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Social enterprises in vocational education and training: can Bourdieu's social theory enhance understanding of their potential?

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Abstract

This thesis examines social enterprises providing education and training for disengaged young people in the state of Victoria, Australia. Young people in Australia are increasingly struggling in the transition from education to the full-time labour market (Foundation for Young Australians (FYA) 2016) and young people who become disengaged from employment, education and training are vulnerable to entrenched disadvantage (OECD 1998). It has been suggested that social capital is an important factor in the prevention of disengagement for young people and assists with successful transitions (Bynner 2001a; Bynner & Parsons 2002).

The Victorian state government in 2017 endorsed the use of social enterprise to address some of the state's most significant social issues (Victorian Government February 2017), including youth transitions. Given this enthusiasm for the model, this thesis is concerned with undertaking a theoretical exploration of the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprise. The critical social theory of Pierre Bourdieu offers a conceptualisation of social capital (1980, 1986), embedded within a rich theoretical framework (Wacquant 2017) which is underused in social research (Foley and Edwards 1999, Wacquant 2018). This is in contrast to the normative framework of social capital derived from Putnam (1993) that has been popularised in the social sciences.

To test the value of a Bourdieuian framework, a multi-site tri-level case study was employed using focus groups at the social enterprise level with a short-term longitudinal case study by semi-structured interview with program participants. The case study was conducted over two program intakes with three social enterprises.

Applying Bourdieu's theories was valuable for exploring the theoretical potential of social enterprise. Crucially, it was also useful in demonstrating some tempering limitations and challenges in the use of social enterprise. This study found that social enterprise education has a positive impact on the lives of the program participants. Social capital is found to be of secondary influence in the operations of the social enterprises, with cultural capital being the most significant factor in the successful operation of a social enterprise. Finally, the sociopolitical climate has become increasingly supportive of social enterprise as a means to deliver public services, as a neoliberal rationality continues to dominate both sides of the Australian political landscape.

Doctor of Philosophy student declaration

"I, Madeleine Ruth Lawler, declare that the PhD thesis entitled *Social enterprises in vocational education and training: can Bourdieu's social theory enhance understanding of their potential?* is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work."

Signature ███████████████████_____   Date 31/7/2018

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List of abbreviations

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ACARA	Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority
CID	challenges Ishikawa diagram
CM	capital matrix
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
F	factor
FYA	Foundation for Young Australians
HCCMp	HEAT challenges capital map
HCID	HEAT challenges Ishikawa diagram
HEAT	hospitality education and training
HPCMp	HEAT positive capital map
HPID	HEAT positive Ishikawa diagram
MCM	Melbourne City Mission
MMR	mixed methods research
NEET	not in employment education and training
NHMRC	National Health and Medical Research Council
OECD	Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
PC	Productivity Commission
PID	positive Ishikawa diagram
RTO	registered training organisation
SCCMp	STREAT challenges capital map
SCID	STREAT challenges Ishikawa diagram
SE	social enterprise
SES	social enterprise sector
SEET	social enterprise delivering education and training
SEs	social enterprises
SKYS	St Kilda Youth Service
SPCMp	STREAT positive capital map
SPID	STREAT positive Ishikawa diagram
T1	Time 1
T2	Time 2
T3	Time 3
VCOSS	Victorian Council of Social Services
VET	vocational education and training
VicSES	Victorian Social Enterprise Strategy
YACVIC	Youth Affairs Council of Victoria
YCCMp	Youthworx challenges capital map
YCID	Youthworx challenges Ishikawa diagram
YP	young people
YPCMp	Youthworx positive capital map
YPID	Youthworx positive Ishikawa diagram

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study examines the theoretical potential, contributions and limitations of social enterprises as training providers for disengaged young people. In this examination, the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu is considered in its ability to provide the theoretical and conceptual framework for elaborating the potential, contributions and limitations of social enterprise. The use of social enterprise in Australia to address complex social issues is gaining currency (Victorian Government 2017). It is hoped that by exploring social enterprises in-depth this study will contribute to a nuanced understanding about the future contribution of social enterprises to alternative education and social service delivery in Australia.

This study consists of three case studies (Creswell 2007, Merriam 2014) about social enterprise organisations in Melbourne delivering vocational education and training to disengaged young people. Disengaged young people are those who are not engaged in employment, education or training and are generally between the ages of 15 to 24 (Lamb & Huo 2017). Data was collected from the case study sites using focus groups for staff and for program participants, using a short-term longitudinal (Ruspini 2004) study by semi-structured interview. The data is analysed in a cross-case analysis across macro, meso and micro theoretical levels using Bourdieu's 'thinking tools' (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 50). Bourdieu's (1986) theory of capital is a significant concept in this study and social capital is heavily used as a conceptual and analytical tool.

Examining the social capital benefit of social enterprises is an under-researched area in the literature (Frith 2014), yet social capital is often cited as a benefit of social enterprises (Anderson 2017; Evers 2001; Frith 2014; Jaffe 2003; Kerlin 2006; Laville & Nyssens 2001). When the social capital benefit of social enterprises is being considered, Robert Putnam's definition of social capital is commonly employed (1993, 1994, 1995, 2001). This schema of social capital involves three core aspects – networks, norms and trust – and is often aimed at an institutional level (Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti 1993; Putnam 1995). It is the most influential presentation of the concept in much of the empirical work on social capital in the last 25 years (Fine 2002; Grootaert & Van Bastelaer 2001; Levi 1996; Morrow 1999a; Portes & Landolt 2000; Productivity Commission 2003; Siisiainen 2003).

This study utilises a Bourdieuian (1980, 1986) model of social capital, further developed by Foley and Edwards (1999). The study theoretically considers the use of social capital by social enterprises and whether there is potential for a social capital benefit to participants, in this case, disengaged young people.

Foley and Edwards developed their model of Bourdieuian social capital in protest to the normative conceptualisation of social capital derived primarily from Putnam and followers, and secondarily from Coleman (Foley & Edwards 1998). Foley and Edwards' model requires that the socio-political-historical context be studied to identify stratification of resources and the use value of those resources in specific contexts. Additionally, the specific context under study must be considered by understanding the dynamics of the field (Bourdieu 1969) including the resources present. Finally, the resources available and accessible to individuals or collectives can be identified. Importantly, the Foley and Edwards model identifies the role of agency in the process of resource mobilisation, accessibility and knowledge. To implement this model, the study has been designed as a tri-level cross-case analysis.

Level 1: The socio-political-historical context for the emergence and use of social enterprises in education and training is considered. This is the macro level of the research project. This level includes a field analysis, where the institutional, economic and governmental relations impacting on social enterprises delivering education and training are examined.

Level 2: The operating context of the three sites is studied. This is the meso level of the research project. The organisations were asked about the five universal areas of an organisation: methods, equipment, people, materials and environment. They were asked what factors relating to these universal areas contributed to delivering positive results for young people and which factors made it challenging to deliver positive results. A comprehensive capital analysis was conducted, determining the resources available in the social enterprise field, and the strategies used by agents to maximise their position within the fields in which they operate.

Level 3: The perspectives of the participants were studied, providing the micro level of the research project. Participants were invited to talk about their lives, how they got to where they are and their hopes for the future. They were asked about their experiences in the program, and how it impacted their lives. This was analysed using the constant comparative method, by identifying units of analysis, categorising them and undertaking phenomenological reduction to produce themes from the categories.

The consistent themes identified across all time points were: environment, networks, resources and self. These themes have been analysed and interpreted in the cross-case analysis according to Foley and Edwards' model of Bourdieuian social capital.

Study initiation

This research project was initiated following the withdrawal of funding from a social enterprise operated by St Kilda Youth Service, in Melbourne, Australia, in May 2013. Melbourne, with a population approaching five million people, is the capital of the state of Victoria, and St Kilda is a popular inner-city suburb. The Victorian state government had been providing St Kilda Youth Service with an annual grant of $220,000. The funding was originally provided under the Labor government's *Youth Employment Scheme* (St Kilda Youth Service 2013)*.* With these funds, St Kilda Youth Service established the Hospitality Education and Training (HEAT) Program, a social enterprise business providing catering services. The income generated from the business was to support the delivery of vocational education and training certificates for at risk young people. The aim was to re-engage them in education and training to enable the development of workplace skills through practical training and employment opportunities in the commercial kitchen.

In the 2013 state budget, the Employment Minister Louise Asher and Premier Denis Napthine reduced the *Youth Employment Scheme*:

> As part of the changes in this year's state budget, the government will instead direct resources towards a new "incentive-based" program, where businesses will get $4000 for taking on a young worker – $1000 for initial start-up costs, and a further $3000 16 weeks later, provided the youth is still employed and enrolled in training.
>
> Employment Minister Louise Asher says the new scheme aimed to provide 1750 places over four years, at half the cost per placement. "We're providing as a government more money for more placements," she said.
>
> But critics fear the new scheme is not specifically targeted to the high-risk youths who benefit most. Essentially, the funding cuts will affect the ability to provide the support that gets vulnerable people "job ready". (Tomazin, 16 June 2013)

Progressively over the year 2013–2014, the height of the youth unemployment crisis in Victoria (Lim (The Hon.) 2014) saw the state register the highest youth unemployment figures for Australian mainland states and a 52% increase in youth unemployment for the year 2013–2014 (Tierney (The Hon.) 2014). The Napthine government had significantly reduced funding to assistance programs for youth unemployment across the state.

The research and researcher

I was originally drawn to the study when the then Chief Executive Officer of St Kilda Youth Service, Emma Crichton, was campaigning to regain the funding following the Napthine government's withdrawal of funds. Ms Crichton publicised this de-funding on the Australian Broadcasting Company's morning radio program (ABC Melbourne 774). During their discussion, presenter Jon Faine remarked that a study of the more complex outcomes from the program was needed in order to demonstrate to government funders the efficacy of programs like HEAT (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2013), which had assisted over 400 young people since its inception in 2007.

Having recently returned to Australia following a career in management consulting in both the UK and Australia in non-profit and public sector organisations, and in the private sector with public–private partnerships, I had worked with numerous organisations in the UK that had embraced social enterprise as a means for helping the communities they serviced. I was already aware of the absence of social enterprise in Australian public discourse (in comparison to the UK) and was dismayed that the state government would withdraw funding for an organisation that was embracing this "new model". It was this scenario that motivated me to undertake a study of social enterprises aiming to address disadvantaged and disengaged young people in Melbourne.

The original impetus to undertake this study was a confidence in the positive and progressive nature of social enterprises. I viewed them as a form of "capitalism with a social conscience", and saw the possibility of autonomy from the changing priorities of government. I felt the model empowered individuals in communities to use creative and innovative responses to needs. However, in the process of undertaking the research, I have experienced a shift in perspective on the use of social enterprise to deliver social services. My initial assumptions and understandings of social

enterprise, their current place in sociopolitical history and the reality of service delivery to meet the needs of marginalised young people have been transformed.

Contextual issues

Western nations with ageing populations require young people who are successfully engaged in the labour market. They are vital contributors to national revenues and economic productivity (Eurofound 2012). In Australia it is recognised that we have a significant declining trend in the taxpayer base, and urgently need to act on improving employment outcomes for young people (Foundation for Young Australians (FYA) 2016). The degree of decline is stark: in 2015 there were 4.5 taxpayers for every retiree, however by 2054 this will fall to 2.7 (FYA 2016, p. 1). Despite the need for a productive youth workforce, in 1985 young people experienced underemployment at a level of 4.7%, whereas by 2015 it had risen to 17.5% (FYA 2016, p. 5). Another particularly concerning statistic is that 30% of 15–24 year olds are unemployed or underemployed (FYA 2015, p. 2).

This lack of economic opportunity for young people presents a large-scale waste of human capacity for endeavour. Not only is the effect a personal one, which is known to effect young people's mental health and wellbeing (O'Dea et al. 2014), it translates into a significant loss of potential national revenue:

> If youth unemployment and underemployment rates were the same as for the rest of the population, more than 125 million additional hours would have been worked in 2015, generating up to $11.3 billion in additional GDP. (FYA 2016)

There is a particular statistical category of young people attracting significant amounts of attention in public policy in Europe, the US (Bellfield, Levin & Rosen 2012; Eurofound 2012) and increasingly here in Australia (FYA 2015, 2016; Robinson & Lamb 2012). This category captures young people not in employment, education and training (NEET).

This concept, NEET, has been taken in the European context to distinguish between simple unemployment and lack of engagement with the labour force. It is a concept that encapsulates those who do not have a job, are not enrolled in training and are not a student and is therefore taken as a measure of 'disengagement from the labour market and perhaps society in general' (Eurofound 2012, p. 1). What evolved in Britain as a concept to refer to 16–18 year olds beginning as 'StatusZer0' has

broadened to 'capture patterns of vulnerability in the context of turbulent transitions' and has now been extended to young people from the ages 15 to 34 in some nations (Eurofound 2012, p. 1). In 2015, 7% of 15–19 year olds and 12% of 20–24 year olds were NEET (FYA 2015).

Social enterprise as an intervention model is applied to addressing the needs of NEET young people in the UK (Hazenberg, Seddon & Denny 2013). Benefits of social enterprise are promoted internationally, and have become a key 'policy vehicle' in the UK (Spear, Cornforth & Aiken 2009, p. 2). Social enterprise popularity is due to the ability to assist local communities in addressing specific needs. In this way, social enterprises are considered 'pathfinders' for 'what works' in interventions (Spear, Cornforth & Aiken 2009, p. 2). Making policy decisions based on evidence, science or 'what works' has been the priority of US, UK and Australian public policy over the last 15 years (Arthur et al. 2007; Head 2010). The British government has pursued the development of social enterprises (Social Enterprise Coalition 2011). As a consequence, their sector is more formalised than that of Australia.

Throughout the duration of this study, the role and presence of social enterprise in Australia, and particularly in the state of Victoria, has undergone a transformation. Social enterprise was notable for its absence in the public domain in Australia in 2013, particularly when contrasted with other Western developed countries (e.g. the UK and US), where social enterprise was a prominent feature of the non-government and non-profit sectors (Baines, Bull & Woolrych 2010; Barraket 2008b; British Council 2015; Defourny & Borzaga 2001; Frith 2014; Kerlin 2006).

The Australian social enterprise sector witnessed a national first in 2017 (Social Traders 2017), when the Andrews Labor government introduced the Victorian Social Enterprise Strategy (Victorian Government February 2017). This strategy effectively sanctions and legitimises social enterprises as a method to deliver social services.

When this study was commenced in 2013, the Finding Australia's Social Enterprise Sector (FASES) report (Barraket et al. 2010) had been finalised in 2010. Prior to this, social enterprises were not defined or understood in Australia. As the study traverses this change and is directly affected by the rise in awareness and role of social enterprise, these transformations are considered as part of the macro level investigation, in order to understand the forces affecting the three social enterprises involved in this study.

The rise in the popularity of social enterprise in the state of Victoria is a feature of a much broader shift in the nature of governance and governing philosophy in Australia (Barraket 2016; Mason & Barraket 2015). The shift in governance and governing logic has also had a significant impact on the welfare state and broader social services (Bourdieu 1998; Graefe 2005; Wacquant 2010). Within this shift, the policy framework and approach to young people has undergone a significant change (McLeod 2012), along with a change in the broader notion of citizenship (Larner 2000). This series of changes has been considered by some academics as the result of neoliberalism in Australia (Beeson & Firth 1998). These social transformations have been progressively taking place since the 1970s. In this study the emergence of social enterprise as a mechanism for the delivery of education and training is seen as a continuation of this neoliberal trend.

The social enterprises in this study take an innovative approach to education and training to assist NEET young people, or those at risk of becoming NEET. They deliver vocational education and training (VET) in alternative, non-mainstream settings, whilst providing social assistance for young people with complex needs. They operate businesses and channel profits into delivering this social mission. These organisations operate at a crossroads, where public policy in education and welfare meet the vagaries of markets and economics within the sphere of business. Thus the organisations are subject to multifaceted forces that make it challenging for them to deliver on their social mission of assisting vulnerable young people to re-engage in education and training and to transition successfully to employment.

Research questions

This study seeks to explore whether Bourdieu's social theory can contribute to an understanding of the use of social enterprises as education providers. In order to do so it asks:

i. *Can a Bourdieuian theoretical framework be used to understand and theorise the use of social enterprise?*
ii. *Can Bourdieu's theory of social capital assist in theorising and explicating the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises providing education and training to disengaged young people?*

Conceptual considerations

In order to specifically answer these questions, this study utilised a multi-site, multi-level case study investigation of the use of social enterprise in education and training and social capital creation. Pierre Bourdieu's theory and 'thinking tools' (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 50) are used to operationalise Foley and Edwards' (1999) model of Bourdieuian social capital. The case study approach allows for in-depth investigation of each site, and the ability to conduct analysis across the multiple sites in order to provide for a degree of generalisation (Fletcher & Plakoyiannaki 2010).

There are differences and similarities between the sites. Over the life of this study the trajectories for the case studies were vastly different, ranging from an organisation that ceased to trade to another expanding rapidly. The meso social aspect of this study considers the difference in performance outcomes for these businesses. It explores what the core influencing factors are for each organisation. In order to achieve this, a capital analysis was undertaken by applying and adapting Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) capital framework. Interpretation of results has drawn from a broader conceptual range of Bourdieu's theory. This facilitated a comparative discussion of organisational position in the fields in which they operate.

At the micro social level, this study considers the perspectives of the participants. A small-scale longitudinal study over three time points (commencement, completion and three months post completion) gathered the young people's perspectives and analysed them thematically. The results were applied to Foley and Edwards' model of social capital, and conclusions have been drawn based on these results.

Structure of this thesis

This study is presented in six chapters.

Chapter 1 (this chapter) introduces the study and its research questions, and provides an overview of the publication structure.

Chapter 2 presents the literature grounding this study. The literature review first considers social enterprise as a phenomenon, its history, diverse opinions of its utility and its role in modern industrialised nations. The discussion on the emergence of social enterprise is then considered in light of the argument that the dominance of neoliberalism as a governing philosophy is related to the use of social enterprise to

deliver social services. The role of social capital as a concept in social science and its use in neoliberalism is then considered in depth.

The trajectory of development and change in the Australian education system, with particular reference to the vocational education system and alternative education settings, are presented. The concluding section of the literature review considers young people who are disengaged and disadvantaged in the education system and society. The literature pertaining to how these young people is viewed, the responses to disengagement and structural factors are considered. This background literature, in combination with the theoretical literature, shaped the processes devised for collecting, presenting and analysing the data.

Chapter 3 presents the core concepts used to collect, analyse and interpret the data. This chapter discusses Foley and Edwards' application of Bourdieu. It also presents core concepts from Bourdieu's theory and outlines how the concepts have been applied to operationalise Foley and Edwards' model.

Following this the case study design is elaborated including the epistemological, ontological and paradigmatic considerations of this study. It also details the process taken to collect data. It outlines the use of the qualitative method centering on focus groups, interviews and secondary source analysis. Additionally, this chapter presents the important discussion on the ethics of research with young people.

The final section documents and describes the tools developed by the researcher to conduct the data analysis across the three research levels – macro, meso and micro – in the cross-case analysis and relates them to the conceptual framework and data collection approach.

Chapter 4 contains the data presentation of the case studies at the macro, meso and micro level and Chapter 5 is where the analysed data is discussed in a cross-case analysis. This begins with field analysis and is supplemented with an analysis of the lobbying process of the youth, community and social service peak bodies in Victoria. The discussion is centred on an illustration of the relational dynamics between politics, policy and funding in which the social enterprises operate. This is the macro level component of the cross-case analysis and constitutes an in-depth contextual study for the development of the three case study organisations.

This is followed by the meso level case analysis and discussion. The results of the organisational level focus groups are analysed and 'quantised' (Teddlie 2009, p. 149)

to facilitate an interpretation. Through this process the variation in levels of capital between cases are illuminated, nuancing the discussion of the strategies the agents are employing to deliver the best possible outcomes for the young people in their services.

The micro level of the cross-case analysis is where the results of the interviews with the participants are presented. A nested cross-case analysis is used on the thematic results, which emerged at all time points in the data collection: environment, networks, resources and self. The discussion of these results applies social capital theory to the outputs of the research, and discusses the impact of program participation in the lives of the young people.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusions and implications of the study. It addresses the research topic of whether Bourdieu's social theory can contribute to an understanding of the use of social enterprises as education providers via the two research questions:

i. *Can a Bourdieuian theoretical framework be used to understand and theorise the use of social enterprise?*
ii. *Can Bourdieu's theory of social capital assist in theorising and explicating the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises providing education and training to disengaged young people?*

The application of a Bourdieuian theoretical framework in this study has resulted in the conclusion that the organisational form of social enterprise can be considered as a form of resistance to neoliberalism that was coopted by governments. In doing so it has been brought into the mainstream of neoliberal social service operations, thereby extending the New Public Management (Alexander 2000; Diefenbach 2009; Sercombe 2015) philosophy.

It argues that the sites have experienced a change as a consequence of the cooption of social enterprise. Recognition and legitimation of social enterprises provides a greater degree of government support and resources. However, it also implies greater degrees of proscription as to appropriate solutions to social problems. Formerly, social enterprises enabled a flexible, local response for NEET people with the tantalising possibility of autonomy from governmental intervention and interference.

The application of Bourdieu's theory of capital to the meso level case study has resulted in the stark revelation of the critical role of *cultural capital* in being able to navigate the nexus of business, social services and provision of education. The business acumen and ability to operate successful commercial organisations, with processes, procedures, systems and structures, is a specific skill set, which is not inculcated in traditional social service provision. In the absence of strong levels of cultural capital, social capital features prominently. However, the key determinant for growth, success and financial autonomy appears to be cultural capital.

What is also clear is the changes in educational policy over the past few years in Australia had negative consequences for organisations trying to assist the most marginalised of young people. The restriction in access to education funding and changes to income support for students and young people reflect a punitive shift in welfare facilitated by individualism as a cornerstone of neoliberalism. These structural changes frustrated the organisations' options for assisting their program participants.

Finally, the participants in the study who were retained until completion of their studies demonstrated increases in cultural capital and positive self-perception. The environment provided by the social enterprises played a critical role and ensured the young people felt respected and competent. The flexible delivery, with an emphasis on life skills and support services, meant social disadvantages were somewhat ameliorated by the program. In addition to obtaining a qualification, every participant gained valuable work experience, connections and enhancements for resumes. It is important to note there were variations in outcomes for participants due to relative degrees of social capital. The themes identified in the data reinforced Foley and Edwards' approach to Bourdieu's social capital.

Chapter 2: Literature review

In order to undertake a Bourdieuian analysis of social enterprises delivering education and training to disengaged young people, a survey of the literature relating to the use of social enterprises as education and training institutions has been considered. In order to gain an understanding of the sociohistorical context within which these organisations are operating, the literature presented relates to the use of social enterprises in society, the state of post-secondary education in Australia, and relevant research relating to youth disengagement from employment and education. Finally, the debates surrounding social capital as a theoretical concept are presented. This provides the foundation for the use of a Bourdieuian social capital framework, which is covered in detail in Chapter 3.

Social enterprise: Australia and abroad

In Australia, there has been an intensification of interest in the organisational form of social enterprise over the past decade. In 2010 the first report mapping and describing the social enterprise sector in Australia was published (Barraket et al. 2010). The follow-on report in 2016 identified that social enterprises were being used to fulfil a wide variety of needs of varied beneficiaries, but were most commonly being used in Australia to create meaningful employment opportunities for specific target groups (such as people with disabilities or young people) and develop 'new solutions to social, cultural, economic or environmental problems' (Barraket, Mason & Blain 2016, p. 4). In this way, the development of Australia's social enterprise sector conforms to the OECD's (1999) identified valuable uses for social enterprise. It is important to note that this use for social enterprise has changed over time; in 2010 social enterprise was most commonly being used in Australia to 'create opportunities for people to participate in their community' (Barraket, Mason & Blain 2016, p. 4).

Background to social enterprise: Historical development and the social economy

Social enterprises (SEs) are not a new organisational form; rather, organisations existing to fulfil a social mission have been operating in industrial societies from the early part of the industrial revolution, emerging at the end of the 18th century in the UK (Aiken 2007). The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers was founded in 1844, and is seen as the benchmark establishment for socially oriented trading (Mazzarol & Limnios 2012). Shortly after the Rochdale Society was the Brisbane Co-operative Society, established in Australia in 1859 (Balnave & Patmore 2012). The modern manifestation of SEs can be seen as development of these cooperatives (Somers 2005). The organisational form of social enterprise (SE) has gathered significant momentum in the latter part of the 20th century, and has become a subject of intense interest throughout the developed post-industrial societies (Bell 1976) of the world (Gray, Healy & Crofts 2003).

The non-profit sector or 'socioeconomic initiatives which belong neither to the traditional private for-profit sector nor to the public sector' has been rapidly expanding in 'almost all industrialised countries' (Defourny & Borzaga 2001, p. 1). The term 'non-profit sector' is American in origin and is born out of strong historical perceptions and processes founded in a deep distrust of royalty and the "state" in America's founding, and an emphasis on philanthropy and voluntarism (Salamon & Anheier 1997). This division of developed industrial economies is also known as the 'third sector' (a common term in the UK) or by the French term, the 'social economy' (Defourny & Borzaga 2001; Hazenberg 2012; Pearce 2003).

There has been interest in the organisational forms comprising the third sector or social economy and particular focus on these institutions from social scientists since the 1970s (Defourny & Borzaga 2001, p. 3). Economic challenges on a global scale during the 1970s saw an increasing role for organisations not primarily oriented for profit, and a distinct grouping of organisations formed on this basis was created as the third sector for theoretical purposes (Defourny & Borzaga 2001).

Figure 1 illustrates the range of organisations comprising the third sector. Within this diagram, the social economy is identified as distinct from charities and family/self-help organisations based on trading activity. A social enterprise fits at the highly commercial end of this continuum of trading, rendering it close to the for-profit economic sector (Hazenberg 2012).

Figure 1: The three systems of the economy

(Pearce 2003)

A definition of the social economy widely in use in a number of countries is:

> The social economy includes economic activities carried out by co-operatives
> and related enterprises, mutual societies and associations whose ethical
> stance is represented by the following principles:

- the aim of serving members or the community, rather than generating
  profit
- independent management
- a democratic decision-making process
- the primacy of people and labour over capital in the distribution of
  income. (Defourny & Borzaga 2001, p. 7)

It is the definition of the social economy rather than the traditional definition of the
non-profit sector which best accommodates social enterprises, although it is not a
straightforward alignment (Defourny & Borzaga 2001, p. 18).

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In the late 1990s there was an intensification of interest in the social economy (OECD 1999). It is a plausible suggestion the interest is correlated to the change in economic and policy climates surrounding social service provision. It is in this period of the 1990s that discourses around social enterprise gained currency in Europe, North America and parts of Asia (Defourny & Borzaga 2001; Defourny & Nyssens 2006, 2010; Kerlin 2006). It has been argued this interest in the social economy burgeoned due to dramatic changes in the mode of delivery of social services in advanced economies that began in the 1980s (Baines 2004). Rationales explaining these changes range from necessary structural moves to accommodate global capital (Esping-Andersen 1997) to facilitate adaptations such as amalgamations, contracting out, privatisation and decentralisation (Cohen & Peterson 1997; Leonard 1997). Another explanation is the rise in public demand for accountability and efficiency (Stanford 1999).

The location of social enterprises in the social economy is not straightforward, as the organisational form breaches the bounds of its closest neighbour and precursor, cooperative or mutual organisations. These organisations focus their mission and benefit largely internally toward members, whereas social enterprises 'incorporate a goal of service to the community' (Hazenberg 2012). Yet this organisational form is not to be confused as a charity, due to the primacy of trading as discussed above. The core element relegating social enterprises to the social economy or third sector relates to the clear restriction in the non-profit sector regarding profit distribution. In the non-profit sector definition, there is clear reference to a 'nondistribution constraint' (Defourny & Borzaga 2001; Young & Salamon 2002, p. 433). This legal structure prevents organisations in the non-profit sector from distributing surplus profit to individual organisational members. The European concept of social economy focuses more on governance and goals and doesn't impose this limitation. (Campi, Defourny & Grégoire 2006) identified three core goals pursued by social enterprises: social goals (social mission); economic goals (entrepreneurialism); and sociopolitical goals (policy influence and activism). Organisational goals play a large part in differentiating social enterprises from other organisational forms comprising the third sector or social economy.

Defining social enterprise

The use of the terms 'social enterprise' and 'social entrepreneurship' are on the rise (Bacq & Janssen 2011; Defourny & Nyssens 2010). Defining exactly what constitutes social enterprise is a challenging task; one where there appears to be no agreed resolution to date (Alter 2004; Baines, Bull & Woolrych 2010; Barraket & Archer 2009; Barraket & Collyer 2010; Defourny & Borzaga 2001; Defourny & Nyssens 2006; Kay, Roy & Donaldson 2016; Kerlin 2012; Low 2006). Each country investigating its own social enterprise sector (SES) develops a localised definition – though there are core elements that are similar (Defourny & Borzaga 2001). Kerlin (2006) undertook the first study into international use of social enterprise (Kerlin 2006). She states that the US definition of social enterprise is focused on revenue generation and is much broader than other nations (Kerlin 2006, p. 248). The US definition extends to contain activities of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and corporate philanthropy. The European landscape has two distinct schools of thought, one emphasising businesses and firms seeking to extend their impact to incorporate social benefit, capturing CSR and corporate philanthropy (Kerlin 2006). On the other hand, there is a strong school of thought which places social enterprise firmly within the third sector, and is the project of academics and international policy groups (Kerlin 2006).

At a foundational level, a social enterprise is considered to have two aspects when seeking to define rather than 'describe or typify social enterprises' (Peattie & Morley 2008, p. 7): (a) the importance of social aims; and (b) a primary activity of trading goods. In order for an organisation to be a social enterprise, the social goal must take precedent over the financial and economic goals (Hazenberg 2012, p. 32). This aspect represents the core challenge of managing a social enterprise – the organisation's aims create a tension as survival as a business is critical, but as a social venture the use of its finances need to drive not only business development, but 'social and environmental growth' (Somers 2005, p. 46). This has been referred to as the 'double bottom line' (Emerson & Twersky 1996) as raised in corporate social responsibility research. However, the challenge of striking the balance between the business and social aims is all the more pertinent in the case of social enterprises, due to the primacy of their social missions.

In addition to goals, ownership structure is an aspect that features in literature seeking to define social enterprises. Organisations in the social economy have a dual aspect ownership structure: a dominant aspect where individuals retain control of

management; and a beneficiary aspect, where secondary benefits are distributed (Gui 1991). In the private sector, shareholders and/or entrepreneurs are ordinarily the sole beneficiary and controllers. In the case of a social enterprise, the aspects of ownership are separate, as in the social economy (Laville & Nyssens 2001). Dominant ownership is held by entrepreneurs, with the addition of staff operating and sustaining the organisation. The beneficiary aspect is the community that the social mission supports. This translates into wages for entrepreneurs and staff with the bulk (if not all) of profit invested into the delivery of the social mission. This has been defined as the 'separation of ownership' and is based on 'associative democracy' in which the beneficiary community participates, creating dual ownership (Reid & Griffith 2006). This structure is argued to contribute to positive outcome generation (Hazenberg 2012).

Another aspect of social enterprises that feature in literature defining social enterprise is the type of income generated. The social enterprise sector displays diversity, fundraising and voluntary contributions, sales of goods and services, investment income, private capital and social investment vehicles (Haugh & Kitson 2007). Additionally, some social enterprises also receive public funds through grants, service contracts and start-up loans (Haugh 2007). Furthermore, some social enterprises are owned and operated by private charities and businesses. Others receive funds via government for the provision of education and training (Hazenberg, Seddon & Denny 2013). This diversity in funding sources has been claimed to have instituted high autonomy and flexibility in the evolution of social enterprise development (Di Domenico, Haugh & Tracey 2010).

The source of funding particularly pertaining to commercial activities has been a contentious aspect of attempts to classify and define social enterprises (Haugh 2005). Suggestions have been made to apply stringent criteria to the volume or proportion of income generated by commercial activities in order to strengthen the definition, however it is acknowledged that this degree of specificity is not necessarily helpful (Hazenberg 2012). In the UK, a non-profit is deemed to be a social enterprise if 25% of its funds are derived from trading (Barraket 2008b). Defourny and Nyssens (2006) argue that all that matters is the organisation's ability to secure the funding required to deliver its social mission, and it is not a barrier if that funding is diverse, such as a hybrid model of voluntary contributions, public funds and commercial activity. However, with a funding and trade criteria as broad as this an organisation such as a university could fall under the banner of a social enterprise (Jones, Declan & Keogh 2006).

In all definitional debates, the social mission is critical, and usually socially or environmentally focused (Hazenberg 2012). Of particular concern to theorists is the relationship between commercialism and the social mission. Some theorists argue that the commercial activities of a social enterprise need to directly deliver on the social mission (Defourny & Nyssens 2006). For example, if an organisation's mission is to provide employment opportunities for people with disabilities, then the commercial venture must provide that employment. In essence, it is insufficient for a social enterprise commercial venture to only provide funds (Defourny & Nyssens 2006). This perspective conflicts with the dominant approach in the UK and US, which sees the provision of funds by commercial activities as sufficient, even if that activity is unrelated (Dees 1998). Hazenberg (2012) encapsulates the critical elements neatly:

> … as long as the core business mission is designed to alleviate a social ill, as long as the beneficiary ownership of the business lies with the community, and if some income is derived from commercial activities, then an organisation can be called a social enterprise. (Hazenberg 2012, p. 35)

Australian social enterprise history

Australia's interest in the social economy intensified at the turn of the 2000s. This interest in the contribution of non-profit and philanthropic sector developed a decade behind that of Europe, the Americas and the UK (Barraket & Collyer 2010). The UK is reputed to have the most developed institutional support arrangements to strengthen social enterprise and entrepreneurship the globe (Nicholls 2010a, in Teasdale 2012, p. 114). In Australia, the Victorian state government has pursued a similar developmental track, modeling much of their approach to social enterprise on the UK (Victorian Government February 2017).

Australia has followed a similar trajectory in terms of politics and policy as other Western developed democracies. This claim is discussed in depth in the following section; however, the role of the social economy and non-profit sector mirrors the UK. There has been a steady increase in the role of social enterprise in the social economy and interest in the promise held by that sub-sector for partnering with government to deliver social policy (Aiken 2006; Barraket 2008a; Reddel 2004). Additionally, the trend of pursuing "social innovation" to address social and environmental problems has contributed to the increased interest in social enterprise (Pearce 2003).

It has been observed that non-profits are under increasing pressure to diversify income streams (Boschee 2001; Dees, Emerson & Economy 2001). Australia's non-profit sector has been acknowledged for being highly enterprising, 'ranking ahead of both the US and UK' (Barraket, Archer & Mason 2015, p. 149). Further, the requirement on non-profits to develop alternative funding sources is a result of the increased adherence to and reliance on market-based institutional (Aiken 2006; Dart 2004; Nicholls 2009). This contributes to the rise of interest in social enterprise (Barraket & Collyer 2010, p. 11).

In 2010, the Australian Productivity Commission identified approximately 600,000 non-profit organisations, with '59,000 being economically significant, contributing $43 billion to the Australian GDP and 8 per cent of employment in 2006–07' (Productivity Commission 2010, p. xxiii). In Australia, the social enterprise sector (SES) has been an invisible aspect of the social economy (Barraket & Collyer 2010, p. 5; Barraket et al. 2010). The invisibility was rectified by the Finding Australia's Social Enterprise Sector (FASES) project, a joint initiative of Social Traders and the Australian Centre for Philanthropy and Nonprofit Studies at Queensland University of Technology (the research now sits with Swinburne University's Centre for Social Impact).

FASES encountered the definitional challenges discussed in the previous section. An aspect of their project subsequently became the first national attempt to create an agreed Australian definition of social enterprise (Barraket & Collyer 2010). This thesis uses the national definition of social enterprise arising from the FASES project:

Social enterprises are organisations that:

- are led by an economic, social, cultural, or environmental mission consistent with a public or community benefit
- trade to fulfill their mission
- derive a substantial portion of their income from trade
- reinvest the majority of their profit/surplus in the fulfillment of their mission. (Barraket et al. 2010, p. 4)

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1999 conducted research into social enterprises in OECD member states (OECD 1999). Interestingly, New Zealand is mentioned in the publication as having three social enterprises, and Australia is not covered at all. In contrast, the FASES project identified that the Australian SES was composed of 20,000 organisations and was 'mature, sustainable and internally diverse with regard to mission and organisational

structure' (Barraket & Collyer 2010, p. 4). Their survey identified that 73% of participating organisations had been in business for five years, and 62% had been trading for 10 years or more (Barraket & Collyer 2010, p. 4).

This absence in the OECD report can be taken as an indicator of the lack of purposeful and direct investment in the non-profit sector in Australia, and the historical invisibility of the SES. It has been argued that this lack of direct support stems from historical disinterest at the national and state levels of government in this country, which only began to transform at a state level in the early 2000s (Passey & Lyons 2006). At a federal level in 2001, the Australian government commissioned a report to generate an agreed definition of a non-profit organisation (Sheppard 2001). In 2008, Democrat senators Lyn Allison and Andrew Murray noted 27 of the recommendations from that report were not implemented and called for a new regulatory system for the non-profit sector (Senator Lyn Allison, 18 June 2008). These moves signify the beginning of interest in the third sector in Australia, leading to the specific interest in social enterprise, culminating in the national definition with the FASES report in 2010 (Barraket et al. 2010).

Neoliberalism

The increased interest in the third sector or social economy is often linked to the withdrawal of direct government action in the delivery of social services (Reid & Griffith 2006) as many commentators suggest that the softening of the hard market individualisation of the 1970s and 1980s increased the role of the third sector (Newman 2001). This study considers the rise of interest in the third sector in Australia to be related to increased interest in social enterprise, and the state sanctioning of social enterprise as an appropriate service delivery model (Barraket, Archer & Mason 2015). Neoliberalism is a complex and contested subject, and to posit a relationship between the organisations studied in this project requires a discussion of how neoliberalism might impact the organisations and their participants.

It is common for the idea of neoliberalism to be associated with the primacy of the market economy (Wacquant 2013, p. 1). This being said, neoliberalism is a term that is often a catch-all phrase in literature, so much so that it has been called 'one of the most overused and misapplied concepts in academic popular debate' (Thurbon 2010, p. 5). In contrast to it being a phrase allied to anything negative (Rowlands & Rawolle 2013), it is a concept which is highly contested, incorporating far more than

the free market and founded on a complex interrelationship weaving the individual, community and state (Harvey 2005).

Neoliberalism can be seen as a policy, ideology and governmentality (Larner 2000). It can also be seen as a discourse (Bourdieu 1998). Viewed from each of these perspectives by commentators, the term has varied meanings. As a policy agenda, neoliberalism pursues individualism, the primacy of market security, freedom of choice, laissez faire and small government (Larner 2000, p. 7). The argument supporting the agenda described is centred on the failure of Keynesian economics in a world of global capital (Esping-Andersen 1997). This resulted in an abandonment of government commitment to pursuing full employment and an inclusive, universalistic welfare state in favour of policies enhancing global competitiveness and economic efficiency (Larner 2000).

Neoliberalism as an ideology is a more sociological approach, which considers the institutions, structures, processes and organisations facilitating its existence. Considering neoliberalism as merely a policy agenda is an excellent means of discerning consequences and effects (Larner 2000). However, it is a limited perspective when it comes to addressing questions around how the massive shift in policy direction was achieved and is sustained, how the approach is maintained when it sits on such a tenuous basis of evidence and intellectual rigour; and finally, how we explain why this agenda is still maintaining its currency at both a political and subjective level (Larner 2000).

Stuart Hall (1998) is considered to be a proponent of the ideological critique of neoliberalism, and is well known for his analysis of Thatcherism (Hall 1988). His paper *Toad in the garden* (1998), argues neoliberalism is an ideology, based on the ability to communicate persuasively across society's strata, allowing the logic and rhetoric to take hold in all corners. This included the British working classes on whom so much of the effect of neoliberalism, and Thatcherism in particular, was borne out. Hall argued that the success of the ideological position is in part due to its multiple threads, containing not only the classic neoliberal position of the individual and the market, but the skilful encapsulation of constructions of family and nation, making it an ideology that spoke to identity formation, an inherently cultural process.

Bourdieu and Wacquant raise these ideological and cultural aspects to neoliberalism a decade after Hall (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2001). They refer to a process of 'cultural imperialism' dependent upon 'constrained communication' which involves 'universalising particularisms' within a dehistoricised context to create a set of

'commonplaces' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2001, p. 2). These commonplaces can be likened to a 'commonsense' and in their argument it is related to the Aristotelian use of the word of 'notions or theses with which one argues but over which there is no argument' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2001, p. 2). As they write a decade following Hall, Bourdieu and Wacquant highlight the internationalisation of a global Newspeak:

> 'globalization' and 'flexibility', 'governance' and 'employability', 'underclass' and 'exclusion', 'new economy' and 'zero tolerance', 'communitarianism' and 'multi-culturalism', not to mention their so-called postmodern cousins, 'minority', 'ethnicity', 'identity', 'fragmentation', and so on. The diffusion of this new planetary vulgate – from which the terms 'capitalism', 'class', 'exploitation', 'domination' and 'inequality' are conspicuous by their absence, having been peremptorily dismissed under the pretext that they are obsolete and non-pertinent – is the result of a new type of imperialism. (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2001, p. 2)

Australia is not immune to this (Beeson & Firth 1998) and has embraced the 'neoliberal revolution' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2001, p. 2). Bourdieu and Wacquant argue that this is a distinctly US discourse of their society and universities that has been internationalised. As a consequence, the world is now engaged in a circulation of ideas that are disengaged from the historical, departicularised and spread via the creation of a universal commonsense which can be argued to be a successful ideological project. This project can be considered a 'huge success from the standpoint of the upper classes' (Harvey 2007, p. 156), and has either restored class power or created the conditions for the capitalist class formation (Harvey 2007). This process is arguably dependent on increasing social insecurity to encourage 'risk and innovation that conferred competitive power and stimulated growth' (Harvey 2007, pp. 156–7).

'Governmentality' was a term referred to by Foucault (Foucault 1991) and relates to political rationalities (Beeson & Firth 1998). Exploring neoliberalism as a governmentality explores social policy reform and the emergence of new specifications of how social issues are to be addressed. This shift has seen the transition to a model in which organisations are to be 'entrepreneurial, enterprising and innovative' and the political subject has the same expectation placed upon them (Larner 2000, p. 13). This view of the neoliberal citizen is to be found in the health system, the education system, social welfare agencies and workplaces, transforming

the citizen to an 'active subject responsible for enhancing their own wellbeing' (Larner 2000, p. 13).

The conception of a subject as an individual agent responsible for their own wellbeing works hand in hand with the view of the individual within neoliberalism – that is, one founded on rational actor theory, or rational choice theory – traditionally an economic conceptualisation of human action (Coleman 1990). The "invisible hand" of Adam Smith (Smith 1976 (1776)) in the depiction of perfect competition is a foundational illustration of this theory. This formed the basis of utilitarianism, the political philosophy of natural rights, and classical and neoclassical economics (Coleman 1990; Coleman 1988, 1993). Rational choice theories are based on the notion that individuals pursue their own goals and interests efficiently, and tends to presume these goals are selfish (Green & Fox 2007, p. 269). However, there are some theorists that allow for goals that are not self-serving (Becker 1976). The spectrum of theories in rational choice allow for the brutal individualist, and the altruist. The modern manifestation of neoliberalism contradictorily relies on both ends of the spectrum.

The scope of the discussion above indicates the complexity of the concept of neoliberalism. Any conceptualisation relying purely on an economic thesis or the Foucauldian concept of governmentality has been argued to be 'at once too wide and too narrow' to encapsulate the 'distinctive institutional machinery that actualizes the neoliberal blueprint' (Wacquant 2013, p. 9). For Bourdieu, neoliberalism is a discourse, but not 'just one discourse among many' (Bourdieu 1998, p. 1). He terms it a 'strong discourse' in the way Erving Goffman refers to the psychiatric discourse in an asylum (Bourdieu 1998, p. 1). In this description there is a feeling of impenetrability of the legitimate way of perceiving, and relations of power are implied. In Bourdieu's perspective, the root of the neoliberal project is a 'scientific programme' which guides the economic choices of the dominant actors in economic relationships, and it is also an 'immense *political project*' (Bourdieu 1998, p. 1). The aim of this project is to 'create the conditions under which the "theory" can be realized and can function: *a programme of the methodological destruction of collectives*' (Bourdieu 1998, p. 1).

Bourdieu's theory of the state, the *bureaucratic field* in particular, has informed an alternative conceptualisation of neoliberalism (Wacquant 2009). Integrating Harvey's (Harvey 2005, 2007) political economic conceptualisation and the governmentality lens of Larner and others (Larner 2003), Wacquant presents a case for neoliberalism

being adaptive strategies of the state within the bureaucratic field, where the "left hand" of the state (in Hobbesian terms) is concerned with social functions like education, health, housing, welfare and labour law, while the "right hand" enforces 'economic discipline via budget cuts, fiscal incentives, and economic deregulation', and 'all these policy planks pronounce and promote the transition from the kindly "nanny state" of the Fordist–Keynesian era to the strict "daddy state" of neoliberalism'. (Wacquant 2010, pp. 200–2)

Wacquant presents a "sociological construct" of neoliberalism as a 'transnational political project' (Wacquant 2010, p. 213), stating that it involves four core *institutional logics*: 'economic deregulation' in favour of the market; 'welfare state devolution, retraction and recomposition', in which welfare recipients are seen as clients rather than citizens; an interfering and punitive penal system, to manage social disorder; and a 'cultural trope of individual responsibility', which validates inequity and allows governments to avoid social accountability. (Wacquant 2010, pp. 213–14)

This transnational political project is argued to be underpinned by an ideological premise advocating for "small government", eroding the supposedly bloated bureaucracy of the Keynesian era, transitioning to an agile 'workfare state, which "invests" in human capital and "activates" communal springs and individual appetites for work and participation through "partnerships" stressing self-reliance, commitment to paid work and managerialism' (Wacquant 2010, p. 214).

An interesting corollary of Wacquant's sociological characterisation of neoliberalism is the perspective put forward by political economy – neoliberalism as a 'new stage in the development of capitalism' (Fine & Saad-Filho 2016, p. 686). Wacquant argues that neoliberalism is the remaking of the nexus of 'market, state and citizenship from above' (Wacquant 2010, p. 213). Fine and Saad-Filho (2016) argue that each phase of capitalism is distinguished by its mode of economic reproduction, which comprises the 'accumulation, distribution and exchange of value' (2016 p. 686). Reproduction is ordered and re-ordered in capitalism with implications for social reproduction via structures, relations, process and agents (including the political and ideological). They argue that neoliberalism is an original and new phase because it created new ordering rules with a '*different* "regime of accumulation"', which in implementation created a '*different society*' (2016 p. 686, emphasis in original).

Fine and Saad-Filho (2016) argue that it is *financialisation* – 'the intensive and extensive accumulation of interest-bearing capital' (2016 p. 687) – as the new regime

of accumulation which has dominated the last 30 years. They suggest this dominance has underpinned the neoliberal system of accumulation, demonstrated through the 'power of the state to impose, drive, underwrite and manage the internationalization of production and finance in each territory, often under the perverse ideological veil of promoting non-interventionism' (2016 p. 687). It is the prerogative of each territory to undertake the rewrite of their model of accumulation. However, Wacquant, Fine and others have noted the impact of international organisations, in concert with territorial governments, in driving this remake. According to Wacquant, transnational neoliberalism is thus driven by a 'new global ruling class' of senior executives, 'high-ranking politicians', multinational organisations like the OECD, WTO, IMF and so on, along with their 'cultural–technical' employees (Wacquant 2010, p. 213).

Fine concurs with Wacquant that neoliberalism has been driven by these organisations. He has written extensively on the influence of the international economic policy logic of the Washington Consensus and its role in international development, the Post-Washington Consensus and the IMF and World Bank, in driving the implementation of neoliberal ideology and economics across the globe (Fine 1999b, 2001a, 2001b; Fine & Jomo 2006; Fine, Lapavitsas & Pincus 2003). He is vociferous about the proliferation of social capital and human capital supplanting debates on class and redistribution in neoliberal ideology (Fine 1999a, 2001b; Fine 2002, 2008; Fine 2010).

Neoliberalism and Australia's policy landscape

Beginning with the Hawke-Keating Labor governments in 1980s and 1990s, Australia progressively shifted its economic management to a neoliberal framework, implementing policies that demonstrate the five cornerstones outlined: pursues individualism, the primacy of market security, freedom of choice; laissez faire and small government. Simultaneously, neoliberalism was being implemented from 'Sweden to East and South East Asia, Latin America to Africa and the ex-Soviet Russian states' (Harvey 2007, p. 154). Neoliberalism does not manifest in exactly the same way in each country, due to the influence of existing governmentalities and institutions at each local location (Graefe 2005). Australia's institutional history of strong employment arbitration systems, a welfare state that grew distinctly in dependence upon heavily protected labour arrangements, and historical means-testing that was in the past used only to exclude the well-off and focus on the very

poor (Castles 2001; Castles & Mitchell 1992; Castles & Uhr 2007) has given Australia's local form of neoliberalism its unique flavour.

Since the 1980s, Australian politics has been shaped by neoliberalism (Beeson & Firth 1998). In 1979, Hayek said that in a complex, differentiated society 'it can no longer be the pursuit of perceived common ends but only abstract rules of conduct' that provide prosperity (1979 p. 162). Hayek argues the inherent rationality of the market was ignored by systems engineering outcomes for the common good, which disrupted the market efficiency that naturally exists when rational actor theory and self-interest underpin sociopolitical thought (Hayek 1979).

Australia's Labor government from 1983 enthusiastically embraced the neoliberal political rationality, with the Treasurer in 1986, Paul Keating, suggesting that Australia was in danger of becoming a 'Banana Republic' (Beeson & Firth 1998). This statement signalled the beginning of the wind back of the particular institutional, regulative and legislative structures which the country had developed: 'arbitration, protection, and a reliance on commodity exports – structures which flowed from the conception of an economy as a national system' (Beeson & Firth 1998, p. 222). This shift was intended to bring the Australian economy into the global economy to restructure for international competitiveness.

A series of reports were commissioned over the late 1980s to mid 1990s advocating for trade liberalisation and reform of many of Australia's institutions, including welfare and education. *The Garnaut Report* (1989) promoted the idea of trade liberalisation and trade agreements, championing a revised notion of Australia as being imbedded in an international economy. Australia was depicted as a nation within the Asia-Pacific, thus the report recommended a series of policy changes to strategically position the country (Garnaut 1989). The reconstruction of the nation in economic terms implemented by Labor government is of interest. It signified political rationality shifting, as the new market primacy permeated the breadth of Australian society (Beeson & Firth 1998).

The Hilmer Report (1993) was an attempt at implementing a clear neoliberal governmentality. This report unequivocally stresses market mechanisms, specifically competition policy, is the cornerstone of economic reform. A recommendation was the establishment of a National Competition Council, which would 'take a *pragmatic, business-like approach*' (Hilmer 1993, pp. 319, emphasis in original). The intent of the report was to create 'a rule based domestic institutional framework' to govern

actors' behaviour (Beeson & Firth 1998, p. 216) – a subscription to a Hayekian approach to economics.

The transformation of the national policy agenda based on a neoliberal political rationality was spurred onward by an increasing technocratic managerialism (Graefe 2005) within federal Labor in the 1990s. *Working Nation* (Keating 1994)*, Performance and Accountability in the Public Service* (Keating 1993), and *Labor's commitment to smaller government* (Keating 1985) detail a clearly neoliberal policy approach founded on the new political ideology adopted by government. As mentioned above, it was not only an economic reform platform, but reached into the institutions and logics of Australian society.

The Karpin Report (1995) demonstrates the creep of neoliberal imperialism into the education system and the broader view of individuals as market actors: 'the culture of enterprise would be threaded through the entire socialisation process' (Karpin 1995, p. 100). This concern with enterprise was accompanied by an ideology that brought corporate management principles into the heart of the public sector as part of Labor's reform. The logic governing public sector was transformed to 'results, outcomes and performance' (Keating 1993, p.1).

Keating's successor, the federal Liberal Howard government in 1996, continued to promulgate the political rationality of neoliberalism, following the international trend of new public management (Alexander 2000; Considine 2000, 2002; Considine & Lewis 1999; Considine & Lewis 2003; Diefenbach 2009; Head & Alford 2008). This trend transformed notions of public service governance by enhancing competition in the delivery of public services by using market mechanisms and involved decentralisation and devolution (Considine & Lewis 1999; Dunleavy 1994).

Considine and Lewis in 1999 undertook substantial research in response to governmental reform of the public sector, investigating the impact of the reform agenda on the frontline bureaucrats in charge of the implementation. In canvassing the literature on public sector management, they noted that much of the research was conducted from the perspective of the government, 'seeking to explain the organizational changes needed to improve public service accountability, lower cost, and improve economic performance' (Considine & Lewis 1999, p. 467). They indicated that the widespread neoliberal strategies of privatisation, contracting out and decentralisation were in tandem driving the specific nature of the government's interest in managerial performance. This change in direction for public administration, the 'general movement away from a unified public service towards the development

of quasi-markets based on the involvement of private firms and non-profit organisations can be viewed as the most important and most radical change to state-society relations since the advent of the modern welfare state' (Considine 2003).

Neoliberalism and the Third Way

The development of the 'Third Way' or use of a 'mixed economy' (Giddens 1998) to deliver social services has been instrumental in the increase of the social economy and non-profit sectors in advanced Western democracies. Graefe (2005) argues this approach to public service delivery signifies the second phase in neoliberalism's morphology, roll-out neoliberalism, in contrast to the roll-back neoliberalism characterised by the reforms implemented under Margaret Thatcher in the UK and Ronald Regan in the US (Graefe 2005). Roll-out neoliberalism saw the Blair and Clinton regimes ameliorate the harshness of the substantive cuts to the welfare state, pioneering a "third way" between Keynesianism and neoliberal austerity measures (Graefe 2005).

The Third Way politics of New Labour in Britain (Giddens 2000) was mirrored here in Australia:

> the concepts of social inclusion and exclusion have become part of the repertoire of third way policy discourses that seek to respond to complex socioeconomic problems through processes of 'joined up' and 'integrated' governance. As part of this approach, we are witnessing an increased focus on partnerships and networks between government and non-government actors – with a particular emphasis on the role of the third sector – as part of a networked approach to contemporary governing … The valorization of 'network governance' (see Rhodes 1997; Considine 2005) is nowhere more stark than within third way political discourses, typically invoked by 'third way' governments, that combine neoliberal privileging of markets with an emphasis on state responsibilities and citizen participation in a revived terrain of democratic engagement. Civil society in general, and the third sector in particular, is seen to have a particular role to play in this revival. (Barraket & Archer 2008, p. 1)

Increasingly, social enterprises have become of interest as a vehicle within the third sector. Gray, Healy and Crofts (2003) argue the Howard government initiated an increased interest in the third sector role in policy and program delivery with their direction toward a 'social coalition' (Gray, Healy & Crofts 2003, p. 143). This was

exemplified by its '*Business and Community Partnerships Program* and *Welfare Reform* approach, which sought to establish partnerships' (Gray, Healy & Crofts 2003, p. 143) with non-profit welfare organisations and develop commercial initiatives for the delivery of social and community programs.

Neoliberalism and social enterprise

Within the neoliberal imaginary (Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011) the market is positioned as the 'inner regulator of the state' rather than the state being the external regulator of the market (Lemke 2001). The notion of governance is therefore transformed to 'government at a distance' (Rose 1999, p. 49). The methods used for governance of this type are considered indirect 'setting targets and monitoring outcomes; transforming the ethos of governance from bureaucracy to business' (Leitner et al. 2007, p. 4) and within this framework, social enterprises are plausible social service delivery organisations.

The historical background and evolution of social enterprises throughout the developed world is fostered by the corporate bureaucratic transition in governmentality logics. This change in logic was enacted via policy frameworks such as US President Carter's Management by Objectives in the late 1970s, the Thatcher government's Financial Management Initiative in the mid 1980s, and the Australian Labor government's Financial Management Improvement Program in the same period (Considine & Lewis 1999, p. 470). Within these legislative and policy initiatives, the language and practice of corporations was introduced to the governance of nations, and with the economic consequences of cutbacks to welfare, civil society and non-profit organisations. By the 1970s and 1980s social enterprise was being used as a means to compensate for the gaps left by contraction in government spending (Kerlin 2006, p. 251).

> Retrenchment of the welfare state followed, characterized by decentralization, privatization, and a reduction in services. As a result of this and growing unemployment a number of social service needs arose for which there were no adequate public policy schemes. New social enterprises, mainly in the third sector, began responding to emerging needs including solutions for housing problems experienced by increasingly marginalized groups, childcare services to meet new needs resulting from socioeconomic changes, new services for the elderly given the rapid aging of the population

and changes in family structures, urban re-generation initiatives, employment programs for the long-term unemployed, and so on. (Kerlin 2006, p. 253).

These programs and initiatives can be seen as the beginnings of a form of 'contestation' (Leitner et al. 2007) to the hegemony of neoliberalisation. Leitner et al. argue that 'through their interaction with one another, both neoliberalism and its contestations are potentially reshaped' (Leitner et al. 2007, p. 8). It could be argued that social enterprises come into the category of contestation identified as 'polyevent sociospatial practices', in which four realms of practice are located: direct action, lobbying and legislative action, alternative knowledge production, alternative economic and social practices' (Leitner et al. 2007, p. 15).

Social enterprises could be classified under the "alternative economic and social practices" aspect of polyevent sociospatial practice. Using capitalist practice, the establishment and operation of businesses in a manner that subverts the private/personal profit accumulation model can be considered as a contestation to neoliberalism. By operating businesses with the aim to use surplus not for individual gain but to deliver social benefit to beneficiaries is, at its core, a radical circumvention of the principles of capital accumulation. By situating the rapid development of social enterprise within the timelines of neoliberalism, it is possible to see this organisational development and sectoral growth as a response to the neoliberal logic and practice.

Having made this statement, however, it is important to consider Leitner et al.'s argument of *cooption*. Contestation can be and is coopted 'by absorbing and redefining the imaginaries, practices, and spatialities of the other' (Leitner et al. 2007, pp. 8–9). The UK social enterprise sector is perhaps the most obvious illustration of this process. The Social Enterprise movement in the UK was truly sparked by an early alliance of 'co-operative and community enterprise practitioners utilising the language of New Labour helped embed social enterprise on the policy landscape in 1999' (Teasdale 2012, p. 11). A new organization, Social Enterprise London, was formed and the use of the term was 'pragmatic' (Teasdale 2012, p. 11). They drew upon a more radical notion of the term 'social', which saw social enterprises as a tool to 'combat market failure' and as a route to 'economic democracy and a potential alternative to shareholder capitalism' (Teasdale 2012, p. 11).

As the earliest body established to champion social enterprise, Social Enterprise London engaged in lobbying and legislative action (Teasdale 2012), indicative of the polyevent sociospatial practices involved in contestation. This was so successful that

the Department of Trade and Industry created a social enterprise unit, later becoming a part of the Office of the Third Sector, and then settling in the Office for Civil Society in May 2010 (Teasdale 2012). Once social enterprise entered the domain of legitimate governmental methods, the definition of social enterprise became enlarged to incorporate a greater number of organisational forms, including social business which was met by 'resistance by cooperatives and community enterprises' (Teasdale 2012).

The first mapping of the sector in 2003 produced 5300 social enterprises in the UK (Teasdale, Lyon & Baldock 2013). This figure rose to 62,000 in 2008 (Teasdale, Lyon & Baldock 2013). Social enterprise as a method for delivering social services was being deliberately constructed – by the community enterprises themselves initially, then coopted by government:

> The statistics are regularly used by politicians and practitioners to legitimise their past and future actions, even where the relevance of the figure to the argument being made is not obvious. For example, in 2010, the Secretary of State for Health referred to the 62,000 social enterprises when announcing plans to 'create the largest and most vibrant biggest social enterprise sector in the world' through empowering 'millions of public sector workers to become their own boss and help[ing] them to deliver better services'. (Department of Health 2010) (Teasdale, Lyon & Baldock 2013, p. 118)

The contestation–cooption dynamic of neoliberalism and social enterprise appears to be present in the state pursuit of social enterprise.

The Victorian Social Enterprise Strategy

Social enterprise has so far been presented as an organisational or institutional form whose popularisation is intrinsically linked to the dominance of neoliberalism as an ideology, discourse and governmentality. The policy formation, which newly supports social enterprise in Australia, is seen as a by-product of a longer term transition through the phases of neoliberal dominance in this study. It has been suggested that what was once a form of contestation to the neoliberal approach to service delivery has been coopted by a process of legitimation. This is demonstrated by the official state sanctioning of social enterprise as a method to address social ills in the Victorian Social Enterprise Strategy (VicSES) (Victorian Government February 2017). The creation of this strategy is the first of its kind in Australia in both state and federal arenas.

On opening the discussion on social enterprises in Australia, it was noted that the most common mission for social enterprises in Australia in 2016 was creating meaningful employment for target groups and the development of 'new solutions to social, cultural, economic or environmental problems' (Barraket, Mason & Blain 2016, p. 4). It was stated that this is a change from 2010, where the mission of social enterprise organisations was to provide an avenue for meaningful participation in the community (Barraket, Mason & Blain 2016, p. 4). It is possible that the active government and academic interest and intervention in the sector have been significant influences of this evolution of social purpose.

The Victorian government consulted widely with the sector in the development of the VicSES. The Department of Economic Development, Jobs, Transport and Resources released the VicSES on 16 February 2017. Labor Minister for Industry and Employment and Minister for Resources, Wade Noonan, provided the forward:

> Our massive investment in infrastructure and future industries has helped us charge ahead, with the highest rate of jobs growth of any state. Jobs Victoria has been established to develop a comprehensive approach to supporting jobseekers at risk of being left behind. We are working to make sure all of us share the benefits of our prosperity, by building thriving communities and liveable places (Victorian Government February 2017, p. 1)

It is worth noting that it is not the social service function that released this strategy, but the economic function of the state.

> Yet our most pressing social challenges – including unemployment, homelessness and disadvantage – cannot be solved by government alone. Many of our brightest and most innovative people are working tirelessly every day to find new ways to solve these problems. Through the extraordinary efforts of Victoria's thriving social enterprise sector, we are drawing maximum dividend from our economy and applying business skills to a social mission (Victorian Government February 2017, p. 1)

The description of the utility of social enterprise by the Victorian government and how it is deployed in the Victorian context is not a neutral conceptualisation. Implied in the above is the transition of social services to the realm of the economic – it is no longer "social".

In the literature from inter-country research bodies such as the OECD and within the academy internationally, there has been a sustained 20 years of interest in SE and the *Social Enterprise Journal* was established in 2005. These international bodies are precisely those organisations singled out by academics expressing concern over the progress of neoliberal discursive and ideological dominance (see Bourdieu, Fine, Larner and others). These academics highlight the strong influence the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, OECD and the World Health Organization have over national governmental policy direction and legislation.

Within academia and international research bodies there have been many attempts to define, categorise and validate the various manifestations of SEs. One hallmark study in the SE commentary was conducted by Kerlin (2010). This research attempted to deploy historical institutionalism to determine the institutional developmental patterns of social enterprises and create a framework for understanding contextual influences internationally (Kerlin 2010, 2012).

Mason and Barraket of Swinburne University of Technology have rightly raised concerns with the way in which Kerlin's study (and others of a similar ilk) are depicting SE's development:

> Only a small number of researchers have attempted to gauge what an SE looks like within and across cultural and institutional boundaries (e.g. Defourny & Nyssens, 2010; Kerlin 2006, 2010, 2013; Salamon & Anheier 1994, 1997). In capturing this knowledge, some of these writers have noted that SEs are also subject to the volatility of global economies as much as the presence of stable political environments to, at least in part, explain the paths of SE development. Recent studies, including that of Kerlin (2006, 2010, 2013), have approached the task of surveying SEs using global indicators and metrics as an aggregated and comparative measure. In so doing, model types have been determined according to path dependencies that are explained by historical developments, largely based on the institutional frameworks that guide activities in different regional and country contexts. (Mason & Barraket 2015, p. 139)

Mason and Barraket counter historical institutionalism as the theoretical framework to explain local manifestations of social enterprise. They suggest *discursive* institutionalism is the analytical framework to provide much needed recognition of the local level context that drives SE development (Mason & Barraket 2015). It is plausible to suggest the discourse creating and shaping social enterprise is a sub-

discourse of neoliberalism. It is also possible to suggest the local level context is heavily influenced by the "strong discourse" of neoliberalism being peddled internationally by the organisations identified above.

It is recognition of the power of discursive activity to constrain innovative development that drove the research and the replication of Kerlin's 2013 study by Mason and Barraket (2015). They incorporated a dual framework combining historical and discursive perspectives. This small example of the debates occurring in the international social enterprise space provides an illustration of the interplay of agencies, institutions and individuals invested in creating and maintaining this organisational network of social enterprise.

The VicSES provides an illustration of the discursive process. Figure 2 displays the schematic presentation of social enterprise beneficiaries and purposes. In the definition, there is a subtle process of inclusion and exclusion – the very process of legitimation:

> Social enterprise can deliver outcomes effectively in remote, rural and disadvantaged areas. As community-driven responses to local issues, they improve the geographic spread of our prosperity across the state, complementing and enhancing the efforts of government. Victoria's most disadvantaged receive tangible support through the work of social enterprises, directly addressing issues affecting young people, people with disabilities, the homeless, indigenous Australians, recently arrived immigrants, and those with lower literacy and numeracy skills. Social enterprises act as a powerful adjunct to government services and do so often without calling on government resources … While social entrepreneurs often require financial support or assistance to get their business off the ground, the goal of social enterprises is to become commercially self-sustaining. Sustainable operations are vital to the social enterprise model and international experience demonstrates the ongoing dividend, which is gained from well-targeted policy to assist sustainability (Victorian Government February 2017, p. 2).

Not only are they defining social enterprise, the government is defining the "legitimate" aims, social missions, trajectories, and operations.
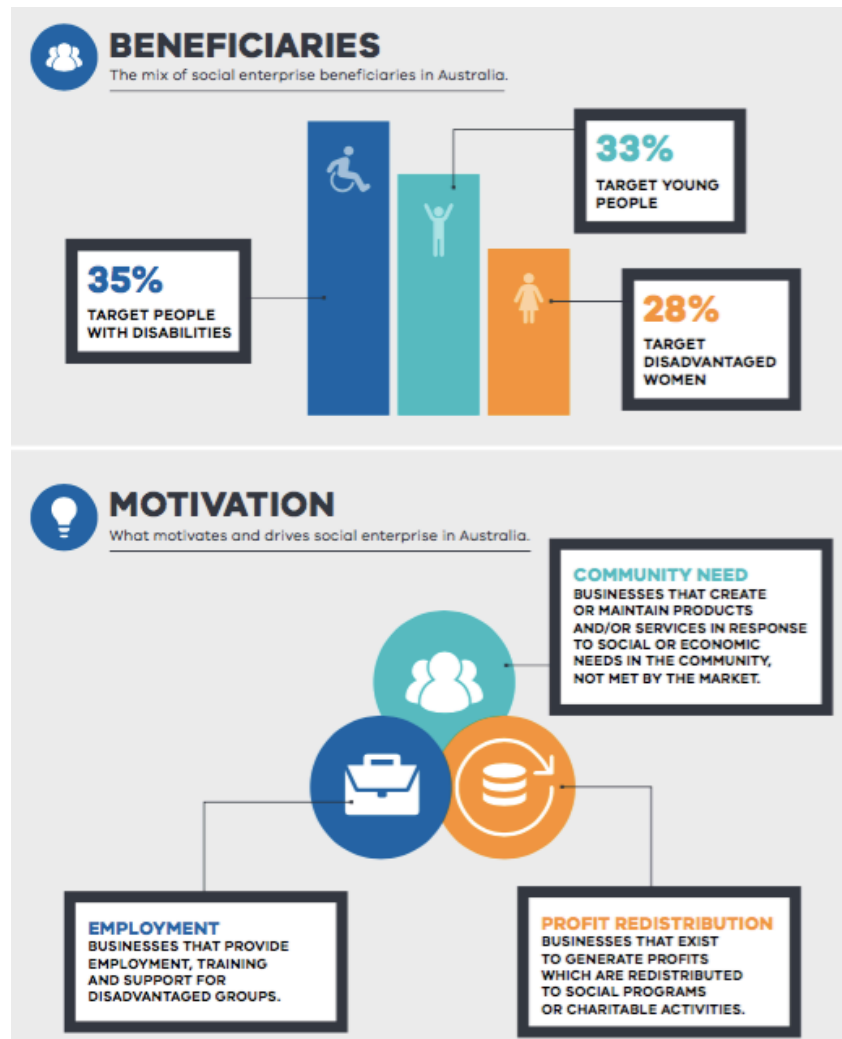
Figure 2: VicSES – Social enterprise in Australia: Beneficiaries and motivations

(Victorian Government February 2017, p. 3)

Education and training

Education and training in Australia has followed the international trends associated with neoliberal governmentality, especially reflected in considerations of a globalised economy and the demands of the "knowledge economy". This section discusses the shifts in policy direction in line with the neoliberal agenda. Considered as part of the neoliberalisation of education and other social services, the social enterprises deliver education and training within the post-secondary education market. The presentation of this literature on education and training is pertinent to the macro, meso and micro levels of this project. The organisations delivering the education and training are part of the macro system of education within Australia and the experience of young people within the education system is considered in the discussion.

The social enterprises in this study are providing disadvantaged young people with an opportunity to gain certification in the vocational education and training (VET) system. Depending on the organisation they in which they are enrolled, the participants are able to gain certification in hospitality or digital media. The VET sector is an essential element of Australia's social services and economy, providing a large proportion of industry training and with a traditional association with working class education. The following section presents an overview of the sector, current trends and debates. The program participants in this study left mainstream education and entered the alternative education system by participating in social enterprise education and training. Thus, alternative education provision is presented as an essential contextual consideration in which to ground the empirical study.

Australian education system

Australia's education system is discussed in this section, with particular emphasis on the vocational education and training sector. Education in Australia is a contentious and politicised sphere (Grundy 1972). Thus, the sociopolitical and economic aspects of education provision are integral to understanding the relationship of social enterprise education and its effects.

Victoria was the first state in Australia to introduce a state-based act of parliament, which legislated the state education system (Grundy 1972). Other states promptly followed. The Education Act of 1872 provided that the Victorian state education system was 'free, compulsory and secular' (Grundy 1972, p. 3). However, it was also a piece of legislation that codified a three-tier system, the Catholic, Protestant and state schools – which translated to the 'pauperization of the Catholic schools, and left them as an aggrieved minority' (Clark, 1962 in Grundy 1972, p. 1). It was not a religious 'revolution' that preceded the legislation of the three-tier education system, but 'political opportunism and practical economics' (Grundy 1972, p. 2). It was this same policy window and political climate that altered the state-aid processes in the 1960s (Grundy 1972, p. 2). The state-aid process changes did not only affect the compulsory schooling system, but had implications for post-secondary education in Australia.

Vocational education and training

The evolution of Australia's education system, its legislative and institutional aspects, has closely mirrored that of Britain to the point of replication (Hermann, Richardson & Woodburne 1976, p. 27). Technical education to train skilled labour in the UK was

largely administered by the apprenticeship system, and Australia established a replica system in the early days of colonisation. This was prior to the legislation of the state-based education system, beginning in 1828 with laws for apprenticeships in NSWs (Goozee 2001, p. 11). Other states followed, and by the 1870s the population and industrial expansion of Australia saw an increasing need for technical education. This remained the responsibility of the states until the 1960s and 1970s (Goozee 2001). State governments began to administer the systems in the late 1800s. This saw the evolution of mechanics institutes and schools of art throughout the country (Goozee 2001, p. 12).

Victoria's technical training system had an interesting evolution as it evolved rapidly in regional and non-urban areas of Victoria due to the development of the mining industry. Ballarat School of Mines was established in 1870, followed by the Bendigo School of Mines in 1873 (Goozee 2001, p. 12). Additionally, Victoria was involved in the provision of technical education earlier than any other state, with 'the creation of a Technological Commission in 1869' (Goozee 2001, p. 12). Across all states the technical education system developed within government departments, unlike the autonomous university system and, as a result, operated within the framework of public administration (Goozee 2001, p. 8). Up to the 1970s the technical education system performed a critical role for the Australian community, providing post-secondary education for large numbers of people. However, it has been characterised by short periods of investment, usually when there were national crises such as 'world wars and economic depressions', and when youth unemployment hit record heights in the 1970s followed by long periods of neglect (Goozee 2001, p. 9).

During the 1960s and 1970s, Australia and the UK established a two-tier higher education system, colleges of advanced education and polytechnic institutions as 'alternatives to the universities' (Skodvin 1999, p. 65). There has been a formalised VET sector in Australia for 43 years. In 1974, Technical and Adult Further Education (TAFE) institutions were jointly established by the Commonwealth and state governments (Noonan 2016c, p. 4). Following this, 1987–1990 saw the Australian government transform the two-tier system into a unified higher education system (Skodvin 1999, p. 66). Both systemic moves by the government were achieved by forced mergers (Skodvin 1999, p. 67). The intention of the state-initiated mergers was to reconfigure the structure of the higher education system.

Until 1990, the Whitlam government's higher educational policy remained largely intact, and higher education remained free in Australia under the Fraser government

(Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011). In the 1990s under the Hawke-Keating government, radical changes to the higher education system saw the introduction of the income contingent Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) which introduced fees (Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011, p. 12). However, this funding arrangement did not include the VET sector.

Australian educational funding

VET funding has a complex history. The additional challenges of federation in Australia increased the political and economic influence in development of funding arrangements. VET education has been a feature of the Council of Australian Government's (COAG) agenda since 1992 (Noonan 2016c, p. 4), but has been subject to competition and conflict since its inception. Every government since Whitlam in 1972 has regarded it as a 'major policy challenge' (Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011, p. 5).

Peter Noonan, of the Mitchell Institute, succinctly provided the complexities and wrangling of intergovernmental relations on VET sector funding, and this historical overview is re-presented in Table 1.

The intense competition between states and the Commonwealth over the 43-year history of formalised technical training in Australia has resulted in sub-optimal outcomes in a number of areas (Australian Government 2016). All governments following Whitlam, under the banner of equity in education regardless of socioeconomic status (Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011, p. 5), sought to increase access to higher education with VET being the key vehicle (Birrell & Edwards 2009).

The direct relationship to government the technical education system has had in its historical evolution has seen the TAFE/VET system in Australia saddled with a dual role of implementing both federal and state social justice, economic and educational policies in addition to delivery of its core public service (Goozee 2001, p. 8).

Table 1: VET sector funding overview

Adapted from Noonan (2016, p. v)

Period	Structure	Description	Effect
1974–1987	Initiation of TAFE system	Joint Commonwealth (Cth) and state funded State controlled and administered	Created a third formalised education subfield
1987–1991	Emerging national system	TAFE resource agreements with Commonwealth and states	States collaborated to develop national VET system Review for a national VET resourcing structure Cth proposal to assume control
1992–1996	ANTA Agreement (1st)	Cth and states established Australian National Training Authority (ANTA)	States rejected Cth control of funding Cth agreed to fund VET growth with states maintaining expenditure
1997–2004	ANTA Agreement renewals (1997 and 2001)	Protracted negotiations over which government should fund growth	Cth trend of acting outside agreement to achieve its own objectives ANTA abolished after political impasse
2005–2007	Skilling Australia's Workforce Act	Abolished ANTA	Strengthened Cth funding role Retained joint Cth-state funding agreement
2008–2016	National Agreements and National Partnership Agreements	Facilitated by the Intergovernmental Agreement on Federal Financial Relations	Deliberate strategy to raise proportion of workforce with VET qualifications Introduction of VET FEE-HELP Unsustainable loan payments growth prompting review Increased Cth intervention in system outside of agreements

The COAG National Partnership Agreement (NPA) and National Agreements on Skills and Workforce Development (NASWD) referred to in Table 1 are the key policy vehicles and attendant funding agreements that shaped the contemporary VET sector in Australia. These agreements by COAG, commencing in 2008, have significantly driven the policy agenda for the VET sector. *The Review of Higher Education (The Bradley Review)* (Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations 2008) was finalised in the same year as the NPA and NASWD and recommended a massive expansion of the university sector in Australia. This

recommendation in 2008 was not in concert with education policy at the time. The Liberal–National Coalition Howard government of 1996–2007 favoured expansion of access to education via the VET system (Birrell & Edwards 2009).

In 2007 the Labor Rudd government came to power. Their policy platform also focused on the VET and secondary schooling sectors, promising to create 500,000 new VET training places (Birrell & Edwards 2009, p. 5). This policy direction directly contradicted the recommendations in the *Bradley Review* that found degree-level qualifications in Australia needed to be boosted from 29% of the working age population to 40% by 2020 (Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations 2008).

It seems somewhat contradictory that the governmental preference for focusing on the VET sector to expand access to higher education in Australia was not accompanied by substantive additional support. Universities and schools now have access to enrolment driven funding linked to per student funding rates. VET funding in all jurisdictions is capped with eligibility rules, subsidies and fee levels which are used to manage VET budgets within those caps. Indexation levels for schools and higher education have to date been far higher than those applying to VET (Noonan 2016c).

On current budget outcomes and forward estimates, the gap between expenditure on VET and expenditure on schools and higher education will widen over the next few years except for the possible short-term effect of VET FEE-HELP payments and revenue (Noonan 2016c, p. 19). The disparity in funding is visible in Figure 3.

ACIL Allen Consulting analysis based on Australian Bureau of Statistics data
Note: School expenditure includes all expenditure on government schools (including private contributions) and government expenditure on non-government schools.
CAGR = Compound Average Growth Rate
Index (2003-04 = 100)
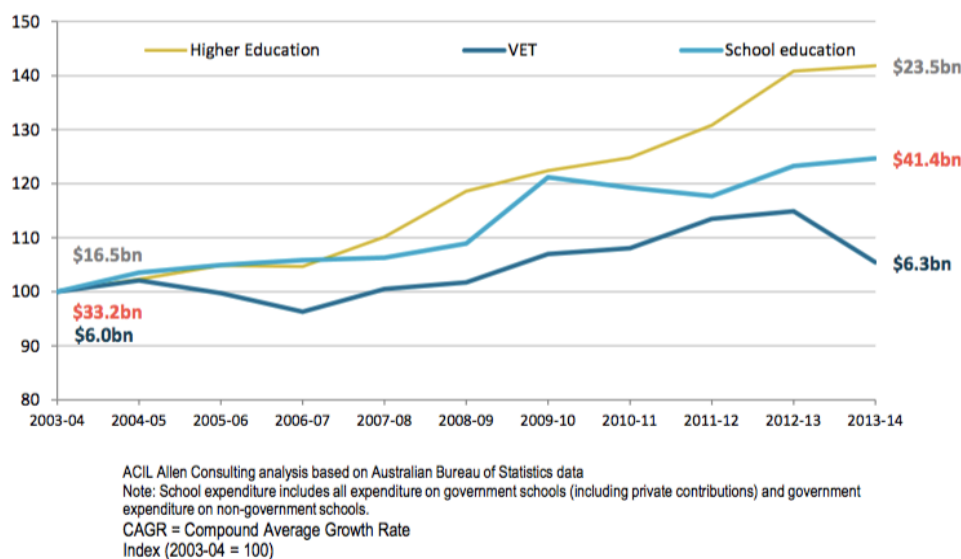
Source: Mitchell Institute Expenditure on Education and Training in Australia 2015

Figure 3: Expenditure by education sector 2003–04 / 2013–14

(Noonan 2016c)

Despite the lack of funding for the VET sector, it has been a subject of interest for all states and territories in Australia:

> Today, TAFE is expected to provide the vocational education and training (VET) needs of industry, the entry-level VET requirements of 15–19 year olds, the special needs of disadvantaged groups within society and the retraining needs of those who wish to re-enter the workforce after an absence or as a result of redundancy. Whilst the other two sectors of education have clearly defined roles, the schools by age and the universities by awards, TAFE, throughout its long history, has been required to fill all the other educational needs of the community and industry. (Goozee 2001, p. 10)

The current landscape of VET is a picture of contrasts. Again, funding arrangements provide an illustration. The VET FEE-HELP program was introduced in 2009, replacing the precursor introduced to enable educational access parity in 2007 by transforming the upfront fee requirement for advanced VET courses (Noonan 2016b, p. 3):

> The VET FEE-HELP scheme commenced in 2009, and provides income contingent loans to students studying higher-level VET qualifications. Its original intent was to remove financial barriers to study and to encourage

students to pursue pathways to further or higher skilled qualifications in the

higher education sector. (Australian Government 2016, p. 7)

In Australia the VET sector provides education to almost four million people annually (Australian Government 2016, p. 5). The financial burden the Commonwealth has experienced with the rapid growth in VET enrolments post the introduction of VET FEE-HELP (Figure 4) prompted the 2016 redesign. Additionally and significantly, the scheme's adjustments opened the loans up to the private RTO market, which saw alarming and unscrupulous rorting.
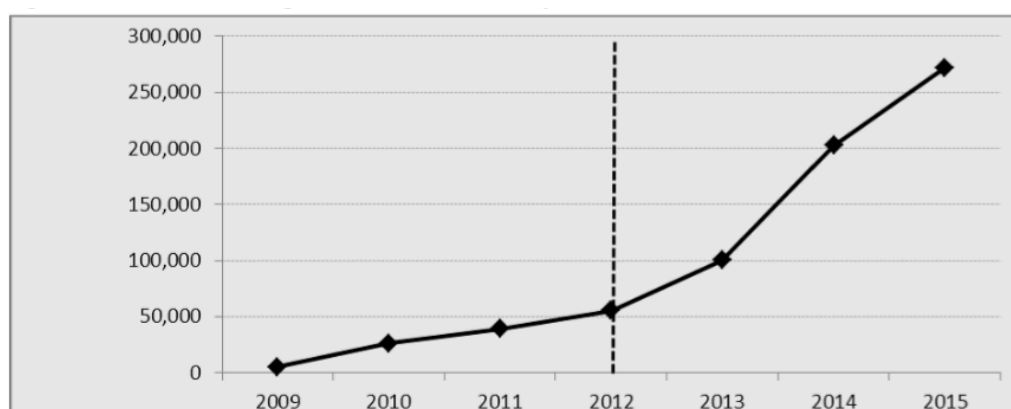
Source: VET FEE-HELP data collection
Note: 2015 data is unverified, extracted on 3 April 2016

Figure 4: Students accessing VET FEE-HELP since inception

(Australian Government 2016, p. 14)

While data indicates significant growth in VET FEE-HELP take-up across all student cohorts, the growth in disadvantaged students is markedly higher. In itself, this is one of the objectives of the scheme. However, as outlined below, it has been accompanied by poor outcomes in some aspects. One explanation for this is the proliferation of unethical actions by a small number of providers offering inducements such as iPads, cash and vouchers to prospective students to enrol in a course and request VET FEE-HELP. These behaviours specifically targeted vulnerable people through cold calling or door knocking neighbourhoods of low socioeconomic status (Australian Government 2016, p. 14). Those targeted are signed up to a course which they may not have the academic capability to complete, and they may not even understand the loan must be repaid (Australian Government 2016, p. 14).

