowledge and building an infrastructure for future work, Atlantic's impact will be felt for decades to come'.	Datum One (p.17)

AP's representation of its role as a governor is first evident in Datum One whereby its ability to leverage government funding and support is emphasised. This is one of the key facts presented on the first page of the Datum (Q5.12.1). This quote, extracted from the AP funded evaluation of the Disadvantaged Children and Youth programme, states that AP's funding has encouraged the government to financially support the programmes promoted by AP. In the statement, AP establishes itself as making an important contribution in developing the prevention and early intervention programme which moves beyond its own funding activities to shaping government policy and action. The assertion that AP's programme of funding has been a 'catalyst for change' (Q5.12.1) further supports this. The use of this latter phrase seeks to declare AP as having a critical influence on the government in shifting their response to childhood problems towards the adoption of a prevention and early intervention approach to children's services. The term, catalyst, is also particularly pertinent in the context of philanthropic governing capacity as AP is not just influencing change, rather it is the centrepiece of how change is shaped. The use of the term investment, in relation to the government's support for these programmes mirrors AP's representation of its role as an investor as discussed previously (see Section 5.2.2). Therefore, not only are AP trying to shape the government's policy focus, but it is also seeking to align it to the approach they themselves have adopted and initiated.

In Datum Two the extent of how AP leveraged government funding and support is outlined (Q5.12.2). In a three-year period, AP has leveraged $38 million in funding. However, more significantly is that the leveraging of this support has meant that services are delivered through the use of 'evidence-informed' interventions. This 'new way of thinking' is also emphasised in Q5.7.1 (see Table 5.7). In this latter quote AP perceives itself as an innovator. The text suggests that AP has a more innovative approach than other governors to addressing social issues through its use of 'evidence-based' programmes. Other approaches are once more problematised (see Section 5.1.3). The objective of philanthropy's support for such innovative approaches is to prove they are successful and therefore, the government will provide longer-term funding. By securing matched funding from both the Irish and Northern Irish governments, AP's initiatives can have a greater reach. In Datum Two AP seeks to construct itself as a powerful and assertive governor both in the response to the 'problems' of individual behaviour and wider social issues, as well as in developing a new approach to addressing these. It is AP's intention that it will have a substantial impact and they state this 'will be felt for decades to come' (Q5.12.3).

AP's influence as a governor

Table 5.13 AP's Role in Governing

Quote	Source
Q5.13.1: 'between 2004 and 2013, 90,000 children and young people, 24,000 parents and caregivers and 4,000 professionals benefitted from the programmes'.	Datum Two (p. 2)
Q5.13.2: 'Atlantic provided a $13.5 million grant to the Katharine Howard Foundation to support the strategic reform of universal health and well-being services for infants and their families'.	Datum Two (p. 4)
Q5.13.3: 'In Ireland Triple P was implemented for the first time in 2010 in the counties of Longford and Westmeath by the Midlands Area Parenting Partnership. It was	Datum Three (p. 3)

Table 5.13 AP's Role in Governing

Quote	Source
funded by The Atlantic Philanthropies, the Health Service Executive, Aontacht Phobail Teoranta and the Department of Children and Youth Affairs'.	
Q5.13.4: 'Triple P – the Positive Parenting Programme – is a multi-level public health approach that seeks to increase the knowledge, skills and confidence of parents in a given population and reduce the prevalence of mental health and behavioural problems in children and adolescents'.	Datum Three (p. 2)
Q5.13.5: 'Media strategy health promotion and social marketing strategies – This aspect of the programme targets the entire population to promote positive parenting and increase receptivity to parenting programmes, letting parents know that help exists and it is ok to ask for it'.	Datum Three (p.3)

AP's influence in shaping how services are delivered is developed further through the acknowledgement of the number of people impacted by the prevention and early intervention programme (Q5.13.1) and the fact that one grantee will reform 'universal health and well-being services' (Q5.13.2). The latter assertion, means that services available to all families will be transformed. However, the strongest example of AP's role as a governor is found in the text regarding how the Triple P Programme will be implemented (Datum Three). The description of how Triple P has been implemented in the Irish midlands through a number of stakeholders is indicative of AP acting as a governor (Q5.13.3). The Triple P Programme is not just initiated or funded by AP, but rather by a cross-body of governors from the community and public sectors acting as a policy network. Through AP's funding the Triple P Programme is reshaping the delivery of services and supports to parents in this specific geographic area. The whole population focus of the programme is also

apparent in Q5.13.4 as it seeks to 'increase the knowledge, skills and confidence of parents in a given population'. Therefore, AP acts with hyperagency seeking to establish the institutional framework within which they and others live (see Chapter Two). The use of media and health promotion strategies ensures that the entire population of the midlands is informed and made aware of the programme (Q5.13.5).

5.3 What are the assumptions underpinning AP's roles?

In this section, I outline the assumptions underpinning AP's role representations. The selected texts illustrate how AP enacts its role as a philanthrocapitalist organisation in its self-representation as an investor and a governor. This is most apparent in its use of business language and methods as well as the claim that government alone cannot solve social issues. The use of the concept of evidence is also an obvious feature across each role representation. As a helper, AP uses evidence to identify who needs help. As part of its role as an investor, AP invests in research and evaluation infrastructure, while as a governor evidence acts as a means of demonstrating the success of its initiatives and a way of leveraging government funding and support.

5.3.1 Enactment of Philanthrocapitalism

Marketized Discourse and use of Business Methods

The use of business language is apparent throughout the three selected texts. Table 5.14 provides examples of the terms that appear multiple times in the Datums. The use of this language shifts AP's representation of its role away from the etymology of the word philanthropy and towards one, which adopts some of the features of philanthrocapitalism. Such an approach to addressing social issues tends to incorporate the use of business methods into philanthropic giving.

Table 5.14 – The Language of Philanthrocapitalism

Category	Word (number of mentions)	Source
Business terms	Benefit (4)	Datums – Two; Three
	Cost(ly) (5)	Datums – One; Two;

Table 5.14 – The Language of Philanthrocapitalism

Category	Word (number of mentions)	Source
	Impact (5)	Datums – One; Two; Three
	Invest(ment/ed) (17)	Datums – One; Two;
	Result(s) (9)	Datums – One; Two; Three
	Return on Investment (1)	Datum – Two
	Sustain(ed/ability) (3)	Datums – One; Two; Three
	Yield (1)	Datum – Two

The most frequently used business term in the selected text is the word 'invest' (n=17). This is not surprising given that in the previous section (see Section 5.2.2), I argue that AP represents itself as an investor. Other words such as 'impact' (n=5); 'cost(ly)' (n=5) and 'benefit' (n=4) further reinforce a focus on business terms. Responses are framed as being aligned to business methods through a focus on ensuring that there is an impact or benefit. Less frequently used terms include – 'return on investment' (n=1) and 'yield' (n=1). Yet these two latter words further illuminate the use of a business approach to tackling the 'problems' nested in the texts as they draw on the discourse used in relation to financial investments.

