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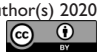

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A Model of Discipline: The Rule(s) of Midnight Football and the Production of Order in Subjects and Society

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Abstract

This article explores the rationalities of social change of a sports-based intervention, midnight football, carried out on two sites in the suburban landscape of Sweden. Based on interviews with coaches and managers and on-site observations, we examine how rationalities and technologies of social change are promoted, how technologies of social change are assumed to operate within the intervention, and how the intervention objectives are formed in relation to the technologies promoted. The analysis is guided by a Foucauldian perspective on disciplinary and pastoral power. It displays how various conceptualizations of risk underpin the intervention, and, in particular, technologies of spatial and temporal diversion. Youth are (dis)located to perceived sites of order and rule, as midnight football is portrayed as a regulated arena in opposition to outside sites of disorder. To form and visualize the rules of law, coaches, ascribed the position of role-models and law-makers, have a particularly important role to play, embodying law, rule, and conduct. In addition, disciplinary power operates through normalizing sanctions, stressing the corrective influence of coaches and readjustment of youth conduct. The technologies promoted are underpinned by goals to form a certain order of subjects, where ideals of conduct can be transferred and proliferated to the world outside, forming order and security in society. Those deemed at-risk and in need of social change, are addressed by means of discipline and control. Conclusively, the technologies promoted appear more as a symptom of existing patterns of inequalities and segregation than as a solution to the challenges confronted.

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Introduction

Following increased segregation—in terms of geographic, socioeconomic, and ethnocultural divisions—and social exclusion in the suburban landscape of Sweden (cf. Backvall, 2019), social inclusion has become, as with many welfare states, recurrently spotlighted as a central objective in social policy (Sernhede et al., 2016). Today, sports-based interventions have emerged as a common feature of social policy, often promoting social change through a variety of strategies and objectives targeting youth, and particularly youth of a migrant background, in distressed urban areas. This development has been conceptualized as part of a neoliberal trend in sport and social policy (Hovden, 2015; Silk & Andrews, 2012), emphasizing the merits of competition, individualization, and responsibilization (e.g., Coakley, 2011b) as well as discourses on control and surveillance made possible through sport activities (e.g., Hartmann, 2016). Neoliberalization, in this sense and in relation to the utilization of sport for social objectives, has been described in relation to austerity policies (Collins & Haudenhuyse, 2015; Parnell et al., 2017), underpinning organization of welfare services through public–private partnerships to reduce public investments in social policy. In concomitance, this policy development and context have facilitated two distinct, yet associated, modes of governing, that is (on one hand), individual empowerment and development of competences for a competitive society, and (on the other hand) a hard neoliberalism based on control and punitive measures targeting the populations of deprived and distressed residential areas rather than causes of social problems (Bustad & Andrews, 2017).

In Sweden, social interventions (carried out in cross-sector partnerships) have been influenced by a notion that certain communities and certain urban populations are in more need of social change than others (e.g., Herz, 2016). This notion has been associated with a more penal rationality of welfare interventions, a militarization of the targets in the suburban geography of marginalization, that can be witnessed far beyond the utilization of sport practices (e.g., Thapar-Björkert et al., 2019). In this context, sports-based interventions, in a variety of forms, have emerged in Sweden (e.g., Eriksson & Nylander, 2014; Stenling, 2015) and Scandinavia (e.g., Agergaard, 2011; Agergaard & Michelsen La Cour, 2012). Studies, however, have not as much interrogated the political meaning and power relations embedded within the rationality of social change formed through the activities and relations they facilitate. Such an approach is especially interesting in relation to transformations of Swedish and Scandinavian social policy, with respect to the move from social-democratic to advanced liberal forms of welfare (e.g., Larsson et al., 2012), intertwined with a shift from a politics of multiculturalism to one of cultural homogenization and unity (e.g., Ålund et al., 2017). However, the potential utility of sport as a means of responding to social problems has been thoroughly debated in the scientific literature,

spotlighting both the potential and limitations (Coakley, 2015; Coalter, 2015). Not least, the variety of social policy outcomes expected in terms of empowerment and community development (Coalter, 2007) have been concerned in relation to discipline and control rationalities (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). Even if empowerment and control must not be the opposites of each other (cf. Sabbe et al., 2019), it is in the tensions between the variety of expectations and potential outcomes as well as forms of utilization that power relations and the political significance of sports-based interventions become visible and eligible to scrutinize.

In this article, we take a closer look at a sports-based intervention, midnight football carried out in the suburban landscapes of marginalization and social exclusion in two mid-sized Swedish cities (with populations in the range between 100,000 and 200,000). Both cities are notably characterized by geographic, socioeconomic, and ethnocultural segregation. In the article, we focus on the rationalities and technologies of promoting social change imbued in interventions, spotlighting in particular the social policy objectives anticipated that are articulated. Based on interviews with representatives of midnight football and on-site observations, we aim to explore how rationalities and technologies of social change are envisioned in the discourse of the intervention. How are rationalities of social change articulated and embedded in the intervention, and how are technologies of social change assumed to operate? How are the intervention objectives constructed in discourse and formed in relation to the rationalities and technologies promoted?

The aim and the questions guiding analysis are approached from a mainly Foucauldian and constructionist perspective, stressing how various forms of power and knowledge forms the basis of the intervention. We analyze the rationalities and technologies of social change imbued in the intervention as a complex of disciplinary and pastoral forms of power, highlighting how the intervention in a variety of dimensions is formed as a model ideally forming the behavior of the participant youth. This approach provides opportunities to analyze the discourse conditioning the forms of social inclusion possible and the dimensions of power imbued in forming youth as included (or includable) citizen subjects as well as the political significance of sports-based interventions as a means of social policy.

Two Cases of Midnight Football

The concept and design of midnight football were initiated by a nation-wide foundation specialized in sports-based interventions promoting social inclusion through engaging local associations in performing the programs. The foundation, in formal documents, describes the goals in terms of "promoting social inclusion and integration through sport" and "to prevent social exclusion [and] to contribute to crime reduction." Organizationally, midnight football is conducted in cross-sectoral forms of cooperation with the foundation, local sport clubs, municipal administrations, and policy-makers, as well as sponsors and other contributors (Ekholm & Holmlid, 2020). Interventions in both cities follow the same overarching design; however, there are major variations in program and practices between the local sites, respectively. The

organization of operations differs quite significantly between "West City" and "East City" (names used for purpose of confidentiality), in terms of organizational formalization and forms of support from and cooperation with municipal agencies (Ekholm & Holmlid, 2020). Mainly, it is the sport clubs—(for purpose of confidentiality called) "Suburbia FC" in West City and "Sumeria FC" in East City—that conduct the operations and the coaches leading the activities are generally recruited from football teams in the clubs, respectively (managers and coaches are onwards presented with names made confidential).