Education policy and neoliberalism

The systemic rearrangement of higher education in Australia in the 1980s and 1990s did have the effect of increasing participation in education, but this shift occurred with a corresponding shift in the notion of equity in Australian policy and politics (Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011, p. 12). This shift is has been frequently cited as the shift from social democratic organising principles to neoliberalism (Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011, p. 12). As neoliberalism became the dominant ideology of international research and policy organisations like the OECD (Theodore & Peck 2012), the narrative surrounding vocational education in Australia shifted. This coincided with the transition of the TAFE system to the national VET system, of which the state TAFE institutions were only one component (Goozee 2001, p. 90). The early 1990s saw a series of reviews of the vocational education system, and at the end of 1992 the Australian National Training Authority (ANTA) was established, acknowledging the need for a national VET sector (Noonan 2016c).

The VET sector has been an integral component of Australia's attempts to widen access and participation in education. It has historically had strong associations with notions of equity. Discourses of equity in education in Australia have a wide-ranging scope, incorporating notions such as access, opportunity, participation, retention and outcomes (Gale 2010). This is justified by moral and political notions of economic return and efficiency (Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011, p. 6). This balancing act is seen in the 'employability' emphasis for young people, where it is not only the teaching of technical and vocational skills, but inculcation of 'attitudes, values and dispositions deemed necessary for the workplace' (Simmons & Thompson 2013, p. 1).

An example of this combination of equity and economy is to be found in the 1992 *Australian Vocational Certificate Training System (Carmichael Report).* The report provided a strategy for meeting the training needs of the nation by 2001. Its first premise is 'Change is needed to improve our international competitiveness, to complement changes in work organisation and industrial relations, and to improve the coverage, quality and equity of vocational certificate training in Australia' (Carmichael 1992, p. vii). Here we see the ideological and political agenda of the Hawke-Keating government, as the *Carmichael Report* resonates the policy position of Garnaut, Hilmer and Karpin. The recommendations below further indicate a change in governmental logic, signalling a shift to market-based emphasis with state support (Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011, p. 13):

> Closely linked local networks of Senior Colleges, TAFE Colleges, and private and community providers of off-the-job education and training, including arrangements for work experience and on-the-job training with local firms, skill centres and group training companies should be developed for the flexible delivery of vocational education and training. The networks should incorporate open learning methods.

> The networks should be supported by framework agreements in each State and Territory, between TAFE, Senior Colleges and other state and non-government high schools, for cooperative delivery of vocational courses, with any costs incurred by any students in vocational courses up to completion of Year 12 being paid by State or Territory governments under the Youth Guarantee (Carmichael 1992, p. viii).

Ambitiously, this reform of the vocational training system was thought to be able to provide training participation and attainment levels of '90 per cent completing Year 12, and 90 per cent attaining Level II vocational certificates and 60 per cent attaining Level III certificates, or higher qualifications. These targets are considered to be achievable and necessary' (Carmichael 1992, p. vii). Evident is the transition in policy from higher education provision of low student demand to being one of 'mass/universal saturation of student demand accompanied by the policy focus on '"enhancing" aspirations, especially of disadvantaged students' (Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011, p. 13). With these policies came a shift to neoliberalism from Keynesianism, which featured educational priorities centred on 'nation building through informed citizenry' to 'human resources development, individual responsibilitization' (Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011, p. 13) and human capital (Becker, Gary Stanley 1964; Schultz 1972).

Neoliberal logics continued to dominate the economic, educational and social welfare reform agenda under Keating until the mid-1990s when the conservative Howard government was elected at a national level. It can be argued that the ideological root of many of the Howard government reforms was fully established under the Labor Hawke-Keating government. For example, *Working Nation* (Keating 1994) aimed to reform the social welfare state and education system by announcing a series of policies to increase competition and assist Australian businesses to develop international markets; to restructure the social security system; to introduce workplace agreements and weaken the union/arbitration influence; and to begin to privatise the labour market assistance system (Goozee 2001, p. 89). The *Job*

Compact strategy as part of *Working Nation* was instrumental in integrating the welfare state and the education system via VET. Within this strategy the unemployment system began to integrate case management, training and support. It targeted young people via the Youth Training Initiative, offering training places in the vocational system or in an employment context, and opened up the case management aspect of the Commonwealth Employment System (CES) to private providers (Goozee 2001, pp. 89–90).

The Howard government in 1996 capitalised on the social bedrock for neoliberal governance. They intensified the neoliberal position or interpretation of equity and education, as evidenced in the 1996 budget, where major cuts to higher education were made and HECS levels were increased while the income threshold for repayments was reduced significantly (Gale & Tranter 2011).

Marketisation of higher education

The marketisation of VET in Australia is founded on the ideals of 'meritocracy, competition and choice' (Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013, p. 162) and is driven by economic imperatives. These imperatives are considered to be the result of international economic requirements increasing the demand for 'highly-skilled labour … driven by the human capital needs of a globally competitive and increasingly knowledge-based economy (Marginson, 2006; OECD, 2008)' (Gale & Tranter 2011, p. 31). This is a perceived pressure observed across most OECD member states and has seen governments shift from higher education as an elite system to a mass education system, or in an 'increasing number of cases, a near universal system of higher education' (Gale & Tranter 2011, p. 31). In Australia this was increasingly the aim of the federal Labor government's policy platform as demonstrated by the *Review of Australian Higher Education* (Commonwealth Government of Australia 2008).

The government purposefully pursued a policy direction informed by OECD research recommending interventions to address 'aspiration gaps' of low socioeconomic status students (Sellar 2013, p. 250). They linked low aspiration to information gaps in parental and individual understanding, which prevented individuals from understanding the benefits of higher education participation, and behaving in a rational way in the global economic and labor market (Sellar 2013, p. 251). The government then initiated the process of creating 'leading practice and competitive pressures to increase the aspirations of low SES to higher education' by funding a

participation program to increase university links to VET and school education (Department of Education Economics and Workplace Relations 2009). The aspiration rhetoric has been described as bringing together social justice principles and combining them with the commitment to neoliberal economics and governmentality – the 'third way' agenda (Sellar 2013, p. 250).

In the case of the VET sector, in the 1990s the National Training Framework was endorsed, which emphasised flexibility and industry participation, along with an opportunity for private providers to participate in the market (Harris, Simons & McCarthy 2006, p. 11). It has been argued that private providers have become a 'very diverse and important component of the Australian VET landscape' (Harris, Simons & McCarthy 2006, p. 11). It is within this flexible market that the social enterprises within this study were able to partner with registered training organisations (RTOs), both private and public, in order to deliver their curriculums.

However, the policy language surrounding the creation and expansion of the education market can be argued to be couched in the neoliberal 'emphasis on "utility" or usefulness, or what Ross (2000) refers to as the establishment of the utilitarian curriculum' (Ord 2014, p. 57). There has been a rising concern in the focus of this curriculum, being the almost exclusive focus on 'outcomes' and the 'rise of vocationalism and the skills agenda in education' (Ord 2014, p. 57) in both the UK and Australia.

Knowledge economy and lifelong learning

Marketisation can be seen ideologically as linking of education to individualisation and human capital. However, for the highly educated this discourse is couched within the 'knowledge economy' (Cuervo & Wyn 2011, p. 20). Those outside that domain are in the 'lifelong learning' cohort of employability skill development and are destined for the highly insecure, low paid, part-time and casual division of the labour market (Gerrard 2015, p. 74). The nature of education accompanying the employability skill sector of the higher education market has developed a particular pedagogy.

> This approach is often characterised in educational terms as a 'product approach' (Kelly 2004, Ord 2007), that is, one which is premised on the pre-specification of outcomes and an emphasis upon the necessary inputs required to achieve those particular outcomes. This approach places an emphasis on the educator and has parallels with what Kelly (2004) refers to

as 'education as transmission' or what Freire (1972) refers to as the 'banking approach to education'. (Ord 2014, p. 58)

Young people outside of mainstream high school education and without subsequent tertiary qualifications are more vulnerable in the face of a challenging labour market. As at 2015, young people in Australia on average took 4.7 years to find full-time work upon graduation from full-time education, and 2.7 years to find any work (in 1986 it was one year for both) (Foundation for Young Australians (FYA) 2015).

> Tertiary education undeniably protects against unemployment: the proportion
> of young people with tertiary education who are unemployed is much lower
> than that found among those with lower levels of education (16.7% against
> 28.2%). (Eurofound 2012, p. 7)

However, there are many young people who experience individual and family risk factors that problematise their ability and willingness to stay in mainstream formal education, particularly to the culmination of tertiary qualifications. The young people who are most at risk of 'scarring' from disengagement are those young people who are NEET (OECD 1998, p. 106). Disengagement and disaffection from mainstream education are two of the highest risk factors (Eurofound 2012, p. 53). It is not only the qualification aspects of the "lifelong learning" project that are challenging. Low levels of work experience amongst marginalised young people contribute to their labour market access struggles (Pemberton 2008).

Despite the polarisation of the education pathways and labour market destinations into the highly educated "knowledge economy" and the "skilled" person's insecure and low wage job, significant efforts are made to retain young people in education. This often results in transitioning struggling young people into the alternative education sector. Whilst this represents the structural mechanisms reproducing this polarisation, it is important to acknowledge the need for constructive engagement for young people at the margins of society. This need is demonstrated in the micro level data collected in this project.

Alternative education

Alternative education is not a new idea and has historical roots in progressive education in the US. John Dewey was an educational pioneer and philosopher from the pragmatic school. He saw education and institutions as potentially emancipatory and established the *Laboratory School* at the University of Chicago – a formal

alternative education site pioneering action-oriented education in 1896 (Farr 2004, p. 16).

Currently, the term 'alternative education' is used in many different settings. It encompasses education programs targeted at groups as diverse as full-time education for students needing greater individualisation, short-term programs with disciplinary aims seeking to reform "problem students", and finally, voluntary therapeutic intervention style programs (Te Riele 2008). The term 'alternative education' has been called a 'slippery one' due to the multitude of practices and sites that fall under the umbrella (McGregor & Mills 2012, p. 843).

Throughout Australia, there are a variety of education alternatives delivered within school contexts and in alternative settings. There is not a large amount of public information available on these sites (McGregor & Mills 2012, p. 849). This is also the case in the UK (Thomson & Russell 2009). Alternative education provision has become increasingly important for government agendas. For example, the NSW government in 2005 undertook a scoping exercise to serve as input to its strategic planning processes, and among the key findings was 'one size does not fit all' in both TAFE and schools, and that there was a place for alternative education settings for 'students at risk' (Department of Education and Training 2005, p. 92). The recommendations centred on the 'need to provide flexible pathways and enable students to exercise greater control over their own learning' (Department of Education and Training 2005, p. 282). Another clear theme in this report is a holistic approach to these alternatives incorporating industry, community and other government agencies (McGregor & Mills 2012, p. 859). Australian post-compulsory education and training has been undergoing a revolution that began in the 1980s (Blake 2007). It is argued to have 'transformed the experience of students and the work of educators on a scale that is unprecedented' in the history of education and training in this country (Blake 2007).

In Victoria, the high school curriculum diversified into two distinct streams, the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) and the Victorian Certificate of Applied Learning (VCAL). The *Ministerial Review of Post Compulsory Education and Training Pathways in Victoria* recommended the government focus on increasing participation in post-compulsory education and increase flexible options in senior secondary high school education models (Kirby 2000). The VCAL system was established as one of the government's mechanisms to address retention and transition issues in Victoria. It was designed to offer a 'broader educational experience' (Broadbent &

Papadopoulos 2013, p. 212) and provide students with an alternative senior high school education option that does not anticipate directly applying for university.

VCAL as a form of educational practice is based on theoretical traditions of experiential learning (Dewey 1938), adult learning principles (Knowles 1990), work-based learning (Boud & Solomon 2001) and project-based learning (Bransford & Stein 1993). The intention of the pedagogy is to create a more student-centred learning experience, where students form adult-like relationships with teachers and learn through projects with a connection to industry and employment (Blake 2007). This curriculum is delivered in multiple settings, TAFEs, mainstream schools (Broadbent & Papadopoulos 2013) and other alternative settings (such as community-based organisations) (McGregor & Mills 2012).

Under the Rudd-Gillard federal Labor government, youth transition and retention was high on the policy agenda nationally (Rudd & Gillard 2008). The nation exhibited 'disturbingly low rates of Year 12 completion' (Wilson, Stemp & McGinty 2011). This has led to 'a wide variety of (second or last chance) educational programs … to assist young people to remain in or return to education' and these initiatives have been led by community initiatives and educational departments (Te Riele 2007, p. 54). In 2009, COAG ratified the *National Partnership on Youth Attainment and Transitions* and through this vehicle delivered the Youth Compact. As part of this policy the compulsory education age was lifted to 17 years, and income support became contingent on young people completing Year 10 and then being in full-time education, training or employment (Broadbent & Papadopoulos 2013; Council of Australian Governments 2009; Wilson, Stemp & McGinty 2011).

It is clear from international research that early school leavers suffer disadvantages in the labour market and social outcomes (OECD 1998). However, the outcome of the income support contingency saw some young people attending education solely as a means to secure income (Broadbent & Papadopoulos 2013, p. 214). This policy position demonstrates Bourdieu and Wacquant's conceptualisation of neoliberal states: the "left hand" of the state of education and social services being reinforced with the paternalistic and punitive "right hand" of finance, economics and penalisation (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2001; Wacquant 2013). This is visible as education is 'increasingly tied to vocational credentials and aims and linked to compulsory self-work as written into the provision of welfare payments' (Gerrard 2015, p. 76).

According to some commentators, applied learning of this nature runs the risk that learning and education can become subordinated to the ideology of neoliberalism, in

which the 'skills agenda' (Bernstein 2000, p. 185) permeates logics and where 'employability skills' (Wheelahan 2007) become the core principle, thus disconnecting education from deep knowledge of disciplines and higher learning (McGregor & Mills 2012, p. 589).

Research into the VET in Schools program, an applied learning program offered in mainstream schooling as an alternative to the "academic track" in senior high school, demonstrated some concerning trends:

- Over-representation of students of low socioeconomic or disadvantaged backgrounds
- Poor pathways to further study, training and work
- High correlation of teacher and career guidance counsellors' perceptions and classifications of students' abilities. (Clarke & Polesel 2013)

This reinforces class divisions where middle class children are streamed into the academic curriculum, and poorer children into the VET curriculum (Clarke & Polesel 2013). This has been called 'severe social selection' (Polesel & Clarke 2011).

At risk young people: Who accesses alternative education?

Young people who access alternative education are often early school leavers or are classified as being "at risk" of non-completion (Wilson, Stemp & McGinty 2011, p. 33). Factors associated with young people at risk of disengagement from education have been identified as being male, negative attitudes toward school, below average academic achievement, problematic student–teacher relationships, no intention to complete school, and having a non-nuclear family (Curtis & McMillan 2008, p. 8). Furthermore, having parents who have not completed post-secondary education and hold low skilled occupational roles are identified as contributors to early school leaving (Wilson, Stemp & McGinty 2011, p. 33). The environment of the mainstream school is also cited as a significant contributing factor in the research in a multitude of ways: negative administrative and behavioural record, such as suspensions, truancy and failures; poor relationships with peers, adults and the overall education environment; and school and class sizes (Lange & Sletten 2002).

The European Commission argues young people leaving school early has significant repercussions, which are commonly related to the economic sector, due to a lower degree of employability caused by lower skills and qualifications (European

Commission 2013). It is argued that 'investing in education helps to break the cycle of deprivation and poverty leading to social exclusion' (European Commission 2013, p. 6). The aspiration of the European Commission is couched in terms of increasing participation in education, and having young people become lifelong and adult learners, focusing on young people from deprived backgrounds considered at risk (Muscat 2017, pp. 6–7).
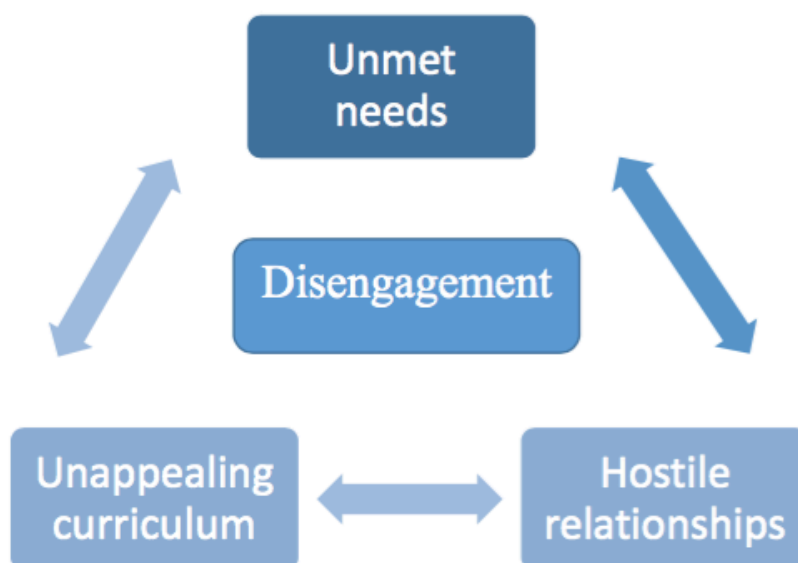
Figure 5: The emergent theory of student disengagement
(Muscat 2017)

Recent research by Muscat (2017) produced a model of student disengagement (Figure 5). She argues that student disengagement is a 'cumulative process' (Muscat 2017, p. 7), and that the student needs to be engaged holistically so support needs can be met. Additionally, curriculum must be relevant for young people at risk of educational disengagement, and VET methods are highly useful in re-engaging young people. Finally, differentiated teaching methods need to be applied (Muscat 2017, p. 107).

Beyond the classroom dynamics associated with young people disengaging from education, there are explanations that centre on the relationship of young people to broader society, and retain the perspective of class. Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977) has suggested that schools produce and use 'a hierarchy of educational knowledges and credentials' (Thomson & Holdsworth 2003, p. 381). Within this system there are the children who come to institutions equipped with the

'knowledges, language, ways of being, speaking and behaving required in school' (Thomson & Holdsworth 2003, p. 381). The system then proceeds to reward those who arrive in the system equipped with the cultural capital for success. For young people coming to the education from lower-class families and neighbourhoods, for example, a ghetto in the US, there is a different hierarchy of knowledges and credentials. One such knowledge is 'mastery of the Black English Vernacular and of the linguistic games it permits', a highly valued property within that social context (Wacquant 1998, p. 27). The use of it in school is 'ferociously sanctioned' (Wacquant 1998, p. 27). Thus the school rewards the hereditary transmission of ways of being and social position of the middle and upper classes and sanctions those deemed undesirable. It is claimed that education is both producing and reproducing 'future economic and social wellbeing' (Thomson & Holdsworth 2003, p. 381) and the existent inequalities within the distribution of that wellbeing.

Disengaged youth

The social mission of the participating social enterprises delivering vocational education and training is centred on providing disadvantaged and disengaged young people with an environment where re-engagement is possible. They exist to assist young people to transition into employment and/or further education by enabling them to accrue successes in their life trajectories. This section discusses "youth" in society as a policy focus and from the social position of young people. The popular policy concept of NEET is explored, and the concept is situated in the current sociopolitical context.

The problem of youth

A number of reports in the last decade have shown Australia is not making progress in addressing the needs of vulnerable young people (Muir et al. 2009; Yates & Payne 2006, p. 336). The 2011 Australian Bureau of Statistics *Survey of Education and Work* found that 47% of young people aged 15–24 not engaged in full-time education did not have education up to Year 12 (Australian Social Inclusion Board 2012). In February 2012, the unemployment rate for young people (15–19 years old) was 19%, and young adults (20–24 years old) 9.5%. The rate for the general population at the time was 5.9% (Australian Social Inclusion Board 2012, p. 74). These comparatively high figures are concerning, as prolonged periods of disengagement mean young people are less likely to be 'gaining opportunities' that lead to an increase in young

peoples' social and human capital 'and attachment to their community leading to improved social inclusion' (Australian Social Inclusion Board 2012, p. 8).

Disengaged young people are at risk of the 'scarring effect' first identified by the OECD in 1998 (OECD 1998). They identified the trend that periods of unemployment have a negative effect on a person's chances of securing full-time employment (Australian Social Inclusion Board 2012, p. 74). Unemployment in the first year out of compulsory education substantially reduced the likelihood that a person would be in full-time employment three years out (Bellfield, Levin & Rosen 2012; OECD 1998).

Educational attainment to Year 12 or an equivalent certificate is the best foundation for securing employment and higher incomes, and reduces the likelihood of an individual experiencing poverty (Marks 2005, p. 379). Additionally, educational institutions are critical sites for early intervention for young people experiencing challenges and high risk situations (Mackenzie & Thielking 2013). However, there are factors which reduce the likelihood of successful employment and educational outcomes for young Australians: low socioeconomic status, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, gender and disability (Cashmore & Townsend 2006; Muir et al. 2009; Robinson & Lamb 2012). Young people from low socioeconomic backgrounds are consistently faring worse in education, employment and training outcomes in Australia, and the gap is widening:

> Young people from low socioeconomic backgrounds were less likely to be fully engaged in study or work after leaving school. In 2011, 41.7% of young people from the lowest socioeconomic background were not fully engaged in work or study after leaving school, an increase of 1.6 percentage points from 2006. In 2011, there was a 17.9 percentage point gap between the proportions of young people from the lowest to the highest socioeconomic backgrounds studying full-time (COAG Reform Council 2013).

The current system is producing 'one in four (26 per cent) of 24 year olds disengaged from both study and work, and at risk of long-term marginalisation' (Lamb & Huo 2017, p. 8).

There are known associations with a young person's 'social, community, substance use and health outcomes' (Muir et al. 2009, p. 124; OECD 2009). Young people who are not engaged in a full-time capacity in education or employment, despite having greater amounts of available time, are less likely to be engaged in voluntary activities in their community (Australian Social Inclusion Board 2012). They are at an

increased risk of developing mental disorders, more likely to have used drugs on more than five occasions, and are less likely to exercise regularly than their counterparts who have attained Year 12 (Muir et al. 2009, p. 125).

Not in employment, education or training

Young people are referred to in myriad ways in literature: "the disengaged" (Muir et al. 2009, p. 125); "deficient beings" (du Bois-Reymonds et al. 2006); "at-risk" (Bessant 2001; Bynner & Parsons 2002; Robinson & Lamb 2012; Te Riele 2008; Yates & Payne 2006); marginalised (Couch, Durant & Hill 2012); delinquent (Arthur et al. 2002); "opportunity youth" (Bellfield, Levin & Rosen 2012); inactive (Eurofound 2012); and 'Status Zer0' (Williamson 1997). Regardless of the terminology used to describe this section of society, significant amounts of policy attention is directed at this group in Australia and internationally (du Bois-Reymonds et al. 2006; Robinson & Lamb 2012).

The concept of NEET has become an accepted way of referring to this group in a policy context, particularly in Europe (Yates & Payne 2006), but it is gaining currency in Australia (Robinson & Lamb 2012). The term first emerged in the policy arena in the *Bridging the Gap* publication (Eurofound 2012, p. 19; Social Exclusion Unit 1999). This concept is taken in the European context to distinguish between simple unemployment or lack of engagement with the labour force. This concept encapsulates those who do not have a job, are not enrolled in training and are not a student and is therefore taken as a measure of 'disengagement from the labour market and perhaps society in general' (Eurofound 2012, p. 1). What evolved in Britain as a concept to refer to 16–18 year olds beginning as 'StatusZer0' has broadened to 'capture patterns of vulnerability in the context of turbulent transitions' and has now been extended to young people from the ages of 15 to 34 in some nations (Eurofound 2012, p. 1).

NEET is not a concept without contention (Bellfield, Levin & Rosen 2012; Roberts 2010; Yates & Payne 2006). The way that it has been employed in Europe is both as a statistical measure and a conceptual term. In order for policymakers to use NEET effectively when creating programs to assist this cohort through their transitions, it must be acknowledged that NEET are a hybrid group encompassing five distinct categories: the conventionally unemployed, the unavailable, the disengaged, opportunity seekers and voluntary NEETs (Eurofound 2012). Of those young people

participating in this study who were classified as NEET, they consisted of the conventionally unemployed and the disengaged.

> The majority of NEETs in Australia are not looking for work: unemployed young people only accounted for one-third of all NEETs in 2015 – the remaining two-thirds were inactive. Inactive young people face in many cases additional barriers for returning to education or entering work, but they are typically much more difficult to reach out to by public services than the unemployed (OECD 2016, p. 1).

Criticism surrounding the use of this concept is that it does not differentiate between different subgroups within the NEET classification, rendering the view of all as being 'marginalised' and dissatisfied jobseekers (Eurofound 2012, p. 24). The one-size-fits-all approach to program design and delivery will not succeed in engaging all five subgroups captured in the NEET statistic (Eurofound 2012).

Australia has recently recorded an increase in number of NEET young people aged 16–24. In 2007 our NEET population (both unemployed and inactive) was 9.5%. In 2012 it increased to 11.7% (OECD 2012). As at 2015, 7% of 15–19 year olds and 12% of 20–24 year olds were NEET (FYA 2015). Implications of the increase are significant, as recent American and European studies have demonstrated. Acknowledging this category of the labour market is hybridised and complex, they have attempted to quantify the economic benefit of re-engaging the NEET population in the labour market (Bellfield, Levin & Rosen 2012; Eurofound 2012).

> At age 24, while most young people (73.5 per cent) are fully engaged in education or work, many Australians are neither enrolled in study nor participating full-time in the labour market; they are not investing in their human capital or earning income. This represents a significant loss of economic opportunity for the nation as well as vulnerability for the young people themselves. (Lamb & Huo 2017, p. 15)

The American terminology for NEET is 'opportunity youth' in that this group of society represents an opportunity, as they are not yet 'accumulating human capital in school or college nor accumulating labor market skills by working' (Bellfield, Levin & Rosen 2012, p. 5). Developing specific understandings and policy frameworks around American NEET is a new phenomenon, and to commence this work considerable attention has been placed on studying economic costs to the nation (Bellfield, Levin

& Rosen 2012, p. 5). The 2011 opportunity youth cohort alone will cost American society over their lifetime $4.7 trillion (Bellfield, Levin & Rosen 2012, p. 4).

In Europe a series of studies modelling costs of NEET populations in Britain were extrapolated to Europe and repeated over time. In 2011 Eurofound estimated that the total loss represented by non-engagement of the NEET population across the member states was 153 billion Euro annually (Eurofound 2012, p. 81). In Australia, 580,000 young people were NEET in 2015, an increase of approximately 100,000 from 2008 (OECD 2016, p. 1), and this translates to 'an estimated earnings loss of 1% GDP' for the nation (OECD 2016, p. 1).

While data and projections for macro level policy are valuable, individual costs are also critical to consider. NEET experience 'multiple, complex and profound disadvantage characterised by the presence of multiple factors indicating a high risk of social exclusion' (Yates & Payne 2006, p. 336).

> Low educational attainment is the principal risk factor for being NEET. Among 25–29-year-olds, NEET rates for those with at-most lower-secondary education are three times higher than for university graduates (37% vs 11%). Around 40% of all NEETs in Australia have not attained an upper-secondary qualification. Young people with poor numeracy or literacy skills are twice as likely to be NEET as those with medium skills. (OECD 2016, p. 1)

Retention to Year 12 is influenced by school engagement, defined as the 'extent to which young people identify with their school and derive a sense of wellbeing from their academic work' (Audas & Willms 2001, p. 1). It is considered a critical determinant for success. It has been argued that disengagement needs to be seen through a life-course perspective, because the many of the determinants of disengagement are present at birth. The life-course model considers family, individual, peers, school, engagement and community factors (Audas & Willms 2001, p. 1). Identification of these factors has also led to research into the:

> "protective factors and processes" involved in positive adaptation despite the experience of adversity can bring a new impetus to the development of social policies aiming to promote the well-being of disadvantaged, high-risk children. (Schoon & Bynner 2003, p. 21)

The risk and protective factor approach to understanding youth disengagement and disadvantage in education and employment has its roots in criminology and crime prevention research and science.

Social insecurity, youth and neoliberalism

It has been argued that the transition experienced in late modernity has increased risk and uncertainty in peoples' lives, and these are deeply associated with individualism (Simmons & Thompson 2013, pp. 1–2). The crux of this argument rests on the dynamic of structure and agency, and within neoliberalism this has involved a reconceptualisation. The proponents of 'reflexive modernity' (Beck 1992a, 1992b; Beck & Beck-Gernstein 2002) question the role of social class and contend that a reflexive individual has emerged from the far-reaching consequences of welfare changes and global risks (Burke 2015). In their thesis, inequality is acknowledged. However, it is considered to be 'capitalism without classes' where the inequalities are carried within an individual's life trajectory, with 'all the related social and political problems' (Beck 1992b, p. 88). The range of choice in reflexive modernity and the global insecurity of the future is argued to have supplanted social class and made it a 'Zombie category' (Beck 2004). This argument has been influential in providing a narrative for 'the New Labour shift towards a neoliberal doctrine' (Burke 2015).

> Beck's analysis is accurate in as much as one of the imperatives of neoliberal policies is class decomposition through individualization, involving intensive forms of government which stimulate competition over resources in every area of social life (see Clarke and Newman, 2007). In other words, one of the effects of the transition from industrial to financial capitalism is class decomposition, which means that people may no longer recognize themselves as belonging to an existing social class or positively identify with historic class names. (Tyler 2015, p. 497)

The governmentality behind this transformation discredits the non-economic notion of 'social justice' and attendant redistributive action as irrational, as it distorts competition and market functioning. Market, competition and enterprise-focused governments must ensure that all are in a state of equal inequality (Foucault 2002). The logic of this is to build an environment, constituted by an economic space, where individuals are held, and hold themselves responsible for managing and confronting risk (Lazzarato 2009, p. 118). Consequentially, social protection assumes the nature of punitive workfare, incorporating 'surveillance, sanction, exclusion, examination'

(Lazzarato 2009, p. 118). The federal Turnbull government's recent pilot of drug testing welfare recipients in Sydney (Ireland 2017) illustrates the applicability of this analysis to contemporary governmentality. It is within this sphere that the principles of lifelong learning, human capital and enterprise bed their roots (Gerrard 2015).

The dissolving of class structures coupled with the entrance of enterprise, human capital and lifelong learning enables the project of individualisation to embed itself at the level of a society. As the holders of future society, young people are reared in this logic, with no comparator or alternative way of seeing society. This has profound consequences. Young people today have been embedded in a neoliberal logic all their lives, as governance is not only actioned through the state, but also through society (Ossei-Owusu 2012). In this logic, the unemployed are 'labelled, and demonized' (Lazzarato 2009, p. 118). It has been suggested that:

> youth may develop a habitus or internalization of values that understands shifting labor configurations (e.g. low wage work, insecure employment arrangements) as natural and commonplace as opposed to problematic modes of domination. Relatedly, youth are already in a transitional stage of life where they are beginning to understand personal responsibility experientially, and as it relates to personal trajectory, finances, the family, the home, and work. This liminality, compounded with the neoliberal mantra of personal responsibility, reinscribes hackneyed individual explanations of social inequalities and increases the probability that "failure" and a lack of "success" (e.g. educational, economic, occupational) are explained away as byproducts of personal shortcomings. (Ossei-Owusu 2012, p. 300)

When structures of oppression are internalised and used on themselves by those oppressed, it is the operation of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1979). In the words of Bourdieu, '[s]ymbolic violence, to put it as tersely and simply as possible, is the *violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity*' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 167). As empirical evidence has shown (Cox 2011), young people can characterise their personal challenges with social mobility, education and criminal justice as being the result of their own deficiency. The theses of meritocracy, human capital, individualisation and the lifelong learning project institutionalise this interpretation in a powerful way, aided by the supposed redundancy of class and social justice (Burke 2015).

It has been argued that theories like social exclusion and inclusion and social capital have gone some distance in supplanting class and social justice (Barry 1998, 2005;

Bourdieu 1998; Bourdieu & Wacquant 2001; Dowling & Harvie 2014; Ferragina & Arrigoni 2017; Fine 2008; Tyler 2015). The following section considers the popularisation of social capital as a theory and its use in social science. It also introduces Pierre Bourdieu's social capital as an alternative theory to normative social capital.

Social capital

Social capital is a concept that has a long history and varied interpretation. The supposed first use of the term was "rediscovered" in the most recent wave of interest in the subject. A researcher working under the direction of Robert Putnam claimed the first reference to social capital was made almost a century ago and applied to education, community and American society (Putnam 2002). The social capital being referred to by Putnam is that of L. J. Hanifan. He wrote on the degradation of community, and showed particular concern for the fading of local customs, debating societies and neighbourly ties (Putnam 2002, p. 4). Despite Putnam's claim, Hanifan's use of social capital was not the first reference, as it was in used within the philosophical tradition of pragmatism prior to Hanifan.

Writing in 1916 to urge the importance of renewed community involvement to sustain democracy and development, Hanifan coined the term 'social capital'.

> In the use of the phrase social capital I make no reference to the usual acceptation of the term capital, except in a figurative sense. I do not refer to real estate, or to personal property or to cold cash, but rather to that in life which tends to make these tangible substances count for most in the daily lives of people: namely good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit … the individual is helpless socially, if left to himself … if he comes into contact with his neighbor, and they with other neighbors, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community. (Hanifan 1916, "The Rural School Community Centre", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 67 (1916): 130–138 in Putnam 2002, p. 4)

The normative conceptualisation of social capital is grounded in the theory of civics, and is said to have an intellectual pedigree that leads back to Alexis de Tocqueville,

and his analysis of the American political landscape during his visit in the 1830s (Putnam & Gross 2002). He returned to his native country of France and penned *Democracy in America* in two volumes (1835 and 1840) (de Tocqueville 1838 (1835)). It is interesting that the historical origins or lineage are traced to de Tocqueville, and the concept's history was not pursued in contemporary literature beyond Hanifan (Farr 2004). It gives the inaccurate perception that the term originated from the depths of classical liberalism. Classical liberalism is a foundational theoretical perspective in civics for neoliberalism, rational choice or rational actor theory and essentially a justification for the primacy of the market economy and the market orientation of actors within it (Fine 1999b, p. 14). If the historical origins are not pursued further, it suits the functionalist perspective on social capital.

However, the concept of social capital has a lineage stemming from political economy, rather than civics, that traces its origin via Hanifan through a different path. This lineage has a central focus on John Dewey, and origins as far back as Marx in 1867 (Farr 2004, p. 25).

Farr's historiography demonstrates that Hanifan and Dewey were contemporaries, and indeed that Dewey was influential in Hanifan's work – so much so that Hanifan quoted Dewey more than any other author in the paper where he first employed the term: "The Rural School Community Centre", in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Farr 2004, p. 14). Farr contends critical pragmatism and the civic educators of the progressive era in American political history saw society and community in almost identical terms as one finds within social capital. Furthermore, many of the intellectuals of the era were wedded to the philosophical ideals of pragmatism. Pragmatism, Farr argues, had a central role in the evolution of the concept, before the modern rebirth in contemporary literature (Farr 2004).

In Dewey's use of the capitalist lexicon there are strong resemblances to the deployment of the language within Bourdieuian social theory, and also within Hanifan's writings:

> Dewey called books "banks" in which onetime was uniquely invested "the capital handed down from past generations"; in contemporary life such capital circulates in "the social commonwealth" freed from "monopolistic possession of any class or guild" (1898 in EW 5:256–57). Moreover, only when the individual learner participates in "the social consciousness of the race" does "he becomes an inheritor of the funded capital of civilization" (1897 in EW

5:84). Drawing even closer to social capital, Dewey decried in his social center address (1902 in MW 2:92) the "unutilized talent dormant all about us" as so much "wasted capital" that "society suffers" for want of providing "opportunities for adults" to realize their "particular capacities" amidst the "resources of the community" (Farr 2004, p. 17).

This study's subject and intent renders Dewey's first use of the term 'social capital' particularly interesting. Dewey published a series of lectures and monographs delivered to review the progress of the Elementary School at the University of Chicago (part of the Laboratory School). This publication, *The Elementary School Record,* in 1900, was where Farr first located Dewey's use of the term (Farr 2004, p. 17). He also used the term in three subsequent publications, the majority of which were published before Hanifan's use of the term.

Despite this strong intellectual history, it was not identified as part of Putnam's research. Consequently social capital in its normative common usage is intrinsically linked to classical liberalism. Putnam, in his research on the history of social capital identified a further six social theorists, from a variety of disciplines that independently reinvented the concept throughout the 20th century. It was used in sociology (Seeley, Sim & Loosley 1956) urban studies (Jacobs 1961) and economics (Loury 1977; Schlicht 1984). According to Putnam, it was the American sociologist James Coleman (Coleman 1988) who posited the concept in the intellectual domain, once again in the context of education (Putnam & Gross 2002).

Modern usage of social capital

Globally over the past 20 years many disciplines recognised the explanatory potential of social capital for understanding and analysing the social fabric of an array of societies. International research and policy institutes have repeatedly utilised the concept in their studies. Examples include the World Bank (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer 2001), the OECD (Healy & Côté 2001; Scrivens & Smith 2013), the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) (Parissaki & Humphreys 2005), and the International Monetary Fund (Fukuyama 1999). It is fair to say that the explosion of interest in social capital took place in the late 1990s:

> One search of the international social science literature found 20 articles on social capital prior to 1981, 109 between 1991 and 1995 and 1,003 between 1996 and March 1999. One of the most striking features of the development

of work on social capital is the range of disciplines in which the concept has been found useful. (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 5)

The popularity of the concept reached heady heights toward the turn of the century, and it is still widely in use. Indeed, claims have been made that social capital may well be the concept to unify the multiple disciplines of the social sciences (Grootaert 2001; Grootaert & Van Bastelaer 2001).

This multidisciplinary interest is demonstrated by the varied remits of the organisations mentioned above, that have applied social capital in their research. Forsman (2005, p. 128 in Scrivens & Smith 2013, p. 59) in 2002 found that references to social capital could be found in 60 distinct disciplines. Further, early in the 21st century multiple governments began to take a serious interest in understanding social capital (Scrivens & Smith 2013, p. 59).

> Beginning in the 1990s and early 2000s, research and discussion also began to flourish within governments and international organisations. The World Bank began to look into the potential for 'social capital' to provide insight into ways of reducing poverty and vulnerability in the world's poorest countries (Woolcock, 1999), and the OECD launched a programme of work to assess how the concept could enhance comparative policy analysis in its member countries, leading to the OECD definition of 'social capital' (OECD 2001). Several governments and statistical agencies also began work to evaluate national levels of 'social capital', including Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom' (Scrivens & Smith 2013, p. 59).

Yet social capital is a contested or multi-definitional concept. The meaning varies from application to application in policy, program development and practice.

Social capital has been termed an elusive phenomenon, difficult to define and consequently measure. With the concept having a 150-year history and a boom in interest over the past 30 years, it speaks to the complexity of the subject that questions of definition and measurement remain unresolved. In 1996 the World Bank successfully launched its Social Capital Initiative (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer 2001). A decade and a half later in 2013, the OECD produced a comprehensive review of the concept (Scrivens & Smith 2013). The central questions for both of these organisations were the same: what is social capital and how is it measured? The

result of both inquiries was another two distinct frameworks for interpreting and applying social capital.

In 2003 the Productivity Commission (PC) produced a report *Social Capital: Reviewing the concept and its policy implications*. The use of social capital in the preceding decade both in the academe and in public policy had increased exponentially in Australia. Its popular use demonstrated clear implications for public policy; however, academics, practitioners and policymakers have struggled with the multiple definitions, interpretations, theories and measurement frameworks that comprise the field of social capital literature. Furthermore, there is a lack of agreement as to how to foster the development of social capital in communities.

The PC report states:

> What is broadly agreed is that social norms and/or social networks are key elements of social capital, and that trust is also part of it, or at least, a close proxy for it. Social capital is seen widely as a resource that facilitates cooperation within or between groups of people. It can arise in relationships in many areas of life including those involving friends and families, school communities, ethnic, religious and community groups, occupational groupings, firms, governments and other institutions. (Productivity Commission 2003, p. x)

In stating this, the PC adopts a definition of social capital that is strongly influenced by the Putnam school of thought, being the 'sociology of integration and functionalism' (Siisiainen 2003, p. 190). As referred to above, there are differing perspectives on social capital, and the PC research largely ignores the alternative conceptualisation put forward by Bourdieu, that originates from the sociology of conflict and structuralism (Siisiainen 2003, p. 190). Bourdieu's theory is also termed a social capital theory 'grounded in social reproduction theory' (Chattopadhay 2014, p. 68). The PC additionally barely refers to the theory of James Coleman.

Functionalist social capital

The functionalist Robert Putnam's academic focus is primarily centred on public affairs. His seminal work *The Prosperous Community – Social Capital and Public Life* (1993) has been credited with bringing the concept of social capital to the world stage. He has been the most influential in the uptake of social capital as a theoretical concept (Fine 1999b; Foley & Edwards 1997, 1998; Fukuyama 1999; Grootaert &

Van Bastelaer 2001; Lemann 1996; Levi 1996; Lin & Erickson 2008; Morrow 1999a; Portes 2000; Productivity Commission 2003; Rose 1999; Scrivens & Smith 2013, p. 13; Siisiainen 2003; Tarrow 1996; Van Deth 2003; Woolcock 1998).

Putnam's initial work was focused on 'better understanding the factors contributing to democratic performance and good governance' (Scrivens & Smith 2013, p. 14). *The Prosperous Community* is based on a 1970s study of Italian society, focusing on regional governance (Feldman & Assaf 1999, p. 40). This period covers the establishment of 20 new institutions throughout Italy to govern communities (Putnam 1993, p. 36). Despite these organisations being virtually identical, the successes in terms of governance and performance were significantly varied. It was this experiment that enabled Putnam to study social and political institutions and their processes. Putnam determined via his investigations that common explanations for the variation proved to be incorrect. It was not politics, ideology, wealth, social stability, population movements or political harmony. It was 'strong traditions of civic engagement' (Putnam 1993, p. 36) which proved to be the strongest determining factor of successful governance.

Civic engagement is a core element of Putnam's theory. His definition is heavily influenced by American theorist de Tocqueville, whose definition of civic community is where 'citizens pursue "self-interest properly understood"' (de Toqueville 1969, in Scrivens & Smith 2013, p. 14). For an individual to properly understand their self-interest, Putnam states they would need to define it 'in the context of broader public needs' and be 'alive to the interests of others' (Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti 1993, p. 88):

> Especially relevant to our project is the fact that recent work on social capital has echoed the thesis of classical political theorists from Alexis de Tocqueville to John Stuart Mill that democracy itself depends on active engagement by citizens in community affairs. (Putnam & Gross 2002 p. 6)

The pattern of civic engagement that was the determining factor in successful regional governance was described as the existence of 'strong voter turnout, newspaper readership, membership in choral societies and literary circles, Lions Clubs and soccer clubs' (Putnam 1993, p. 36). This is in direct contrast to the patterns of engagement he found in the Southern regions of Italy, which were characterised by a stunted perception of citizenship. Putnam identified:

engagement in social and cultural associations [was] meagre. From the point of view of the inhabitants, public affairs is somebody else's business … Laws, almost everyone agrees, are made to be broken, but fearing others' lawlessness, everyone demands sterner discipline. Trapped in these interlocking vicious circles, nearly everyone feels powerless, exploited and unhappy. (Putnam 1993, p. 37)

In a society with a history of strong civic engagement, there is communal trust, adherence to laws largely across the board, a relatively honest leadership and a commitment to equality. A standout feature of these communities is that there were social and political networks with horizontal, not vertical and hierarchical, organisation (Putnam 1993, p. 37).

Putnam's original definition of social capital was:

By analogy with notions of physical capital and human capital – tools and training that enhance individual productivity – "social capital" refers to features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital. (Putnam 1993, p. 36)

An additional and significant element to the Putnamian definition of social capital is that it is self-reinforcing, so that a society with a solid foundation of social capital continues to build the stocks available by repeated instances of successful community engagement in civic life (Feldman & Assaf 1999; Putnam 1993, 1994, 1995; Putnam & Gross 2002; Scrivens & Smith 2013; Siisiainen 2003).

The core features of Putnam's social capital are social values or norms, trust, social networks and civic engagement. However, Putnam has been writing on the importance of social capital for over two decades. As such, he has expanded the concept (along with supporters of his approach) and operationalised it for measurement. With this there have been additional complexities added to his theory to enhance Putnam's social capital.

Social values and trust

A society with strong stocks of social capital has social values that are communitarian. These social values identified by Putnam encompass 'solidarity, civic participation and integrity' (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 37). These features, developed

within a strong culture of civic engagement, enable the production of trust in a society. Putnam argues that it is 'generalized reciprocity' (Putnam 1993; Putnam Leonardi & Nanetti 1993; Putnam 1994, 1995, 2002; Putnam & Gross 2002) in a society that produces trust. Trust is seen as a by-product of 'social interaction' and this interaction is how a society generates solid 'norms of generalized reciprocity' (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 7). In a society with high levels of trust interpersonally and for institutions, there is both an economic and social benefit:

> A society that relies on generalized reciprocity is more efficient than a distrustful society, for the same reason that money is more efficient than barter. Trust lubricates social life. (Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti 1993, p. 38)

Social networks and voluntary associations

The element of social networks in Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital is critical. The social interaction producing trust and generalised reciprocity does so via citizens engaging in social interaction embedded within social networks. These social networks and the norms associated with them are the core of social capital. It is termed 'capital' to link it to the concepts of physical and human capital (tools and training), and to demonstrate that they create value individually and collectively:

> In fact, the single most common finding from half a century's research on the correlates of life satisfaction in countries around the globe is that happiness is best predicated by the breadth and depth of one's social connections. (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 8)

Formal versus informal social capital

Distinguishing between formal and informal social capital was seen as an important addition for measuring effects at both the individual and societal level. The basic division is that some networks are organised along formal lines; they have recognised positions, membership arrangements and some degree of governance (Putnam & Gross 2002). Other networks are less structured, could be as simple as people who gather at the same park or frequent the same café, and thus are 'highly informal' (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 10). Social capital in his original definition was said to be located in the civic associations of clubs and formal networks, and seen as a limiting factor in his research (Levi 1996).

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Thick versus thin social capital

Another dynamic incorporated into Putnam's theory of social capital relates to the density of social connections. Akin to formal and informal social capital, this speaks to the strength of ties formed within social networks. In terms of how social capital operates in a society, even the simple norms of saying 'good day' to a person that you regularly pass in your life has an effect on the levels of generalised reciprocity in a society. These, Putnam describes as:

> very thin, almost invisible filaments of social capital … Even these very
> casual forms of social connection have been shown experimentally to induce
> a certain form of reciprocity. (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 10)

There are consequences for individuals in terms of their access to thick and thin social capital. Mark Granovetter referred to this as 'strong ties' and 'weak ties' (Granovetter 1983). As a result of pursuing this line of inquiry, he discovered that often weak ties are more important than strong ties, particularly in finding employment (Putnam & Gross 2002, pp. 10–1).

Bridging versus bonding social capital

A further dichotomy added to the mix of social capital is 'the "bridging–bonding" axis' (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 11). This element asserts that bonding social capital results in the integration of people who are alike in certain important respects, for example, the same social class, gender, profession, ethnicity and so forth. Bonding social capital is an integral feature of a society that reports positive subjective wellbeing – 'indeed evidence suggests that most of us get our social support from bonding' social ties (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 11).

Bridging social networks have the effect of bringing together people who are not alike. This can have positive effects, because it overcomes social niches that can at times produce 'negative externalities' (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 11). Involvement in bridging social networks enables individuals to gain exposure to differing networks, which have different stocks of social capital and can enhance opportunities and access to social and material resources. In this respect, the bridging–bonding and formal–informal dichotomies are similarly causal (Putnam & Gross 2002).

Inward-looking versus outward-looking

A further layer of complexity in this theory of social capital is the primary concern of the group or network. A group that tends to promote the 'material, social, or political

interests of its own members' (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 11) can be said to be an inward-looking network. The opposite end of the spectrum is a network whose primary concern is for public good. Examples of outward-looking groups or networks would be Oxfam, the Red Cross or other altruistic organisations (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 11).

Inward-looking groups tend to be formed on the basis of fundamental or core similarities such as class, gender, profession or ethnicity. These often exist to preserve or further the interests, whether material, social or political, of people of the same 'birth and circumstance' (Putnam & Gross 2002, p. 11).

Positive and negative externalities

The effect of a network on society or individuals outside the network are characterised as either positive or negative. This element is incorporated into the Putnam variables, as there needs to be an acknowledgement that not all outputs or effects of networks and their social capital are positive. Francis Fukuyama (Fukuyama 1999, 2001) made much of this consideration and has been influential in tempering undue excitement around social capital. It is dangerous to assume high stocks of social capital in a society are automatically positive (Parissaki & Humphreys 2005; Pichler & Wallace 2007; Putnam 1993; 2002; Rose 2000; Rothstein 2001; Scrivens & Smith 2013; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). An often used example is that of the Ku Klux Klan or the mafia (Fukuyama 1999, p. 3). These groups represent intense internal cohesion that fosters outright hatred and has manifested in violence on outsiders (Fukuyama 1999, p. 3).

Despite a solid body of criticism for Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital, his work has been 'tremendously influential' in popularising the concept and the significant amounts of empirical attention devoted to the theory (Foley & Edwards 1999, p. 146). The normative definition of social capital used in policy and research is broadly Putnam's. Much of Putnam's theory was developed from his reading of James Coleman (Putnam 1993; Siisiainen 2003). Putman focused on the macro level civic participation and democracy, rather than Coleman's focus of individual and meso level of social organisation.

Critiques of functionalist social capital

A large number of academics and policymakers have concerns with social capital. The most frequently aired concern is around the elusiveness of a shared definition. However, locating the site of contention for social capital solely in the definitional realm runs the risk of obscuring the number of different problems with the concept. There are two broad categories of concerns: the nature of social capital itself, and how social capital is applied in academia, research, literature, policy and politics. This section provides an overview of the problematic use of the concept in the way that it is applied in the social sciences.

The popularity explosion in the use of the concept has brought significant challenges for theoretical purists. Social capital has routinely been applied as an analytical tool in the social sciences, and has seen range of applications:

> The concept is being used to predict and explain a wide range of outcomes, including those as variable as household income in Tanzania and the Philippines, the effectiveness of local government in Italy and the US, and levels of mortality in Russia. (Campbell 2000)

While some commentators might see this as proof of the concept's great potential and unifying capacity (Grootaert 2001; Ziersch et al. 2005), others see it as a deeply troubling trend (Campbell 2000; Fine 1999b; Foley & Edwards 1999; Haynes 2009; Morrow 1999a; Portes 2000).

A concept that has an acknowledged slippery and elusive nature is liable to be misused. Researchers have argued that the term has been appropriated by powerful organisations and institutions, and that acceptance of the definitional difficulties have meant that it is a "darling" concept, employed to suit any purpose or agenda (Campbell 2000; Fine 1999b; Haynes 2009; Van Deth 2003; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). The way in which social capital is treated in many social science publications is for researchers to simply acknowledge there is no consensus on the definition of social capital and proceed to tailor their own definition to suit their purposes. The result of this process is a concept that is 'chaotic' and has been referred to as 'merely a metaphor or heuristic device' (Fine 1999b, p. 12; Foley & Edwards 1997, 1998, 1999).

Lack of agreed framework, definition or theory

At the highest level, the persistent difficulties with definition of social capital are seen as a major and critical weakness in the theory (Arthur et al. 2002; Campbell 2000; Fine 1999b; Fine 2002; Fine 2010; Foley & Edwards 1997, 1998, 1999; Haynes 2009; Levi 1996). This lack of consensus around the definition is said to be responsible for abuse of the theory by powerful institutions in order to progress their own agenda (Fine 2008; Fine 2010; Foley & Edwards 1997). Not only this, but social capital has been argued to have caused a 'degradation of scholarship' in the social sciences (Fine 2010, p. 191).

Another argument presented against social capital is that it is merely a collection of themes from different disciplines such as social psychology, sociology and economics (Haynes 2009). This critique posits that social capital as it is conceptualised in the functionalist tradition is not a theory at all (Borgatti & Foster 2003; Haynes 2009). Rather, it has been termed a 'rebranding' exercise' that allows a unifying concept to re-present a set of already studied processes:

> that are not new, and have been studied under other labels in the past.
> Calling them social capital, is to a large extent, just a means of presenting
> them in a more appealing conceptual garb. (Portes 1998, p. 21)

What is dangerous about this is that unifying discrete concepts under a "theory" masks the dependency the concept has on the themes through which its meaning is derived (Haynes 2009). Calling functionalist social capital a distinct theory disguises a case of (some say flawed) inductive reasoning, as it collates 'specific mechanisms of trust, community, reciprocity, interpersonal relationships, and network impacts' (Haynes 2009, p. 8).

Social capital is positioned as if it is a coherent whole yet, it is argued that it is a 'series of fragments from different conceptual perspectives' (Haynes 2009, p. 9). What is worse is that the concept keeps being expanded to incorporate more and more possible meanings in its applications:

> It follows not only that social capital has a gargantuan appetite in terms of the
> scope of its application, but the same is true of its definitional content. And
> the more elements are added to what social capital is, the more it becomes
> definitionally chaotic, a feature widely acknowledged in the literature. (Fine
> 2010, p. 28)

Social capital and its definitional attempts have created what has been termed a 'circus-tent' quality theory (de Souza Briggs 1997a, p. 111), causing many social scientists to mourn the overtaking of virtually 'every feature of social life as a form of capital' (Baron & Hannan 1994; Woolcock 1998, p. 155). The core of this criticism is it creates both theoretical and empirical weakness as social capital 'tries to explain too much with too little' (Woolcock 1998, p. 155).

The diverse reaches of the social sciences in which social capital has found substantive successes can be classed into seven categories, beyond the application as a social theory and use in economic development (Woolcock 1998). These are families and youth behaviour; schooling and education; community life (both physical and virtual); work and organisation; civics, democracy and governance; social movements and collective action; and classical economics, where it 'masquerades under the idea of intangible assets' and explicitly as social capital (Woolcock 1998, pp. 193–6). This plurality in application, rather than providing the 'missing link to unify the social sciences' (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer 2001), actually demonstrates that the concept is utterly problematic (Adler & Kwon 2002; Baron & Hannan 1994; Campbell 2000; De Souza Briggs 1997b; Fine 1999b, 2001b; Fine 2002, 2008; Fine 2010; Foley & Edwards 1997, 1998, 1999; Haynes 2009; Johnston & Percy-Smith 2003; Labonté 1999; Levi 1996; Portes 1998; Portes & Landolt 2000; Robison, Schmid & Siles 2002; Van Deth 2003; Woolcock 1998).

Social capital's lack of definition has seen the concept adopted by theorists of many different intellectual traditions and often these are competing, mutually exclusive traditions. The intellectuals subscribing to utilitarian rational choice theory see social capital as a resource produced by interaction between rational agents, with the purpose of increasing coordination for mutual individual benefit. This position is pursued by Coleman, who grounds his theory in rational choice, stating that a socially beneficial cycle is produced between individuals when they discover the gains that can be made by cooperating (Coleman 1988, p. S106).

The political science functionalist approach sees social capital as comprised of the normative elements of a society, or the 'non-contractual elements of contract' (Woolcock 1998, p. 155). They argue that this can be both cognitively recognised or a subconscious process that both shapes the aims of people and the manner they choose to attempt to pursue those aims. Social network theorists have taken the term to represent subconscious social ties. Therefore:

> If social capital can be rational, pre-rational, or even non-rational, what is it
> not? At the very least, these different conceptualizations suggest that there
> may be various forms or dimensions of social capital. (Woolcock 1998,
> pp. 155–56)

Researchers and academics who are wedded 'social capitalists' (Fine 2001b, p. 189;
Fine 2002) and regularly use the theory for analysis are forced to admit that it is
difficult to define.

The popularisation of social capital, as conceptualised in the functionalist tradition,
has led to the morphing of the theory to incorporate more and more variables. It has
been argued that these seemingly endless additions to the operation of the theory
are evidence of its original shortcomings (Fine 2010):

> The more established social capitalists in an enterprise that is, admittedly,
> still in its precocious infancy have been forced to compromise with the
> expanding scope of social capital. More and more variables are included,
> from the horizontal to the vertical, from the bonding to the bridging, to the
> linking, from social values to networks and associations, and so on. (Fine
> 2001b, pp. 189–90)

This quote was penned over a decade ago, thus it can no longer be claimed that
social capital is a theory in its "precocious infancy". Yet, the normative definition of
social capital is still the functionalist definition, which has received powerful backers
(Fine 2008; Fine 2010; Portes & Landolt 2000).

> We would argue that the social capital debate lacks the level of minimal
> agreement about the meaning of the key operational concept to sustain
> meaningful debate and dialogue. In order to move the discussion forward it is
> necessary to return to some very basic definitional questions and develop a
> methodology that is capable of evaluating the utility and explanatory power of
> social capital without resort to proxy or surrogate data. We have also argued
> that such an enterprise is likely to require a re-engagement with historical
> context, structural considerations, path dependency and the role of the state
> at the local and national level. (Johnston & Percy-Smith 2003, p. 334)

Methodological flaws

Another damaging aspect for the use of social capital in the social sciences is related to the application in research. There are fierce critiques stretching back to the original bodies of research of Putnam and Coleman. The subsequent applications of the concept in its explosion of use fare little better.

A devastating critique of Putnam's original research, insofar as it relates to the accuracy of his interpretation of data, suggests his inferences are historically unsound (Mutti 2000; Tarrow 1996; Trigilia 1995). Tarrow has been referred to as being at the forefront of the challengers to Putnam's reasoning (Fine 2001b).

Tarrow delivers a gentlemanly critique of Putnam's book *Making Democracy Work*. Simultaneously, he criticises and praises Putnam's research efforts, particularly emphasising the importance of mixed methodology studies in relation to cross country comparative research. He states Putnam's combination of qualitative historical exploration with professionally executed statistical inquiry were 'ingenious' (Tarrow 1996, p. 396). However, Tarrow claims that Putnam, through the process of his research and subsequent publications, overstepped the legitimate reaches of his data (Tarrow 1996, p. 389).

Another issue with social capital is establishing the *direction* of causality. Theorists examining social capital are dubious about whether or not causality has genuinely been established in the first instance (Adler & Kwon 2002; Lemann 1996; Portes 1998; Tarrow 1996), and are even less certain that the direction of causation has been correctly attributed (Durlauf 2002; Haynes 2009).

> Do trust-building social networks lead to efficacious communities, or do successful communities generate these types of social ties? As far as I know, no study has been able to shed much light on this question. (Durlauf 1999, p. 3)

Subsequent attempts to clarify have been similarly unsuccessful in resolving the dilemma, thus not establishing a solid direction of causation (Haynes 2009, p. 11). This issue is caused primarily by the grouping of disparate concepts under an 'umbrella term' (Haynes 2009, p. 11).

Crucially, there are risks associated with the policy and research community relying on a concept that is imprecisely defined, developed and understood. The risk is policy interventions may be based on spurious claims made in the name of social

capital formation without understanding causation. This prompts the question: how can practitioners and policymakers confidently invest in increasing stocks of social capital?

Role of economics and the socio-political-historical context

The absence of the role of economics and sociopolitical history is the critique of social capital that is the most fundamentally damaging. Arguments of definitional obscurity or methodological inaccuracies are areas of a theoretical approach that can be worked through and improved. This particular area of critique challenges the validity of the theory at its core.

The challenge to social capital that *all capital is social* may seem like simple semantics. Capital is a product of capitalism. Capitalism, in itself, is the socially constructed structural manifestation of our particular epoch in history, thus is social, cultural and historical. Capitalism and its particular forms of capital (or resources) distinguishes itself as a period only by the way in which it differs *socially* from the period that preceded it, being feudalism (Fine 2001b, p. 29).

> Indeed, there is something specific about capitalist society that has induced misplaced interest in social capital, especially toward the end of the twentieth century. For capitalism does create what is perceived to be a division between economy and society, or market and non-market. This is bridged to a large extent by the state. But, when the role of the state is questioned along with that of the market, attention turns to alternative forms of non-economic life, broadly providing a rationale for the notion of social capital. (Fine 2001b, p. 28)

The popularity of social capital over the last 30 years from the perspective of this critique is driven by disillusionment with the pervasive neoliberal agenda that has dominated policy, government and popular debate. This argument construes social capital as a product of a 'crisis of faith, both in the capitalist state and the capitalist market … It represents a desire both in analytical and policy terms to find alternatives' to the dominant discourse of 'market versus state' (Fine 2001b, p. 28). This possibility was particularly attractive to the New Labour political and policy framework in Britain, as it allowed a reintegration of the social into society while fostering the pursuit of market strategies like deregulation, privatisation and financialisation (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2017).

Social capital and neoliberalism

The proliferation and popularisation of social capital thus signifies the triumph of neoliberal ideology. If academics, policy analysts and researchers alike have all accepted the assertion that economics is neutral, scientific, rational and value free, then social change requires no alteration of the market. It remains sacrosanct, accepted as a distributive mechanism that remains unexamined, justifying the increasingly limited role of government in modern Western democratic countries.

> Any use of the term social capital is an implicit acceptance of the stance of mainstream economics, in which capital is first and foremost a set of asocial endowments possessed by individuals rather than, for example, an exploitative relation between classes and the broader social relations that sustain them. The social can only be applied to capital because it has been forcibly and artificially torn away in the first instance. (Fine 2001b, p. 38)

The logical fallacy is the need to distinguish between 'social capital' and 'capital' in the more common economic conceptualisation as a 'physical or other asset which provides a stream of utility to individuals' (Fine 1999b, p. 14). Thus, by uncritically using the normative approach to social capital there is a tacit reinforcing of the status quo, and the mechanisms for producing or sustaining current inequalities.

Some members of the academe, in recent years, have taken the social capital as sustaining inequalities argument further, directly linking social capital to neoliberalism and exploring the consequences of this coupling. Ferragina and Arrigoni (2016, 2017) persuasively posit that social capital provided both sides of British politics with the language and theory required to execute neoliberal political agendas – New Labour's Third Way and the conservative party's Big Society (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2016, 2017). They suggest that the phenomenal rise of social capital as a concept in policy and public discourse moves in a parabola, with three phases: ascending, vertex and descending (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2016; 2017, p. 2). The ascending phase illustrates the rise of social capital's popularity.

> One could say, as Durkheim, that during an age of modernisation and transformation, the values cultivated in secondary groups need to be universally accepted because they confer a human face to a society dominated by competition and the pursuit of efficiency. In this vision, the creation of social capital balances growing individualism with the need for interdependence, serving as a sort of glue to prevent modernisation from

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heading towards societal disintegration. Similar to Coleman and Putnam, Blair's Third Way represents at the political level the moment of alignment between social capital discourse and neo-liberalism and, by extension, the vertex of the social capital political discourse parabola. (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2017, pp. 5–6)

Interestingly, both sides of Britain's politics relied on the political discourse of social capital. The Conservative Party manifesto in 2010 declared a shift from Thatcher's political trajectory by declaring 'there *is* such a thing as society' (Emphasis mine, Conservative Party, 2010 p. VII in Ferragina & Arrigoni 2017). In 2010, the Conservative government was arguing for reform of public services in a manner that removed barriers to new providers, 'that is, charities, social enterprises and private companies', based on argument that they can 'deliver a range of services tailored to local needs' (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2017, p. 7).

Social capital became the justification for the policy platform of the Conservative government's Big Society initiative. This was proposed in 2009 by David Cameron, as a way to respond to 'the moral crisis of "Broken Britain"' (Dowling & Harvie 2014, p. 869). Broken Britain is described as an 'ideological displacement' that enables 'structural conditions of a deep social, political and economic crises' to be imagined as problems of 'individual behaviours' (Dowling and Harvie, 2014 p.872 in Tyler 2015, p. 494). Big Society faced fierce criticism in academia, independent research bodies (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2017) and popular media (Dowling & Harvie 2014). Far from achieving its aims:

> Civic engagement in Britain seems to be in continuous decline despite the effort to hide the inherent tension between neoliberalism and social capital creation. In this context, the individualism professed by rational choice theory and the communitarianism supported by social capital theory seems to contradict each other. We argue that the rapid demise of the Big Society idea signals the descending phase of the social capital political discourse. This is due in large measure to the fact that Britain's economic environment has changed dramatically in comparison to the context that fostered the Third Way. In turn, Big Society rhetoric failed to smooth the growing social tensions existing in contemporary British society.
>
> After years of decisively influencing British political discourse, social capital has entered its descending phase in British politics. In this phase, social capital theory (at least Putnam's version) can no longer obscure the fact that

the neoliberal political agenda has acted as a brake upon civic participation. (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2017, p. 9)

The author of this study shares the concerns relating to the formulation and use of normative social capital. Despite the critiques delivered on the functionalist social capital theory, it is not all gloom. The fiercest critics of social capital are not advocating for a wholesale "doing away" with the concept (Adler & Kwon 2002; Campbell 2000; Fine 1999b, 2001b; Foley & Edwards 1997, 1998, 1999; Haynes 2009; Heying 1997; Johnston & Percy-Smith 2003; Morrow 1999a, 2001b; Portes & Landolt 2000; Siisiainen 2003; Spillane, Hallett & Diamond 2003; Tarrow 1996; Van Deth 2003; Woolcock 1998).

Social capital in critical social theory

Many researchers have identified the value of social capital within another tradition of social theory: the conceptualisation of social capital as described by Bourdieu. The paradigmatic origins of Bourdieuian social capital have been referred to as structuralism, however Bourdieu himself strenuously resists this label (Jenkins 2006, p. 10; Wacquant 1989, p. 28). Bourdieu's early career in the social sciences was in the climate of the French existentialism of Levi-Strauss and structuralism of Sartre (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Jenkins 2006, p. 11; Wacquant 1989, p. 30). These extremes heavily influenced the direction of his social theory.

It is interesting to note that the explosion of the use of social capital as a theory and concept in social science research prompted a reconsideration of Bourdieu and his work. Virginia Morrow, in her research into the wellbeing of young people in the UK, provides a summary of the issues with social capital and delivers the following suggestion:

There is a danger that 'social capital' will become part of what might be termed 'deficit theory syndrome', yet another 'thing' or 'resource' that unsuccessful individuals, families, communities and neighbourhoods lack. This is why Bourdieu's notion of capital is a useful way forward, because it is essentially a theory of privilege rather than a theory of inadequacy. … Finally, [Putnam] ignores wider structural factors which create environments of risk which are completely beyond the control of individual actors, particularly children – such as the physical school environment, traffic on roads, and so on. As Modell (1994: 51) notes, 'any meaningful notion of social capital must

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be situated in a larger set of social and cultural relations that surround the way children grow up in any given society. (Morrow 1999a, pp. 760–1)

Morrow is not a lone voice in advocating for the world of English-speaking social research to integrate Bourdieu's critical social theory into discussions on social capital and inequality. His theory of social capital has merit and is worthy of greater consideration and a more significant presence in the literature (Carpiano 2006; Chattopadhay 2014; Fine 2001b, 2010; Foley & Edwards 1997, 1999; Haynes 2009; Morrow 2001b; Phillips 2010; Scrivens & Smith 2013; Siisiainen 2003; Silva & Edwards 2004; Van Deth 2003).

The 2013 OECD report, *Four interpretations of social capital: An agenda for measurement,* made the following observation:

Although Bourdieu's work has generally been less widely acknowledged in the English-speaking world than that of Coleman and Putnam, recent years have seen a movement towards "bringing Bourdieu back in" to mainstream analysis (Fine 2010). This entails an increased focus on power relations, inequalities and political/socioeconomic context in understanding the functioning of social capital. (Scrivens & Smith 2013, p. 16)

Bringing back Bourdieu

The foundational development of Bourdieu's social theory occurred in the 1960s in Algeria, where Bourdieu conducted research in sociology and anthropology, and served as a soldier (Jenkins 2006, p. 15). Epistemology, knowledge and science are at the core of Bourdieu's social theory. His theories are concerned with the interplay of power in the social world, and the undertakings of the intellectual establishment are not immune in his work. Indeed, much of his work is highly critical of the position of the literati in society and science (Bourdieu 1988; Bourdieu 1999; Bourdieu & Zanotti-Karp 1968; Swartz 2006; Wacquant 1989; Wacquant 1999). In all his work, Bourdieu attempts to utilise the tool of sociological reflexivity to examine his own position and social location.

The primary project of Bourdieu's work is elegantly summed by a core collaborator, and the individual responsible for bringing much of Bourdieu's work into the English-speaking world, Loic Wacquant:

why and how agents who occupy similar objective positions in social space come to develop different, even opposite, systems of expectation and

aspirations; under what conditions such aspirations turn out to be the
internalization of objective chances; how misrecognition and ideological
distortion induce the dominated to accept their exclusion as legitimate.
(Wacquant 1989, p. 28)

The treatment of Bourdieu's impressive body of work in English-speaking academia
has been 'characterized by fragmentation and piecemeal appropriations that have
obfuscated the systematic nature and novelty of his enterprise' (Wacquant 1989,
p. 27).

It is beyond the scope of this project to provide a comprehensive overview of the
cannon of Bourdieu's work – '700-plus pieces' (Wacquant 2018, p. 8). Much of his
work has not been translated into English, and the researcher is not fluent in French.
Further contributing to the misrecognition of Bourdieu's work, the timing of the works
translated into English was out of sequence with Bourdieu's theoretical evolution,
and as such has resulted in miss-classification and a more shallow reading of this
theoretical and conceptual approach (Swartz 2012, p. 7). However, with the literature
available to the researcher, the core elements of Bourdieu's theory that enable a
useful application of social capital have been presented in Chapter 3.

Bourdieu's social capital

Bourdieu's theory of social capital is embedded in his broader theoretical framework
of capital. However, it is but one concept in a framework of social theory that is
deeply intertwined with a methodological approach to the empirical study of society.
Social capital is often isolated as a concept from its broader theory and discretely
utilised – a common problem in the misrepresentation of Bourdieu's theories
(Wacquant 2017; Wacquant 2018; Wacquant & Deyanov 2002). The failure to take
his approach as a whole results in a distortion of his theories and concepts.

Rather than social capital being a stand-alone concept, Bourdieu identifies four types
of capital: cultural, economic, symbolic and social. Capital in all forms is a central
concept. He states it is 'impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the
social world' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 241) unless they are incorporated. He warns the
conceptualisation of capital, in order to be truly explanatory, must not be reduced to
simple economic determinism. One of the successful projects of capitalism has been
to reduce the general understanding of capital to a purely economic concept, and in
Bourdieu's view this has supported the development of the economic elite's agenda
(Bourdieu 1986). If the 'universe of exchanges' is reduced to 'mercantile exchange',

then orientation for profit maximisation is able to be considered as purely self-interested and the theories of rational choice echo such a view (Bourdieu 1986, p. 242).

Economic reductionism is problematic in a world of binary distinctions (black/white, rich/poor, lazy/diligent) as it renders all other exchanges (and other forms of capital) as disinterested. The capital of economics is presented as hard, interested, empirical, objective, knowable, measurable, or a pure form of capital. The other forms – symbolic, cultural and social capital – by virtue of not being directly economic, are relegated to the realm of subjective, disinterested, creative, unmeasurable, and are by no means part of the hard science of the economy (Bourdieu 1986).

Privileging of the world of economic exchange as the only true vehicle for knowing the dynamics of social interaction (e.g. the philosophies of self-interest and the rational actor, individualism and the neoliberal agenda in general) has meant lost opportunity. Not for the privileged classes in society and their ability to maintain and reinforce the current status quo, but rather, for how the functioning of the social world is to be understood. Bourdieu identified the need for understanding the world via a 'general science of the economy of practices' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 241) which would treat mercantile exchange as only a particular type of exchange amongst all possible forms.

In reading this, one might wonder what precisely Bourdieu is objecting to regarding the elevation of economic capital to the primary means of understanding or analysing the social world. The problem is making economic capital the primary means of valuation amounts to a denial of multiple forms of power – and is therefore an effective mechanism for hiding structuring forces that maintain inequalities in our societies. An example of such structuring forces is the education system (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) much cited (Gorski 2013) treatise on the education system as a structure that perpetuates inequalities and domination makes a compelling case. Agencies endowed with the role of imposing the legitimate mode of cultural arbitrary delimit what is imposed, who is entitled to impose it, and those it should be imposed upon, which reproduces the group and corresponding culture deemed worthy of reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, p. 26).

The legitimate authority invested in education institutions to impose what is considered legitimate meaning, interpretation and expression is a 'structuring structure' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 241) that privileges the dominant over the dominated. It

is the revelation of such forces for consideration that is a foundational premise of Bourdieu's work. Thus, in order to understand how the social world is operating and then from this understanding make changes to benefit *society* rather than the minority, Bourdieu argues we must broaden our perception of capital. It requires identifying profit 'in all [its] forms and to establish laws whereby the different types of capital (or power, which amounts to the same thing) change into one another' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 241).

This study considers all forms of capital in Bourdieu's theory as essential for a complete understanding of the functioning of social capital. The forms of capital are deeply intertwined in terms of production, reproduction and use, and considering social capital on its own would strip the theory of its vigour. In order to appreciate the Bourdieuian theory of capital, one must have an appreciation of the key 'thinking tools' (Bourdieu in Wacquant 1989) within Bourdieu's work. The macro, meso and micro levels of the case study analysis utilise distinct aspects of Bourdieuian social theory. This theoretical framework is described in detail in Chapter 3.

Summary

This literature review has provided the context for the multi-site case study analysis of three social enterprises delivering education and training to disengaged young people. Thus, it has covered the historical development of social enterprise internationally and domestically. It has elaborated the debates in the politically charged field of vocational education and training, and situated the alternative education programs run within the case study sites within that field. It has presented the issues and debates surrounding disengaged young people in contemporary society. Additionally this literature presented an analysis of the impact of neoliberalism as a governmentality and public policy framework on the spheres of social enterprise, welfare, education and training and young people.

The final section of the literature presented a detailed overview of the contested conceptual field that is social capital. As this study applies a Bourdieuian social capital framework in contrast to the normative approach to social capital, the rationale for this decision was supported by presenting the challenges with the normative concept of social capital as presented by Putnam and his followers. Having provided the literature surrounding this debate, the Bourdieuian conceptual framework is provided in next chapter.

Chapter 3: Research design

Having presented the literature to contextualise this research project, this chapter details the research design. Figure 6 below is a visual schema documents the research process within the study's overarching design. Each level of analysis is colour coded and the specific data collection method conceptual tools and analytical tools used to interpret the data at each level are provided.

The research paradigm is pragmatism and the theoretical framework is Bourdieuian social theory. The thesis uses the conceptual framework of Bourdieu's social capital as adapted by Foley and Edwards (1999, 2001) and explores the use value presented by this perspective for exploring the theoretical potential represented by social enterprises delivering education and training for disengaged young people.

The research has been conducted via qualitative case study. Each case is a social enterprise organisation delivering VET courses to disengaged young people. Three case study organisations participated. The data has been gathered at three separate levels: macro, meso and micro. Each research level used distinct data collection methods, analysis tools and conceptual tools for interpretation. The results have been discussed in a cross-case analysis (Creswell 2012; Merriam 2014) at the macro, meso and micro levels.

This chapter begins with a presentation of the theories applicable to each level of analysis conducted in the cross-case analysis – macro, meso and micro. It then moves to detail the research design and presents the ethics, ontological and epistemological considerations, the research process, validity and quality and finally the limitations of the chosen approach. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the analytical framework, which elaborates the data analysis tools and methods used at each level of analysis to obtain results.

STUDY DESIGN

Research Paradigm: Pragmatism

Conceptual framework: Bourdieu
Foley and Edwards 1999 Application of Bourdieu's Social Capital

Qualitative research method: Case study research

Research Level	Data collection method/tool	Data analysis tools	Conceptual tools
MACRO	Focus groups and secondary data	Field Analysis	Social space Field
MESO	Focus groups Ishikawa diagrams	Capital Matrix Capital Map	Organisational Subfield/ Habitus Illusio/Strategy
MICRO	Semi-structured interviews	Thematic Analysis	Social Capital

Figure 6: Research process within the study's overarching design

Theoretical framework

In a multi-site case study a strong theoretical framework is required to make case comparisons possible (Fletcher & Plakoyiannaki 2010, p. 838). The sociology of Bourdieu and one of his key collaborators, Loic Wacquant, constitutes the theoretical frame for this research. The theoretical model for this project was developed in order to evaluate the theory's use value for understanding the role of social enterprises in education and training for disengaged young people in Victoria

In a Bourdieuian study, it is a common error by researchers to take discrete concepts and apply them to the topic at hand (Wacquant 1989, 2018; Wacquant & Deyanov 2002). This study attempts to avoid that pitfall by conducting the research within broader Bourdieuian sociological theory. Thus, this research combines the four-step process for empirical research articulated by Bourdieu (Wacquant 1989) with social capital as conceptualised by Bourdieu and developed by Foley and Edwards.

The utility of Foley and Edwards' model of understanding social capital is the emphasis placed on a detailed consideration of the socio-historical-political context in

which any given study is undertaken. Any understanding of social capital and the individual must be thoroughly situated in context. Foley and Edwards' model has been used as the basis for understanding the micro level effect, but incorporates the macro and meso research contained in this study. Their model is presented below.

According to Foley and Edwards, in order to understand social capital (its availability or function at an individual or organisational level) one must first study the sociohistorical context and determine the stratification patterns of the kinds and use-value of resources in a given social context. Yet, beyond providing researchers with a prompt to consider the sociohistorical landscape, Foley and Edwards' model does not provide a detailed method for undertaking this analysis. In order to conduct this analysis in congruence with a Bourdieuian theoretical framework, the explicit instructions of Bourdieu for conducting empirical research have been applied to the macro and meso levels of this project. The key concepts required for this analysis are presented in this chapter.