Part of AP's adoption of the use of business language and methods is the dichotomy of the profitability of early versus late intervention.

Table 5.15 – Profitability of Prevention and Early Intervention

Quotes	Source
Q5.15.1: 'If the causes of disruptive behaviours are not addressed early on, that can require later intervention	Datum One (p.17)

Table 5.15 – Profitability of Prevention and Early Intervention

Quotes	Source
that could cost as much as €279,000 (£225,000 or $325,000) over a lifetime (Datum One).	
Q5.15.2: 'Atlantic also made a $13.7 million grant to Galway University Foundation to transform child and family services in Ireland by embedding prevention and early intervention into the culture and operation of the new national family support system'.	Datum Two (p.4)
Q5.15.3: 'Atlantic's grants in prevention and early intervention have successfully leveraged government funding and support'.	Datum One, (p. 17)

In Datum One, financial costs of early versus later interventions are set out to be substantially greater. The costs of the latter are expected to be as much as €279,000 across the lifetime (Q5.15.1). Intervening early therefore is constructed as a profitable use of AP's financial resources. Not only does early intervention represent good value for money, but it also results in what are perceived as better outcomes for young people (see Q5.4.5). Therefore AP represents itself as financially efficient by intervening early with cost effective ways to deal with social issues in contrast to responses that are viewed as financially inefficient. The profitability of early intervention is also evident in Datum Two with the 'embedding' of such an approach as part of the infrastructure that AP has constructed (Q5.15.2). To further enhance the profitability of prevention and early intervention, AP 'made a $13.7 million grant to Galway University Foundation to transform child and family services in Ireland' (Q5.15.2). The most obvious profitability of AP's grants has been through the leveraging of 'government funding and support' (Q5.15.3). AP has garnered the greatest return on its investment or profit by showing the government that their investments work.

<u>Government alone cannot solve social problems</u>

Proponents of philanthrocapitalism argue that its existence has partly come about due to the belief that government alone cannot solve social issues. AP's continued emphasis on its partnership approach with government, throughout the selected texts, is demonstrative of this. This is a central feature of AP's self-representation of its role as a governor and its adoption of philanthropic governing capacity. The expansion of the role of governor beyond elected government is most evident in Datums Two and Three. In these texts AP asserts that the delivery of prevention and early intervention services should be a collaborative approach between the government and nongovernmental organisations (Q5.16.1). Datum Three (Q5.16.2) describes how a range of different actors, such as teachers and police officers, are charged with delivering the Triple P Parenting Programme. The funding of Triple P through a combination of state and philanthropic actors is an indication of this also.

Table 5.16 Government Alone Cannot Solve Social Problems

Quote	Source
Q5.16.1: ' As a result of these investments, Atlantic and its grantees were able to… show that government and nongovernmental organisations can work together to change outcomes for children and young people'.	Datum Two (p.2)
Q5.16.2: '…the intervention can be flexibly delivered in multiple settings by different types of service providers, including family support workers counsellors, teachers, as well as police officers and clergy, which broadens its reach from other such programmes'.	Datum Three (p.2)
Q5.16.3: 'From 2004 to 2013, The Atlantic Philanthropies invested $164 million with the goal of transforming the way that children and young people receive services on the island of Ireland'.	Datum Two (p. 2)

The role of other actors in the implementation of policy is also crucial in the infrastructure that AP has constructed around prevention and early

intervention. For example, CES ‘synthesises learnings from the initiative and elsewhere to support policy makers and organisations with effective implementation’ (see Q5.18.2). AP’s grantmaking and the relationships it has developed and leveraged as part of the prevention and early intervention funding has meant that many actors have been involved in the implementation of services using this approach. The last page of Datum Two provides the contact details of the organisations funded and associated with this programme. These organisations comprise of a wide range of actors, including government bodies (Pobal), academic institutions (University of Limerick Foundation) and established charities (Society of St Vincent de Paul). Other organisations include those engaged in philanthropy (Business in the Community) and non-governmental organisations originally set up through funding provided by AP (youngballymun, Preparing for Life). The list of organisations is further confirmation that AP sees social issues as needing to be addressed not only by government, but also by other actors in society acting in a manner similar to a policy network where multiple entities play a role in implementation.

Finally, in Q5.16.3 the significant role of philanthropy, that is AP, in addressing social issues, is demonstrated. Over a nine-year period the foundation has donated a substantial amount of funding, $164 million, ‘with the goal of transforming the way that children and young people receive services on the island of Ireland’. AP’s influence on the institutional framework of children’s services is further reinforced in the second part of Q5.15.2. Through the awarding of funding to NUI Galway, AP has ensured that prevention and early intervention approaches have been embedded ‘into the culture and operation of the new family support system’. This further illustrates AP’s exertion of hyperagency or philanthropic governing capacity and emphasises the role that philanthropy plays in addressing social issues.

5.3.2 Evidence

Through the use of evidence AP has reshaped the delivery of children's services and secured support for this approach from the Irish government. The collection and use of evidence is an integral part of AP's self-representation. Evidence is a central aspect of how the prevention and early intervention approach is implemented. In Section 5.1.3, I argue that state and civil society approaches to tackling childhood problems and social issues are problematised as lacking evidence. AP proposes that a new approach is necessary and that evidence is a central concept within this approach. The use of the term 'evidence' is closely related to scientific philanthropy whereby approaches from the physical sciences are adopted by foundations. It is also reflective of the wider global trend towards the delivery of evidence-based services. In its triple role representation as a helper-investor-governor, evidence is a central assumption adopted by the foundation. More broadly this concept is used as a means of identifying who needs help (see Q5.3.4), to evaluate the value or return on investments (see Q5.12.2) and, in the context of AP's role as a governor, the development of evidence-based approaches has helped to ensure government funding and support (see Q5.12.1).

Table 5.17 Types of Evidence Gathered and used by AP

Quote	Source
Q5.17.1: 'According to the UK's National Institute for Health and Excellence, up to half of all children with early-onset conduct problems have serious problems that persist throughout life'.	Datum Three, (p.2)
Q5.17.2: 'To understand the broader, population-level impact of the programme, approximately 1,500 families were randomly selected from two Irish Midland counties and interviewed before and after the implementation of a suite of Triple P programmes. Families may or may not have taken part in Triple P. Evaluators compared results from these interviews	Datum Three, (p.4)

Table 5.17 Types of Evidence Gathered and used by AP

Quote	Source
with results from interviews with 1,500 other randomly selected families from one matched larger county'.	
Q5.17.3: 'Atlantic required grantees to use evaluation methods such as randomised controlled trials or quasi-experimental designs'.	Datum Two, (p.3)

Evidence is used in the texts to connect and nest individual behavioural problems and wider social problems (Q5.17.1 and see Table 5.3). In Datum Three, the benefits of the Triple P programme are described in terms of the reduction in the percentage of individuals with problematic behaviour (see Q5.2.1 and Q5.17.2). Throughout the three datums, AP emphasises the use of quantitative data as a means of illustrating the effectiveness of prevention and early intervention. The use of random control tests is also highlighted in Datums Two (Q5.17.3) and Three (Q5.17.2 in reference to the random selection of families in participating and non-participating Triple P counties), illustrating the use of scientific methods by AP in its approach to prevention and early intervention.