When it comes to the activities performed, they follow a predefined design on both sites examined. Activities consist of organized, yet spontaneous (cf. Högman & Augustsson, 2017), five-a-side football, indoors Saturday nights from 20 to 24. Activities are organized in the sense that they are regular activities managed by the clubs and the foundation recurrently conducted at certain hours and at certain places, with coaches engaged and present, and spontaneous in the sense that participants are not necessarily members of the clubs conducting the activities and the youth do not announce presence or participation beforehand. This means that different youth may participate from week to week. Participating youth are generally in the ages of 12 to 25. Coaches and managers divide the youth into teams when activities begin. The activities consist of matches played according to the principle of the first goal wins and the winner remains. There is a rotation chart managed by the coaches for the order in which the dormant teams come back into play. Non-playing teams are present in the sports center, waiting on benches or stands next to the court. There are sometimes over a hundred young persons present at the midnight football activities during a Saturday night, in the two cities, where many are mainly there to watch and socialize with friends. Midnight football appears to be a local and social gathering point in that regard. In line with the design of practices, there are certain sociopedagogical elements of social change made explicit, which regards for instance the role of coaches (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2019) as well as the desired conduct of participating youth aimed for, and that will be explored in this examination. The intervention primarily reaches out to youth residing in the suburban areas of marginalization where practices are carried out (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2020/in press). This means that participants come from a ethnoculturally diverse community, and they come from a variety of different backgrounds, however more or less exclusively with a first- or second-generation migration background. Notably, almost all children and youth participating in the activities are boys, even though some girls are present but not active on-field. The gender dimension of the design of practices has been explored previously (Ekholm et al. 2019), but still raises concerns about the intersections of masculinity, ethnicity, socioeconomic marginalization, sport, and disciplinary as well as pastoral power that is further explored in this article.

Research Context

In Scandinavian sport policy, long-standing ambitions of providing sport for all as an integrated objective of ambitious welfare states have been fore-fronted (e.g.,

Bergsgaard & Norberg, 2010; Skille, 2011). In Sweden, government support was previously granted on implicit beliefs that inclusion in sport activities would lead to integration in society. However, support has lately been more conditional with explicit expectations on sport activities (Norberg, 2011) to promote, among other social objectives, integration. In the wake of this development, particular sports-based interventions utilized for the promotion of social inclusion and integration have been initiated by federations, municipalities, and a variety of actors and agencies in cross-sector cooperation. Principally, sport conducted in specific projects in civil society, directed toward youth of ethnocultural minorities, have, in Scandinavia, been utilized as a way of "civilizing" (Agergaard et al., 2015, p. 200) the participant youth (e.g., Agergaard & Michelsen La Cour, 2012; Walseth, 2016). Spotlighting one interesting example of such initiatives, the underpinning notion structuring interventions have been that leisure time, for youth in distressed suburban areas (of ethnocultural minorities), means a time slot of risk and danger that needs to be controlled and instead used productively. Even as interventions have aimed at inclusion in traditional sport clubs, the rationality of intervention seems to position participants as clients of welfare interventions rather than support to empowerment (Agergaard et al., 2015).

Sports-based interventions have become a common topic in scientific discourse (e.g., Haudenhuyse et al., 2012; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). Often, researchers have tried to spotlight the potential outcomes of interventions and the social policy utility expected (Houlihan et al., 2009). Here, we direct attention to a variety of potential outcomes of sports-based interventions debated in scientific discourse, spotlighting a continuum of objectives expected spanning in the range between development and control (cf. Sabbe et al., 2019).

A common social benefit of sports-based interventions, claimed in scientific discourse, is diversion from delinquency, in the form of physical diversion as well as diversion of attention (Nichols, 2007). Physical diversion denotes how when youth deemed at risk of delinquency participates in sport, they cannot simultaneously engage in disorderly activities in other contexts. Diversion of attention means averting the attention of young people toward activities other than disorder, by appealing to the youth as fun and exciting, to counteract restlessness, to create regularity and structure as sport becomes something to look forward to (Nichols, 2007).

More than just averting youth from delinquency or from at-risk sites and activities, sports-based interventions have been noted to contribute to self-confidence and self-esteem (e.g., Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005). These are described as competences needed for reduced impulsivity and risk taking, associated with notions of empowerment and competences to be active, responsible and participant in society (e.g., Lawson, 2005). Furthermore, social competences attained through sports are often coined life-skills (e.g., Turnnidge et al., 2014), skills "that can be facilitated or developed in sport and are transferred for use in non-sport settings" (Gould & Carson, 2008, p. 60). Pro-social development is tightly interconnected with improved social relations and provides an arena where young people have the opportunity to meet other young people, adults, and leaders and create positive role models (Richardson, 2012). Social relations may

provide networks and social capital (Harvey et al., 2007) and contribute in forming a sense of community based on trust and reciprocity (Crabbe, 2000).

However, such discourse on social change and community development have sometimes been criticized for being theoretically unclear (Coalter, 2012) lacking empirical support and of requiring certain, very beneficial conditions (difficult to develop) (Coalter, 2015). The discourse have also been labelled a sport-evangelist myth (Coakley, 2011a, 2011b, 2015), rather diverting attention from the structural underpinnings of the challenges that sports-based interventions are designed to tackle (Collins & Haudenhuyse, 2015; Hartmann, 2016). Instead, a wide range of scholars have highlighted how sports-based interventions functions, rather (unintentional or not), as practices to maintain racial hierarchies (Forde et al., 2015; Long et al., 2014), limit social mobility (Spaaij, 2009) and to discipline and control particular youth populations (Hartmann, 2016; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011).

Emphasizing a critical point of view, sport for social development and change has been conceptualized rather to be about the ability of sport to normalize individual youth to function in a system of hierarchical conditions and institutionalized segregation (Bustad & Andrews, 2017; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). Accordingly, sports-based interventions imbue a certain hidden curriculum, utilized as a means to maintain social order, to define normality and thus limiting possibilities for social change (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011).

Such critical approach to sport for social development may be illustrated with the analysis of the midnight-basketball intervention by Hartmann (2016). This intervention was conducted in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s, offering youth in urban areas of exclusion the opportunity to play in basketball tournaments. Here, particularly young African American men associated with social problems such as crime, drugs, poverty, social exclusion, and segregation were constructed as the targets of the intervention. The problem faced with sports-based social interventions was, so to speak, not a social problem, but rather a specific part of the population (Hartmann, 2016). With respect to this particular population, the concept of risk was of great importance. On one hand, risk implied that young people were exposed to risk in terms of a higher probability of becoming unemployed, suffering from social problems. On the other hand, risk meant the almost exact opposite, that is, that young people pose a risk to the surrounding society: particularly young men, constituting a direct danger for other people through violence or crime, and thus constituting a risk of disorder and dissolution of cohesion in society at large (Hartmann, 2016). While midnight basketball, in relation to notions of risk, were described mainly in terms of development, where young people should be educated and have the skills to take advantage of their opportunities in life, in practice they focused on controlling young people by physically separating them into supervised basketball courts aiming at discipline and compliance. This was understood as a way of encapsulating the risk that these young people pose, to the playing field and to the area where they purportedly belong (Hartmann, 2016).