Theory/research relationship

Figure 7 is the researcher's interpretation of the relationship of theory to research practice. Theory is developed in order to determine what to measure and how to measure phenomena. From this process, tools for data collection are developed. Data is collected and presented according to research conventions and practices. The data is translated via this process into information. The information is then interpreted through the lens of theory to produce knowledge. The knowledge claims ideally substantiate, modify or contribute in some way to the theory's continued evolution.
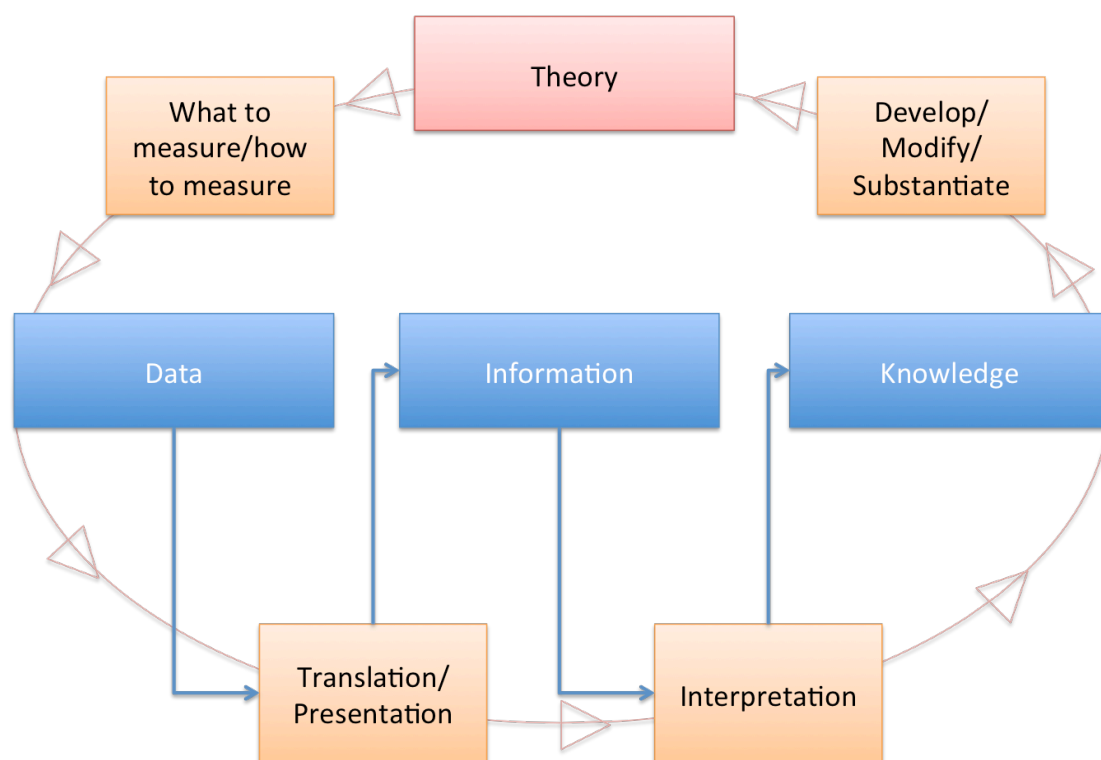
Figure 7: The theory/research relationship
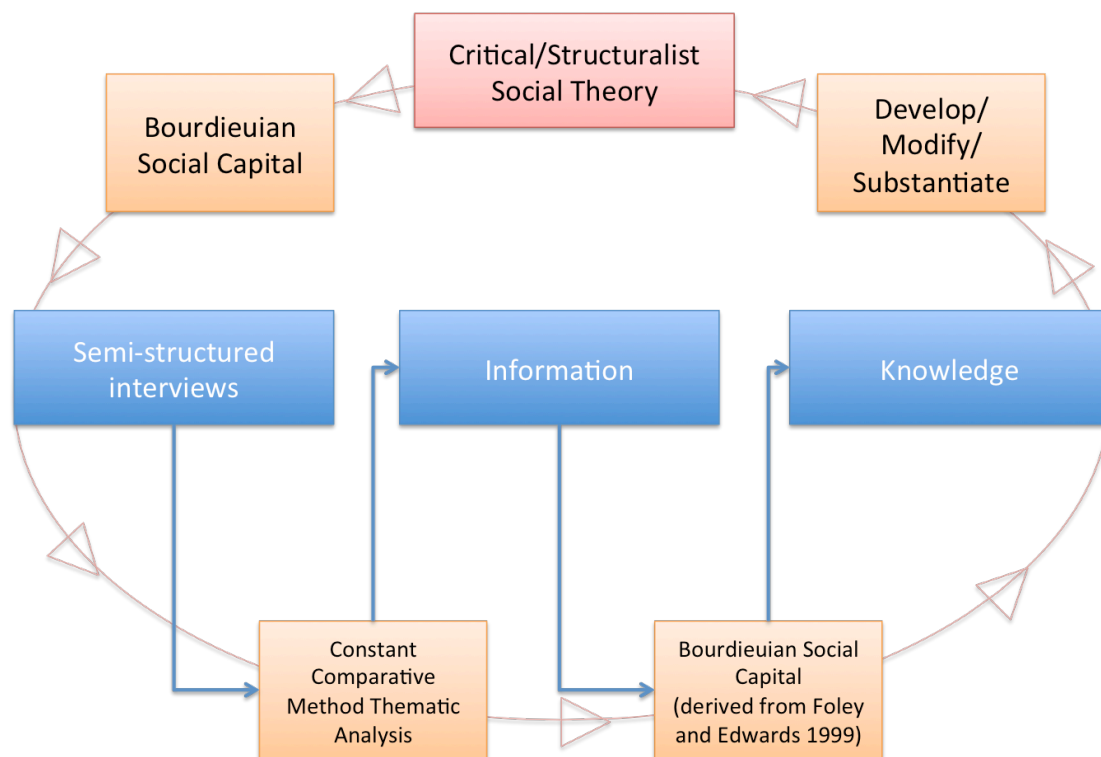
Figure 8: Theory/research relationship applied to this study

Figure 8 details the theory/research cycle applied to this case study. The theoretical framework is Bourdieuian sociology. The data was collected via semi-structured interviews with young people and focus groups with staff. The constant comparative method was the data analysis and presentation method for the semi-structured interview data at a micro level. A comprehensive capital analysis was conducted for the focus groups. This provided information which was interpreted via Bourdieuian sociology focusing on social capital as applied by Foley and Edwards. This produces knowledge that contributes to the further development, understanding or modification of the theory.

Foley and Edwards' application of Bourdieu's social capital
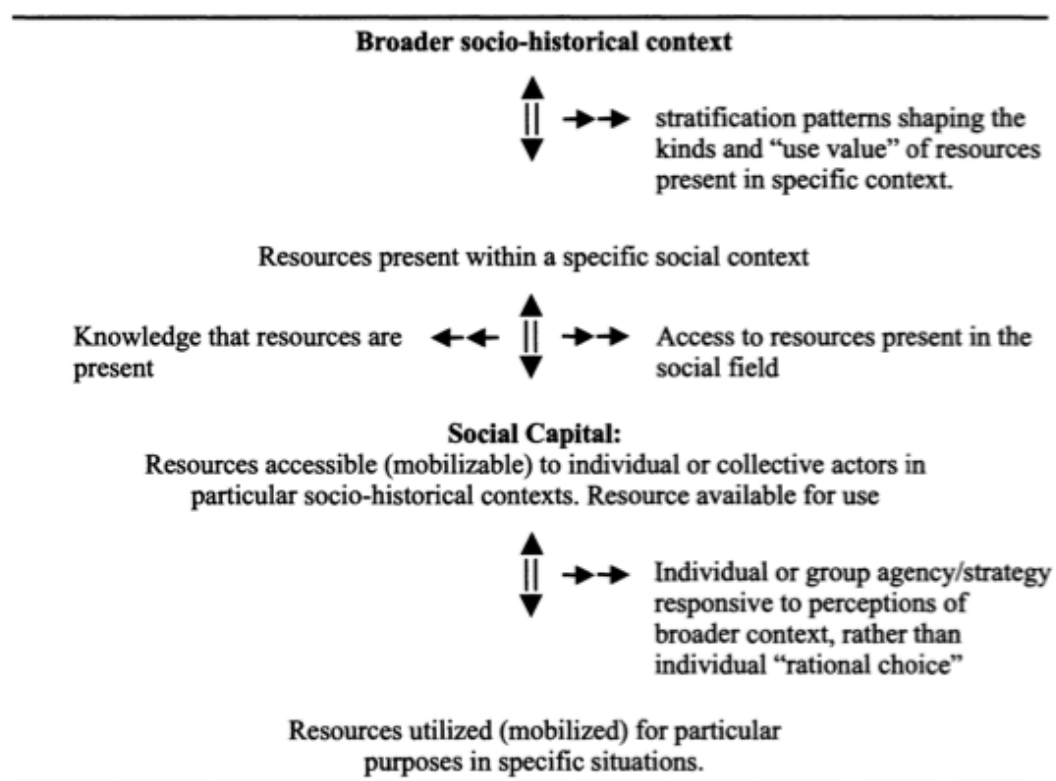
Figure 9: Foley and Edwards' model of social capital

(Foley & Edwards 1999, p. 167)

Social capital according to Foley and Edwards' model (Figure 9) operates according to the following statement: *social capital is best conceived as access (networks) plus resources* (Bourdieu 1986; Foley & Edwards 1999; Portes 1998). This model first

requires consideration of the broader sociohistorical context, in which capital is unequally distributed throughout society. Capital in this context is defined as resources present in all forms: economic, cultural, social and symbolic. It also incorporates variation in value of resources according to the specific sociohistorical context. These resources change in relation to culture, time and availability, reflecting Bourdieu's fundamental principle in the operation of capital being scarcity (Bourdieu 1986).

The next element is resources availability for an individual or organisation. However, without *access* to those resources, or knowledge they are present (or how to use them), the resources cannot be exploited. Only when resources are accessible and known to be present can social capital be available. The final element in Foley and Edwards' model reflects the importance of individual agency, as in the will, desire, skill and motivation (Foley & Edwards 1999) in the process of mobilisation.

Henceforth, this thesis will present the research in a tri-level analytical framework – the macro, micro and meso levels of analysis – for the purpose of clarity and simplicity. There is a degree of overlap between the levels in terms of the application of theory, but the tri-level discussion is maintained for clarity's sake.

Beyond providing researchers with a prompt to consider the sociohistorical landscape, Foley and Edwards' model does not provide a detailed method. Thus, the researcher returned to Bourdieuian social theory to construct a framework for analysis of the data generated at the macro and meso levels of this project.

Bourdieu's instructions for empirical research

Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical evolution has its foundation in empirical research. Bourdieu's own words far better represent the importance of empirical research in his process of theoretical development:

> Let me say outright and very forcefully that I never "theorize", if by that we mean engage in the kind of conceptual gobbledygook (*Laius*) that is good for textbooks and which, through an extra-ordinary misconstrual of the logic of science passes for Theory in much of Anglo-American social science. I never set out to "do theory" or to "construct a theory" *per se*, as the American expression goes. And it is a complete misapprehension of my project to believe that I am attempting some kind of "synthesis of classical theory" a la Parsons. There is no doubt a theory in my work, or better, a set of *thinking*

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tools visible through the results they yield, but it is not built as such.
(Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989)

The researcher has determined the following process for interpreting the data gathered at the meso and macro levels of this study, by following Bourdieu's clear instructions to the researcher for conducting empirical research:

Step 1: Determine the existence of a field and its boundaries.

Step 2: Analyse the position of the field in relation to the field of power.

Step 3: Map out the subjective structure of the relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority of which this field is the site.

Step 4: Analyse the habitus of agents, the system of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a determinant type of social and economic condition and which find in a definite trajectory within the field under consideration a more or less favourable opportunity to become actualised. (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 39)

Macro level theoretical framework

Bourdieu's social theory is useful for researching macro level structures, such as policy (Rawolle & Lingard 2008; van Zanten 2005), despite very little of his writing directly addressing the policy process of educational institutions and official state structures (Wacquant 1997).

In Bourdieu's theory, the invisibility of policy specifically speaks to the influence of the 'state and dominant classes' in the 'everyday activity of institutions' (van Zanten 2005, p. 672), and this has been described as a never-ending encoding process (Ball 1994). The usefulness of a variety of Bourdieu's conceptual tools has been noted in policy research disciplines from health (Anderson 2000), to education on a national and global level (Gale 2011; Lingard & Rawolle 2010; Lingard, Rawolle & Taylor 2005; van Zanten 2005), social policy (Garrett 2007) and social work policy (Fram 2004). In educational research, Bourdieu's theories have seen application at all levels, from policy (Rawolle & Lingard 2008; Reay 2011; Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011; Rowlands & Rawolle 2013; Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013; Thomson 2005) to individual outcome studies (Divine 2012; Morrison 2008, 2014, 2017; Morrow 1999a; Phillips 2010; Thompson 2011).

What follows is the documenting of influential concepts from Bourdieu's sociology that have been critical in interpreting and analysing the data produced from the case studies. Beginning at the macro level, the key concepts are described. The manner in which they have been implemented in the analytical phase of the research is described in further along in the chapter.

At the macro level, the core theoretical concepts are Bourdieu's field of power and social space, the theory of the state, field, and autonomy.

Social space as the 'field of power'

According to Bourdieu, sociology can be termed a 'social topology', whereby the social world can be presented as a multidimensional space built upon 'principles of differentiation or distribution' (Bourdieu 1989, p. 196). This distribution or differentiation is founded on 'properties active within the social universe in question' (Bourdieu 1989, p. 196) and these properties are held or used by agents active within the social space. It is the *relative position* of agents and groups that defines their place. He also describes a social space as a:

> field of forces, i.e. as a set of objective power relations which impose themselves on all who enter the field and which are irreducible to the intentions of the individual agents or even to the direct *interactions* among the agents. (Bourdieu 1989, p. 196)

It is essential at this point to note that a *field* in the Bourdieuian conceptualisation is a sub-type in the social space (Wacquant 2018, p. 2). The concept of field is a 'research tool, the main function of which is to enable the scientific construction of social objects' (Bourdieu 2005a, p. 30). In research, Bourdieu makes clear the role of the researcher in the construction of the space under study:

> The active properties which are selected as principles of construction of the social space are the different kinds of power or capital which are current in the different fields. (Bourdieu 1989, p. 196)

Bourdieu and Wacquant's position on the boundaries of fields has received some criticism from commentators in the English-speaking world. For example, 'in refusing to establish boundaries Bourdieu gives his concept an excessively generous application' which has been suggested to limit 'drastically chances for the observer to gain an objective grasp of the social world' (Swartz 2012, pp. 125–6). However, to

use Bourdieu requires you to step out from underneath the epistemological fallacy that we can ever have an *objective* grasp on the social world.

In this study, it is a *social space* under examination and the functions within it at the macro level. Therefore it is forces and a series of interrelated *processes* with institutions and agents enacting and reacting that structure and create the effects. Wacquant comments on the misrecognition of 'field' as the main site for social analysis when it is 'social space' that is the 'mother-concept' (Wacquant 2017, p. 8) within Bourdieuian sociology. This misrecognition is a common problem with the application of Bourdieuian theory:

> The vast majority of social action unfolds in social spaces that are just that, social spaces, that is, multidimensional distributions of socially efficient properties (capitals) stipulating a set of patterned positions from which one can intelligibly predict strategies. But they are not fields because they have no institutionalized boundaries, no barriers to entry and no specialists in the elaboration of a distinctive source of authority and sociodicy. (Wacquant 2017, pp. 8–9)

Wacquant's argument is that none of the requirements to constitute a field in Bourdieu's technical conceptualisation are present in the majority of research foci. In the case of social enterprises, we cannot assert that there is a field of social enterprise. There are, as yet, no institutionalised boundaries, no barriers to entry and no specialists in the elaboration of a distinctive source of authority. Much like Medvetz (2012) and his elaboration of the 'think tank' as a boundary organisation using Bourdieu's theoretical framework, the source of authority of a social enterprise at this point cannot be pinned down.

Medvetz argues that an approach that provides sufficient rigour needs to consider the individual organisations *less* and focus instead on the social relations in which they are embedded (Medvetz 2012, p. 116). This distinction was helpful in understanding social enterprises as a network of organisations and individuals engaged in a constant negotiation for various forms of capital available in established fields. Medvetz refers to this organisational network as the space of think tanks (Medvetz 2012, p. 116) in his study, and it is useful to conceptualise the network of organisations comprising the Victorian social enterprise sector as the social enterprise space. The empirical aspect of this study is specifically focused on social enterprises within this space that deliver VET to disengaged young people.

It is important to emphasise that within the social enterprise space, and particularly within the space of delivering education and training, there are multiple fields across which the various capitals are distributed that are of relevance. These are the state, the social services field, the educational field, and the field of business. The concept of field and its application in this study is discussed below.

Theory of the state

In order to accomplish an empirical study aiming to understand the role of social enterprise in the delivery of education and training and understand the effects, it is necessary to engage with the monolithic phenomenon that is the "state", because:

> the state does considerably more than assign titles and impose taxonomies: it also manages a gigantic web of bridges between fields (legal, political, economic, social, cultural) whose boundaries, barriers to entry, and specific stakes it can easily alter, by force if need be, thereby greatly affecting the structuration of classes. The question arises, then, as to whether state power constitutes a species of capital sui generis and state institutions a field quintessentially different from other fields ("Symbolic Violence and the Making of the French Agriculturalist: An Enquiry into Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology," Wacquant 1987, pp. 79–80). (Wacquant 2017, p. 11)

Bourdieu agreed with Wacquant on this position, and in his latter work from the late 1980s until his death, the state became the very centre of his research and writings (Wacquant 2017, p. 11).

Bourdieu defines the state as the 'monopoly of legitimate physical and *symbolic* violence' (Bourdieu et al. 2014, p. 4), and in doing so extends the Weberian definition (Weber 1958 (1919)), which is limited to physical violence. The state is a vexed site for analysis because, for Bourdieu, the state is an 'unthinkable' object (Bourdieu et al. 2014, p. 3), and this is so because we are products of the state itself:

> If I had to give a provisional definition of what is called 'the state', I would say that the sector of the field of power, which may be called the 'administrative field' or 'field of public office', this sector that we particularly have in mind when we speak of the 'state' without further precisions is defined as the monopoly of legitimate physical and symbolic violence. (Bourdieu et al. 2014, pp. 3–4)

It is significant that Bourdieu conceptualised the field of power as embedded within the field of class relations. As part of his lecture series at the College de France, he situated the birth of the state historically, as being formed in the transition from the rule of a king to that of a parliament. He provides an overview of that transformation, which he describes as the transition from 'power concentrated in an individual' (a ruler of a kingdom), noting that the 'division of work of domination' is present within that configuration also, to:

> a power that is divided and shared between different persons with relations of competition between them, conflictual relations within what I call a "field of power". (Bourdieu et al. 2014, p. 235)

To extrapolate, the field of class relations can be considered as a space consisting of the unequal distribution of capital, for which agents, collectives and institutions compete.

Field

In order to conduct research into any phenomenon, it is critical to identify and research empirically the field(s) in which the phenomena occur. Bourdieu employs the term 'field' in a precise, technical way rather than in the general senses in which it is used in common English parlance, and considers the field as the basis of legitimate sociological research:

> I define a field as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose on the the their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situations (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). Each field presupposes and generates by its very functioning the belief in the value of the stakes it offers. (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 39)

Bourdieu identifies complex societies founded on 'spaces of objective relations which are the site of a logic and necessity that is specific and irreducible to those which regulate other fields' (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 39). He conducted empirical research into many fields in specific societies throughout his lifetime – as diverse as

the Kabyle peasants of Algeria (1977) to the French academic establishment in *Homo Academicus* (1988).

The notion of field accounts for the semi-autonomous and interdependent social spaces that follow their own logics and have their own form of material profit which may be gained within them (Swartz 2012). Examples are the artistic field, the religious field, the economic field and the field of cultural production. To conduct research from a Bourdieuian framework is to directly identify and study fields and the distribution of power including consideration of class relations. Through this concept of field, a researcher can conceive of the social world under study as being an arena in which there is 'permanent conflict' (Naidoo 2004, p. 459) by agents and institutions for various capitals and their power. It is argued that fields are relatively self-sufficient (Rawolle 2005, p. 707).

Fields are 'fields of struggles' (Bourdieu 1984, p. 245), and what is at stake within these social spaces is the legitimate representation of reality:

> a field is a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed at either conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field.

> In other words, in certain respects, the field … is comparable to a field of physical forces; but it is not reducible to a physical field – it is the site of actions and reactions performed by social agents endowed with permanent dispositions, partly acquired in their experience of these social fields. The agents react to these relations of forces, to these structures; they construct them, perceive them, form an idea of them, represent them to themselves, and so on. And, while being, therefore, constrained by the forces inscribed in these fields and being determined by these forces as regards their permanent dispositions, they are able to act upon these fields, in ways that are partially preconstrained, but with a margin for freedom. (Bourdieu 2005a, p. 30)

Autonomy

Bourdieu stated that 'one of the questions that has to be asked about a field is that of its degree of autonomy' (Bourdieu 2005a, p. 32). The autonomy of a field provides an understanding of the 'structuring principles' (Maton 2005, p. 689). The degree of a

field's autonomy is demonstrated in the ability of the field to generate its own 'values and markers of achievement' (Maton 2005, p. 689), which amount to distinction. However, the relativity of autonomy means that the fields of economic and political power also play a role in shaping the field (Maton 2005, p. 689). There is a form of "double structuring" occurring, in that a field has an inward form of hierarchisation which is its autonomous principle concerning the activities of the field, and an outward form which is constantly referring to the external forces of the economic and political success, which represents its heteronomous principle (Maton 2005, p. 690).

Researchers (Maton 2005; Naidoo 2004) have noted that autonomy is not a fixed feature of a field, and in the context of educational research, Bourdieu's classification of the field of education as being highly autonomous within a society founded on the 'social compact' (1960s France) is liable to change over time. They have found the concepts of field and autonomy highly useful for understanding the changes in the nature of education in advanced capitalist societies in a neoliberal context (Lingard, Rawolle & Taylor 2005).

Meso level theoretical framework

The meso level of this study is concerned with the social enterprises that participated. What is under analysis here are the actions of staff members and the people running the organisations. In order to understand social capital and its operation, the perspectives of the staff are key aspects of the analysis. This aspect of the study is concerned with the way the organisation is run, resources they have, decisions and strategies made in the fight for survival in the business world, and how they consider it best to assist their young people. In order to understand this, focus groups were held and exercises run to understand the factors assisting them in the delivery of positive results, factors hindering their positive results for young people and the way in which they saw their organisation. This process was designed to allow the analysis of the practice of the agents operating the social enterprises. The important conceptual elements of the meso framework are Bourdieu's logic of practice, habitus, illusio and capital.

The logic of practice

In *Distinction* (Bourdieu 1984), Bourdieu articulates a simple formula for the practice of human agency: *(habitus x capital) + field = practice* (Bourdieu 1984, p. 101). The interplay between these concepts, which are explored below, allows social

phenomenon to be understood historically, structurally and relationally simultaneously, and thus offers significant 'explanatory power' (Tatli 2008, p. 50).

An interpretation of Bourdieu's articulation of the logic of practice is: the 'habitus' of an individual (a concept covered below) is the internalisation of history, culture and social practices. This is transmitted in the main through the family and built upon with subsequent interaction in social spaces and fields. The habitus of each individual effects the way in which action and stimuli are interpreted, the levels of capital endowed, the responses made, and influences choices made by agents in the way they vie for position within fields in which they operate. This co-production of action can be said to constitute the generative principle of the logic of practice. It can be termed co-production because the impact of the individual on a field is not inert; they are simultaneously effecting the field's constitution by their action, choices, interpretations and position takings.

This logic enables a consideration of young people's capital levels and the way in which they are deploying strategies to navigate the structural forces affecting their lives. Additionally, it allows exploration of the ways in which the organisations aiming to assist them are facilitating this process. Far from being a deterministic approach to sociological analysis, as some commentators have suggested (Vandenberghe 1999), it provides a systematic and encompassing approach to empirical research which researchers can utilise that enables agency and structure to be considered dynamically (Lounsbury & Ventresca 2003). Furthermore, it places capital in all its forms in a sociohistorical context and provides an alternative to the rational actor monograph that is sufficiently subtle and flexible to closely represent the complexities of agency in relation to capital in social space (Bradbury & Lichtenstein 2000).

Habitus

Another critical concept to employ in a Bourdieuian framework is *habitus*. Agents, both individuals and institutions, possess a habitus and it is an essential unit of analysis. It is the embodied materialisation of capitals or 'internalized capital' (Bourdieu 1984 p. 114, in Holt 2008, p. 233).

> What, then, is the habitus? What does it mean? Literally, it is a Latin word, which refers to a habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, particularity of the body … it appears in a variety of settings, in, among others, the work of 'Hegel, Husserl, Weber, Durkheim and Mauss'. It is an

'acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted'. (Jenkins 2006, p. 49)

When used in a Bourdieuian context, this concept retains the significance of the body and embodiment. There are three levels of significance for embodiment: firstly, habitus exists in the embodied form in the mind and bodies of human beings. Secondly, through interaction with their environment, agents engage in practices yielding ways of talking, holding oneself and general day-to-day life operation. This is incorporating an attendant concept, *hexis*, also derived from Latin, referring directly to the deportment in manner and style of individuals learned and incorporated via *habitus*. Finally, and arguably most pervasively, is the level of generative schemes of interpretation of the social world, including binary distinctions that make sense of sensory experiences of a personal and social nature (Jenkins 2006, pp. 49–50).

Bourdieu refers to the operation of habitus poignantly, stating 'when a habitus encounters a social world of which it is a product, it finds itself "as a fish in water", it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world about it for granted' (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 43). Further developing this assertion, the habitus is the 'social incorporated' and is therefore '"at home" in the field it inhabits' (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 45). This is something that is illustrated with class. When a person is in a social situation or circumstance that is foreign to them and their class, they struggle to see the scene as 'immediately endowed with meaning and interest' that they are able to interpret (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 45). There is no instinctive 'sense of the game' or confluence of 'dispositions and position' which can be felt in awkwardness, a feeling of being 'out of place' (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 45).

Illusio – strategy and agency

A rational choice theorist could be challenged in explaining the existence of social enterprise in that establishing an enterprise to run without personal profit is contradictory to personal best interest. Yet, to view agents undertaking the same endeavour from social constructionism would produce an analysis founded on a view of an individual so propelled by social structuration that their action becomes an 'action without an agent' (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 42). To escape this binarism, Bourdieu developed a conceptualisation of interest, termed *illusio*.

> The notion of interest [illusio] as I use it, which, paradoxically, as you indicate, has brought forth the accusation of economism against a work which, from

the very onset … was conceived as an opposition to economism, is the means of a deliberate and provisional reductionism which allows me to bring the materialist mode of questioning into the cultural sphere from which it was expelled, historically, when the modern notion of art was invented and the field of cultural production won its autonomy (Bourdieu 1908h, 1987d) .

This is to say that the concept of interest as I construe it has nothing in common with the naturalistic, trans-historical, and universal interest of utilitarian theory. It would be otiose to show that Adam Smith's self-interest is nothing more than an unconscious universalisation of the form of interest required and engendered by a capitalist economy. Far from being an anthropological invariant, interest is a *historical arbitrary*, a historical construction that can be known only through historical analysis, *ex post*, through empirical observation, and not deduced a priori from some fictitious – and naively Eurocentric – conceptions of "Man". (Wacquant 1989, pp. 41–2)

As Bourdieu continued to evolve his theoretical concepts, *illusio* and strategy became intertwined in his writings, and are synonymous. This thesis uses the meso level data and organisations' descriptions of themselves to explore the use of strategy and interests in the way the organisations position themselves and manoeuvre within their social space according to the forces of the fields in which they operate.

Social agents are not "particles" that are mechanically pushed and pulled by external forces. They are rather bearers of capitals, and depending on their trajectory and on the position they occupy in the field by virtue of their endowment (volume and structure) in capital, they have a propensity to orient themselves actively either toward the preservation of the distribution of capital or toward the subversion of this distribution (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 108–109).

This study uses capital in the Bourdieuian sense. The social, cultural and economic capital levels and usage are analysed in order to gain an understanding of relational position of the organisations in this study. The discussion below presents Bourdieu's theory of capital. This theory is utilised at micro level of the young people and meso level. Organisations can be understood to operate as a social agent, in possession of the various capitals, operating in fields of struggle for resources and representations within social space.

Forms of capital and their manifestations

Bourdieu's theory of capital presents each of the three forms of capital and discusses them in terms of their state, how they relate to one another and how they *convert* to one form or another. It is important to note that symbolic capital, the fourth form of capital, is considered to be a different species of capital (Wacquant 1998, p. 26).

The complexity of Bourdieu's capital is demonstrated in the identification of the varied *states* capital can occupy. He refers to the embodied, objectified and institutionalised states of capital. Social capital in the state of either the embodied or the objectified is developed, built or accrued with time. He states, 'capital is accumulated labor (in its materialised or incorporated, embodied form)' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 241), and this capital is utilised by individuals or pooled and used by groups of individuals, to essentially allow them to access and exploit 'social energy in the form of reified or living labor' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 241). The access to and exploitation of social and cultural capital can produce tangible profits in the form of economic capital.

The implications for an individual's life trajectory is they are ultimately the beneficiary of accumulated social and cultural capital, which is transmitted to them via their *habitus*. Habitus encapsulates a large variety of individual determinants such as family environment, the impact of socioeconomic status, the implications of class, education, access to resources, perspectives and experiences, and he asserts that all of this is embodied in an individual. This constitutes the lens through which individuals view themselves and society. In turn, it determines how society views individuals (as all of us present a myriad of markers of our habitus to the world at large) and we are constantly indicating our levels of embodied social, economic and cultural capital (in particular) by merely existing in the world.

All forms of capital derive their value from how readily accessible the capital is in terms of the required size of the investment. This investment hinges upon investment in time because, even a financial investment, which is purely money, is a transaction made possible by the accumulation of economic capital via an investment of time. To illustrate, the accumulated wages from employment or even an inheritance (which itself is the result of past labour accumulated and passed on) is the product of an investment in time. This accumulation of time is not only related to economic capital. Consider the time parents take in educating their children on manners, socially

acceptable behaviour and so forth. This is an investment of time in their offspring's cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986).

The implication of this reproduction and transmission has a profound impact on all individuals. Capital can be both subjective and objective structures that exert force. It is also:

> the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world. It is what makes the games of society – not least, the economic game – something other than simple games of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle. (Bourdieu 1986, p. 241)

The crux is in understanding the nature of capital, which is the result of substantial investment through history. It is investment with which individuals are imbued and which has the potential to produce profits (Bourdieu 1986). It has a reproductive capacity, in that it can be reproduced in identical or extended form, and is inscribed in the social world, so for individuals 'everything is not equally possible or impossible' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 241). Bourdieu sums up its significance:

> The structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment represents the immanent structure of the social world, i.e., the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices. (Bourdieu 1986, p. 241)

Economic capital

Bourdieu does not waste time or words elaborately analysing the functioning of economic capital and provides a swift definition: 'immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 242). Economic capital has a direct relationship with all other forms of capital. Cultural and social capital can, in certain circumstances, be converted into economic capital.

Cultural capital

Bourdieu argues that cultural capital exists in three sub-forms: the embodied, objectified and institutionalised. The embodied state comprised of 'long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 242). Consider the ways individuals carry themselves when engaging in the social world; that is, their deportment. Cultural capital is embodied in manners, expressions, modes of speech,

and importantly for Bourdieu, in taste (Bourdieu 1984). This element is commonly referred to as 'culture', and is an investment (both in terms of time and economic capital) (Bourdieu 1986, p. 243). This incorporates self-improvement strategies that individuals employ, and they do this by investing time, and can be as simple as investments in immaculate grooming. Bourdieu amusingly refers to this as a form of 'socially constituted libido' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 243).

Embodied cultural capital is a fascinating form. It is 'external wealth converted into an integral part of a person, into a habitus, and cannot be transmitted instantaneously' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 243). It is not something you can buy, or immediately give someone. To give someone cultural capital is the project of years of inculcation, and has explanatory potential for why some people arrive in the early years of schooling with a distinct head start, or conversely, disadvantage.

The serious consequence for an individual is that cultural capital transmission from the earliest years leaves its marks. This can take years to visibly remove, but can never be removed from the individual's experience in the form of memories, experiences, understandings and perceptions. Embodied cultural capital is both the inheritance of an individual, and the result of acquisition through life.

Significantly, the social nature of the transmission of cultural capital means that it functions primarily in the realm of symbols. Cultural capital is likely:

> to be unrecognised as capital and recognised as legitimate competence …
> the specifically symbolic logic of distinction additionally secures material and symbolic profits for the possessors of a large cultural capital: any given cultural competence … derives a scarcity value from its position in the distribution of cultural capital and yields profits of distinction for its owner. (Bourdieu 1986, pp. 243–4)

In the objectified state, cultural capital takes the form of cultural objects, such as art, literature, dictionaries, instruments, tools and machines. Bourdieu states these objects or cultural goods are the vessels for the realisation or repositories of theories, problematics, critiques of theories and so forth produced by that culture (Bourdieu 1986, p. 242).

In brief, there are two functional elements to objectified cultural capital: firstly those that are transmissible, such as legal ownership; and secondly, appropriation, which is the ability to use the cultural good. Cultural goods can be purchased, which involves

economic capital, and used symbolically, which is the realm of cultural capital in combination with social capital.

Of particular relevance to this study is cultural capital in the institutionalised state of education, which Bourdieu refers to as:

> a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee. (Bourdieu 1986, p. 242)

It is tempting to read Bourdieu's discussion on educational cultural capital as the theory of human capital by an alternative name. Human capital is the 'stored knowledge and skills of individuals' (Meyskens, Allen & Brush 2011, p. 56) and has four dimensions: education, previous experience, gender and age (Meyskens, Allen & Brush 2011, p. 57). But Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital is a direct critique of human capital theories. He considers human capital theory as being inherently limited. The preeminent theorist of human capital is Becker (1964) (Bourdieu 1986; Meyskens, Allen & Brush 2011), and in his discussion of human capital, Bourdieu directly points to what he sees as the failings of the theory.

He has two core protests: firstly, being a theory originating from economics, the measurement of profits from investment is based solely in monetary terms. Becker focuses his analysis of both the investment and return as being a monetary, or economic investment (Bourdieu 1986). What this analysis is able to take account of is things like the actual cost in monetary terms of schooling, or the elements that are convertible into money, like quantification and valuation of the time spent studying. Bourdieu notes that this analysis seems plausible and is directly applicable to "commonsense" notions that see success or failure in the field of education for an individual as being related to natural capacity, aptitudes and individual effort. Indeed, this view of education and the related profits (or success) is still present in modern society in social, policy and political discourse on the subject (Brian 2007; Coleman 1988; Meyskens, Allen & Brush 2011; Schultz 1972; Teachman, Paasch & Carver 1996).

Bourdieu's second objection is this theory is limited in its explanatory potential. In the economic framework, there is no ability to account for or explain *why* different classes or agents allocate differing proportions of their resources toward scholastic and cultural investment. This gap is due to the failure of the theory to:

> take systematic account of the structure of the differential chances of profit
> which the various markets offer these agents or classes as a function of the
> volume and composition of their assets. (Bourdieu 1986, p. 242)

A parent will assess their resources and make subjective decisions about the allocation of those resources. If personal experience demonstrates the education market offers a chance of profit, they would be more likely to invest a greater proportion of their resources in education than an individual who has no such positive regard for, nor experience, within the system. Profit in this sense could be seen as success in the classroom, improvement of future prospects, success in the labour market or other such positive experiences.

Additionally, economic determinism and functionalist perspectives fail to relate an individual agent's choices regarding 'scholastic investment' back to the range of *available* education options, nor to the strategies of cultural reproduction in which education is imbedded. The result of this absence is the failure of the theory to highlight the most significant determinant, the 'domestic transmission of cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 242).

In other words, the theory of human capital is unable to shine any light on the impact of the constraints and limitations and, conversely, the advantages and privileges that are conferred on individuals due to their location in the social structure of society. Each individual encounters the educational system with differing levels of inherent resources, which they are able to convert into successes or accrue as failures inside the system. This does not simply refer to material resources. Two children could be placed in the same school, from families of the same economic and educational status, and one would be unable to account for the differences in performance of those young people under the human capital theory, other than reverting to the variable of effort. If that fails to provide answers, then logically one was 'smarter' than the other.

What functionalist theories fail to demonstrate is the education system reproduces social inequalities. It does this by rewarding the 'hereditary transmission of cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 242), thus playing a role in the maintenance of social inequalities. This is because a profit from investment in the scholastic field depends on the investments in cultural capital from the family (Bourdieu 1986).

Academic qualifications are cultural capital institutionalised. They are a 'certificate of cultural competence, which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally

guaranteed value with respect to culture' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 244). Institutions hold significant power with respect to impacts on the lives of individuals. Bourdieu refers to competitive examinations, and the minute differences between the individual who was the last successful candidate and the individual who was the first unsuccessful candidate in terms of outcomes for their futures (Bourdieu 1986, p. 245). He refers to this as the power of official recognition which 'institutes an essential difference between the officially recognised, guaranteed competence, and the simple cultural capital, which is constantly required to prove itself' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 245).

The power of institutional recognition validates the cultural capital of an individual by conferring a qualification, and this process makes it possible to compare or even substitute holders of this institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). Consequently:

> it makes it possible to establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital. The product of this conversion of economic capital into cultural capital establishes the value in terms of cultural capital, of the holder of a given qualification relative to other qualification holders, and by the same token, the monetary value for which it can be exchanged on the labor market. (Bourdieu 1986, p. 245)

Significantly however, obtaining an educational qualification is but one part of the story, because its successful exploitation depends on inherited and inculcated *social capital* (Bourdieu 1986, p. 243)*.*

Social capital

The core of Bourdieu's theory on social capital is relationships. These can be more or less institutionalised, develop into networks and are maintained by material and/or symbolic exchanges. Membership to these groups provides access to 'collectively owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 245). Social capital can be instituted in the form of the assignation of a common name (such as a class, a tribe, a school, a university), and the use of instituting acts (membership processes, rituals, induction processes, the donning of a uniform). What this means is that the social capital of individuals is created, reinforced and maintained through interactions and exchanges. In this sense, social capital is symbolic and material in its operation (Bourdieu 1986). In contrast to the networks conceptualised by Putnam, Bourdieu does not see

individuals' membership of these groups as being linked to geographical proximity, nor even necessarily economic or social proximity. The networks function without such interactions.

At the level of the individual, social capital reflects the size of a person's network of connections and how effective they are at mobilising those connections (Bourdieu 1986). This mobilisation is related to the volume of capital in its three forms, held by the individuals *with whom a person is connected*. Social capital is not conceived as being reducible to volumes of cultural and economic capital within a person's network. Nor is it reducible to capital held by individuals, because social capital functions in the realm of symbolic and material exchange. The levels of cultural and economic capital of the connections in an individual's network are inextricably linked the amount of social capital that individual can be said to possess. However, the cultural and economic capital does not constitute their social capital.

Bourdieu explicitly describes the functioning of networks (a network of connections or relationships) and states the existence of networks is not a given – in that they are not a 'natural' phenomenon, nor even a 'social given' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 253). Individuals purposefully create networks. The creation of these networks fundamentally relies on the processes of instituting. Even the network of the family is not a natural or social given, but is the result of the process of institution in the form of genealogical kinship rights and relations. Simply having connections with other individuals does not constitute a network of connections that produces social capital and the attendant forms of profit:

> in other words, the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e. at transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighbourhood, the work-place or even kinship, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights). (Bourdieu 1986, p. 253)

The mechanism that achieves this transformation from a simple connection to a network is '*consecration*' (Bourdieu 1986, pp. 253, italics in original). This is a symbolic creation that is the product of social institution, so one can be a knight or an elder, or a member. However, one can only "be" one of those things if recognised as

such, and it is the endless processes of exchange which enable the reproduction and recognition of that symbolically constituted position.

Bourdieu states it is 'exchange [that] transforms the things exchanged into signs of recognition, and through the mutual recognition and recognition of group membership which it implies, re-produces the group' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 253). This exchange and reproduction also reproduces the *limits* of the group. Each group member is supposed to be a protector of the boundaries of a group, as each time a new person enters a group, they are capable of modifying the limits of legitimacy in membership. Consider the scenario where an upper-class person marries a working class person, or a student from a very low socioeconomic background wins a scholarship to an elite university. In both scenarios, the potential for conflict can arise as all of the social, economic and cultural capital indicators of the new entrant establish that person as "non-member" or not belonging. The conflict arises because the limits and boundaries of the network (in both cases, the class network) are to be upheld and reinforced by members. The "redefinition" of the network is not desirable, and admitting an outsider into the group places the very definition of the network at risk (Bourdieu 1986).

In modern society there are institutions that constantly favour legitimate exchanges and exclude illegitimate ones. This can be done through the use of occasions, places or practices which 'bring together, in a seemingly fortuitous way, individuals as homogenous as possible in all the pertinent respects in terms of the existence and persistence of the group' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 253). Take, for example, the practice of sport and the game of rugby union versus the game of rugby league. Rugby union, played primarily at the private schools in Australia, is often considered "the gentleman's football", versus the traditionally working class rugby league. The inclusion and exclusion process is visible in the context of neighbourhoods in the boundaries separating the rich and the poor.

According to Bourdieu, the reproduction of social capital requires a sociability and participation in a continuous series of exchanges so an individual can be affirmed and the network reaffirmed. What is crucial here is this represents an investment, either directly or indirectly, of economic capital, via the expenditure of time and energy (Bourdieu 1986, p. 254). Critics of the functionalist conception of social capital have argued it cannot be a form of capital because it does not involve an opportunity cost (Baron & Hannan 1994). Yet social capital in Bourdieu's sense involves this sacrifice. It is not simply the investment of time and energy: it is the

devotion to the development of real connections and the competence and skill of using them. What this presupposes is 'an acquired disposition to acquire and maintain this competence' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 254). In other words, individuals are taught to recognise social capital. This is an acquired ability. Individuals are taught the importance of social capital, invest energy in developing skills to acquire more, and are taught to exploit or maximise what has already been acquired.

Once again, the effect of the habitus of an individual is paramount. Social capital has a direct influence in the structure and distribution of all forms of capital. Thus, social capital is influential in the perpetuation of the unequal distribution of capital:

> Because the social capital accruing from a relationship is that much greater to the extent that the person who is the object of it is richly endowed with capital (mainly social, but also cultural and even economic capital), the possessors of an inherited social capital, symbolised by a great name, are able to transform all circumstantial relationships into lasting connections. They are sought after for the social capital, and because they are well known, are worthy of being known. (Bourdieu 1986, p. 254)

When an individual richly endowed with social capital makes an effort or investment, these efforts are highly productive.

Micro level theoretical framework

We have used Bourdieu's theoretical concepts at the macro level: social space and the field of power, theory of the state, and fields. At the meso level there is the application of the logic of practice, habitus, illusio and capital. The macro and meso level of this study fulfil the requirement of the model to study the sociohistorical context. The micro level is where the bulk of Foley and Edwards' model of Bourdieuian social capital is applied.

Applying these concepts in the analysis of empirical data enables a deep consideration of the social, historical and political climate. Bourdieu does not conduct empirical research into social capital as a discrete attribute of individuals or organisations. Foley and Edwards have taken Bourdieu's social capital and posited it in the intellectual debates as a superior alternative to functionalist social capital in the Putnam tradition. In order to research social capital discretely, they proposed a model for applying Bourdieu's social capital in empirical research.

Foley and Edwards' operationalising of Bourdieu's theory of social capital operates according to the statement: *social capital is best conceived as access (networks) plus resources* (Foley & Edwards 1999). This model first requires consideration of the broader sociohistorical context, in which capital (resources in all forms: economic, cultural, social and symbolic) is unequally distributed throughout society.

The second element in the model is resources and whether or not they are available for an individual or an organisation in context. However, without *access* to those resources or even the knowledge they are present, the resources cannot be exploited. Only when resources are both accessible and known to be present can social capital be available. The final element in Foley and Edwards' model reflects the importance of individual agency in the process of mobilisation.

Figure 10 presents the researcher's *interpretation* of Foley and Edwards' model. The outer circle represents the sociohistorical context at the macro (e.g. government, legislation, sociohistorical context) and meso levels (such as local level institutions) (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer 2001, p. 5). The three overlapping circles represent Foley and Edwards' three critical dimensions of social capital. The nexus in the centre of the circles, where all three elements overlap, represents social capital. If any of the three elements are absent, it is posited that social capital cannot be said to be present and operating for an individual in that context.
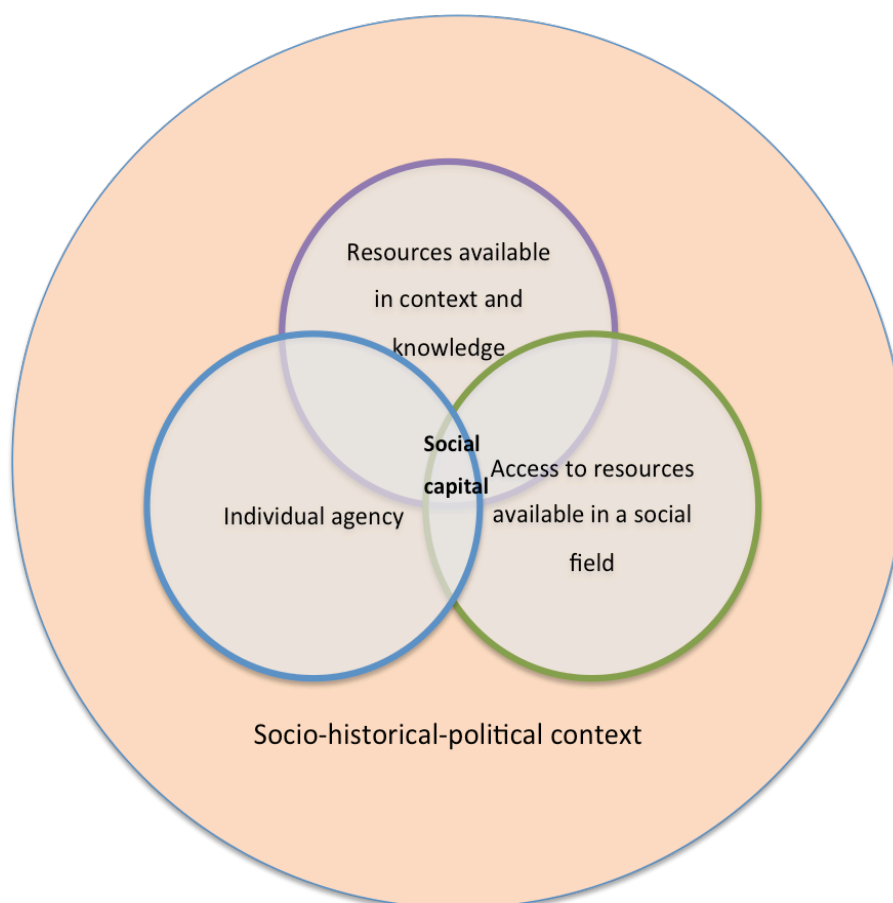
Figure 10: Interpretation of the Foley and Edwards (1999) model of social capital

This diagram represents the theoretical approach taken in this study to understanding whether there is a social capital benefit for the program participants. Foley and Edwards' model is extended in Chapter 5.

Research method

This chapter details the research approach taken in this project. It commences with a discussion on the ethics of researching with young people. The ontological, epistemological and methodological choices are explained and discussed in light of the theoretical framework. Following this, data collection methods used at each research level are described. The chapter also documents the process undertaken to collect the data. The analysis process is discussed in the closing section.

Ethics

The voice of young people in policy and program decisions is often silent, and many researchers have pointed to the ethical issues surrounding youth policy and the lack of young people's participation in decisions that affect their lives (France 2004; Graham & Fitzgerald 2010; Morrow 2001a, 2008; Sime 2008; Skelton 2008).

Researching young people has a specific ethical framework that is a vital element. Participants in this study were vulnerable because of age and socioeconomic disadvantage. Furthermore power imbalances between young people and the gatekeepers and researcher existed due to education and the 'adultist' orientation of society (Skelton 2008, p. 24).

Researchers in education and health have been researching children for longer than in the fields of sociology, social policy and law (Masson 2004; Morrow 1999b). These fields tended to 'ignore children on the basis that their (in)competence, (un)reliability and need for protection made them inappropriate or too problematic as subjects of research' (Masson 2004, p. 45). The key issue for any ethics committee is the question of parental consent and ethics. The demand for parental/guardian consent is essentially to protect the young person from exploitation and ensure the research is in their best interests. Yet, this requirement can exclude many young people from participating in research, even research designed to enact necessary and positive change. The core question becomes, 'Is such an exclusion, prevention or marginalisation ethical?' (Skelton 2008, p. 8). This project proceded with the Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee (VUHREC) permission to allow participants aged 15 and above the ability to provide informed consent on their own behalf. This acknowledged their capacity to decide for themselves and exercise their own autonomy (VUHREC Application Approval Reference Number HRE14-043).

Though research involving young people in the fields of health promotion and education occurs, the trend is to rely on quantitative research methods when attempting to ascertain the social determinants of health in young people (Morrow 2001a, p. 256). Often the research focuses on a risk perspective, quantitatively measuring young people's levels of engagement in risky behaviours (Morrow 2001a). However, the result of such research has been argued to be 'profoundly non-social' in that it fails to contextualise the results by using the perspective of young people (Popay et al. 1998, in Morrow 2001a, p. 256). In this way, 'it does not explore the complex, interactive relationship between individual experience, social action and the

way in which societies are organized at the macro level' (Popay et al. 1998, in Morrow 2001a, p. 256).

Qualitative data is necessary to give a forum for the lived experience of young people, and values their explanations and interpretations. The longitudinal nature of the study enabled the researcher to identify what elements of the program the young people valued and highlighted the outcomes the participants themselves identified in their lives (Willems & Raush 1969). The longer term engagement with participants also enabled the researcher to gain an appreciation of the situational changes that the participants were experiencing.

The interviews were conducted on site at the program location to ensure that the participants were in an environment they identified as being safe and neutral. The workers at the SEs played the role of gatekeeper, ensuring that only young people who were sufficiently developmentally mature were invited to take part in the research project (Couch, Durant & Hill 2012; Jeans & Kay 2012; National Health and Medical Research Council 2007b, p. 56). The use of gatekeepers to identify sufficiently mature participants is seen to assist with reducing risk associated with participation, but it also has its own risks. These include failure to recognise the dependency of the young person on the organisation, services or youth workers (Skelton 2008; Tisdall, Gallagher & Davis 2008). In order to mitigate and minimise this risk the researcher re-established informed consent regularly throughout the project at each of the interview time points (Bell, N & Glasgow Centre for the Child and Society 2008; France 2004, p. 184). In addition to establishing consent, participants were already enrolled in the program, and were reassured that there was no negative consequences should they not wish to participate or withdraw.

In this study, participants discussed deeply personal matters and histories that were quite challenging for them at times. Risks associated with social research include distress, anxiety, embarrassment and loss of self-esteem (Alderson & Morrow 2006). As this was a known risk, strategies were developed for the researcher to deal with emotional risk, and referral pathways were prepared in advance. On one occasion an instance of disclosure occurred, and the researcher connected the young person with the program manager of the SE to discuss their situation in detail to gain assistance immediately following the interview. In doing this, the researcher acknowledged that the young person needed access to broader services to assist them in dealing with matters better dealt with by professionals with specific expertise (Couch, Durant & Hill 2012; France 2004). The researcher also obtained assistance from Gerard

Kennedy, a Victoria University counsellor, for the project and ensured the contact information was made available. Further, informed consent was obtained via a form and project briefing written in plain language aimed at Year 7 literacy (ACARA 2012a), which contained contact details for participants to make complaints (France 2004).

Finally, all participants were invited to adopt a pseudonym to protect their identity. The majority of participants elected to do so, and enjoyed creating these identities. A number of participants elected to maintain their own name. This option was presented to all participants with the message that anonymity in research is a right they as young people have, and they would not be mentioned by name in any of the outputs from this project, should they adopt a pseudonym (Kirk 2007; Morrow 2008; Phillips 2010; Sargeant & Harcourt 2012).

Epistemology and ontology or research paradigm?

The current drive for evidence-based (Backer & Guerra 2011; Head 2010, 2013) policy often privileges one worldview above another. Hard empirical data is preferred from the matrix of 'science/business/management' (Sercombe 2015, p. 117) created by new public management over the oft-considered "softer" personal accounts. However, privileging one worldview over another limits the possible understandings to be gleaned from a research project (Davies 2004, p. 11). Indeed, being a purist of either the positivist or interpretivist epistemological approach leaves a study vulnerable to the pitfalls of both approaches, as the corresponding research methods have weaknesses in addition to their strengths (Sieber 1973). An alternative way of viewing research is that understanding people's experiences involves the study of a deeply individual and micro range of phenomena. Some assert accessing this depth is only achievable by the use of qualitative methods as the experiences of individuals and their interpretations are where the truth lies (traditionally interpretivist epistemology).

> Since the 1980s there have been at least three paradigm wars: the postpositivist war against positivism (1970–1990); the wars between competing postpositivist, constructivist, and critical theory paradigms (1990–2005); and the current war between evidence-based methodologists and the mixed methods, interpretive, and critical theory schools (2005 to present). Each war has turned on a questioning of paradigm assumptions. Each war

has reconfigured the relationship between paradigm, methodology
epistemology, and ethics. (Denzin 2010, p. 421)

This brief synopsis describes near 50 years since the dominance of positivist
research frameworks and quantitative methods was challenged by the rise in
popularity of qualitative methods with the constructivist/interpretivist paradigm (mid
1970s to 1990s) (Denscombe 2008, p. 271). It has been argued that the pragmatist
paradigm emerged from this debate, and is a distinct "third paradigm" in research
(Denscombe 2008).

Where research epistemology and method choice is concerned, methodological
theorists have argued that there is a spectrum of positions. At each pole of this
spectrum are the purists and the pragmatists, with situationalists occupying the
centre (Rossman & Wilson 1985). Purists hold the position that the epistemological,
ontological and axiological foundations of positivist quantitative and interpretivist
qualitative research are so distinct as to make them incompatible with one another,
and thus unable to be used in the same study (Greene, Caracelli & Graham 1989,
p. 275; Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2005, p. 377). Furthermore, they are frequently
staunch proponents of their position, with their ontology being viewed as superior
and the only possible way allowing phenomena to be known, understood and
validated. Situationalists differ, as they argue that it is the research question and
context that should drive the choice of method (rather than a researcher holding a
fixed ontological position). However, situationalists do not advocate for the mixing of
methods in the same study, so as to retain epistemological purity (Rossman &
Wilson 1985).

Pragmatists, often the practitioners of mixed methods research (MMR), argue that
tying research methods to an epistemological position is fallacious. The third
paradigm of research is often credited to the work of Campbell and Fiske (Campbell
& Fiske 1959) as the pioneers of the framework for using both qualitative and
quantitative methods in the same study (Collins, Onwuegbuzie & Sutton 2006;
Creswell & Clark 2007; Denscombe 2008; Greene, Caracelli & Graham 1989).
Pragmatists argue that 'paradigm attributes are logically independent and therefore
can be mixed and matched, in conjunction with methods choices, to achieve the
combination most appropriate for a given enquiry problem' (Creswell et al. 2003;
Greene, Caracelli & Graham 1989, p. 257; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner 2007).

However, pragmatism is not only featured in literature and research within the mixed
methods paradigm. There is an argument that the mixed method research

community has failed to make the most out of pragmatism as an intellectual foundation for their research (Denzin 2010; Morgan 2014), and that pragmatism has more to offer than simply justifying a plurality of data collection methods within social science.

> Pragmatism addresses the concerns of both qualitative and quantitative researchers by pointing out that all human inquiry involves imagination and interpretation, intentions and values but must also necessarily be grounded in empirical, embodied experience. For pragmatists, the aim of inquiry is not to seek a truth that is independent from human experience, but to achieve a better, richer experience – whether through scientific analysis, artistic exploration, social negotiation, or any productive combination of these different approaches. (Yardley & Bishop 2017, p. 400)

Extending this further, pragmatism serves readily as a philosophical foundation for social research 'regardless of whether that research uses qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods' research processes (Morgan 2014, p. 1045).

Philosophical pragmatism

Pragmatism has its origins in American philosophy in the late 1800s (Talisse & Aikin 2008). However, it is not to be assumed a pragmatic researcher is subscribing to philosophical pragmatism. Many researchers within the mixed methods school use pragmatism in the common lexicon – a pragmatic and situational choice of data collection method, as opposed to an intellectual pedigree.

There are three key authors of the late 19th century in America to whom the birth of the philosophical paradigm of pragmatism is credited (Talisse & Aikin 2008, p. 4): Charles Saunders Pierce (Peirce, Charles Sanders 1878; Peirce, Charles S 1905), William James (James 1970, 2000) and John Dewey (Dewey 1897, 1929, 1986, 2007 (1938)). Contemporary intellectuals have supposedly been reviving the philosophy of pragmatism a century later, following a decline in popularity post World War II. The actual reality of the perception of decline and subsequent revival is contested (Talisse & Aikin 2008). Pragmatism (as with all philosophical and social theory) is a domain that has many competing perspectives under its umbrella. Pragmatism has been applied to social activism and education (West 1989), legal and ethical theory (Posner 2009) and within philosophy (Rorty 1982) in the last three decades (to cite a few examples).

Some researchers promote pragmatism as a foundation for their research, or a principle under which research and evaluation is being conducted (see for example,Farrington 1998; Gnisci, Bakeman & Quera 2008; Hope & Waterman 2003; Oriel 2011). However, on closer inspection, the use of the word pragmatism is not grounded in the philosophy of pragmatism in any depth, despite the term "pragmatism" being used in their arguments. In these cases, the pragmatism being referred to is technical pragmatism, or the "what works" approach.

Researchers investigating the theories of philosophical pragmatism have found that amongst the extensive writings there is much for a pragmatic researcher to use as a sound foundation for their research efforts and approach (Biesta 2010; Creswell 1995; Denscombe 2008; Doeringer 2009; Feilzer 2010; Florczak 2014; Grootaert & Van Bastelaer 2001; Gross 2009; Hall 2013; Morgan 2007; O'Cathain, Murphy & Nicholl 2008; Prior & Paris 2005; Seltzer-Kelly, Westwood & Peña-Guzman 2010; Sharp et al. 2012; Taatila & Raij 2012; Teddlie 2009; Thurmond 2001; Walker 2004; Warms & Schroeder 1999). They situate their research within the philosophical epistemology. This is significant 'as Fossey et al. (2002) point out, [because] any judgment of the quality of research needs to take account of the philosophical aims informing the method' (Hope & Waterman 2003, p. 123).

Critical pragmatism

Of the three founders of American philosophical pragmatism, John Dewey is most often used in relation to pragmatism in research. It is also the spirit of his philosophy that is most closely aligned with the purpose of this research project: as it is 'about work, what works to solve problems, and the habits that [sustain] the work of problem solving' (Farr 2004, p. 15). Furthermore, in addition to the growing number of researchers identifying the value of pragmatism as a research practice paradigm, there has been a similar use of the philosophy in assisting young people. It has been noted among practitioners in the youth policy and practice field that the philosophy of pragmatism and specifically the approach to education of Dewey is a fruitful philosophical basis for practice ethics (Sercombe 2015) and for process and program development (Ord, Jon 2012).

It has been stated that Dewey's philosophy is grounded in transactional realism (Biesta 2010), where individuals via constant interaction with the environment and each other are engaged in transactions which require mutual adjustment (Hall 2013, p. 17). This constant process constructs and reconstructs reality, meaning

knowledge is 'at the very same time constructed and real' (Biesta 2010, p. 111 in Hall 2013, p. 17). Knowledge and truth therefore is highly contextual, and Dewey emphatically states this does not negate the purpose for scientific thought and reasoning (Dewey (1998) 1910). Rather, it argues the outputs or results of such disciplined inquiry can never be considered absolute truth.

Critical pragmatism and Bourdieu

For this research project to have coherence, it is crucial the epistemological framework is aligned to the theoretical framework employed for interpretive purposes. What follows is a discussion articulating the compatibility of Bourdieuian critical social theory and pragmatism.

It can be argued that Bourdieu and pragmatism are compatible perspectives (Colapietro 2004; Emirbayer & Goldberg 2005; Emirbayer & Schneiderhan 2013; Erkki 2002; Farr 2004; Gross 2009). Indeed, it has been argued that one brings to the other, in a reciprocal relationship, what they each lack. Considered as companions, they provide an interesting, and one might argue persuasive or powerful, intellectual framework for social research.

> Dewey's vision, of course, while deeply rooted in what he characterized as "the sociological standpoint" (Dewey 1972 [1897]: 70), was ultimately limited in its possibilities for development by his being not a sociologist but a philosopher. Despite his concern for the concrete, for a return to actual lived experience, he lacked the conceptual and methodological tools necessary to turn his philosophical vision into a sociological and historical research agenda … Bourdieu's approach also went beyond Dewey's stated philosophic program; it provided a critical and reflexive sociology of domination and symbolic violence in modern society, a perspective that greatly enhances the analytic powers of democratic scholarship. In so doing, it supplied what was missing in Deweyan pragmatism. (Emirbayer & Schneiderhan 2013, p. 132)

What makes them so compatible, or companionable, is the argument that both scholars had against the reductionist Cartesian philosophical framework, which is the basis for much of the positivist knowledge production. Both thinkers took umbrage with the constructivist perspective that privileges the subjective experience in the world. They saw it as being devoid of sufficient understanding of the influence of socio-historical-political influences in the lives and minds of actors.

Both theorists heavily criticised the academy, or the intellectualists. One of their key issues with scientific and academic thought is the limited thinking. Central to their critique was the reliance on 'epistemological couplets and dualisms … and [the tendency] to dehistoricize and naturalize social reality' (Emirbayer & Schneiderhan 2013, p. 137).

Case study research

Case study research is research conducted on a bounded system (Merriam 2014, p. 40). In this study, each social enterprise is considered a bounded system as it is a discrete organisation, and thus constitutes an individual case. Case study research is not intrinsically linked to any particular data gathering methods and is capable of accommodating a variety of qualitative methods in research design (Merriam 2014, p. 42). An additional feature of case study research is that an analysis method is not proscribed specifically and the critical pragmatism of this research project is compatible with a case study approach to research. As suggested by Creswell, case study research reports its findings in a descriptive way, identifying case based themes (2012, p.73). In this study, the reporting has been structured using the meta-themes of macro, meso and micro level phenomena. The cross-case analysis of the case studies is conducted using sub-themes identified in the data to structure the discussion.

Tri-level multi-site cross-case analysis

The study has been presented as a tri-level cross case analysis in order to address the requirements of both Foley and Edwards (1999) and Bourdieu's four-step process for undertaking empirical research. Figure 11 represents this structure.

MACRO -
INSTITUTIONAL/GOVERNMENTAL

MESO - ORGANISATIONS

MICRO - INDIVIDUAL
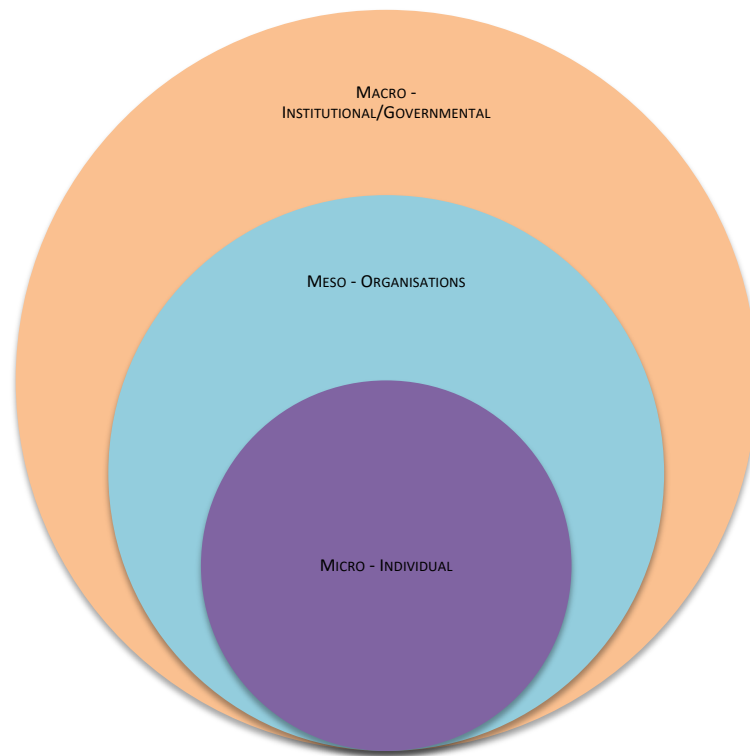
Figure 11: Tri-level cross-case analysis

Multi-level sampling design

As this project is considering phenomena at three levels of analysis within the cases, the sampling method required for each level is distinct. Figure 12 represents the sampling decisions made to accommodate the research structure at each of the levels.
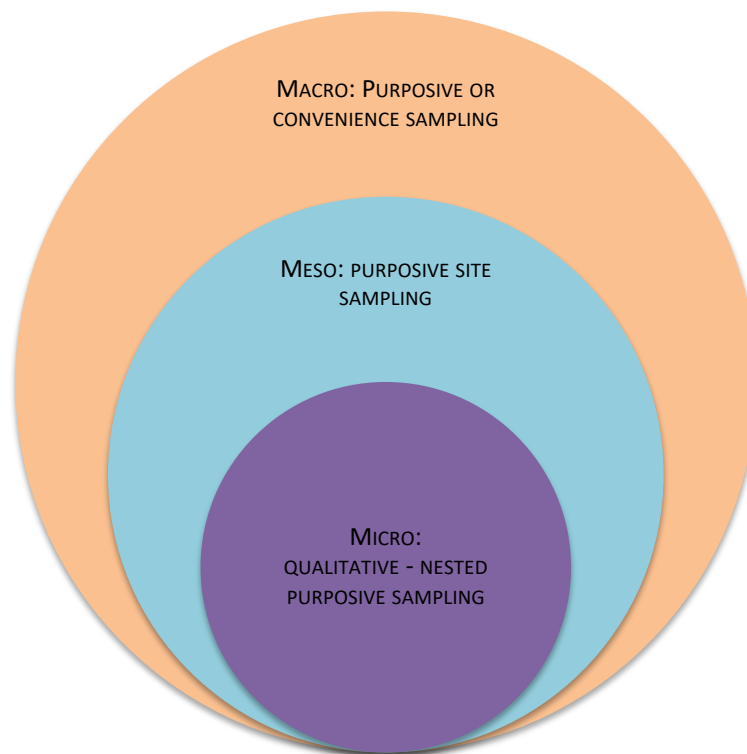
Figure 12: Multi-level sampling design

Purposive sampling is common in case study research where a multiple-case design enables the extension of the 'analysis and potential for generalizability and search for cross-case patterns and themes' (Fletcher & Plakoyiannaki 2010, p. 838). The non-random purposive sampling at the macro and meso levels was necessary to accommodate the constraints of a PhD project. Four organisations were asked to participate, and three accepted the request. The organisations were selected due to being leaders in their field, and offering differences for study in their structure and delivery models. Within the micro level, nested purposive sampling was employed to identify sufficiently mature and willing participants, who elected to join the study. Two program intakes were studied over 1.5 years, and further details are provided of the numbers of participants and proportions of the cohorts below.

Data collection methods

The data collection methods at the macro, meso and micro levels were distinct. The macro and meso levels both used information generated in focus groups conducted at the meso level. The macro level analysis was conducted using primarily secondary data gathered through desktop research processes and presented in field analysis. This information was supplemented by the first person perspectives gathered in the organisational focus groups described below.

The micro level of this study is a descriptive longitudinal case study (Merriam 2014, pp. 43–44). It employed semi-structured interviews conducted in a small-scale longitudinal study (Ruspini 2004). Young people were interviewed at program commencement (T1), completion (T2) and three months post completion (T3).

QUALITATIVE – INTERVIEWS, FOCUS GROUPS AND SECONDARY DATA

QUALITATIVE – INTERVIEWS, FOCUS GROUPS AND SECONDARY DATA

LONGITUDINAL QUALITATIVE:

SEMI -STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS
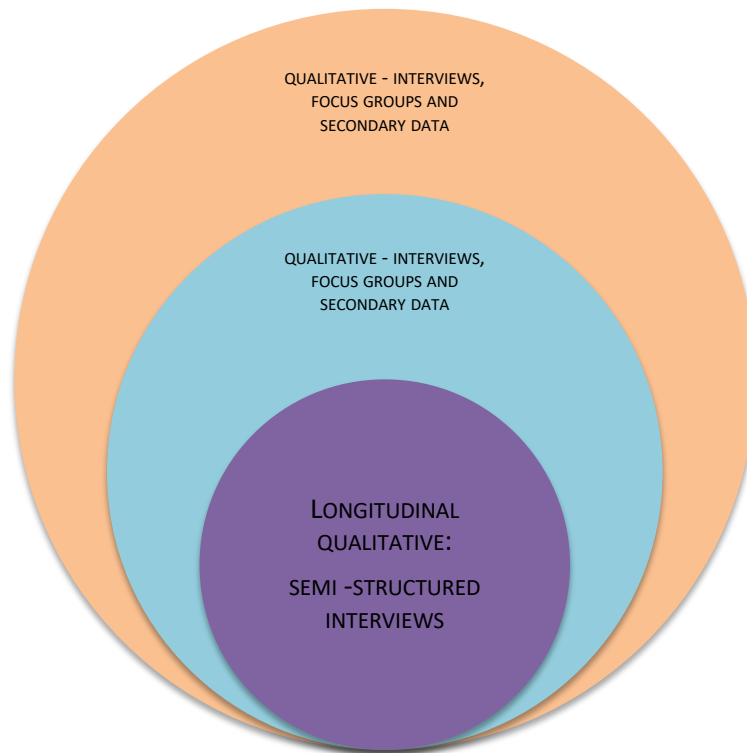
Figure 13: Tri-level data collection methods

The research process

Figure 14 presents the overall research process, illustrating the phases in this research project.
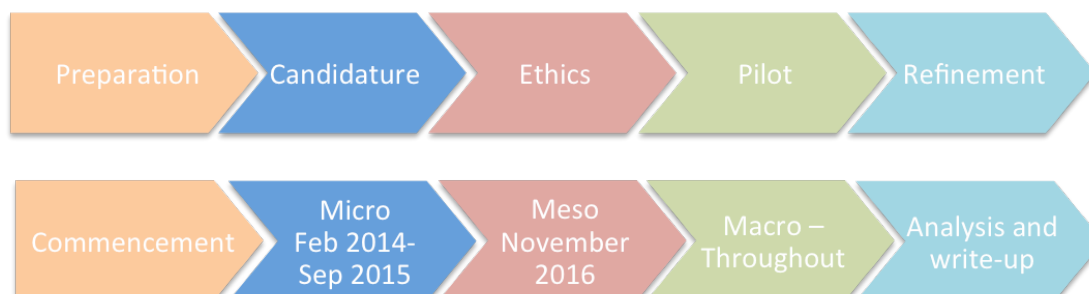
Figure 14: Project phases

Participation rates

Table 2 presents the number of young people enrolled in the program and the proportion who participated in this study.

Table 2: Participation rates per round and organisation

Organisation	Round 1		Round 2	
	Enrolled	*Interviewed*	*Enrolled*	*Interviewed*
STREAT	8	5	7	4
HEAT	13	8	16	8
Youthworx	NA*	6	NA	7

*Not specifically collected by organisation – blended certificate levels taught in the program with no year differentiation in their data.

Attrition rates

The longitudinal nature of the study carried the risk of high attrition. This was the case at T3, however the numbers of participants remained sufficiently high so as to conform to the rule of thumb for phenomenological qualitative research of six participants (Schreiber & Asner-Self 2011).

Table 3: Attrition rates per round and organisation

Organisation	Round 1			Round 2		
	Time 1	*Time 2*	*Time 3*	*Time 1*	*Time 2*	*Time 3*
STREAT	5	3	2	4	2	2
HEAT	8	7	4	8	6	3
Youthworx	6	5	5	6	6	5
Total	**19**	**15**	**11**	**18**	**14**	**10**

Data collection

Macro level

The macro level data collection integrates the meso level data with secondary research conducted into the sociopolitical context. A core aspect of this research is an analysis of the three fields a social enterprise delivering education and training to disengaged young people must operate within. Data collected at this research level was secondary source research and using the macro related factors from the focus groups. The data from this research level answers the first research sub-question.

Policy and advocacy analysis

A core component of this investigation was an analysis of the policy and advocacy groups which petition government for resources and policy positions. A detailed study of these publications was conducted, and the results are presented in Appendix 7. This aspect of the research was conducted by analysing budgetary submissions from social and community service peak bodies to the Victorian government and budgetary commentary by the sector at federal and state levels.

Meso level

The meso level of this study is concerned with how the organisations are structured, the methods by which they deliver their programs, their operating environments and ultimately whether these elements have any impact on the outcomes delivered to participants. This domain of the study addresses the second research sub-question.

Focus groups

In keeping with the study design, the qualitative data is analysed through the lens of critical social theory and social capital. The technique for data collection was a focus group held with staff members as a facilitated session where organisational

improvement tools (Ishikawa diagrams, specifically) were utilised to understand the causes and effects relating to delivering positive outcomes for young people.

Data collection tool: Ishikawa diagram

An Ishikawa diagram is a tool also known as a cause and effect diagram, or a fishbone diagram. Professor Kaoru Ishikawa created it during his tenure as an instructor for the Quality Control Research Group of the Japanese Union of Scientists and Engineers. The first use of this tool was at the Kawasaki Steel Works (The Universal Improvement Company 2014, p. 29.9). The Ishikawa diagram, though developed in heavy industry and industrial manufacturing, is used commonly in businesses throughout the world as part of continuous improvement initiatives and crisis management. It utilises the five universal elements of an organisation – methods, equipment, people, environment and materials – to analytically approach either a problem that has occurred or a desired change in an organisation.

The method of analysis has a long history in use for organisational improvement purposes in heavy industry and manufacturing. Additionally, it has been used in research in human resources and mentoring (Sue-Chan, Wood & Latham 2012), healthcare (Davidoff et al. 2015), leadership and management (Atwater, Kannan & Stephens 2008), sustainability and project management (Fernández-Sánchez & Rodríguez-López 2010) and is a practical problem-solving technique that has been in continuous use since its development (Rudin 1990).

The researcher identified that the Ishikawa diagram had not been used in the field of research with young people or within social enterprise research. Despite there being other qualitative data collection methods which could have been chosen, the link with industry and organisational improvement was seen to be of benefit to the organisation in terms of the insights it is capable of producing. Furthermore, the tool has the added benefit of ensuring a structured and balanced approach to organisational analysis is undertaken.

Micro level

Qualitative research in the form of semi-structured interviews has been used to collect data in order to understand the outcomes being achieved by the SEs studied. To access the micro level, semi-structured interviews were held with the program participants and conducted over a sustained period.

Longitudinal study using semi-structured interviews

The project used a prospective longitudinal study, arguably the most 'truly longitudinal' method (Janson 1990; Magnusson, Bergman & Rudinger 1994), to understand micro level change in individuals as a result of interaction with their environment (Gershuny 1999; Hakim 1987; Rose, D & Sullivan 1993).

> Longitudinal studies not only allow the researcher to study the segment of the population which at different points in time finds itself caught within a specific situation, such as poverty or unemployment, but also, because of their very nature, can be used in order to examine the flows, into and out of such a situation, thus opening up many paths for causal analysis and for inference. (Ruspini 2004, p. 25)

The study employed semi-structured interviews with program participants over two intakes at each of the three SEs. Whilst the interviews were conducted with a set of prepared questions, the execution of the interviews is better described as a series of "guided conversations", where the young people raised matters that were important to them and the conversation flowed around their contribution (Phillips 2010).

The number of participants in the study is N=37. In order to manage attrition, as many participants as were willing from each program, in each intake, were recruited. However, the interview schedule above confirms attrition was still a factor in this research project with only N=21 completing the third and final interview. The number of participants retained to T2 was N=29. Interview data was used to develop a 'typology of categories or themes' for analysis and interpretation (Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998, p. 119); the process used was the constant comparative method. This process is described in Chapter 5.

Validity or quality?

Research is intrinsically bound with notions of truth and valid claims to know. The research paradigm used in any study provides the language, concepts and criteria researchers are to employ and satisfy in order to produce research that is considered sufficiently rigorous and inferences considered defendable. Traditionally, the paradigm dictated the worldview and ascribed methods that would produce results considered as evidence. The two worldviews in opposition are the objectivists with their positivist methods, and the relativists, with their interpretivist methods.

Bernstein describes the objectivist project as:

> the basic conviction that there is or must be some permanent, ahistorical
> matrix or framework to which we can ultimately appeal in determining the
> nature of rationality, knowledge, truth, reality, goodness, or rightness. An
> objectivist claims that there is (or must be) such a matrix and that the primary
> task of the philosopher is to discover what it is and to support his or her
> claims to have discovered such a matrix with the strongest possible reasons.
> (Bernstein 2011 (1983), p. 8)

In direct opposition to this paradigm is the relativist perspective, which asserts:

> there is no substantive overarching framework or single metalanguage by
> which we can rationally adjudicate or univocally evaluate competing claims of
> alternative paradigms. Thus, for example, when we turn to something as
> fundamental as the issue of criteria or standards of rationality, the relativist
> claims that we can never escape from the predicament of speaking of "our"
> and "their" standards of rationality-standards that may be "radically
> incommensurable." It is an illusion to think that there is something that might
> properly be labeled "the standards of rationality," standards that are
> genuinely universal and that are not subject to historical or temporal change.
> (Bernstein 2011 (1983), p. 8)

Both perspectives, with their corresponding positivist and interpretivist methods, are challenged by pragmatism at the level of epistemology and ontology. Methodologists have called this a paradigmatic shift, in much the same style as the positivist to 'metaphysical' or qualitative shift (Morgan 2007). This was led by the rise in interest in MMR methodologies and the pragmatist paradigm.

However, pragmatism in its popular usage in MMR has also inherited and perpetuated some deeply positivist preoccupations. This is evident in the frequent debates on validity, reliability and generalisabiity.

> In modern social science, the concepts of validity, reliability and
> generalization have obtained the status of a scientific holy trinity. They
> appear to belong to some abstract realm in a sanctuary of science, far
> removed from the interactions of the everyday world, to be worshipped with
> respect by all true believers in social science. (Kvale 1995)

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It is interesting to note the prevalence of mixed methods practitioners subscribing to the holy trinity of science. MMR methodologists stress that researchers should develop knowledge claims based in the lived experience of participants and allow for a degree of generalisability (Greene & Caracelli 1997, p. 13). They argue skilful use of mixed methods can enable a researcher to provide illustrations of typical and atypical cases, identify significant factors and retain the ability to integrate them into their context. The combining of methods allows a researcher to generate knowledge that is 'full of emic meaning and at the same time, offer causal connections of broad significance' (Greene & Caracelli 1997, p. 13).

Advocates for MMR and pragmatism articulate concerns surrounding a "devaluing" or a distortion of the pragmatist research paradigm amongst the key proponents of MMR (Bryman 2007; Denscombe 2008; Greene 2009; Hall 2013). Pragmatism and MMR has become popular in evaluation, education and program research over the last 30 years. With its increasing use has come a significant body of work by methodologists around the technical approach to conducting mixed methods studies (Greene & Caracelli 1997, p. 7). Yet the paradigm issue continues to linger (Feilzer 2010; Florczak 2014; Greene & Caracelli 1997; Hall 2013; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004).

There is a trend amongst users of mixed methods and pragmatism to operate on a "what works" framework, choosing methods based on efficiency (Hall 2013). This phenomenon in the field of mixed methods has been called an 'a-paradigmatic' approach to research, and it is argued that much 'evidence-based evaluation is 'not really about epistemology, defensible methodology, or warranted claims to know, even though it is framed as such. Instead, [it] represent[s] political principles and tactics to attain them' (Hall 2013, p. 16).

The antidote to this trend is for researchers using pragmatism to ensure they are philosophically grounding their research. Without this crucial step the research ceases to be reflective practice. However, not all pragmatic researchers believe that adopting the positivist preoccupation with the scientific holy trinity is the way to proceed.

The research community's adherence to positivist or postpositivist (Denzin 2010) doctrine rose in tandem with MMR as evidence-based research/policy or science-based research (Denzin 2010; Howe 2004) or in tandem with new public management (Sercombe 2015), which is a politically laden coupling.

> Mixed methods can and should be used in the service of transformative
> social justice projects (Hesse-Biber 2010; Mertens 2011; Morse 2011) … I
> have criticized the MMR movement … linking it to naive postpositivism, audit
> cultures, neoliberal regimes, and the abuses associated with evidence-based
> movement in the United States. (Denzin 2012, p. 80)

Denzin has likened the debates within the MMR tradition to that of a regression. He
suggests the debates being waged represent a return to the discussions of the past:
'It was as if we were back in the 1980s … there is science, and there is nonscience
(Denzin 2010, p. 423). It has been suggested that a way out of the present may be
found in the use of pragmatism as a foundational paradigm for research. However, it
is wholehearted application of pragmatism as an intellectual tradition required. Within
pragmatism, and Dewey's critical pragmatism, there is an acknowledgment that even
research conducted within the positivist tradition is socially constructed, contextual
and political. Researchers questioning the use of the construct of validity have come
to the same conclusion:

> A construct and its measurement are validated when the discourse about
> their relationship is persuasive to the community of researchers. (Kvale 1995,
> p. 22)

Deweyan emphasis on experience and inquiry in pragmatism has changed the view
of knowledge creation in social sciences applying this philosophy. And with it, the
reconsideration of the philosophy of knowledge by challenging the dominance of
ontology and epistemology, and reorientating research to the concept of inquiry
about 'the nature of human experience' (Morgan 2014, p. 4).