Investment in Evidence Infrastructure to prove AP's approach works

In the representation of AP's role as an investor, the concept of evidence is used as a means of showing its investment works (see Table 5.18).

Table 5.18 Research and Evidence Infrastructure

Quotes	Source
Q5.18.1: 'an infrastructure that provides high-quality research that informs policy decisions and programme choices'.	Datum Two (p.2)
Q5.18.2: 'Atlantic, in conjunction with two government departments in the Republic of Ireland, launched the Centre for Effective Services (CES) in 2009. CES helps children, youth and community services to make better use of evidence of what works so they can deliver more	Datum Two (p. 3)

Table 5.18 Research and Evidence Infrastructure

Quotes	Source
effective services. CES also synthesises learnings from the initiative and elsewhere to support policy makers and organisations with effective implementation'.	

As part of AP's support for a prevention and early intervention approach to addressing the identified 'problems', the foundation invested in the establishment of evidence and research infrastructure (Q5.18.1). Both Datums Two and Three emphasise the research and evidence infrastructure constructed by AP's investments. The emphasis on their construction suggests that prior to AP's funding, there were no research or evidence capabilities or infrastructure. In Datum Two, the development of the Centre for Effective Services (CES) is noted in the text (Q5.18.2). The purpose of the CES is to assist services in making 'better use of evidence of what works so that they can deliver more effective services'. In this way the CES reinforces the focus on evidence in the services that AP has funded (as discussed in more detail in Chapter Three). This organisation, amongst other things supports 'policy makers and organisations with effective implementation'. The purpose of CES perhaps implies that prior to its establishment, implementation of policy and services was ineffective. The setting up of this organisation through AP's co-funding with the Irish government leaves a visible mark in terms of the work the foundation's investments were promoting. Through the development of this infrastructure, AP can ensure that its investments provide a return or yield.

Table 5.19 Use of Evidence to Prove Investment Works

Quotes	Source
Q5.19.1: '…reports of parents' stress showed an approximately 30 per cent reduction in the number of cases in the counties where Triple P was offered'.	Datum Three (p. 1)

Table 5.19 Use of Evidence to Prove Investment Works

Quotes	Source
Q5.19.2: 'a reliance on evidence during all phases of a programme- during planning, design and implementation'.	Datum Two (p. 3)
Q5.19.3: 'Nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) researched and then put into place programmes that had outcomes backed by evidence'.	Datum Two (p. 3)

The programmes developed by AP's investments have embedded evaluation within their grants (Q5.19.2) and collected data which is amenable to quantifiable scientific measurement to show a positive return on investment (Q5.19.1). This latter quote specifically draws out a quantifiable measurement of the positive impact that the programme has had with a 30 per cent reduction in parental stress. Datum Two highlights that evidence is included in the development and implementation of services for children and young people (Q5.19.2). Through their funding, AP claims to have enabled grantees to gain skills in research and evidence collection (Q5.19.3). This forms part of the assumptions underpinning AP's role as an investor as their funding ensures that organisations they support are up-skilled in this area. They are ensuring that grantees acquire skills in developing evidence-based programmes.

<u>Proving its approach works as a means of continuing support</u>

AP's impact includes not only addressing individual behavioural problems amongst children engaged with the services initiated by them, but also by reshaping policy responses in this area going forward (see Q5.12.3). By proving, through evidence, that prevention and early intervention works, these programmes can be replicated elsewhere. This is further referenced by the fact that the programmes being delivered in Ireland are replicated in Europe (Q5.20.1). The use of evidence by the Triple P Parenting Programme has meant that it has been placed at 'number 1 on the United Nations' ranking of parenting programmes' (Q5.20.2). This

constructs AP's role as having a longer lasting impact than only supporting a number of organisations at a point in time in one country. Therefore, the positive evaluation of AP's approaches is an important rationale for ensuring their continuation.

Table 5.20 Evidence as a Means of Proving AP's Approach Works

Quote	Source
Q5.20.1: 'Moreover, several of the prevention programmes that Atlantic has supported in Northern Ireland have been replicated in other countries, including England, Macedonia, Zambia, Serbia and Colombia. For example, the European Union is now funding a programme to tackle prejudice in Northern Ireland in other conflict societies'.	Datum One, (p. 17)
Q5.20.2: 'Triple P is number 1 on the United Nations' ranking of parenting programmes, based on the extent of its evidence base'.	Datum Three, (p.2)

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I explore the discourses used by AP in texts regarding its funding for a prevention and early intervention approach to children's services. Through the development of an analysis of how AP represents the problem(s) it is responding to and its self-representation of its role I have demonstrated an understanding of how it responds to and shapes the social world it exists in.

At the start of this chapter, I provided an analysis of the problems represented in the selected texts. Undertaking this analysis and identifying these problem representations in the texts is a fundamental part of understanding AP's role representation. AP's representation of the 'problem' of individual behaviour is set within the context of neoliberal policies. Terms such as justice and equality are strikingly absent. Childhood problems are deemed capable of being addressed by ensuring that individuals, children and their parents, are self-regulating. An

emphasis on the connection of the behaviour of the individual and wider social problems is also apparent perhaps indicating that if individuals were self-regulating this would defray wider issues in society. It is striking, but perhaps not surprising, that 'problems' are framed in this way given the role of the market in the origins of wealth creation (see Chapter Two and Chapter Three). However, it is AP's representation of civil society and state responses to these 'problems' that is most closely associated with its role representation. In the texts, AP represents these approaches as being punitive, costly (bad value for money) and lacking in evidence. While it may be the case that these previous approaches were more costly and ineffectual, there is a failure to acknowledge any benefits associated with previous approaches. The focus of the texts is solely on prevention and early intervention as the best way of tackling the 'problems' identified in the texts. Therefore, AP proposes that there should be a new way of doing things.

Following on from my analysis of how AP represents the problem to which it is responding, I discuss what role AP represents itself as having in addressing this. AP returns to the benevolent definition of philanthropy in representing its role as a helper in the selected texts. This representation seeks not only to help individuals with behavioural problems but also to help improve the prevailing approach to addressing this problem. The neoliberal discourse evident in the representation of problems in the texts is also obvious with regard to AP's role representation. Through its representation of its role as an investor, AP returns to the idea that all action is related to the market or economics. The adoption and use of business language and approaches is an indication of this. AP proposes that responding to childhood problems or broader social problems requires market approaches which provide a return on investment. AP's role as a governor also has elements of the business world nested within it: leveraging government support and funding is similar to receiving a return on investment. Returning to the central focus of this research, the selected texts show that AP adopts philanthropic governing capacity, not only in relation to securing funding

from the government for its initiatives, but also by influencing government in terms of shifting the prevailing state response and service delivery to a prevention and early intervention approach.