In many ways, these empirical observations align with more theoretically elaborated conceptualizations of problematizations of risk and responding technologies of

social change, oriented toward development and/or control, providing a conceptual frame for the analysis.

Theoretical Framework

The Foucauldian approach to analysis of power and knowledge outlined as guide and framework of this article provides a tool-box for examining the discourses, rationalities, and technologies of power imbued in the interventions.

In his interrogation of the genealogy of modern and liberal rule, Foucault (2009, 2010) spotlights a variety of constitutive elements and technologies steering the actions, behaviors, and conduct of the population. One particular element is the constitution of the population and the intense forms of knowledge about the various groups and individuals of the population (Foucault, 2009). Knowledge about the population and the future is a prerequisite for the governing of society, by means of a range of technologies of power (Foucault, 2009). Accordingly, identifying and counteracting *risk* at the level of the population was a pivotal moment in the history of modernity. Here, risk is understood as a term used to articulate impending dangers, and in that sense, risk is a specific way of problematizing the uncertain future so that it becomes manageable and governable through various measures of prevention or control (Castel, 1991; Dean, 1998; Ewald, 1991; Rose, 1999). Contemporary social policy interventions often target "at-risk" populations (Rose, 1999). The at-risk of social exclusion are construed as passive and not capable of providing for themselves, dependent on welfare support and social work as well as targets of intervention (Rose, 1999) and "case management" (Dean, 1998, p. 33), while active populations are seen as competent in managing their own risk (Rose, 1999).

In this article, we make use of an analytical distinction between two particular forms of productive power outlined by Foucault (1979, 2009): disciplinary and pastoral power. According to Foucault (1979, 1982, 2009, 2010), forms of repressive and sovereign power seem no longer pertinent to understand the complexity of modern rule. In addition to sovereignty and repression, a variety of forms of productive power was outlined by Foucault (1979, 2009, 2010) as characteristic of the modern and liberal societies. Productive power means facilitating and steering the conduct and actions of subjects and is not only reactive by means of repression, but it is proactive and productive (Foucault, 1982) in shaping behaviors and actions of subjects and forming both individuals and populations as well as the future in general (Foucault 2009, 2010).

The first form of productive power presented here is *discipline.* This form of power is characterized by technologies that are set up to control the population, by means of normalization (Foucault, 1979, 2009). Disciplinary technologies can be repressive, by preventing individuals from committing offenses, as well as productive, by getting people to act in a certain way. Such technologies operate through institutions where the subjects are led into specific ways of action, forming "docile bodies" (Foucault, 1979). Disciplinary technologies involve the *arrangement of time and space*, by locating certain activities to certain places and to certain times, where schedule enables coordinated ways of behavior as well as control. Moreover, discipline involve *hierarchical*

observation, where social relations and patterns of interaction are designed in hierarchies enabling control, and *normalizing sanctions* that insert the subjects into a normal behavior and that together visualize the norm and discipline into alignment, rehabilitation, and re-integration in community. In principle, discipline "consists first of all in positing a model, an optimal model [. . .] and the operation of disciplinary normalization consists in trying to get people, movements, and actions to conform to this model" (Foucault, 2009, p. 85). Accordingly, there "is an originally prescriptive character of the norm and the determination and the identification of the normal" (Foucault, 2009, p. 85). The disciplinary power targets the bodies of subjects as well as their actions. Although Foucault (1979) outlines the modern prison as the epitome of discipline, the technologies of discipline run throughout the whole social machinery. It is located in the school, in the industry, in the health care, in the military, and in social work interventions (Foucault, 1979).

The second form of productive power, important for the emerging modes of modern and liberal government, is the *pastoral power*, illustrated by the relation between the shepherd and the flock. Here, the shepherd (the pastor, governor, or conductor) leads the flock on the basis of benign interest of the flock as well as individual care for each sheep in the flock. To succeed, the shepherd deploys a range of strategies to secure knowledge about the conduct of subjects. Accordingly, pastoral power "gave rise to an art of conducting, directing, leading, guiding, taking in hand, and manipulating men, an art of monitoring them and urging them on step by step" (Foucault, 2009, p. 222). Here, it is the relation between shepherd and sheep, between conductor and subject, that facilitate guidance and steering of behaviors—not least by means of the examples made by the conductor. To precede and to set examples "is essential for the virtue, merit, and salvation of the flock" (Foucault, 2009, p. 229).

The approach to different forms of productive power presented provide basis for understanding the various ways in which the conduct and actions of subjects are formed, in specific settings. These theoretical and historical concerns resonate with the scientific discourse on sports-based governing and interventions. In terms of enabling and facilitating social change, sports-based interventions have been researched in relations to risk rationalities and observed as sites of social change in the continuum between development or empowerment and discipline or control.

Empirical Material and Methods

The empirical material has been collected within a larger research project, based on interviews (with a variety of partners and stakeholders) and on-site observations. The study design and examinations follow the Swedish Research Council's code of ethics regarding information, consent, confidentiality, and usage (Swedish Research Council, 2017). Participating research persons were informed about the purpose of the study and about principles of confidentiality, and they gave consent to participate.

Mainly, the empirical material examined in the article consists of interviews with managers and coaches present at the activities and active in conducting the interventions. At an initial stage, interviews were conducted with the foundation managers and

then intervention managers. From these interviews, the coaches involved in activities were identified, and in the second stage, coaches were interviewed. Interviews spanned between 30 and 60 min and were all transcribed verbatim. In total, 12 managers and coaches were interviewed. All names of interviewees are confidential. Interviews followed a predefined, yet low structured, interview guide, where the respondents were asked to describe (a) the activities performed, (b) the youth participating, (c) the role of managers and coaches, and (d) the objectives of the intervention. Accordingly, the empirical material gives voice to the representatives of the intervention management; in addition, the analysis provides a language of description of the scientific observation. However, the voices and perspectives of the participant youth targeted by the intervention is not provided a platform here, as the discourse articulated by the participants does not provide basis for analyzing how the pedagogical rationality is promoted, but would rather provide information about how the governing technologies are actually conveyed.