Inquiry for Dewey is a reflective process comprised of five steps:

1. A felt difficulty
2. Identification of its location and definition
3. Suggestion of a possible solution
4. Development of reasoning on the implications of such a suggestion
5. Further observation and experiment leading to acceptance or rejection –
   either belief or disbelief (Dewey (1998) 1910).

Morgan (2014) applied the Deweyan model of inquiry, and modernised the language
used in the cycle (Figure 15).
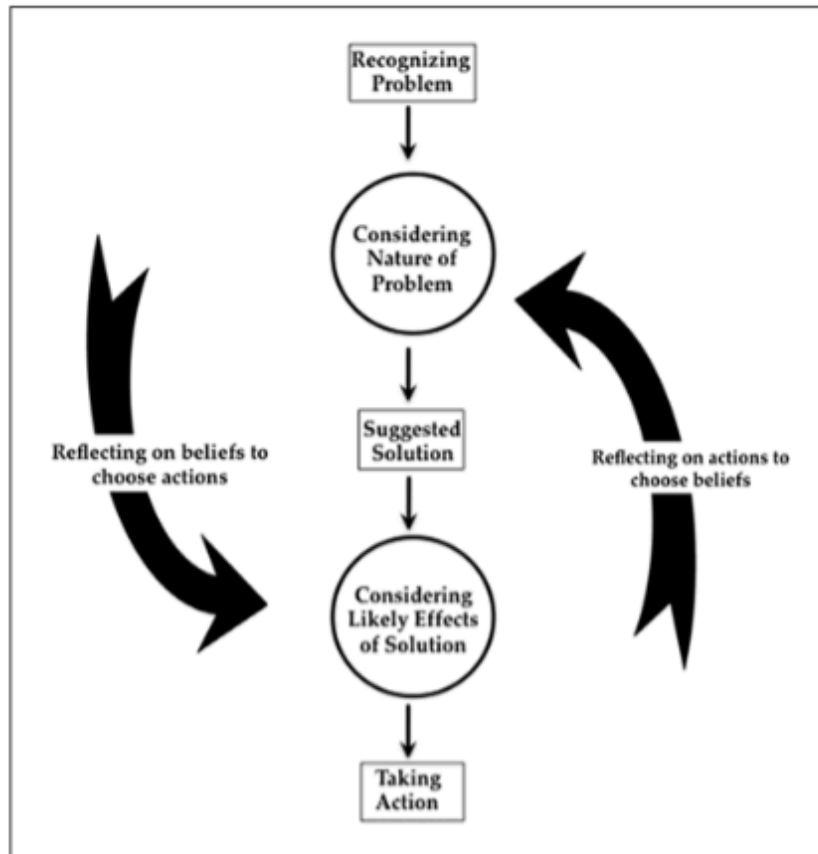
Figure 15: Dewey's model of inquiry

(Morgan 2014, p. 1049)

This process has been illustrated by applying the act of undertaking this study to the inquiry cycle:

Step 1: Recognising a problem

The withdrawal of funds from HEAT was interpreted by the researcher as a problem.

Step 2: Considering the nature of the problem

The initial interpretation was a lack of government support for a new organisational form of social enterprise and a program that was attempting to assist young people who were socially disengaged and at risk.

Step 3: Suggested solution

Investigate whether intangible benefits, such as increases in social capital created by social enterprise, were demonstrable as a means to increasing support for social enterprise and programs assisting disengaged young people.

Step 4: Considering likely effects of solution

In the climate of evidence-based policy, undertaking empirical research into the social capital benefit of such organisations may be helpful for the organisations and research community in advocating for greater degrees of support.

Step 5: Taking action

Undertaking the PhD project

Dewey's model of inquiry articulates a critical process at the heart of research. This process flow is replicated within this study at all levels of the research project, within the overarching question and the methods used to get to actions. Within Dewey's model of inquiry is a quality cycle – Shewhart's Cycle (1924) – the foundational (Best & Neuhauser 2006) concept in industrial manufacturing to structure quality control of processes and their modifications. This is not to suggest a further smuggling into the domain of research yet another corporate management tool. Rather, Plan-Do-Study-Act (The Shewhart Cycle) and the ambition for quality is as integral to process and system change as it is to inquiry process articulated by Dewey's experiential learning model. By implementing a system of inquiry, quality becomes embedded in the research process.

Within this study, adhering to both a quality cycle and a Deweyan model of inquiry, the methods were piloted and adjusted based on result, and due consultation of the literature pertaining to the conduct of valid qualitative research was incorporated into the research process.

> Validation comes to depend on the quality of craftsmanship in an investigation, which includes continually checking, questioning, and theoretically interpreting the findings. In a craftsmanship approach to validation, the emphasis is moved from inspection at the end of the production line to quality control throughout the states of knowledge production. The understanding of validity as quality of craftsmanship is not limited to a postmodern approach, it becomes pivotal with a dismissal of an objective reality against which knowledge is to be measured. (Kvale 1995, p. 27)

It is suggested with the acknowledgement of the ever-present importance of subjectivity, that the notions of construct validity lose their rational underpinnings and claim to the existence of inherent objectivity. Thus, when the research is conducted

within a theoretical and philosophical grounding and has validation as integral aspects of its execution as is presented in the Deweyan model of inquiry within critical pragmatism, research quality is ensured.

Analytical framework

In order to conduct a study into the role of social capital for social enterprise organisations delivering education and training to disengaged young people, an analytical framework was developed by the researcher. This framework combines Foley and Edwards' application of Bourdieu's social capital, and combines it with the four-step process Bourdieu articulated for empirical research.

The process that enabled the development of this analytical framework was analysis, presentation and interpretation of the data gathered in the pilot phase of this project. The pilot study provided the opportunity to apply and extend Foley and Edwards' model, thus operationalising the theoretical framework for application in this research.

The researcher applied the interpretation of Foley and Edwards' model to results to derive a picture of the etic (Geertz 1974) significance. Below is a diagrammatic representation of the thematic results, which produced an *adaptation* of Foley and Edwards' model of social capital.
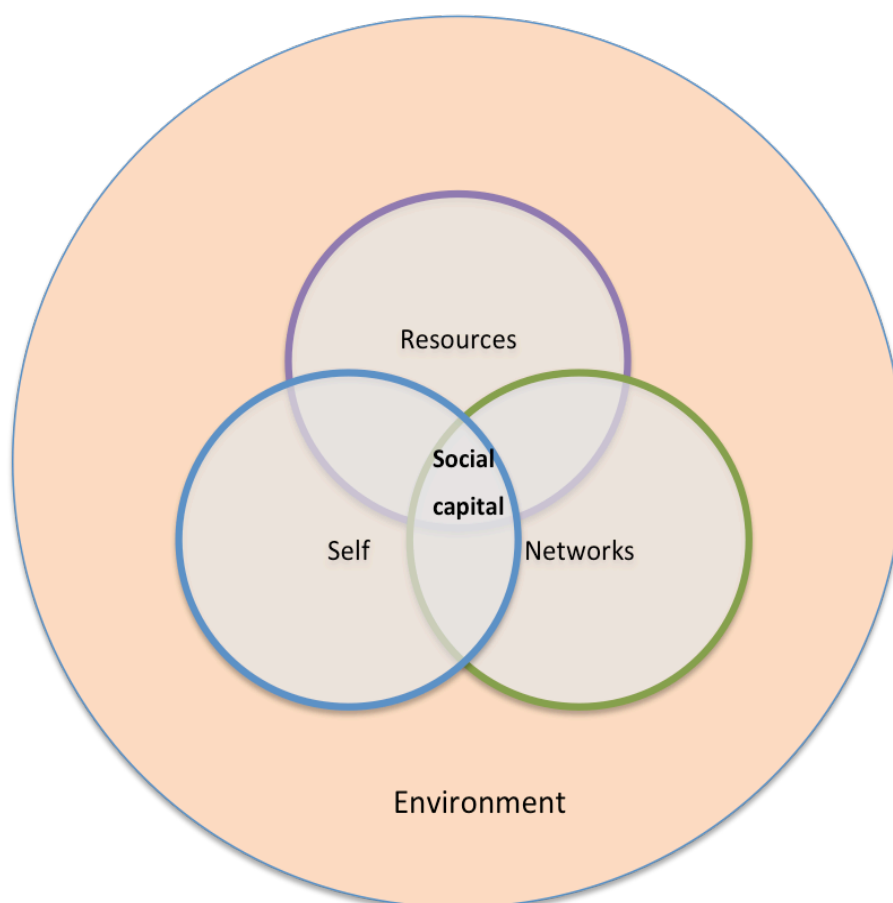
Figure 16: Social capital model derived from thematic analysis

(Adapted from Foley and Edwards 1999)

The themes from the pilot data are presented in Figure 16 and were arrived at by using the constant comparative method. This was achieved by applying thematic rules for inclusion to the categories generated by the initial phase of data analysis.

For a category to be included in the theme of networks (i.e. in Figure 16) it had to be related to an individual's connections. These connections could be derived from involvement in specific social spheres, through involvement and association with other organisations, through friendship groups and through the program. This relates to the connections of an individual and the spheres in which an individual operated.

For a category to be included in the theme of resources, it related to both tangible and material resources and the more abstract resources such as assets and assistance that can be mobilised from connections. It also relates to an individual's perception of the availability, utility and desirability of the resources.

For a category to be included in the theme of self, it should relate to perceptions that individuals have about themselves and themselves in relation to society. This includes confidence, satisfaction, perceived personal issues, ambitions and desires. The influence of both past and future relating to identity and direction are included features. The self also relates to awareness and aspirations for change.

The conceptual significance of 'environment'

It is critical to differentiate the way the theme of environment in the micro level model differs from its use in the meso and macro levels. The tri-level exploration of social capital leaves room for confusion, as environment is of great significance when considering the meso level of this study, being the organisations themselves. This is because Bourdieuian social theory has been applied as the conceptual framework using separate tools for analysis.

Foley and Edwards (amongst others) acknowledge the applicability of Bourdieuian theory to the meso and macro level. However, they provide no instruction as to how to undertake that analysis. Within Foley and Edwards' model, the environment represents the macro level (e.g. government, legislation, sociohistorical context) and also incorporates the meso level (such as local institutions) (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer 2001, p. 5).

At the study micro level, environment refers to the following thematic rule for inclusion: a category and its units of analysis should pertain to the environments of the individual. This includes personal environments of home, presence and absence of family, the program environment and neighbourhood. It relates to the influence of environments on an individual, physical and tangible elements of their environment, and the barriers and constraints that individuals face due to their environment.

Macro level analysis

In deploying Bourdieu's instructions to the researcher, specific analytical tools were developed to aid interpretation and discussion of the data. This section describes the instructions, tools and concepts and how they were applied.

Field analysis

Bourdieu's first instruction to the researcher is:

Step 1: Determine the existence of a field and its boundaries (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 39)

As touched on in Chapter 3, the concept of field is Bourdieu's articulation of the structured aspects of the 'social space' and the positions that agents and collections of agents in institutions and organisations occupy. The term 'agent' is very deliberately employed by Bourdieu and consequently by the researcher. This is in order to distinguish between the "actor" of rational choice or rational actor theory and subject without agency found in the extremes of structuralism (Bourdieu 1977). The agent is a strategic player in the social game and their degree of success in playing the game is dependent upon the agent's habitus, volumes of capital and other structural considerations. The game is played out in fields.

Considering the organisations participating in this study as agents operating in a social space enables the analysis of the meso and macro distribution of power and its effects on the SEs. Each of the SEs share common fields, but their positions are differently configured. Modelling the fields and the positions the SEs occupy in relation to the 'distribution of powers' at the meso and macro levels makes it possible to 'construct a simplified model of the social field as a whole which makes it possible to conceptualize, for each agent, his position in all possible social spaces of competition' (Bourdieu 1985, p. 197).

As stated in the discussion of capital in the theoretical framework, Bourdieu posits that the limits of a group are always under redefinition with each new entrant. In the same way, the limit of a field is always at stake. He suggests:

> Participants to a field, say, economic firms, high fashion designers, or
> novelists, constantly work to differentiate themselves from their closest rivals
> in order to reduce competition and to establish a monopoly over a particular
> sub-sector of the field. Thus the boundaries of the field can only be
> determined by an empirical investigation. (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989,
> p. 39)

Defining the limits of the field involves a determination of where the effects of the field are no longer active, and the effects must be understood in terms of the dynamics of that field. The dynamics of a field are located in the social structures present, but more significantly, the gaps 'between the specific forces that confront one another' (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 39).

In the process of research and analysis, the researcher selects the forces that are considered the most significant, due to the differences they can produce. Bourdieu's guide to the researcher is the most critical forces are those that 'define the specific capital' (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 39) present in that field. It is Bourdieu's assertion that capital cannot function without an existent field. It is capital that bestows power within the field and determines the objectified or embodied 'instruments of production or reproduction' present in a field (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 30).

The distribution of instruments of production and reproduction, their attendant capital and the rules or operating practices constitute the 'ordinary functioning of the field' (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 40). These elements determine the profit able to be gleaned from the field. This is critical as unequal distribution of capital in all its forms (social, cultural and economic) and in all its states (objectified, institutionalised and embodied) plus capital's profits account for much of the functioning of the social world. An important consideration here is that capital additionally has power *over* the field in question (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 40).

Bourdieu utilised the model in Figure 17 to illustrate the relation of the artistic field, in which the literati of the academic world are also located in the field of cultural production, within the field of power and in relation to the field of class relations.
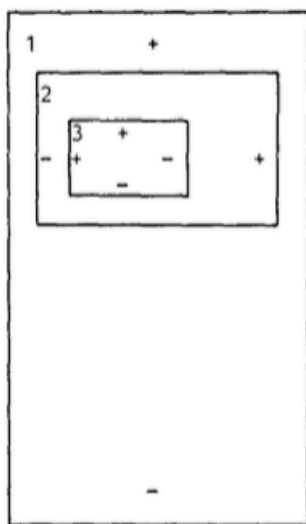
Fig. 1. Diagram of the artistic field (3), contained within the field of power (2) which is itself situated within the field of class relations (1). '+' = positive pole, implying a dominant position; '−' = negative pole (dominated).

Figure 17: Bourdieu's field model

(Bourdieu 1983, p. 319)

These determinations are used to construct a model of the object under study – in this case the literary field – and allow for revelation or consideration of structural relations often rendered invisible in studies that are approached with a 'substantialist mode of thought' (Bourdieu 1983, p. 311). Bourdieu asserts this process of understanding the structural *relations* makes an understanding of social positions 'occupied and manipulated by social agents, groups or individuals' able to be studied and understood (Bourdieu 1983, p. 311).

Tatli (2008) conducted a Bourdieuian analysis of agency of diversity managers within industrial corporations and a public sector organisation. The notion of agents operating within a "network of fields" (Tatli 2008) was applied at the macro level of the study. In the case of SEs, a network of fields is also applicable. A social enterprise delivering social services is also situated within a network of intersecting fields: the market economy, or the field of business; the field of the welfare state, service delivery or government service providers; and the field of education. This is represented in Figure 18. For each field, Bourdieu's steps 1 and 2 must be undertaken and the relations between each of the fields producing the specific social site the SEs operate within must be established.
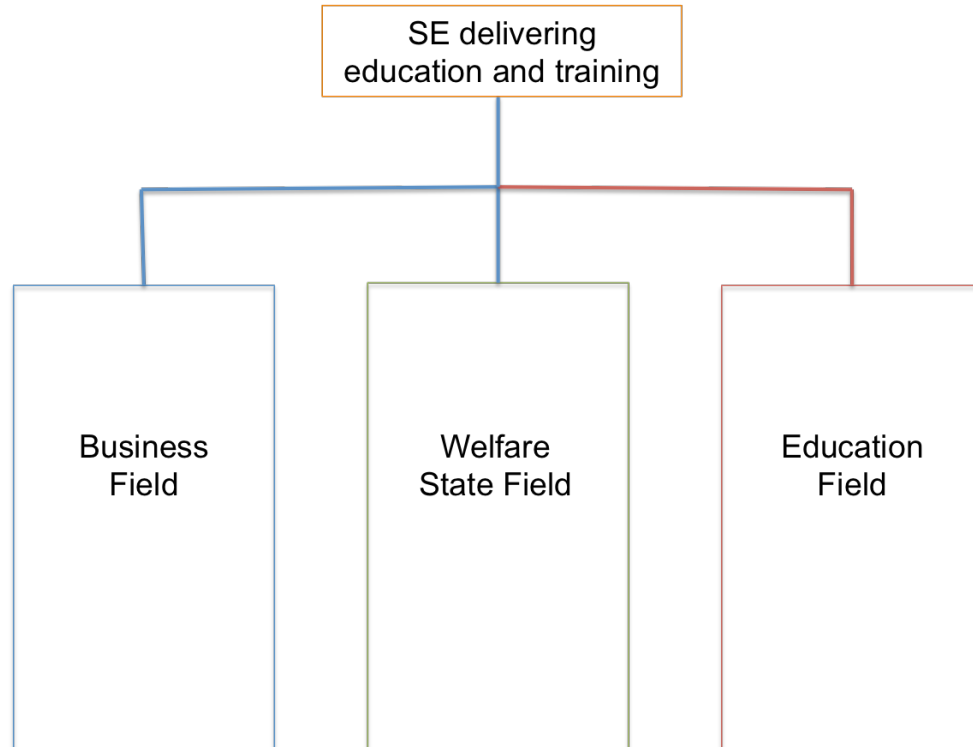
Figure 18: General model of the network of fields of a social enterprise delivering education and training

Field map

Step 2: Analyse the position of the field in relation to the field of power (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 39)

A further element to be understood is the forces referred to in Step 1. To understand how power operates within the field under study, the analyst must identify the forces defining the types of capital present in the field, and thus reveal strategies used by agents or institutions to access and use the resource of capital. In order to analyse the fields in question it is crucial to determine how forces are acting on participating SEs and understand their strategic use of capital. The network of fields model is thus analysed in relation to the field of power following Bourdieu's instructions.

The general model of a SE delivering education and training is applied to each organisation. It is supplemented with data gathered in the meso level collection to provide a nuanced discussion of the organisational position in the relations of authority in each of the three fields in the network of fields – business, welfare state and education provider (Figure 19). This is an extension of the field map model in Figure 18.

At the top of each main rectangle is a "+" sign. This indicates the space of dominance. The "–" sign indicates a position of domination. The internal boxes represent subfields and are numbered, with the rationale for their position explained in the table. The higher they are within the space the more dominant a position they occupy. Each of the social enterprises were mapped according to the position they occupy in the fields. The maps were superimposed to determine relative positions among the three organisations participating in the study.

To explain the way this operates, the business field exits in the field of power and class relations. This is represented by subfield #1. In a neoliberal climate the business field is in a dominant position in our society. Thus, the subfield #2 represents this dominant position. These organisations are small businesses in an enormous field of the economy, therefore they are in a dominated position in field #3. They frequently struggle to access investment capital and thus are positioned at the base in field #4, also indicating a dominated position.
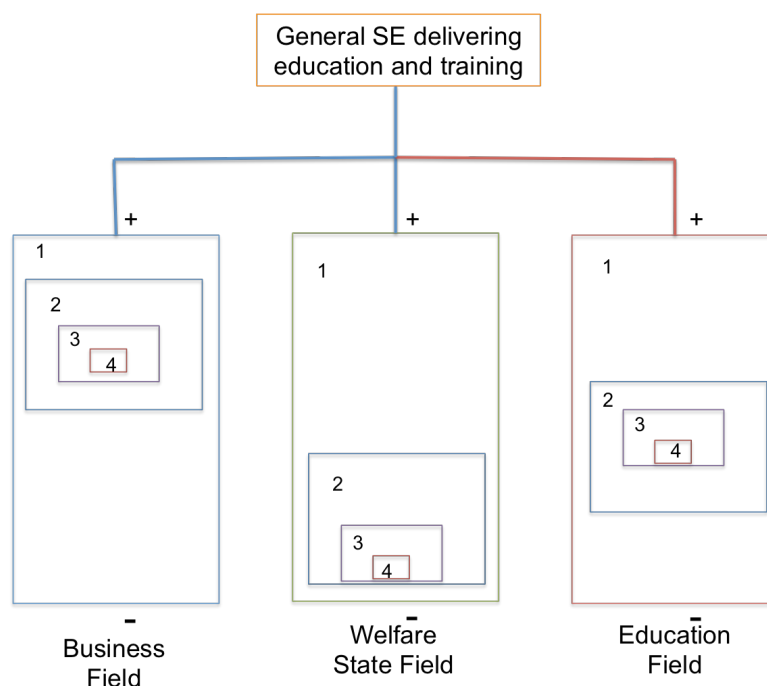
Figure 19: General model of network of fields with positional analysis

Subfield	Business field	Social services field	Education field
1	Field of class relations and power	Field of class relations and power	Field of class relations and power
2	Business field = dominant position	Social services field = dominated	Education field = slightly dominant position
3	Small business in highly competitive markets of goods and services = dominated	Independent community organisations in highly competitive and commericalised market = dominated	VET sector education provision = middling dominated position within the highly stratified field of education ranging from university to community alternative schools
4	Low access to capital investment = dominated	Frequently low access to resources and brokerage/networks of relationships are essential = dominated	Curriculum often delivered via an RTO as an outsourced relationship with little to no control = dominated

Network of fields

Studying SEs is challenging as an organisation delivering a social mission is embedded in a 'network of fields' (Tatli 2008). It's arguable that SEETs must straddle three fields – business or the economy, the welfare state and social service delivery, and the field of education within the field of cultural production.

Figure 18 denotes with a red line the social mission field of operation – education and training for disengaged young people. Whilst the provision of welfare services is

a key component of the work these enterprises do, and indeed attracts some revenue, the core of the social mission is to provide skills and pathways for disengaged youth via education. The top and bottom of the external rectangle represents strength of position, "+" represents a dominant position, and "-" represents a dominated position.

Determining the scope of the network of fields and the attendant model represents Step 1 of the Bourdieuian empirical analysis. The diagram gives the impression that the three fields under study are equal in the overarching field of power in which the SEs are situated. This is not the case, and leads us to Bourdieu's second step for empirical research. The second step in Bourdieu's instructions is to determine the position of these fields in relation to the field of power, which is situated in the class relations field (Bourdieu 1983). Figure 21 adapts Bourdieu's original model and compares the network of fields within the field of power.
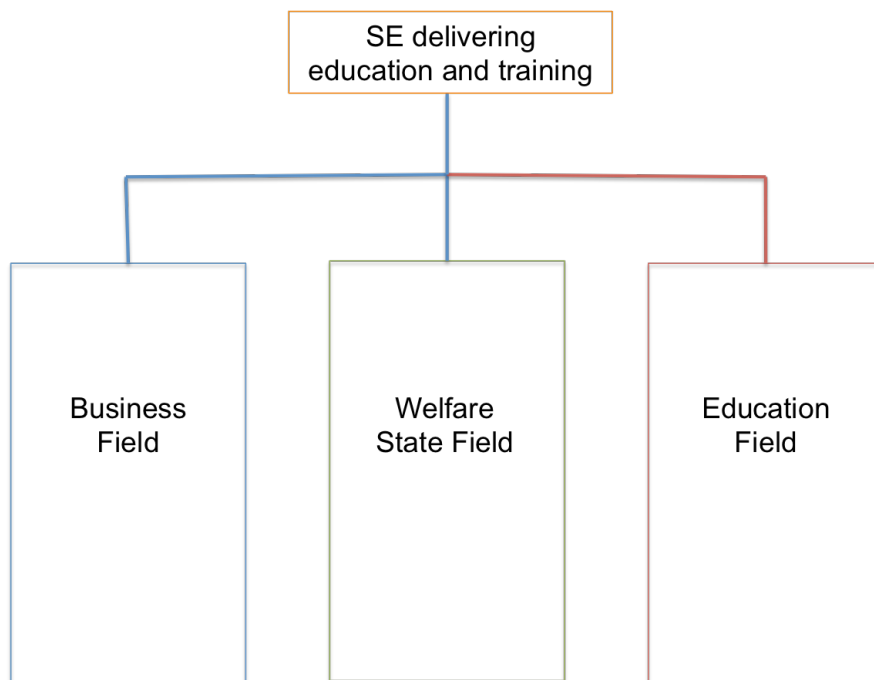
Figure 20: General model of the network of fields of a social enterprise delivering education and training

+
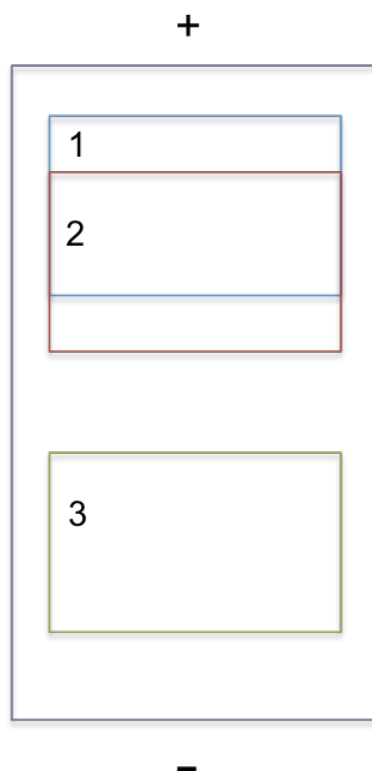
Figure 21: Network of fields in relation to the field of power and class relations

Field 1 is the business field's position within the field of power. In late capitalism, the market and the economy, with its engine room of businesses, holds arguably the most privileged position in terms of power afforded to interests. The domination of this field in contemporary society has been the hallmark of neoliberalism.

Field 2 is the field of education. This field has an almost equal status in terms of power, as it is also the field of cultural production. However, the researcher has positioned this field as subordinate to the field of business (as indicated by a position closer to the negative pole of the field of power), due to the influence that the demands of the economy and business exerts over the content of the field of cultural production, particularly the influence that the needs and demands of business exerts over the education system. It is also interesting to note that large numbers of education institutions have been transformed in the last 30 years into profit-oriented businesses (Ball 2012; Ball & Junemann 2012; Gale 2011; Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013; Sellar 2013), which compete for public and private funds in order to deliver their curricula. This is another area where the education field is subordinated to the field of business.

Field 3 is the field of the social services. The researcher has positioned this field close to the base of the field of power. With the progress of neoliberalism, the welfare state has been relegated to increasingly subordinate positions in our society, with the rhetoric of "small government" and "market distribution" dominating the political agenda over the last 30 years (Graefe 2005; Peck & Tickell 2007). Not only is this field regularly under attack from erosion, it also serves the most dominated and subordinate people in our communities. Increasingly in late modernity, this field does not seek to serve the dominated; it marginalises and punishes them (Bourdieu et al. 1999; Wacquant 2009, 2010). Thus, the field has been positioned close to the base of the field of power.

Network of fields and relational positions

Taking Bourdieu's model and applying it to the organisations assisted in mapping the network of fields and formulating an understanding of relational position. Figure 22 depicts a generalised SEET. The purpose of this diagram is to map the fields the organisations must operate within, and depict the layers of subfields in which they are in differing places, with respective strengths and weaknesses. This model was then applied to each of the case specifically to gain a picture of their relational position within the fields.
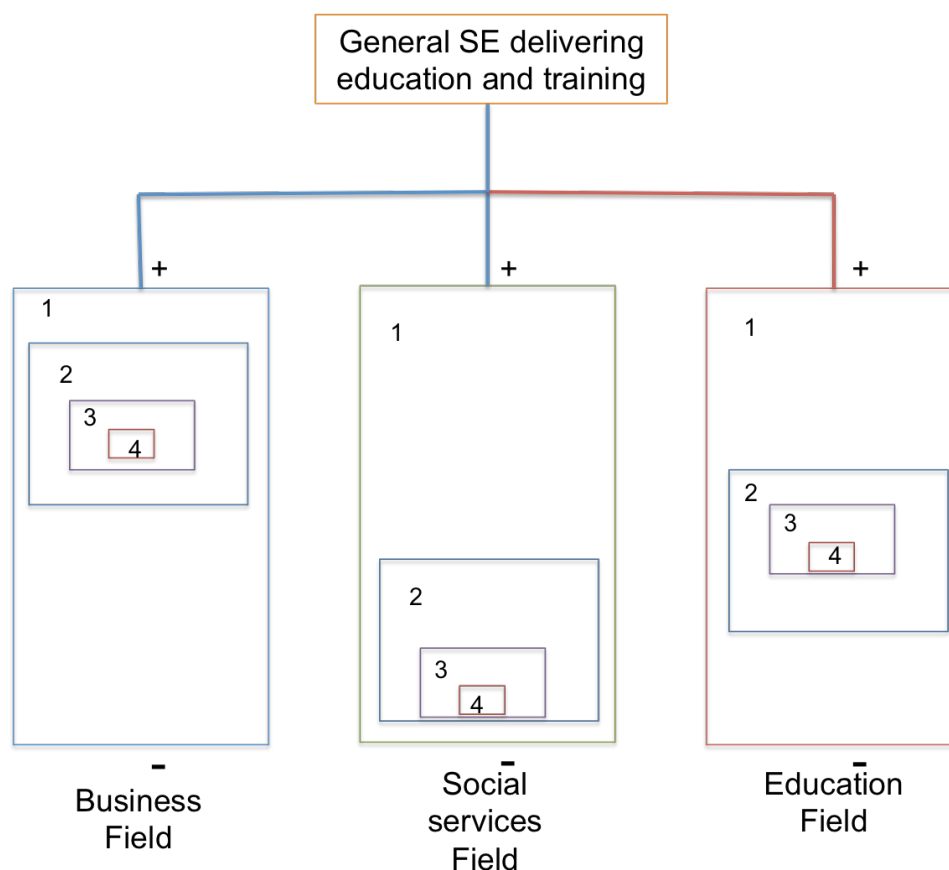
Figure 22: General model of network of fields with positional analysis

Subfield	Business field	Social service field	Education field
1	Field of class relations and power	Field of class relations and power	Field of class relations and power
2	Business field = dominant position	Social services field = dominated	Education field = slightly dominant position
3	Small business in highly competitive markets of goods and services = dominated	Independent community organisations in competitive and commercialised market competing with state bureaucracies such as Centrelink = dominated	VET sector education provision = middling dominated position within the highly stratified field of education ranging from university to community alternative schools
4	Low access to capital investment = dominated	Frequently low access to resources and brokerage/networks of relationships are essential = dominated	Curriculum often delivered via an RTO as an outsourced relationship with little to no control = dominated

Meso level analysis

Meso level data has been analysed with a twofold approach – process evaluation and an environmental analysis informed by Bourdieuian social theory. The process evaluation analysis examined the data for similarities and divergences relating to methods, equipment, materials, people and environment, which are the universal aspects of an organisation. The environmental analysis considered the organisation in terms of their capital levels and was analysed using the model outlined below.

The final two of Bourdieu's explicit instructions (see p. 105) to the researcher on how to conduct empirical research have been operationalised by adapting two additional concepts: organisational habitus and organisational subfield. This is in order to structure the analysis.

Organisational subfield and habitus

These two terms, organisational subfield and organisational habitus, have been adapted from Tatli (2008) in order to structure an analysis of the meso level of this study. The organisational habitus is formed by elements such as organisational history, operating structures, identity narratives, mission vision and values, program structures and methods, strategy and business plans and so forth (Tatli 2008). This was gathered at the meso level data collection and analysed to produce a picture of the internalised social, cultural and economic condition of the organisation within the field. The differences and similarities across organisations are analysed. Structured brainstorms in the focus group sessions were used to generate a picture of organisational habitus. The focus group brainstorm session asked the staff to define their organisation.

Tatli defines the organisational subfield as relating to elements such as 'management structures, activities, policies, programmes and integration' (Tatli 2008, p. 53). It is the formal organisational architecture around systems, processes and procedures that formed this aspect of analysis. Additionally, a comprehensive capital analysis was conducted of the data.

The organisational habitus is comprised of more subjective organisational elements. Tatli refers to organisational history and stories (Tatli 2008, p. 53). These elements relate to the identity that the organisation has developed and internalised and involves 'informal codes of action and interaction, organisational memory, history and culture' (Tatli 2008, p. 53).

Developing an understanding of these two constructs enables an analysis of the strategies and agency deployed by the individuals operating the organisation, and allows for an analysis of similarities and differences between organisations. It is significant to develop a picture of the organisational subfield and habitus of each organisation, as it provides insight into the operating constraints (both internal and external) and allows the researcher to posit possible causal elements for differences in the evolution of each organisation. This in turn allows for an exploration of the potential impact of organisational differences on outcomes being achieved for young people participating in their programs.

Bourdieuian social theory identifies multiple forms of capital, and emphasises the role of *conversion* from state to state. In this way, the notion of capital is a highly dynamic concept that transcends the exchanges of purely economic form. The following model works with Bourdieu's notions of forms of capital and their states, in order to facilitate a nuanced discussion of advantages and limitations experienced by each social enterprise delivering education and training (SEET). The manner in which each organisation approaches their advantages and limitations in order to deliver benefits for the program participants is the *illusio* referred to in Bourdieuian theory, whereby agency and strategy is employed by agents and institutions to maximise their interests and outcomes in the fields of competition in which they play.

Analysis method overview: Organisational subfield

The analysis of the organisational subfield is based on the data gathered using the Ishikawa diagram (Figure 23). An Ishikawa diagram identifies cause and effect. The "head" of the diagram, in this case "delivering positive outcomes to young people", is the effect. All the factors on the fishbone or remainder of the diagram *lead to* the effect. The Ishikawa diagram was chosen as a method to structure the focus.

The researcher analysed the resulting factors using Bourdieu's theory of capital, because these factors are resources. The next series of models are interrelated, and are the result of aggregating the qualitative data using a three-step process.

Step 1: Analyse the Ishikawa diagram by classifying each factor and determining if it is related to social, cultural or economic capital. Each factor was colour coded for type of capital and numbered. The results of the classification were tallied and documented with the totals presented in the information box in each diagram.

Youthworx

Methods

23. Paying wages to YP
1. Board Management
2. Transition to work program

Equipment

38. Brokering support services for YP
39. Program staffing model – teacher + trainer
24. Grant writing process
25. SE generating employment for YP
3. SE providing real world skill development
26. Film production services generating revenue - corporate clients

5. Camera and sound equipment
6. iPad
7. Tripods
8. Computers
9. Car
10. Printers
11. Recording studio
27. Philosophy of only the best possible equipment – No Junk!

40. Case worker referral pathways
41. Parental referral pathway
42. Participant referral of friends pathway
43. Industry partnership referrals
44. SE business generating referrals

4. Resume/Job search skills and resources process
28. Air conditioner
29. Furniture
30. The building

12. Industry partnership with Melbourne Polytechnic
31. Relationship with Gandel Foundation
45. Relationships with social support providers
46. Youth worker on site
13. M Poly Teacher on site
14. DHHS funded Industry Trainer

32. Small grants available in the environment – e.g. Lord Mayor's
47. Board Agenda – Youth Commission
48. Business is becoming a referral pathway for new participants
15. Aspirational environment
16. Advanced technology and engagement
17. Providing YP with exposure to professional environment
49. Youth worker on site
50. Environment creates a sense of hope
51. Increases
18. Conscious decision to provide highest quality equipment possible
52. Relationships with social support providers
53. Brokering external services and relationships

20. Software
33. Paying YP wages
34. Equipment leasing
21. Course content
35. Philanthropic investment
54. Employment opportunities via business
36. Stationery
22. Employability skills
37. National Homelessness/ Housing Partnership Grant (Fed) Via DHHS

People

Environment

Materials

Delivering positive outcomes for young people

19. Growing market for content development/ product development

Figure 23: Example Ishikawa diagram capital analysis

Step 2: Analyse each factor and determine what *state* the capital predominately took (institutionalised, embodied or objectified). The results of this classification were then presented in the capital matrix (Figure 24) and tallied to determine the frequency of occurrence in the data set. This capital map presents the data obtained through capital analysis of the Ishikawa diagrams. The classifications of the capital subtypes are described below.

Capital	Embodied	Tally	Institutionalised	Tally	Objectified	Tally	Total
Economic	31	**1**	23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 33, 37	**8**	27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36	**8**	17
Cultural	3, 4, 12, 13, 14, 15, 12, 17, 22,	**9**	1, 2, 12, 13, 26	**5**	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 18, 18, 20, 21	**12**	26
Social	39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53	**11**	38, 43, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 54	**8**		**0**	19
Totals		21		21		20	

Figure 24: Example capital matrix analysis

To illustrate, one of the subtypes in the table is *embodied social capital,* which occurred 11 times in the data. The capital matrix following the diagram tells us factors 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53 are related to embodied social capital. The analysed Ishikawa diagram (Figure 23) contains the factors:

39. Program staffing model: teacher + trainer
40. Caseworker referral pathways
41. Parental referral pathways
42. Participant referral pathways etc.

It is important to note that there are a number of instances where the factor under analysis may reasonably be considered to belong to multiple categories. In these instances there has been duplication of that factor in those categories. This has affected the tally system, which does not match the total number of factors identified in the Ishikawa diagram under analysis.

Step 3: Using the capital map (Figure 25), present each subtype of capital according to the frequency of occurrence in the data and the level of capital (high to low determined by the researcher from the data) in a frequency graph. This process resulted in a straightforward way to determine the elements having the most significant impact (negative and positive) in the delivery of outcomes.
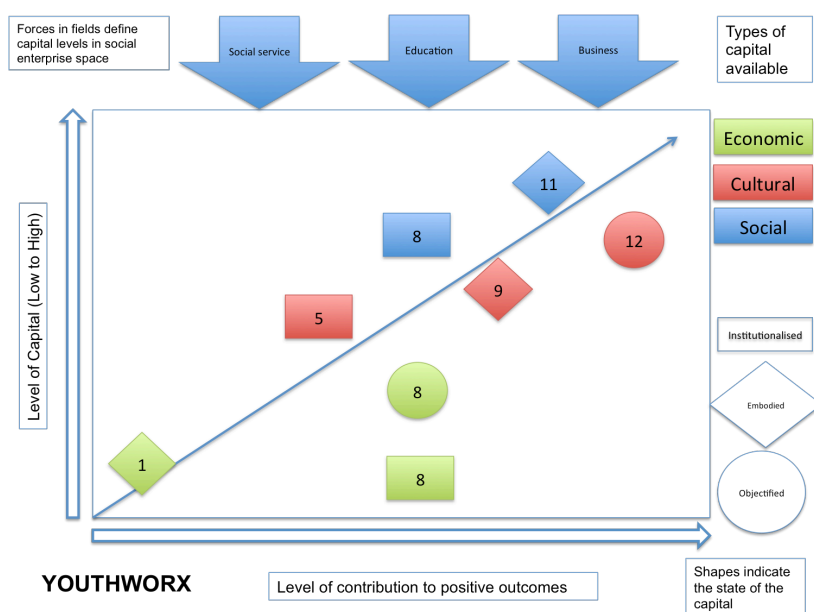
Figure 25: Example capital map analysis

In this model, the placement of the capital subtype against the x-axis represents the frequency with which this capital appeared in the Ishikawa diagram. The researcher has posited the frequency of the capital as a potential indication of level of contribution to the delivery of positive outcomes. This decision has been made to facilitate a comparison between organisations.

The researcher also supplemented the frequency of a capital's presence in the Ishikawa diagram with an interpretation of the volume of capital or the relative strength of that capital as an asset. This is represented by its position relative to the y-axis. Please note that it is not being claimed as a definitive 'status assessment' of an organisation and its assets, but rather as a means to facilitate a discussion.

The capital map diagram is the summary of the data obtained in the Ishikawa diagram's capital analysis. The subtypes of capital that appear to have the highest impact on positive outcomes for young people (in the example above) are located in the top right hand of the diagram. One of these subtypes is *embodied social capital* (represented by the blue diamond), which occurred 11 times in the data.

Organisational capital classification: Capital subtypes

Each element appearing on the Ishikawa diagram was categorised as a form of capital, either economic, cultural or social. From there, the factors were further categorised by using Bourdieu's capital states: institutionalised, embodied or

objectified. This provided a greater degree of granularity around what specific factors were contributing to the organisation's overall position in the field.

Economic capital subtypes

Embodied economic: Relationships with individuals or organisations that are related to finance generation not of state-based origin, specific finance/income generating individual skill sets, possession or lack of financial capital as a direct factor. (Note: Bourdieu does not specifically refer to the existence of embodied economic capital. It is a construct created by the researcher as a classification aid which distinguishes between directly economic relationships versus the generalised relationship network that is identified in institutionalised social capital.)

Institutionalised economic: Elements relating to the SEET itself in terms of its capacity financially and to generate income, organisational ability to provide income, systems and processes directly dealing with income, capital or financial matters that are not related to the management of these processes, legislation and bureaucratic or state factors effecting income generation and access.

Objectified economic: Direct cost factors, assets, income, funding sources and expenditure.

Cultural capital subtypes

Embodied cultural: Embodied cultural capital relates to the 'long-lasting dispositions of mind and body' that Bourdieu has directly identified, in addition the researcher has utilised this classification to identify the skills, knowledge bases, educational capital, managerial experience and methods, the ability to develop and structure effectively functioning organisations. Furthermore, it also relates to the young people and the cultural capital levels possessed

Institutionalised cultural: Institutionalised cultural capital is the particular capital conferred by the education system in Bourdieu's presentation of the forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986, p. 17). Thus all elements identified that relate to the RTOs, the management of educational organisations, the requirements for access, the young people's ability to function within the system, benefits and burdens associated with curriculum delivery, curriculum content and so forth are contained within this category.

Objectified cultural: Bourdieu refers to these as 'cultural goods' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 17). He contends that machines, books, dictionaries, art, tools and so forth are

cultural capital objectified. Thus, equipment has been isolated in many cases as objectified cultural capital (except where it is identified as an asset due to the "fixed plant" style delineation wherein it is included as objectified economic capital).

Social capital subtypes

Embodied social: Persons associated with SEET level of social capital, connections with individuals or loose networks, young people's levels of social capital.

Institutionalised social: SEET's social capital levels and functioning, connections with other organisations, formalised and more institutionalised relationships, not related to personal capital.

Objectified social: Symbolic functioning of objects that communicate levels of social capital; for example, brand, having a mostly not-for-profit client base, a "name" or reputation in the industry, and so forth.

Micro level analysis

The interview data at each time point in each organisation in each round was analysed separately according to the same protocol – the constant comparative method (CCM) was used to generate themes. The themes provide the basis for the discussion.

The constant comparative method

Glaser warns researchers about using CCM outside of grounded theory (Glaser & Holton 2007). However, this project uses CCM as a tool to ensure the micro or 'emic' perspective is retained in the analysis of data. The use of CCM enables the researcher to access a 'thick description' (Geertz 1983), which assists in maintaining the research quality.

A classical grounded theory approach stipulates a review of the literature should be completed *post* data analysis, so as not to taint the process with a researcher's preconceived understandings (Glaser 1978, 1992). However, the original classical grounded theorists diverged on this matter, with Strauss advocating for a prior review of the literature to develop a 'theoretical lens' (Corbin & Strauss 2014, p. 45).

This research employs a conceptual framework derived from critical social theory (Bourdieu 1986) and a philosophical framework of pragmatism, to analyse and frame the 'etic' or macro perspectives and their relationship with the micro. Whilst it is rare

for researchers to employ CCM outside of grounded theory, it has been used successfully in qualitative research innovation (Fram 2013). It is also an analysis method that has been used specifically in youth research (Autry & Anderson 2007) and education research (Chenoweth 2009; Curtner-Smith, Hastie & Kinchin 2008; Yamamoto 2010) without being situated in grounded theory.

The data has been analysed thematically, using the CCM approach to generate themes. This is an iterative approach, which followed the stages of qualitative research as detailed by McLeod (2003):

1. Immersion to identify units of analysis within the interview text (e.g. poor academic performance or social isolation).
2. Categorisation of the units of analysis where they are related.
3. Phenomenological reduction of the resulting categories into themes.
4. Triangulation between the two cohorts within each organisation.
5. Interpretation using the theoretical perspective of social capital. (Denny et al. 2011; Hazenberg 2012, p. 184; McLeod, John 2003, p. 85; Seddon, Hazenberg & Denny 2012)

Data analysis process

During *immersion*, at each time point each interview was listened to and relevant quotes as units of analysis were transcribed into a master spreadsheet and a separate spreadsheet for each interview time point. Each individual participant was allocated a colour (Figure 26).

The c*ategorisation* process enabled validation of units. This often identified new units of analysis, or removed duplicated units. These were then grouped into categories. This process of grouping followed categorical rules for inclusion, and these are presented below. The results of immersion, categorisation and data validation are presented in Appendix 1.

Phenomenological reduction was used to discern themes based upon categorisation. The researcher subsequently interpreted four themes from these categories. Phenomenological reduction also followed thematic rules for inclusion. The resultant themes were environment, networks, resources and self. In the pilot phase, these themes were also the final result and were used to develop the analytical model, which adapted Foley and Edwards' Bourdieuian social capital.

What follows is an overview of the process undertaken and a presentation of the rules for categorisation and phenomenological reduction.

Immersion

Each individual unit of analysis is a cell in the spreadsheet. The interviewees are colour coded. The units of analysis have been titled and clustered into categories.

Figure 26: Constant comparative method – immersion & categorisation example

Categorisation

The categorisation process took the units of analysis identified in immersion and used the following categorical rules for inclusions.

1. Housing

This category contains units of analysis relating to a person's housing status. This includes living in transitional housing, supported accommodation, living in family,

living independently, housing stress and problems associated with housing arrangements.

2. The family

For inclusion in this category a unit of analysis must relate to the individuals' family. This covers units like estrangement, absent parents, bereavement, poor relationships, supportive relationships, family breakdown and dysfunction, influence and so forth.

3. The neighbourhood

This category covers units of analysis relating to individuals' perception of their neighbourhood, the influences of their neighbourhood, and their experiences in the neighbourhood.

4. Peers

Units of analysis included in this category are directly related to individuals' experiences with peers and friendships. This includes the degree of support gleaned from friendships, the lack of friendships, comparisons with peers, peer behaviour, isolation from friends, and influence of friends and peers.

5. Relationship to society

To be included in this category a unit of analysis must relate to how an individual perceives himself or herself in relation to broader society and the ways in which they participate. This includes relationships established with other organisations, feelings of separateness, ambitions for a place in society, desire expressed for upward social mobility, autonomy or independence from society, social isolation, participation in communities, religiosity, criminal behaviour and the presence or absence of social support.

6. Employment

Units of analysis related to this category are directly related to employment, such as prior experience, seeking work, unemployed or seeking work experience.

7. Education

This category encapsulates those units of analysis that relate to the young people's experiences in the education system, their feelings of competency, problems

experienced in education, attempts at gaining qualification, challenges and perceptions of education.

8. The program

For inclusion in this category, units must relate to the program. This covers subjects such as providing individuals with something to do, expressions of interest in the actual program content, fears about participation, influence of the program environment, expectations of the program, ambitions associated with program participation, how they came to know about the program and what they hope to achieve.

Units of analysis included in this category also relate to the perceptions of the program, the content, the delivery methods, the staff, the environment and the participants perspective on the program.

9. Program output

Units of analysis included in this category should be characterised by outputs gained from the program, such as qualification, work experience and continuation of education secured through the program.

10. Program outcome

This category contains units of analysis that detail outcomes from the program including changes in self-confidence, life skill acquisition, increased focus, goal setting, motivation, direction, growth, opportunity, access to resources and support.

11. Relationship to self

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis must relate to self-perception. This includes self-belief, self-confidence, engaging in self-improvement, opportunity seeking, mental health issues, future orientation, satisfaction and motivation.

Thematic analysis: Phenomenological reduction

In order to generate themes, the categories identified were grouped into related themes based on the following thematic rules for inclusion.

Theme A: Environment

For inclusion in this theme, a category and its units of analysis pertain to the environments of the individual. This includes their personal environments of home

and (presence and absence of) family. It relates to the influence of environments on an individual, the physical and tangible elements of their environment, and the barriers and constraints that individuals face due to their environment.

Theme B: Networks

For a category to be included in this theme, it must relate to the connections of an individual. These connections can be derived from involvement in specific social spheres, through involvement and association with other organisations, through friendship groups, and through connections gained in employment. It relates to the connections an individual has, and the fields in which an individual is operating.

Theme C: Resources

For a category to be included in this theme, it relates to resources, both material and tangible, and the more abstract resources such as connections, with specific reference to the utility or assistance that can be mobilised through the connections. It also incorporates an individual's perception of resources, their availability, their use value and the desirability of the resources available.

Theme D: Self

For a category to be included here, it must relate to perceptions that individuals have about themselves. This includes confidence, satisfaction, perceived personal issues, ambitions and desires, and the influence of past and future relating to identity and direction. It also relates to awareness, aspirations and desire for change.

The data produced by the process of CCM was collated into Figure 27, which provides an overview of each stage of CCM and demonstrates what categories were included in each of the themes identified. Each time point from each round of data collection at all three social enterprises has a corresponding diagram condensing their results. This is presented in Chapter 4.

Results of phenomenological reduction at R1T1

59 discernable units of analysis

9 categories
1. Housing (1-4)
2. Family (5-10)
3. Neighbourhood (11,12)
4. Peers (13,14)
5. Relationship to society (15-22)
6. Employment (23-26)
7. Education (27-33)
8. The program (34-42)
9. Relationship to self (43-59)

4 themes
Environment
(1-3, 7, 8)
Networks
(3-5, 8,9)
Resources
(1,2,5-8)
Self
(2,9)
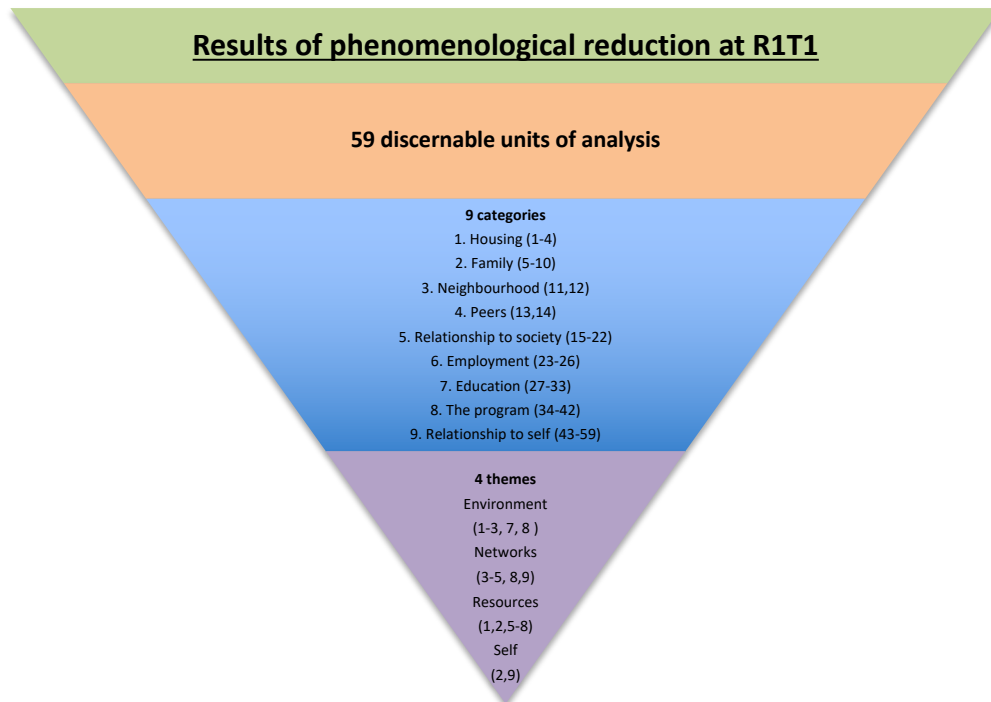
Figure 27: Example results of phenomenological reduction

Limitations

Scale, time and sector

There are a number of crucial limitations endemic to SE research present in this study. The literature and research related to SEs tends to focus on one of the following areas: definition, regulation, policy, support, or investment (Jones, Keogh & O'Leary 2007; Taylor 2007, p. 3). Taylor (2007) conducted a broad research program investigating the nature and state of research into social enterprises. His conclusions about the quality and quantity noted that very few academics specialised in SE research, and that 'mutually-reinforcing' issues related to 'insufficient data, underdeveloped theory, and unresolved definitional issues' plagued the research quality (Peattie & Morley 2008, p. 4).

In conducting this study, it was relatively easy to see why the current state of research into SEs is suffering from the limitations identified above. SEs are often small-scale and programmatic in orientation. The subtype of SE studied in this research project is comparable to the US and UK's work integration social enterprise (WISE) (Alter 2004; Barraket & Collyer 2010; Defourny & Nyssens 2010; Denny et al. 2011; Diamantopoulos & Findlay 2007; Ferguson 2012; Hazenberg 2012; Kerlin

2012; OECD 1999). That is, an organisation working with a target population with the express aim of integrating them into the labour market, either through education and training, or through providing job opportunities. Taylor (2007) noted that the field of research is dominated by 'small scale, practice led' work, which makes generalisability of research findings challenging, and developing the sort of evidence to validate the sector's contributions to a degree sufficient to stimulate investment and policy change almost impossible (Taylor 2007, p. 3).

Despite the inclusion of three separate SEs, over two intakes, the low participation rates in the study reflect the state of the research into the sector to date. A number recommendations in the final chapter of this study propose a way forward for generating statistical information for the sector, to address the significant research gaps identified (Haugh 2005; Peattie & Morley 2008).

Case study approach

Criticisms of case study research often incorporate those rest upon qualitative research generally.

> Case studies have long kindled the sociological imagination. Yet their scientific status has been contested almost from the moment sociology was christened an academic discipline. Avatars of 'hard science' regard case studies as 'too impressionistic' in the interpretive liberties they take and as too aggressive in the range of subjects they presume to address. (Harvey 2009 p. 15)

This study's position of the paradigm wars has been elaborated above. As it pertains to case study research, the researcher agrees with the position of Byrne (2009), in that generalisability is not universalisability. He states, 'We cannot establish universal laws in the social sciences. There is no valid nomothetic project' (Byrne 2009, p. 1). Case study research does not aim for universalisation, but it does assist in highlighting causation (Byrne 2009, p. 2) and is thus useful for exploring social enterprise and the applicability of a Bourdieuian theory.

Quantitising qualitative data

This study utilises an analysis technique which is considered a mixed methods research design in that it uses a count of thematic mentions as part of its analysis technique. This can be termed a mixed methods *conversion design* (Teddlie &

Tashakkori 2006, p. 17). Whilst quantitisation of qualitative data is not an inherent limitation, it is problematic to rely on count data in this manner. Volume or count of mention does not automatically translate to significance of any particular theme.

The use of the capital map tool acknowledges this limitation and attempts to address the issue. The count data is supplemented by an informed assessment of the volume of capital held by each organisation. The years spent conducting the case study research enabled the researcher to make informed decisions about relative volumes of capital held by each organisation. The use of the capital map enabled the researcher to indicate the relative volume of each capital subtype held by each organisation. The frequency (count) of each subtype in the data was thus supplemented by a depiction of significance by the use of this tool.

Unorthodox data collection methods

The use of the Ishikawa diagram as a method for conducting focus group data collection is unorthodox. The researcher could have utilised a question and answer session, or an informal semi-structured discussion to obtain data. The decision to use the Ishikawa diagram in social science research was twofold. Firstly, the meso level research is organisational research. The Ishikawa diagram ensures that the organisation is holistically considered by incorporating the five universal elements of an organisation in the tool design. This ensures that the researcher and participants are not reliant on pet theories or explanations and the whole of the organisation is considered systematically. In this way it was used to enhance research quality and credibility. Secondly, having seen the Ishikawa diagram in use within the context of industrial manufacturing, the researcher wished to trial the use of the tool within social science research.

It is acknowledged that the unorthodox method of data collection and analysis is also a limitation. The researcher could have utilised a more established method of collection, which would have enhanced the applicability and utility of the findings from this research project. A preferred method of data collection and analysis to provide this data would be the multiple correspondence analysis favoured by Bourdieu.

Chapter 4: Case studies

Case study 1 – HEAT

HEAT was established in 2007 as an education program that offered a Certificate II in Hospitality and offers work experience, mentoring and training. They are able to provide the hands on experience via their social enterprise, HEAT Catering, which operates a commercial kitchen within the St Kilda Youth Service's South Melbourne site.

Both arms of the social enterprise, the education and the commercial entity, began under St Kilda Youth Service. This enterprise and program was supported by state government funding and in 2013 had its funding withdrawn along with seven other Youth Employment Scheme programs. This withdrawal of funding was resisted with a public campaign to save the organisation that involved celebrity chefs, high profile members of the community and even members of the police force.

The organisation was able to sustain operations, however St Kilda Youth Service merged with Melbourne City Mission (MCM) following the de-funding of HEAT. From there, following almost two years continued operation as a social enterprise, the enterprise arm of the organisation was closed by MCM management and the HEAT education and training arm was subsumed into the MCM education program and continues to educate young people. The social enterprise was closed along with MCMs own social enterprises due to the perception of lack of sustainability, in December 2016.

This case study was collected from 2014 to 2017 and charts the journey from funding withdrawal to merger to close of enterprise.

Macro level data presentation
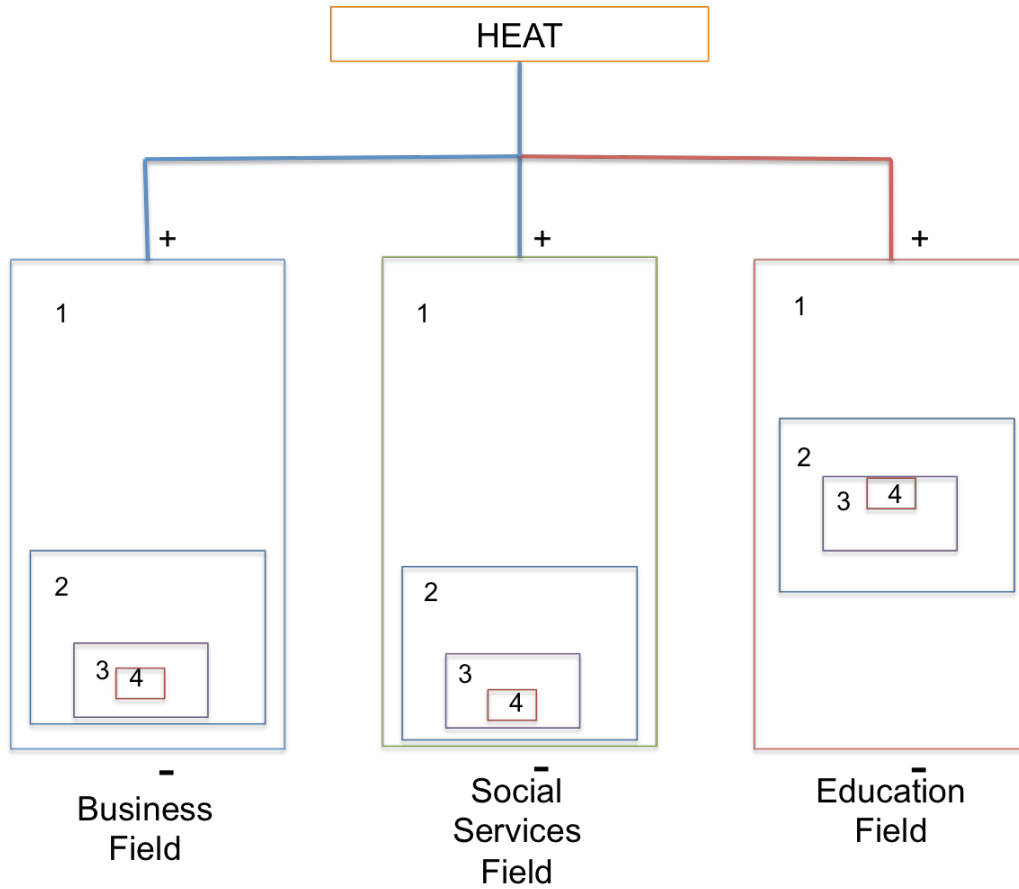
Figure 28: HEAT field map

Subfield	Business field	Social services field	Education field
1	Hospitality industry	Social services for young people	Field of education
2	Catering = substantially dominated position	Small independent community-based organisation = substantially dominated	Vocational education and training sector = middling position, both subordinate and dominant
3	Small business enterprise (2 direct employees) = dominated position	Sole in-house worker providing welfare services (1/3 EFT) = substantially dominated	William Angliss is a provider with a moderate reputation and moderate resources = middling
4	Commercial kitchen (small) = middling (many catering organisations hire space in commercial kitchens)	Government funded position (partial) = substantially dominated	Curriculum delivered onsite by a dedicated teacher with a high degree of autonomy = dominant

Meso level data presentation

Organisational habitus

HEAT was requested to brainstorm all of the things that came to their mind when asked "What is HEAT?" The participants brainstormed all of the elements that came to mind during the session. Subsequently the researcher thematically clustered the results, which are presented in Table 4.

Organisational subfield

The remainder of the focus group session was on completing two Ishikawa diagrams. These diagrams were used to identify the factors or elements of the organisation that assist in delivering positive outcomes for young people and those that make positive outcomes challenging. The researcher and an assistant worked with the group to populate each of the 'bones' of the Ishikawa diagram systematically to identify the elements of the organisation and their operating context which were having the most impact on outcomes for participants. Figure 29 shows a photograph of the original research, the schema digitised and finally the analysis of the schema.

It is important for the context of the data collection to be considered before the results are viewed in this case. On the day of data collection (22 November 2016), I was informed that HEAT would no longer be trading as a social enterprise as of 1 December 2016. As a consequence, the production of the Ishikawa diagram became highly focused and concentrated (evident on the "challenges" diagram) on factors that had caused the ceasing of trading as much as factors that posed challenges for delivering outcomes for young people. This has influenced the nature of the results, but has also provided crucial data for challenges in the operation for HEAT as a SEET rather than as a program, which is now its current form.

Table 4: HEAT's organisational habitus

Intangible benefits	Education	Young people	Social services	Organisation	Networks
Family	Training	15–25	Mental health	Financially unstable	Relationships were really important
Re-engagement	Education	A lot of students would rather be here than home	Welfare	We've got to be really able to take charge of running the show	Community knows our brand
Caring	Pathways	Daunting for students – employment and full-time job	Case management	Financial autonomy	Used to have a relationship with government and now we don't
Empowered	Meeting training and assessment criteria	Here for a common purpose from diverse backgrounds	Youth work	Bureaucracy	
Understanding	Training fed the employment arm of the SE	Unstable homes	Referral service	Legal issues	
Life lessons	Careers		Personal assistance	Challenge for management	
Tolerant	Jobs			Meeting legal obligations	
Flexible	Accreditation/ certification			An employer	
Mentors	Qualification			Seemed like a dream come true	
Role models	Applied learning			A lot more of a business model that needs to be behind to sustain	
Self-esteem	Hands on				
Motivation	Vocational education				
Confidence	VET				
Challenging for young people					
Autonomy					
Tasty					
Transformational – changes people					
Independence					
Purpose					
Gives them a role					
Stepping stone to a further commitment					
Possibility					
Entry to					

Intangible benefits (continued)
Open a door
Practical
Support
Help them organise
Learn
Personal development
Connect to students and teachers
Foundation
Positive relationships
Trust
Know they are not alone

Organisational subfield: Factors leading to positive outcomes

Figure 29: A sample of original research outputs – Ishikawa diagram

Social enterprises in vocational education and training: can Bourdieu's social theory enhance understanding of their potential?

HEAT

Key:
Green = Economic Capital (13)
Red = Cultural Capital (21)
Blue = Social Capital (24)

Delivering positive outcomes for young people

41. Food and nutritional skills

17. Chef shoes and uniform provided

42. Taco Bills provide end of program lunch

43. Local community support incl. Rotary grant brokered by a neighbour

54. City of Port Phillip community grant has enabled new income generation strategies

15. Certification

56. Longstanding relationship with Birkenstock

16. RSA

18. MCM merger has increased resources

55. Paying YP wages for their work in the catering

Materials

Equipment

48. Commercial kitchen equipment

50. Kitchen

49. Building

51. Office equipment for staff

59. Communal rooms

7. Classroom

14. YP are exposed to demands of business environment through assisting with commercial production

32. Strong referral links from formal education services – e.g.. Alternative Ed providers

33. Community Café events creating strong networks and giving practical skills

52. Professional and celebrity chefs have become benefactors of program and business and assisted in the income generation

11. RTO mgmt understand the program

10. RTO student status enables pathway through to further education

30. RTO reputation is highly regarded within industry 34. Very strong and loyal referral pathways

37. Great Chefs Event to generate income and provide YP with skill development and community/stakeholder support

12. Working in business gives YP work experience

40. Successful alumni are returning to mentor and advise YP

57. Celebrating the successes and the 'firsts'

23. Real life vocational experiences and problem solving via SE

3. Food education creates options for engagement and socialisation

46. SE providing real work with wages

4. Vocational and practical learning methods

6. Completing all employment ready material e.g. TFN, Resume etc.

5. Increasing YP's sense of independence and capability through work

39. Guy Grossi is a patron of the program

13. MCM mgmt understand the program intent and structure

36. Passionate program supporters from alumni , community and business networks kept program limping

Environment

35. MCM recent management support for the program has reinvigorated the interest in program

53. Try test and learn fund demonstration projects – Federal Funding Dept. of Social Services

31. Partnering with many organisations to deliver to Gov't requirements

1. SKYS Management structure enabled flexibility and responsiveness to environment

19. Delivering the program within the youth work framework

20. Youth work and social support providing the supports necessary to accrue success

58. Life skills program content

2. Pathway back into the VCAL

47. SE apprenticeship program

21. Program content challenges their preconceptions and mind-sets

45. Running events for work experience, income generation and network development

44. Brokering access to government funds, social services and providing legal issue support

Methods

8. Grossi family support

27. Master classes with each cohort with Grossi

24. Consistency of staff in the program delivers outcomes

38. Networks providing employment opportunities

25. Having an ex-student as the youth worker providing deep situational understanding of YP

9. Teacher from RTO consistent throughout the life of the program

26. Diverse cohort challenging narrow mind-sets and preconceptions

28. DHHS new funding round 2017 – consultation group participation for youth Re-engagement

29. YP undertaking every program on offer – a safe environment and secure attachment

People

Figure 30: HEAT's positive factors Ishikawa diagram: Capital analysis

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Table 5: HEAT's positive factors capital matrix

HEAT's capital matrix: Factors causing positive outcomes for young people						
Capital	**Embodied**	**Tally**	**Institutionalised**	**Tally**	**Objectified**	**Tally**	**Total**
Economic	44, 52, 56	3	47, 45, 46, 55	4	48, 50, 49, 51, 53, 54	6	13
Cultural	1, 2, 3, 6, 5, 13, 14, 12, 57	9	58, 4, 9, 11, 10, 15, 16, 18	8	59, 7, 17	3	20
Social	23, 21, 25, 26, 24, 29, 40, 41, 42, 43, 8, 37	12	20, 19, 22, 36, 28, 34, 38, 35, 31, 33, 32	11	27, 39, 30	3	26
Totals		24		23		12	

Figure 31: HEAT's positive factors capital map

Organisational subfield: Factors challenging positive outcomes

HEAT

Key:
Green = Economic Capital (20)
Red = Cultural Capital (31)
Blue = Social Capital (2)

Challenges delivering outcomes for young people

Methods

1. Model and business plan not under the control of managers and staff
2. Need for re-strategising
3. Poor stock control and accountability
4. No direct benefit to the program from the business arm
5. Lack of control of food costs
6. The business and the program run and coordinated separately
7. Poor delineation of roles causing a reactive and challenging environment for staff
8. SE integration with program non-existent
9. Business and program siloes in structure
10. No clear customer that HEAT focuses on
11. No clear focus on product offering
12. Lack of planning for business development
13. Poor accounting processes with little transparency
14. Education component run separately to business
15. Lack of financial governance over equipment purchasing
16. Unstructured or inappropriate structure undermined education delivery
32. Catering business potentially supporting other programs within the organisation

People

17. No hospitality management professional
18. Cross over in staff roles due to business demand or poor organisation compromised program delivery
19. Massive gaps in knowledge for managing food service vs. youth service
20. Staff working in program had very little control of business and were at times required to resource the business
21. SKYS Structure meant that all staff had to work cross functionally without resources
22. Teacher directly provided by RTO
38. Only financially viable to deliver a Cert II with 19 students per enrolment – too high a risk to staff
39. Balancing the financial pressure from RTO with program execution – burden on staff

Equipment

33. Cost of kitchen equipment
35. Kitchen space too small
36. Storage space
37. Range of equipment required for catering
34. No shop-front has completely limited the fund generation and training opportunities

23. Changes in the management structure over past 5 years
24. Using the same space to deliver training and run the business caused difficulties
26. Kitchen could be quite a chaotic environment
27. MCM Merger has increased the bureaucracy
27. The inconsistencies related to the nature of the catering business environment caused problems for structured and consistent course delivery
28. RTO needs regarding income generation are unworkable with the cohort
25. Customer demand unpredictable and impacting on curriculum delivery
40. Unpredictability of catering business made planning and integrating education curriculum into the space challenging
51. Change in Gov. from Lab to Lib meant a loss in local government support

Environment

41. Changes in Gov't funding structure has meant that the funding has plummeted approx. $8. p/h to $1.5 p/h
42. March 2016 – 24 mil to TAFE's for disadvantaged youth – Minister took a photo opportunity for a portion of William Angliss funding – total to HEAT $900-00 + teacher wage
52. Political vagaries have meant that the employment youth agenda has fallen away
53. Criminologic and individualistic political agenda reducing funding for education and employment support

Materials

43. Lack of control of food costs
44. Funding models from Government preventing the right outcomes for the YP being achieved – they get made to stay in the wrong environment for them, due to funding regulations
30. Managerial support lost in merger but regained in MCM
31. Focus on employment and skill development was lost during the scramble for funds
45. Funding only for education and not for the social services
46. 15k DHHS
47. Income from Café's @ 800 per café maximum income
49. Homeless Lunch event generate income
50. 41K ACVI r Youth Worker – via Engaged Funding recurrent to 2018 which was the transition funding after the loss of the YES Program funding
48. Rotary funding
29. Materials purchased without control

Figure 32: HEAT's challenging factors Ishikawa diagram: Capital analysis

Table 6: HEAT's challenging factors capital matrix

HEAT's capital matrix: Factors causing challenges in delivering outcomes for young people							
Capital	**Embodied**	**Tally**	**Institutionalised**	**Tally**	**Objectified**	**Tally**	**Total**
Economic	32, 40, 43, 48, 39	5	34, 45, 50, 47, 49, 44, 38, 53	8	33, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 46	7	20
Cultural	1, 4, 3, 5, 2, 6, 8, 9, 7, 10, 16, 14, 13, 15, 11, 12, 17, 19, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 26, 54, 25, 31, 30, 29	30	22, 28	2		0	32
Social		0	51, 52	2		0	2
Totals		35		12		7	
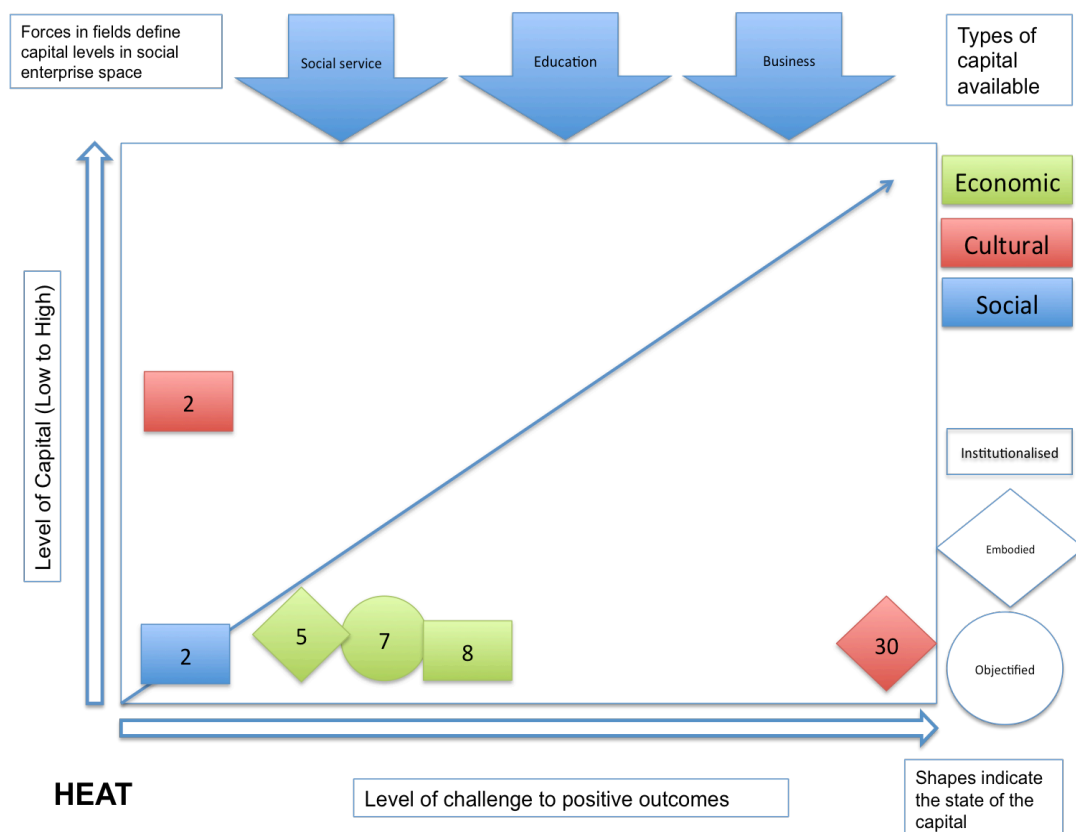
Figure 33: HEAT's challenging factors capital map

Micro level data presentation

Round 1

Results of phenomenological reduction at R1T1

59 discernable units of analysis

9 categories
1. Housing (1-4)
2. Family (5-10)
3. Neighbourhood (11,12)
4. Peers (13,14)
5. Relationship to society (15-22)
6. Employment (23-26)
7. Education (27-33)
8. The program (34-42)
9. Relationship to self (43-59)

4 themes
Environment
(1-3, 7, 8)
Networks
(3-5, 8,9)
Resources
(1,2,5-8)
Self
(2,4,5,8,9)
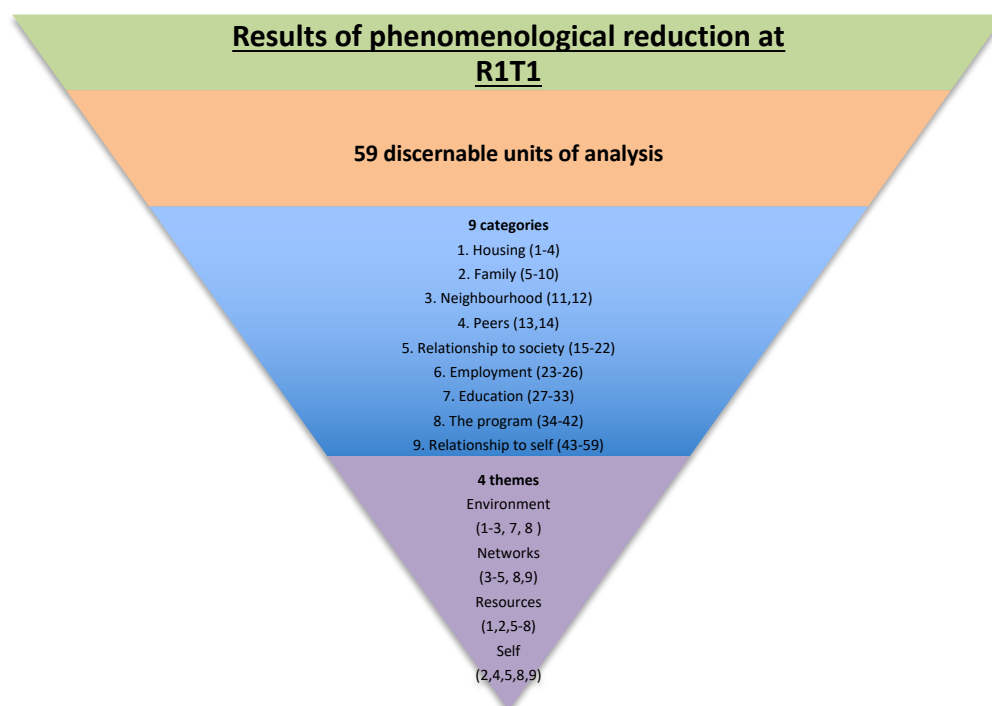
Figure 34: HEAT phenomenological reduction Round 1 Time 1

Results of phenomenological reduction at R1T2

61 discernable units of analysis

8 categories
1. Housing (1-7)
2. Family (8-12)
3. Relationship to society (13-30)
4. Peers (31-35)
5. Program output (36-37)
6. Program outcome (38-48)
7. The program (49-54)
8. Relationship to self (55-61)

4 themes
Environment
(1-3,6-8)
Networks
(3,4, 6-8)
Resources
(1-3,5-8)
Self
(1-3,9)
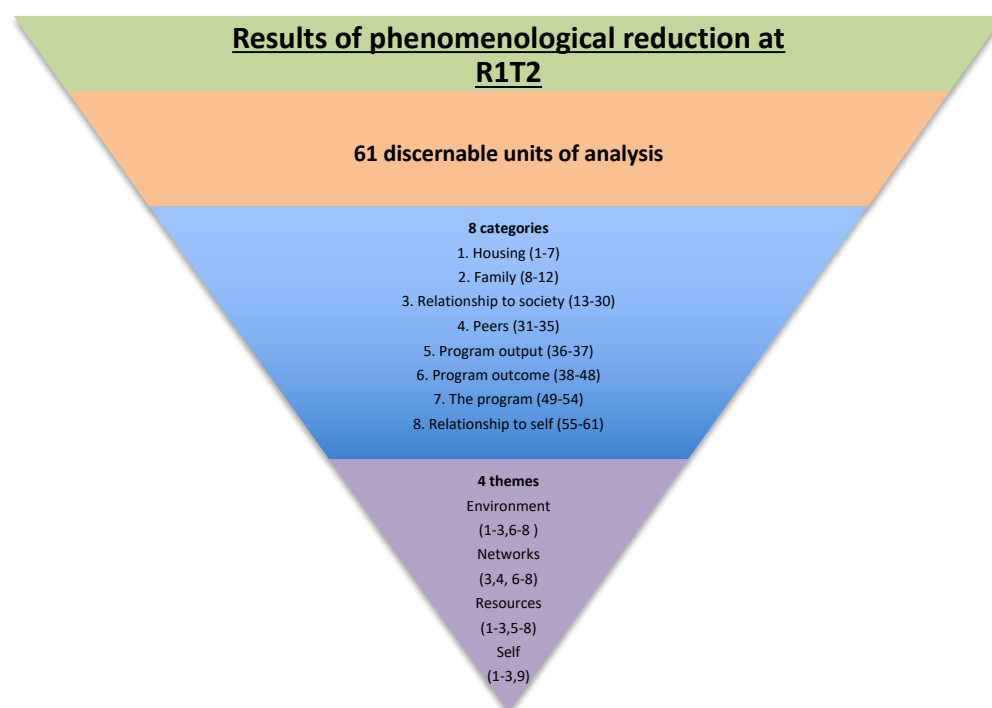
Figure 35: HEAT phenomenological reduction Round 1 Time 2
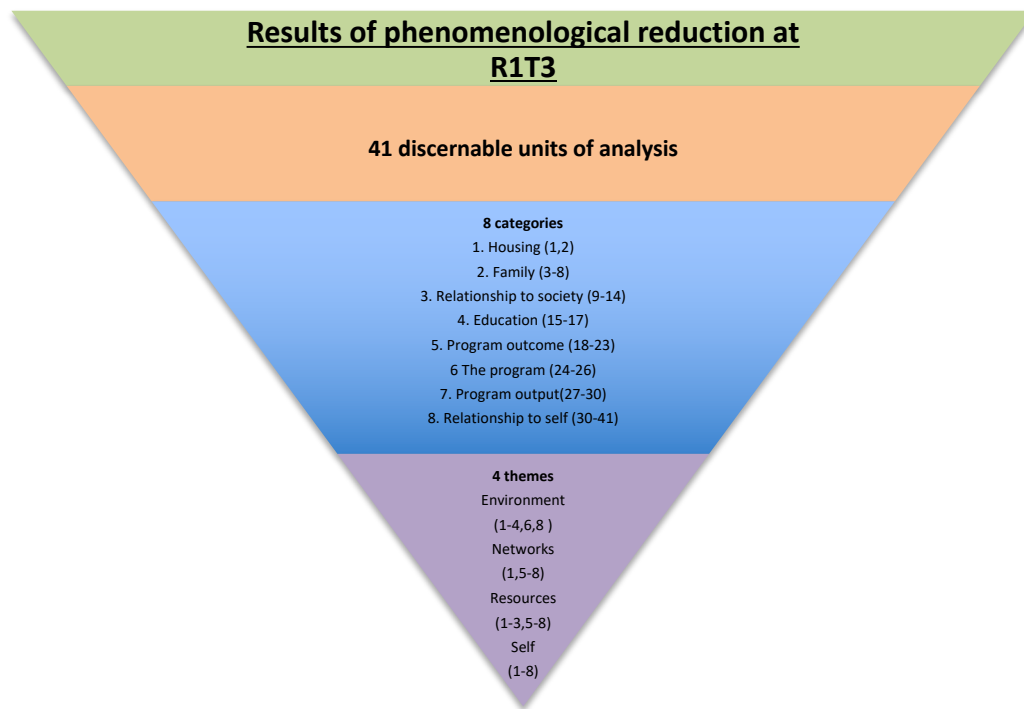
Figure 36: HEAT phenomenological reduction Round 1 Time 3
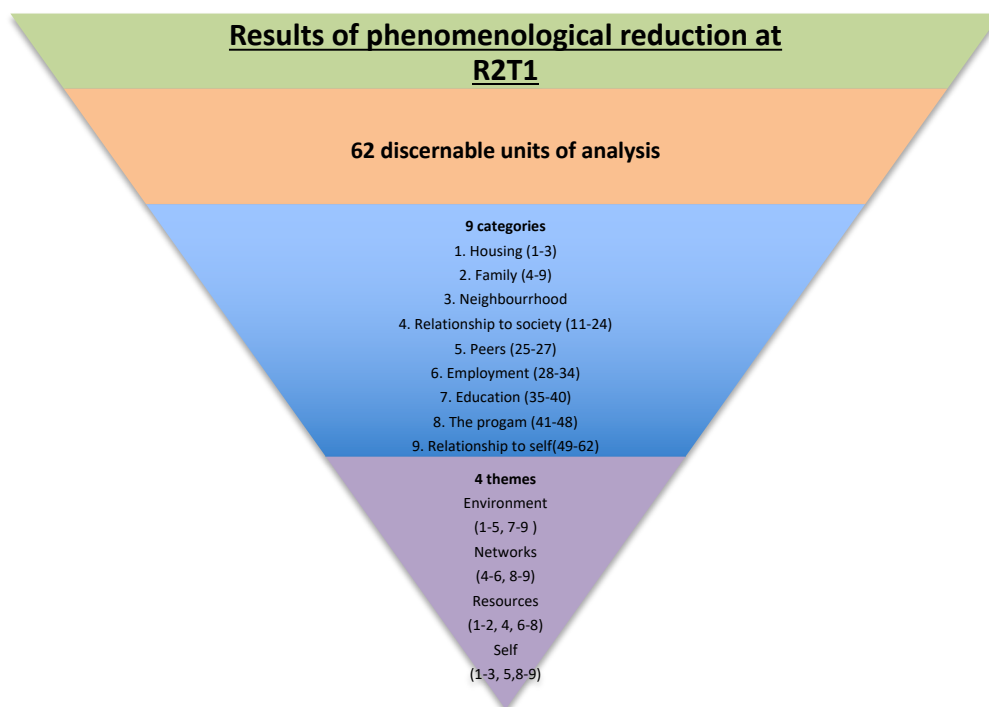
Round 2

Figure 37: HEAT phenomenological reduction Round 2 Time 1

Results of phenomenological reduction at R2T2

55 discernable units of analysis

8 categories
1. Housing (1-3)
2. Family (4-6)
3. Peers (7-10)
4. Relationship to society (11-16)
5. Program output (17-20)
6. The program (21-25)
7. Program outcome (26-39)
8. Relationship to self (40-55)

4 themes
Environment
(1,2,4,6,7)
Networks
(3-7)
Resources
(1, 4-8)
Self
(2,4,6-8)
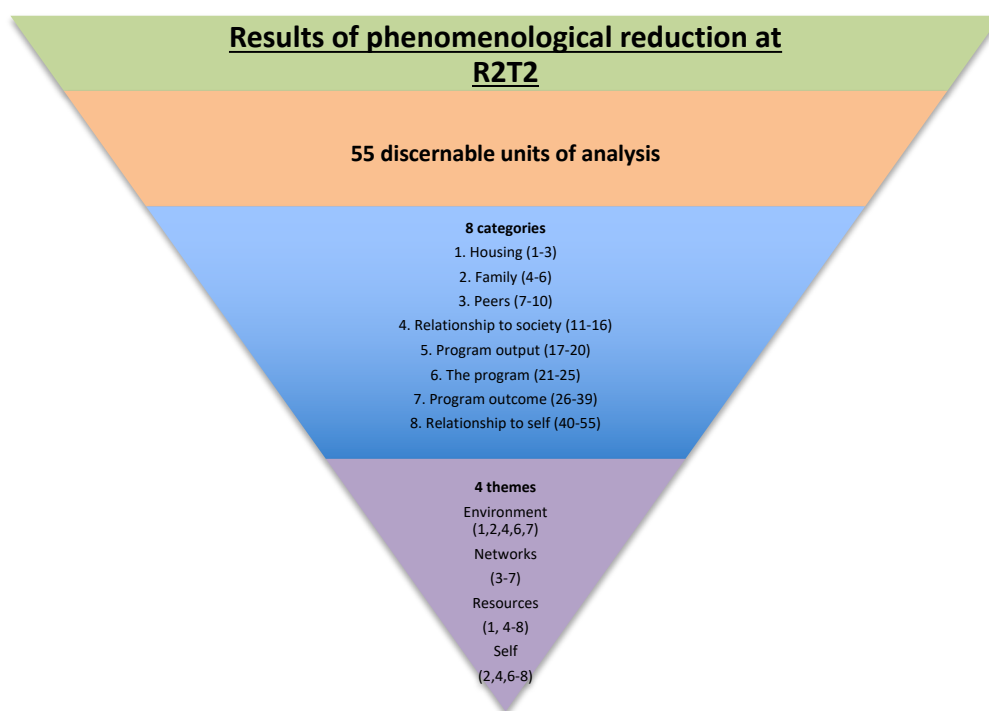
Figure 38: HEAT phenomenological reduction Round 2 Time 2

Results of phenomenological reduction at R2T3

37 discernable units of analysis

8 categories
1. Housing (1)
2. Family (2)
3. Peers (3-5)
4. Relationship to society (6-12)
5. Program outcome (13-21)
6. The program (22-25)
7 Program output (26-27)
8. Relationship to self (28-37)

4 themes
Environment
(1, 4-6,8)
Networks
(2,4-8)
Resources
(1-6, 8)
Self
(3-8)
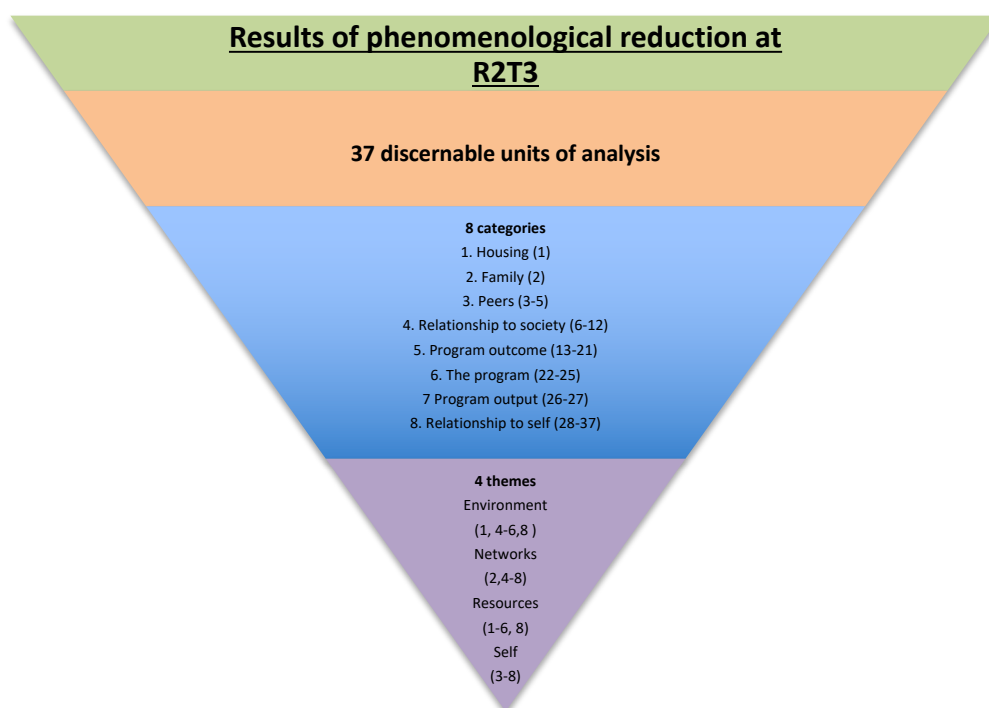
Figure 39: HEAT phenomenological reduction Round 2 Time 3

Case study 2 – STREAT

STREAT was established in 2009 with start-up funding provided by overseas philanthropic investment but has gained significant support from the domestic market from its inception. The organisation started humbly, with one mobile coffee and food cart in Federation Square. They transitioned from outdoor operations to indoor operations by shifting the premises to Melbourne Central, and this location continues to be the busiest.