Of primary concern to my research is how AP enacts its role within the realm of philanthrocapitalist organisations. This chapter has highlighted how the many of the features of philanthrocapitalism are apparent in the discourses used in texts about AP's prevention and early intervention funding. Primarily, the texts use a marketized discourse in describing the approaches proposed by AP to tackling childhood problems. The assumption that government alone cannot solve social issues is also drawn out in my analysis. Central to the concept of philanthrocapitalism is a focus on verification of results, impact and the efficient use of resources or a good return on investment. Evidence is essential to ensuring these are achieved and this is gathered and assessed through the use of evaluation methods. AP's representation of its role as an investor and a governor displays these features. In the concluding chapter, I provide further analysis of my empirical findings in relation to my research questions.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

6.0 Introduction

Bishop and Green's (2009) concept of philanthrocapitalism has been to the fore of this study. Philanthrocapitalism operates within a global context of increased income inequality (Chan et al., 2019) and the opening up of the space of governing to many actors (Swyngedouw, 2005; Osborne, 2006). I have sought to use this model of philanthropy as a critical lens through which to explore AP's operation in Ireland and its use of discourses in selected texts about their prevention and early intervention funding. The definition of this contemporary manifestation of philanthropy sees giving embedded with and within business practices, along with a belief that governments alone can no longer solve social issues. In Ireland, to date, there has been little analysis of philanthropy operating from within the framework of philanthrocapitalism. This research has shown how philanthrocapitalism is enacted in AP's use of discourses in selected texts about its funding for a prevention and early intervention approach to children's services. Through this analysis I have shown how AP has used a philanthrocapitalist discourse to shape the problems its funding addresses based on a deficit model of the poor and to reinforce a neoliberal understanding of the role of the state.

In this concluding chapter, I situate my research findings within the international literature on philanthrocapitalism and in particular arguments that assert that its operation is undermining democracy (Eikenberry, 2006a; McGoey, 2015). I suggest that examining an incidence of AP's philanthropic funding in Ireland, in the context of these critiques, makes a significant contribution to Irish and international research on philanthropy. I do this first, by responding to the research questions outlined in Chapter One of this thesis and secondly, by outlining how my research can be built upon further. In concluding, I discuss how my research findings relate to current developments in philanthropy in Ireland, particularly in

the context of the response to the economic and societal challenges brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic.

6.1 Responding to the Research Questions

The aim of this research was to explore the contribution of large philanthropic organisations to transformations in contemporary liberal democracies. A central focus of this study has been the concept of philanthrocapitalism and the operation of foundations within this model of philanthropy. In particular, my research examined the work of The Atlantic Philanthropies in Ireland and the enactment of this model of philanthropy in the discourses used in texts about its prevention and early intervention funding. Three research questions were explored in this thesis:

1) How does AP define the problems to which its prevention and early intervention funding are responding?
2) How does AP represent its own role in responding to these problems?
3) In its texts about prevention and early intervention initiatives, can it be said that AP has assumed the role of a governor by 'tak(ing) on roles previously reserved for governments' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 270) and implement(ed) policy through their independent funding choices' (Eikenberry, 2006a: 588-9)?

Building on the arguments in the literature, I demonstrate how a foundation's representation of the problems they address contributes to their hegemonic role by influencing the state to adopt a similar definition of the problem. A further means by which they do this is in their self-representation, particularly in instances where they adopt the role of governor and take on the role previously reserved solely for government.

6.1.1 How does AP define the problems to which its prevention and early intervention funding are responding to?

Central to this study have been the arguments put forward by a number of scholars that philanthropic foundations are undermining democracy (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010; McGoey, 2015 and Reich, 2018). Amongst

the issues raised by this critique is that foundations make decisions with little legitimacy and accountability, about the direction of public policy (Sievers, 2010) or what social issues should be addressed (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010). It is argued that the concentration of decision making amongst those in leadership roles in foundations effectively means that control of what social issues need to be addressed is in the hands of the one-per cent (Levine, 2016). In Chapter Three, my analysis of AP's operation both in Ireland and globally shows that similar issues arise with regard to decisions about where the foundation's funding should be directed. These decisions on what to fund were led and influenced initially by both AP's founder and its board, and later by its programme staff. This concentration of decision-making was further reinforced as the foundation was wound down. The final grants awarded and the development and execution of the GOAL programme was shaped and led solely by AP's President and CEO Christopher Oechsli (Prosico, 2015).

While the literature raises concerns about the legitimacy about what to fund, my research moves beyond asking *what* and considered *how* these issues were represented and defined. Jensen (2013) identified this in her research as an imperative feature of foundations, as how they view the world 'can influence a society's norms, morality, perspectives and political principles' (p. 107). Undertaking an analysis of the discourses used by AP in selected texts about its prevention and early intervention funding allowed for an exploration of the foundation's construction of the problems this funding aimed to tackle. An adapted version of Bacchi's (2009) WPR framework to structure this analysis provided a means to study how AP, as a philanthrocapitalist foundation, represents and shapes these problems rather than evaluate what the foundation was seeking to achieve.

In the selected texts, the one per cent's view of the world is evident in how AP represents the problems its prevention and early intervention funding seeks to tackle. AP's representation of deficits in the behaviour of the poor or those living in disadvantaged communities as problematic and

the cause of social problems is indicative of this. The texts infer that through the modification of individual behaviour, such as building resilience, children can become contributing adults. Neoliberal state policies, which benefit the most well off, often focus on the individual's contribution to society and the idea of homo economicus. This idea of individualism or self-reliance promotes the ideal that success is dependent on the individual themselves and not other factors (Pendenza and Lamattina, 2019). This is further reinforced in the texts by connecting problematic individual behaviour with wider social problems along with a focus on how this interplays with areas of disadvantage. In doing so, AP fails to consider the impact of other material aspects and structural issues such as income inequality or lack of community investment due to government retrenchment and public spending cutbacks.

This problem representation illustrates how AP, while professing itself to be 'a catalyst for change', merely reinforces the status quo and a system of inequality. The focus is solely on improving individuals, not the conditions that exist which create these problems – the ones that the origins of philanthropic wealth has benefitted from. A marketized response adopts an understanding of socioeconomic inequalities that sees them as rooted in behavioural deficiencies of the poor. As AP's wealth was created through market driven activity, this may partly explain why it is silent on tackling problems such as income inequality. To truly tackle such an issue would require developing a more just tax system leading to an increase in taxation for the most well off (Chan et al., 2019). The creation of wealth in the context of capitalist activity is an important juxtaposition given the purpose of AP's funding for prevention and early intervention approaches to children's services which tend to be situated in disadvantaged communities (see Datum 1 and Datum 2). Therefore, those who have benefitted from the poverty of others are getting to shape how this poverty is dealt with (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010). This definition of needs by AP and their representation of the 'problem', is dependent on the existence of marginal groups that more powerful groups such as philanthropic foundations can assist. Solely

problematising individual, behaviour, means AP fails to see how the system of the market contributes to the social problems it is trying to address. By merely setting out through this problem representation to treat the symptoms, such as behaviour, as opposed to tackling root causes, such as structural issues, AP fails to be transformative (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010). To do otherwise would call for a dismantling of the system that has enabled philanthropy and AP to exist in the first place. Furthermore, AP promotes the use of business methods and approaches as part of the solution to addressing the problems represented in the selected texts (see discussion in Section 6.1.2).