The empirical materials were analyzed on the basis of the discursive theoretical framework outlined previously in this article, pinpointing how power operates in the modern society and in contemporary welfare provision. Notably, the concepts of disciplinary and pastoral power guided the analysis. The analysis was conveyed by initial thematization of articulations. The articulations explored was sorted into six main themes, mainly empirically generated, however informed by the theoretical concepts presented. Together the content of the themes constructed provides a structure of the rationality promoted in articulations about the intervention. This thematization was followed by a more interpretivist scrutinization of the articulations guided by the concepts of power, where the statements of each theme were analyzed in further detail from the point of disciplinary and pastoral power. Reflections made and field notes taken from the on-site observations provided context for the interpretations made with regard to how the rationalities and technologies were deployed in practice (cf. McSweeney & van Luijk, 2019).

Analysis

The presentation of the analysis is structured in six subsections spotlighting the problematizations posed in discourse, the technologies promoted to address the suggested problem of risk, and the ideals of inclusion underpinning this discourse and rationality.

Spatial and Temporal Risk

The solutions outlined in discourse—that is, midnight football—contain explicit or implicit representations of the social problems these solutions are purported to address (cf. Bacchi, 2009). When it comes to articulating midnight football as a response to challenges of social segregation and exclusion, the concept risk provides a recurrent discursive backdrop. Here, we want to distinguish between spatial and temporal risk representations, where risk is located either to a particular place or to a particular time.

In this discourse youth are characterized as subjected to certain risks and simultaneously posing a risk to society, during certain times and certain places.

First, the residential areas where midnight football takes place are described as sites of risk. According to Darko, one of the coaches in East City, "there so much crime, burning cars, a lot of negative things now that wasn't in my days." He continues, "so, I don't understand what has happened during these fifteen to twenty years." In West City, according to the manager Martin, "every night there are fights outside . . . people screaming [. . .] police coming in, it smells of narcotics in the stairs [. . .] and broken windows." These representations of the residential area may be overly dramatized, perhaps serving to legitimize the efforts made (cf. Hartmann, 2016). However, such descriptions, most definitely, have an important discursive potential in animating the landscape of risk and social exclusion, thus demarcating a domain where interventions need to take place.

Second, the malls and shopping centers become sites of risk on weekends and nights—the hours of youth leisure time. In the following excerpt, describing the activities in East City, the coach Shanzar explicates the temporal dimension of risk:

> Crime . . . to not end up in the wrong crowds and in the wrong places. Midnight-football is carried out during Saturday nights, during hours when most of them are just out hanging around and maybe doing the wrong things. So, we want to achieve that the boys are not doing the wrong things . . . but, instead, are with us and having fun. (Shanzar, East City midnight football)

Here, three domains are highlighted as problematic, to which midnight football could be an alternative. First, it is the precise temporal dimension introduced previously. There are certain hours when youth "maybe doing bad things." In this respect, the bad things that may occur means that the conduct of youth pose a risk to society. Here, youth are positioned as agents "hanging around" and "doing" delinquent activities. Second, it is the bad company of youth that is constructed as a problem. According to the particular rationality of risk, the residential area is associated with a risk for the youth of engaging in bad company with influential peers promoting the bad doings outlined. Third, the spatial dimension of risk is intertwined with the temporal dimension (and furthermore with the risk of bad company) at certain spaces and times. Abraham, the East City manager, outlines what this means, in terms of how "the security guard described the hours around 20 and 21 as a marathon [. . .] where the kids act like animals [. . .] seeking attention" and continues by concluding that they "suffered from idleness, and so that's when I knew that the midnight football was needed in our locality." The risks and delinquencies observed are both spatially and temporally located to the mall at a particular time. According to the discourse and rationality articulated, the youth disrupts social order due to the suggested restlessness and lack of opportunities to do better things among the youth.

Furthermore, what is displayed in the discourse articulated is the dual meaning of risk, where youth is both exposed to dangers in the localities and exposing the

localities to dangers by means of their potential delinquent actions. On this dual basis, they are targeted as the objects of intervention.

Technologies of Diversion

Embedded in the spatial and temporal dimensions of risk is sport conceived of as a spatial and temporal alternative to risk and danger. Here, technologies of diversion come forth as a key disciplinary rationality. When it comes to the specificities of diversion, Gabriel, a coach in East City, describes that "Saturday nights is the time when you go out if you're doing something bad." He further says that "the lack of leisure activities leads to bad doings . . . and instead, we provide activities so they gather with us during the time when they are most prone to do something bad." The effect of midnight football participation can be assessed, according to such rationality, in how "when the midnight football closes by midnight . . . no one will still be out [. . .] and that way we have prevented quite a few crimes that could have occurred if they weren't with us." In this way, two modes of diversion are introduced: physical diversion and diversion of attention.

First, the sport site provides a spatial and temporal dislocation from sites of risk and danger. Here, it is primarily the bodies of youth that are displaced and dislocated, from the sites of disorder to sites of control and meaningful activities. In the following excerpt, Sulejman, the assistant manager in the East City midnight football, pinpoints the temporal and spatial dimensions of physical diversion:

> They have no place to go . . . and when they don't, they hang around the mall [. . .]. If you put these kids outside of the mall, and some of them will surely end up at the wrong time, the wrong place, with the wrong crowd. [. . .] You sort of offer them meaningful activities . . . they get to do something, playing four hours of football and they become exhausted [. . .] they go home and have no energy to do other stuff. (Sulejman, East City midnight football)

Here, the provision of meaningful activities is described as a crucial means of risk-prevention—underscoring the risks of being on "the wrong time, the wrong place and with the wrong group." Accordingly, the targeted youth in the local residency is understood as "at-risk" in this sense. In the end of the excerpt above, Sulejman notes that the activities are supposed to be tiresome, which may divert energies and attention from going out, doing bad things (which is implicated by the context of "doing other things"). Such an articulation associates the spatial and temporal dimensions of risk with diversion of attention.