STREAT's growth trajectory is an Australian social enterprise success story. The organisation is possibly the most successful social enterprise venture with the social beneficiary being domestic. Their aim is to reduce youth homelessness and risk. STREAT have been steadily scaling their business since the beginning of operations. As at 2018, following eight years of intensive business scaling, they operate seven hospitality businesses (STREAT 2019), the most recent acquisition being Cromwell STREAT (a $6.5 million facility in Collingwood, Melbourne). They are Australia's most awarded domestically focused social enterprise:

> STREAT has been recognised as a strong Australian social enterprise innovator (winning Most Innovative Australian Social Enterprise 2013, Finalist in 2012 Cool Company Awards, winner of Melbourne's 2013 Business 3000 Award in social enterprise, Finalist in the 2014 Ethical Enterprise, a winner in the 2015 Australian Social Enterprise Awards). CEO, Rebecca Scott, received the Victorian Local Hero Award for 2016 and has also received Entrepreneur of the Year Awards for 2016 from Ernst and Young and the Commonwealth Bank (STREAT 2019).

STREAT have developed a variety of programs for young people. Initially starting with a six month Certificate II in Kitchen Operations, they recognised that sometimes young people need to take a much smaller step forward to re-engage. Thus they developed a suite of education programs young people can choose from in order to re-engage with education and training.

Macro level data presentation
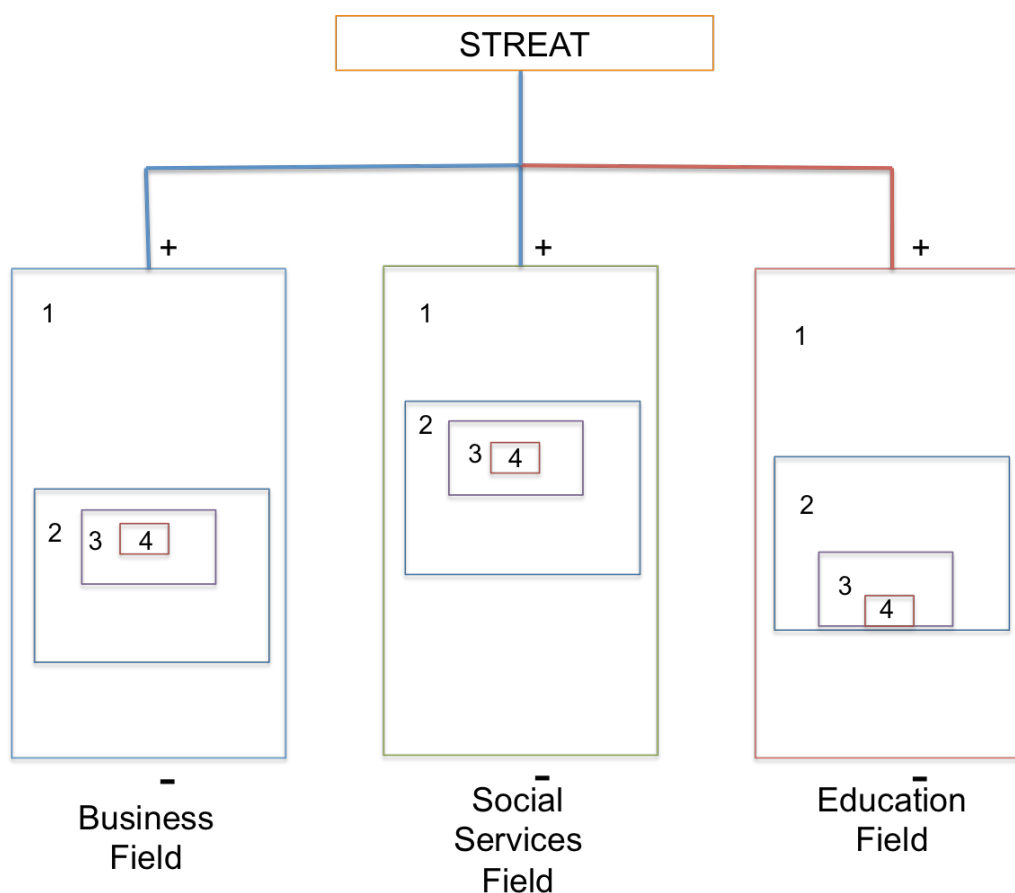
Figure 40: STREAT field map

Subfield	Business field	Social services field	Education field
1	Hospitality industry	Social services for young people	Field of education
2	Diversified business of 5 cafes and coffee roasting company = dominated position (when you consider organisations like international 5-star hotels are in the same field)	Independent commercial organisation = middling position	Vocational education and training sector = middling position, both subordinate and dominant
3	Medium sized business enterprise = dominant position	Self-funded to 70% at time of research = dominant	At the time of research the RTO was substandard and almost 100% theory = dominated
4	Multi-site capital investment = dominant	High degree of independence and autonomy = dominant	Curriculum delivered entirely by RTO with no control and little influence = substantially dominated

Meso level data presentation

During the meso level data collection period (November 2016) STREAT was in an exceptionally busy period. I was unable to run a workshop of the same nature as Youthworx and HEAT to collect the data. The approach taken was to hold a one-to-one interview with the General Manager of Youth Programs and distil and present the information in the same format as the other SEETs. My distillation of our recorded interview was provided to the General Manger of Youth Programs for validation and input. The results are presented below. This is the primary reason for a lower number of factors on the Ishikawa diagrams.

Organisational habitus

Rather than facilitating a structured session with the staff, an email request was sent for a general description from as many staff members as possible answering the question "What is STREAT?" I subsequently transferred nominal and adjectival words into the same table format, categorised under the headings below.

Table 7: STREAT's organisational habitus

Organisational identity	Services	Business	Social mission
Began as a youth homelessness organisation	Social and welfare support	Social enterprise	Young people aged 15–25
Scalable	Workplace training	Runs a portfolio of seven hospitality businesses	Struggle with disadvantage and homelessness
A work in progress that is always learning	52,000 hours of support and training	Cafes	600 young people
Paving the way forward for other independent social enterprises	Connection and belonging	Catering company	Marginalisation
Longitudinal research project into the effectiveness of various interventions	Sense of place and space	Artisan bakery	Around 65% of the young people we work with are homeless
We could be called a youth mental health service	Vocational training	Coffee roastery	Remaining being at risk of homelessness
We could also be described as an organisation dedicated to reducing youth recidivism		Generate the revenue to help fund the programs	
		Serving nearly two million customers	

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Organisational subfield: Factors leading to positive outcomes
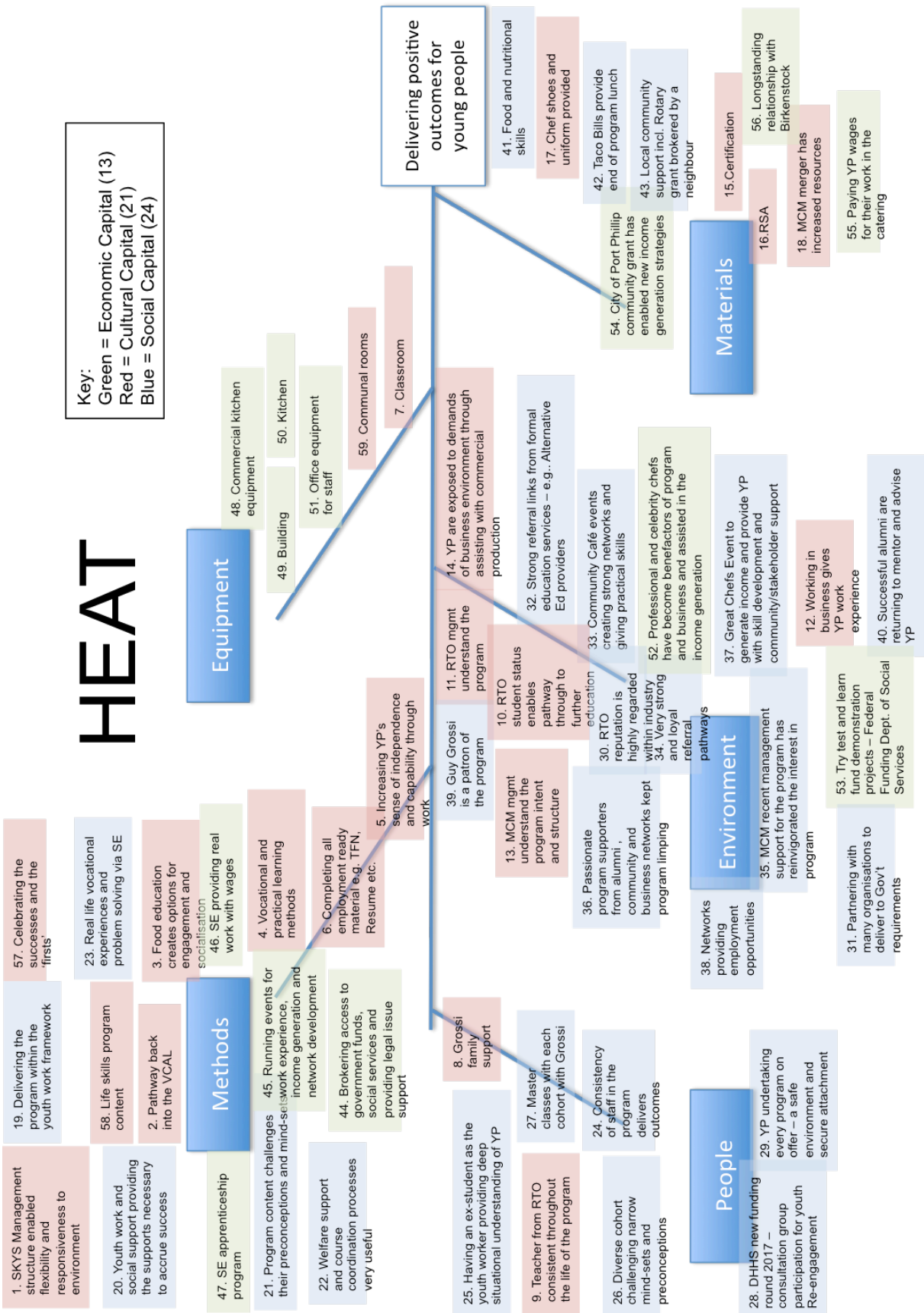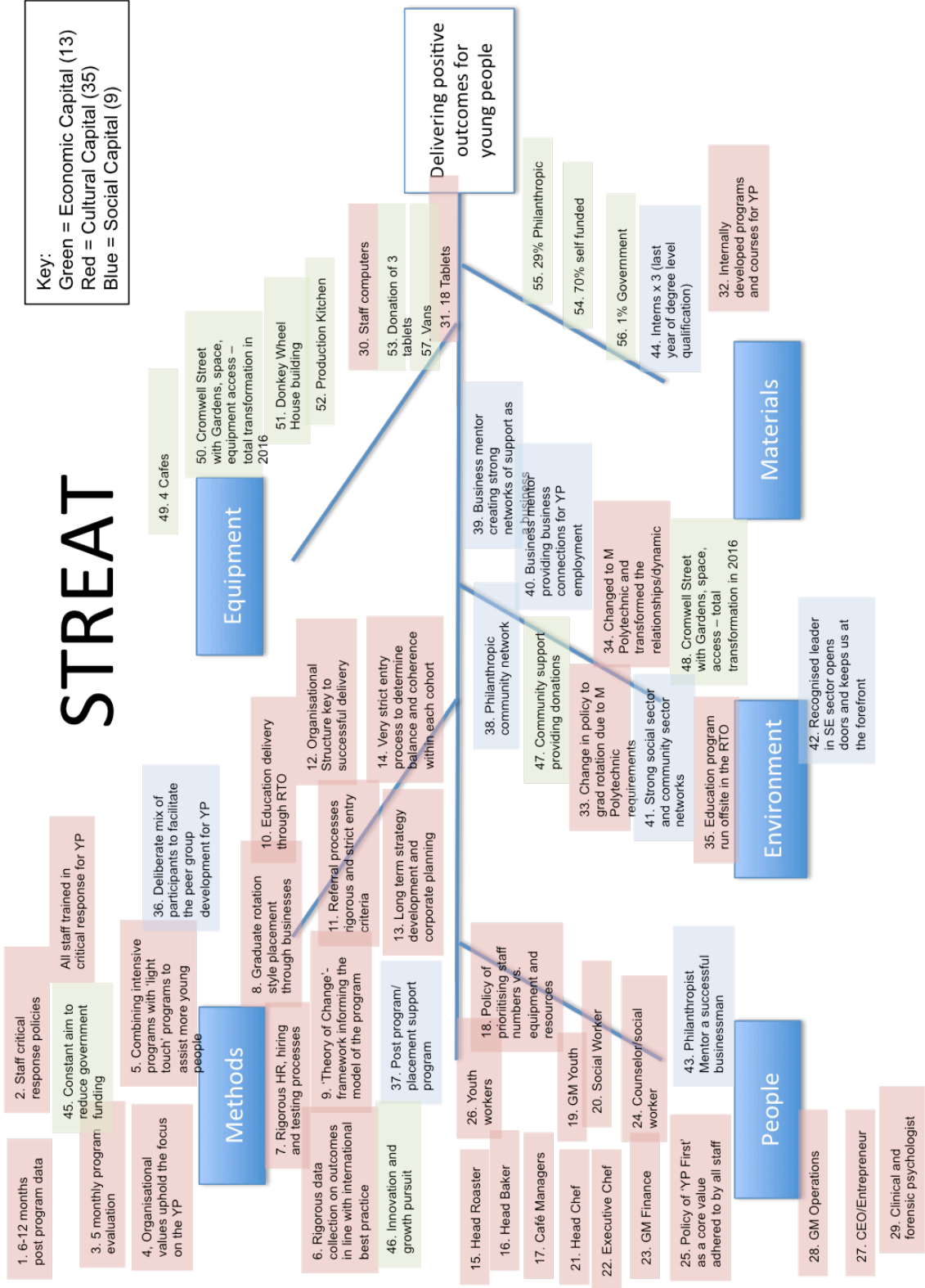

Figure 41: STREAT's positive factors Ishikawa diagram: Capital analysis

Table 8: STREAT's positive factors capital matrix

STREAT's capital matrix: Factors leading to positive outcomes for young people						
Capital	**Embodied**	**Tally**	**Institutionalised**	**Tally**	**Objectified**	**Tally**	**Total**
Economic	45, 46, 51, 53, 55, 54	6	54, 49, 50, 59	4	57, 56, 52	3	13
Cultural	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29	27	5, 10, 33, 34, 35, 32	6	30, 31	2	35
Social	37, 36	2	43, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44	6	42	1	9
Totals		35		16		6	

Figure 42: STREAT's positive factors capital map

Social enterprises in vocational education and training: can Bourdieu's social theory enhance understanding of their potential?

Organisational subfield: Factors challenging positive outcomes

STREAT

Key:
Green = Economic Capital (16)
Red = Cultural Capital (15)
Blue = Social Capital (2)

Methods

2. RTO 100% theory

32. Intern program assists with increasing staff demand

16. Establishing new businesses takes time and resources – challenges managing capacity

1. Onerous data collection at entry and exit a barrier for YP and allied health

17. Challenges providing work experience as demand from YP and space in cafes is outstripping growth

People

3. 2 workers to 15 YP – program delivery

4. Staffing requirements to adhere to OHS

5. 2 workers to 1 YP – work experience

18. More Youth Program staff are needed to increase/ match demand and capacity

Equipment

25. Need more businesses to enable more YP to be placed

26. Program had no resources

6. No computers

7. No equipment for young people to use

28. No Furniture

27. Donkey Wheel House building was not YP friendly – Heritage listed and unable to be renovated

29. Despite recent increase in space capacity it is quickly outgrown due to high demand from YP

19. Reduction of per head funding for hospitality courses

8. Changed RTO in November 2015 due to poor delivery and communications

20. 0 funding for Certificate I programs

21. 2012-13 funding cuts to community services at a state level

23. Removal of Direct Grant programs in 2015 – Federal Government

9. Difficult to find the right RTO– multiple providers – inflexible and unfit for purpose

10. Biggest hurdle in RTOs

33. Regression of the Victorian community sector

13. RTO review and restructuring of the sector with rapid legislation changes

24. Job Employment Network transition to Job Active and the high obligations for Job Seekers and constant change

11. Government legislation and funding changing severely hampering program

Environment

12. Government policy changes as the biggest challenge of the community sector

22. Policy and legislation churn within Centrelink and YP compliance

30. Program resources are always a struggle – prioritise good people over materials

14. Insufficient capital to facilitate growth to match demand

31. Access to finances is always a challenge

15. No art materials for therapeutic interventions

Materials

Challenges delivering outcomes for young people

Figure 43: STREAT's challenging factors Ishikawa diagram: Capital analysis

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Table 9: STREAT's challenging factors capital matrix

STREAT's capital matrix: Factors causing challenges in delivering outcomes for young people						
Capital	**Embodied**	**Tally**	**Institutionalised**	**Tally**	**Objectified**	**Tally**	**Total**
Economic	18, 31, 30	3	16, 17, 25, 11, 12, 14	6	19, 23, 20, 21, 22, 24, 28, 27, 29, 26	10	19
Cultural	1, 3, 4, 5	4	2, 8, 9, 10, 13	5	6, 7, 15	3	12
Social		0	32, 33	2		0	2
Totals		7		13		13	
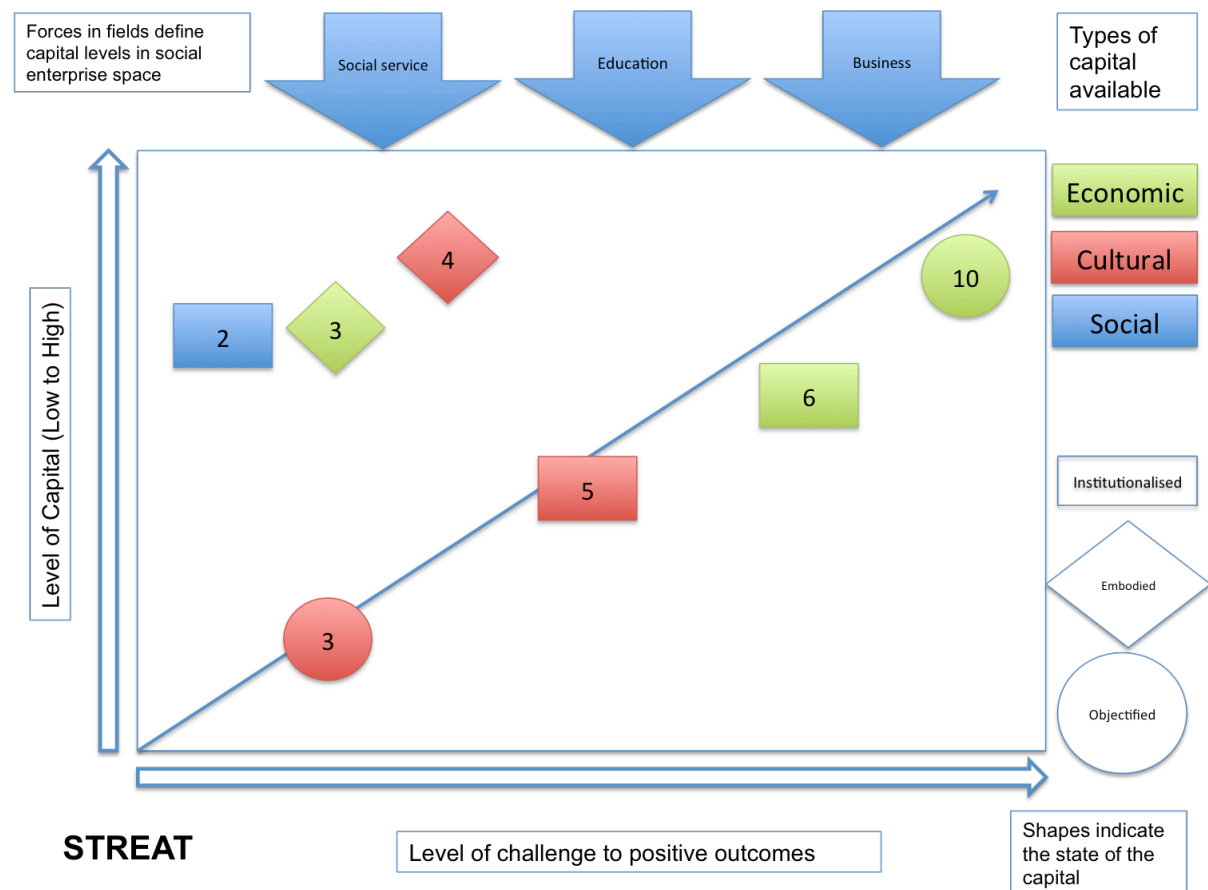
Figure 44: STREAT's challenging factors capital map

Micro level data presentation

Round 1

Results of phenomenological reduction at R1T1

45 discernable units of analysis

9 categories
1. Housing (1-6)
2. Neighbourhood (7-9)
3. Family (10-14)
4. Relationship to society (15-26)
5. Peers (27-30)
6. Employment (31, 32)
7. Education (33-35)
8. The program (36-39)
9. Relationship to self (40-45)

4 themes
Environment
(1-3, 7, 8)
Networks
(2-5, 8)
Resources
(1,3,4,6,8)
Self
(2-5,7-9)
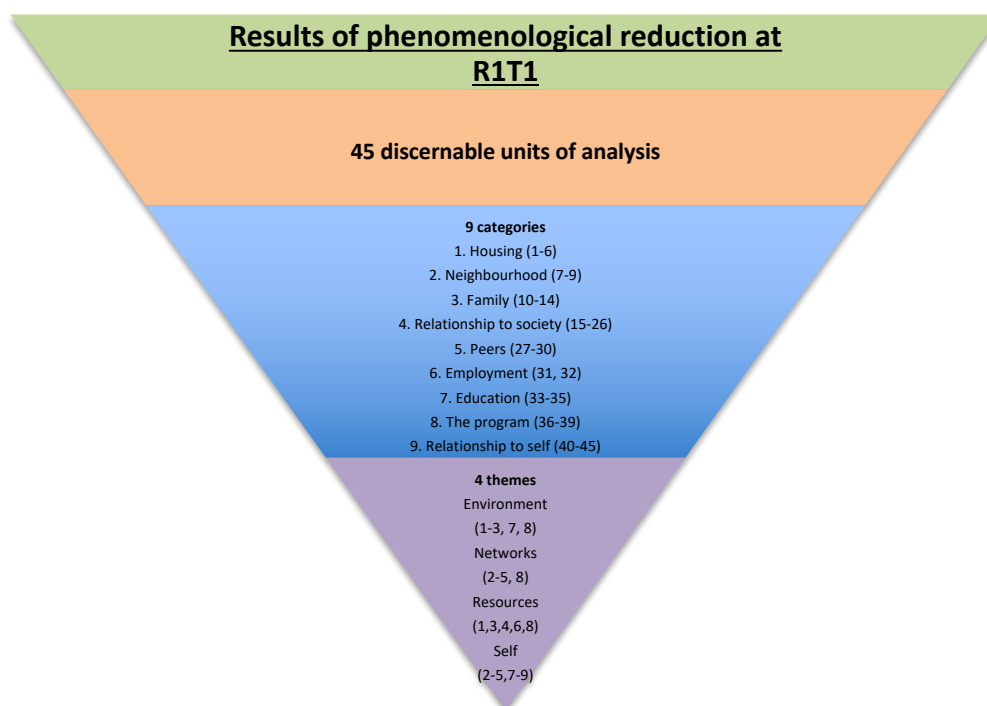
Figure 45: STREAT phenomenological reduction Round 1 Time 2

Results of phenomenological reduction at R1T2

38 discernable units of analysis

10 categories
1. Housing (1-3)
2. Family (4-6)
3. Neighbourhood (7)
4. Peers (8,9)
5. Relationship to society (10-13)
6. Education (14-17)
7. Program output (18-20)
8. Program (21-23)
9. Program outcome (24-27)
10. Relationship to self (28-38)

4 themes
Environment
(1-3,6,8,9)
Networks
(2-5, 7,9,10)
Resources
(1,5-7,9)
Self
(1,2,4,6, 8-10)
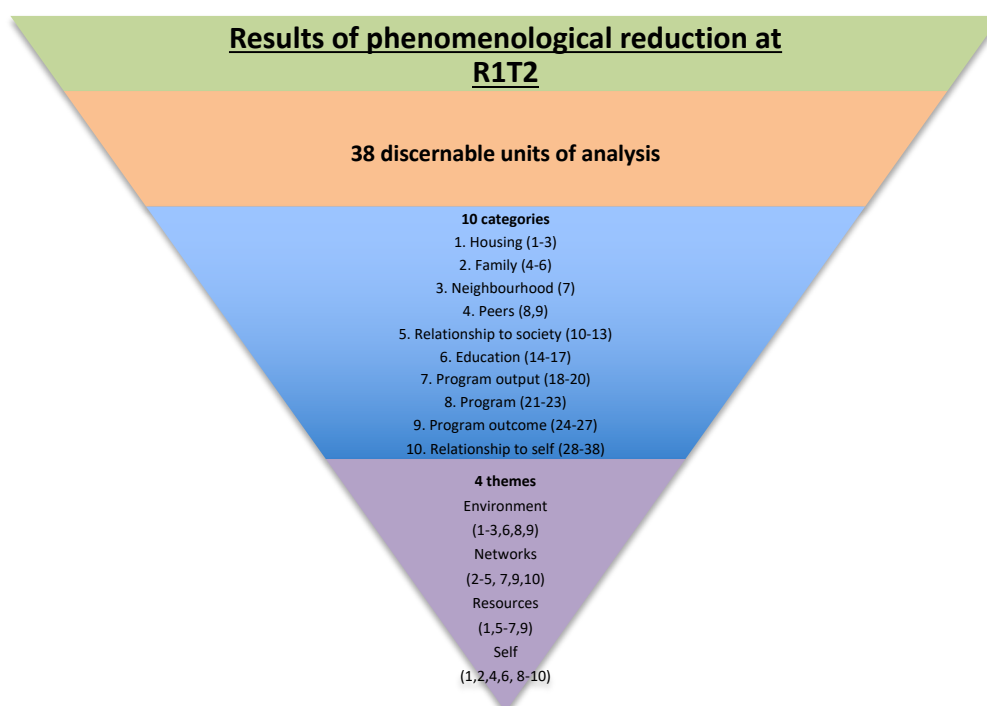
Figure 46: STREAT phenomenological reduction Round 1 Time 2

Results of phenomenological reduction at R1T3

51 discernable units of analysis

8 categories
1. Housing (1-3)
2. Neighbourhood (4,5)
3. Family (6-10)
4. Relationship to society (11-22)
5. Peers (23,24)
6 Program outupt (25-30)
7. Program output(27-30)
8. Relationship to self (30-41)

4 themes
Environment
(1-4,6,8)
Networks
(1,5-8)
Resources
(1-3,5-8)
Self
(1-8)
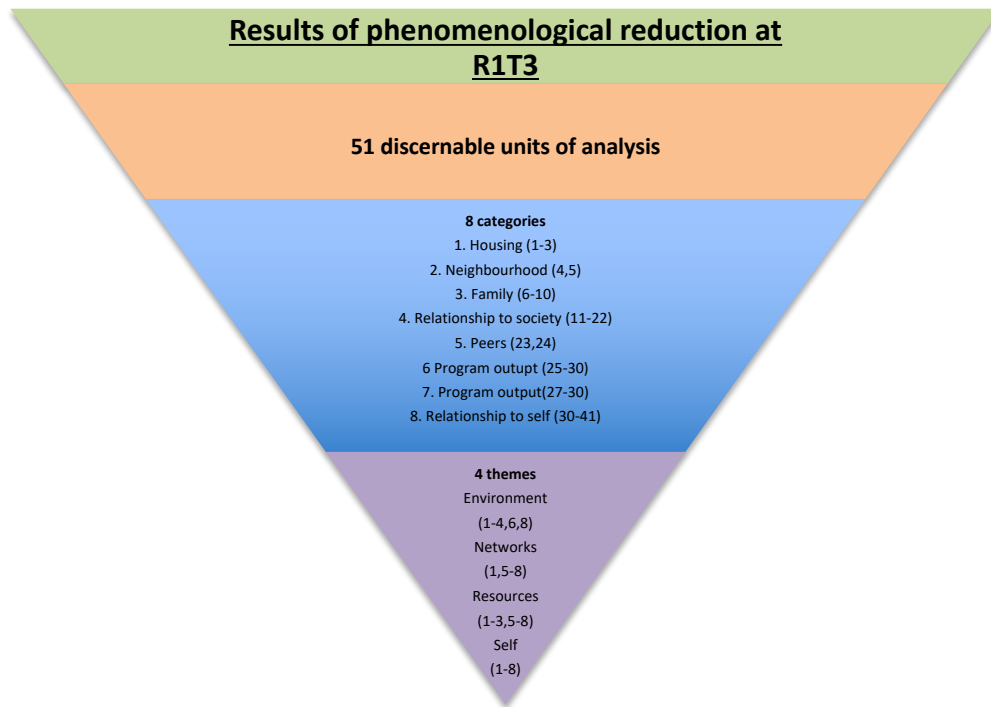
Figure 47: STREAT phenomenological reduction Round 1 Time 3

Round 2

Results of phenomenological reduction at R2T1

68 discernable units of analysis

8 categories
1. Housing (1-5)
2. Family (6-18)
3. Relationship to society (18-33)
4. Peers (34-39)
5. Education (40-45)
6. Employment (46-48)
7. The program (49-56)
8. Relationship to self (57-68)

4 themes
Environment
(1,2,4,5,7)
Networks
(2-4,7,8)
Resources
(1-3,6-8)
Self
(1-5,8)
$$
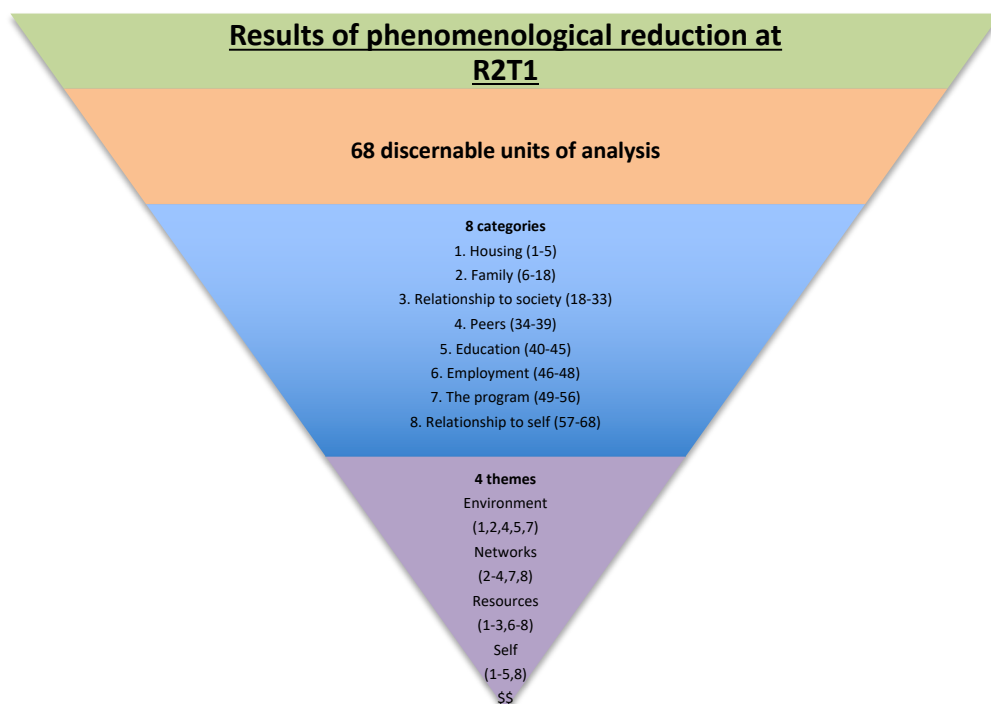
Figure 48: STREAT phenomenological reduction Round 2 Time 1

Results of phenomenological reduction at R2T2

42 discernable units of analysis

7 categories
1. Family (1-4)
2. Relationship to society (5-13)
3. Education (14-17)
4. The program (18--23)
5. Program output (24-25)
6. Program outcome (26-33)
7. Relationship to self (34-42)

4 themes
Environment
(1-4,6)
Networks
(2,4,6)
Resources
(1-3,6)
Self
(2-4,6,7)
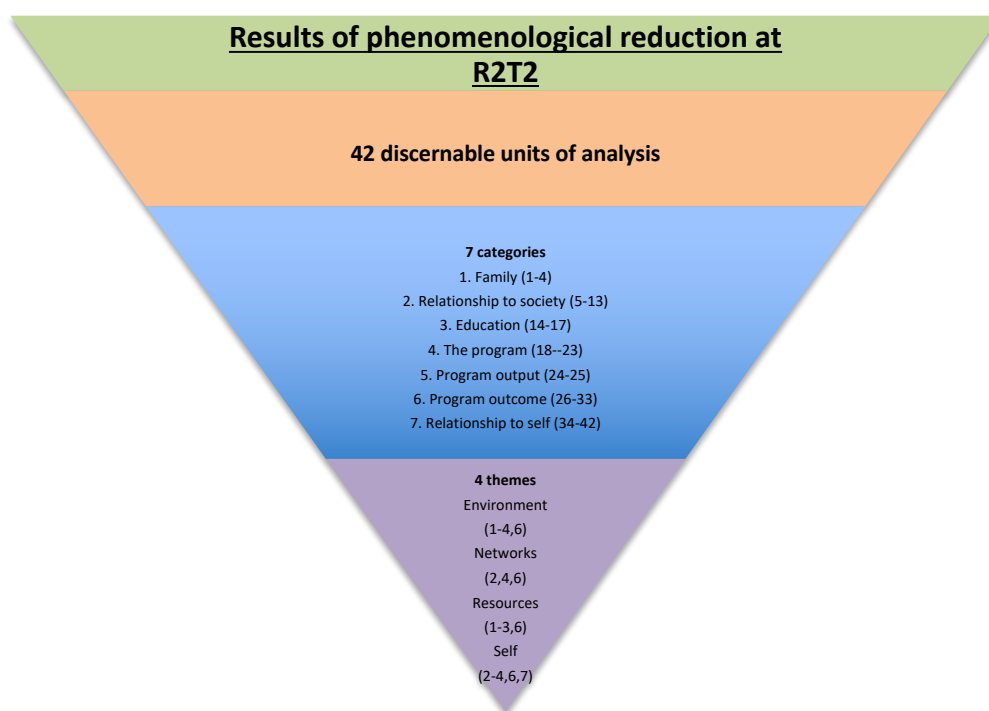
Figure 49: STREAT phenomenological reduction Round 2 Time 2

Results of phenomenological reduction at R2T3

33 discernable units of analysis

4 categories
1. Relationship to society (1-8)
2. Program output (9-11)
3. Program outcome (12-21)
4. Relationship to self (22-33)

4 themes
Environment (3)
Networks (1,3)
Resources (1-4)
Self (1,3,4)
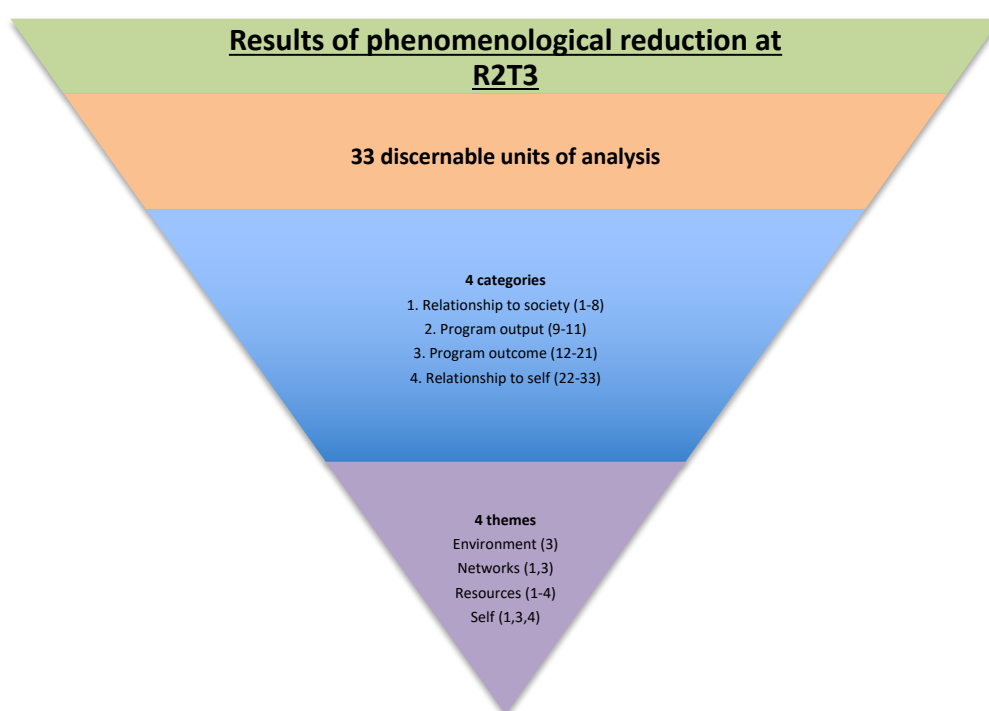
Figure 50: STREAT phenomenological reduction Round 2 Time 3

Case study 3 – Youthworx

Youthworx is a social enterprise based in Brunswick that uses creative media to re-engage homeless and at-risk young people in education and training. The aim is to connect them to support and the community, and at the same time provide the opportunity to acquire skills to generate a sustainable livelihood.

Youthworx Media is the education and training component of the social enterprise. VET certifications are delivered by teams of professional artists, educators and youth workers. The social enterprise also has a film production company, Youthworx Productions, that creates professional videos with a social conscience, and provides an additional revenue stream to fund their education programs and an environment to provide professional experience for young people.

With supported, accredited training programs, the organisation creates pathways through to skilled employment – either inside or outside Youthworx. The courses, run through Melbourne Polytechnic TAFE, cover digital storytelling, photography, filmmaking and radio. The program leads to graduates gaining Certificates I-III in Creative Industries.

Youthworx was established in 2008 under a Salvation Army grant. The organisation quickly expanded into a social enterprise and education institution gaining accreditation by NMIT (now Melbourne Polytechnic), and additional funding streams from the Victorian government. Young people enrolled in Youthworx can potentially remain in the course for up to 18 months, which is a distinguishing feature of the Youthworx social enterprise model. The long-term engagement is valuable for 'creativity, skill building and then an increased self-capacity' (Staley, in Social Traders 2015).

Macro level data presentation
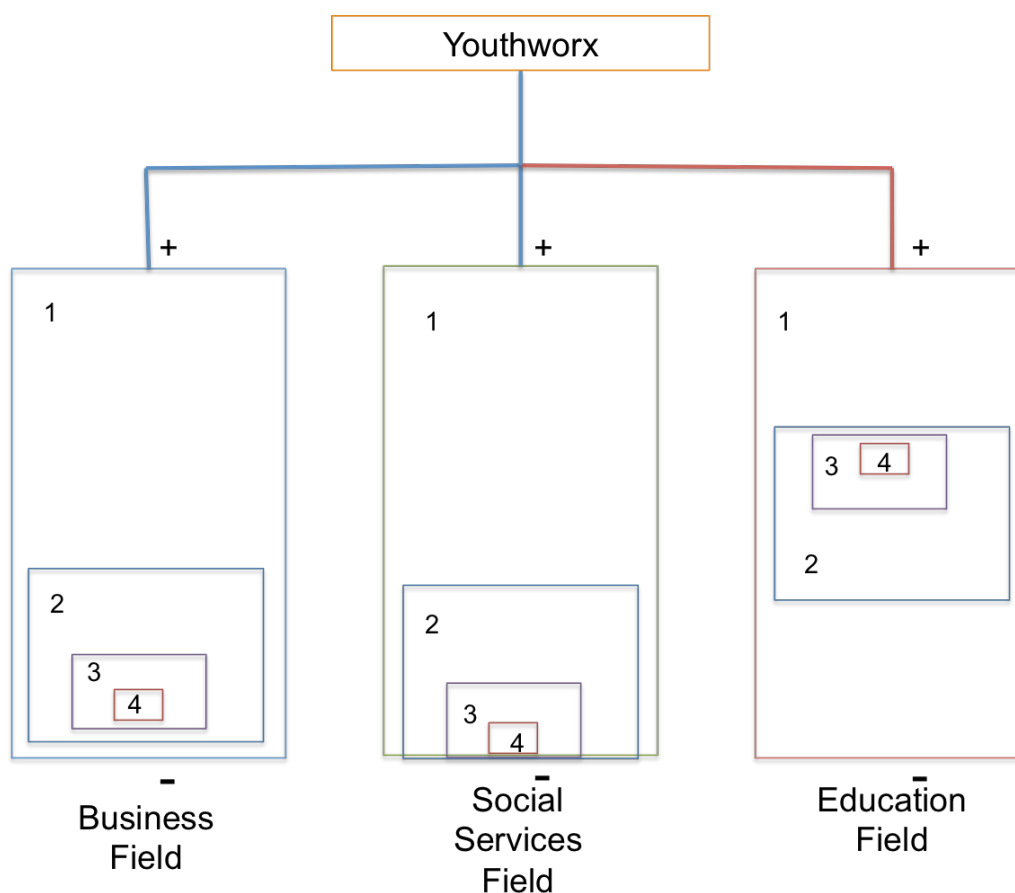
Figure 51: Youthworx field map

Subfield	Business field	Social services field	Education field
1	Digital media and film industry	Social services for young people	Field of education
2	Small and independent = substantially dominated position	Small independent community-based organisation = substantially dominated	Vocational education and training sector = middling position, both subordinate and dominant
3	Fee for service market = dominated position	Sole in-house worker providing welfare services = moderately dominated	Melbourne Polytechnic is a provider with a strong reputation and solid resources = dominant
4	Client base composed mainly of non-profit and government organisations = dominated	Government funded position = substantially dominated	Curriculum delivered onsite by a dedicated teacher with a high degree of autonomy = dominant

Meso level data presentation

Organisational habitus

Youthworx were requested to brainstorm all the things that came to mind when asked "What is Youthworx?" The workshop participants brainstormed all of the elements that came to mind during the session. Subsequently the researcher thematically clustered the results, which are presented in Table 10.

Table 10: Youthworx's organisational habitus

Developing young people	Education	Youth work	Business
Catalyst for young people	Employment and training	Opportunity to link with other services	Working in the business as an extension of training
Place to socialise	Collaborative learning	Different opportunity to engage	A business linked to training
Vehicle for opening up the world in a different way	Skill development	Strengths-based focus	Business
Accepting young people for their individuality	Practical skill provider	Open place	Business established with 12 months seed funding
Vehicle for young people to explore their creativity	Pathway for the future	The best possible equipment – a high quality high tech environment	
Gives opportunity	Originally established to train young people		

Organisational subfield

The remainder of the workshop focused on completing two Ishikawa diagrams to identify the factors or elements of the organisation that assist in delivering positive outcomes for young people, and the factors that make delivering positive outcomes more challenging. The researcher and an assistant worked with the group to populate each of the 'bones' of the Ishikawa diagram systematically to identify the elements of the organisation and their operating context which were having the most impact on their ability to deliver outcomes for participants.

Social enterprises in vocational education and training: can Bourdieu's social theory enhance understanding of their potential?

Organisational subfield: Factors leading to positive outcomes

Youthworx

Key:
Green = Economic Capital (15)
Red = Cultural Capital (22)
Blue = Social Capital (17)
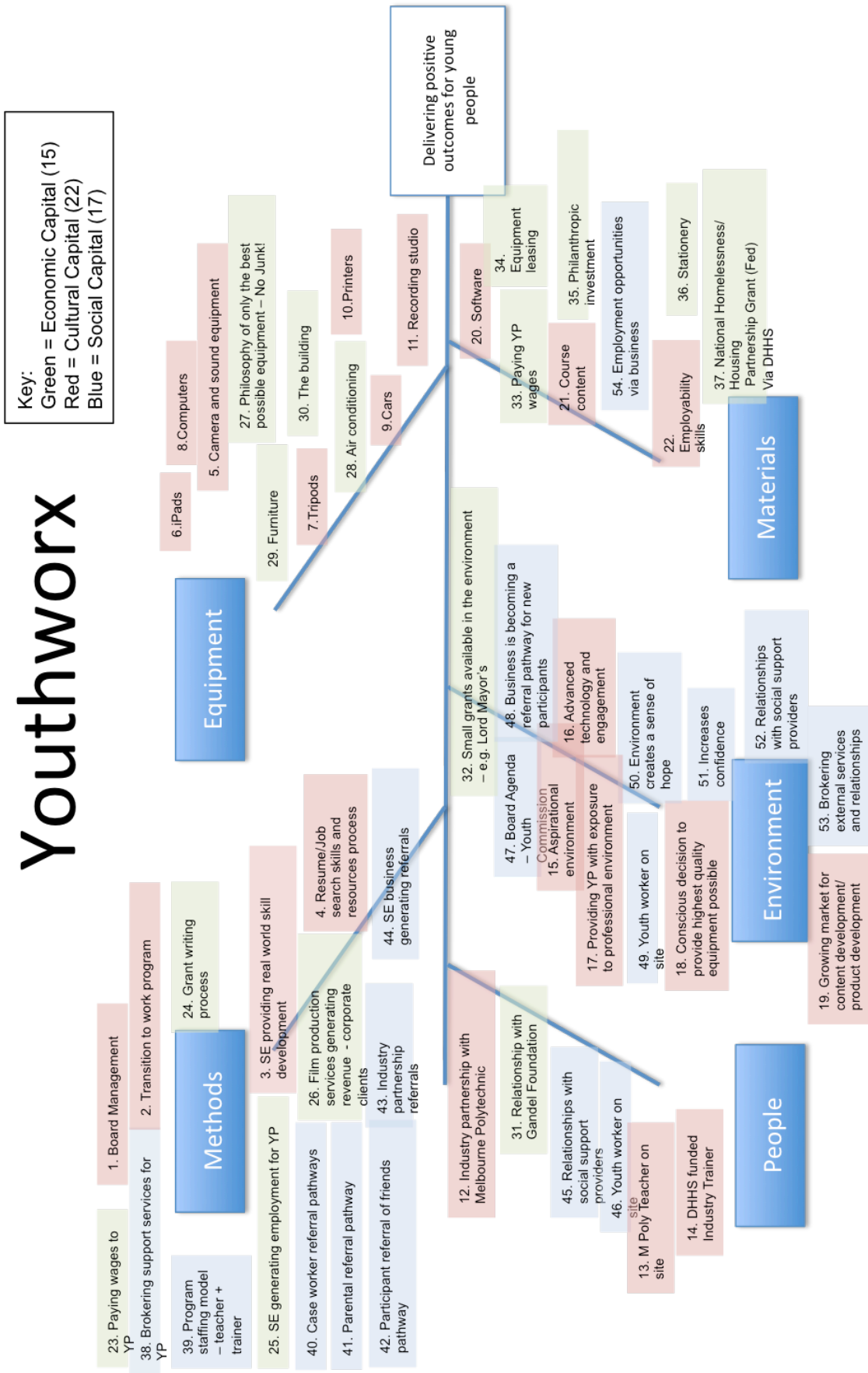
Figure 52: Youthworx's positive factors Ishikawa diagram: Capital analysis

Table 11: Youthworx's positive factors capital matrix

Youthworx's capital matrix: Factors causing positive outcomes for young people						
Capital	**Embodied**	**Tally**	**Institutionalised**	**Tally**	**Objectified**	**Tally**	**Total**
Economic	31	1	23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 33, 37	8	27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36	8	17
Cultural	3, 4, 12, 13, 14, 15, 12, 17, 22,	9	1, 2, 12, 13, 26	5	5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 18, 18, 20, 21	12	26
Social	39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53	11	38, 43, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 54	8		0	19
Totals		21		21		20	

Figure 53: Youthworx's positive factors capital map

Social enterprises in vocational education and training: can Bourdieu's social theory enhance understanding of their potential?

Organisational subfield: Factors challenging positive outcomes

Youthworx

Key:
Green = Economic Capital (35)
Red = Cultural Capital (21)
Blue = Social Capital (11)
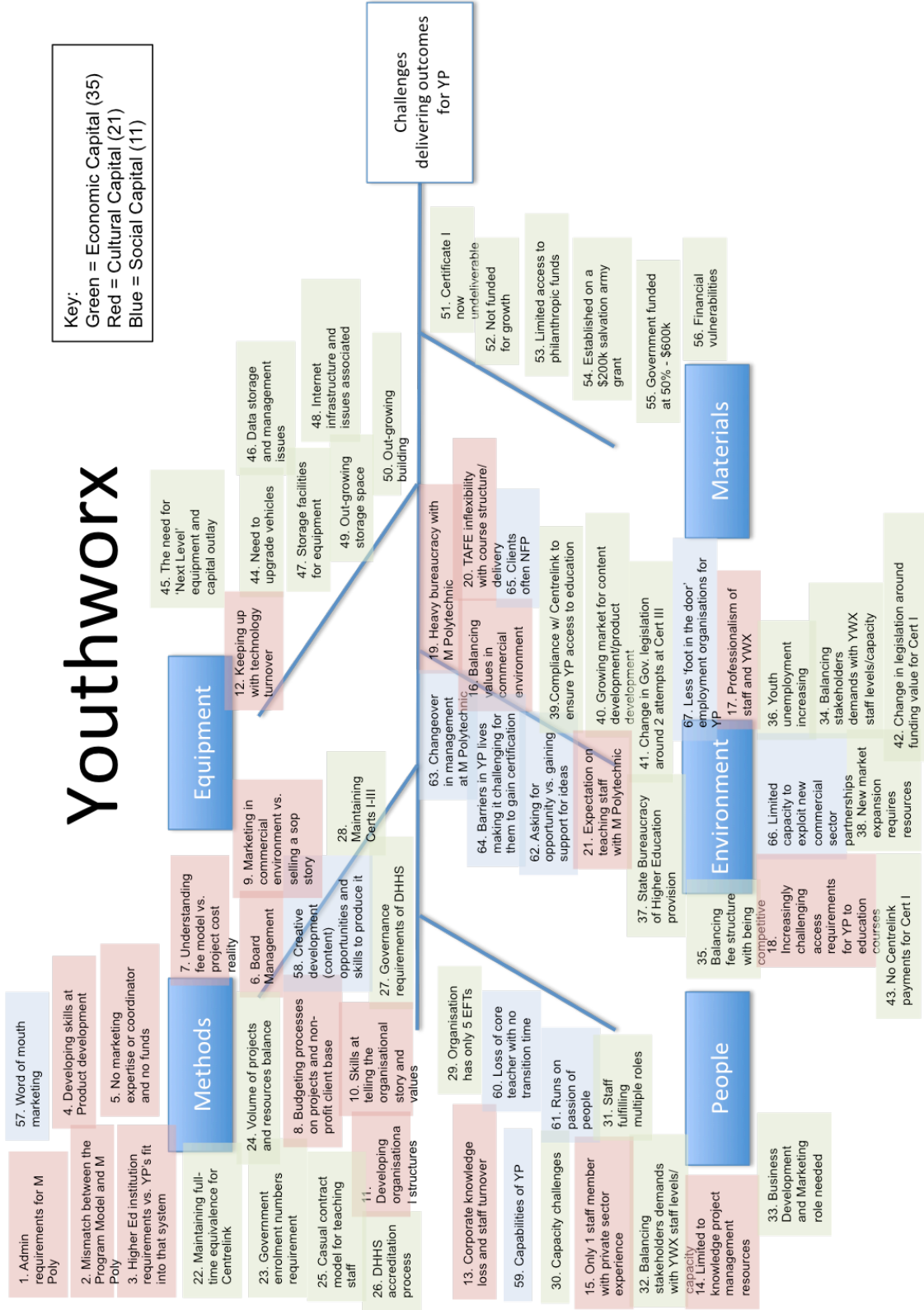
Figure 54: Youthworx's challenging factors Ishikawa diagram: Capital analysis

Table 12: Youthworx's challenging factors capital matrix

Youthworx's capital matrix: Factors causing challenges in delivering outcomes							
Capital	**Embodied**	**Tally**	**Institutionalised**	**Tally**	**Objectified**	**Tally**	**Total**
Economic	29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 39, 53	8	22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 37, 41, 51, 52, 56	11	24, 32, 35, 36, 43, 42, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 55	17	
Cultural	3, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18,	6	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20	17	12	1	
Social	57, 58, 59, 61, 64	5	60, 62, 63, 65, 66	5	67, 65	2	
Totals		19		33		20	
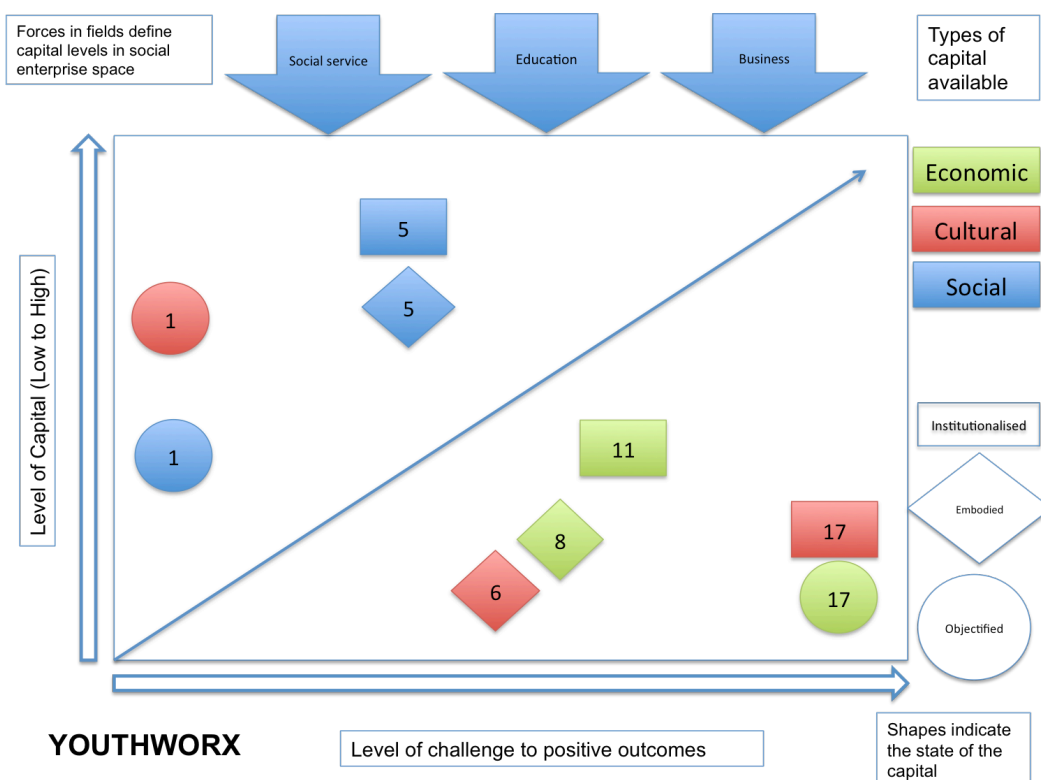
Figure 55: Youthworx's challenging factors capital map

Micro level data presentation

Round 1

Results of phenomenological reduction at R1T1

41 discernable units of analysis

9 categories
1. Employment (1,2)
2. Housing (6-8)
3. Education (3-5)
4. Family (9-11)
5. Neighbourhood (12,13)
6. The program (14-22)
7. Relationship to society (23-29, 41)
8. Friendships (30-34)

4 themes
Environment
(2,4,5,6)
Networks
(6,8,1)
Resources
(1,2,3,6)
Self
(9,6)
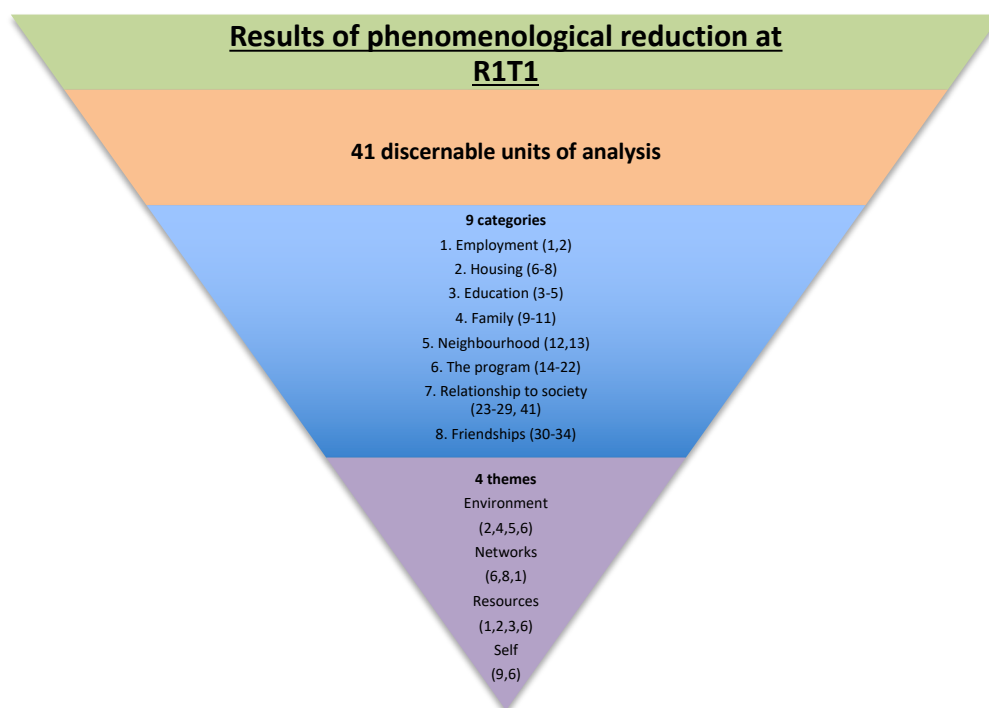
Figure 56: Youthworx phenomenological reduction Round 1 Time 1

Results of phenomenological reduction at R1T2

34 discernable units of analysis

9 categories
1. Housing (1-4)
2. Relationship to society (5-12)
3. Friendships (13-15)
4. Relationship to self (16-21)
5. Employment (23,24)
6. Program output (22)
7. Program outcome (25-27)
8. The program (28-31)

4 themes
Environment
1,8,7,9
Networks
2,3,5,7,8
Resources
1,2,4,5,6,7,8
Self
(4,6,7,8,9)
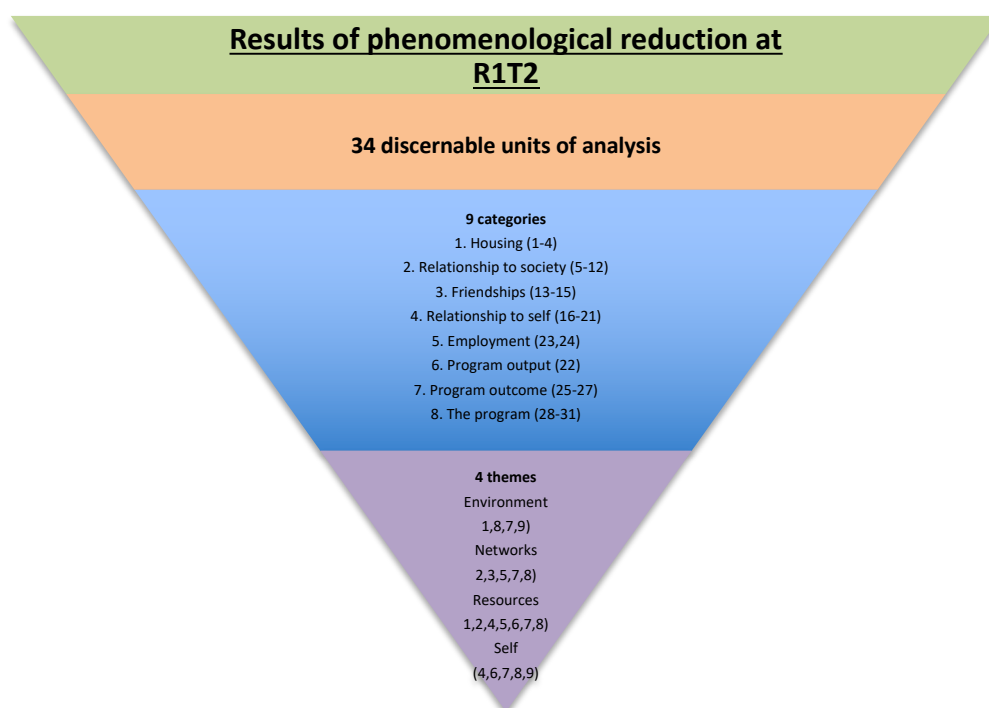
Figure 57: Youthworx phenomenological reduction Round 1 Time 2

Results of phenomenological reduction at R1T3

38 discernable units of analysis

8 categories
1. Housing (1-4)
2. Relationship to society (12-19)
3. Relationship to self (5-11)
4. Employment (26)
5. Program output (24,25)
6. Program outcome (20-23,29,32,33)
7. The program (27,28,30,31)

4 themes
Environment
(1,7,8)
Networks
2,3,6,7,8)
Resources
(2,3,4,5,6,7)
Self
(3,5,6,7)
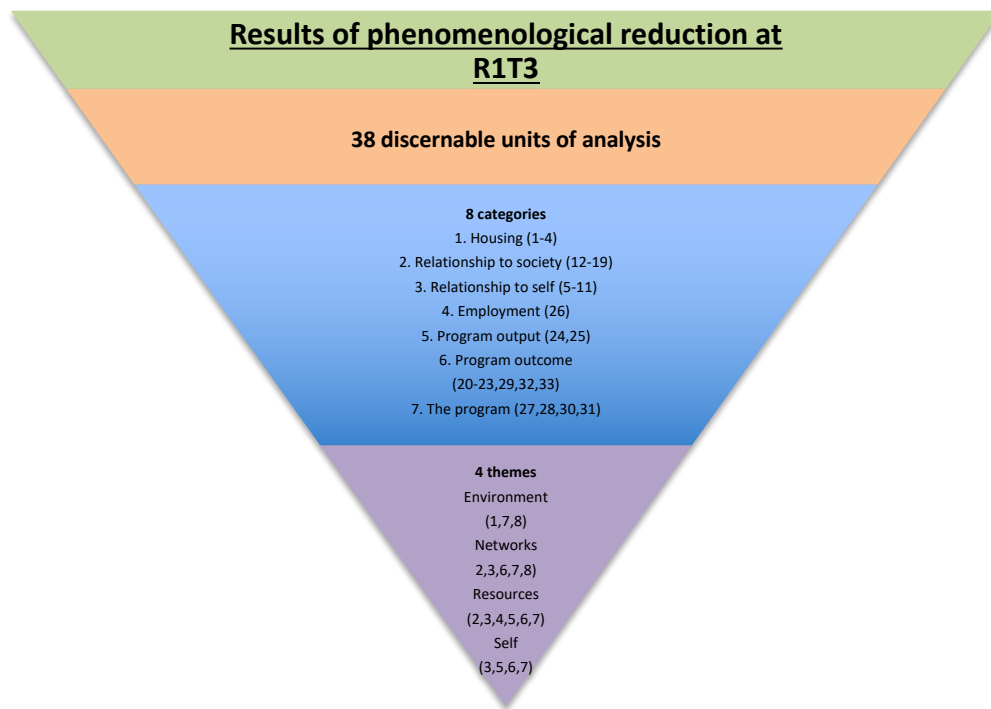
Figure 58: Youthworx phenomenological reduction Round 1 Time 3

Round 2

Results of phenomenological reduction at R2T1

55 discernable units of analysis

10 categories
1. Housing (1-5)
2. Family (6-11)
3. Neighbourhood (12-13)
4. Education (14-18)
5. Program (19-26)
6. Relationship to society (27-37)
7. Relationship to self (38-42)
8. Employment (43-47)
9. Friendships (48-52)
10. Resources (53-55)

4 themes
Environment
(1-3, 5)
Networks
(2,5-8)
Resources
(5,6,8,10)
Self
(2,4-7,8)
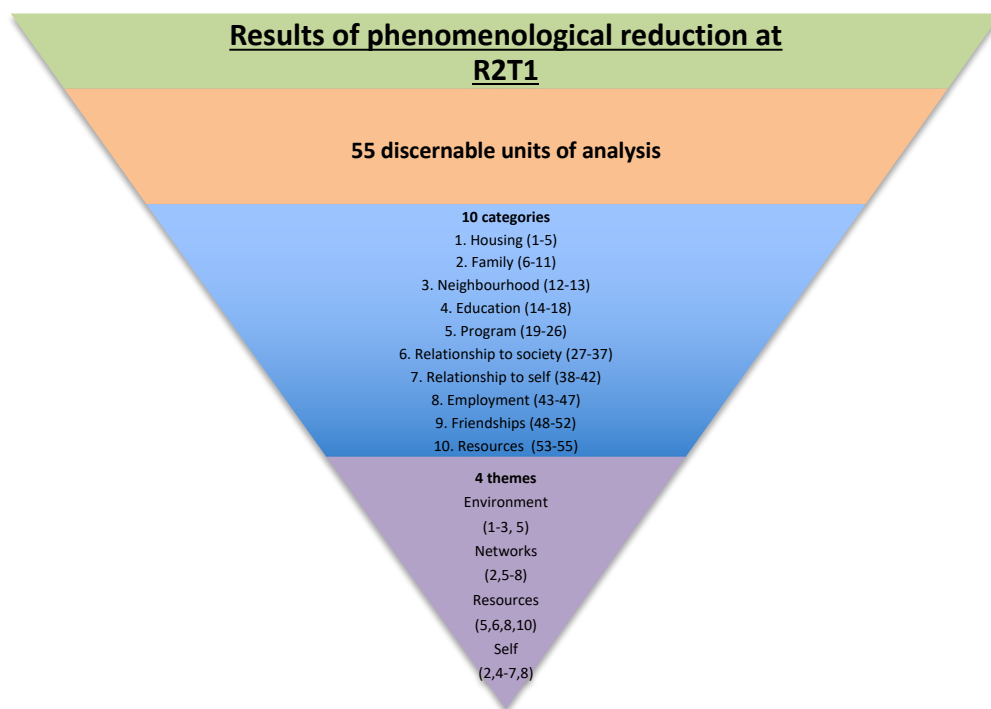
Figure 59: Youthworx phenomenological reduction Round 2 Time 1

Results of phenomenological reduction at R2T2

57 discernable units of analysis

9 categories
1. Housing (1-5)
2. Family (6-8)
3. Education(9-11)
4. Program (15-22)
5. Program outcome (23-30)
6. Program output (12-14, 31)
7. Relationship to society (32-38)
8. Relationship to self (39-51)

4 themes
Environment
(1-4)
Networks
(2,4,5,7-9)
Resources
(2-8)
Self
(2,4-9)
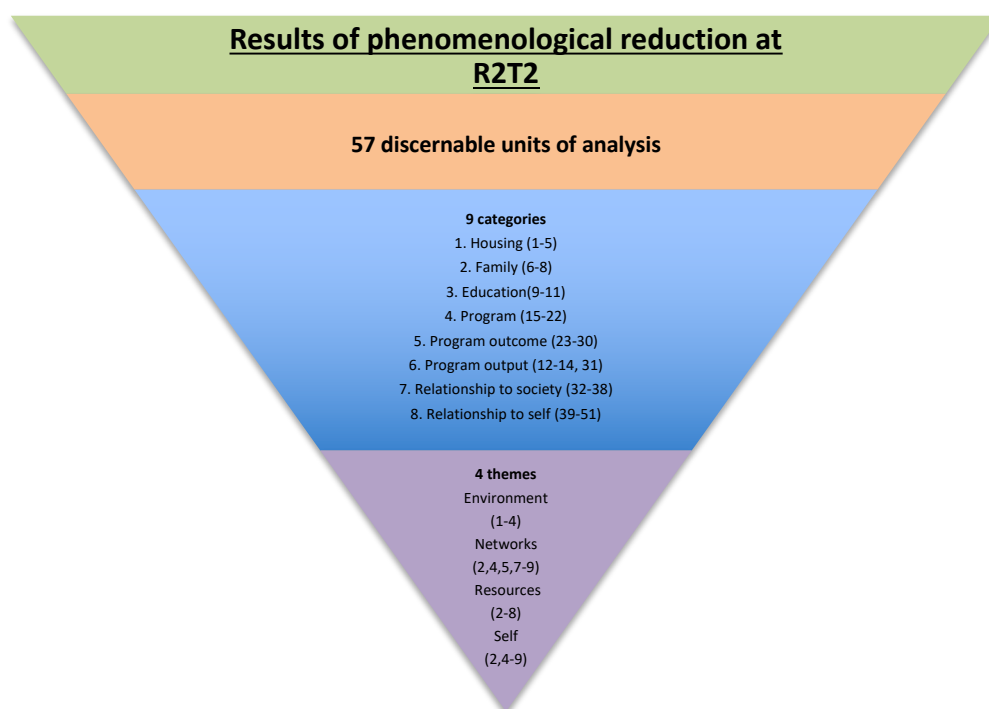
Figure 60: Youthworx phenomenological reduction Round 2 TIme 2

Results of phenomenological reduction at R2T3

51 discernable units of analysis

8 categories
1. Housing (1-4)
2. Family (5-9)
3. Program outcomes (10-20)
4. Program (21-25)
5. Program output (26-28)
6. Relationship to society (29-40)
7. Relationship to self (41-49)
8. Friendships (50,51)

4 themes
Environment
(1-4)
Networks
(4,6,7,8)
Resources
(1,4-7)
Self
(2-8)
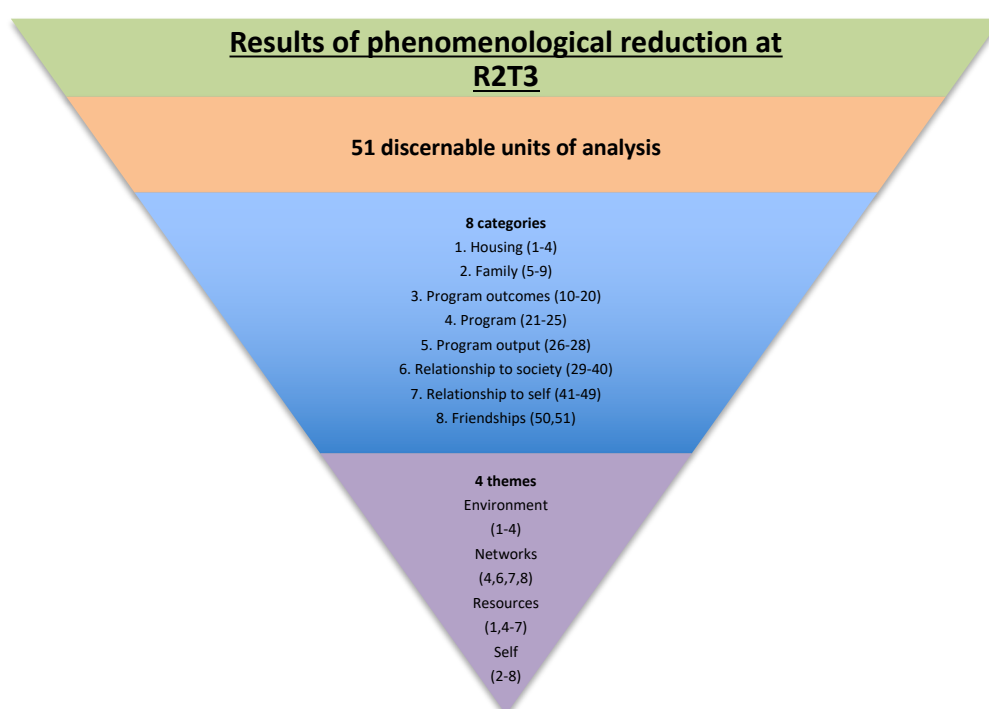
Figure 61: Youthworx phenomenological reduction Round 2 Time 3

Chapter 5: Discussion

This chapter contains the discussion of the case study data presented in Chapter 4. Each case study has been analysed and contextualised at each level of analysis. The results have been compared and contrasted, with interpretations made based on the literature and contextual differences between cases. This chapter contains a detailed analysis of the fields the sites operate within at the macro level in accordance with Bourdieu's instructions to the researcher.