The selected texts also identify previous approaches to tackling childhood problems as problematic. These approaches are represented as being inadequate and this acts as a means of reinforcing the need for AP and therefore, philanthropy and in particular philanthrocapitalism. Previous research examining the discourses used by philanthropic foundations concluded that foundations often talk more about themselves than the issues they are trying to address (Jensen, 2013; Eikenberry and Mirabella, 2018). In the selected texts, the problem representation of other approaches emphasises the failings of state interventions and helps to promote philanthropy and legitimate its involvement in addressing social problems. I argue that this emphasis is a means by which AP promotes the necessity for philanthropy. Through the enactment of the key assumptions underpinning philanthrocapitalism, AP promotes its own role in tackling social problems. As highlighted in the next section, this is also emphasised through the use of business language or a marketized discourse which tends to focus more on 'those who feel bad about poverty' rather than the issue of poverty itself (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 982). The association of previous approaches with negative words and expressions is a further reinforcement of this as AP and philanthropy in general is promoted in a favourable light. Prewitt's (2006) assertion that philanthropists seldom talk about their failures is connected to this latter point. This argument that philanthropy can amount to a public relations or marketing ploy rather than an altruistic act, is not a new phenomenon as

previous manifestations of help and philanthropy focus on what giving does for the giver rather than the recipient (Sievers, 2010; Gronemeyer, 2010; Mauss, 1950). However, my analysis shows that it is not just annual reports or foundation funded evaluation reports that promote philanthropy, but rather it is embedded in the discourses used by the foundation in the description of the problems it is trying to address.

6.1.2 How does AP represent its own role in responding to these problems?

Christopher Oechsli's (2014) blog post on AP's website attempted to set aside previous assertions that it was a 'spend down' foundation. In doing so, his post provides an insight into the emphasis the foundation places on how it represents itself. On my initial reading of this post, I mistakenly assumed this was a commentary on how AP was (mis)represented in the media and this was a means of reclaiming its rightful representation. However, as I examined other documents published by the foundation it was clear that the discourse of 'spending down' its entire endowment was central to AP's self-representation (Proscio, 2010b). As part of Chuck Feeney's *Giving While Living* philosophy, AP's primary aim was to disperse his entire fortune within a fixed timeframe. The use of an alternative discourse or new way of representing this, as outlined in Oechsli's post, is an indication of the importance that AP placed on its self-representation. Adapting Bacchi's (2009) WPR framework provided a means through which I could examine AP's self-representation and how the foundation has enacted its role in Ireland. In Chapter Five, my analysis of the selected texts about AP's prevention and early intervention funding identifies a triple role for the foundation as a helper-investor-governor. While I provide a separate analysis of each of these role representations in the previous chapter, the three roles form a central and integrated part of AP's self-representation as a philanthrocapitalist organisation.

Firstly, I argue that AP represents itself as a helper. By representing itself in this way, the power AP exerts through the distribution of Chuck

Feeney's wealth is obscured. I argue that this has been instrumental in why it has received little critical analysis to date (examples include MacCarthaigh, 1997; O'Clery, 2003, 2017; Cullen, 2012). The concept of help is connected with an individual's desire to be perceived as virtuous (Gronemeyer, 2010). The association of virtue with giving away individual wealth, as a way of helping the less well off, is a central theme of Carnegie's (1889) *Gospel of Wealth,* which shaped the nature of Feeney's original intent to give away his entire fortune. This helped to shape the Giving While Living philosophy*,* which has been influential in encouraging others to sign up to The Giving Pledge. In Chapter Three, I argue that Feeney's own life story and personality traits are evident in the discourse of AP and its self-representation. This is succinctly asserted in Mary Robinson's quote - 'Chuck is Atlantic and Atlantic is Chuck' (The Magnum Foundation and The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2014: 51). The framing of Feeney as an altruistic and ordinary billionaire, becomes part of AP's self-representation. As a benevolent helper, AP and Feeney's actions are represented as reflecting the conventional and original meaning of philanthropy and rooted in the etymology of the word – love of mankind (Anheier & List, 2005; Brest, 2005; Sievers 2010; Sulek, 2010a, 2010b). This is further enacted in the selected texts about AP's prevention and early intervention funding. In these texts AP represents itself as not only helping children and parents to modify bad behaviour, but they are helping to reshape the approach to how services for children are delivered. The idea of a benevolent helper is problematic as it creates power dynamics, which imply that those needing help are deficient and inferior as well as framing the response as a gift rather than an entitlement (Eikenberry, 2006b). Through the representation of helping a 'them and us' narrative is exposed. Undoubtedly children and parents receiving help for behavioural problems are framed within this power dynamic. However, it is the 'them and us' narrative between philanthropy (AP) and the state and other approaches to delivering children's services that is more problematic. This representation enables AP to set itself apart from the state, by being more efficient and effective in tackling childhood problems. In doing so, as I argue later in this chapter, they take

on a role of governor. This narrative of virtue and helping acts as a means to conceal the power that AP actually exerts through this role.

While Feeney decided to help those less well off, his means of doing so was driven by his experience as an entrepreneur, and this became a central feature of the foundation's operation. The two distinct, but parallel, approaches to giving pursued by AP, were both strongly influenced by business practices and a marketized discourse, which is a key feature of philanthrocapitalism (Bishop and Green, 2009). The enactment of this business style of giving is strongly apparent in the selected texts about the prevention and early intervention funding. There are a number of business terms used throughout, including reference to 'benefit', 'costs' and 'impact'. The weighing up of the costs and benefits of prevention and early intervention is similar to the approach applied in business transactions or investments. The adoption of the role of an investor is also reinforced by the striking frequency with which the term 'invest' is used in the texts. The repeated reference to this term relates to Bill Gates' assertion that for businesses to get involved in charitable giving 'they need to earn some kind of return' (Gates, 2008 referenced in McGoey, 2012: 194). It is clear that through their approach to philanthropic giving AP wanted to ensure it had an impact or return on its investment beyond those it directly funded. Its focus on 'improving public policy' is one example of this, as this would affect more people than those in receipt of services (Proscio, 2010b). Despite this focus on the use of business methods and language the juxtaposition of the origins of philanthropy is once again not acknowledged. Similar to its problem representation of individual behaviour, in its adoption of business style language and practices, AP is silent about how the use of these approaches by the market contribute to the development of a capitalist society which contributed to the creation of the problems that they wish to address as an investor.