Second, it is this diversion of energies and attention that constitute the second element of diversion promoted. Sports and the intervention in particular can, according to this rationality, provide diversion of attention and from engagement in troublesome activities, such as delinquency, for instance by means of introducing youth to well-integrated peers and good role models. Such diversion is most often explicated in terms of *negative* guidance, meaning aversion from particular actions, by saying *no* to

potential events (rather than producing a certain form of subjectivity or conduct) (cf. Foucault, 2009). Sead, a coach in East City, describes such forms of diversion of attention in the following way:

> We want to show that what they do out at night is no good. We want to make them forget about hanging outside . . . That they don't even think about hanging around outside . . . especially not outside the mall . . . that it's no good for them. We want them to come here and play football instead . . . no matter their age. The more people we are in the arena, the less people is out in the streets being restless, causing trouble. (Sead, East City midnight football)

Here, the site of midnight football enables both spatial and temporal dislocation. However, it is the diversion of attention that this provides that is crucial here. The dislocation is not primarily of the bodies targeted, but of the attention that otherwise would have been directed toward delinquent actions, as presumed. In that sense, sport is more than a hook (cf. Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011) for reaching out to the local youth: furthermore, it becomes a means of social change through certain pedagogical forms of power. In contrast to the physical forms of diversion displacing the bodies of youth, the forms of diversion of attention targets the minds of the youth, restricting their opportunities of action by way of restriction of interest. Even, this is a form of disciplining the ways of thinking and acting by way of providing structure and rules of thinking. In a general sense, diversion of interest and attention is facilitated by clear distinctions made between what is *right* and what is *wrong*. Forming such distinctions and making them manifest within the intervention is yet one of the core rationalities of the activities: forming the rules of law.

Forming the Rules of Law

When the technologies of diversion come forth as ways to avert from risk and dangers, there are a range of productive means of guidance promoted to facilitate certain actions among the youth. Through the technologies of diversion, youth are (dis)located to sites of order and rule of law—sites that are very much portrayed in opposition to residential areas during the hours of the activities, associated with disorder and uncontrolled risk. When it comes to forming the rules and establishing the structure of play, we want to spotlight primarily how the midnight football is portrayed as a structured and regulated arena in opposition to outside disorder, and how the rules of law is contextually established.

First, in general terms, and according to the particular rationality enunciated, distinctions are established between the *inside* and *outside* of sport. Outside of sport, in the suburban locality, there are disorder and risks. Inside the sport setting and the midnight football activities, there are rules to follow and a given structure for action. The midnight football activities are described as a getaway or retreat from the outside, and therefore upholding rules and structure are vital. One of the coaches in East City,

Roque, elaborates on this distinction between the inside and the outside a bit further in the following excerpt:

> It can easily be heated . . . Nothing serious. It was only some fuss . . . So, we talked it through and declared some rules . . . and if it doesn't work out, then we need to behave . . . together, and sort this out. This is a site of refuge for many. So, we need to handle it well. (Roque, East City midnight football)

Here, underscoring the sport site as a "site of refuge," special emphasis is placed on the distinction between inside and outside, further stressing the importance of upholding order and rule of law within the intervention. If not, there would be no active distinction from life outside. Furthermore, the distinction between inside and outside aligns with discursive demarcations between *Swedish* and *foreign* culture. Especially when it comes to newly arrived youth, seeking asylum in Sweden and participating in the midnight football activities, the midnight football is represented as part of Swedish culture, seen as particularly important for youth from specific foreign cultures. Sulejman, the assistant manager of the East City midnight football, means that "considering the culture from where they come, the structure and concreteness can be even more esteemed." He continues, "when they come to this fantastic and *free* Sweden, this can be a problem . . . and here, they get to know the routine, the schedule and so." Here, freedom—often conceived of in positive terms as a desired condition—is characterized rather in negative terms, that is, lack of structure and routines, which for this particular group means that freedom rather becomes a matter of dis- or at least non-order. Accordingly, for those not fostered according to norms of freedom, freedom becomes a threat and understood in terms of disorder, pinpointing the need for rules, structure, and order (presumably provided within the midnight football).

Second, in addition to the importance of rules and structure, there are certain elements of communication concerning how rules and structure are practiced. It is imperative for the conductor of the rules of law to reach out to the subjects of the law and to gain legitimacy for the rule practiced. Here, the balance between subjecting the participant youth to pre-existing orders and negotiating about the practice of the rules has a particular significance. The importance of such balance is reflected upon by Sulejman in the following excerpt:

> In some way it's like they don't think about it consciously, but they know there is a security [. . .]. They know the routines, how the night progresses. You know? Not having to demonstrate it. [. . .] You need to have this sensitivity about when to draw the line . . . when you should . . . frames and hugs [*sw: ramar och kramar*]. I use to say . . . frames . . . it's really important. They want clarity and structure, but then you need to be able to let loose also . . . (Sulejman, East City midnight football)

Here, the importance of finding the right balance between subjection to and negotiations of predefined rules is described in terms of "frames and hugs." Alongside the particular notion about the balance between "frames and hugs" is the importance of

display. As suggested, rules and structure need to be manifested in the routines of the activities, and they need to be visualized and displayed (rather than worded) through the structure of operations and by the coaches in their capacity of role models. According to the particular rationality promoted, manifested in the technologies of discipline investigated, the coaches are positioned as the embodiments of the rules of law and, thus, their conduct becomes the locus of the transfer of the rules and law.

Embodying the Rules of Law

To form, sustain, communicate, and visualize the rules of law, on-site coaches leading the activities have a particularly important role to play. They are ascribed the position of role models, and in their capacity of such they become the embodiments of law and rule. Here, the discipline of youth is assumed to be formed through the modeling of the coaches' self-discipline. Forming and embodying the rules of law are in a general sense prescriptive forms of power, prescribing a certain conduct of youth, directing and enabling certain actions.

In the words of Foucault (2009), already outlined, role models in this sense embody a "prescriptive character of the norm" (p. 85). The embodiment of rule and modeling of actions involves role modeling as a disciplinary technology, conditioned by the self-reflection and self-discipline of the coach.

First, role modeling is a central disciplinary technology in the sense that it provides a structure to model the conduct of youth, embodied in the coach as role model. Gabriel, one of the coaches in East City, describes himself as a role model in the following excerpt:

> A role-model . . . is a person many people see up to. When you are a role-model, people around you will try to do what you do. [. . .] I don't do many bad things, so I'm basically just myself. It's really fun to be a role-model, but you constantly need to think about what you do . . . and how you say things. [. . .] But it's fun to be a role-model and to help others. When I was little, I wished I had a role-model . . . but, unfortunately, there wasn't one in my life. (Gabriel, East City midnight football)

Here, the rationality of the modeling technology is illustrated as a transfer and model of conduct, which calls for a certain responsibility and self-reflection. When being influential, it is important to embody a virtuous set of behavior, because that is desired from the modeled subjects. In this way, the transfer of rules (and, hence, the technology of rules of law) is assumed to operate, by means of embodiment. The role model needs not to talk, but rather to act and thus display a structure and model of conduct for the youth to follow.