This is followed by the organisational level case study results, where the operating context of each site and their challenges are considered. The data gathered from the Ishikawa diagrams and analysed according to Bourdieu's capital is compared within the robust framework provided by the theory. This scaffolding allows for comparison between sites and inferences to be validly drawn (Fletcher & Plakoyiannaki 2010). The organisational level data is analysed to theorise about the strategic actions of the agents within the case study organisations, and how they seek to maximise their sustainability and impact. The sociology of Bourdieu is deployed in order to structure this investigation.

The final section of this chapter presents the micro level of the cases and discusses them within the context of Foley and Edwards' application of Bourdieu's social capital. The researcher has applied their framework to the themes derived from the data and presented the cross-case analysis according to the four themes: environment, networks, resources and self. In applying Bourdieu's social capital to the interview data, the utility of Foley and Edwards framework is established for understanding the benefits, potential and limitations of social enterprises providing education and training for disengaged young people.

Macro level discussion

The macro level data collection was undertaken in this research project in order to contextualise social enterprises delivering education and training to disengaged young people. This level of analysis is incorporated to satisfy both Bourdieu's specific instructions to the researcher conducting empirical research, and Foley and Edwards' (1999) requirement to analyse the macro level sphere effecting the distribution of capitals in the field under study.

This discussion is informed by an interpretation of the field analysis model, supplemented with desktop research. In addition, factors from the focus groups that are of relevance to the macro level have been incorporated in these findings. This section also considers the socio-political-historical context in which the participating social enterprises operate.

Before considering the data it is worth revisiting a Bourdieuian understanding of practice (or agency). The meso level studied is an exploration of the practices of the organisations, within their operating context, the macro level.

> Practices occur when habitus encounters those competitive arenas called fields, and action reflects the structure of that encounter. The relationship is dialectical, and includes an important temporal dimension. Bourdieu's sociological analysis therefore calls for constructing *both* the structure of the relevant field and the class habitus of the agents involved. (Swartz 2012, p. 144)

In Chapter 3, Bourdieu's approach to modelling the dynamics of the field of power was introduced. This method involves constructing a picture of the structural *relations,* making social positions 'occupied and manipulated by social agents, groups or individuals' able to be studied and understood (Bourdieu 1983, p. 311). The following diagrams adapt this model and apply it to the context of SEETs (social enterprises in education and training) in order to facilitate cross-case analysis of relations and positions. The following models are founded on the researcher's understanding of the cases, with particular reference to the organisational level data collected via the Ishikawa diagrams. It is important to stress that the researcher is using this model to construct a picture of position in relation to the multiple fields that the organisations are situated within. This is critical to achieve an understanding of agency and forces.

Field analysis

There are strong similarities between HEAT, STREAT and Youthworx pertaining to the macro level influences. It is clear from the data that the influence of the state, politics and bureaucracy in the social services, education and business fields have enormous implications for social enterprises delivering education and training – as evidenced by the trajectory of HEAT, which ultimately led to their social enterprise ceasing trading.

The depiction of the generalised SEETs' position in the fields of business, social services and education in the diagram above are reinforced by comments made in the focus groups. Creating a visual model of the field placement for each organisation was a helpful method of documenting deductions from the data and providing a comparison method. The release of the VicSES (Victorian Government February 2017) and the research by Barraket and colleagues (Barraket & Furneaux 2012; Barraket, Mason & Blain 2016; Mason & Barraket 2015; Mason et al. 2017) paint a picture of the business field domination over the social service and the education fields (Ball 2008). In the VicSES there is a strong emphasis on business sustainability and growth over outcome growth (Victorian Government February 2017).

The proximal positioning of the business field and educational field in the general SEET model is also validated by the focus group data and secondary research. The academy, politics and the state are intricately bound fields within the field of power and competing for the authority of legitimate symbolic construction of the social world by influencing the meta-field of the state (Bourdieu et al. 2014). As the state ethos at present is embedded within the neoliberal logic, the position of the business field is more dominant than that of the education field (Ball 2012; Olssen & Peters 2005; Rawolle 2005; Savage 2011; Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013). The financial influence on key educational institutions is an accepted "reality" within Australia, as universities transform themselves into profit-generating corporations in response to state policy. The influence of the academy on the state, politics and business is conversely undeniable; however, it is considered to be of a subordinate strength when compared to the influence of business.

Relational position
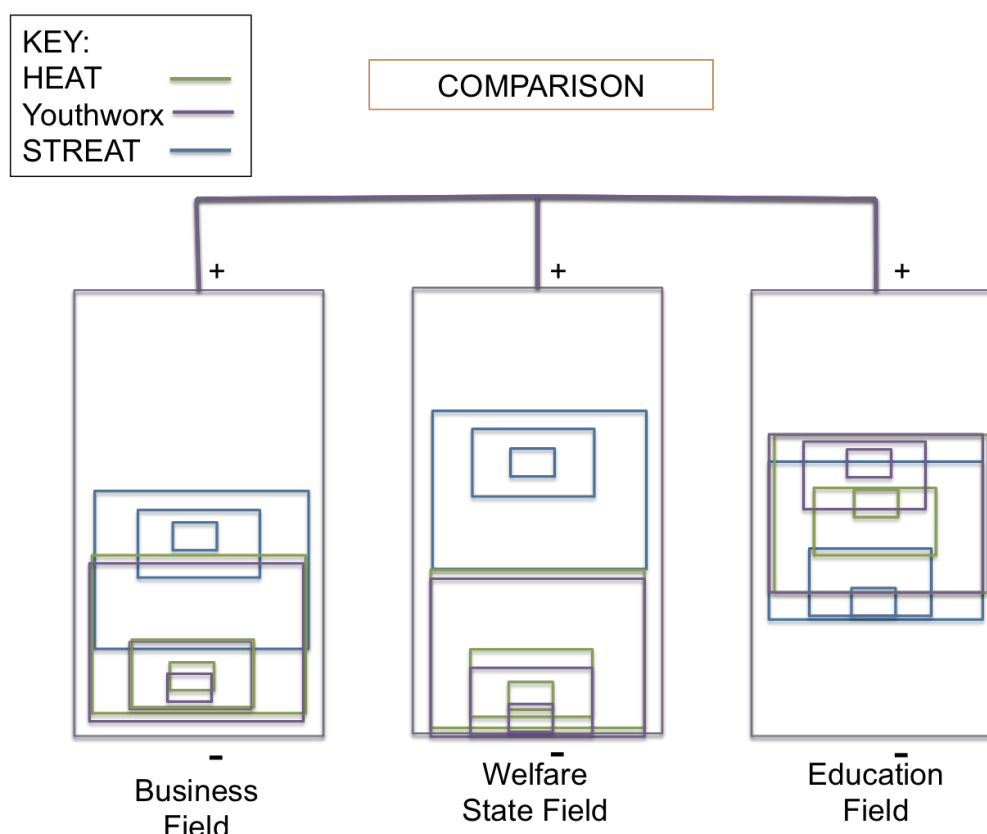
Figure 62: Field map comparative cross-case analysis

Figure 62 illustrates the variation between each organisation in terms of their strengths and resources in each field. It is clear that STREAT holds a competitive advantage in the fields of business and welfare, but their position in 2014–15 when the data was collected within the education field was slightly lower than HEAT and Youthworx. HEAT and Youthworx are both in substantially dominated positions within the business field and the welfare field. They are both operating without significant capital investment within the business field as small independent enterprises. Within the welfare field, they are both small and independent organisations receiving small grants annually in order to provide the worker, which enables them to provide their welfare services. STREAT on the other hand is independent from government funding (99%) which enables them to hold a dominant position. The arena of the most equality between the cases is the education field – a highly structured field with bureaucratic rigidity. The organisations have only slight differences in advantage that are conferred by the strengths and weaknesses of the RTOs they partner with to deliver education and training.

The following sections discuss each field the cases operate within separately. It presents the features of the field model and the focus group statements that provide insight into the macro level. Each field is discussed according to key findings and a table presents relevant factors on each organisation's Ishikawa diagram.

Business field

All three cases use their businesses as a method for providing their program participants with practical work experience and opportunities to boost their resumes via certification and practical skills. Low work experience levels are commonly seen as a barrier for disengaged and NEET youth (Pemberton 2008), which the three organisations seek to address. Additionally, HEAT and Youthworx use their businesses to pay wages to young people. The businesses are critical components of their service model, enabling young people to gain much needed work experience to enhance their chances in the employment market. Young people in Victoria are at a significant disadvantage when trying to access the labour market, as demonstrated by the recent youth unemployment figures being 12.9% in June 2017 (Vandenbroek 2017) when at the time, the general unemployment rate in Australia was 5.5% (Parliament of Australia 2018).

The discussion of the business field commences with the factors relating to the business field on the Ishikawa diagrams. The major arenas of influence in the business field for the social enterprises are industry dynamics and financing concerns. The section concludes with a discussion on the presence of social enterprises in the field of business.

Ishikawa diagram factors

Table 13 presents the factors (properties or forces) relating to the business field that structure the field in their ability to effect the distribution of capital (social, cultural, and economic). These factors have been taken from the Ishikawa diagrams, both positive and negative, of each organisation. If a factor number is in a bracket, it has been taken from an Ishikawa diagram relating to **challenges** in delivering outcomes for young people. If the number is without a bracket, it has been identified in an Ishikawa diagram for factors enabling organisations to deliver **positive** outcomes.

The "Macro factor" column is a summarising category containing multiple individual factors coming from the Ishikawa diagrams that relate to macro level influences. Each number in Table 13 represents a factor on the Ishikawa diagram. For example,

"market access" in Table 13 was not present on either HEAT Ishikawa diagram. STREAT had market access factors as positive aspects, whereas Youthworx mention market access as both a challenge and a positive aspect of delivering outcomes for young people.

Table 13: Ishikawa diagram factors – business field

Macro factor	HEAT	STREAT	Youthworx
Market access		27, 43, 39, 40, 49, 52	43, 26, 19, (4), (58), (8), (66), (17), (35)
Demand fluctuations	(40), (27)		(30)
Competition		52, 50, 49	(19), (4), (5), (57), (15), (9), (33), (35), (45), (12)
Growth and access to capital	(33), (35), (37), (34)	46, 27, 48, 50, (25), (14), (31), (16)	(30), (7), (38), (66), (52), (56), (48), (50), (44), (46), (49), (47)

From this table it is possible to readily identify that for HEAT and Youthworx the majority of factors pertaining to the macro level business field are negative. We can observe that STREAT has experienced positive results within the field of business. The challenging aspect of business operations for social enterprises has featured in the literature on the topic (Barraket & Furneaux 2012; Barraket, Mason & Blain 2016).

Youthworx has experienced some positive aspects around the market access, which has seen the organisation partner with the ABC to develop new business and a different form of product. We can deduce from HEAT's data that they have experienced only negative effects within the business field. However we can also deduce the business aspect of their endeavours was not as frequently cited in their data. This indicates a high degree of separation between the business aspect of the social enterprise and the social mission aspect. This is particularly borne out at the meso level and covered in detail in that section.

Youthworx was particularly focused on generating a greater degree of funding from their business, and was experiencing funding constraints. A much greater degree of detail and analysis on business strategy and has been presented further in this chapter.

Industry matters

There is considerable similarity between HEAT and Youthworx in their position in the business field. Both organisations are in a subordinated position in their specific markets, as limited access to private funds and their small to medium enterprise status put them in a position of marginality (Beck & Demirguc-Kunt 2006). Youthworx has a growing client base, however delivering on growth with constrained resources and no access to significant credit results in limited capacity to capitalise on opportunities to diversify their business and increase the scale of the enterprise. The film and media industry is fiercely competitive, and whilst it is a market that is not as saturated with suppliers (when comparing it to the size of the market in hospitality services) it is dominated by international and domestic firms with sizable capital leverage. Youthworx is predominately centred in the film and television industry in the production sub-sector (Deloitte Access Economics 2015).

The information, media and telecommunications industry employed 170,000 people in the year 2014–15 and generated $901 million in sales (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). The film and television sub-sector in 2012–13 employed 46,632 people in full-time equivalent roles and contributed $5.8 billion to the 2012–13 GDP (Deloitte Access Economics 2015, p. iv). The accommodation and food services industry employed 963,000 people in the same year and generated $793 million in sales (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). The disparity in employment figures of each market provides an insight into the structure of labour supply. The hospitality industry employs just under one million workers to generate $793 million in sales, whilst the media and telecommunications industry employed just 170,000 to generate $901 million. This paints a picture as to the skills and degrees of specialisation that are required in each industry. As a technically specialised industry, the film industry sales figures indicate high value products and services, versus the lower value of the hospitality industry's goods and services.

HEAT was a catering business on a very small scale, with one full-time employee running the operation for the majority of its trading history (HEAT General Manager, 22 November 2016). At various times of peak demand the young people from the program would secure casual employment in the business, providing a pool of casual labour. Also during the life of the business there were occasional apprenticeships undertaken. The passage below provides an indication of the challenging nature of establishing and operating a hospitality business in the restaurant and catering sub-sector in Australia:

> The stock of restaurant, café and catering businesses has remained fairly stable in recent years. Overall, one in two hospitality businesses survives four years of operation (51.9 per cent). This rate is significantly lower for non-employing businesses, at 41.1 per cent and significantly higher for big businesses (89.4 per cent). A significant proportion of the sector however are small businesses (93.1 per cent). (Restaurant and Catering Australia 2015, p. 4)

The industry selected in which to run a social enterprise is a critical decision. It has been found that work integration social enterprises (WISES) are concentrated in industries of low wage, low skilled labour (Cooney 2013). In the case of both STREAT and HEAT, they are participating in these industries. Youthworx is not. Their market sector is highly skilled, highly specialised and thus has its own challenges associated with competition. As a result of industry choice, participants trained within WISES are being prepared for the low wage sector of the labour market, potentially compounding longer term disadvantage (Cooney 2013).

Financing matters

It is also recognised that the business sector in general provides a 'patchy ecosystem for social enterprise start up and growth' (Barraket, Mason & Blain 2016, p. 4). This limitation is acknowledged within the VicSES, and is emphasised by the organisations' meso level data. The organisations had a foothold within their respective markets, but expanding their reach was challenging. In the words of Youthworx, 'we are not funded for growth' (General Manager, 22 November 2016).

Being a business in the accommodation and food services industry produces a double constraint. The barriers to entry to the field of restaurants, cafes and catering are quite fierce, with strict state regulatory frameworks laden with bureaucracy and duplication (Restaurant and Catering Australia 2015, p. 6). The industry itself is experiencing change with small organisations flooding the catering sub-sector using the simpler model of food trucks and pop-up stores to supply the market without having to access significant capital, or high levels of financial literacy (Restaurant and Catering Australia 2015, p. 11).

STREAT on the other hand are a clear leader in the business field of social enterprises in Victoria, and arguably Australia's greatest social enterprise success story in terms of organisations servicing the domestic social market. STREAT are considerably better resourced and are an enterprising organisation. Of particular note

is their ability to attract both significant philanthropic investment and secure private capital, with STREAT securing the largest social funding loan from National Australia Bank in 2014 to renovate and restore their new headquarters in Collingwood, Melbourne (Interview, General Manager Youth Programs, STREAT, 23 November 2016). Importantly, the building has been leased to STREAT by philanthropist Geoff Harris, the founder of FlightCentre, at the cost of $1.00 per annum on the proviso they raised independently partial fit-out funds, and secured private capital to deliver. Additionally, they have successfully created opportunities within the private sector corporate world. For example, PriceWaterhouseCoopers office in Melbourne has a STREAT café in their foyer. There are a total of four (as at 2017) cafes, a bakery, a coffee roasting company and a production kitchen for catering supplying their own stores and customers. In a different league commercially, with a diversified business in contrast to Youthworx and HEAT, they are able to leverage assets and debt facilities to deliver on growth strategies and are a continually evolving business.

Social enterprises in the field of business

Social enterprises are developed to deliberately use the market and market strategies to generate income to further their social mission. These organisations providing education and training to disengaged young people trade goods and services to provide an independent income stream through which to enable the re-engagement of young people at risk of being NEET. They are able to provide work experience and VET qualifications with the integration of commercial businesses into their organisational structure and it assists them to deliver on their social mission.

The social economy and non-profit sector has increasingly been driven to behave with a commercial acumen as neoliberalism retreats further from direct delivery of social services. The non-profit sectors and social enterprise sub-sectors turn to the market to generate much needed funds to supplement the lower funding levels for social concerns within this governmental climate. This supports the 'citizen activist' conceptualisation of social enterprise actors and entrepreneurial non-profits (Bull & Crompton 2006, p. 44), and the concept of social enterprise as a contestation to neoliberalism (Leitner et al. 2007).

Social services field

In order to construct a model of the field of social services provision it is necessary to return to a consideration of the state (Bourdieu et al. 2014). It is important to understand the role of the state in relation to the fields of education and business; however, when approaching the task of understanding the field of social services, we are very close to or are directly examining the domain of the state's construction of itself (Bourdieu et al. 2014).

It is important to ask it is *ever* possible to truly examine the state. Directly and objectively analysing the state would require an examiner to not be a product of the state, to not use the language of the state, to not be the product of any other state, and to technically understand the elements of the state and its mechanisms without being subjected to their influence. In short, it is impossible. However, stating this and proceeding to attempt to analyse the state and its construction of social problems is not a redundant exercise. Rather, it makes it all the more important to try to understand, albeit with the caveat of acknowledging the limitations of the exercise (Bourdieu et al. 2014).

To cite Bourdieu's definition once more, in his extension of Max Weber's formula:

> the state is an X (to be determined) which successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical and *symbolic* violence over a definite territory and over a totality of the corresponding population. If the state is able to exert symbolic violence, it is because it incarnates itself simultaneously in objectivity, in the form of specific organizational structures and mechanisms, and in the form of mental structures and categories of perception and thought. By realizing itself in social structures and the mental structures adapted to them, the instituted institution makes us forget that it issues out a long series of acts of *institution* (in the active sense) and hence has all the appearances of the *natural.* (Bourdieu & Farage 1994, p. 4)

In other words, the state is continuously constructing itself and is simultaneously reconstructed within the minds of its subjects. The state is disguised as being a natural part of the social order, and is present in all aspects of social life. This includes all the categories of thought and perception pertaining to what is allowable or desirable behaviour, what is legitimate education and what our social priorities should be.

In order to discuss the social service field at play in this study, we must situate the social service field in relation to the priorities of the state. Following that, we must consider the field's sub-sector – "youth".

> It is in the realm of symbolic production that the grip of the state is felt most powerfully. State bureaucracies and their representative are great producers of "social problems" that social science does little more than ratify whenever it takes them over as "sociological" problems. (It would suffice to demonstrate this, to plot the amount of research, varying across countries and periods, devoted to the problems of the state, such as poverty, immigration, educational failure, more or less rephrased in scientific language). (Bourdieu & Farage 1994, p. 2)

The discussion of the social services field commences with the factors relating to the field on the Ishikawa diagrams. The major arenas of influence in the social services field for the social enterprises are the construction of social problems and the role of the state, and the advocacy and policy dynamic of the field. The section concludes with a discussion on the presence of social enterprises in the field of social services.

Ishikawa diagram factors

The case study organisations all provided social services to young people, either by direct provision of services (counselling, medical and so on), or by acting as advocates and service brokers with partner organisations and the state. The young people who attended the programs were service users to various degrees – from those young people who accessed only occasional mental health services to others who accessed housing support, income support, mental health services, social support services and recreational services.

The organisations' ability to provide these services and brokerage was highly dependent on the state and its configuration of service provision and funding flows. The organisations themselves were critical of the Liberal state and federal government changes to policy and funding over the duration of their operations. Table 14 demonstrates the importance of entrepreneurialism, with the only consistently positive areas being philanthropic activity and the development of strong networks. These are the areas where the organisations have greatest instrumentality. The arenas of politics, policy, funding and administration are negative areas, which the organisations saw as problematic when considering the impact on their ability to deliver positive outcomes for young people.

Table 14: Ishikawa diagram factors – social services field

Macro factor	HEAT	STREAT	Youthworx
Politics	(51), (52), (53), (42), (31)		
Policy	(38), (44), (31)	(22), (24), (11), (12)	(18), (43), (42), (41), (39), (28), (22), (23), 37
Funding	28, 45, 53, 54, (42), (41), (44), (45), (50), (46), (47)	45, 46, 56, 54, (21), (20), (23), (19)	32, 37, 14, (54), (52), (55), (43)
Networks	44, 38, 36, 31, 34, 32, 33, 40, 43	41, 42, (33), (12)	38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 53, 52, 54
Administrative field	31		(26), (27), (32), (39), (37)
Philanthropy	27, 36, 39, 52, 37, 42, 56, (48)	43, 38, 47, 40, 39, 55	31, 35, (53)

The state and social problems

In order to understand the production of the "social problem" of youth, strategy documents become a means of gaining an understanding of the ideological and sociological rationales at play in the state. They are concrete artifacts of symbolic capital:

> … symbolic capital is the form taken by any species of capital whenever it is perceived through categories of perception that are the product of the embodiment of divisions or of oppositions inscribed in the structure of the distribution of this species of capital. It follows that the state, which possesses the means of imposition and inculcation of the durable principles of vision and division that conform to its own structure, it is the site par excellence of the concentration and exercise of symbolic power. (Bourdieu & Farage 1994, p. 9)

In order to understand the forces affecting the capital distribution of the social services field and the youth subfield, a study into the policy and advocacy documents of the period 2008–2017 was conducted for state and federal arenas. Peak bodies for social services and youth budget submissions and responses were canvassed and the summarised results are provided in Appendix 7. The following discussion is based on the findings of that exploration.

The rhetoric surrounding "youth" as a policy arena during the period considered (2008 to 2017) are broadly summarised into two camps: the risk perspective and the development perspective. This reflects the broad tenets of academic discourse on young people (Te Riele, 2006; and examples relating to development are Catalano,

Richard F, Hawkins & Toumbourou 2008; Emery 2013; examples relating to risk are, Hawkins, Catalano & Miller 1992; Kahne & Bailey 1999; O'Malley 1992; Schoon & Bynner 2003). However, it is not a clear-cut characterisation. The perspectives are blended and depend on the subfields and political period you are considering as to what perspective is dominant. This significantly effects the resulting capital distribution.

> Social science is always prone to receive from the social world it studies the *issues* that it poses about the world. Each society, at each moment, elaborates a body of *social problems* taken to be legitimate, worthy of being debated, of being made public and sometimes officialised and, in a sense, *guaranteed by the state* … A good number of subjects are recognized by official social science and a good many titles of studies are nothing other than social problems that have been smuggled into sociology – poverty, delinquency, youth, high school dropouts, leisure, drunken driving, and so on – which vary with the fluctuations of the social or scholarly consciousness of the time. (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, pp. 236–7)

All three cases in this study were established during the Rudd federal Labor government (2007–09) and under Labor state government. The organisations' "social missions" were aligned to the problem definition of "youth issues" of the day, which consistently featured addressing homelessness, unemployment and disengagement with education, and early intervention. It was the perspective of the organisations that the problem definition and solution focus had changed drastically with the change of government at the state level in 2010. The view of the organisations was that the problem definition kept shifting from a focus on youth employment and engagement to one of crime and punishment, with diversion and justice being the solution of the day (HEAT program manager, 22/11/2016). The capital flows altered accordingly.

This study was initiated in 2013 when HEAT was defunded under the Liberal–National Coalition Napthine government. Since then, there has been a state election resulting in the Andrews Labor government. The landscape of social policy and political strategy underwent a shift with the change, with obvious consequences for the organisations. Victorian government has re-strategised in 2015 with a policy platform aligned to the election platform: *Victoria's 10 Year Mental Health Plan (Victorian Government 2015c); Education State: Schools (Victorian Government 2015b); Roadmap for Reform: Strong Families, Safe Children (Victorian Government 2016); Back to Work (Victorian Government 2015a).* There have also been

alterations in leadership structure within the current federal Coalition. The state/national landscape of social problem construction and the resultant solution modes are in a state of semi-permanent churn, and the result of competition for capital in all its forms within the meta-field of the state at both levels.

Upon commencing investigation into the provision of youth services at the federal and state levels, it became clear that it is a rabbit warren, where systemic fragmentation characterises the field. In Victoria, a number of reviews to facilitate sector reform have been conducted since the mid-2000s starting with the release of *Who's Carrying the Can? A report into youth services gaps in Victoria* (Rose & Atkins 2006). This publication was the result of a campaign – or a locally led, concentrated group strategy to garner greater capital provision from the meta-field and influence the state – by the youth service and social services peak bodies. This report highlighted the systemic fragmentation, with small funding streams which were not recurrent, bureaucratic complexity with funding and governance for grants originating from multiple, unconnected areas of government, and a lack of overarching coordination of youth service provision (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria & Victorian Council of Social Services 2008). This advocacy project *Who's Carrying the Can?* prompted a review of the youth services sector to be commissioned, with KPMG winning the contract. The review was, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, never made public (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria & Victorian Council of Social Services 2008) but highlighted many concerns, and a project to map the services was subsequently funded, with KPMG undertaking that project.

The piecemeal nature of funding for social services, particularly youth services, across all three levels of government in Australia demonstrates the subordinated position of youth services in the social service field. It also reflects the subordinate position of social service provision in the state meta-field. It would not be an exaggeration to assert that the social service field and youth service subfield receive "scraps", and that many agents within continuously have to engage in direct competition (including in their own sector) (Considine 2000) for greater provision of state resources, or fight to retain the resources they already possess.

Advocacy and policy

The petitions and advocacy attempts have provided an excellent resource for understanding the dynamics of the sector with particular insight being provided on the forces defining the specific capital available in the field. The sources used are the Victorian government's strategy, reform and policy documents; and Victorian Council

of Social Services and Youth Affairs Council of Victoria's resources on policy, budgetary measures and problem framing, to derive a picture of the nature of competition in the field. What follows is a brief digest of the funding priorities from the perspective of advocacy for social and youth services is provided. The full articulation of the 2008–17 period is contained in Appendix 7.

Appendix 7 illustrates the dynamic process by which the problems of the "social" are created and the legitimated means of redress are applied. This is deeply complex and worthy of its own project. Justice has not been done to the subject by this meagre sketch in this study.

The flow of capital into and out of the youth sector over the nine years considered demonstrates the influence of state definitions of problems and the solutions posed and funded. It is the result of struggles or competition within the field for the "legitimate perspective" and consequential strategies and problem definitions. In short, the ability to effectively influence the version of "truth" propagated by the state is the site of competition.

Definitions of problems and politics

To move to an applied discussion in a more pragmatic sense, it is important to consider the processes at play in the social services and youth services field. It appears that the sector advocates adjust their strategies dramatically based on which "colour" of government is in power. Appendix 7 demonstrates that the problem of youth can be classified in two ways: a problem of the individual, or a problem of socio-structural considerations. Broadly and not neatly, when a Liberal coalition government is in power, the strategies of the sector are more aligned with the individualist perspective.

The years of 2008 and 2009 the Labor state government's *Vulnerable Youth Framework* contained a strong focus (with a high place on the advocacy bodies' priority lists) on sector reform and consolidation (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2008a). Education was also a high priority. In contrast, from 2010 onward, there was a pervasive use of the term 'risk' within the language, focusing on individuals 'at risk' and risky behaviour. Following this, the funding and priorities from government shifted, increasing funding of the justice system. The corresponding strategy from advocacy was that of diversion and individualised risk mitigation. This was the tone from 2010 to 2015. It subsequently shifted back to socio-structural problem definitions. There was a resurgence of the language of distribution and equity. The

leading concept of "poverty" became the platform on which the advocacy strategies were founded. Following this was a return to equality of opportunity for economic participation as the solution – jobs and education and training – became the leading priorities, as evidenced by the Labor strategy documents detailed above.

This definitional instability (which is a result of advocacy strategies to maximise alignment with political positions of governments) and the attendant administrative changes requires a process of constant readjustment, as the organisations re-strategise and re-position themselves in response to the flux. It also generates more and more layers of bureaucratic criteria and reporting, as "evidence-bases" (Case 2007; Davies 2004; Head & Stanley 2007; Head 2013) must be developed to support/validate the approaches chosen. This is also evident in the significant number of reviews of the youth sector and social service sector that took place in the period, with the prospect and actuality of "reform" as a constant operating reality. This causes fatigue, as elaborated by Shergold (2013) in his research on the Victorian social sector, and is wasteful by increasing insecurity (Shergold 2013).

The challenges caused by definitional instability and the consequences for capital distribution are as valid for the administration fields as it is for the SEETs. This is the direct consequence of the field of politics influencing the field of administration. The administrative complications were a feature of the organisational level data and evident in the advocacy policy and budget positioning. There was particular emphasis in relation to the constant change within the national welfare services department, Centrelink, with this being a source of genuine difficulty for the young people and those who were attempting to assist them.

Bourdieu warns of over-simplification of the macro sphere. It is important to remember that all agents in all fields have a stake in the game being played:

> To understand the interest of the technical bodies is an attitude that can be called 'progressive', it is necessary to assume that they have a professional interest bound up with progressive positions. It is not because they are progressive that they have a progressive position, but because they belong to a body that is partly bound up with a form of progressive regulation. Once a 'social conquest' has been inscribed in a state institution, once a body has been established whose existence is partly bound up with the perpetuation of this thing (the Ministry of Social Affairs), it is certain that there will be within this state body a defence of this social conquest, even if the beneficiaries

have disappeared and are no longer there to protest. I am pressing the paradox here, but I think it is very important. (Bourdieu et al. 2014, pp. 19–20)

The governmental bodies responsible for allocating funding and policy direction have an interest in the game being played in this field. They work to ensure the relevance of their function as much as the advocacy groups work to get their agendas recognised by those governmental bodies and the accordant funding. The crux of this is that the social enterprises are competing for legitimacy and capital within a field where large state institutions are also self-interested in maintaining their own legitimacy and capital. These organisations are able to exert influence over the construction of problems and solutions within the field that benefits their own position before attending to the resource needs of the sector.

Authority, autonomy and social enterprise

Appendix 7 shows the emergence of the discourse on social innovation and social investment. This appears to arise in tandem with a *decreased* degree of autonomy and authority in the social sector. This observation is based on the resurgence of the language requesting collaboration and cooperation between the sector and government that appeared in the advocacy positioning in 2016.

The proactive and socially aligned Andrews government in 2015 increased their degree of instrumentality in the social sector (as indicated by the flurry of social strategising listed above). It is reasonable to deduce it was conducted without a high level of collaboration and consultation, therefore lowering the levels of authority and autonomy in the social service field. The social services advocacy budget submission of 2016 (for the 2017–18 financial year) had as the number one priority the establishment of a social investment fund. Social investment funds are a key funding vehicle for establishing and supporting social enterprise and social innovation. This emergence of the new discourse suggests a plausible hypothesis – the use of social enterprise, innovation and investment funding is a strategy of the social sector to regain autonomy and authority within their field.

The earlier assertion is that the social enterprise sector is a social space, one that has been sanctioned and legitimated in 2017 by the Andrews government with the VicSES. It was suggested that the social enterprise sector was not a field based on the following:

The vast majority of social action unfolds in social spaces that are just that, social spaces, that is, multidimensional distributions of socially efficient

properties (capitals) stipulating a set of patterned positions from which one can intelligibly predict strategies. But they are not fields because they have no institutionalized boundaries, no barriers to entry and no specialists in the elaboration of a distinctive source of authority and sociodicy (Wacquant 2017, pp. 8–9).

It appears that an important strategy of the social service sector agents to increase their autonomy and authority has been deftly controlled by the state construction of the field of social enterprise that is occurring at present. By sanctioning and legitimating the use of this model, by confining and defining the problems they are legitimately used to address, by sanctioning who or what organisation is a legitimate member of the network of organisations, the government has coopted the strategy. Thus, they diminish the efficacy of social enterprise in its potential to increase the authority and autonomy of the social service field. It demonstrates in a practical way Leitner et al.'s (2007) discussion the contestation of neoliberalism, and the process of cooption.

Social enterprises in the field of social services

The social enterprises in this study work with disengaged and disadvantaged young people by trying to re-engage them in the education sector. They are also providing significant work experience opportunities to young people to assist them to gain future employment. The young people these organisations work with are highly vulnerable and are predominately social service users. They have disengaged from mainstream educational environments due to complex and challenging circumstances and often require significant social support to remain in education and accrue successes.

These organisations were established to deliver on a social mission – to re-engage young people who were at risk back into society. Again, this is a case of a social need being perceived by "citizen activists" and being proactively addressed by the creation of social enterprises (Bull & Crompton 2006). These social needs increase under a neoliberal government ideology, where individualism, small government and meritocracy dominate the problem classifications and their attendant solutions (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2016).

Education field

The education field is where the distribution of positions is the most equitable amongst the three key spatial fields. The degree of homology within this field is high, which is indicative of heavy institutionalisation and structure. A homology is as 'a resemblance within a difference' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 105). The field of education is heavily regulated and bureaucratised, and is a tightly held subfield of the state. It is clear that while the cases are in an equitable position inter-organisationally, their position within the fields shows a degree of variation. This is illustrated by the variation within the inner boxes in the model.

The discussion of the education field commences with the factors relating to the education field on the Ishikawa diagrams. The major arenas of influence are marketization of education, equity and access, decreasing autonomy of the education field and managerial neoliberalism. The section concludes with a discussion on the presence of social enterprises in the field of education.

Ishikawa diagram factors

Looking at the results of Table 15, we can see that there is one stand-out aspect – the relationships the social enterprises have with their education providers. This is a clearly positive aspect of delivering outcomes for young people and is a universally positive aspect. It is important to note in this respect the organisations are talking about their *relationship* with their direct provider – the RTO teachers and organisational staff. HEAT particularly stood out as having a positive perception of their educator. Their teacher stayed with the program from its inception and the two organisations via the staff had formed close ties, which enabled the delivery of solid educational outcomes for their young people.

All other factors on the summary table relate to government intervention/involvement in the field. The access for young people and the funding changes relates to the change in availability of Certificate I level courses, which occurred during 2015–16 under the Liberal federal government. These are the lowest qualifications specified by the Australian Qualifications Framework but are considered entry-level training qualifications (Clarke & Polesel 2013). The state funding for the delivery of the courses at this level was substantially decreased. Without the ability to offer the basic courses some of the young people struggled to access the education provided by the social enterprises, as they did not meet the educational prerequisites. This also

reflects the "negative policy changes within the VET sector" factor in the table. These issues are entirely within the domain of the state.

"Restrictive institutional logics" related to the rules and regulations that the education providers were bound by. These requirements meant that the needs of the young people for flexibility and exceptions were unable to be easily handled by the institutional bureaucracy. This echoes the challenges associated with complex young people and mainstream education institutions (Clennon 2014; Lange & Sletten 2002; McGregor & Mills 2012). Again, this is within the domain of the state, but also within the specific educational organisations. The factors relating to "bureaucracy and administrative requirements" are also closely related. In this aspect the social enterprises noted the increasing pressure on educators from their institutions to satisfy bureaucratic requirements.

Table 15: Ishikawa diagram factors – education field

Macro factor	HEAT	STREAT	Youthworx
Negative policy changes in VET sector	(38),	(24), (11), (13)	(22), (23), (28), (43), (42), (39), (51), (41)
Bureaucracy and administrative requirements	(22), (28)	(10), (9)	(1), (2), (3), (21), (19), (37), (23), (25), (63)
Funding restructuring	(39), (28), (42), (44)	(20), (19),	(41), (28), (23), (25), (18), (42), (51)
Importance of RTOs in delivering education	11, 10, 30, 9, 15, 16	35, 34, 33, 10	12, 13, 39, 21
Access for young people	2, (44)	5, (22)	(18), (39), (43), (41)
Restrictive institutional logics	(28)	(9), (10), (8), (2)	(3), (20), (64)

Marketisation of education

The position in the field analysis of the first box is almost the same for all cases, representing all three organisations delivering courses from the VET sector within the field of education. The very slight differences signify the position of the institution that each organisation uses as their RTO. The dynamics of the education field hint at the negative by-products of a marketised education sector (Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013). Of particular concern is the conflict between state aspirations for equity and the delivery of quality education (Gale 2011; Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011; Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013; Sellar 2013; Thomson 2013).

Youthworx has Melbourne Polytechnic (formerly North Melbourne Institute of Technology – a public provider) as their delivery partner. HEAT is delivering through

William Angliss Institute, a smaller and specialised private provider. STREAT at the time of the study was delivering their course via Franklyn Scholar, which is not a well-known and established formal TAFE, but an independent, private RTO. This was a challenge for STREAT, as the curriculum delivery was 100% theoretical. However, students reported having excellent relationships with the trainer in STREAT's internal evaluations (STREAT 2015). In 2015, STREAT transitioned their delivery partner relationship to Melbourne Polytechnic, a highly reputable institution within the VET sector, and would have been in the same placement as Youthworx (i.e. the top placement in the model) had the provider switch occurred before the micro level of this study was completed.

The placements of the internal boxes were determined by location of teacher, which is an aspect of the social mission delivery model. For example, STREAT's trainer was offsite and all curriculum delivery took place at Franklyn Scholar during the period of the micro level of study. Interestingly the offsite curriculum delivery has been maintained in their transition to Melbourne Polytechnic, and the STREAT young people receive their education in the formal training kitchens at Melbourne Polytechnic rather than in the STREAT cafes. HEAT has had a dedicated teacher throughout the life of the HEAT program. The teacher's position is funded through William Angliss, but the curriculum is delivered onsite at HEAT's catering kitchen and St Kilda Youth Service's South Melbourne facility. Likewise, Youthworx has a dedicated teacher who delivers the curriculum onsite with the young people in the same building as Youthworx Productions. Melbourne Polytechnic provide and fund the teacher, who is employed on a casual basis for the position at Youthworx. Additionally there is a media trainer educating in tandem, which comes from a separate funding stream.

The placement of the inner boxes in the model indicates that Youthworx, with their curriculum delivery from a formal TAFE provider, with a strong reputation and solid resource profile, providing an onsite teacher with a high degree of autonomy, is in the strongest position within the field. STREAT would be similarly placed if the study were conducted under current operating conditions, with a caveat around offsite delivery of the curriculum. However, offsite delivery could be considered both a benefit and a drawback and could only be understood with additional data.

Equity and access

One of the consequences of the rapid expansion of VET sector education in response to federal funding structure changes requires a consideration of Bourdieu and Passeron's principle:

> the economic and social profitability of a given diploma is a function of its scarcity on the economic and symbolic markets, i.e. the value which the sanctions of the different markets confer on the different diplomas and different categories of diplomas. (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, pp. 181–2)

What functioned as a broadening of *access* (Carmichael 1992; Gale 2011; Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011; Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013; Sellar 2013; Taylor, Sandra & Singh 2005; Thomson 2013) also represents the devaluation of the credential, due to the decrease in scarcity. This leads naturally into the consideration of class reproduction. The domination of technocratic and economic logic over the structuring and funding of the educational field is a product of actions of the state.

> The technocrats are able to prove the sociologically impossible idea of an educational system reduced to its economic function alone, only because, having failed to relate the economic system (to which they subordinate the educational system) to a determinant structure of class relations, and taking for granted an economic demand conceived as independent of the power relations between the classes, they then, in all innocence under the cover of its technical function, reintroduce the social function for the education system and in particular its function of reproducing and legitimating the structure of class relations. (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, pp. 185–6)

The VET sector in the education field in Australia is predominately accessed by people of lower socioeconomic conditions – that is the VET sector is the domain of the working classes (Goozee 2001). The higher education sector has also undergone enrolment expansion, somewhat driven by lower availability of graduate entry level employment, and the increasing "certificationalism" in the modern day labour market – for example, the colloquial folk knowledge that "Masters are the new Bachelors" and the standard for minimum education attainment has been raised in direct response to the increase in proliferation of Bachelor level educational attainment.

Structural levers causing an increase in educational attainment expectations are state decisions around the use of VET sector education pathways to higher education, income contingent loans, research proving higher educational attainment

producing better socioeconomic outcomes for individuals and so forth (Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013). This phenomenon in itself provides evidence as to the primacy of competition and distinction in fields, particularly the labour market (Bourdieu 1984). It suggests this restructuring of the field has served to maintain the class divisions and modes of reproduction, despite the policy objective of increasing access to education for those who struggle in the face of socioeconomic disadvantage (Gale 2011).

Decreasing autonomy of the education field

A discussion point prompted by a consideration of the field of education in relation to the meta-field of the state and the field of power and class relations is the degree of autonomy in the field of education. Bourdieu and Passeron stress the importance of determining autonomy of a field or subfield in gaining an understanding of education. Autonomy is the degree to which a field is 'capable of imposing its specific logic, the cumulative product of its particular history' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 105).

The secondary sources at the macro level education analysis suggests the possibility that the education field in Australia has been on a historical trajectory of losing its autonomy. The Australian National Curriculum for schools is an example of this possibility. It seems that the domination of the logic of technocracy and rationalisation, market principles and the overall managerialism associated with the educational discourse (Gale 2011; Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011; Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013; Sellar 2013; Taylor, Sandra & Singh 2005; Thomson 2013) and organisational management has diverted or usurped any notions of education as enculturation, or "education for education's" sake.

All sites cited difficulties and increasing pressures associated with delivering VET curriculum courses for the young people in their programs. Institutional requirements have developed over time in order to "prove outputs", "increase efficiencies", "increase transparency" and provide high "quality accreditation" (Maton 2005; Olssen & Peters 2005). This has resulted in an increased burden on teachers and institutions to conform to managerial logics and sustain a heavy bureaucratic load. This is an operating reality for SEETs in this study that is made even more complex (for both the RTOs/polytechnics and the SEETs) by the misalignment between the students and the institutional structures. The needs of young people experiencing structural and social disadvantage are not easily met by the structures of the modern day educational institution (Te Riele 2007; Wilson, Stemp & McGinty 2011).

Managerial neoliberalism

In the secondary research, the extent of the domination of the logic of economism and the subordination of education to market demands has been a revelation. Consider the following extract from the COAG Education Council, in its *Preparing Secondary Students for Work* publication reviewing the VET in Schools program:

> Schooling is changing and must continue to change to meet the demands of the 21st century. Global competition, technological change, increasing consumer demands and the shift to a knowledge-based economy continue to drive changes in the nature of work, the requirements of employers, and the skills that workers need. Schools have always prepared students for work, but now need to prepare students to meet higher demands in the workplace. The proportion of low-skilled entry-level jobs is falling, and employers look for skilled and flexible workers who can navigate the world of work; interact with others; plan and organise; make decisions; identify and solve problems; create and innovate; and work in a digital world. Many employers expect school leavers to have already had some practical experience, enabling them to quickly become productive in a new job. (Education Services Australia (Education Council) 2014, p. 2)

Earlier I referred to Bourdieu's critique of the common presentation of education as being either a function of supplying the labour market with appropriately skilled labour or as being the means of enculturation for society and a significant mechanism of transmitting national identity. With the public rhetoric surrounding education in Australia observed in the secondary sources it seems plausible to suggest that economism has triumphed.

It is significant to note that not one single factor relating to the governmental, administrative and political influences in the education field appeared in the Ishikawa diagrams detailing the causative factors for *positive* outcomes. The only direct reference to the field of education in the positive Ishikawa diagrams related to relationships with RTOs. These emphasised the delivery of their courses, the strengths of their teachers and the significance of certification for disengaged young people, particularly in light of those who struggled to participate in mainstream schooling. Another notable factor is the use of independently designed curricula in all three sites, mostly centring on developing life skills in their participants. With STREAT however, the course content provided industry capabilities in a "light touch" alternative for young people, in addition to the heavily structured TAFE curriculum.

Social enterprises in the field of education

The social mission of the social enterprises is to deliver education and training to disengaged and at risk young people. These participants commonly disengaged from mainstream education institutions due a multitude of factors, which are compounded when a student is experiencing challenges in their personal lives. Disengagement from mainstream schooling is often due to the institutions being unable to cater for the complex support needs of marginalised young people and the mismatch in environmental needs.

The social enterprises in this study have established environments that support young people to re-engage in education and provide a high degree of personal support. They are delivering VET courses to enable young people to remain engaged with society and successfully move through the challenging life period of education to employment transition (Bynner 2001a; Marks 2005; OECD 1998; Reinherz et al. 2003; Te Riele 2008). Mainstream education institutions are often unable adapt their institutional requirements to accommodate the needs of marginalised young people, and the social enterprises are delivering education and training to prevent these young people from falling through the cracks (Muscat 2017; Simmons & Thompson 2013; Thompson 2011).

Macro level summary

This section presented the macro level data using the field maps and a cross-case analysis of the social enterprises network of fields: business, education and social services. As per Foley and Edwards' application of Bourdieu's social capital and Bourdieu's requirements for empirical research, the forces affecting the distribution of capital within the fields have been considered. This section has addressed the research question *Can a Bourdieuian theoretical framework be used to understand and theorise the use of social enterprise?*

Meso level discussion

Very little research into what it is like to work in the social economy and social enterprises has been conducted (Amin 2009). This study allows insight into the challenges and benefits of working in the social sector and working for social enterprises. This discussion uses the meso level data derived from the Ishikawa diagrams and organisations' descriptions of themselves to explore the use of strategy

and interests in the way the organisations position themselves and manoeuvre within their social space according to the forces of the fields in which they operate.

In Putnamian social capital, there is no consideration of the multiple forms of capital that are interdependent and interchangeable in society. There is acknowledgement that levels of social capital, conceptualised 'features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust' can result in 'coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit' (Putnam 1993, p. 36). Normative social capital acknowledges a virtuous circle that social capital stocks create, in that social capital in a society is self-reinforcing and breeds more social capital. However, this perspective posits social capital as an element of the normative elements of a society, the 'non-contractual elements of a contract' (Woolcock 1998, p. 155) and may be beneficial for understanding how organisations such as social enterprises originated. This presupposes that the societal elements of norms, values and trust facilitate the creation of such organisations, but tells us little about the sociopolitical context, their struggles and successes, nor the benefits that arise from social enterprises. It also has the danger of being a deficit model theory, which would cast a society without such "civic virtue" in a negative light which demonises communities (Morrow 2001b) and plays into the notions of individualism, morality and meritocracy contained within neoliberal theories perfectly (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2017).

In contrast, Bourdieuian social theory recognises social capital to be but one resource amongst many, and the 'universe of exchanges' is irreducible to 'mercantile exchange' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 242).

> Social agents are not "particles" that are mechanically pushed and pulled by external forces. They are rather bearers of capitals, and depending on their trajectory and on the position they occupy in the field by virtue of their endowment (volume and structure) in capital, they have a propensity to orient themselves actively either toward the preservation of the distribution of capital or toward the subversion of this distribution (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 108–109).

This cross-case analysis considers social, cultural and economic capital levels and usage in order to gain an understanding of relational position. A simple capital analysis starts the discussion, followed by an analysis of the various states of capital. Finally, the organisational dispositions are explored to provide a picture of how organisational agency is being effecting success – operationally and in terms of outcomes.

Simple capital analysis

Table 16 presents a count of factors on each organisation's positive and challenging Ishikawa diagrams. For ease of reference, the Ishikawa diagrams have been reproduced in A3 size in Appendix 8. The difference between the count on the positive and challenging Ishikawa diagrams is also presented. Finally, there is a count for each capital type across all Ishikawa diagrams. Inferences for each capital are discussed separately below.

Table 16: Simple capital analysis

Capital type	HEAT			STREAT			Youthworx			Total number of factors
Ishikawa	**+**	**–**	*Diff.*	**+**	**–**	*Diff.*	**+**	**–**	*Diff.*	
Economic	13	19	6	13	16	3	15	35	20	**111**
Cultural	21	31	10	36	15	21	22	21	1	**146**
Social	24	3	21	9	2	7	17	11	6	**66**

Economic capital

Economic capital as a contributor to the delivery of positive outcomes is the most consistent category across the data. This is an interesting result given the vastly different economic positions of HEAT, STREAT and Youthworx. Factors categorised as economic capital related to the economic benefit to participants; the assets and funding streams of the sites; financial capacity of the organisations; government policy levers effecting economic capital; costs and liabilities; and organisational perspectives on capital growth.

HEAT and Youthworx's positive economic capital factors showed the sites' commitment to ensuring that young people's economic capital was increased. By participating in the program, young people had an opportunity to be paid for the work they performed within the social enterprise, as casual staff and via apprenticeships or employment longer term in the business beyond the scope of the program. The organisations' work navigating government social services and administration with young people also resulted in economic capital increase for participants.

The positive economic factors on HEAT and Youthworx's Ishikawa diagrams also demonstrated that whilst funds were restrictive (severely in the case of HEAT) they possessed the economic capital in the form of infrastructure and materials to deliver

their programs effectively. This was enabling the SEs to "get by", keep their programs intact and maintain the enrolments of their participants. In the case of HEAT, the withdrawal of funding by the Napthine government in 2013 saw a 'scramble for funds' (HEAT challenges Ishikawa diagram (HCID), Factor (F) 31) which were able to sustain the organisation, keeping HEAT 'limping' before the merger with Melbourne City Mission (MCM) and during the transition (HEAT positive Ishikawa diagram (HPID), F36). This ability to finance the program in the interim appears to have been the result of an exceptional effort in leveraging the high social capital of the organisation (discussed below).

HEAT's economic capital data demonstrated diversity but dependency in funding sources (Haugh 2005). Changes in local and state governments had significant impacts on the program's viability. The changes in government at local, state and federal levels in the period of 2014–16 saw some stop-gap funding at the local level (HPID, F54). At federal and state levels, new funding avenues were being pursued with new opportunities for youth in the budgetary landscapes. The merger by SKYS with MCM provided the program with fresh resources (in economic and cultural capital) and was a successful survival strategy, ensuring the future of SKYS and extending the life of HEAT SE. This is classified as a *reinvention strategy.*

STREAT (during the period the micro level data was collected: 2014–15) was operating the program under very challenging circumstances. The social enterprise was growing, with the step change of Cromwell Street (STREAT positive Ishikawa diagram (SPID), F46, 50, 51) development occurring during 2015–16. STREAT surprisingly could be characterised as having less fit-for-purpose physical program infrastructure than either HEAT or Youthworx at the time. The program was being run from premises that were not ideal, and the program itself was operating on sparse resources. This demonstrates a different development and growth strategy at play in the cases, which has resulted in significant benefit for STREAT's sustainability, growth and long-term trajectory. It appears that the 'constant aim to reduce government funding' (SPID, factor 45) and the 'innovation and growth pursuit' (SPID, F46) were key differentiators in organisational outcomes. The funding situation for these social enterprises is consistent with research across the UK and Australian sectors relating to the challenges with securing funding for growth and sustainability (Beck & Demirguc-Kunt 2006; Bull & Crompton 2006; Smith, Gonin & Besharov 2013; Spear, Cornforth & Aiken 2009; Steiner & Teasdale 2016).

An indicator of the scale of STEAT's growth trajectory is in 2014 the organisation was operating four cafés, a large-scale coffee cart in Melbourne Central shopping centre, a catering and production kitchen and a coffee roastery. The program and staff cohort were housed in a donated space, which was challenging for the staff, with its heritage listing and limited facilities (STREAT Challenges Ishikawa diagram (SCID), F27). However, by December 2016, the business had closed a café and with Cromwell Street, approximately quadrupled the physical size and increased capacity of the café (compensating for the close of Flemington). In addition, they housed the entire staff cohort in modern, custom designed offices. Concurrently, they consolidated the location of the youth program into a purpose-built environment within Cromwell Street and re-housed the production and catering kitchen, started the artisan bakery and relocated the coffee roastery in one single location. This is a testament to the transformation substantial capital investment can achieve, when combined with ingenuity and business acumen and is the result of a strategy termed *pursuit of capital investment*.

Related to the above is the substantial amount of philanthropic economic capital that STREAT has acquired and leveraged (SPID, F55). The figures presented are correct as at November 2016 with the organisation's funding ratio 70:29:1 (self-generated income, philanthropic funding, government funding respectively). The Cromwell Street development was made possible by the purchase of the building by the philanthropist mentor, and the complete refurbishment being funded by a combination of philanthropy (30%) and self-sourced private capital (70%). This has provided a platform on which to further grow the business, transformed the nature of the program provision and is a funding route often highlighted in discussions on the social economy and funding social enterprise (Barraket et al. 2010; Haugh 2005; Hayllar & Wettenhall 2011; Zappalà & Lyons 2009). Furthermore, expansion is continuing, as the demand for the programs is increasing and new growth opportunities are sought (GM Youth Programs, STREAT, Interview 23/11/16). This development has been interpreted as the successful execution of a market share expansion strategy or an *intra-field expansion strategy*.

The nature of Youthworx's industry and business presented a quite divergent approach with its own set of challenges and opportunities. The creative media context has consequences for income generation, particularly given the technical and creative skill sets required for financial viability and growth. All growth in economic capital for Youthworx is the direct result of either competitive tendering for small grants or client growth. Being a media production company, the business drivers are

different to that of a hospitality business and their strategy involved expansion into an entirely separate field – the artistic field.

Youthworx's General Manager detailed the growth strategy during an interview in 2014:

> … in terms of growth for us as an organisation, there's things we want to do that will kind of sit on top of that. For example, we eventually want to start producing our own narrative driven stuff, so stuff that is say, so whether it is a television series or a feature, stuff about the young people that are involved, creatively and collaboratively … That will put us into a different sort of frame, but will require its own funding sources so … but I feel like the business gives us such a great training ground and the infrastructure that we can go and do some of that more creative stuff.

By 2016, the strategy was in train; however, the complexities of the artistic and creative field, particularly in executing profitable ventures and managing commercial partnerships, was affecting the efficacy of the strategy (Youthworx challenges Ishikawa diagram (YCID), F17, 35). The cultural capital demands of such a strategy are high, and the organisation was aware of their deficit at the time the meso data was collected. Combining the cultural capital challenges with strained personnel capacity placed pressure on the organisation (YCID, F29, 30, 31, 35, 24). However, the prospects for continued content development were high and met with enthusiasm by the organisation, as exposure was increasing social and cultural capital levels in the artistic field as at 2016.

It is interesting that all three case studies were considering or pursuing strategies that expanded the fields they operated within. STREAT was exploring the possibility of expansion into food production by agriculture. HEAT, with its resurge in resources (increased economic, social and cultural capital gained through the SKYS/MCM merger – HPID, F18, 35), was recasting its entrepreneurial arm. The expansion into event management (see e.g. HCID, F49 and HPID, F52, 37) takes HEAT's previous additional income generation approach and high levels of social capital, alters the business model from commercial catering, and transitions it into event production and management. This strategy would commonly be called an "innovation" strategy. This strategy of all three organisations is termed *field expansion*.

The negative effects of insufficient economic capital were most evident in Youthworx's challenges Ishikawa diagram. Thirty-five factors associated with low

level economic capital demonstrates the constrained position of the organisation. Whist economically, HEAT's program was under the most acute financial strain (having the government grant for their program withdrawn) Youthworx's ambitions for growth and ability to capitalise on the opportunities being presented, with the professionalism they desired, were being frustrated. The comment that the organisation is 'not funded for growth' (YCID F52) demonstrates the bind that low resources place on an organisation's ability to innovate to deliver growth, particularly in a highly specialised technical industry. The position of Youthworx as being suspended between a possible growth trajectory and simply continuing to struggle to stay operative is an illustration of the position of many social enterprises internationally (Aiken, M. 2007; Grimes 2010; Hazenberg, Seddon & Denny 2013; Margarian 2017; Peattie & Morley 2008; Steiner & Teasdale 2016).

Cultural capital

Cultural capital was the most frequently appearing factor, represented by the highest total across all Ishikawa diagrams (146). The factors identified as relating to cultural capital were those associated with the delivery of the education programs, including relationships with the institutions; effects of the education system and policy broadly, including effects on participants; personal education and experience of organisational staff; personal levels of cultural capital of participants; cultural artefacts such as technological equipment; and knowledge, information and skill sets.

Youthworx showed the most balanced relationship between cultural capital and its effects on the delivery of outcomes (positive influence 22 factors, negative influence 21 factors). As is evident in the Youthworx capital maps, objectified cultural capital is the highest scoring cultural capital subtype and has a significant contribution to the delivery of outcomes. This is due to their industry being creative media, which implies a high degree of specialism in creative cultural capital and technological cultural capital (YPID F5–11, 16, 18, 20). This is corroborated by the data in the qualitative micro stream as being a significant contributor to the delivery of positive outcomes, as the program participants demonstrate high degrees of enthusiasm for the program content, creative digital media (YPID F21).

The industry and course specialism is also a challenge for Youthworx. The cost of technological advancement and maintaining currency is a major concern. These factors registered in the economic capital category, however there is an undeniable interrelationship between economic and objectified cultural capital. The more highly prized an object of cultural capital is, the higher the price tag (Bourdieu 1984). The

very nature of the industry as being technologically advanced cultural capital (both production and the means of production) comes with significant economic consequences (YCID F45–50, 12) and has challenging implications and consequences for the successful execution of their *field expansion* strategy.

All organisations' Ishikawa diagrams demonstrated that the relationships with the RTOs were essential to delivering positive outcomes. However, STREAT's relationship with their RTO was featured on the challenges diagram heavily. With the change in provider to Melbourne Polytechnic (the same provider as Youthworx) the relationship became a feature that was a significant contributor to the delivery of positive outcomes. HEAT and Youthworx reflected the importance of having a relationship with the provider where the cohort of students was understood, and there was a degree of flexibility and understanding between the organisations (YPID F12; HPID F11, 9). Another way in which the cultural capital was operational is the location of the teaching. Both Youthworx and HEAT delivered their programs onsite, which enabled them to exercise a high degree of control over the environment, and ensure that it was non-threatening and aspirational for the young people involved (YPID F16, 13; HPID F14, 9) (Wilson, Stemp & McGinty 2011). The importance of environment (Muscat 2017; Te Riele 2008; Wilson, Stemp & McGinty 2011) was also corroborated by the qualitative micro data in both organisations and will be discussed in subsequent sections.

STREAT delivered their program content externally, both with Franklin Scholar and Melbourne Polytechnic. This alternative model of education delivery was seen as a positive contributor to outcomes, particularly with the infrastructure of Melbourne Polytechnic's training kitchens (SPID F35). A possible inference of this is that STREAT focuses on providing their own custom designed course content and program from within their sites, enabling the focus on the business and youth program to be sustained and consistent. This strategy is termed *social mission maximisation*. By having the program delivered offsite, core business remains high on the agenda (Bull, Michael 2007; Haugh 2005; Lichtenstein 2011) and the economic and cultural value of the cultural capital gained from the relationship is maximised with organisational outlay minimised. STREAT provides a strong work experience component for all young participants by maximising the use of their business infrastructure (SPID F8, 33, 34, 32). Another potential advantage of this approach to curriculum delivery is enabling the young people to gain familiarity with highly institutionalised education delivery in the conventional mode of VET institutions. That exposure, whilst providing significant social and emotional support

via the youth program element, could arguably deliver a significant benefit to the young people by easing them into mainstream education.

Viewing the RTO/organisational relationship as a partnership and working with an informed, stable and understanding management in the institutions was an important aspect of positive outcomes. This aspect is problematised in all three organisations CIDs for various reasons (YCID F19, 20, 1, 2, 3, 63; HCID F28). The most significant challenges with RTO relationships were experienced by STREAT; possibly a by-product of the social mission maximisation strategy involving the offsite delivery of the education component, due to heavy reliance on the institution for all aspects of the curriculum delivery, and less control over the content and important environmental aspects of the education (Blake 2007; Bond 2011). The STREAT CID clearly presents the challenge with relationships, communications and content delivery (SCID F8–10, 13). This resulted in a change of providers, and the positive contribution to the organisation and young people is reflected in the PID (SPID F34-35).

The onsite delivery of the curriculum can also be depicted as a *social mission maximisation* strategy, however the alternative approach brings different challenges alongside the benefit of increased environmental control and autonomy. The institutional challenges associated with the onsite programs were related to dealing with a highly bureaucratised industry (Gale 2011; Gale & Tranter 2011; Savage 2011; Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013), the challenging expectations administratively, and the ability for young people with specific needs to fit the mould in terms of meeting institutional criteria. It is also the case that entry requirements to courses were in flux, with disadvantaged young people being increasingly less able to qualify to participate in the education delivery (YCID F1–3, 18–21; HCID F28). Furthermore, holding the program onsite meant that the class sizes required achieving financial sustainability of an onsite teacher, which placed the working relationship between the organisations and the institution under strain (YCID F28, 21; HCID F41, 22, 39).

Directly linked to economic capital is the value that the government has placed on entry-level courses. The severe funding cuts for Certificate I courses are an exclusionary policy change (YCID F3, 18, 51, 43; HCID F39, 38). This is evident in the micro level qualitative data, in addition to the consistent citing of this specific challenge at the organisational level. The funding cuts for a per head value (from $8.00 per head per hour to $1.50) has meant that HEAT and Youthworx can no longer deliver Certificate I courses via their institutions (YCID F51; HCID F41; 38;

SCID F20), and it is by the support of Melbourne Polytechnic alone that STREAT is able to continue to offer that access to young people (Interview, STREAT GM Youth Programs 23/11/16). This results in fewer young people coming from complex backgrounds with higher support needs being able to enter education, due to the severe funding cuts for the entry-level programs.

Furthermore, reductions to the value of Certificate II made the delivery of that curriculum challenging for HEAT (HCID F38), increasing tensions between the RTO and the organisation (HCID F39). Effectively the bar for entry has been raised for the participants for education, serving to compound their disadvantage. Despite the heavy burdens on the VET sector in terms of policy expectations of equity and access for the most disadvantaged in our community (Goozee 2001), and for the direct needs of industry, the VET sector's funding levels are sliding backward.

> The Financial Information 2016 report gives an account of how the government-funded VET sector is financed, based on data provided by the Australian, state and territory government departments responsible for administering government funds for Australia's VET system.
>
> When comparing 2016 with 2015, revenue from the Australian government decreased by $1246.7 million (27.3%); revenue from state and territory governments decreased by $424.7 million (12.8%); while revenue from fee-for-service activities increased by $33.0 million (2.9%).
>
> Total operating expenditures decreased $52.3 million (0.7%) to $7071.9 million in 2016 compared with 2015. (National Centre for Vocational Education Research (NCVER) November 2017)

Further exacerbating the problem is the federal Liberal–National Coalition government's withdrawal of Centrelink (income) support for young people gaining Certificate I courses (YCID F42; HCID F44; SCID F22). Another of the government's educational policy changes impinging on the young people's ability to access education were the additional restrictions imposed to access to financial support for education via VET FEE-HELP (Noonan 2016c). The government created a restriction effectively disqualifying any young person from gaining fee assistance if they had attempted Certificate III level qualifications more than twice (YCID F41). This particular legislative restriction featured heavily in the micro level quantitative data, as young people were deterred from attempting further VET level courses, as they could

not afford the fees. This demonstrates the punitive turn in educational and social policy (Wacquant 2009, 2010).

It was clear in the capital analysis of the Ishikawa diagrams for all organisations that significant value was placed on their ability to increase the cultural capital of the young people within the program. This was the cornerstone of their social mission delivery (HCID;YCID;SCID). These are summarised as:

1. Providing access to education
2. Creating alternative pathways for sustained educational attainment
3. Providing necessary resources for jobseeking
4. Providing social welfare support to sustain educational participation
5. Life skill development via custom made programs
6. Providing opportunities to accrue the essential work experience and attendant skills to gain employment, to nuance and bolster the educational attainment
7. Providing practical qualifications and certifications, such as Responsible Service of Alcohol (a legislatively required qualification for all persons serving in a licenced venue in Victoria)

These were seen as the essential services all organisations provide. These critical assets for young people (Australian Social Inclusion Board 2012; Butler & Muir 2017; Eurofound 2012; Finn 1991; OECD 1998) featured heavily on the PIDs of all three organisations. This highlights the significance of cultural capital and its tightly bound relationship to economic capital, and an acute awareness of this relationship among the staff of the organisation.

The final distinguishing feature of the cultural capital distribution of these enterprises is the most important cluster of factors relating to the ability to deliver outcomes for young people and has the most severely felt consequences. The factors relate to knowledge, skills and experience levels of organisational management. This aspect is discussed in depth in the digest of the capital maps in the section below, as the visualisation of the data provides a striking illustration of the significance of this form of cultural capital.

Social capital

Social capital surprisingly accounts for the lowest number of factors in the cross-case analysis, with 66 instances classified in the data. This contradicts the notion espoused in social enterprise research that social capital is a benefit delivered by social enterprises when the normative notion of social capital is applied (Curtis,

Herbst & Gumkovska 2010; Evers 2001; Frith 2014; Hazenberg, Seddon & Denny 2013; Scheiber 2014). Factors identified as social capital were those associated with interpersonal connections and relationships, inter-organisational connections, networks, interpersonal integration or mobilisation, and changes in participants' social competences.

The most striking observation from the data is the variability of social capital distribution or usage in the organisations. One inference drawn is that social capital exists as a slightly different form of capital and operates in strong relationship with the other two forms. To orientate the discussion it is wise to return to Bourdieu:

> Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more of less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.
> (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 119)

HEAT is a case that illustrates the operation of social capital most powerfully. A significant difference in the number of factors of the CID (3) and PID (24) provides us an extreme example (in terms of this study) to consider the use of social capital in an organisational context. HEAT's trajectory during the study timeframe – operating unfunded through to merger with Melbourne City Mission – demonstrates how the use of social capital itself is a productive strategy.

Social capital is the highest scoring capital of all types on the HPID. HEAT's ability to keep the program and business alive during the period following the government funding withdrawal can be said to be the result of a successful exploitation of the social capital the organisation had invested in developing. This enabled the organisation to continue delivering outcomes for young people despite the funding crisis. Recalling the criticism of social capital discussed in the literature review, it is asserted it cannot be called a "capital" because it does not require investment or an opportunity cost (Baron & Hannan 1994). In fact, social capital is the result of considerable investment in the development of connections and networks and investing in relationships. It also requires the development of competence at using those connections – 'an acquired disposition to acquire and maintain this competence' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 254).

Social capital factors on the HPID were related to the use of connections and networks to deliver outcomes for young people. These connections were institutionalised to form effective and productive referral pathways into the program

for disengaged young people, brokering access to the necessary support services – mental health, GP visits, homelessness services, other health services, navigating governmental support services and so forth (HPID F20, 22, 32, 34). Also classified as social capital were factors associated with an increase in the participants sociability, social skills and competences (HPID F23, 20, 26, 27, 23, 21, 41).

Overwhelmingly the social capital factors were associated with productive networks and relationships. It is clear from the data that quantitatively the organisation was "well connected". Supported by the local community, they possess a diverse range of productive relationships spanning a reputable RTO, to celebrity chefs, to rotary groups. In addition, an active alumni group continues to support the organisation through time, mentoring and returning to work for the organisation (HPID F40, 31, 36, 43, 42, 33, 37, 40, 25, 24, 39).

The networks were created deliberately by the use of events and consistent investment in relationships. The events enabled police, local council, community members, business owners and so on to attend onsite and be served by the program participants. This strategy strengthened and diversified the connections to the community over a number of years, and it was these networks and the successful use of professional networks which kept the program alive during the unfunded periods. It is also a core element to the way HEAT runs, by 'partnering with many organisations to deliver government requirements' (HIPD F31, 28). This approach I have considered as an aspect of HEAT's *social mission maximisation strategy*.

However, it is important to note Bourdieu's emphasis on the *sum* or *volume* of resources within his social capital concept. This aspect is heavily reinforced by Foley and Edwards (Foley & Edwards 1999), in their definition: *social capital = access (networks) + resources*. A contrasting example of social capital factors is STREAT, with only nine factors related to social capital on the SPID. These related primarily to networks, with two relating to the development of social capital in the participants.

STREAT's successful development trajectory is strongly influenced by the relationships developed in the philanthropic and business fields (SPID F43, 38, 39, 40). A powerful player in both philanthropy and business is the mentor of STREAT, and this has been a fruitful connection for the organisation. This relationship is a core contributor to the organisation's trajectory, not least because it provided critical economic capital injections that have facilitated successful execution of growth strategies. In contrast, HEAT has a high volume of connections and relationships, however the resource value of those connections is in a different league to those of

STREAT; they generate far less economic capital. This difference has a critical effect on the volume of social capital the organisation can be said to possess. Social capital is not reducible to the sum of resources possessed by the networks (Bourdieu 1986) but it is a core component of the operation of social capital.

STREAT has high-level networks in business, philanthropic and social services fields. Furthermore, it is generally recognised as the leader in the Australian social enterprise space (SPID F42). This is a definite advantage to the organisation and a highly productive position. However, it is not sufficient to equate social capital to the sum of resources and access alone. Social capital is also the *acquired* skill of knowing how to utilise the resources to which you have access. The skill of "putting social capital to work" appears inextricably linked to cultural capital. In the context of this study, the key differentiator appears to be the cultural capital associated with organisational management and business acumen. This crucial determinant is elaborated further in the section on capital maps.

Social capital in the case of Youthworx featured mainly on strong networks that enabled the organisation to consistently fulfil its *social mission maximisation strategy*. The program was seen to be delivering increases in young people's confidence via exposure and integration (YPID F50–51). Excellent referral pathways, strong support brokerage and effective personnel were a feature of the social capital factors (YPID F38, 40–42, 44, 53, 45). One area that was particularly striking was the "virtuous circle" the SE was creating. Youthworx's customers consist of mostly non-profit sector organisations. This had created an unexpected referral pathway, where customers were referring young people into the program. Furthermore, the connections the organisation was making via their customer network provided employment pathways for some of their program participants (YPID F48, 54, 44).

As Youthworx's reputation in the creative media industry was growing, the organisation began to see a diversification of their customer base from the non-profit sector to the corporate sector. Furthermore, the business was increasing its social capital via the industry, with partnerships for commercial content development being fostered, and new forays into the content development product diversification were proving fruitful (SPID F43, 26). In this way, the organisation's increasing social capital was partly assisting them on delivering their *field expansion strategy*. There is one factor on the YPID associated with philanthropic activity, however it is not a field with which Youthworx had strong connections.

The way in which social capital is used as a resource by the organisations concurs with Bourdieu's theoretical approach. Network theorists (see for example, Adler & Kwon ; Bhatt & Altinay 2013; Borgatti & Foster 2003; Lin & Erickson 2008) present a very similar conceptualisation that stays within the remit articulated by Bourdieu, that social capital is 'the capacity for people to lever their social connections to advantageously gain access to resources or better use the firm's own resources' (Zubac, Hubbard & Johnson 2012, p. 1875).

Key findings from capital maps

Positive capital maps

The box and whisker plots for the positive capital maps highlight a large difference between STREAT and the other two organisations. STREAT is the only one with an outlier and this has skewed the presentation of the graph, but has reinforced the inferences gleaned from the simple capital analysis and capital maps. The data point represented by the score of 27 is embodied cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital had delivered the highest scores in both positive and challenging capital matrices.

Using the box and whisker plots demonstrated the degree to which STREAT's level of embodied cultural capital is contributing to the delivery of positive outcomes. Conversely, as will be covered below, challenges associated with embodied cultural capital levels have the highest overall score. The actual range of data for STREAT is the highest, at 26. However, with the outlier excluded from the dataset, their data is highly concentrated with an interquartile range of 4, and a median of 4. The organisation's strength in embodied cultural capital appears to result in less pressure or dependence on other forms of capital.

However, it is vital to note that the embodied *social* capital of STREAT has very likely played a significant role in the accrual of embodied cultural capital, with the two factors comprising their embodied social capital relating to the strong relationship with their philanthropist and business mentor. The lowest contributor to outcomes is their objectified social capital. Lastly, objectified capital in all its forms are the lowest contributor to outcomes, which correlates with their explicit strategy of making do with little physical resources in order to build the strength of the organisation in terms of personnel and rigour. One important point to note, however, is the objectified capital in all three forms represented by Cromwell Street. While the move occurred outside the micro level data collection, it had an enormous effect on the ability for STREAT to

deliver positive outcomes. The high volume attributed to the majority of STREAT's factors demonstrates their overall capital levels are high.

General observations of positive capital maps

- Consistently, embodied social capital is a significant contributor to the delivery of positive outcomes.
- Where embodied cultural capital is high, economic capital is high. Where it is middling, economic capital tends to be low.
- Embodied social and cultural capital are consistently located in close proximity, suggesting a strong relationship between these factors.
- Where embodied economic capital is low, embodied social capital is a high contributor to the delivery of positive outcomes.
- HEAT and Youthworx demonstrate a pattern of embodied economic capital being a low level contributor to positive outcomes with high-level embodied social capital being a significant contributor to positive outcomes.
- Objectified social capital (e.g. brand) is a low level contributor to the delivery of positive outcomes.
- In the hospitality industry, objectified cultural capital is not a significant contributor to outcomes. In the creative medial industry it contributes most significantly to positive outcomes.
- In the hospitality industry, objectified capital of all forms is of low contribution to positive outcomes.
- Institutionalised capital of all forms is centrally clustered.
- The organisations all display similar levels of institutionalised cultural capital, demonstrating the emphasis on strong relationships with RTOs.

Challenges capital maps

The level of capitals varies quite considerably between the organisations (note again that these levels are subjectively determined as part of the analysis process). Youthworx has an even distribution throughout the graph; however, both cultural and economic capital variants occupy the lower position, which effects delivery of outcomes. Social capital variants dominate the higher level positions. The organisation appears to use the social capital accessible through their clients and industry exposure to good effect in terms of maximising the use of their networks and available resources. They are also active within the social service and youth service arenas, applying for grants and small philanthropic boosts as they arise. Youthworx also use objectified cultural capital skilfully to engage the participants in education.

STREAT's capital levels are distributed throughout the upper half of the graph. The organisation has strategically pursued all forms of capital acquisition and has been successful. The lower level capital is objectified cultural capital, being the artefacts of cultural capital. This placement was to reflect the statements around the low resourcing of the programs during their consolidation and growth periods and their prioritisation on building the organisation over objectified cultural capital resource acquisition. With the expansion to Cromwell Street, this placement would be higher, but this reflects the status quo at the time of micro data collection.

Overall, low capital levels have been a challenge for HEAT. The central placement of institutional cultural capital reflects the long-standing and positive relationship that has been built with William Angliss, the RTO. However, institutionalised social capital, all forms of economic capital and cultural capital levels were considered to be very low at the time of micro data collection. Low-level placement of institutionalised social capital reflects the withdrawal of government funding and impact of local government change on their program support levels. This reflects the situation of the organisation pre-merger, which would change the capital distribution.

General observations of challenges capital maps

- Where embodied cultural capital levels are low, economic capital levels of all forms are low.
- technological equipment) presents either low to no challenge on the programs, with the exception of Youthworx, which reflects the high-tech nature of their industry.
- The low presence of embodied and objectified social capital factors on HEAT and STREAT capital maps suggests these types of social capital are not challenging the delivery of outcomes directly; however, the institutionalised social capital (institutionalised relationships with formal organisations providing access to resources) present challenges in all organisations cases.
- Insufficient objectified and institutionalised economic capital is a significant challenge faced by all organisations in the delivery of outcomes, despite the scale of their operations.

Key finding from traditional Ishikawa diagram analysis

A full traditional analysis of each of the 'bones' of the Ishikawa diagram is contained in Appendix 3. The analysis highlights the significance of process, systems and managerial practices. The 'methods' bone is where all factors relating to this area of the organisation featured.

The significance of methods (processes)

The key differentiator in organisational outcomes at the meso level is embedded in the methods section. Cultural capital and its operation as an influencing factor of overall capital is borne out in the data with respect to the skills, knowledge and experience *operating* and *managing* an effective organisation. The guiding theory for this analysis stems from the quality philosophies of Dr W. Edwards Deming (1986), Myron Tribus (1993) and Joseph Juran (1964) – the founding fathers of the quality revolution in industrial manufacturing (and other industries) beginning in the early 1980s. Deming was a statistician and management consultant who was influential in rebuilding the Japanese economy post-WWII. His management philosophy and theory was embraced by Japanese industry (though not his native American counterparts) and was in large degree responsible for the success of Japanese manufacturing in the 1980s and beyond.

The key differentiator of organisational success lies in the systems and processes that actually form the foundation of the organisation (Deming 1986; Juran 1964). It is the quality, accuracy and suitability of the systems and processes that deliver the work that determines the quality and efficiency of the organisation. The crux of effective management of all organisations is reducing variation (Deming 1986). This can be in skill level of personnel, quality of output, control of costs and expenditures, effective governance, profit generation; the list is endless.

One of the major struggles for SEs is acquiring the skill sets for running commercial organisations. It is not often that individuals possess the education and experience (cultural capital) for commercial enterprise operation and the cultural capital for providing social services (Peattie & Morley 2008). The challenge associated with procuring the skill sets – via training and education or recruiting individuals with such experience – on finite resources (particularly acute in the non-profit sector) is understandable. The research on SEs continuously reinforces this gap, which confirms the challenge associated with appropriate cultural capital to deliver on commercial expansion strategies. It also relates to the high degree of social capital

usage that attempts to compensate to varying degrees for the gaps in commercial and managerial experience (Barraket, Mason & Blain 2016).

On the positive side, all SEs demonstrated a strong degree of capital devoted to their social mission maximisation strategies, with their ability to provide the social support services being an outstanding feature on the methods bone. The ability to assist young people in navigating the service sector, their processes and delivery of case management and support for disengaged and disadvantaged youth were clear stand-outs in the data, and supports the common role of social enterprise (Cooney 2011; Denny et al. 2011; Ferguson & Islam 2008; Hayllar & Wettenhall 2011; Hazenberg, Seddon & Denny 2013; Kerlin 2012; Scottish Government 2016).

STREAT and HEAT have developed customised educational curricula to increase young people's life skills and employability skills outside of those delivered in the VET curriculum. All organisations have systems and processes ensuring that program participants graduate with the necessary resources to build their jobseeking skills. They also gain genuine work experience for their resumes, which the micro level data and literature consistently asserts is an area of frustration when trying to enter the job market as a young person (Australian Social Inclusion Board 2012; Flouri & Buchanan 2002; Foundation for Young Australians (FYA) 2015, 2016; Marks 2005; Mirza-Davies 2014; Victorian Council of Social Services 2014b). There is success in engaging youth in education and training and facilitating retention and further educational pathways. The emphasis on young people and the use of youth work ethics, policies and frameworks was consistent across the organisations (Broadbent & Corney 2008; Hoiles & Corney 2006; Sercombe 2010). This demonstrates the experience and skills of the staff in the organisations in working with disadvantaged youth, and their commitment to delivering the best possible outcomes for those in their program.

STREAT's PID data provides the foundation for assertions associated with embodied cultural capital and its function as the most significant determinant in the delivery of positive outcomes and organisational success. It is reinforced by cultural capital being an outlier in STREAT's descriptive statistics. Their methods bone is saturated in cultural capital factors, demonstrating an organisational focus on systems, processes, governance, quality evaluations and data management and research. This indicates a higher level of management experience within the organisation, and demonstrates an emphasis on risk management and operational control (Deming 1986; Juran 1964; Tribus 1993). Another indicator of effective organisational

management is the presence of strategic and corporate planning processes, which are the delivery arm of organisational strategies (Juran 1964). Strong governance systems and processes are essential to the pursuit of innovation and growth (Bull 2007; Bull & Crompton 2006; Doherty, Haugh & Lyon 2014; Gonin et al. 2013). This is indicative of engaged and experienced senior management team and an effectively run organisation, and is present in STREAT's PID.

HEAT's CID offers the contrasting picture, and demonstrates how challenging the lack of cultural capital can be at an organisational level. Their CID presents 30 factors associated with a lack of cultural capital, a position that could be described as the direct opposite to STREAT, with 36 factors on their PID.

Whilst data was not directly collected to substantiate a claim that the financial difficulties are the direct result of gaps in cultural capital, the data reveals a strong relationship between economic and embodied cultural capital. In considering the financial strain on HEAT, it is appropriate to classify two categories of financial challenges. Firstly, there are the obvious and critical effects of the loss of direct government recurrent annual funding and this echoes the concerns surrounding long-term financial sustainability for social enterprise in the literature (Bull et al. 2010; Carlos Perez de Mendiguren Castresana 2013; Haugh 2005; Lichtenstein 2011; Shuayto & Miklovich 2014). Secondly, there is the fiscal success and profitability of the social enterprise. In terms of the first challenge, HEAT's defunding had no relevance to the way the program was run or its ability to meet its funding criteria. Rather, HEAT and six other organisations receiving an outdated Labor grant under the Youth Employment Scheme program and had their funding reviewed in the context of Liberal government restructures when they assumed office in 2010.