One of the most marked examples of AP's use of a business style of operation in Ireland is how it leveraged funding and support from the Irish

government from the outset of its operation here. The first grant that AP awarded in Ireland received matched funding from the Irish government (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015a). This demonstrates its role as an investor as it maximized the funding it provided to grantees through government support. The support from the government is not only connected to AP's role as an investor but also as a governor. AP's adoption of this role is in the context of a move away from social issues being addressed solely by government. This is due to fiscal constraints and dissatisfaction among citizens that governments are not adequately tackling social problems (Bishop and Green, 2015). Similar to the framing of problems through the lens of neoliberal state policies, the adoption of the role of governor has come about through government cutbacks. Governments are recognising the potential to partner with the private sector 'in solving society's toughest problems' (Bishop and Green, 2015: 542). The role of governor is not just assumed by AP but rather, as Jung and Harrow (2015) highlight is often the case, the Irish government has encouraged AP to assume this position and allowed it to influence the direction of policy. In Chapters One and Three, I highlight how several past Programmes for Government, along with the current blueprint, refer to either AP or philanthropy specifically in relation to the implementation of the government's priorities (Government of Ireland, 2006; 2011; 2016; 2020). These references act as a means of legitimating or endorsing AP's adoption of the role of a governor or another 'arm of government' (Schmitt, 2015: 551). In the next section, I address further the adoption of the role of governor by AP and its exertion of hyperagency and philanthropic governing capacity as part of this self-representation and the consequences of this for Irish policymaking.

6.1.3 In its texts about prevention and early intervention initiatives, can it be said that AP has assumed the role of a governor by 'tak(ing) on roles previously reserved for governments' (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010: 270) and implement(ed) policy through their independent funding choices' (Eikenberry, 2006a: 588-9)?

In this thesis I argue that through its operational characteristics and in the discourses used in its texts about funding for prevention and early intervention initiatives, AP has both acted and represented itself as a governor. The adoption by philanthropists of the role of governor is based on the assumption, embedded in the concept of philanthrocapitalism, that social issues can no longer be solved by government alone (Bishop and Green, 2009). Cutbacks to public spending mean there is a restriction on the ability of elected officials and civil servants to introduce new policy initiatives or deliver services in an innovative way without support from the private sector (Eikenberry, 2007; Bishop, 2013). With increased wealth, private citizens can initiate change at the level of governmental spending through the establishment of philanthropic foundations. Globally this is evident through the work of Gates, Bloomberg, Turner and others who, through the disbursement of their independent wealth, have taken on the role once reserved for democratically elected governments (Bishop, 2013; Bishop and Green, 2009). In Ireland, the distribution of over $1bn in grants by AP has been the sole example to date of a philanthropic foundation having the financial capacity to act in such a way. Yet, there has been little exploration of whether and how AP has adopted the role of governor and the consequences of this for Irish society.

The terms philanthropic governing capacity and hyperagency are directly associated with the role of governing (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010 and Schervish, 1997). AP's intention to adopt a governing role, at a global level, was most strikingly apparent when it set out its strategic direction in 2002. In determining where to target the resources of the foundation, AP's board and staff looked to identify where it could 'have the greatest

and most immediate impact in changing trajectories for disadvantaged and marginalized people, communities and nations' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015a: 9). AP's intention to influence policy, particularly in the area of prevention and early intervention, is clearly stated in the goal of its Children and Youth programme which aimed to bring about 'lasting improvements in the lives of disadvantaged children and young people' (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2005: 10). These two statements are indicative of the foundation's resolve to exert philanthropic governing capacity and hyperagency as their impact reaches beyond merely contributing to the alleviation of disadvantage but rather shaping the response to these social issues at a community and national level across the globe.

AP's exertion of hyperagency in Ireland is illustrated by a number of facts. Firstly, over the course of three decades the foundation awarded over 1,000 grants to the value of $1.3billion to not-for-profit and educational organisations. The intention to distribute this level of funding in such a short space of time was driven by the *Giving while Living* philosophy and its time limited approach to spending Chuck Feeney's entire fortune. This ensured that AP's funding 'would exceed even the best financial return on an endowment left perpetually in the hands of investment managers' (Proscio, 2010b: 8). The foundation represented itself as playing 'a catalytic role' in Ireland, a phrase which speaks directly to the nature of hyperagency (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2015a: 3). This means that rather than merely contribute to established responses to social issues, AP reshaped these into new ways of doing things. The assertion of the former Irish President, Mary Robinson, reflects this as she affirms that AP transformed third level education, the human rights sector, and the peace process in Ireland (The Atlantic Philanthropies and The Magnum Foundation, 2014). The high level of dependency that grantees had on AP, as highlighted in Chapter Three, shows that the foundation was influential on their mere survival as the foundation's exit had a negative impact on many organisations (Crosbie, 2013). At a global level the implementation of GOAL whereby the foundation aimed to have an

impact beyond its own existence is a further indication of AP's exertion of philanthropic governing capacity.

In my analysis of the selected texts about its funding for prevention and early intervention, the enactment of the role of governor is evident in the shaping and representation of the problems that this funding is to tackle. The influence that foundations can have in shaping problems has been highlighted by Francis (2019) who found that a philanthropic funder in the 1920s redirected the focus of the NAACP and what the latter identified as the most pressing racial issue. AP's partnership with government legitimises and endorses the problems identified in the selected texts. Outside of the texts analysed in the previous chapter, references in programme for government documents of this approach to service delivery is an endorsement of the prevention and early intervention approach and the problems it addresses (Government of Ireland, 2011). By adopting the prevention and early intervention approach to children's services, the government has accepted AP's problem representation. AP's influence on the direction of policymaking and implementation was apparent when the foundation pressured the Irish government to remain committed to funding third level research when a change of Minister prioritised educational disadvantage (O'Clery, 2013). The action of the Irish government, therefore, is to follow AP's lead and to continue to provide support for the programme developed and led by the foundation. This leader role adopted by AP in relation to governing is also evident in the selected texts particularly in reference to the replication of AP's approach in other countries by the European Union. Governors in other countries and in the EU are seen to follow AP's initiative by replicating the programme it has initiated. The selected texts also highlight AP's adoption of the role of governor through the direction of funding to NUI Galway to ensure the prevention and early intervention approach is embedded into the delivery of children's services. This demonstrates AP's ability to act with hyperagency in order to change systems and how services are delivered.

Central to its exertion of hyperagency and philanthropic governing capacity in Ireland was AP's partnership with government through which it leveraged political support and matched funding for the causes it championed. As a further indication of this, the development and implementation of policy by Irish government departments has now incorporated the widespread use of evidence. The adoption of the use of evidence by a philanthrocapitalist organisation is not surprising given that it has become a pre-occupation of the post-crash austerity era as a means of showing value for money (Kiely and Meade, 2018). The use of evidence in the development of programmes, initiating large scale data gathering projects, the setting up and funding of the CES and the inclusion of evaluation in memorandums of understanding is an indication that AP wanted to embed this approach in policy making (Proscio, 2012b; Boyle and Shannon, 2018). The importance of this concept is apparent in the selected texts as it features prominently in AP's self-representation as a helper-investor-governor. The use of evidence as a rhetorical device 'to discredit oppositional or dissenting approaches' (Kiely and Meade, 2018: 9) is apparent in the problem representation as AP problematises approaches not based on evidence. The focus on evidence to prove the impact of AP's grants was seen to be critical in terms of influencing and garnering support from the Department of Public Expenditure Reform and private funders (Healy and Keogh, 2014).