Second, to qualify as a role model and, moreover, to develop the capacities presumed to be transferred to the youth, the coaches need to be self-reflective about their own conduct as well as self-disciplined about their actions. In the following excerpt, Abraham expounds on the traits and capacities of discipline expected of the coaches:

> Above all, we try to find those that we can shape . . . Responsive, absolutely, but we put their self-discipline and self-control to the test in these situations, when they are exposed to certain events. How do you deal with it? [. . .] Sometimes it gets heated. Then everyone would be hot-tempered . . . tempered everywhere . . . in the mind, but still they try to resist their impulses. (Abraham, East City midnight football)

Accordingly, the coaches become exposed to quite challenging situations that demand both self-discipline and control. They confront themselves with their presumed instincts and impulses to engage in conflict, for instance, which require the capacity to resist and calm down. Abraham describes it as a serious challenge for the management to find coaches that can develop their self-discipline and control. The same challenge is illustrated by Sulejman, emphasizing how "coaches should never involve in a conflict, but instead to calm down the situation." From this point of view, the coaches are "often used to react directly in affect."

Role modeling technologies are enabled by a sense of community and identity shared by coaches and youth. Such relations established together with the forms and structure of the activities are moreover facilitating specific sociopedagogical arrangements based on dialogues and more subtle forms of governing guiding the conduct of youth and forming their subjectivities. Such dimensions of governing have been analyzed in more depth (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2019). Beyond embodying the rules of law and modeling behavior, the coaches are the representatives of the law within the interventions. When violations of the rules occur, the coaches may actively normalize the offenses or offenders, thus making use of normalizing sanctions.

Following the Rules of Law

Beyond the modeling of discipline, there are also more repressive dimensions of discipline mobilized in the midnight football intervention. Not least, disciplinary power comes forth in terms of a range of normalizing sanctions, stressing the corrective influence of coaches and the relative subordination and readjustment of youth conduct. Breaking the rules of law means sanctions and certain forms of punishment. Most notably, the rules esteemed and maintained are repeatedly enunciated in terms of "respect": the youth should respect each other and also show the coaches respect. For instance, Abraham speaks of respect this way: "if you don't respect each other and us as coaches, then we'll shut the [midnight football] down." If such respect is not showed, both individual and collective sanctions and even punishment may occur. Abraham continues, "we shut it down a few times [. . .] then they got more cautious and behaved better . . . started to show respect." Very concrete and explicitly, here, power operates through the envisioning of sanctions. At least two things are of importance here: the youth need to be aware of the potential sanctions associated with disruptions and violations of the rules, and the coaches and conductors of rule needs to establish legitimacy.

Along this line of thought, Roque, one of the East City coaches, highlights the importance that "the kids show each other respect, and then they show us coaches, the rules and our decisions respect." He further emphasizes that

> It does not matter if it is here or elsewhere, they should show respect to other people . . . and that's what this about [. . .] these boys should show respect [. . .] and that is what we strive for, that they show respect.

Accordingly, respect is about following the law, thus obeying the lawmaker and the decisions they make.

First, the potential sanctions must be visible to discipline the behavior of the youth. In the following excerpt, Gabriel spotlight this dimension by pinpointing that "the youth *understand* that we won't give them another chance" if they act in disorderly manners:

> They respect us, so they do as we tell them. Once, we closed it down and cancelled [. . .]. It was mainly to show that this is not ok. Thereafter things changed, like . . . so, they understand that we won't give them another chance . . . and so that'll be it. So, they have adjusted and try not to go there again. So far everything has worked out. We are hard as a rock. But if they listen to us, they will have fun and all will be good. Just don't misbehave. Do good and we won't do anything. (Gabriel, East City midnight football)

Here, the potential sanction normalizes the behavior of the youth as they are aware of the potential consequences of disruption. The corrective measures have worked successfully according to Gabriel, and the youth have adapted to the rules promoted. Accordingly, the participants are "conscious" about the rules of law and they "think of it all the time." The normalizing sanctions come forth as a reactive (and possibly repressive) force, as the measures respond to misconduct rather than promoting a particular conduct. Accordingly, the conductors will not intervene (or "do anything") if there is no misconduct.

Second, the corrective sanctions become a potential tool of discipline when the law-makers and sanction-makers are seen as legitimate conductors of rule. In the following excerpt, Abraham describes how Sulejman have gained respect and a prominent position as a conductor of rule within the intervention, based on his back-story and experience of going from disorder to order:

> For one thing, Sulejman has a kind of pondus. He has been around. The boys recognize him . . . but, mainly, he's been a righteous person during his time here. They know that if Sulejman says something, he stands for it. And if we don't listen to Sulejman, then we're not allowed to come back. [. . .] So, when you hear his voice, everything is silenced. It was one occasion, when he told a kid to return the red vest and receive a yellow one. And the kid insisted: "No, but I want the red vest." [. . .] So, Sulejman closed it all down. Then the kid lowered his head . . . and walked around to apologize to the other youth. It was a totally different attitude the next time, 'cause then they had learned . . . that this is not a way to behave. If the coaches tell us something, then we listen. We don't argue back. We don't question. [. . .] They are not stupid, these kids. They also see what we do for them. (Abraham, East City midnight football)

In the above excerpt, three elements of legitimacy are tied to the position of Sulejman. He has a kind of authoritative poise, which makes it possible to speak up

and to stand firm in confrontation. He has, by means of orderly conduct earned and "deserved respect" (in Abraham's words) from the youth as well as his colleagues. He has a sense of community in social relations. The youth recognizes him and knows him as a benign conductor (in a sense leading the flock). Altogether, this makes possible to carry out the sanctions and to rule by law. Notably, these are in theory elements that could possibly be attained by any coach; however, the elements of legitimacy are tightly interwoven to his particular biography and individual position in the community. Interestingly, a very similar discourse and rationality comes forth in West City, when as Martin describes the potency and legitimacy of Mustafa (the assistant manager and acting coach). Martin describes that "Mustafa have made the journey . . . from [. . .] doing things not socially and legally acceptable, to gain status [. . .] being the most heavy criminal . . . to making the reverse move." According to Martin, such a conversion "gives legitimacy . . . showing the tough boys that they are nothing." Here it is not the orderly conduct that leads to legitimacy, but rather the opposite. However, both when it comes to Sulejman and to Mustafa, it is their acknowledged experiences (and conversion) that creates legitimacy and underpin authority. It is this precise legitimacy that facilitates the power of the model—the role model and model of discipline—to operate as a pedagogical rationality at the center of the intervention sociopedagogy. Such legitimacy is granted on the basis of identification and community, with respect to, for instance, background, experiences and, not least, gender. It is a model and form of conduct that guides to prosperity and inclusion, according to the rationality articulated.

The relations articulated contain interesting nuances. Even though they are marked by community, identification, and mutual understanding, they are clearly hierarchical. It is the managers and coaches who take the position as conductors, while the youth are positioned as the flock of participants. There is a certain form of subjection guiding the behavior of the youth—to disciplinary rules of law, models of action, and normalizing sanctions. This variety in forms of disciplinary measures together epitomizes a rationality of rule, with more or less strategic objectives: to form order—of subjects as well as of society.