The financial profitability of the social enterprise and its ability to generate funds to sustain the program is clearly influenced by cultural capital, particularly embodied cultural capital. This is borne out on the methods bone of the HEAT CID. A summary of the data is:

1. SE business and youth program managed as distinctly separate entities.
2. Poor financial governance on profits generated by SE – including funds supporting programs other than HEAT.
3. Poor systems and processes around: stock control; procurement; financial accounting; process management; performance management.

4. Organisational structure dysfunction: poor role clarity; negative effects on program delivery; resource planning and coordination; poor organisational structure; governance issues; lack of strategic planning.
5. Catering industry highly variable demand and low profitability.
6. Knowledge: no direct hospitality business management experience; lack of commercial management experience; lack of organisational management experience.

With the exception of point 5, all of these issues are the result of low or inappropriate cultural capital. The flow on effects on profitability and efficiency were deleterious to the organisation. With the merger, HEAT now has the support and resources of a long-standing professional organisation and has the support of MCM management. There have been drawbacks around gaining traction in the organisation initially, but this has subsided. There has also been a change noted in the degree of bureaucracy associated with a larger scale organisation.

To a lesser degree, Youthworx experienced similar challenges related to cultural capital. However, the Department of Health and Human Services funding stream continues to support the program and they are experiencing increases in client demand and continuing to pursue their field expansion strategy. In order for the organisation to undergo an increase in scale to maximise business profitability, they require access to financial capital. The double bind of requiring financial capital in order to grow the business to generate more capital makes benefit maximisation problematic. However, the gaps in embodied cultural capital are not as acute as those of HEAT, and whilst the program retains its funding stream, Youthworx are in a position to continue to develop the organisation using their existing grant processes and market growth strategies.

Meso level summary

This section addressed the requirement in Foley and Edwards' social capital model to consider the resources available in the social context and agents' awareness and access to those resources. It also has addressed Bourdieu's explicit instructions to the researcher to map the structure of the relations between the positions occupied by agents and institutions competing within the fields (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 39), and analyse the habitus of agents and the social and economic conditions that have been a determinant on their trajectory and strategies within the fields under consideration.

Micro level discussion

This section also seeks to address the research question *Can Bourdieu's theory of social capital assist in theorising and explicating the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises providing education and training to disengaged young people?* However, rather than examining the social enterprise organisation level of the study, it considers the impact of social enterprise education participation on the young people within the theoretical framework derived from Bourdieu. To answer this, the semi-structured interviews were analysed using CCM and the resulting themes have been discussed below.

Study evolution over time points

With both rounds of data collection in all three organisations, the young people were interviewed in the first week of their program. The interviewees participated in semi-structured interviews, akin to structured conversations. The schedule of questions is presented in Appendix 6A.

The young people who remained in the program and were still interested in participating in the study were interviewed a second time. At T2 all participants were in their final week of the program and had successfully completed their certifications.

By T2, in STREAT Round 1, 2 of 5 participants had left the program or were unavailable. Annie was unavailable, and Rosy had returned to complete her high school education at a program sourced by the youth workers at STREAT. Round 2 saw 2 of 4 leaving the program. Unfortunately, one participant, Elamen, breached parole and was returned to the juvenile justice facility he had been released from, and Mac was forced to return to Shepparton to take care of his mother. This meant he had to leave both his high school education and STREAT, which he was completing in tandem.

HEAT Round 1 had 7 of 8 retained in the study at T2. Chelsea, a young woman who had been homeless, on and off the streets since 14 years of age did not complete the program. By T3, 4 students were available. Round 2 saw retention of 6 of 8 participants. Ricky was suffering from acute mental health issues at commencement, and had withdrawn from the program. Shane was enrolled in the program, but was also experiencing significant mental health issues and elected not to take part in the interview process. By T3, 4 of the original participants were accessible.

Youthworx's Round 1 study retained 5 of 6 at T2. Belinda was still enrolled in the program, but was unavailable on the day of data collection. At T3 all 5 of the remaining participants were present. Unusually in Round 2, a young person, Anthony, opted to join the study at T2, and another participant, AJ, was not present on the data collection day. This resulted in 6 interviews. Youthworx Round 2 went from 6 original participants to 7 at T2, with a total of 6 interviews conducted. At T3, 5 young people were accessible.

Participation in the third time point data collection process was unsurprisingly low. In both STREAT and HEAT, the young people had completed their programs at T2, and had moved on to other engagements. Due to Youthworx's alternative education model, enabling program participants to stay in situ and continue their education in media to Certificate IV level, the retention rate was much higher.

STREAT Round 1 saw 2 of the 3 remaining participants make themselves available for an interview at T3. Sadly, Aaron was going well in his program whilst living with his father, but his mother passed away, which saw him have to return to Broadmeadows and assume care of his two younger sisters. In Round 2, participants at T2 were retained to T3, making themselves available for interview during their work placement period.

For HEAT Round 1, a further 3 of the original 8 participants were unavailable. Husain and Eman were no longer able to avail themselves of education at HEAT because their Temporary Protection Visas (as asylum seekers) prohibited them from undertaking formal education beyond Certificate I and II in hospitality. Additionally, they were unable to actually receive the certifications, but were able to participate in the program. Tiger was also unavailable and had not continued to pathway into further education, but had sought and gained employment following the course. The remaining 4 participants were continuing their education, seeking to attain Year 12 equivalent level, within the VCAL program offered by St Kilda Youth Service.

Youthworx Round 1 retained all T2 participants, with 5 young people interviewed. At T2 Round 2 one young person, AJ, was unavailable on the day of data collection and unable to be reached subsequently. Mietta was continuing in the program, but was absent at T3 Round 2, AJ had resumed in the program following some significant upheaval in his domestic arrangements. Anthony remained in the study after joining at T2. Thus 5 out of 6 study participants were interviewed at T3 Round 2.

All participants at T3 had completed Certificate I or higher in their programs. Both the hospitality oriented courses had delivered Certificate I and II, and at Youthworx the participants were beginning their Certificate III as they had elected to stay on.

Exploring differential outcomes

Taking Foley and Edwards' model and extending it, the following section discusses four alternative states that result in social capital increases being either marginal, or non-actualised. The researcher's application of Foley and Edwards' model resulted in the following hypothesis: being in a state of environmental instability, resource inaccessibility, leverage isolation or un-mobilised social capital results in no significant change being detected in social capital levels of an individual. This does not suggest that other outcomes are unrealised, but social capital specifically cannot increase in these states. In addition, these states presuppose that the environmental context at the macro and meso levels contain preconditions necessary for social capital to increase.

Environment

This section presents the data pertaining to the theme of environment based on the categories detected in during the application of the constant comparative method of data analysis. This discusses the students' experiences of their various environments at each time point, and presents the first state in the hypothesis, significant *environmental instability* results in little to no increase in a young person's social capital levels.
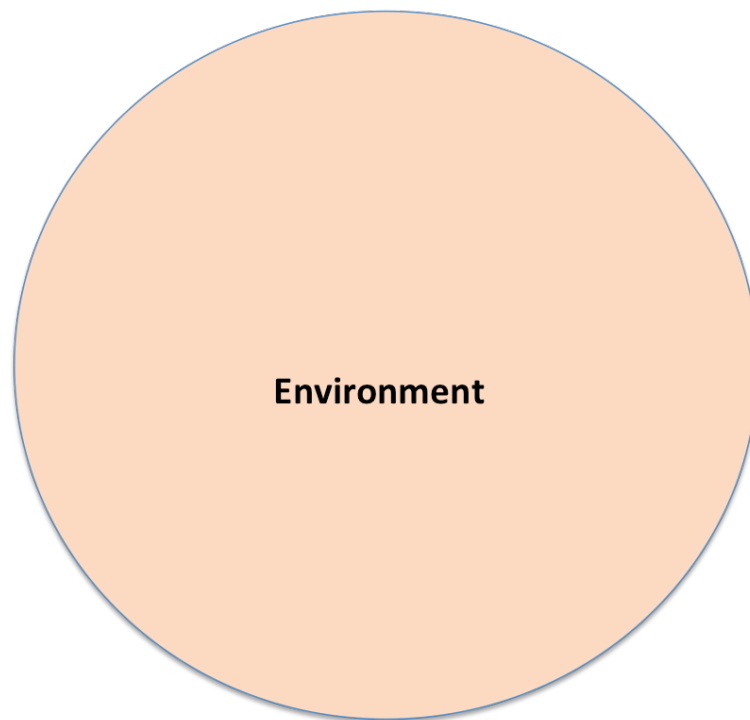
Figure 63: The theme of environment

Time 1

The influence of environments on the young people was significant. Core categories in the data identified significant environmental influences originating from housing, family, neighbourhood, education settings and the program itself. The majority of participants were experiencing challenges from a multitude of sources within these social arenas.

In the lives of many young people, housing posed distressing challenges. Homelessness was either currently being experienced by a number of young people – *'umm, for many years I've been a couch-hopper'* [Catherine, H1T1] – or was an element of their recent past – *'I was on the streets … I've never done TAFE or whatnot, so …'* [Chelsea, H1T1]. Other young people had been assisted into supported accommodation.

> *Um, basically if you're homeless they just put you on a list and if something pops up depending on your priority then they organise to put you in, yeah, a house that becomes available … You are surrounded by a lot of people who still choose to live a negative lifestyle so you do have to keep very mentally strong and everything to stay away from being dragged back in … [Erin, H1T1]*

Supported accommodation was a place the young people described as having significant complexities for them:

> *The first guy got locked up because the place where I'm staying they mostly take people from Parkville and Malmsbury [juvenile prisons]. And I don't really want to associate with them. Like, I walk past their room and some of them are smoking choof and shit. [Alejandro, S1T1]*

The correlation between early school leaving, social exclusion and homelessness has been well documented in the literature (Bynner et al. 2004) and is illustrated in the theme of environment in this study. As we can see from the young people's experiences above, it is not only the state of experiencing homelessness that puts young people at risk (Barker et al. 2013), it is the overall environment in which the young people live that matters, and what they are exposed to within that environment.

Family environments also posed significant challenges. Drugs and alcohol in the family home, mental health issues suffered by parents, financial challenges, previous interactions with child protective services and physical and verbal violence in the family household were mentioned.

> *[Mum] used to get really drunk and take Xanax … to the point where she was like so drunk that I'd have to basically almost carry her to her bed or if she was like too floppy I'd just have to lay her down on the couch and make sure she was on her side so if she vomited or threw up she wasn't going to overdose or choke on her vomit. [Mac, S1T1]*

Drug and alcohol abuse and parents experiencing mental health issues was a strong presence in the data. Approximately 40% of participants were dealing with home environments in which this was the case or had left their family of origin due to this factor (Barker et al. 2013). This lends strength to the research, which goes beyond the individual factors associated with poor school engagement such as the risk and protective factor approach (Arthur et al. 2007; Bond et al. 2000; Bynner 2001b) and the life-course (Audas & Willms 2001; Lamb & Huo 2017) approach to understanding disengagement.

For young people experiencing dysfunction in their family environments, having responsibility for other siblings was frequently cited as a motivational and protective factor (e.g. Aaron, S1T1).

The young people who had caring responsibilities or adult responsibilities for their younger siblings used this as a motivating factor for their self and situational improvement attempts. This adds a complicating dimension to the literature citing that students with adult responsibilities are at increased likelihood of school disengagement (Fall & Roberts 2012).

However, other young people had a predominately stable and supportive family environment. Some participants were from families of higher socioeconomic status and as such had educational and employment role models in their family units. Young people from this demographic were more frequently in their nuclear family arrangements, and reported feeling safe in their environment. These young people were more frequently participants in the second round data collection.

> *Researcher: Um, do you find that like – that you get support broadly from your mum in terms of life issues, that sort of stuff?*
>
> *She supports me in pretty much everything I do [Jordan H2T1].*

Participants were seeking to take part in the programs they enrolled in as a means of accessing an alternative environment through which to improve themselves and their prospects. Most of the well-supported participants characterised had struggled in mainstream education, for a variety of reasons.

> *I have really bad social anxiety, like that was one of the problems that I had with school, like I sometimes I couldn't even go into the building. I'd have panic attacks. [Lochness, Y1T1]*

Other young people cited frequent and quite relentless bullying as the reason they decided to leave education.

> *Researcher: What was the issue with school?*
>
> *Bullying and yeah, I just hated it.*
>
> *Researcher: Had that gone on for a long time?*
>
> *Yeah, like all my life at school. [Jake, S2T1]*

For other participants, mainstream education was a place where they did not feel safe:

> *I left in Year 8 because some stuff went down, a boy did something inappropriate to me and I just couldn't cope with school. [Catherine, H1T1]*

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Others felt somewhat out of place in the system:

> *They're very, you know if you are good with academics they love you, if you are good with sports, they love you, but then there's the people who are like … And then you don't really get noticed. [Belinda, Y1T1]*

This supports research into early school leaving and disengagement suggesting that negative factors most frequently cited for leaving were school risk factors, 'rather than external influences' (Ferguson, B et al. 2005, p. 2). What it also highlights is the relevance of habitus and cultural capital levels, and the way in which the school system is oriented to middle-class values and capitals (Reay 2011). It highlights students' awareness of their position relative to the system and their peers and their experience of being 'outcasts on the inside' (Bourdieu 2008).

Neighbourhood dysfunction featured in the young people's discussions, citing drug use, drug dealing, criminal orientation, poverty and other social challenges as influencing their environments.

> *Like, we knew the owner kind of thing and he was a massive crack head as well, like, like, the owner of this place, like, we turned it into, like, a massive drug den and he come round and, like, we were all sitting there smoking crack or some shit; smoking bongs. [Elamen, S1T1]*

The social development model posits that access to 'conventional involvement and interactions' that result in high levels of positive reinforcement can provide adequate socialisation to overcome the negative influence of young people's environments (Catalano, Richard F & Hawkins 1996, pp. 32–3). However, when mainstream education systems and environments are established to reward class-based distinctions and capabilities (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977) the ability for a young person's negative social circumstances to be overcome by mainstream interaction is perhaps a naïve assertion.

The habitus of young people who are raised in environmental conditions being described above are durable (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, p. 179). This does not imply they are fixed; rather that they are inculcated in the earliest years of a childhood (Dumais 2002) and restructured as further socialisation exposure occurs (Reay 2004). Young people who are exposed to circumstances such as those described above can demonstrate 'positive adaptation' which is known as 'resilience' (Schoon & Bynner 2003, p. 21). Researchers argue understanding the 'protective factors' is crucial in the development of policies to 'promote the well-being of

disadvantaged, high risk children' (Schoon & Bynner 2003, p. 21). Yet, it can be argued that this approach focuses on "fixing" the circumstances of individuals rather than the socio-structural causes of disadvantage, which results in continuing to individualise society's challenges.

Despite T1 being in the first week of their program commencement, the young people had already begun to identify the program environment as a place in which they were able to participate.

> *There's not much people here so they can easily get to you. And I can work on whatever I want instead of just they set the task. It's way better than school. [Damo, Y1T1]*

This echoes the literature surrounding youth disengagement, that 'alternative schools, caring and supportive teachers, and school climates which were caring, flexible, and proactive' (Ferguson, B et al. 2005, p. 1) were significant protective factors for disengaged young people.

Time 2

Environment still featured as a prominent theme in relating to housing, family, relationship with society and participants' relationships to themselves. The categories of program and program outcome came across strongly in the data related to environment. However, with the exception of a few cases, the contextual personal environments described by the young people were considered negative. The clear exception is the program environment across all programs.

One of the most significant environmental themes at T2 was the experience of being in the program environment. This is considered an outcome, not an output, as it is not an element that is considered as part of a program evaluation by funding bodies (McLoughlin et al. 2009). It represents the intangible environmental benefits of the program. The outcomes for participants related to increases in confidence and stronger motivation for education.

> *I love being here. It's the best. It's basically like better than any other school I've been to. [Big Daddy, Y1T2]*

> *It's … the environment that we are in is so inclusive most of the time and so – people here actually care about you whereas when I was in school no one gave a shit … now, you know, I look forward to coming to school every day and I'm happy to do it. [Grace, H2T2]*

The greater engagement with the program content was due to opportunities for autonomy and control and the provision of an environment where participants were free to be themselves. Bourdieu's theorising of class reproduction in the education system renders visible the habitus that succeeds in mainstream education:

> middle and ruling class children and young people whose family and neighbourhood circumstances were rich in the kinds of knowledges, language, ways of being, speaking and behaving required in schools, had the social and cultural know-how necessary to succeed in education. (Thomson & Holdsworth 2003, p. 381)

The structural aspects of the program cited by participants as creating a positive environmental influence largely related to the program content being relevant to their interests, and the small class size, confirming the literature on the education needs of high risk youth (Muscat 2017, p. 107).

The data also demonstrates that housing environments exert an enormous influence on young people. Many participants living outside of their family environment had changed housing situations again, which is a trend that continues through the research project (e.g. Wonky Goldfish, Y1T2).

It appears that young people who are not living in their family homes are vulnerable to a level of turbulence in their environment that is not experienced at home. This is not to say that the home environments of all participants remaining in their nuclear families was stable, but there was not the frequency of change experienced by those outside of their family home. A number had accessed long-term supported accommodation from crisis accommodation (facilitated by the staff at their programs) and another participant had transitioned to the private rental market. For those within the family home, relationship variability influenced satisfaction with their environments, for some resulting in a shift to other family members or private rental.

The family environment for participants, both those living within family and those outside of family, featured as an influence in participants' reflections. Some participants had experienced a positive shift in their family climate. However, the family environment was only discussed as a positive feature for the minority of participants.

Researcher: How's things at home?

Yeah it's alright.

Researcher: It's alright?

I can't explain much.

Researcher: No.

I can't tell.

Researcher: Are you safe?

Yeah it's alright. [Anthony, Y2T2]

Time 3

At T3 it was evident that the young people who had environmental stability in their personal lives were those who were able to continue making positive gains post program. The stability in life circumstances around housing and engagement with social service organisations provided sufficient structure and stability for the participants to succeed in their subsequent engagements. Stable and supportive personal environments are clearly suggested to be a precursor to educational success and the development of personal agency amongst the program participants.

The data suggests the program environment is an additional aspect of educational success, agency and confidence development. However, for a number of participants at three months post course, instability in personal lives was problematising continued progressive development. Environmental aspects of housing and family dynamics, the young person's perception of their relationship to society, the program structure and their relationships to themselves were identified categories.

The housing environment featured strongly at T3. Participants reported mixed results in supported accommodation environments. Others were experiencing volatility in the private rental market, and as a consequence, increased instability in life. Some participants had experienced very recent housing instability that impacted their ability to attend their courses consistently.

Centrelink cancelled my payments and giving me nothing, so I copped it from that.

Researcher: So where are you living?

I'm couch surfing for now. [Joe Houli, H2T3]

Others had recently managed to establish themselves more solidly following a period of turbulence.

I've got – got my own place now. I'm – I'm handling myself, paying rent, bills. It's all – it's pretty easy. [AJ, Y2T3]

Those participants within the family housing situation remained stable in the main, but there were notable examples where the family environment was causing distress.

Dad's still drunk and mum's still very distant. I can't really do much about it so I just sort of – I almost ignore them. I have to. [Barry Del Rio, S2T3]

Challenges in the family environment beyond housing were raised in the third and final interview. Past family trauma, unsupportive or dysfunctional relationships and interactions with the Family Court were affecting the young peoples' environment, or had contributed to struggles from which they saw themselves as trying to emerge.

It was pretty safe and all that stuff but one day, I got moved. I've been around a lot. I got moved a lot because one day I just like lost it and I took it out on one of the staff with their cars and stuff with the windows, tyres, everything … [Anthony, Y2T3]

Researcher: And then after your dad died she just kind of fell apart?

Yeah, well, she didn't move. She sat on the couch for like two years, depressed. [Alejandro, S1T3]

Consistently, participation in the program (due to its structural aspects) was referred to as being in an extremely positive environment. Participants related feeling comfortable and understood. They were provided with sufficient autonomy to achieve their tasks using their own initiative, but guided by staff.

Um, just how it's structured, it's just so well structured. Like it's not really classroom based. Like it is but it – it sort of almost tricks you into thinking it isn't. [Corey, Y2T3]

Participants found this to be a dramatic contrast from their experiences in mainstream education. The peer environment provided in the program was experienced as a genuinely supportive factor, and for some it was a first experience of positive peer relationships.

Some people have invited me to parties and that is pretty much happy for me, cause to be honest, I … oh sometimes in high school they did, but that's just once or twice and this one they invited us for a party pretty much. [Ricketty, Y1T3]

The program outcomes created by this environment suggests that students were better equipped to handle their personal environmental complexity because they had a safe and supportive environment. It enabled participants to explore their own interests, talents and passions, from a place of stability and security.

> *Researcher: So how many days a week are you here?*
>
> *Five.*
>
> *Researcher: And how's that going in terms of managing all of that work …*
>
> *Fine because the support I have here. It's the support that I have here. [Erin, H1T3]*

Many participants saw continued engagement in education as a source of self-esteem. Being constructively engaged was important to them, and the pathways to continued education provided by the SEs were pursued by most. Throughout the study it was clear the young people were aware of the value of education and attaining qualifications. Their challenges in doing so were some of the main contributing factors to poor self-esteem. Accruing successes within the field of education increased their cultural capital, a fact of which they were aware (Bourdieu 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977).

The educational pathways were commonly a return to high school education in alternative settings or continuing with VET programs. Some of the VET programs were delivered in alternative settings from the traditional TAFE or university institutional structure. The young people who attempted to return to mainstream education in traditional settings experienced a challenging or unsuccessful transition.

> *I didn't have any books, and we're doing work and I can't do it, and I didn't want to say nothing. Didn't tell him I didn't have any books … RMIT, you don't ask for a lot [Joe Houli, H2T3].*
>
> *Well I went away for a bit to do the Cert. III in Music, and then I started to miss here, "I wanna come back!!!" and so I came back three weeks in. Um cause um, I tried it and I realised that where I want to go […] So it's kind of well I can actually get a lot more out of being here and also I missed the community here, I um, and yeah, I missed all of the factors about it, and the more practicality so I decided to come back and they welcomed me back and I was like "Yay! I am here" so that was good. [Wonky Goldfish, Y1T3]*

In these two quotes the Bourdieuian concept of habitus is once again illuminated.

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> Social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside of agents. And when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself "as a fish in water", it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world about itself for granted (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 43).

And in some of the instances described above, the young people know themselves to be "fish out of water", and do not find the social world instantly full of meaning they are readily able to interpret and succeed within (Bourdieu 1986, p. 244). Environmental continuity produced the clearest satisfaction – those who were pathwayed into something that either maintained close links or was onsite were productive and settled young people.

Networks

The next theme present at all three time points was networks. In this element, Bourdieu's social capital has the greatest similarity with the normative social capital stemming from Putnam (1993), and other social capital theoretical frameworks from Coleman (1988) and network theorists such as Lin (Lin & Erickson 2008).
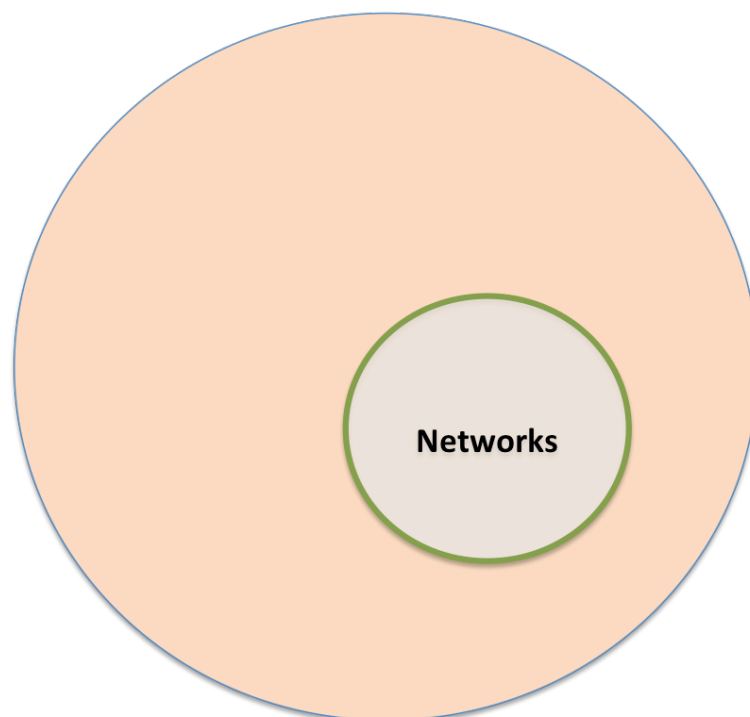
Figure 64: The theme of networks

Time 1

The theme of networks revealed a picture of young people experiencing social support isolation contrasted with a few young people who could be described as well supported and connected. The categories associated with networks were neighbourhood, peers, relationship to society, employment, the program and relationship to self.

There was a clear presence of young people's awareness of the negative influence of their local peer and social groups in the data. They saw themselves as distancing themselves from these influences as a form of self-preservation and in efforts to provide themselves with a new trajectory.

> *Yeah, finally, yeah, like, there's a lot of friends that I can't really hang around now, like, if I go there, like, I'm sure to turn bad. So I've got to avoid a lot of people. [Elamen, S2T1]*

> *… because I have decided to change my lifestyle I've had to get rid of anyone that I have associated with for the last seven or eight years which has caused me to restart everything so I'm hoping to branch out and meet new people and yeah. [Erin, H1T1]*

This strong sub-theme, the distancing of themselves from past peer groups, lends weight to the established data coming from the risk and protective factor research within the social development model (Bond et al. 2000; Catalano et al. 2002; Glaser et al. 2005; Hawkins 2006). Embedded within this model is normative social capital (Runyan et al. 1998; Weitzman & Chen 2005). The concerns around normative social capital and the negative potentials of strong social capital have been identified within the literature, for example the Ku Klux Klan from Fukuyama (Fukuyama 1999; Putnam 1993; Putnam 2002).

An alternative way of considering this, which shifts the gaze slightly but importantly from the individual and their associational choices to a socio-structural gaze, is from the perspective of Bourdieuian social capital. Wacquant's (1998) depiction of 'negative social capital' illustrates how this could be interpreted by highlighting the relational nature of capitals in all forms, and specifically, social capital. The fields in which the young people in this study were located could be considered comparable to the 'streets and in the ghetto peer-group' analysed by Wacquant. In the ghetto, young people had significant social and likely cultural capital. This allows them to function, survive and succeed in the 'informal economy', however these resources

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'create impediments and obstacles when attempting to move up and into the official labor market – "ties that bind" and keep you down' (Wacquant 1998, p. 27). The discussion in the networks theme suggest that these young people, especially those who were determined to change the course of their lives, were acutely aware of the binding nature of those ties, and were actively distancing themselves in order to attempt that move up into the official labour market.

Peer isolation was an aspect that affected some participants' life satisfaction. The young people without a peer group demonstrated a tendency toward depressive thoughts and perspectives.

> *I want to hang out with my friends more, you know, have people who want to hang out with me. I don't see them very often, it's been almost three weeks since I spoke to them last and I try to talk to them a lot but they don't respond … they just stopped talking to me, inviting me out. You know, just slowly, less and less, so it was really hard. [Jake, S2T1]*

Normative social capital literature has established links between loneliness and social capital (Casey 2012; Jiang & Carroll 2009; Ottmann, Dickson & Wright 2006). Additionally, the literature often focuses on the use of technology as a means of increasing social capital amongst isolated people. What the data in this study demonstrates is that people who are socially isolated are using technology in their ways of accessing social interactions, and this provided varying degrees of attendant life satisfaction (Casey 2012).

It was not only isolation from peers, but also isolation from support networks of all kinds affecting a number of the young people.

> *Ah to feel safe … support … uh I guess I do have a couple of people supporting me, I guess … uhh I guess I could ah um use a couple of helps with support … I don't have enough, if that's what you're asking. [Big Daddy, Y1T1]*

Some of the participants were connected into networks with other organisations. This connectedness seemed to provide a sense of place and purpose, and also a sense of confidence that they had connections they could reach out to.

> *It's like … . it seems like a place that I belong. Like as in it's a really calm environment just in a good area, um, nice people that work there and I guess once I started – I – I can walk in anytime now and just have a work – like everyone knows me. [John, H1T1]*

Not many young people in the study experienced themselves as having a social space where they genuinely felt a sense of belonging. Those that did were availing themselves of opportunities to participate in other youth-oriented organisations and derived a significant sense of self from that involvement. Interactions such as these illustrate Bourdieu's notion of social capital operating within the social spaces as 'a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 244).

It was clear that the social service network was important for many participants, and for some the support offered by these networks was critical for their sense of integration and safety. This network was evident in the data, with many young people's referral pathway into the SE education program being via other service organisations. A large number of young people were accessing multiple support services to address their socioeconomic and mental health issues.

> *I was with Origin for a while and they weren't really that good for me um then I found Kurrarong, the Reservoir place and they have support workers there but again it was good, it was what I needed but then um 9–5 didn't always work sometimes, especially when my sleeping hours were out of whack or they weren't there on weekends and also feeling physically isolated and a bit yeah. So it didn't feel enough sometimes. [Wonky Goldfish, Y1T1]*

Additionally, the family network was influential, in negative ways in the main, but with some instances of supportive family networks.

> *… if I went back I know too many people and my mum lives right next to my dealer so I could just go next door and I can – he's like an older brother to me too so I could just go there and … [Alejandro, S1T1]*

Once again, Wacquant's depiction of negative social capital is illustrated here (Wacquant 1998). Ties that bind are not only relevant in the peer context; this illustrates the role of the family network as well.

Time 2

At T2 the young people were in the last week of their program and had completed their VET certificates. Family and peer relationships, relationship to society, and relationship to self were prominent categories in the theme of networks. Also, program outcome was a feature in the data. In many cases, the family network

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represented a destructive influence, particularly for those who were living in dysfunctional family environments whilst attempting to complete their course.

> *… when I was with mum she was on the same sort of stuff so – and she was on it and making me want to go on it. [Aaron, S1T2]*

However, there were instances where family broader social networks facilitated access to the job market for participants.

> *I got a job like at a café and it was my dad's friend's ex-husband's café, and like it just opened up so I got a job there. [Willow, H2T2]*

The research on youth transitions cites the role of networks and social capital in gaining initial employment footholds (Holland, Reynolds & Weller 2007; MacDonald 2006; Marks 2005; OECD 1998; Raffo & Reeves 2000). Social capital from both theoretical perspectives, the normative and the critical, are used in research on the topic.

The peer support network was a significant element in young people's discussions. These discussions incorporated the formation of new, more positive peer networks. Participants' attempts to distance themselves from networks not aligned to their attempts at self-improvement were raised and an increasing appreciation for peer social support was discussed.

> *I started to laugh and feel happy, to have conversation and have a good time. People started to feel … it feels like they can have good things and say good things to me. I feel happy for the first time. [Ricketty, Y1T2]*

Many participants had formed new network linkages by virtue of participation in the program. It appears that the young people who availed themselves of the opportunity to participate in activities provided by other organisations (at times access was brokered by program youth workers and staff) in the main presented with a higher degree of life- and self-satisfaction.

> *Researcher: You were in supported accommodation, which was pretty rough?*

> *Really rough stuff. And now I am actually in a nice house with like, friends, which is actually like a home it is so lovely. [Wonky Goldfish, Y2T2]*

Yet the presence or influence of negative people within networks continued to have a significant effect on participants' behaviours and choices. Some participants were actively distancing themselves from these influences, but there was a clear self-

reflexivity amongst participants related to the degree of negativity of some of their peer connections.

Oh I have a very big tendency for – like a weakness when it comes to peer pressure. Ah, like I'll always be dragged into stuff. Like it's not even dragged, it's like once – once someone gives the idea I'm all for it. Like and that's got me arrested a couple of times [laughs]. [John, H1T2]

Oh just some like old friends like things that I've done in the past and you know, when you're young, you don't think pretty much … So just some things we did in the past and like and also I got in trouble. I went to court and all that stuff. So the court told me to keep my distance … [Anthony, Y2T2]

Program output also featured as a category within networks. This is an aspect of the SE programs for which they are directly funded and evaluated. Some of the participants had managed to gain employment following their work placement, and many of the participants had been effectively transitioned into continuing their education with institutions within the SE's networks.

Work um – it's in a café called KereKere in South Melbourne and um I get to pick my own hours and I get to negotiate my wage and I can do it while I'm studying as well. So I've already, yeah, I'm in work. [Erin, H1T2]

The program outcomes were also a feature of networks. Program participants who had used broader organisational connections reported higher degrees of satisfaction in their lives by being connected to other organisations for young people.

Even though I don't have a real passion for cooking. It's got me into some sort of radio program, I do DJ work at um SYN FM … I want to work. But I don't know what are the chances of that happening, but I want to continue with this radio thing and getting involved with radio. [Destiny, H2T2]

The links in networks facilitated by SE participation are particularly important for those young people who elected to engage with them. It appears to confirm the assertion that:

everyday implicit, informal and individual practical knowledge and understanding is created through interaction, dialogue, action, and reflection on action within individualized and situated social contexts (Suchman, 1987; Seely Brown et al., 1989; Lave & Wenger, 1992). It is this active, subjective practical knowledge, created through the situated social contexts of these

constellations of people, that then enables individuals to attempt to solve some of their everyday tasks and, at the same time, facilitates their development of competence, self- confidence, self-esteem and identity (Berger & Luckman, 1966). (Raffo & Reeves 2000, p. 152)

The opportunities to extend themselves and their networks were universally open within the SEETs to all participants. Some of the individuals elected to do so. This lends further weight to Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social capital, in that connections and relationships are the product of investment strategies 'aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term' (Bourdieu 1986; Raffo & Reeves 2000, p. 152).

Time 3

The final time point was held three months post program completion. As discussed, the number of young people retained to this time point was small. The categories of peers, program outcome, program output, the program, relationship to self, relationship to society and housing referred to networks. The most powerful discussions relating to networks featured in the categories of peers, the program and relationship to self.

There was a binary relationship within the data pertaining to peers. A number of the remaining participants had consciously made the decision to abandon and disassociate with people they perceived to embody their past lives. For those young people who were contactable at T3, the positive influence of the program and the new peer group they had accessed within the program environment had transformed their social influences from destructive to aspirational and productive.

> *You know, when you move somewhere else, even when you move schools you think maybe you're not going to even find new friends, but I've formed some great relationships with people here … [Grace, H1T3]*

Other participants were trying to avoid negative peer influences, but the negativity reached into their family environments, which made it very complex for the young people to steer clear of the risks.

> *Researcher: So your sister, you're looking after your sister, or trying to. Do you ever send her money? Does she get money somehow?*
>
> *Yeah, well, my mum is with a dealer so every time she wants drugs or money …*

Researcher: She just goes to your mum and your mum hooks her up and that's that? And any time you need cash will your mum do the same?

Yeah. I barely go there. [Alejandro, S1T3]

The youngest participant in this study, Damo (14 years old), had fairly recently become friends with a new group of people who were negative associations. These interactions saw him come into contact for the first time with police and the courts. And it was an escalating situation. Other young people were very selective in the type of person they chose to associate with. They made connections that were either resource laden, or aspirational in nature.

We all got different interests, it's like, they are not my kind of crowd … My kind of crowd is to like, how do I explain that, people that have energy. And then like, they know what they want. Not just say, hey what should we do today? Today's this today's that and then well … [Big Daddy, Y1T3]

The programs incorporated work experience. This aspect broadened the social horizons of the participants, and this contributed significantly to perceptions of wellbeing and efficacy, particularly for those who were experiencing social isolation (e.g. Jake, S2T3).

The organisations' networks were regularly used to get the participants access to different programs and activities. The data repeatedly showed higher degrees of self-esteem and engagement resulting from the participation in extracurricular activities and broadening their own personal and interest networks.

I guess that, uh, like what initially gave me a sense of belonging there was, cause we do radio shows with SYN through Youthworx and it's like um, and you know then the person who manages that SYN, like she like recognised me and we'd say hi and um the fact that yeah I can go to info night and I felt I could go there and be comfortable. I could join the training course and felt comfortable. Umm, I am not feeling like this, like if I wasn't in education, if I wasn't in this course and just randomly joined SYN I would have felt very fish out of water, but I'm not. [Wonky Goldfish, Y1T3]

Networks were also critical for assisting young people into the labour market, and helping them with the navigation of employment. The programs operating within the hospitality sector were brokers for young people's work experience opportunities.

The head chef said, "I've got a couple of mates who might be looking for work – at work – apprentices." … "I've got this agency for you to get in contact with" … and I've got the senior chef I mentioned earlier. He's not the sous-chef but he's meant to be. He's got fucking 20 years of experience … [Jordan, H2T3]

Resources

The next theme present at all time points was resources in various forms. Bourdieu's theory encapsulates material and intangible resources. This deviates from the normative presentation of social capital, which is networks, norms and trust.
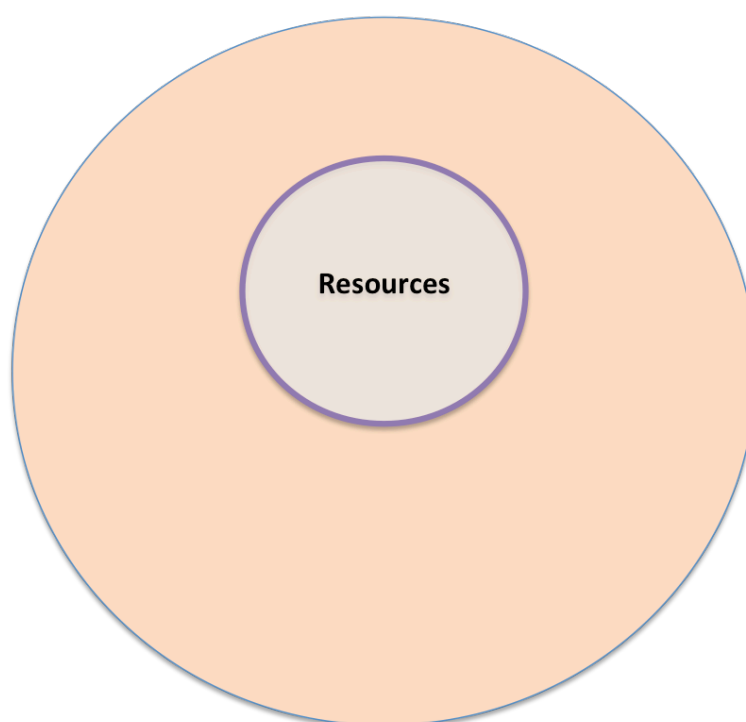
Figure 65: The theme of resources

Time 1

The young people were clearly aware of material resources. The categories associated with resources were housing, family, relationship to society, employment, education and the program. Housing as a resource was a strong element of the theme.

The primacy of housing as a resource of stability and security is clear in the data. There were a number of young people who had experienced recent transition to a

preferable housing situation. In addition, there were those who experienced a lack of resource in this arena.

Researcher: So it's been a couple of years [housing has] been this unstable?

It's been since I was a child, so maybe like 12.

Researcher: So how old are you now?

Twenty-two. [Catherine, H1T1]

And my life's changed really for the best … first time I ever had my own joint. [Elamen, S2T1]

The rise in popularity of social capital from the Putnamian tradition has been criticised as having 'obscured, to a great degree, the individual dimension of the concept and the multiple forms seen in that more *microlevel* dimension' (de Souza Briggs 1998, p. 178). The social capital framework of networks-norms-trust doesn't shed insight into the critical role that material poverty and instability has on an individual's ability to succeed in mainstream society. de Souza Briggs (1998) argues that social capital is best seen 'when we get others, whether acquaintances, friends, or kin, to help us solve problems, seize opportunities, and accomplish other aims that matter to us' (de Souza Briggs 1998, p. 178) and he divides this into social leverage and social support. However, whilst this adaptation of the framework does re-focus onto micro level exchanges and interpersonal dynamics, it does nothing to shed light on structural inequalities producing poverty.

Many of the young people were experiencing a significant deficit of resources at T1 and had been living with this challenge for years.

Gone out and stealing shit and getting in trouble with cops.

Researcher: They know you by your first name?

Yeah, and my last. [Alejandro, S1T1]

Researcher: How do you reckon you compare?

Different … In the way I dress, the way I act.

Researcher: And do you reckon some of them have got it easier?

> *Well they dress like they've got it easier but I don't know. I'm not the judgemental type. You know, fricken, they live in new estates and they live with their mum and dad. [Chelsea, H1T1]*

These young people demonstrate the challenges of engaging with society's mainstream norms and expectations when coming from a place of severe capital deprivation of all forms. The two young people above are an illustration of the lack of economic capital breeding a lack of cultural capital as both are early school leavers. Both people grew up in deprived communities or on the streets. These are arenas where it could be characterised as lacking in 'formal social capital which prevents the transmission and accumulation of the forms of cultural capital valued in the broader society and economy' (Wacquant 1998, p. 33).

The lack of employment and challenges associated with getting access to income were cited as frequent sources of stress. It was clear that many participants saw gaining educational credentials and employment experience as an important element of improving their future prospects.

> *I get certificates out of it and eventually I'll finish Year 12 with it. [Grace, H1T1]*

> *You get to learn and get experience and then in the future, you've got that much experience. You don't really have to worry about a certificate as long as you're experienced enough for the job … So when you go for a job interview, they don't care about certificates, as long as you're experienced. [Tiger, H1T1]*

> *Well I want to become more employable. I don't know what I want to do in the long-term run, so I think it would be good if I can learn to make coffees. [Destiny, H2T1]*

Throughout all study rounds, the participants appeared to be in a complex bind. The employment market was stacked against access: without experience they can't get work; to get experience they need employment (Pemberton 2008); to gain employment, they often needed a qualification; to gain the qualification they need entry-level access courses. These courses were no longer financially viable for many providers and the young people had no funds to pay upfront fees. Additionally, they needed to be job searching to gain income assistance or be in education, and yet the barriers to education were increasing. The participants in this study demonstrate their awareness of this bind and that it is not an equally distributed problem.

The trend of federal and state policies disadvantaging young people is not a recent phenomenon and researchers have been investigating its effects since the early 1990s in Australia (Haynes 2002; Taylor et al. 1997). They noted the "pathway" concept was the focus of education policymakers (Cuervo & Wyn 2011, p. 21). There were three pathways available to young people: school to work, school to VET to work, and school to university to work, the latter being the 'super-highway' … which promised access to 'the knowledge society' (Cuervo & Wyn 2011, p. 20). The pathway policy frameworks 'overlooked a great proportion of young Australians, particularly the educational needs of disadvantaged groups' (Cuervo & Wyn 2011, p. 21). These policies have come from a perspective steeped in the managerialist logic of late neoliberalism and 'define education as a product and knowledge as skills and competencies' (Cuervo & Wyn 2011, p. 21). Accompanying this was the shift toward individualisation and the reduction of class-based analysis in preference of the risk rhetoric, social exclusion/inclusion and social capital, the theoretical frameworks facilitating the domination of neoliberal policy logics in both sides of Australian politics. The data demonstrated that some:

> Young people comprehend that to navigate the complex post-industrial society they have had to become the managers of their own biographies (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Successful transitions into adulthood are in great part dependent of young people's capacity to continuously construct one's self as choice-maker, resourceful and a reflexive subject with a clear ability to plan their progress of becoming an adult (Kelly 2006, McLeod & Yates 2006, Wyn 2009a). (Cuervo & Wyn 2011, p. 21)

However, it can also be said that at T1, the awareness of this lacked sophistication and could be considered fledgling. Furthermore, there is knowing that you are to operate in this way, but knowing in tandem that you lack the resources, knowledge and access to successfully construct this emerging adult.

The SE program and access to youth workers (both external and internal to the SE) were seen as a resource conduit that could be used for material resources, future opportunities or present support.

> *Researcher: So you'd say that in Melbourne you've got someone that you trust who you could go to if you needed some help?*
>
> *I've got youth workers … And um you know see what she can do and she's a good help. [Tiger, H1T1]*

> *… you've got all these connections and stuff that's going to be really useful later. [Lochness, Y1T1]*

A number of young people demonstrated an awareness of the resource potential of extending networks. This is an essential feature of being able to develop social capital – knowledge that the resources are present in the field or social arena (Bourdieu 1986; Foley & Edwards 1999). This requires the ability of an individual to identify areas where they are lacking in resources – which is straightforward for material resources, but more challenging when we consider less tangible resources like social and cultural capital.

Illicit drugs also featured as a resource for a number of young people, as they were being consumed to ameliorate mental and situational challenges. Some young people had disclosed previously selling drugs to obtain an income.

> *I'd just zone out and like deal with it and actually like do what I had to do. Fuckin' make sure she was all right. [Mac, S1T1]*

Both Putnam and Bourdieu have written about social and sociological issues such as drug use and prevalence in communities. Both have taken contemporary social issues and examined them. The examination of phenomenon such as 'family violence, alienation caused by unemployment and the breaking down of communities, drugs' have been conducted by both theorists (Siisiainen 2003, p. 19). Putnam sees this as being associated with the fall of social capital, the civic fabric of the community, the neighbourhood and the family (Putnam 1995). The impact of family dysfunction and neighbourhood drug presence is undeniably challenging and negative for the young people in this study. The relationship between substance abuse is complex and outside the scope of this study. However the link between coping with family trauma and dysfunction and substance use and neighbourhood drug presence is clear.

Bourdieu's examination of the social challenges are linked to the rise of neoliberalism (Bourdieu 2003; Bourdieu et al. 1999; Bourdieu & Nice 1998). He saw the myth of globalisation as the:

> the main weapon in the battles against the gains of the welfare state … And it is in the name of this model (pitting European workers against the workers in the rest of the world) that flexible working, another magic word of neo-liberalism, is imposed, meaning night work, weekend work, irregular working

hours, things which have always been part of employers' dreams. (Bourdieu
& Nice 1998, p. 34)

Conservative politics dresses these battles up as progressive steps towards modernisation in the name of liberalism. Bourdieu argues that the increasing insecurity, feelings of distress and despair, lost jobs, health concerns, rising suicide, alcoholism, drug dependency and domestic violence are the results of structural changes starting in the 1970s which have progressively pushed people to the margins (Bourdieu & Nice 1998, pp. 36–9). The ideology of responsibilisation in modern Western societies takes on an aspect of 'social neo-Darwinism' (Siisiainen 2003, p. 22). The deserving and undeserving poor are constructed within this rhetoric. Bourdieu argues 'the poor are not just immoral, alcoholic and degenerate, they are stupid, they lack intelligence' (Bourdieu & Nice 1998, p. 43). The UK Labour's 'Broken Britain' (Tyler 2015) epitomises this agenda. It is argued that a Putnamian social analysis would interpret these processes and resulting social challenges as 'expressions of amoral familism, or differences connected with the uneven exchange between regions … or between social groups' (Siisiainen 2003, p. 23).

Time 2

At T2, a number of participants demonstrated a greater degree of recognition of resources, and a greater desire to access or acquire them. The awareness of resources was evident in the areas of housing, family, relationship to society, program output, program outcome and the program.

With regard to housing, the participants living outside of the family recognised housing as a resource. Resources associated with optimum housing conditions were identified, including supportive relationships, location and transport.

Organisations and significant adults in society were recognised as an important resource for support. Access to resources is also connected with these participant's aspirations for the future and how they are defining themselves. There was recognition that in order to progress, they needed to be in places where they could access resources and experience, in order to have access to the fields in which they desired to enter.

> *… once we find a place and once we are in a lease or some form of proof that we are renting a place then I can get funding for basic setup costs that I wouldn't be*

able to afford things like a fridge … It's made me feel safer. I feel, you know, I don't feel as scared about doing this on my own because I'm not. [Grace, H1T2]

Because, as I said to you, when they said to me, you know we're going to help you with housing, I'm going to make sure that you have your own house and things like that, I didn't believe it […] And just as I said I taught myself to be like – never get excited because you'll never be disappointed. And I took that approach, and you know what, I was pleasantly surprised, very, very pleasantly surprised. [Catherine, H1T2]

Employment and the resources associated with it, both financial and more intangible, were recognised and desired by all participants. A number were deliberately seeking experience. They also recognised the need for resources to commence searching for work properly: resumes, references and experience. This 'work ready' capability is an output of the program.

Neighbours Café. It's, um, the café on the corner of Inkerman and Chapel … I work there Saturday/Sunday plus there's school five days a week.

Researcher: You weren't doing that when I was talking to you last time … And so was that some of the stuff that you learnt here …

Yeah. [John, H2T2]

Outcomes of the programs related to resources appeared to be an increase in ability and confidence on behalf of some of the participants to seek out resources for themselves.

… they're always just around if you need to ask any questions. Um they give you all their time, you know, they've helped set me up – any sort of interest I have, anything that sparks my interest they organise me to do … [Erin, H1T2]

This skill requires the understanding of resources, their potential, desirability and use value. Within the program itself, the participants saw the content as a potential resource for use. The certification was seen as a valuable resource, and the participants were determined to complete the program to gain the qualification.

I probably wouldn't have work experience at the [unclear] Dandelion or anything like that without being here and getting some contacts from [Arnold], the head chef. [Jordan, H2T2]

So stick on, get another certificate.

> *Researcher: All right, and what does that take you up to? So the next course, what qualification will you get?*
>
> *Cert. II in Commercial Cookery I'm pretty sure. [Aaron, S1T2]*

However, resources were also barrier for a number of participants in their perception of being able to access education:

> *You know, you look through all these course and none of them – I, I can't afford any of them, you know. They're all so expensive and I … I want to learn. I want to be able to learn … And I can't because it's, you know, you can't afford it … I entered a competition the other day and it was where you could win $10,000 plus entry into one of the courses and, um, the – one of the entry prizes was $500 off a course… like you get government subsidies but not everyone can get those. Not everyone can access that … I'm so lucky I found out about this [HEAT] because if I didn't I would probably not have finished school for a long time [Grace, H2T2]*

The data demonstrates the rorting of the VET FEE-HELP structures and the marketisation of higher education. The raffling off of VET courses by RTOs, preying on the most vulnerable members of Australian society, is justifiably a cause for concern (Australian Government 2016; Noonan 2016a, 2016c).

Resources were also a barrier for successful job searching:

> *I don't have enough experience. I don't have enough qualifications. I haven't finished Year 12 which is so uncommon. They're like oh you're 19 and you haven't finished Year 12, what's wrong with him? And so people make assumptions like that even if the job does not require …[Barry Del Rio, S2T2]*

Many of the young people knew the "rules of the game" and implicitly understood what the mainstream labour market required of them in terms of cultural and social capital. They are actively negotiating the precariousness of their responsibilised and individualised place in society. It lends strength to concerns raised about the internalisation of neoliberal ideology by young people (Ossei-Owusu 2012) and could be argued to be a clear-cut example of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1999; Bourdieu et al. 2014; Burke 2015; Siisiainen 2003; Wacquant 2017).

Time 3

At T3, the participants were acutely aware of resources. The categories of housing, family, relationship to society, program outcome, program output and relationship to

self characterised their relationship with resources. This theme is intimately intertwined with their perception of themselves and what they could accomplish.

This relationship was particularly obvious in the context of continuing education. A number of participants had attempted to attend mainstream educational institutions, at VET and university level. As per Joe Houli above having no books in attempting his degree, resource disparity in these contexts was apparent and a barrier for confidence and success.

> *Researcher: At Broadie [Broadmeadows TAFE], what was the experience like?*
>
> *I guess like um, its sort a like a, you're an island and you make your own bridges which is fine if you're established and you are able to be independent and know what to look for. Which to an extent I can, but if you don't know what to look for, then you stay an island. And um, that can be … and if you don't have like a connection outside of school then that can put you in a really difficult position.*
>
> *Researcher: What do you mean by knowing what to look for?*
>
> *Like um, if I looked at, I looked at the uh, they have like a program where they have like camps available and events and stuff, and if I had the money, and the time to invest then yes, that's a great opportunity. [Wonky Goldfish, Y1T3]*

This statement can be interpreted as a clear indication of awareness of the functioning of social capital (Bourdieu 1986). Transitioning from a highly supportive and "connective" environment to a large, mainstream TAFE institution was challenging. The lack of connections inside the institution magnified the lack of connectedness in the personal sphere. The investment aspect of increasing social capital is clearly understood (Bourdieu 1986). However, the importance of all capital forms is also clear in this example, with the economic and cultural capital shortages making for an arduous transition.

The program environment and strong relationships with staff facilitated a more strategic view of resources within the participants.

> *And I'm like thinking about, in terms of the future, like I get this done, next year I could do – like if I wanted to I could be doing VCE … I could get like courses to get into uni from this if I wanted to do that straightaway. If I didn't want to and I wanted to like travel and come back to uni as a mature-age student like I've got this. Like it's just about not shutting doors for myself, because I'm capable. [Willow, H2T3]*

An increase in future orientation and strategic navigation of options was evident in the majority of participants who were available at three months post completion. It was the most evident in participants in programs that were able to effectively pathway the young people into programs within their organisation, such as HEAT and Youthworx. For those whose brokered opportunities more remote from the organisational environment, that future orientation was more problematised. One participant, Alejandro, had been connected with an auto-electrical apprenticeship opportunity. Whilst he was excited by the prospect, the barrier of needing to establish new relationships and an uncertain context exacerbated fears and hesitancy.

> *Researcher: Sounds like it will be right up your alley actually?*

> *Oh, a bit – not really. I don't really have – I don't really like – I don't really have anything – I don't really know much about cars to be honest. [Alejandro, Y1T3]*

Many of the participants lacked material resources, such as computers. The programs and organisations gave them access to this equipment, which some young people were able to use creatively to their own advantage. These young people demonstrated the ability to exploit the resources they gained access to in order to further their own interests.

> *No one knew I could dance until I did that video. When they see me at parties they are like, yeah he's good, but when I uploaded that video it was "Wow! He can dance" you know?! And then I saw this kid at a party as well and he was good and he's my partner now. Like I saw him dancing, he's good, but he just didn't have the flow, so like I got him and I taught him some moves and then we did a video and uploaded it on Facebook. And it was like Wow! They're representing Ethiopia … I already found a professional Ethiopian singer. She's all known in Ethiopia and stuff. Did a performance with her, me and her partner. [Big Daddy, Y1T3]*

In this example it is possible to see how the young person is strategically using the boost in resource access in order to develop his own social capital. Access to the material resource, combined with strategically marketing himself and broadening his connections within the Ethiopian artistic community was facilitated by the access to technology provided by Youthworx. What this example demonstrates is the resource potential of networks, and the investment in broadening those networks in order to gain access to greater resources – including social capital and reputation (Bourdieu 1986).

The importance of resources when attempting to gain access to the labour market was clearly stressed by participants. Completing their program equipped them with some necessary fundamentals in terms of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) to open up further opportunities.

> *I get a Certificate II in Hospitality as well as being able to put on my resume that I've work experience in a café so if an ad says experience necessary I've got experience so I can't like ignore that ad. [Barry Del Rio, S2T3]*

Finally, many of the participants were aware of the resources provided via the family environment, and for a number of them, their lack of familial resources. It was clear that they were at a disadvantage from low capital transmission in the habitus. The consequences are greater barriers in relation to their peers in navigating the world around them and accessing further opportunities and resources. Interestingly, they saw participating in their programs as being a compensatory process, somewhat assisting them with their lack.

> *Or they [parents] are unable to give the parental back up for that support or um, they don't really teach you how, or they just give like attitudes that uh, you know, no one is there for them, so what's the point in trying to find it. So it's good that there's that alternative in here to give you that extra support in figuring out what's out there. [Wonky Goldfish, Y1T3]*

Self

This theme is not present in a normative conceptualisation of social capital and is a distinct aspect of Foley and Edwards' operationalising of Bourdieu's theory of social capital. In this theme, the young people's relationship to themselves is explored.
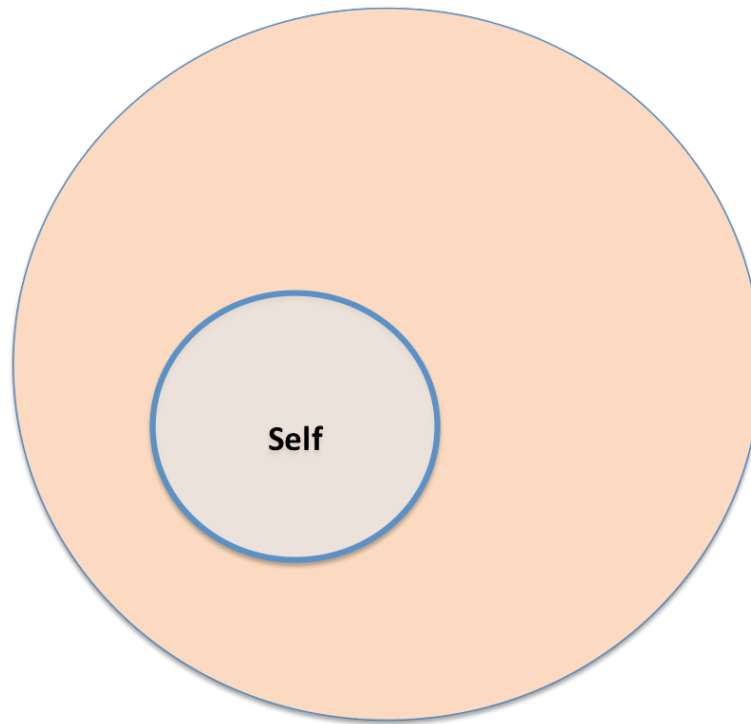
Figure 66: The theme of self

Time 1

The categories most frequently related to young peoples' self-perceptions were family, peers, their relationship to society, the program and relationship to themselves. A large number of participants saw themselves on a path of change or transformation.

> *It's like, every time I look at myself in the mirror I tell myself like "Look at you! Like, you're already famous". I dunno, like to me like, I've already accomplished my dream. I've already done something like this right now [the program] … So like I'm proud of myself. I am real proud of myself compared to the person I was back in the days … Like, you know, this is not the person I want to be, you know? I want to be something better. So I became something better. [Big Daddy, Y1T1]*

In order to progress along that path, many felt the need to distance themselves from peers.

> *I look at some people and I think I won't be friends with them in five years' time or 10 years' time and I look at others and I'm like will I be friends with them? Like they have the chance. Like they're on the line. They can – they can stop where*

they are and go back or they can – they can just keep going on the path they're heading and that's when I know that they're not going to be friends. [John, H1T1]

In the dialogues about young people's sense of self in this study a number of theoretical directions in the literature were useful to assist with interpretation. There are a number of quiet but present narratives propagated through contemporary constructions of the individual in society. The political subject has the expectation of being 'entrepreneurial, enterprising and innovative' (Larner 2000, p. 13). This expectation is pushed through our schools and institutions. Consider this statement from *Paradigm Shifters: Entrepreneurial Learning in Schools* (Anderson 2017):

> Self-efficacy around educationally-related tasks in their schooling has an impact on students' confidence, enthusiasm, commitment and sense of value (Schleicher 2015). Levels of student self-efficacy around these types of tasks seem, in turn, to be associated with the self-efficacy levels of teachers. The higher a teacher's self-efficacy (related to the tasks of teaching), the higher their students' self-efficacy (related to their learning). An important element underpinning teacher self-efficacy is the extent to which they are able to exercise agency – participate in and create outcomes – around educationally-related decisions made within their schools. This, in turn, spills over into student achievement. Higher levels of self-efficacy are associated with higher levels of student achievement (Schleicher 2015). John Hattie's research (2008) also emphasises the importance of self-efficacy and agency, noting how achievement is positively associated with increased levels of self-regulation and personal control. (Anderson 2017, p. 11)

A number of aspects of the claims made by the research appear supported by the study. A clear pattern in the data was young people's need for constructive engagement and participation. They saw it as lending structure to their lives, giving them a reason to motivate themselves, and a sense of purpose. Striving to attain something positive for themselves boosted their self-perception.

And like that's one thing that I was scared of when I was to leave the rehab is that I need structure and like stuff to do so this will fill in some time, I have some stuff to do so yeah, it's good. Well, it's going to give me structure and things to do and like, in a way if I can stick this out and like – yeah, if I can stick this out and show myself that I can do this then I can do a lot more things and I – like if I didn't know about this program and I didn't – like I'd probably be on the streets still smoking and drinking. [Alejandro, S1T1]

Additionally, those who felt a lack of engagement and purpose reported low degrees of self-satisfaction.

> *Researcher: If you could rate your level of satisfaction of your life on a scale of 1 to 10 for me, where would you be?*
>
> *A 3 or a 4.*
>
> *Researcher: What would it take to get that number higher?*
>
> *I don't know. I don't know. I don't know, I think maybe working would be good, give myself something to do you know because I like having a schedule, you know, I don't mind getting up early, if I know I'm going to do something. [Jake, S2T1]*

And the sense of social isolation deeply affected some young people.

> *I don't get out much. Friends don't talk to me very often you know.*
>
> *Researcher: So what do you – like what sort of stuff do you do with your time?*
>
> *Sit at home, go on the computer, play video games. Go for walks sometimes but yeah, I don't do much with my time.*
>
> *Researcher: What would you change, like, do you want to change any of that?*
>
> *Yeah I do, I really hate life. [Jake, S2T1]*

Bullying challenged young people's confidence and was a commonly experienced issue, particularly among the boys in the study.

> *Like at the end of the Year 7 I couldn't walk past a classroom without being picked on. Even with teachers inside so one lunchtime the only places that I ever didn't get picked on is when I was in the smokers corner or if I went and hid down somewhere – I had a certain spot I'd hide and fucken – the smokers corner like that's what got me into smoking was mainly like no one picked on me … [Mac, S1T1]*

Literature around the phenomenon of bullying often emphasises conceptualisations of resilience that 'emphasise individual responsibility and adaptability … From this viewpoint, social wellbeing rests on individual choice and responsibility, with individuals being "empowered" to look after themselves (Webb, Gulson, and Pitton 2013)' (Sims-Schouten & Edwards 2016, p. 1383). It is suggested that there are protective factors for resilience building among young people, including supportive

relationships with at least one competent adult and positive experiences within education in addition to individual personal factors and factors within the community (Sims-Schouten & Edwards 2016, p. 1383).

Many of the participants were experiencing mental illness. There was a range of experiences of this, from young people with acute mental illnesses which were defining much of their ability to engage in society, and to others who had been diagnosed, and were either resistant to medicalisation, or had chosen to take themselves off psycho-pharmaceutical aids.

> *So once I went to TAFE, I used to be able to not function for crap and I use to be all out of space and its good because I came to Melbourne and thought I need to get off this crap yeah.*
>
> *Researcher: What was the stuff they had you on?*
>
> *Seroquel … It's an anti-psychosis.*
>
> *Researcher: Yeah yeah. And so now that you've changed your life, things feel better and you can think again?*
>
> *I just told them to cancel it. Listen, I can't keep doing this … Because I'm not going to function for study or in the future, in a workplace environment. [Tiger, H1T1]*

For those who had peer support, their sense of self was sustained and buoyed by having people they could count on, and who accepted them, despite their previous struggles.

> *Yeah well that's who I used to be hanging out [with], because I started smoking dope in Year 7 and then I was selling cocaine at Heathmont and selling marijuana as well. Then I moved to a Christian school where there – there's still negative people which I first started hanging out with them, like still selling marijuana there, and then um I don't know, like the church, because I don't know, you go to church and like some of them work at the school, and like, I don't know, they just sort of like pulled me aside and hey mate I've never talked to you before, what's your name, how are you going? Like one of my really good mates, John Villa, I met him and he's been a really, really good mate of mine, like he's really, like helped keep me going. He calls me a warrior. [Bill, S1T1]*

This lends strength to the assertion within the social development model that access to 'conventional involvement and interactions' that result in high levels of reinforcement provides adequate socialisation (Catalano, Richard F & Hawkins 1996,

pp. 32–3). This is hypothesised to function in a "protective" way, which acts to decrease the engagement in atypical activities and interactions.

For some participants, the periods of time they had lost to drugs and other forms of challenges brought a sense of shame or feelings not being up to par with their peers.

> *I feel terrible about myself when I look at other people because of how far they've come and how far I haven't if that makes sense. [Erin, H1T1]*

Amongst the most marginalised young people, their sense of self-perception appears to be infused with the dialogues of individualism and the logic of "self-management" and "self-improvement".

Under this rubric, problems are constructed as something for an individual to solve, risks something that an individual bears, and responsibility and blame (for selecting the wrong solutions, making the wrong choices) can then become focused on the individual. This individualism brings freedom of choice, but also 'crushing responsibility to make the right life choices (Tulloch and Lupton, 2003:4)' (Brown et al. 2013, p. 335).

Embedded within this responsibility is a largely 'unproblematised' notion of personal agency and the concept of choice (Brown et al. 2013, p. 335). Unveiling this obscurity is aided through using a detailed understanding of 'capitals and capabilities' (Abel & Frohlich 2012). It is argued that to reduce health inequality for young people, there must be an account of:

> (1) the range of options for any individual is limited by the amount of different forms of capital available to him or her; (2) the effectiveness of the application of the different forms of capital for health benefits depends on contexts and people's abilities to play their capital most effectively and; (3) the non-material aspects of the social structure shape individual preferences as well as what people find appropriate. (Abel & Frohlich 2012, p. 242)

Within Bourdieu's social capital and Foley and Edwards' model the structure–agency effect is brought to the forefront of social inquiry, rather than obscured by a convenient depiction of the rational choice individual who is enterprising and entrepreneurial in a field of potentialities limited only by their intelligence and merit.

Time 2

The majority of participants at T2 reported an improved self-perception in some aspects of their identity. This includes those who reported a positive relationship to themselves at T1. The core areas where the theme of self was most directly discussed were housing, family, relationship to society, the program, program outcomes and relationship to self.

In terms of the participants relationship to themselves, perceptions of being behind peers in accumulating successes or achievements in life was a pertinent feature.

> *And I know it's not right to compare considering he's had like, a stable upbringing and not had like scrapes with like almost ending up in a psych unit or something. So I reckon I'm doing pretty good considering. [Wonky Goldfish, Y1T2]*

> *I feel like that I'm now 25 um and I haven't really achieved that much for my age. Um so I feel like I'm really behind compared to other people my age. So I feel like that actually is a barrier not – of coming out of school and not going straight into study and things like that. [Erin, H1T2]*

The 'crushing responsibility to make the right life choices' (Tulloch & Lupton 2003, p. 4) is felt through their critical view of themselves in comparison with their peers and the expectations of broader society. Participation in the program had given them significant boosts in their self-perception. The feelings of being capable and competent, plus the extension of their lives into new frontiers and social situations, was of benefit for their feelings of self-efficacy (Bandura 1977, 1982).

There was a direct correlation with participation in extracurricular activities and significant improvements in self-perception.

> *I am a lot more, like the first time I was terrified but I am now so comfortable public speaking. We had the WOW week last week, which is about career workplace skills and I was fine just smashing the oral presentation … I was really glad that I was the one managing being the most comfortable interviewing people on the street. I actually got complimented by a radio person that I was a good interviewer, so I was like, yay! [Wonky Goldfish, Y1T2]*

Agency mobilisation had positive effects on the way they perceived themselves. Participants who had not taken up extension opportunities reported an improved self-perception related to confidence obtained via increased social opportunities and personal satisfaction in their achievements and development. Both of these

improvement areas (extracurricular and in-program) are an outcome of participation in the programs, as the organisations play a significant brokerage role in linking participants to other services and programs.

Mental health issues continued to influence people's relationship with themselves, but a number of young people had noted improvements in their disorders.

I actually did a mental health assessment before I started here and um basically on the scale of one to five; five being how bad you're actually feeling um I was pretty much fours and fives. Like about every; about my confidence, about my stress, about feeling helpless, you know, not feeling good about myself. And then I did one recently, about a week ago, and I was, like, at twos and threes or – so – and that's just in a space of, like, three months … [Erin, H1T2]

Some participants' sense of being on a self-improvement trajectory was keen.

Drinking and stuff. It's all like you know if I – if I drank every night it'd make me happier but yeah, it did like the opposite … And then I just like – kind of this one day – kind of like honestly I looked in the mirror and I was like you're a fucking idiot … I was just like you need to just stop. So yeah, I just cut off all loose ends like … [Jono, H2T2]

Other young people saw themselves as somewhat risky.

I feel like all the bad I've done you know, I can't – all the good I can do will never make up for the bad I have done so, that's just me. [Alejandro, S1T2]

For the participants, being in an atmosphere that valued them as individuals and sought out their strengths was an aspect of the program that was credited with empowering them.

They make you feel like you are something, where in other schools or something like that, they may have made you feel less because you're not getting as higher mark as somebody else … Here they, obviously judge you on your strengths and things like that, and they encourage that, and they try and get them to flourish. [Jordan, H2T2]

Researcher: And you finished some things …. you are going to finish it?

Yeah. I am gonna get this thing done. [Ricketty, Y1T2]

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The social side of it, the class, it is nice, small, the teachers can keep an eye on you. So yeah, it has made me more outgoing. [Lochness, Y1T2]

I don't like this stuff. Like I'm surprised I'm still here. The only reason I am is because I want to get my life on track and take my little sister out of Ballarat, you know … [Alejandro, S1T2]

Time 3

A clear factor in the young people's perception of self was mental health. A number of participants were suffering severe disorders, such as schizophrenia, acute bipolar and depression. For some of the participants with diagnosed mental health issues, involvement in the program helped them manage their disorders and increase their confidence. For others, their disorders made participation a challenge.

Researcher: Is that what the thoughts, like the suicidal thoughts come from; feeling like you can't really do much?

Yeah, pretty much, yeah.

Researcher: Yeah but then when you get to do programs like this and it shows that you can?

Yeah, definitely. [Bill, S1T3]

I have gone through a rough patch with personal stuff so it's a bit of a decline with my work.

Researcher: Regarding schoolwork? Having trouble keeping deadlines.

Yeah. [Lochness, Y1T3]

Some participants' perception of selves transformed as a result of participation in the SEET. It could be argued that their previous habitus had seen things like a university education as "not for the likes of them", illustrating the Bourdieuian concept in action. However, being able to accrue capital within the supportive environment of the program, both cultural capital through educational credentials but also the social capital of networks, resources and the ability to exploit them, transformed their perception of what was possible or achievable for them.

Researcher: Did you see it as something you'd like to do but it is something that is out of your league?

Yeah completely out of my league or something that's really … phew! … way too far. But now like it seems like a very real option that I can do which is really great. [Wonky Goldfish, Y1T3]

Researcher: In terms of going to university … what does it mean to you?

Oh, it's very important … because I feel like I want to reach for the stars. I really want to achieve as much as I can … And I'm really determined. And I've realised how much of a hard worker I am when I want something. [Erin, H1T3]

For others, the personal transformation was experienced on the interpersonal level, particularly for those young people who were socially isolated prior to the program. It was not so much the credential or qualification, or even the course content, but their ability to interact well with peers and find themselves socially accepted that was the transformative factor. Finding themselves accepted among their peers greatly increased their self-satisfaction.

A lot of people now trust me and for the first time ever. I have never felt so happy cause, to be honest my family trusts me as well, and I felt so much trust in my life. That's pretty amazing. [Ricketty, Y1T3]

This perspective from this young person echoes the contributions of Brent (Brent 2004) and Ord (2007) relating to the process within working with young people, and the emergent nature of outcomes (Ord 2007). Brent's illustration of the non-linear process of outcome generation for young people hints at the immeasurability of some outcomes for young people:

There has been no product, no target met, no plan completed, yet all the evidence points to there being a profoundly important personal outcome for Kelly. (Brent 2004, p. 70)

The young people who were branching off and starting their career trajectories were clearly optimistic and had a sense of determination and self-esteem from this direction.

I've put kids in school and stuff now and they're going to school. Kids – kids that couldn't read and write and stuff so no, it's really good. It makes me happy. It makes me feel so good [Jono, H2T3]

[The course] just helped me as a person I guess, gave me confidence, position, gave me a job I'm guessing. I wouldn't have had the balls to walk up and ask them

about work. I wouldn't have had the answer to any of his questions that he asked. I wouldn't have been able to write down that two weeks of experience, what that gave me. I wouldn't have been able to do anything without this course. [Jordan, H2T3]

Micro level summary

This chapter sought to address the research question *Can Bourdieu's theory of social capital assist in theorising and explicating the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises providing education and training to disengaged young people?*

The results of the thematic cross-case analysis of the interviews with program participants allowed for an adaptation of Foley and Edwards' (1999) model of social capital. The four themes of environment, resources, networks and self enabled an exploration of social capital and the participants.

The social capital of an individual at any given time is the result of the inculcation of a capital in the habitus. For some people, by virtue of the resources available to them in the family and the deliberate investment in their children by their parents and other family members, social capital is possessed in abundance. For people who are coming from backgrounds of deprivation and from class cultures that are not that of the middle class, the social capital investment is often low or composed of a negative social capital (Wacquant, 1998) as it compares to the affluent mainstream.

The young people who participated in this study exhibited differing outcomes in terms of an increase in social capital levels. When any element of the framework is problematised or underdeveloped, social capital usage and increases were not apparent. This has resulted in the development a social capital model derived from the Foley and Edwards model. Appendix 5 details the operation of this model, which has potential to assist in evaluating social capital outcomes in further studies.

What is clear from the data is that program participation provided all the elements of the framework. SEETs provide an environment in which the young people could thrive. SEET participation also involved a dramatic increase in the resources available to them and an increase in strategic use of resources by the young people. Participation also provided access to new people and organisations, which enabled the formation of new networks. In short, all the ingredients required for social capital increases were present.

For the young people who originally possessed social capital awareness and the skills of sociability required to exploit and leverage what they had, the program environment saw them develop exponentially. This validates Bourdieu's (1986) articulation of the operation of social capital, that social capital is a resource that is invested in and developed by investment in social exchanges and sociability. Some young people who did not come into the program with such stocks of social capital demonstrated an increase in their levels of social capital evidenced by their increases in resource recognition and exploitation. A minority appeared to have continued struggle in the arenas of housing and personal environment volatility, mental health or other developmental needs, which were higher priority. Until these personal spheres are ameliorated, an increase in social capital does not seem possible.

The second aspect of the third research sub-question pertained to the benefits of participation in SEET. The conclusions in terms of study participant benefits are:

- All participants retained to T2 gained VET certifications.
- All participants retained to T3 had constructive pathways beyond the program – either university, a return to completing high school, further VET study, apprenticeships, or employment.
- All participants experienced an increase in cultural capital.
- All young people reported positive educational experiences.
- The vast majority of participants reported an increase in self-esteem, motivation, positive regard for the future and self-efficacy.
- Participation in the program was an overwhelmingly positive step in each young person's life trajectory.

Between level analysis
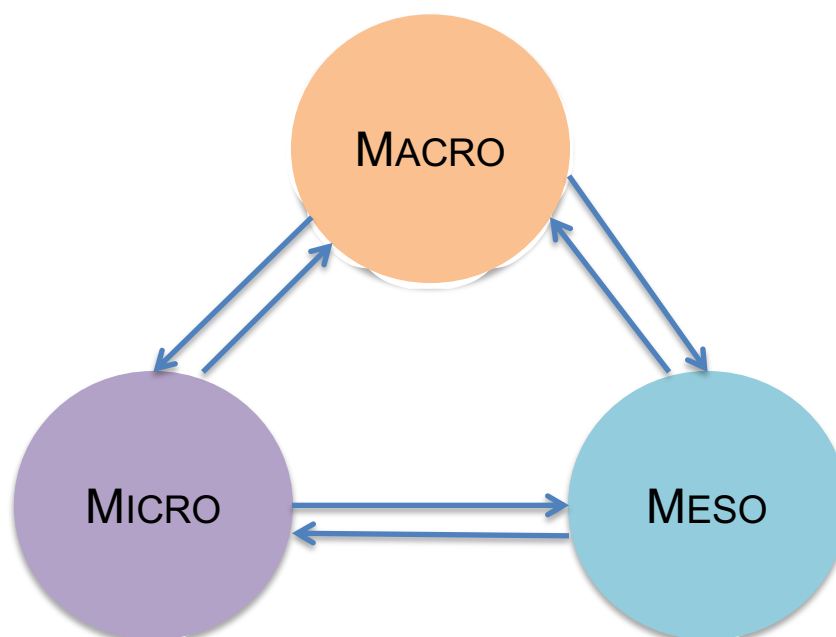
Figure 67: Between level analysis

The cross-case analysis of the meta themes generated in the macro, meso and micro levels of the study have enabled a consideration of the 'between level' insights of social enterprises delivering education and training for young people.

Macro–meso analysis

A study that fails to take account of the sociopolitical and historical context fails to understand the power relations in which the study is embedded. This level of analysis highlighted the impact of the multi-field operations for each social enterprise. Straddling the education, social service and business field in their organisation creates challenges for the organisation's operating context – if only by virtue of the number of varying forces to which they are subjected.

Applying a Bourdieuian analysis, the three social enterprises hold differing positions in the same fields. Within their respective subfields there are slight differences in terms of power and capital. In the business field, market access, funding and access to investment capital, demand fluctuations and competition were experienced as challenges for the organisations.

In the education field, the interplay between policy changes in VET sector, increasing bureaucracy and administrative requirements, significant funding restructuring, reducing access to education for young people via policy and funding, and institutional restrictions made delivery of education and training in their current operating environment a challenging ask. However, solid interpersonal relationships between staff from each of both the RTOs and SEs made it possible.

The social service field is a site of continual struggle for those in the field and those in the subfield of youth services. Government funding, policy, problem definition, politics and administrative churn made assisting young people with their complexities a challenge. The organisations gained the most positivity from the social services field where they had instrumentality and autonomy, the pursuit of philanthropic funds and the development and use of interpersonal professional networks within the sector.

Meso–micro analysis

The theme of environment most clearly demonstrates the between level implications of the meso – micro relations. Foley and Edwards' Bourdieuian social capital model requires a consideration of the resources present in a specific social context in order to gain a picture of the presence of social capital in that context. The research question *Can Bourdieu's theory of social capital assist in theorising and explicating the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises providing education and training to disengaged young people?* allowed for a consideration of social capital operating at both levels of study, the meso and the micro.

A possible insight into social capital gained from an in-between level analysis is the difference between social capital operation or use, and social capital acquisition. Social capital as conceived by Foley and Edwards is *access (networks) plus resources* (Foley & Edwards 1999, p. 167). In both levels, organisational and individual, the issue of agency is equally important. In Appendix 5, I have asserted that an extended model of social capital at an individual level involves the presence of conducive environment, networks, resources and self. Only in the case where all four elements are present and sufficient can social capital acquisition take place. Of the four elements, environment is a critically significant theme.

The environment provided by the social enterprises is in direct contrast to the general environments experienced by the participations. Features of the participants' lives related to environment centred upon housing, family, the program and its outcomes, neighbourhoods. Throughout the study, only a minority of young people consistently

reported a satisfactory and positive environmental context in their personal lives, driven by positive family relations (Bassani 2007; Coleman 1988; Grootaert & Van Bastelaer 2001; Morrow 2001; Phillips 2010; Scrivens & Smith 2013; Seddon, Hazenberg & Denny 2012). All other participants were facing difficulties in their personal environments. The environment provided by the program was repeatedly seen as a place where the young people felt safe, accepted, that they had a level playing field and enjoyed being present.

In terms of social capital use, the SEETs demonstrated clearly the close relationship between cultural capital and social capital. Furthermore, when there is a lack of economic capital, social capital is depended on more heavily as a means to generate further resources. The study has demonstrated that social capital cannot be reduced to the volume of capital contained within networks (Bourdieu 1986), but that there is weight to be accorded to this consideration.

The between meso–micro level analysis has also demonstrated the critical importance of the habitus, both individual and organisational. Bourdieu's theory of capital asserts that social capital is inculcated in the habitus – this is the skill and ability at developing productive networks and the ability to exploit them. Organisationally, there were differences in habitus between the three SEETs. They sat on a spectrum with commercial entity at one end, and social program at the other. The type of resource and social network generated by each SEET varied in accordance with the way the saw themselves, or their organisational habitus. STREAT for example saw itself as a business, and engaged in business mentoring and network development with philanthropist investors and other successful entrepreneurs and companies. HEAT on the other hand saw itself in the main programmatically and generated significant support from their local community and local businesses in a grassroots support network predominately. Thus the volume of capital within their networks differed.

The young people who entered their SEET program with social capital awareness already in their habitus flourished in the resource and network rich environment provided by the organisations. Others who did not have this pre-existing skill and awareness showed different trajectories. Many became more cognisant of social capital and showed an increased awareness of resource acquisition and network development. A significant proportion of young people however were experiencing challenges within the theme of 'self', consistent with mental health issues or complex

personal environments. These young people demonstrated no increase in social capital, and only modest increases in cultural capital.