While AP successfully embedded the use of evidence in its programmes, it is unclear whether the government will continue to commit to funding the collection and development of an evidence approach. One recent prominent example of this was in late 2020 when Benefacts, which was originally supported by AP, faced closure as the government delayed renewing its funding (Hilliard, 2020). While a commitment to funding was eventually forthcoming this was only on a 12-month basis (Benefacts, 2020). This questions the sustainability of the government's commitment to evidence and continuing AP's way of doing things.

The capacity of philanthropic actors and organisations to influence society in such a manner has been at the centre of many critiques of philanthrocapitalism (McGoey, 2015; Tomkins-Stange, 2016). The consequence of acting like a governor means that AP has influenced the direction of government policy. However, unlike governments who, in democratic theory at least, remain accountable to citizens and voters (Anheier and Leat, 2013), there are no means of accountability for philanthropic foundations (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2010). The need for accountability extends beyond the families directly targeted by the prevention and early intervention programmes, as AP's impact has had a far greater reach through its transformation of the approach to services delivered to children and families. AP decides what citizens it governs, namely those whose behaviour it represents as problematic. The texts about the prevention and early intervention initiatives shape the needs of a target population who need their behaviour to be modified to improve individual and community outcomes. This is achieved through the provision of parenting supports and supports for teachers to manage behaviour in the classroom. These needs are viewed through the lens of individualism and the focus is on the deficit of the individual. But in defining these needs, AP fails to comment on whether the government should address them. In so doing, the representation of AP as a governor frees the government from responsibility in terms of meeting the needs of its citizens. It could be argued therefore that this shifts the needs of citizens to something that should be addressed by philanthropy. Eikenberry (2006a: 586) picks up on this shift when referring to calls by President George W. Bush 'for philanthropy as an appropriate response to disaster relief'. Such a shift views the funding of human services as a role not for government but for philanthropy.

6.2 Contribution of my research to current debates on philanthropy

The global shift towards philanthropic foundations collaborating with governments and the extension of the same legitimacy to them has been the focus of research undertaken by a number of international academics (Nickel and Eikenberry's; 2010; McGoey, 2015; Tomkins-Stange 2016).

This research has primarily focused on North America. The comparatively lower level of philanthropic activity in Ireland has meant that there has been little focus drawn to a critical examination of its role. My research has attempted to address this gap by undertaking an in-depth analysis of the operation of one philanthropic foundation in Ireland. In this thesis, I have shown how AP, through its actions and its use of discourse, has enacted a philanthrocapitalist approach to giving. This is particularly apparent in the operational characteristics and in the discourses used in texts about their funding for prevention and early intervention approaches to children's services. Research conducted to date on this aspect of AP's funding has focused on evaluating its effectiveness and the outcomes for participants (for example Paulsell et al., 2009). There has been no exploration of normative questions about the role of a private foundation in the provision and shaping of public services and who should receive them. Drawing on the more critical arguments in the literature about philanthrocapitalism, I have explored AP's contribution to policy development in this area by considering how they represent the 'problems' this funding is responding to and providing an analysis of their self-representation in addressing these.

However, while my research provides a different perspective on the role of philanthropy in Ireland, further research could help to develop a deeper and more critical understanding of its operation. To gain further critical insights and to build on the findings of this research, an expanded examination of the funding for prevention and early intervention approach to children's services should be undertaken. This would include applying all of Bacchi's (2009) six WPR questions to an expanded sample of texts, such as policy documents published by the Department of Children and Youth Affairs, media articles and texts from those funded by the initiative, to identify whether similar discourses are present in these. To complement textual analysis, interviews with key actors involved in prevention and early intervention work (e.g. policy makers, former grantee organisations, stakeholders such as the Centre for Effective Services and former AP employees) could provide further insights. A

review of what documents relating to this funding are contained in AP's archive would also be beneficial (Cornell University Library, n.d.). This research could identify how influential AP has been in setting the agenda for the adoption of prevention and early intervention as a means of delivering children's services and the implementation of policy in this area.

Building on the approach of this research, further consideration of how problems or social issues are being shaped by philanthropy is critical. Both Francis (2019) and Beam (2018) have found that philanthropists and private donors were influential in shifting the focus and direction of civil rights movements in the areas of racial justice and LGBT rights in the USA respectively. Beam's (2018) research found that funding for marriage equality reshaped the focus of the gay rights movement. A retrospective look at AP's funding which led to the Marriage referendum in Ireland would provide an insight into whether the same occurred here. Research and analysis of archival documents and in-depth interviews could be conducted on the issue of marriage equality. This should explore whether the focus on marriage equality led to movement capture (Francis, 2019) and if funders were influential on steering not-for-profits in this direction to the detriment of other issues.

Further research is also needed to test the self-representation of AP's role developed in this thesis. This would allow for a stronger picture to be developed about AP's role in Irish society particularly with regard to policymaking. A similar analysis of texts produced regarding other initiatives co-funded with the Irish government (such as the PRTLI or elements of the AP's Aging Programme) could further explore AP's self-representation and problem representation. The adoption of the role of governor by AP requires further exploration. There is a need to undertake research on how AP's adoption of this role has influenced the Irish government's relationship with other philanthropic foundations such as the Community Foundation for Ireland and Rethink Ireland. The context of the COVID-19 pandemic and the partnership approach initiated by the

government with these foundations, as discussed in Chapter One, is particularly relevant.

Finally, given the development of a new philanthropy strategy (see Chapter One) by the Irish government consideration should be given to the political nature of philanthropic giving. Saunders-Hastings (2018) alludes to the politicised nature of philanthropic giving noting that giving to political campaigns is often viewed as self-interested while the same lens is not applied to philanthropy. Those concerned with 'the value of democracy' should be concerned about this form of elite influence. Democratising philanthropic giving through citizen involvement is one way of addressing this. The origins of such an approach lie in Ancient Greece whereby donations from elite members of society were only accepted once they were scrutinized by peers and members of the broader community through a negotiated process (Saunders-Hastings, 2018). The development of a philanthropy strategy should include the exploration of citizen involvement. This could draw on the learnings of the work of the Citizen Assemblies which have contributed to decision-making on a number of issues, such as gender-equality (Citizens Assembly, 2021) and Climate Change (Citizens Assembly, 2018) in recent years.