Ideals of Inclusion: Docile Bodies and Security

Moving on from the problematizations and technologies forming the intervention activities, we look into the objectives of discipline in the ways that it is fashioned within the intervention. Particularly, there are two main objectives, pinpointing both the subject and society, giving meaning to the technologies and problematizations promoted. In one instance, the objective is the formation of normalized, subjected, and docile subjects. In another instance, the objective is the order for society and community at large, in terms of security. Both of these objectives display—again—how sport in general and the midnight football in particular are formed as an alternative to chaos, disorder, risk, and delinquency. Sport, rather, represents order, discipline, and security. When as the objectives of the interventions are proclaimed in terms of inclusion, there are certain meanings of and conditions for inclusion erected.

First, when it comes to normalization and the formation of docile subjects, inclusion is purportedly enabled by subordinate and normalized conduct of the youth. This means, in practice, that inclusion is conditioned upon diligence and humility before the rules of law and the conductors of the intervention. In the following excerpt, Abraham expounds on the desired youth subjects formed through disciplinary measures:

> We are kind of strict . . . within certain frames. [. . .] If a team wins 2 or 3 games in a row . . . the coaches joins another team and puts this team down once and for all . . . takes them down to earth and out of the game for a while . . . so that they don't walk around being cocky . . . and think they're the best, biggest and most beautiful . . . but we bring them down to earth. When they are with us, everyone is here on the same terms. They should be down to earth and bring that out in society. If you let in this cockiness that football may lead up to . . . it lives on in real life . . . out in the streets. But if, instead, we achieve this humility, it lives on . . . for real, out in the streets, and that's what we're after. For every kid, we can prevent from doing drugs or crime, we provided a great service to society. (Abraham, East City midnight football)

With respect to the conduct desired in the sport practice, it is the transfer of skills to the wider social contexts of youth that is the main objective. Here, particular emphasis is placed on keeping the subjects down to earth. In a way, this becomes a metaphor for good character and a contrast to extrovert delinquency. According to this particular rationality, there may be a risk that football creates cockiness and high-flying self-perceptions among the participants, capacities which need not to be brought with the youth outside in the streets. Therefore, certain measures may be taken to inculcate subordination within the football activities, by mobilizing the coaches in games to restore order and hierarchies. But transfers are seen not only as a threat but also as a potential. There are certain norms of conduct, which need to be transferred from the inside to the outside—"to get this out in society." Particularly regarding subordination, coined humility, explicitly enunciating that it is the "reality . . . on the streets" that is the target of social change. However, such social change can, according to the discourse articulated, be realized first as an effect of disciplining the behaviors of participating youth and making them act in orderly ways as well outside as inside the intervention practices. In this sense, the disciplinary technologies promoted are underpinned by ambitions to technologize a docile and normalized subject, (re)creating a controlled social order.

Second, when it comes to the benefits of society in general, order and security in the suburban landscape as well as a certain form of social cohesion is strongly emphasized. Forming the subordinate, docile and normalized youth is in a sense a way to combat the disorders posing a threat to society. The intervention, hence, is promoted as a way to provide safety and security. For instance, Sulejman elaborates on security and cohesion while touching on several aspects of the intervention technologies outlined before, when saying that the midnight football "leads to us getting more good citizens of society . . . less crime [. . .] and many people have been led from midnight football into associations, where they get perspectives on how Swedish society works." Sulejman continues on how "they learn the path of life and meaning of life" through

sport participation. Again, the transfer of competences from sport participation to society *outside* is a key ingredient of the rationality promoted—from sport to *life outside*. In the following excerpt, Abraham expounds on the benefits and objectives of the intervention, by highlighting the formation of disciplined youth mirrored in a safe and secure suburban locality:

> We know that we by really simple measures managed to contribute to a better society. [. . .] If we have a 17-year old [. . .] he will bring his friends, and siblings, which, in turn, leads to him bringing a positive mood and attitude out in the streets. I know to 110 percent that, on occasions, our kids have prevented tragic things that could have happened in our local area. Because they have dropped those parts of their lives . . . that it's no longer okay to throw stones at the police and rescue workers [*sw: blåljuspersonal*]. [. . .] We have fostered better persons . . . and therefore our older people do not need to be afraid to walk around the streets . . . instead, as the youth pass by, they say hello . . . And I witnessed this . . . they ask if they need help with their bags . . . So, I can guarantee . . . they are totally different individuals. (Abraham, East City midnight football)

Accordingly, the suggested transfer is complemented by a notion of proliferation. From this point of view, as certain youth subjects are disciplined, they not only bring their disciplined behavior to "the streets." In addition, they influence their peers and siblings so that their disciplined behavior proliferates also in the wider locality and community at large. In his way, norms are reconfigured within the community and it becomes no longer accepted to "throw stones." Accordingly, discipline becomes a technology of normalization and of preventing disorderly conduct. In effect, the older people of the community no longer need to be afraid of the potentially delinquent or mis-conductive youth. Accordingly, the variety of transfers implied is assumed to form order in subjects as well as in society.

Discussion

The analysis has displayed empirically, the problematizations of risk posed in discourse, the technologies of discipline and pastoral power promoted to address the risks and dangers suggested, and the importance of performing and embodying as well as following the law. In all, the analysis has discerned the ideals of inclusion, with respect to order in subjects and society underpinning the discourse. Much like the argument put forth by Hartmann (2016), the notion of social change displayed in analysis can be understood through the lens of *need, risk*, and *control*. The dual conceptualization of *risk*—that is, the participant youth as exposed to social risk and themselves exposing society to risk and danger—means that the targeted youth are seen as in *need* of intervention, both in need of protection and of discipline. The youth are viewed not only as incapable of managing their own risk and providing for their own future and protection, but they are moreover seen as a potential danger to the order and cohesion of community and society (Rose, 1999). As the youth constitute a risk to community and social order, the emphasis in the intervention rationality is on

discipline and control. The intervention is formed as a site for place-specific, time-specific, and group-specific diversion (Nichols, 2007), based on technologies of discipline and control. Still, targeting this particular group of youth, defining them as in risk, thus as in need of intervention and control, simultaneously directs attention to them as a *potential* of order, change, and inclusion in society. Order and discipline, here, is promoted as means of change and inclusion. Thus, seemingly repressive forms of power operate productively by facilitating subjection to order in subjects and society (Foucault, 1979, 2010). Here, examining the disciplinary and pastoral forms of power makes clear how the conditions of inclusion are formed in practice.