6.3 Conclusion

On the 14 September 2020, Chuck Feeney signed the dissolution papers for *The Atlantic Philanthropies* bringing to a close over three decades of philanthropic giving (The Atlantic Philanthropies, 2020). In a celebratory article on the website of Forbes, this action is described as a ceremony, with video inputs from luminaries such as Bill Gates (Bertoni, 2020b). The article outlines the legacy of Feeney's giving by listing the number of grants and level of funding distributed. The high level of support for Cornell University, particularly its grant for their new campus is also referenced (Forbes, 2020). In Ireland, to mark the transaction, the business pages of *The Irish Times* provided a localised breakdown of the foundation's grantmaking. The article refers to the fact that the foundation dispersed $1.3bn to third level institutions and non-governmental

organisations in Ireland over three decades (Hancock, 2020). However, beyond a quantification of its grantmaking, it is AP's influence on the government's relationship with philanthropy that has been most significant, particularly in light of the response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Six months earlier, in mid-March, the World Health Organisation (WHO) confirmed that the outbreak and spread of the COVID-19 virus was a global pandemic (Adhanom, 2020). To stop the spread of the virus, governments across the world, informed by public health experts including the WHO, introduced wide-ranging restrictions and regulations that have had major social, economic and health implications. Parallel to state-led responses, philanthropic actors have redirected their resources and focus towards the consequences of the pandemic. The most prominent response has been from The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation who declared that it would dedicate its entire focus to the development of a vaccine and addressing the impact on education. In doing so, Gates acknowledges that this shift in emphasis would negatively impact the foundation's other public health work (Cookson, 2020).

The response of philanthropic foundations operating in Ireland has been focused on supporting charities impacted by, and seeking to tackle the effects of, the crisis. Philanthropy Ireland (2020) calculated that approximately €28m in funding was provided to charities through philanthropic giving. Other responses could be described as being within the realm of philanthrocapitalism. For example, Bono's involvement in securing PPE during an initial shortage at the start of the pandemic[47] was similar to the idea of celebrity humanitarianism (Kapoor, 2011). The government's partnerships with two foundations, the Community

[47] In an article in *The Irish Times* – titled 'Ireland wields its 'soft power' as Bono joins Coronavirus fight'– public health officials urged this influential global Irish celebrity to utilise his 'well-worn contacts book' as a means of addressing the national need (Carswell, 2020). Contact from the Minister of Finance and a donation of €10m from the rock star subsequently helped to access the required equipment.

Foundation for Ireland and Rethink Ireland, have perhaps been the most publicised philanthropic responses and they reflect a similar approach to AP's operating style. Firstly, the Community Foundation for Ireland and RTE announced a joint partnership whereby a national telethon would raise funds from members of the public for charities impacted by the pandemic. The amount raised was matched by the Irish government up to a limit of €3m (RTE, 2020). Secondly, the Irish government's €40m stability fund for the community and voluntary sector included a €5m philanthropy fund titled Innovate Together. Rethink Ireland (the social innovation fund set up by the Irish government) was charged with distributing this funding for key innovation projects on behalf of the government (Department of Rural and Community Development, 2020). The press release from Rethink Ireland stated 'social innovation holds the key to addressing emerging social and economic needs in a sustainable manner and will be essential to creating an inclusive, and sustainable recovery in a post-Covid-19 world' (Rethink Ireland, 2020c). The language of innovation strongly reflects philanthrocapitalist discourses. These two partnerships are an indication that philanthropy has once more become another arm of government (Schmitt, 2015: 551).

To conclude, it is useful to return to the quote which begins this thesis. In his speech the former Taoiseach stated that there is information about the causes and organisations in need of philanthropic support as well as transparency regarding their impact (Varadkar, 2019). However, the same cannot be said about philanthropic foundations. While both Rethink Ireland and The Community Foundation for Ireland were originally set up through government initiatives to encourage greater philanthropic giving, they are independent of state control and oversight and their growth is dependent on private donors. As the government moves to partner once again with philanthropy there is a lack of clarity about who is shaping the social problems these collaborations seek to address – the government or philanthropic foundations? Without a robust system of oversight and accountability philanthropic foundations may continue to 'take(n) on the

role of the state – essentially setting and implementing policy through their independent funding choices' (Eikenberry, 2006a: 588-9).

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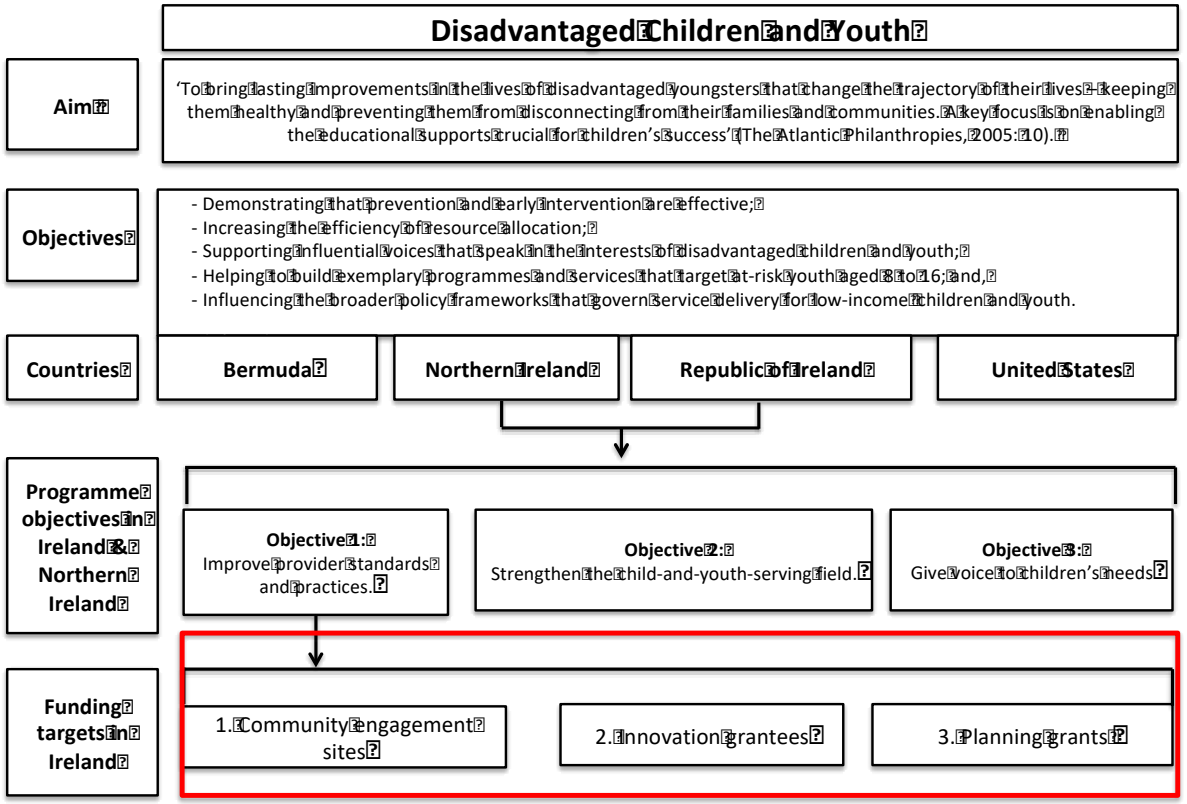
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Appendix 1 - Overview of Disadvantaged Children and Youth Programme

Figure A.1 – Overview of Disadvantaged Children and Youth Programme



Source: Feely (2017) material adopted from The Atlantic Philanthropies (2005); Paulsell et al, (2009).

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