When football is associated with particular (and beneficial) values, believed to be transmitted to the participants, not least through the utilization of role models (cf. Richardson, 2012), and transferred to the outside and proliferated to peers and the community in general, the sport setting is actualized as a suitable arena for subject formation. Here, importantly, the benign care and prescriptive conduct of the role model—the shepherd and pastor—and their embodiment of rule, provides the model of conduct and discipline enabling formation of the conduct of youth (Foucault, 2010). When it comes to the transfers and proliferation of competences expected, there may be lessons of life (cf. Turnnidge et al., 2014) learned by the participant youth, though, mainly in terms of learning how to see themselves as objects of intervention and as subjects of risk and need (cf. Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). Such rationality aligns finely with known ambitions of inclusion by means of civilization through discipline and control of youth of ethnocultural minorities, not least (cf. Agergaard et al., 2015), preserving socioeconomic as well as ethnocultural hierarchies within and outside sport practices (cf. Forde et al., 2015; Long et al., 2014).

The discourse and rationality scrutinized can only be understood by acknowledging the socioeconomic inequalities framing the lives of (sub)urban youth, in the context of a segregated urban landscape. In this sense, the technologies promoted appear more as a *symptom* of existing patterns of inequalities and segregation than as a *solution* to the challenges confronted. What is provided in this article is neither a critique of the intervention as carried out nor of the benign interest expressed or efforts made by managers and coaches. What is provided is rather a critical spotlight on current socioeconomic inequalities and lines of segregation, alongside the conditions of social policy and general forms of knowledge of how social problems may be addressed, which make this particular intervention, its rationality, and technologies of discipline and control possible (cf. Hartmann, 2016).

Consequently, it is a profitable operation to provide opportunities for youth residing in suburban areas where socioeconomic poverty limits their opportunities to engage in traditional associations, to participate in sports. Although when such provision is underpinned by notions of risk and need, with a focus on controlling the behaviors of youth, there is a risk of reinforcing rather than combating inequalities. It is reasonable to question if not provision of sport should be a social right for (all) youth (cf. Bergsgaard & Norberg, 2010; Norberg, 2011), independent of inequalities and segregation, instead of primarily a means of discipline, control, or social change

for certain disadvantaged segments of the population (Agergaard & Michelsen La Cour, 2012). With this respect, there seems to be a certain potential for practitioners of sports-based interventions to utilize a critical pedagogy (Nols et al., 2018), highlighting the opportunities of social change by means of articulating the precise dimensions of segregation, inequalities, exclusion, and poverty, which forms the conditions of the intervention and promoting a language and of resistance facilitating counter-conduct (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). To succeed in the promotion of social change, however, the intervention sociopedagogy needs to adhere to an elaborated theoretical foundation (Coalter, 2012; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011) and educational components of the activities need to be emphasized (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). However, the concerns of segregation and inequalities and rationalities of discipline and control are in many respects symptomatic of broader policy developments taking place in an age of austerity, constituting an institutional premise for the provision of rights (Parnell et al., 2017). With its emphasis on discipline and control, the discourse and rationality explored align fairly well with the paradigm of hard neoliberalism (Hartmann, 2016) outlined in an American context (Bustad & Andrews, 2017) and recognized in a range of contemporary welfare states (Wacquant, 2009). Such paradigm, in turn, relates to and is intermeshed with an ongoing turn toward a politics of assimilationism with a focus on cultural homogeneity (Ålund et al., 2017), as well as more punitive agendas on (sub)urban disorder (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2019). The emphasis on discipline, order, and homogeneity as current features of neoliberal government have been observed and scrutinized, from similar post-Foucauldian perspectives as the one deployed in this examination, on a variety of social fields beyond the practice of sports-based interventions, such as for instance education and crime prevention (O'Malley, 2012; Popkewitz et al., 2006; Wahlgren, 2014). Highlighting the potential of midnight football programs and interventions alike is of great political significance as it is performative of how social segregation, inequalities, social problems, and solutions can be articulated and understood. This, in turn, is of great importance for the development of social policy in contemporary Sweden, as in other countries.

Conclusion

In this article, we have shown, empirically, how a dual conceptualization of risk conditions the life of youth and the rationalities of governing constitutive of the interventions investigated, how they underpin actions of spatial and temporal diversion of youth formed as disciplinary technologies. As youth are displaced from risk and disorder of the suburban localities and diverted to sites of order and rule, they are subjected to a variety of disciplinary measures performed, in particular, by coaches acting in their capacity of role models and conductors of social change (as shepherds of the flock). Here, it is the embodiment and the obedience of the rule of law that conform into pastoral and disciplinary forms of rule. In practice, the technologies promoted are underpinned by the dual objectives to form a certain order of subjects and of society. In all, this is a case of diversion from life, and erection of sites of order, security, and

refuge where ideals of behavior can be transmitted, transferred, and proliferated to the world outside, according to the rationality and discourse. The analysis illustrates how sport participation is formed as a venue of disciplinary technologies, reproducing and maintaining social order. Particular segments of the population, deemed as in need of social change, are addressed by means of discipline and control. Reconnecting to the formal ambition of the interventions to promote social inclusion, such focus of attention is of great importance. In a discursive sense, social inclusion is associated with social reproduction, adaptation, and subordination. Here, social inclusion targets socioeconomically vulnerable youth, mainly of migrant background. In this article, we have additionally discussed and reflected on the context of social policy in which the disciplinary and pastoral forms of power are promoted through the use of this particular sports-based intervention. We have highlighted the context of social inequalities, exclusion, and segregation that forms the background and facilitates the power technologies mentioned. In line, we conclude that the intervention as such needs to be understood more as a symptom of the problems articulated than as a solution to them.

The examination presented is limited to analyses of how the rationality of rule is articulated and promoted by managers and coaches of the intervention examined. Previously, the perspective and discourse of a variety of stakeholders have been interrogated (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2018; Ekholm & Holmlid, 2020); but, to explore and understand the rationality of the intervention from a multi-perspective, we need to interrogate also how participation is experienced, made intelligible, and articulated by participants themselves. Principally, such examination of the narratives of participants could outline the experiences of subjugation and possibilities of resistance (cf. Sabbe et al., 2019) that is the interplay of power dynamics (Foucault, 1982). The voices of youth themselves are of course instrumental to grasp how the rationalities of rule mapped out in this article materialize and form order among subjects and in society (cf. Foucault, 1982, 2009, 2010; Högman & Augustsson, 2017; Rose, 1999). And, most notably, this is a principal ambition in the continuing study of midnight football and sports-based interventions. A study with such focus, in turn, addresses methodological concerns not least regarding the possibilities of representing the voices of the participants, which is principally a matter of power relations and contestation. Here, though, we have explored how the rationalities and technologies of social change are envisioned in the discourse of the intervention, as promoted by the managers and coaches, the governors of social change, providing and promoting a model of discipline, through the rule of midnight football.

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