Micro–macro analysis

The macro level analysis of the social service field particularly demonstrated viscerally a hostile climate toward young people at the macro level. The current neoliberal logics are evident within the macro level, and their consequences were borne out in the micro level analysis. The research identified the harm that individualisation of responsibility and obscuration of the role of structure has on young people's self-perception. It highlighted the misplacement of the burden of responsibility for successful navigation of the social world onto the shoulders of young people, some as young as 14 years old. The study illustrated that young people experiencing the strongest deprivation are often the most inclined to engage in self-blame and unfair comparisons. The original work in this thesis demonstrated empirically that the capital possessed by many is not valued by the mainstream and this is a structural disadvantage that is not the result of individual deficiency.

Another arena in which the interplay between the macro forces and the micro level was stark was the education field. This study demonstrated changes to VET FEE-HELP funding levels for Certificate I and II courses served to further marginalise the young people who are struggling most in the state of Victoria. Being unable to gain assistance for courses at equal or lower levels of education has placed restrictions on the pathways young people can take to regain a foothold in education and eventually the employment market, post disengagement. It increased the difficulty for organisations aiming to assist disengaged young people by removing the financial viability of delivering entry-level courses to re-engage the disengaged.

Discussion summary

This chapter has discussed the data gathered at the macro, meso and micro levels within a Bourdieuian social theory framework. This is in order to answer the research questions *Can a Bourdieuian theoretical framework be used to understand and theorise the use of social enterprise?* and *Can Bourdieu's theory of social capital assist in theorising and explicating the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises providing education and training to disengaged young people?*

At the macro level of this study, applying Bourdieu's theory allowed for an in depth analysis of the three fields in which the SEETs operate, business, education and

social services. This chapter has demonstrated the utility of Bourdieuian social theory for theorising the emergence of social enterprise in the fields of social service delivery and education provision. Social enterprises have evolved to become a key vehicle (Spear, Cornforth & Aiken 2009) in the delivery of social services within neoliberal policy agendas. This is bringing the 'social' in from the margins, where it was banished in early neoliberal governmentality (Graefe 2005), whilst retaining the governing philosophies of small government and market primacy. Many social enterprises are established as a form of 'citizen activism' (Bull & Crompton 2006, p. 44), as could be said for the three social enterprises in this study. However, the Victorian government's purposive creation of the Victorian Social Enterprise Sector has legitimised and formalised the field of social enterprise in Victoria and set it to the purpose of providing social services to some of Victoria's most disadvantaged groups.

Social capital can be directly considered within the operation of all other capitals, and this has been the aim of the meso level of the study. This section has answered the second research question *Can Bourdieu's theory of social capital assist in theorising and explicating the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises providing education and training to disengaged young people?*

The application of Bourdieu's theory has demonstrated that rather than social capital being a discrete phenomenon – some attribute or quality of people, organisations or communities – social capital is a resource. It is one of many kinds of resources which exist in social life and is interconnected with all forms of capital. Social capital is possessed by the organisations in this study, but the degree to which they depend on social capital and use it in the operation of their organisations and the delivery of outcomes varies in relation to the volume of capitals they possess in totality.

It has been demonstrated that there is a strong link between cultural capital and social capital. From this data it appears that social capital is heavily depended upon when stocks of cultural capital are lower. This study has demonstrated that *cultural capital* levels are by far the most significant determinant in organisational position within the fields. It also appears that the relationship between cultural capital and economic capital is strong, in that higher levels of cultural capital will produce higher economic capital. This observation has been statistically proven (Gatrell, Popay & Thomas 2004; Veenstra 2007, p. 4). The observations of social capital appears to have confirmed Bourdieu's and network theorists' assertion that social capital is 'the capacity for people to lever their social connections to advantageously gain access to

resources or better use the firm's own resources' (Zubac, Hubbard & Johnson 2012, p. 1875). This cross-case analysis has demonstrated that there is more complexity in the way in which capital operates in the social world, and that considering social capital in isolation from other forms, and without serious consideration of the sociopolitical, limits the discussion.

The critiques of normative social capital articulated in the literature review (cf. Devine & Roberts 2003; Durlauf 1999, 2002; Edwards & Foley 1997; Farr 2004; Ferragina & Arrigoni 2017; Fine 2010; Fine & Ortiz 2016; Jackman & Miller 1998; Morrow 2001b; Portes & Landolt 2000; Siisiainen 2003; Tarrow 1996; Van Deth 2003; Woolcock & Narayan 2000) raise the lack of these aspects in social capital research. However, when the social capital of Bourdieu is employed, it necessitates the consideration of the operating context and forces stratifying all capital distribution in the fields under research.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

This thesis has presented original case study research conducted in a cross-case analysis of three sites that are social enterprises delivering education and training to disengaged young people. The cross-case analysis has been conducted at the macro, meso and micro level to enable an investigation into the value of deploying a Bourdieuian social theory lens to the study of social enterprises. Secondarily, it has examined the utility of a Bourdieuian social capital framework in theorising the potential, contributions and limitations of social enterprises delivering education and training. In order to accomplish a Bourdieuian social capital investigation, the literature surrounding the development and use of SEs, the state of Australian education systems and youth disengagement have been canvassed and presented (Chapter 2). The literature relating to social capital in its normative use has been presented and contrasted with the sociological theories of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's concept of social capital embedded within his broader social theory (Chapter 3) has been used to explore the role of social capital in SEETs assisting disengaged youth. Bourdieu's empirical research instructions have been applied within the research paradigm of pragmatism (Chapter 3). This approach complements his theoretical endeavour to critically examine the power relations at play in the production of "knowledge" within the cultural field in which academia is embedded. The framework for Bourdieu's social capital conceptualised by Foley and Edwards (1999) has been applied and extended in this study and original research analytical tools developed to interpret the data (Chapter 3).

The final chapter returns to the research questions informing the case study and presents the insights gained from deploying Bourdieuian social theory and concepts as they relate to the macro, meso and micro levels. There are limitations in this research project, which have been identified, and recommendations for further research have been made.

Research questions

This study explored whether Bourdieu's social theory can contribute to an understanding of the use of social enterprises as education providers. In order to do so it posed two research questions:

i. *Can a Bourdieuian theoretical framework be used to understand and theorise the use of social enterprise?*
ii. *Can Bourdieu's theory of social capital assist in theorising and explicating the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises providing education and training to disengaged young people?*

The conclusion considers the findings at each level of the cross-case analysis, with the macro level presenting the answers to research question one, and the meso and micro levels presenting the conclusions from research question two. The original contributions made by this study have been outlined, followed by a discussion of the limitations of this study.

Macro level

The macro level of this study addressed the first research question: *Can a Bourdieuian theoretical framework be used to understand and theorise the use of social enterprise?* In combination with the literature review (Chapter 2) this level of analysis explored the use of social enterprises as educational institutions delivering VET curricula. The analysis demonstrated that social enterprises delivering education and training are required to perform effectively in three social fields: business, social services and education. This is a position that demands significant resources from an organisation, as the requirements and logics governing each field are very different. This creates a challenging and at times disadvantaged playing field for the SEETs. The insights gleaned from applying Bourdieu's theoretical framework to the case study are elaborated below.

The challenges of business operations for social enterprise

The state ethos at present is embedded within neoliberal logic (Beeson & Firth 1998). The business field can be depicted as the more dominant field under study in terms of the power and resource it commands. The education field is increasingly subject to its logics (Ball 2012; Olssen & Peters 2005; Rawolle 2005; Savage 2011; Savage,

Sellar & Gorur 2013) and the social services field is in a dominated position. This is particularly true in light of the continued adherence to individualism, the primacy of market security, freedom of choice, laissez faire and small government (Larner 2000, p. 7). A SEET must continually position itself and strategise in three fields in order to deliver on a social mission of education and training, remain in business and continue to deliver social services.

The industry in which to run a social enterprise has been shown to be a critical decision. Two of the three participating organisations were in industries of low wage, low skilled labour (Cooney 2013). Youthworx was not, and whilst this could have a positive outcome for program participants, the high capital requirements for growth, development and day-to-day operations were a challenge. The meso level of the study demonstrated the significant challenges all participating organisations experienced related to funding expansion and growth. This finding echoes the research conducted into the state of social enterprise in Australia in 2016 (Barraket, Mason & Blain 2016, p. 4).

STREAT successfully navigated the field of business and established themselves as the leader in the social enterprise sector. They managed to secure the largest social lending loan from the National Australia Bank to develop their multi-use centre in Collingwood. In this way they were able to combine significant philanthropic donations with business acumen to secure funds against the odds.

The VicSES has, as part of its key action areas, determined to provide assistance with market access for social enterprises. As part of their strategy they will be pursuing the UK model of social procurement (Victorian Government February 2017). The choice to pursue this model, which has its critics in the UK, is a direction worth further investigation and monitoring. Victoria's social enterprise sector peak body, Social Traders, has embraced the strategy, indicating it is a positive change that builds on their advocacy (Social Traders 2017).

The role of the state and problem definition

The research conducted into the policy and advocacy environment constituting the social services field demonstrated the value of Bourdieu's theories of the state (Bourdieu et al. 2014). By looking at state acts of instituting and the field's response to state strategies, the battles for problem definition and solution positing with corresponding funding flows highlighted the degree of churn in the social service landscape with particular reference to young people. This definitional instability and

accompanying administrative changes required a process of constant readjustment, as the organisations re-strategise and reposition themselves to best respond to the priorities of the day and orient themselves beneficially in the field. This readjustment pressurises the sector to continually develop evidence bases (Case 2007; Davies 2004; Head & Stanley 2007; Head 2013) with increasingly scarce resources (Zappalà & Lyons 2009).

The research approach to understanding the dynamics of the social services field was fruitful. This culminated in evidencing the vocal turn by advocacy groups toward social innovation as a new strategy. In the Victorian Council of Social Service's budget submission of 2016 (for the 2017–18 financial year) the establishment of a social investment fund was its first priority. Social investment funds are a key funding vehicle for establishing and supporting social enterprise and social entrepreneurship. This new discourse suggested the sector was attempting to use social enterprise and investment funding as a means to regain or retain autonomy and authority in a field where there was diminished consultation and collaboration occurring by the state (see Appendix 3).

Neoliberal policy frameworks and the challenges of providing education

The education field demonstrates a peculiar bipolarity in the policy and funding priorities of the government. The dynamics of the field illuminate negative by-products of a marketised education sector (Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013) with inducements and rorting practices evident in the data. There is a conflict between state aspirations for equity of access and increasing the numbers of young people in higher and vocational education and training (Gale 2011; Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011; Savage, Sellar & Gorur 2013; Sellar 2013; Thomson 2013) and the reduction in funding for entry-level courses combined with the punitive turn on income support for young people studying certificate-level courses. The concerns expressed by the Australian Business Council that the changes in VET policies will result in a one million person shortfall in the labour market are well founded (Atkin 2017) as young people are deterred in participation in VET due to the large upfront fees required for some entry level courses.

Additionally, all SEETS cited difficulties and increasing pressures associated with delivering VET curriculum courses for the young people in their programs. Institutional requirements have developed over time in order to "prove outputs",

"increase efficiencies", "increase transparency" and provide high "quality accreditation" (Maton 2005; Olssen & Peters 2005). The effects of neoliberal managerialism on the education sector are stark, as the progression of the market governance logics continue to be embedded in all levels of the Australian education system. *The Karpin Report* (1995) aspiration that 'the culture of enterprise would be threaded through the entire socialisation process' (Karpin, 1995 p. 100) has been well established with the support of academia, as the push for entrepreneurialism and further corporatisation continues throughout the education system (Anderson 2017).

The cooption of social enterprise by the state

Initially, the social enterprises in this study were established as a response to a social need being perceived by "citizen activists" and being proactively addressed by the creation of social enterprises and programs (Bull & Crompton 2006). These social needs continued to increase under a neoliberal government ideology, where individualism, small government and meritocracy dominate the problem classifications and their attendant solutions (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2016). Over the duration of this study, social enterprise in Victoria went from being an idea on the fringes to an officially created field. This is evidenced by the 2017 release of the VicSES. What can be seen as a contestation to neoliberalism has been coopted (Leitner et al. 2007) by the state and sanctioned as an innovative response to Victoria's most pressing social problems (Victorian Government February 2017). With the official creation of the social enterprise field in Victoria comes 'institutionalized boundaries', 'barriers to entry' and 'specialists in the elaboration of a distinctive source of authority and sociodicy' (Wacquant 2017, pp. 8–9). This therefore curtails and constrains the field in its development. This is a process which had been underway for some time, as suggested by Barraket's observation that the purpose to which social enterprise was being used had dramatically changed from 2010 to 2016 (Barraket 2016) – in favour of the legitimate purposes for social enterprise the government officially sanctioned.

Meso level

This research level has answered the second research question: *Can Bourdieu's theory of social capital assist in theorising and explicating the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises providing education and training to disengaged young people?* It also addressed Bourdieu's instructions to map the

structure of the relations between the positions occupied by agents and institutions competing within the fields (Bourdieu, in Wacquant 1989, p. 39). Additionally, the research analysed the habitus of agents and the social and economic conditions that have been a determinant on their trajectory and strategies within the fields under consideration.

In order to study institutional level social capital, the SEETs were explored in two ways: capital analysis, and a traditional organisational analysis examining the five universal elements of an organisation (methods, equipment, materials, environment, and people). The examination of capital distribution and use provided an avenue for hypothesising the strategies that are used by each organisation in order to survive and grow in the fields within which they operate. The theoretical insights derived from the Bourdieuian meso level cross-case analysis are presented below.

Institutional level social capital

This study has demonstrated Foley and Edwards' (2001) assertion that social capital is not an independent variable produced by civil society consisting of norms, trust and generalised networks. Rather, it has shown social relations implied in the normative framework may or *may not* produce social capital 'depending on the specific context' in which they operate (Foley, Edwards & Diani 2001, p. 267). For social relations to turn into social capital, there must be a resource that exists and a form of social relationship that brokers access to that resource (Foley, Edwards & Diani 2001, p. 267).

This analysis has placed institutional social capital in the context as being but one capital amongst many, and existing in direct relationship with the other forms of capital, and the strategies of agents who make use of it. As such, this study demonstrates that social capital is a dependent variable (Foley, Edwards & Diani 2001, p. 267). The observations of social capital appear to confirm Bourdieu's and network theorists' assertion that social capital is 'the capacity for people to lever their social connections to advantageously gain access to resources or better use the firm's own resources' (Zubac, Hubbard & Johnson 2012, p. 1875). This has demonstrated the complexity in the way in which capital operates in the social world, and that considering social capital in isolation from the other forms, without serious consideration of the sociopolitical context, limits the discussion.

The critiques of normative social capital articulated in the literature review (cf. Devine & Roberts 2003; Durlauf 1999, 2002; Edwards & Foley 1997; Farr 2004; Ferragina &

Arrigoni 2017; Fine 2010; Fine & Ortiz 2016; Jackman & Miller 1998; Morrow 2001b; Portes & Landolt 2000; Siisiainen 2003; Tarrow 1996; Van Deth 2003; Woolcock & Narayan 2000) raise the lack of consideration of these aspects discussed above in social capital research. However, when the social capital of Bourdieu is employed, it necessitates the consideration of the operating context and forces stratifying all capital distribution in the fields under research.

Cultural capital

Cultural capital and social capital are intimately intertwined. This study has demonstrated that cultural capital, particularly the cultural capital embodied in staff members through their knowledge, skills, experience and education, is the key differentiator of success in the case of the SEETs studied. Prior research has demonstrated the strong link between cultural capital and economic capital (Gatrell, Popay & Thomas 2004; Veenstra 2007, p. 4).

The process analysis aspect of the meso level research demonstrated that STREAT had clearly pursued the acquisition of strong levels of cultural capital, by their hiring policies, mentoring and economic strategies. Using this cultural capital they were able to pursue aggressively the position of financial independence. This gave them a positional advantage in both the business and social service fields. They combine this with careful recruiting targeting core business management and development skills. Often social enterprises struggle against the private sector ability to recruit and retain such skill sets (Allan 2005; Frith 2014; Hines 2005; OECD 1999).

HEAT's organisational trajectory demonstrates the opposite picture. Their low levels of cultural capital relating to effective business management severely hampered the organisation in terms of being able to generate financial independence. What their example did demonstrate was how useful social capital can be at mobilising resources via networks. The study has demonstrated that there is important variation in resource *volume* among networks when it comes to the operation of social capital. However, it is a testament to the organisation's social capital accrual, and skill at exploiting it, that they were able to sustain operations through the financial crisis and survive until their merger with Melbourne City Mission.

A positive aspect of the VicSES is that the strategy was developed in consultation with the sector. The strategy contains a number of action areas that address areas SEETs in this study have identified as needs – and one of these action areas is business capability skills. This is a positive step, but without financial resources it

places burdens on already strained staffing arrangements to acquire and have the time to implement the newly acquired knowledge. However, it is a positive development for the organisations, which are struggling to acquire the cultural capital required to relieve the challenge of business management.

The challenges of running a social enterprise

The study has demonstrated the continuing need for these organisations and programs. The organisations are struggling to meet the demand on their current resource profile. The research demonstrated the pressures the organisations are under, by virtue of needing to operate across three fields with tightly constrained resources. A stark illustration of this need versus demand dilemma is that STREAT are continuing to struggle to meet the demand from disengaged young people, despite acquiring and developing a multi-million dollar facility to provide services.

In order to meet the needs of the young people, the SEETs demonstrated the constant demand to be resourceful and enterprising. From uniform donations to doctors' visits, the organisations ability to respond to the needs of young people and provide resources to the program was largely the result of the creation and leveraging of networks (Bhatt & Altinay 2013). Again, the necessity of consistent enterprising and resourceful behaviour by the social enterprises was evident (Alexander 2000; Barraket & Yousefpour 2013; Bull & Crompton 2006).

Philanthropy and funding streams were emphasised as important by STREAT in their discussion on materials producing outcomes, which is an increasingly common sector strategy (Barraket & Yousefpour 2013; Haugh 2005; Hayllar & Wettenhall 2011). The study highlighted the struggles SEETs experience in the competition for small grants and other funding streams. This confirms challenges cited in the literature for social enterprises in the climate of the third sector (Bull & Crompton 2006; Considine 2003; Head 2010; Head & Alford 2008) under the new public management governance approach (Considine 2003; Sercombe 2015).

Navigating conflicting governmental priorities

The meso level study demonstrated high levels of capital devoted to social mission maximisation strategies. The organisations' ability to assist young people in navigating the service sector, their processes and delivery of case management and support for disengaged and disadvantaged youth, were areas of excellence in their operations. This supports the common role of social enterprise (Cooney 2011; Denny

et al. 2011; Ferguson & Islam 2008; Hayllar & Wettenhall 2011; Hazenberg, Seddon & Denny 2013; Kerlin 2012; Scottish Government 2016) and strengthens the case for the efficacy of social enterprises working with disengaged young people.

With their high involvement in the brokering of social services the organisations are exposed to the vagaries and turns within government policy that affect young people. The organisations were universally affected by the reduction in access to education for young people, and impacted by the fiscal constraints new funding policies place on the delivery of VET curricula. They noted the challenges associated with increasing restrictions on access to financial support for young people from government benefits and the negative effect on their ability to assist the program participants to stabilise their personal environmental situations in order to enable them to accrue success within the field of education.

When the state Liberal government was in power in Victoria, the Youth Employment Scheme was replaced by the new 'incentive-based program, where businesses will get $4000 for taking on a young worker – $1000 for initial start-up costs, and a further $3000 16 weeks later, provided the youth is still employed and enrolled in training' (Tomazin, 16 June 2013). A pin-up policy for neoliberal governance, this policy closed the funding avenue for seven small organisations working with some of the state's most vulnerable young people in order to equip them with the skills and knowledge required to get a start in the workforce and learn much needed self-management skills. Within this cut, HEAT began its slow journey toward ceasing trading as a business. Without its funding stream, due to the lack of business management expertise within the youth service and program area, HEAT managed only to retain its education program within Melbourne City Mission, and their social enterprise closed.

The state government has continued to reduce its funding for VET curricula (Atkin 2017). Access to education and training for young people has been made harder by both education and training funding decisions and policy changes effecting income support provision. Yet the government continues to pursue education participation expansion. The policy directions are at cross-purposes, and operating the small social enterprises within this environment became increasingly pressurised for staff, with resources for young people and themselves becoming progressively tighter. The VicSES did not promise funding relief for these organisations struggling to provide essential state services (Victorian Government February 2017). It promised to assist in business development and market access. There was no acknowledgement of the

deleterious effects of instability and contradictory positions on the organisations attempting to provide services to the community's most vulnerable as these SEETs step in where neoliberal governments are failing to address human need (Bull & Crompton 2006). This conclusion illuminates some of the contradictions in the neoliberal imaginary 'that can no longer be ignored' (Rizvi & Lingard 2010, p. 91).

Micro level

This research level has answered the second research question: *Can Bourdieu's theory of social capital assist in theorising and explicating the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises providing education and training to disengaged young people?* The micro level cross-case analysis applied Bourdieu's social capital via Foley and Edwards' operationalising framework. This level of analysis demonstrated the value of Bourdieu's theory of social capital for illuminating the theoretical potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises delivering education and training to disengaged young people. The key insights gained from deploying a Bourdieuian social capital lens to this case study are provided below.

Individual social capital

The cross-case analysis demonstrated that the social capital of an individual at any given time is the result of the inculcation of a capital in the habitus (Bourdieu 1986). For people who are coming from backgrounds of deprivation and from class cultures that are not middle class, the social capital investment is often low or composed of a negative social capital (Wacquant 1998) as compared to the more affluent mainstream.

The study appeared to validate the usefulness of a Bourdieuian approach to studying social capital with young people (Morrow 1999b, 2001b) and demonstrated the applicability of Foley and Edwards (1999) when exploring the role of social capital in young people's lives. This validates Bourdieu's (1986) articulation of the operation of social capital, that social capital is a resource that is invested in and developed by investment in social exchanges and sociability. In the micro level it is evident that social capital operates in context in a way that strengthens both Bourdieu's and network theorists' (Bhatt & Altinay 2013; Billett 2011; Lin & Erickson 2008) understanding of its operation. It is an enabling capital that allows for the greater leveraging of existing resources and access to further resources.

The manner in which the young people developed social capital and skill in using this resource in this study has highlighted some critical aspects of the structure–agency dynamic (Brown et al. 2013). If social capital of the network theorists and normative Putnamian applications were used, this study would have run the risk of producing another individualised analysis of youth disengagement (Bessant 2003; Brown et al. 2013; Kelly 2001, 2006). Additionally, it could have reinforced stigma-producing narratives on communities (Morrow 2001b; Tyler 2015).

The findings of this study confirm literature relating to educational disengagement, suggesting that chaos in the lives of young people is a major contributor to educational disengagement (Hazenberg, Seddon & Denny 2013; Payne 2002a, 2002b; Yates & Payne 2006). The young people's discussion of their experiences supports assertions that disengagement risk begins very early in childhood and substantiates life-course explanations of educational disengagement (Audas & Willms 2001; Lamb & Huo 2017). It also supports the emphasis in Bourdieuian social theory on the habitus of individuals. Inequalities in capital transmissions and level originate in the family and affect the trajectory of a young person's life and this unequal distribution of capital is compounded when a young person meets the educational system (Bourdieu 1974, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977).

Social enterprise participation and social capital

This study has tested and applied Bourdieu's social capital as operationalised by Foley and Edwards. In terms of individual or micro level social capital, this study demonstrated the importance of the four elements: environment, networks, resources and self. If one element of the framework is sufficiently compromised, an increase in social capital does not seem possible in the context of social enterprise education and training. It also demonstrated that young people attending SEET programs come equipped with varying degrees of existing social capital, which is inculcated through the habitus and extended by interactions with the social world as exposure progresses. Social enterprise participation for disadvantaged young people with skills in the use and development of social capital flourished in the SEET context.

In terms of the second research question for this thesis *Can Bourdieu's theory of social capital assist in theorising and explicating the potential, limitations and contributions of social enterprises providing education and training to disengaged young people*, if funding bodies or organisations seek to increase social capital, applying the extended version of Foley and Edwards' model created in this study and

contained in Appendix X would assist the organisations in taking a systematic approach to the inculcation of social capital for young people. This illustrates that social capital in not an automatic by-product of SEET participation, but that it is possible to cultivate the acquisition and skill at use of this capital. This model could function as an organisational self-assessment tool with which to audit programs to ensure that all four elements of the social capital model were deliberately developed and included in order to create social capital benefits for all participants.

Participation in SEET programs resulted in cultural capital increases for all program participants. For many participants, this was the first experience of educational success. All participants present at the end of the data collection had successfully transitioned from SEET programs to further education or employment. For those young people who were unable to be retained in the study, severe mental health issues or sudden environmental changes in the home and family meant that the students were unable to continue in the SEET program. It is clear that the SEET has limited instrumentality in the personal environments of young people. What is also clear is the staff of the SEETs have successfully transitioned many of the program participants into stable housing and supported accommodation via their networks and organisational contacts.

Neoliberal responsibilisation and the punitive welfare state

The micro level of the study highlights some of the deleterious effects of the narratives accompanying neoliberal individual 'responsibilisation' (Rizvi, Fazal & Lingard 2011, p. 10). This empirically confirms the literature suggesting that the rhetoric of individual blame within the climate of meritocratic thinking is being internalised by young people (Ossei-Owusu 2012). The 'crushing responsibility' for making the right choices (Tulloch & Lupton 2003, p. 4) was evidently a burden felt by many of the most disadvantaged young people. The obscuring of the role structure in the contemporary theoretical frameworks of risk and protection, exclusion and inclusion, and normative social capital places undue levels of responsibility on the shoulders of people who are the most marginalised (O'Malley 1992).

The micro level data highlighted that capital is unevenly distributed throughout society and that many systems, for example the education system and the employment system, privilege middle-class capital (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Wacquant 1998). Access to capital in social fields is effected by structure (Abel &

Frohlich 2012) and the young people often rest blame on themselves for their perceived lack or failing. This epitomises Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence as 'the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity' (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 162). It dominates through misrecognition (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, p. 15) in that people do not recognise it is an act of subjugation occurring and thus an act of violence, despite their knowledge that social structures are founded on advantages and disadvantages (Burke 2015, p. 3).

Original contributions to the field

This study has made a number of original contributions to the field.

Bourdieu's instructions to the empirical researcher

The four research steps identified by Bourdieu, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, have not been systematically implemented in the explicit manner undertaken by this study. The methods devised to enable the exploration of the three fields that the social enterprises straddle (the field maps) and the tool developed to explore the distribution of capitals in for each organisation (the capital maps) are, in this researcher's estimation, original contributions to the field. It is important to acknowledge, however, that there are limitations with the research tools deployed in this study, and they are discussed below.

An application of Foley and Edwards' (1999) model

Many researchers note Foley and Edwards' contribution to the field of social capital research. Foley and Edwards published for half a decade (1996–2001), consistently questioning the Putnamian approach to social capital and suggesting that social scientists use a Bourdieuian social capital approach to provide a more robust understanding of the functioning of social capital in the social world (Foley & Edwards 1996; Foley & Edwards 1997, 1998, 1999; Foley, Edwards & Diani 2001). Since 1999, they have put forward an alternative conceptualisation, which has been employed in this study for operationalising Bourdieu's social capital. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this is the first empirical application of the model.

Original social capital model derived from Foley and Edwards (1999)

This study has applied Foley and Edwards' social capital model and, using the empirical research process, adapted the model based on the thematic results of the study. The thematic results of environment, network, resources and self and the necessity of the intersection of all four elements is a framework for investigating existing social capital. Programmatically or institutionally, it can also be used to purposefully pursue an objective of increasing social capital at an individual or organisational level. This framework is an extension of Foley and Edwards' Bourdieuian social capital model, and is original. .

Ishikawa diagrams as a tool in social science research

This study has taken an analytical tool developed in the context of industrial manufacturing problem-solving and applied it to the task of social science research. This tool was an effective method for gathering organisational level data in an analytical way within the focus group context. The results of the process are information rich, with great versatility in the analysis process, enabling this tool to be used with a wide variety of theoretical frameworks. To the researcher's knowledge this is the first application of an Ishikawa diagram in the context of studying young people, social enterprises, capital distribution and program outcome investigations.

An explicit study of the social capital benefits of social enterprises

As noted by Frith (2014), social capital is often cited as a benefit of social enterprises, with little research or evidence to support this claim. This study has investigated the utility of applying Bourdieuian social capital analysis to understanding the contribution of social enterprises, and demonstrated that social capital is not a discrete variable (Foley, Edwards & Diani 2001) produced by social enterprises, but rather is a dependent capital, which operates to enable organisations to leverage existing stocks of capitals and assist in acquiring more.

Limitations

This study has a number of limiting features.

1. Program and study retention

This study was affected by retention rate challenges beyond T2. However, the total number of study participants interviewed at T3 was N=21. This conforms to the suggested rule of thumb for phenomenological research of six participants in qualitative research (Kruger 1988 and Morse 1994, in Schreiber & Asner-Self 2011, p. 98).

2. Quantitative research

This project would have benefitted from a mixed methods approach. A quantitative study would have enabled the exploration of normative social capital within the same study to gain further insight into the differences between approaches. It could have enabled an exploration of the merits of a risk and protective factors framework within the same study.

3. STREAT lack of focus group

The demands of the business at the time of meso level data collection prevented the participation of the full STREAT team in the meso level data collection. While the data was gathered and validated by a supplementary process, it would have been useful to have the full complement of perspectives involved in the meso level of the research.

4. Conducting the study as a PhD

The challenges of managing a research project without scholarship funding and the need to balance full-time employment with the project demands resulted in a large gap between meso and micro level data collection. This made direct comparisons of organisational context at the time of individual level data collection a challenge.

5. Scale, time and sector

Social enterprise research is often small-scale and programmatic in orientation. The inclusion of three organisations over two intake rounds has gone some way to lessening that challenge, however this research is still small-scale. The research field being dominated by small-scale, practice-led work makes generalisability of research findings challenging (Taylor 2007). Furthermore, developing the sort of evidence base to validate the sector's contributions to a degree sufficient to stimulate

investment and policy change becomes almost impossible (Taylor 2007). The recommendations below propose a way forward for continuing research within the sector to address the research gaps identified (Haugh 2005; Peattie & Morley 2008).

6. Methodological approach

A number of risks were taken with the methodological approach used in this thesis. The choice to employ the Ishikawa diagrams as a method for focus group data collection was an unorthodox structure to apply to the exercise. The data generated by using this tool was of great value and provided for an interactive and visual mode of data collection. However, subsequent analysis methods were less successful, particularly the use of quantitisation of qualitative data. This was somewhat ameliorated by the use of the capital maps to augment the discussion of frequency with a discussion of significance. It is acknowledged that there are other methods of collection and analysis which could have been more successful.

Recommendations for further research

There are three key recommendations for further research from this project.

1. Quantitative alternative education outcome measurement

Researching this project demonstrated the value of alternative education for engaging the community's most disengaged young people. The micro level findings demonstrated that participation in alternative education was a life-changing (without exaggeration) experience for many program participants. This has indicated the essential nature of these services.

Alternative education is under-researched and is a sector about which not a great deal is known (McGregor & Mills 2012; Wilson, Stemp & McGinty 2011). In order to evidence its contribution in an era of evidence-based policy, it would be a worthy research project to develop a quantitative measurement tool for alternative education in order to understand outcome generation. This would benefit the sector nationally and assist in advocating for funding priorities in future.

2. Multiple correspondence analysis on SEs operations

Bourdieu in his empirical research was an adherent to the technique of multiple correspondence analyses. Undertaking a study of the social enterprise field using a multiple correspondence method could be a fruitful exercise in gaining a deeper understanding field dynamics and capital distribution. The capital maps developed in

this study served the purpose of facilitating a relational understanding of capital distribution. However, in keeping with Bourdieu's tradition of empirical research, it would be beneficial to supplement the understandings gained in this research project with a multiple correspondence analysis study of the fields.

Furthermore, quantitative surveys were an important dimension of Bourdieu's research process (Bourdieu 1984). Whilst vignettes and other qualitative methods are also used (Bourdieu et al. 1999), Bourdieu identified the importance of quantitative research. Studying the outcomes of young people's participation in social enterprise education and training with a mixed methods approach would be a beneficial and productive continuation of this research project.

3. **Develop and implement the social capital framework derived from this study with SEETs and measure effect on social capital**

The model of social capital operation developed as a result of applying Foley and Edwards' (1999, 2001) framework can be used purposively within an organisational context to deliberately target social capital increases in participants in addition to the cultural capital gained from education and training. It would be a useful study to train organisations in the application of this model in their operating contexts to ensure that all four elements of the model are present in their curriculum and practices. When doing this intervention, a study of social capital outcomes before model implementation and post model implementation would assist in validating the efficacy of the social capital model developed in this study.

Concluding remarks

Social capital as a theory has waned in popularity from the heady heights it experienced in the 1990s and early 2000s (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2017). The normative conceptualisation of social capital, which was developed in academia and imported into politics to support neoliberal policy agendas, has proven to be incompatible with strengthening the civil fabric of society. The neoliberal policy framework creates and sustains rising inequalities and social atomisation (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2017), which does not support any notion of social capital investment, of the normative or critical kind. Additionally, criticisms of the normative theory (Durlauf 1999; Farr 2004; Fine 1999b, 2010; Fine & Ortiz 2016; Levi 1996; Morrow 2001b; Portes & Landolt 2000) continue to question the validity of the concept of social capital in social research.

This study demonstrated the value of social capital analysis from a Bourdieuian perspective. Social capital, when it rests in its rightful place, is one relational capital existing in social fields and individuals, amongst multiple forms of capital, which are involved in constant and multiple forms of exchange. Capital is unequally distributed in society and intimately shaped by power dynamics in social spaces and fields. This study has demonstrated the benefit of re-engaging with agency and structure when considering the position of individuals in the social world. It also supports questioning the rhetoric so powerfully embedded in "commonsense" understandings of why some young people disengage from the education system and society broadly and others flourish. Class still matters. The individualisation of responsibility for success or failure in the education system needs to be examined within an alternative framework to the neoliberal logic that sustains it. The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu allows for an exploration of these dynamics.

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Appendix 1: Validated units of analysis categories

HEAT

Round 1 immersion and categorisation

Interview 1: Commencement

Table A1.1: HEAT Round 1 Interview 1

ROUND 1 INTERVIEW 1		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Homeless	No change	Housing
Out of family housing	No change	
Previous experience of homelessness	No change	
Unstable housing	No change	
Domestic abuse	No change	Family
Dysfunctional family	Experience of family violence	
Parents disinterested in education	Education not a priority in family	
Disengaged from family	Separated from family	
Importance of a significant family relationship	No change	
Sexual abuse at home	No change	
Negative influence of neighbourhood	No change	Neighbourhood
Strong neighbourhood connections	No change	
Importance of friendships	No change	Peers
Negative influence of peers	No change	
Asylum seeker status	No change	Relationship to society
Importance of social connectedness	No change	
Desire to contribute	No change	
Trust	No change	
Connected with other organisations	No change	
Lacking non-familial adult support	No change	
Not identifying with subculture	Not identifying with neighbourhood subculture	
Previously imprisoned	No change	
Unemployed	No change	Employment
Previously employed	No change	

Work experience and skills essential	Recognition of importance of work experience and skills	
Career ambitions	No change	
Negative experience in conventional education	No change	Education
Bullying	No change	
Importance of gaining education qualifications	No change	
Ambitions for higher education	No change	
Educational aspirations	No change	
Previously commenced higher education	No change	
Barriers to education	No change	
Referred through friends	No change	Program
Referred through other organisations	No change	
Importance of practical learning	No change	
Program as a place to learn life skills	No change	
Interested in program content	No change	
Course as a means to building confidence	No change	
Program environment is safe	No change	
Importance of constructive engagement	No change	
Needing support service connections	No change	
Impact of resource barriers	No change	Relationship to self
Isolated and alone	No change	
Importance of comfortable student–teacher relationship	No change	
Resilience as a source of pride	No change	
Importance of support workers	No change	
In need of stability	No change	
Mental health issues	No change	
Determination to improve life circumstances	No change	
High motivation	No change	
Experience of prostitution	No change	
Negative impact of pharmaceutical drugs on functional ability	Prescription medication having a negative effect	
Previously addicted to drugs	No change	
Gambling addition	No change	
Regular drug use	No change	
Drugs as a coping strategy for mental health issues	No change	
Feelings of failure	No change	
Self-aware	No change	

Interview 2: Completion

Table A1.2: HEAT Round 1 Interview 2

ROUND 1 INTERVIEW 2		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Stable housing acquired with assistance of program	Housing acquired through program organisation	Housing
Dissatisfied with housing	No change	
Conflict in housing	No change	
Stable housing as a foundation for life progress	Importance of stable housing for life progress	
Unstable housing	No change	
Stable housing	No change	
Housing out of family	No change	
Dependent on family assistance	Dependent on family for financial assistance	Family
Criminal history in family	No change	
Dysfunction in family	Family conflict	
Re-engaging with family	No change	
Strong family role models	No change	
Bureaucratic barriers to progress	Government education policy creating barriers	Relationship to society
Barriers created by government policies	Transferred from Education	
High cost of further education	No change	
Barriers to employment	No change	
Feelings of inadequacy	No change	
Fleeing violence	No change	
Desire to contribute	No change	
Importance of human connection	No change	
Importance of social acceptance	No change	
Appreciation of impact of class	No change	
Violent responses to conflict	No change	
Conflict with service workers	No change	
Volunteering	Participating in volunteering	
Importance of a youth worker	No change	
Learning to trust assistance offered	No change	
Overcoming social isolation	No change	
Engaged in life	No change	
Return to 'normal society'	No change	
Conflict with peers	No change	Peers
Aspirational friendships	No change	
New friendships made	No change	

Past negative influence of peers	No change	
Stable relationship	No change	
Gained employment	No change	Program output
Decided to complete Year 12	No change	
Confidence in ability to participate in education again	Gained confidence in academic abilities	Program outcomes
Re-engagement with education as motivation to quit drugs	No change	
Environment increasing motivation to participate	No change	
Motivated for work experience	No change	
Seeking employment	No change	
Career aspirations gained	No change	
Program as creating opportunity	No change	
Participation in program helped quit drugs	No change	
Program connecting participants with resources and programs	No change	
Program as life changing	No change	
Program as developing strengths	No change	Program
Program providing fundamental life support	No change	
Program environment as inclusive	Deleted	
Challenged by police role in program	Challenged by police participation in program	
Troubles getting in the way of program success	Deleted	
Program environment supportive	No change	
Program assisting with overcoming mental health and social issues	No change	
Significance of the teacher–student relationship	No change	
Importance of practical skills	No change	
Importance of a strong peer network	No change	Relationship to self
Having a more level playing field for life	No change	
Importance of structure and routine	No change	
Mental health issues	No change	
Anti-drug attitude	No change	
Continued drug use	No change	
Needing more resources	No change	

Interview 3: Three months post completion

Table A1.3: HEAT Round 1 Interview 3

ROUND 1 INTERVIEW 3		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Homeless	No change	Housing
Unstable housing	No change	
Aggression in family	Volatile family situation	Family
Criminal history in family	No change	
Mental health issues in family environment	Parental mental illness	
Re-engaged with family	No change	
Importance of a significant family relationship	No change	
Education important within family culture	No change	
Feeling out of step with peers	No change	Relationship to society
Feeling out of place in tertiary education	No change	
Vulnerabilities in labour market	No change	
Lacking non-familial adult support	No change	
Resource poor	No change	
Bureaucratic challenges	Negatively impacted by government policy	
Conscious of resource disparity in education setting	No change	Education
Attempted tertiary education	Unsuccessful attempt at tertiary education	
Barriers to education	No change	
Gained future career connections	No change	Program outcome
Education aspirations	Gained educational aspirations	
Efficacy of support provision from program organisation	Effective support provided by organisation	
Career aspirations	No change	
Actively seeking employment	No change	
Positive peer network	No change	
Positive education environment	Deleted	The program
Education environment supportive	No change	
Significance of a good relationship with teacher	Significance of teacher–student relationship	
Returning to the program to restart certification	No change	
Gained work experience	No change	Program output
Finishing Year 12	No change	
Gained employment	No change	
Engaged in further education	No change	

Re-engagement	Increased confidence	Relationship to self
Taking personal responsibility	No change	
Independence important	Accepting assistance undermining independence	
Developing effective coping strategies	No change	
Proud of achievements	No change	
Determination to succeed	No change	
Mental health issues	No change	
Health complications	No change	
Drug use to cope with stresses	No change	
Seeking help for mental health issues	No change	
Conflict with workers	No change	

Round 2 immersion and categorisation

Interview 1: Commencement

Table A1.4: HEAT Round 2 Interview 1

ROUND 2 INTERVIEW 1		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Stable housing in family	No change	Housing
Out of family housing	Housing out of family	
Recent housing transition	No change	
Family breakdown	No change	
Dead parents	Parents deceased	Family
Challenging family situation	Conflict in family	
Abuse in family	Violence in family	
Educational role models in family	No change	
Supportive parental relationship	No change	
Neighbourhood safe	No change	Neighbourhood
Community attitudes permissive to drug use	No change	
Struggle to trust	No change	Relationship to society
Presence of strong non-familial support	No change	
Significance of community engagement	No change	
In need of guidance/stability	No change	
Struggle with authority	No change	
Socially isolated	No change	
Lacking non-familial adult support	No change	
Feeling strongly supported by community	Strongly supported by community	
Criminality	No change	
Altruism	No change	
Strong future directions	No change	
Engaged with other organisations	Transferred from Relationship to self	
Volunteering	No change	
Negative influence of peers	No change	Peers
Aspirational friendships	No change	
Strong friendships	No change	
Actively seeking employment	No change	Employment
Unemployed	No change	
Prior work history	No change	
Importance of experience	No change	
Networks and employment	No change	

Employed	No change	Education
Career ambitions	No change	
Educational ambitions	No change	
Completed Year 12	No change	
Previous incomplete post-secondary education attempts	Previous experience of post-secondary education	
Unhappy in mainstream education	Negative experiences in mainstream education	
Pressure for career choices in mainstream	No change	
Bureaucratic restrictions on educational attainment	Negatively impacted by government education policy	
Completing program for Centrelink purposes	No change	Program
Referred through other organisations	No change	
Needed a different environment	No change	
Program as a way to regain mental health	No change	
Interested in content	No change	
Learning life skills	No change	
Seeking employability skills	No change	
Significance of teacher–student relationship	No change	
Fear of failure	No change	Relationship to self
Inability to set goals	No change	
Unmotivated	No change	
Independence	No change	
Engaged with other organisations	Transferred to Relationship to society	
Seeking constructive engagement	No change	
Emotional implications of family breakdown on developmental processes	Emotional implications of family breakdown	
Identity	No change	
Importance of being able to be who you are	No change	
Mental health issues	No change	
Problems with drugs and alcohol	No change	
Struggles with self-esteem	No change	
Regular drug use	No change	
Poor impulse control	No change	
Trying to improve self	No change	

Interview 2: Completion

Table A1.5: HEAT Round 2 Interview 2

ROUND 2 INTERVIEW 2		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Independent stable housing	No change	Housing
In family housing stable	No change	
Struggling in housing situation	Unstable housing	
Negative family environment	No change	Family
Parental relationship positive	No change	
Family trauma	No change	
Broadening social circle	No change	Peers
Consistent friends	No change	
Struggles of friends	Peer group experiencing difficulties	
Abandoned negative peer group	No change	
Avoiding Department of Human Services	Age barriers to independence	Relationship to society
Struggles with social isolation	No change	
Community engagement and volunteering	No change	
Strong community belonging	No change	
Involved in community sport	No change	
Vulnerabilities in job market	No change	
Currently employed	No change	Program output
Work experience	No change	
Completing Year 12	No change	
Enrolled at university	No change	
Easy environment to motivate yourself	No change	Program
Education curriculums and relevance	Mainstream curriculum as irrelevant	
Importance of practical applicable content	Importance of skill acquisition	
Effect of classmates poor mental health status	No change	
Networks and gaining employment	No change	Program outcome
Increase in determination	No change	
Engaged with support organisations	No change	
Leadership role in program peer network	No change	
Significant improvement in mental health	No change	
Program assisted with gaining resources	No change	
Unable to participate in mainstream schooling	No change	

Gained motivation to complete schooling	No change	
Trying to combat mental health and anger issues	No change	Relationship to self
Fear of program ending	No change	
Strategic goal setting	No change	
In need of resources	No change	
Started goal setting	No change	
Proud of achievement	No change	
Career and financial goals	No change	
Role of ambitions in creating a future	Role of ambition in self-determination	
Importance of resources	No change	
Gained confidence	No change	
Independent	No change	
Resilience learned early	No change	
Impact of drugs on peers	No change	
Importance of constructive engagement	No change	
Sexual experimentation and confidence	Sexuality, experimentation and confidence	
Questioning societies values	No change	
Spiritual development	No change	
Unwilling to compromise progress	Unwilling to jeopardise progress made	
Homosexuality	Deleted	
Importance of social acceptance	No change	
Controlled experimentation	No change	
Past experimentation with drugs	No change	
Quit drugs	No change	
Petty crime	Past involvement in petty crime	

Interview 3: Three months post completion

Table A1.6: HEAT Round 2 Interview 3

ROUND 2 INTERVIEW 3		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Stable housing situation in family	Housing in family stable	Housing
Educational role models in family	No change	Family
Absence of peer group	No change	Peers
Strong role model in friendships	No change	
Abandoned negative peer group	No change	
Importance of a role model	Important influence of mentor	Relationship to society
Desire to contribute	No change	
Civic mindedness	No change	
Sufficient support for life	Feeling well supported in life	
Career aspirations	No change	
Awareness of social hierarchy	No change	
Strategic use of connections	No change	
Program provided confidence in educational ability	Program participation increased confidence in academic ability	Program outcome
Strategic navigation of education system	No change	
Recognition of importance of qualification	Importance of qualifications	
Developing strong jobseeking skills	No change	
Gained confidence	No change	
Friendships made in course	No change	
Significance of supported transition	No change	
Gained network connections	No change	
Completion of Year 12 significant milestone	No change	
Importance of teacher–student relationship	No change	Program
Seeking more realistic restaurant experience	Seeking greater culinary skills from program	
Importance of supportive environment	Importance of a supportive educational environment	
Content	Satisfied with life	
Continuing education	No change	Program output
Employed	No change	
Aware of skill shortage	Struggling with sub-par practical skills	Relationship to self
Vulnerabilities in job market	No change	
Financial sensibility	No change	

Self-determination	No change	
Independence acquired through family	No change	
Significant increase in life experience	No change	
Ambitious for self-improvement	No change	
Creative expression	No change	
Determined to gain life experience	No change	
Previous experimentation with drugs	No change	

STREAT

Round 1 immersion and categorisation

Interview 1: Commencement

Table A1.7: STREAT Round 1 Time 1

ROUND 1 INTERVIEW 1		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
In family	Housing in family	Housing
Positive in family housing	No change	
Housing instability	No change	
Outside family	Housing outside family	
Negative housing environment	No change	
Previous experience of homelessness	No change	
Dysfunction	Neighbourhood dysfunction	Neighbourhood
Criminality	Prevalence of criminality in neighbourhood	
Unsafe	Neighbourhood unsafe	
Family dysfunction	No change	Family (originally categorised as Housing)
Family substance abuse	No change	
Bereavement	Death of a parent	
Family conflict	No change	
	Family as motivation	
High availability of drugs	No change	Relationship to society
Referral pathway	Referred through other organisation	
No non-familial adult support	Lacking non-familial adult support	
Social isolation	No change	
Belief in the moral order	No change	
Religiosity	No change	
Significance of social connections	No change	
Connected to other organisations	No change	
Abnormal	Feelings of abnormality	
Poverty	No change	
Criminal justice system	Contact with criminal justice system	
History of violent behaviour	No change	
No friendship network	Lacking friendship network	Friendships
Negative influence of friendship networks	Negative influence of peers	

	Peer teen pregnancy (transferred from Neighbourhood)	
Importance of friendship networks	No change	
Work experience	No change	Employment
Previous employment	No change	
Inflexible mainstream education	Negative experience of mainstream education	Education
Disengaged from education	No change	
Desire to be in education	No change	
Engaged in program content	No change	Program
Program leading to employment	No change	
Constructive occupation	No change	
Program and personal ambitions	No change	
Responsibilities	No change	Relationship to self
Independence	No change	
Ambition	No change	
Mental health issues	No change	
Substance abuse	No change	
Confidence	Low confidence	

Interview 2: Completion

Table A1.8: STREAT Round 1 Time 2

ROUND 1 INTERVIEW 2		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
In family stable	Housing in family stable	Housing
Unstable housing environment	No change	
Housing outside family environment	No change	
Familial dysfunction	No change	Family
Positive parental role models	No change	
In family drug use	No change	
Impact of negative environment on educational attainment	Transferred to Education	
Impact of neighbourhood dysfunction	No change	Neighbourhood
Past negative influence of peer groups	No change	Peers
Presence of negative social influences	No change	
Engaged with other organisations	No change	Relationship to society
Lack of positive employment role model	No change	
Social isolation	No change	
Lack of non-familial adult support	No change	
Impact of negative environment on educational attainment	No change (transferred from Family)	Education
Importance of re-engagement in education	No change	
Ambitious for education	No change	
Value of formal certification	No change	
Work experience	No change	Program output
Skill development	No change	
Seeking employment	No change	
Positive environment	No change	Program
Positive opportunities	No change	
Benefit of practical course content	No change	
Increase in personal motivation	No change	Program outcome
Provision of adult support	No change	
Constructive engagement	No change	
Ambitions for hospitality career	No change	
Personal satisfaction from achievement	No change	Relationship to self
Personal barriers reduced	No change	
Past behaviour negatively influencing self-perception	No change	
Attendance issues	No change	
Negative self-perception	No change	
Impact of personal challenges on course	No change	
Constructive outside course activities	Constructive hobbies / activities	
Fear of failure	No change	
Influence of past drug use	No change	
Mental health issues	No change	
Self-harm ideation / suicidal thoughts	No change	

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Interview 3: Three months post completion

Table A1.9: STREAT Round 1 Time 3

ROUND 1 INTERVIEW 3		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Unstable housing	No change	Housing
Housing outside family	No change	
Housing in family	No change	
Negative influence neighbourhood	No change	Neighbourhood
High availability of drugs	No change	
Positive parental support	No change	Family
Positive parental role models	No change	
Importance of family responsibility	No change	
Negative influence of family	No change	
Influence of family trauma	No change	
Negative influences of environment on attendance	No change	Relationship to society
Challenging to access assistance	No change	
Criminal orientation	No change	
Effect of policy and funding on access to support	No change	
Importance of opportunity to participate constructively	Opportunity to participate	
Influence of past events	No change	
Fear of society's judgement	No change	
Civic engagement/orientation	No change	
Lack of social support	No change	
Drugs as resources	No change	
Strategic use of resources	No change	
Engaged with other organisations	No change	
Negative influence of peers	No change	Peers
High degree of drug use amongst peers	No change	
Low confidence in ability to complete	Transferred to Relationship to self	Program output
Nervous about further education	Transferred to Relationship to self	
Continuing education	No change	
Casual paid work	Casual employment	
Paid work experience	No change	
Importance of employability skills	No change	
Career ambitions	No change	
Seeking employment	No change	
Importance of self-motivation	No change	Program outcome

Importance of constructive engagement	No change	
Increased confidence	No change	
Provision of opportunities for social support/engagement	No change	
Positive influence of program on perceptions of self-capability	Increase in perception of capability	
Influence of the life skills program	No change	
Negative peer influence	No change	Program
Attendance issues	No change	
Low confidence in ability to complete	Transferred from Program output	Relationship to self
Nervous about further education	Transferred from Program output	
Uncertainty about future / fear of future	No change	
Drug free	No change	
Personal drug use	No change	
Low self-care	No change	
Seeking assistance	No change	
Nihilism	No change	
Severe mental health problems	No change	
Negative influence of past drug use in the present	No change	
Future orientation	No change	
Low trust	Low trust of self and others	
Attachment problems	No change	

Round 2 immersion and categorisation

Interview 1: Commencement

Table A1.10: STREAT Round 2 Time 1

ROUND 2 INTERVIEW 2		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
In family	No change	Housing
Housing not in family	No change	
Stable housing	No change	
Unstable housing	No change	
Past experiences of homelessness	No change	
Alcohol abuse in home	No change	Family
Substance abuse by parents	No change	
Incarceration of parents	No change	
Assuming responsibility of dysfunctional parents	No change	
Unable to share with parents	No change	
Negative family relations	No change	
Familial dysfunction	No change	
Broken family	No change	
Lacking non-nuclear family support	Transferred to Relationship to society	
Negative impact of being unable to maintain contact with family	Consequences of family estrangement	
No parental role model for education	No change	
Drugs as a coping mechanism from family dysfunction	No change	
Experimenting with parent's drugs	No change	
Employment role models in family	No change	
Lacking non-nuclear family support	Lacking non-familial adult support	Relationship to society
Perceptive of social resources	No change	
Loneliness	No change	
Neighbourhood dysfunction	No change	
Social isolation	No change	
Past criminal activity	Recent incarceration	
High exposure to violence	No change	
Violent behaviour	No change	
Regular drug use	No change	
Negative perception of alcohol	No change	
Impact of resource lack	No change	
Engaged with other organisations	No change	
Importance of youth worker support	No change	
Heavy past drug use	No change	

Challenged by authority	No change	
Negative peer behaviour	No change	Peers
Criminal peer activity	No change	
Heavy drug use by peers	No change	
Peer pressure for drugs and alcohol	No change	
Isolated from peers	No change	
Serious peer criminal activity	No change	
Negative past educational experiences	No change	Education
Bullying	No change	
Barriers to education	No change	
Continuing education	Desire to continue education (merged)	
Desire to continue education		
Difficulty learning in context	No change	
Conventional education environment negative	No change	
Previous work history	No change	Employment
Motivated for employment	No change	
Unemployed	No change	
Excited about future prospects	No change	Program
Attendance issues and motivation	No change	
Desire for work experience	No change	
Importance of constructive engagement	No change	
Enjoyment of learning	No change	
Importance on non-conventional teaching methods	No change	
Interested in program content	No change	
Referral pathway	No change	
Negative impact of poor mental health on jobseeking	No change	Relationship to self
Self-determined	No change	
Motivated to improve/better oneself	No change	
Unmet supportive needs	No change	
Awareness of vulnerability to substance abuse problems	Vulnerable to substance abuse	
Difficulty with direction	No change	
Mental health issues	No change	
Self-rated satisfaction	No change	
Introversion and drug use	No change	
Recreational drug use	No change	
Socialising online	No change	
Depressive symptoms	No change	

Interview 2: Completion

Table A1.11: STREAT Round 2 Time 2

ROUND 2 INTERVIEW 2		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
In family housing	No change	Family
In family dysfunction	No change	
Alcohol abuse in family	No change	
Disengaged from family support	No change	
Lacking friendship networks	No change	Relationship to society
Seeking isolation	Deleted	
Awareness of social stratification	Social structure and education	
Feeling judged by society for lack of credentials	Society's perception of education credentials	
Social isolation	No change	
Insufficient resources as a barrier to employment	No change	
Seeking peer network	No change	
Challenges accessing social support resources	No change	
Connected with other organisations	No change	
Limited exposure to drugs	No change	
Struggling to learn in mainstream education	Unable to learn in mainstream education (merged)	Education
Mainstream classes dysfunctional		
Barriers to accessing educational support	No change	
Interested in learning	No change	
Difficulty in learning	Learning difficulties	
Kitchens as a high stress environment	No change	Program
Negative influence of classmates histories	Negative impact of classmates	
Negative influence of classmates drug use	Negative influence of drugs	
No friendships formed within course	No change	
Motivated to attend	No change	
Engaged in content	No change	
Work experience as the best component of the course	Work experience	Program output
Continuing education	No change	
Program as an avenue for connectedness	No change	Program outcome

Voluntarily doing further work experience	No change	
Importance of constructive engagement	No change	
Overcoming social isolation	No change	
Significance of making friendships in the program	No change	
Seeking further work experience opportunities in SE cafes	No change	
Support resources available through program	No change	
Fear of lack of engagement	No change	
Life as dissatisfying	No change	Relationship to self
The future as overwhelming	No change	
Anxiety associated with jobseeking	No change	
Deterioration of motivation in life	No change	
Lack of enthusiasm	No change	
Low self-confidence	No change	
Dissociated from feelings	No change	
Perfectionist tendencies	No change	
Depressive symptomology	No change	

Interview 3: Three months post completion

Table A1.12: STREAT Round 2 Time 3

ROUND 2 INTERVIEW 3		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Course providing jobseeking resources and preparation	Jobseeking and employment preparation	Work experience (Moved to Program outcome)
Social interaction of work experience significant in improving wellbeing	Improvement in wellbeing from work experience	
Work experience as highly enjoyable	No change	
Skill development improving confidence levels	Skill development	
Satisfaction from customer interaction	No change	Relationship to society
Society unable to understand	No change	
Reduction in social isolation	No change	
Preferring social isolation	No change	
Increased use mental health services	No change	
Importance of a proactive counsellor	Importance of counselling	
Government funding cuts on access to support	Government funding barriers to support	
Status barriers to social assistance	No change	
Skill development improving confidence levels	Skill development	Program output
Course providing jobseeking resources and preparation	Jobseeking and employment preparation	
Continuing education	No change	
Social interaction of work experience significant in improving wellbeing	Improvement in wellbeing from work experience	Program outcome
Work experience as highly enjoyable	No change	
Certification and work experience as important resources	Certification and work experience	
Course duration allows development of confidence and work readiness	Increase in work readiness	
Practical skill-based components the most useful	Importance of practical learning	
Increased motivation for employment	No change	
Acquired employment goals	No change	
Increased use of support services to assist with employment	Accessing employment seeking assistance	
Work readiness	Deleted	
Importance of constructive engagement	No change	
Program staff able to broker assistance	No change	
Improved confidence levels	No change	Relationship to self
Improved mental health management	No change	

Importance of self-acceptance	No change	
Pride in achievement	No change	
Significance of goals	No change	
Resource barriers to independence	No change	
No improvement in family relations	No change	
Needing more skills to handle stress	No change	
Learning coping strategies	No change	
Desire for complete autonomy	No change	
Accessing psychological help	No change	
Mental health issues	No change	

Youthworx

Round 1 immersion and categorisation

Interview 1: Commencement

Table A1.13: Youthworx Round 1 Time 1

ROUND 1 INTERVIEW 1		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Unemployed	No change	Employment
Employed	No change	
Poor academic performance	No change	Education
Experiences	Negative experiences in education	
Attendance	Attendance problems	
Unclassified	Negative experiences	Housing
Outside family	No change	
In family	No change	
Dysfunction	No change	Family
Supportive relationships	No change	
Estrangement	No change	
Unclassified	Safe	Neighbourhood
	Neighbourhood disorder	
Entry pathway	Referred by youth professional	Program
Interests	Interest in content	
Environment	Environment	
	Teaching style	
Social	No change	
Attendance	No change	
Occupation/focus	No change	
Challenges	No change	
Excitement	Deleted	
Ambition	No change	
Autonomy/independence	No change	Relationship to society
Unsuccessful	Perception of being unsuccessful	
Non-family adult support	Non-parental adult support	

	Lacking non-parental adult support	
Contact with criminal justice system	No change	
Religiosity	No change	
Social isolation	No change	
Organisational support	Receiving multi-program support	
Not connected to school friends	No change	Friendships
Connected with challenges to stay connected	No change	
Recreation	No change	
Friendships as essential relationships	No change	
	Seeking friendships	
Self-improvement/satisfaction	No change	Relationship to self
Unclassified	Deleted	
Goals	No change	
Mental health issues	No change	
Self-belief	No change	
Happy	No change	
Unhappy	No change	

Interview 2: Completion

Table A1.14: Youthworx Round 1 Time 2

ROUND 1 INTERVIEW 2		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Out of family	No change	Housing
In family	No change	
Positive	No change	
Negative	No change	
Engaged with other organisations	Engaged with other organisations	Relationship to society
	Not engaged with other organisations	
Resources	No change	
Autonomous	Autonomy	
Confidence	No change	
Isolated	No change	
Social support	No change	
Criminal behaviour	No change	
Strong friendships	No change	Friendships
Weak friendships	No change	
Negative peer influence	No change	
School friendships not retained	Deleted	
Self-improvement/expansion	No change	Relationship to self
Improved self-perception	No change	
Improved/increased relationships	No change	
Creativity/expression	No change	
Confidence	No change	
Goals	No change	
Continuing further education	No change	Program output
Unemployed	No change	
Employed	Deleted	
Actively seeking	No change	Program outcome
Life skills	No change	
Changes from program	No change	
Education goals	No change	
Engaged in content	No change	Program
Environment	Teachers	
	Environment	
Challenges	No change	
Re-engaged	No change	Family relationships
Unsupportive	No change	
Positive	No change	

Interview 3: Three months post completion

Table A1.15: Youthworx Round 1 Time 3

ROUND 1 INTERVIEW 3		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Out of family	No change	Housing
In family	No change	
Positive	No change	
Negative	No change	
Achievement	No change	Relationship to self
Ambition/direction	No change	
Opportunity seeking	No change	
Self-esteem	No change	
Mental health	No change	
Unclassified	Deleted	Friendships
Unclassified	Increased confidence	
Negative peer influences	No change	
Engaged with other organisations	No change	Relationship to society
Resources / opportunity seeking	No change	
Support	No change	
Connections	No change	
Criminal behaviour	No change	
Lacking connections	No change	
Positive role models	No change	
Influence of past experiences	No change	Education
Confidence in education	No change	
Education goals	No change	Program outcome
Educational support	No change	
Career ambition	No change	
Continuing further education	No change	
Experience	No change	
Unemployed	No change	Program output
Content	No change	
Attendance	No change	
Relationships	No change	Program
Environment	Teachers	
	Environment	
Opportunity	No change	
Support	No change	
Re-engaged	No change	
Strong bonds	No change	
Negative perception	No change	Family
Family trauma	No change	
Weak ties	No change	

Round 2 immersion and categorisation

Interview 1: Commencement

Table A1.16: Youthworx Round 2 Time 1

ROUND 2 INTERVIEW 1		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Negative living arrangements	No change	Housing
Housing outside family	No change	
Stable housing	No change	
Housing in non-nuclear family	No change	
Not satisfied with housing	Deleted (Combined with Negative living arrangements)	
Housing in family	No change	
Positive family relationship/role model	No change	Family
Experience in foster care	Previous involvement with child protection	
Involved with child protection		
Open and transparent parental relationships	No change	
Long-term unemployment in family role models	No change	
Familial dysfunction	No change	
Family conflict	No change	
Safe neighbourhood	No change	Neighbourhood
Neighbourhood dysfunction	No change	
Previous qualification	No change	Education
Disengaged from schooling	No change	
Negative experience of mainstream schooling	No change	
Struggle with motivation in mainstream	No change	
Learning difficulties	No change	
Previous positive education of alternative education	No change	Program
Interested in technology	No change	
Referral pathway	No change	
Desire for qualification	No change	
Positive social environment	No change	
Wanting a new experience	No change	
Engaged in content	Engaged in content	
Content applicable to interests / learning styles		
Career aspirations relevant	No change	
Connected to youth/social worker	No change	

Connected with other orgs	No change	Relationship to society
Not connected with other organisations	No change	
Conscious of unequal power distribution in society	No change	
Strategically accessing support	No change	
Religious social infrastructure	No change	
Absence of role models	No change	
Very low social support	No change	
Well supported by community	Sufficient social support	
Sufficient social support		
Lack of social mobility/social exposure	No change	
Challenges with trust	No change	
Independence	No change	Relationship to self
Mental health issues	No change	
Identifying with old-fashioned values	No change	
Family responsibility and sense of self	No change	
Technologically mediated social support	No change	
Unemployed	No change	Employment
Seeking work	No change	
Parents requiring search for employment	No change	
Little desire for employment	No change	
Long-term NEET	No change	
Small/limited friendship circle	No change	Friendships
Strong peer network	No change	
Limited trust of peers	No change	
Alcohol and peers	No change	
Aspirational friendships	No change	
Benefits	No income support	Resources
Benefits as main financial support	Income support main financial source	
Restricted by lack of financial resources	No change	

Interview 2: Completion

Table A1.17: Youthworx Round 2 Time 2

ROUND 2 INTERVIEW 2		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Housing in family	No change	Housing
Positive housing situation	No change	
Housing outside of family	No change	
Housing in community organisations	No change	
Housing in extended family	No change	
Struggling with living in family	No change	Family
Broader family network supportive	No change	
Independence from family	No change	
Negative experience in mainstream education	No change	Education
Motivated to be in education	No change	
Resources required for continuing education at higher level	No change	
Seeking work	No change	Employment (Merged with Program outcome)
Resources required for seeking work	No change	
Unemployed	No change	
Engaged in content	No change	Program
Autonomous learning	No change	
Program environment beneficial	No change	
Culture of respect	No change	
Catering to different learning styles	No change	
Program providing connections for support organisation	No change	
Course delivery structure beneficial	No change	
Seeking specific content knowledge	No change	
Having goals/interests as motivation to stay in education	No change	Program outcome
Able to work on personal creative projects	No change	
Interested in media/technology	No change	
Proud of accomplishments	No change	
Making friendships	No change	
Great student–teacher relationships	No change	
Importance of constructive engagement	No change	
Self-directed learning	No change	
Seeking work	No change	Program output
Resources required for seeking work	No change	
Unemployed	No change	

Continuing education	No change	
Importance of social networks for securing jobs	No change	Relationship to society
Referral pathway	No change	
Engaged in community work	Engaged in community volunteering	
No significant non-family adult support	No change	
Community organisations assisting with acquiring resources	No change	
Religious community participation	No change	
Connected to other organisations	No change	
Strong family relationships significant contributor to feelings of independence and contentedness	Strong family relationships foundational for contentedness	Relationship to self
Low need for social interaction	No change	
Fear around assuming adult responsibility	No change	
High degrees of self-reflexivity	No change	
Feeling like I should be doing better in life	No change	
Empathy	No change	
Needing help with mental health	No change	
Contentedness	No change	
Importance of respect and equality / social conscience	No change	
Sufficient resources for life	No change	
Mental health	No change	
Experiencing social isolation	No change	
Being responsible for your own motivation	No change	
Friendships as self-improvement	No change	Friendships
Low levels of peer/friend interaction	No change	
Peer struggles/trouble	No change	
Peers not in schooling	No change	
Challenges with friendship groups	Infighting with friendship groups	
Well connected with friendship network	No change	

Interview 3: Three months post completion

Table A1.18: Youthworx Round 2 Time 3

ROUND 2 INTERVIEW 3		
Unit of analysis	**Verified unit of analysis**	**Category**
Recent transition in housing	No change	Housing
Housing not in family	No change	
Stable housing in family	No change	
Experienced homelessness	Recent experience of homelessness	
Deceased parents	No change	Family
Family estrangement/breakdown	No change	
Previous experience with foster care	No change	
Friction in home environment	No change	
Impact of family role models	No change	
Program having a positive effect on mental health	No change	Program outcome
More effective in program than mainstream education	More productive in program than mainstream education	
Impact of quality teacher relationships	No change	
Balance between challenging and comfortable content	No change	
Highly self-motivated for education	No change	
Ceased medication for mental health	No change	
Determination to succeed	No change	
Program important source of social connectedness	No change	
Excited by course content	No change	
Accruing educational success	No change	
Solid friendships formed in course	No change	
Learning disabilities	No change	Program
Program systems and infrastructure	No change	
Program structure positive	No change	
Program environment conducive	No change	
Comfortable with people in program	No change	
Seeking employment	No change	Program output
Barriers to employment	No change	
Continuing education	No change	
Connected to other organisations	No change	Relationship to society
Not connected to other organisations	No change	
Preference for minimum connectedness	No change	
Participation in community volunteering	No change	
Youth leadership role experience	No change	

Experience with the state/justice	Contact with criminal justice system	
Experience of police racial targeting	No change	
Middling life satisfaction	No change	
Struggle for independence	No change	
Oppressive attitude of responsible adults	No change	
Social isolation	No change	
Independence increasing confidence	No change	
Sufficient non-parental adult support	No change	
Seeking employment	No change	Employment
Barriers to employment	No change	(Merged with Program output)
Aware of the disparity between self and other participants life situations	No change	Relationship to self
Impact of negative environment and past on ability to progress	No change	
Strategic planning for future	No change	
Mental health issues	No change	
Very low resource levels	No change	
Well connected socially	No change	
Ambitions for the future	No change	
Independence increasing life satisfaction	No change	
Wary of negative influence of peers	No change	Peers
Peers disengaged	No change	

Appendix 2: Final units of analysis

HEAT

Round 1 Time 1: Commencement

1. Homeless
2. Out of family housing
3. Previous experience of homelessness
4. Unstable housing
5. Domestic abuse
6. Experience of family violence
7. Education not a priority in family
8. Separated from family
9. Importance of a significant family relationship
10. Sexual abuse at home
11. Negative influence of neighbourhood
12. Strong neighbourhood connections
13. Importance of friendships
14. Negative influence of peers
15. Importance of social connectedness
16. Asylum seeker status
17. Desire to contribute
18. Trust
19. Connected with other organisations
20. Lacking non-familial adult support
21. Not identifying with neighbourhood subculture
22. Previously imprisoned

23. Unemployed
24. Previously employed
25. Recognition of importance of work experience and skills
26. Career ambitions
27. Negative experience in conventional education
28. Bullying
29. Importance of gaining education qualifications
30. Ambitions for higher education
31. Educational aspirations
32. Previously commenced higher education
33. Barriers to education
34. Referred through friends
35. Referred through other organisations
36. Importance of practical learning
37. Program as a place to learn life skills
38. Interested in program content
39. Course as a means to building confidence
40. Program environment is safe
41. Importance of constructive engagement
42. Needing support service connections
43. Impact of resource barriers
44. Isolated and alone
45. Importance of comfortable student–teacher relationship
46. Resilience as a source of pride

47. Importance of support workers

48. In need of stability

49. Mental health issues

50. Determination to improve life circumstances

51. High motivation

52. Experience of prostitution

53. Prescription medication having a negative effect

54. Previously addicted to drugs

55. Gambling addition

56. Regular drug use

57. Drugs as a coping strategy for mental health issues

58. Feelings of failure

59. Self-aware

Round 1 Time 2: Completion

60. Housing acquired through program organisation

61. Dissatisfied with housing

62. Conflict in housing

63. Importance of stable housing for life progress

64. Unstable housing

65. Stable housing

66. Housing out of family

67. Dependent on family for financial assistance

68. Criminal history in family

69. Family conflict

70. Re-engaging with family

71. Strong family role models

72. Government education policy creating barriers

73. High cost of further education

74. Barriers to employment

75. Feelings of inadequacy

76. Fleeing violence

77. Desire to contribute

78. Importance of human connection

79. Barriers created by government policies

80. Importance of social acceptance

81. Appreciation of impact of class

82. Violent responses to conflict

83. Conflict with service workers

84. Participating in volunteering

85. Importance of a youth worker

86. Learning to trust assistance offered

87. Overcoming social isolation

88. Engaged in life

89. Return to 'normal society'

90. Conflict with peers

91. Aspirational friendships

92. New friendships made

93. Past negative influence of peers

94. Stable relationship

95. Gained employment

96. Decided to complete Year 12

97. Gained confidence in academic abilities

98. Re-engagement with education as motivation to quit drugs

99. Environment increasing motivation to participate

100. Motivated for work experience

101. Seeking employment

102. Career aspirations gained

103. Program as creating opportunity

104. Participation in program helped quit drugs

105. Program connecting participants with resources and programs

106. Program as life changing

107. Program as developing strengths

108. Program providing fundamental life support

109. Challenged by police participation in program

110. Program environment supportive

111. Program assisting with overcoming mental health and social issues

112. Significance of teacher–student relationship

113. Importance of practical skills

114. Importance of a strong peer network

115. Having a more level playing field for life

116. Importance of structure and routine

117. Mental health issues

118. Anti-drug attitude

119. Continued drug use

120. Needing more resources

Round 1 Time 3: Three months post completion

121. Homeless

122. Unstable housing

123. Volatile family situation

124. Criminal history in family

125. Parental mental illness

126. Re-engaged with family

127. Importance of significant family relationship

128. Education important within family culture

129. Feeling out of step with peers

130. Feeling out of place in tertiary education

131. Vulnerabilities in labour market

132. Lacking non-familial adult support

133. Resource poor

134. Negatively impacted by government policy

135. Conscious of resource disparity in education setting

136. Unsuccessful attempt at tertiary education

137. Barriers to education

138. Gained future career connections

139. Gained educational aspirations

140. Effective support provided by organisation

141. Career aspirations

142. Actively seeking employment

143. Positive peer network

144. Education environment supportive

145. Significance of teacher–student relationship

146. Returning to program to restart certification

147. Gained work experience

148. Finishing Year 12

149. Gained employment

150. Engaged in further education

151. Increased confidence

152. Taking personal responsibility

153. Accepting assistance undermining independence

154. Developing effective coping strategies

155. Proud of achievements

156. Determination to succeed

157. Mental health issues

158. Health complications

159. Drug use to cope with stresses

160. Seeking assistance for mental health issues

161. Conflict with workers

Round 2 Time 1: Commencement

162. Stable housing in family

163. Housing out of family

164. Recent housing transition

165. Family breakdown

166. Parents deceased

167. Conflict in family

168. Violence in family

169. Educational role models in family

170. Supportive parental relationship

171. Neighbourhood safe

172. Community attitudes permissive to drug use

173. Struggle to trust

174. Presence of strong non-familial support

175. Significance of community engagement

176. In need of guidance/stability

177. Struggle with authority

178. Socially isolated

179. Lacking non-familial adult support

180. Strongly supported by community

181. Criminality

182. Altruism

183. Strong future directions

184. Volunteering

185. Engaged with other organisations

186. Negative influence of peers

187. Aspirational friendships

188. Strong friendships

189. Actively seeking employment

190. Unemployed

191. Prior work history

192. Importance of experience

193. Networks and employment

194. Employed

195. Career ambitions

196. Educational ambitions

197. Completed Year 12

198. Previous experience of post-secondary education

199. Negative experiences in mainstream education

200. Pressure for career choices in mainstream

201. Negatively impacted by government education policy

202. Completing program for Centrelink purposes

203. Referred through other organisations

204. Needed a different environment

205. Program as a way to regain mental health

206. Interested in content

207. Learning life skills

208. Seeking employability skills

209. Significance of teacher–student relationship

210. Fear of failure

211. Inability to set goals

212. Unmotivated

213. Independence

214. Seeking constructive engagement

215. Emotional implications of family breakdown

216. Identity

217. Importance of being able to be who you are

218. Mental health issues

219. Problems with drugs and alcohol

220. Struggles with self-esteem

221. Regular drug use

222. Poor impulse control

223. Trying to improve self

Round 2 Time 2: Completion

224. Independent stable housing

225. In family housing stable

226. Unstable housing

227. Parental relationship positive

228. Negative family environment

229. Family trauma

230. Broadening social circle

231. Consistent friends

232. Peer group experiencing difficulties

233. Abandoned negative peer group

234. Age barriers to independence

235. Struggles with social isolation

236. Community engagement and volunteering

237. Strong community belonging

238. Involved in community sport

239. Vulnerabilities in job market

240. Currently employed

241. Work experience

242. Completing Year 12

243. Enrolled at university

244. Easy environment to motivate yourself

245. Mainstream curriculum as irrelevant

246. Importance of skill acquisition

247. Effect of classmates poor mental health status

248. Networks and gaining employment

249. Increase in determination

250. Engaged with support organisations

251. Leadership role in program peer network

252. Significant improvement in mental health

253. Program assisted with gaining resources

254. Unable to participate in mainstream schooling

255. Gained motivation to complete schooling

256. Trying to combat mental health and anger issues

257. Fear of program ending

258. Strategic goal setting

259. In need of resources

260. Started goal setting

261. Proud of achievement

262. Career and financial goals

263. Role of ambition in self-determination

264. Importance of resources

265. Gained confidence

266. Independent

267. Resilience learned early

268. Impact of drugs on peers

269. Importance of constructive engagement

270. Sexuality, experimentation and confidence

271. Questioning society's values

272. Spiritual development

273. Unwilling to jeopardise progress made

274. Importance of social acceptance

275. Controlled experimentation

276. Past experimentation with drugs

277. Quit drugs

278. Past involvement in petty crime

Round 2 Time 3:
Three months post completion

279. Housing in family stable

280. Educational role models in family

281. Absence of peer group

282. Strong role model in friendships

283. Abandoned negative peer group

284. Important influence of mentor

285. Desire to contribute

286. Civic mindedness

287. Feeling well supported in life

288. Career aspirations

289. Awareness of social hierarchy

290. Strategic use of connections

291. Program participation increased confidence in academic ability

292. Strategic navigation of education system

293. Importance of qualifications

294. Developing strong jobseeking skills

295. Gained confidence

296. Friendships made in course

297. Significance of supported transition

298. Gained network connections

299. Completion of Year 12 significant milestone

300. Importance of teacher–student relationship

301. Seeking greater culinary skills from program

302. Importance of a supportive educational environment

303. Satisfied with life

304. Continuing education

305. Employed

306. Struggling with sub-par practical skills

307. Vulnerabilities in job market

308. Financial sensibility

STREAT

Round 1 Time 1:
Commencement

309. Housing in family

310. Positive in family housing

311. Housing instability

312. Housing outside family

313. Negative housing environment

314. Previous experience of homelessness

315. Neighbourhood dysfunction

316. Prevalence of criminality in neighbourhood

317. Neighbourhood unsafe

318. Family dysfunction

319. Family substance abuse

320. Death of a parent

321. Family conflict

322. Family as motivation

323. High availability of drugs

324. Referred through other organisation

325. Lacking non-familial adult support

326. Social isolation

327. Belief in the moral order

328. Religiosity

329. Significance of social connections

330. Connected to other organisations

331. Feelings of abnormality

332. Poverty

333. Contact with criminal justice system

334. History of violent behaviour

335. Lacking friendship network

336. Negative influence of peers

337. Peer teen pregnancy

338. Importance of friendship networks

339. Work experience

340. Previous employment

341. Negative experience of mainstream education

342. Disengaged from education

343. Desire to be in education

344. Engaged in program content

345. Program leading to employment

346. Constructive occupation

347. Program and personal ambitions

348. Responsibilities

349. Independence

350. Ambition

351. Mental health issues

352. Substance abuse

353. Low confidence

Round 1 Time 2: Completion

354. Housing in family stable

355. Unstable housing environment

356. Housing outside family environment

357. Familial dysfunction

358. Positive parental role models

359. In family drug use

360. Impact of neighbourhood dysfunction

361. Past negative influence of peer groups

362. Presence of negative social influences

363. Engaged with other organisations

364. Lack of positive employment role model

365. Social isolation

366. Lack of non-familial adult support

367. Impact of negative environment on educational attainment

368. Importance of re-engagement in education

369. Ambitious for education

370. Value of formal certification

371. Work experience

372. Skill development

373. Seeking employment

374. Positive environment

375. Positive opportunities

376. Benefit of practical course content

377. Increase in personal motivation

378. Provision of adult support

379. Constructive engagement

380. Ambitions for hospitality career

381. Personal satisfaction from achievement

382. Personal barriers reduced

383. Past behaviour negatively influencing self-perception

384. Attendance issues

385. Negative self-perception

386. Impact of personal challenges on course

387. Constructive hobbies/activities

388. Fear of failure

389. Influence of past drug use

390. Mental health issues

391. Self-harm ideation / suicidal thoughts

Round 1 Time 3:
Three months post completion

392. Unstable housing

393. Housing outside family

394. Housing in family

395. Negative influence neighbourhood

396. High availability of drugs

397. Positive parental support

398. Positive parental role models

399. Importance of family responsibility

400. Negative influence of family

401. Influence of family trauma

402. Negative influences of environment on attendance

403. Challenging to access assistance

404. Criminal orientation

405. Effect of policy and funding on access to support

406. Opportunity to participate

407. Influence of past events

408. Fear of society's judgment

409. Civic engagement/orientation

410. Lack of social support

411. Drugs as resources

412. Strategic use of resources

413. Engaged with other organisations

414. Negative influence of peers

415. High degree of drug use amongst peers

416. Low confidence in ability to complete

417. Nervous about further education

418. Continuing education

419. Casual paid work

420. Paid work experience

421. Importance of employability skills

422. Career ambitions

423. Seeking employment

424. Importance of self-motivation

425. Importance of constructive engagement

426. Increased confidence

427. Provision of opportunities for social support/engagement

428. Increase in perception of capability

429. Influence of the life skills program

430. Negative peer influence

431. Attendance issues

432. Uncertainty about future / fear of future

433. Drug free

434. Personal drug use

435. Low self-care

436. Seeking assistance

437. Nihilism

438. Severe mental health problems

439. Negative influence of past drug use in the present

440. Future orientation

441. Low trust of self and others

442. Attachment problems

Round 2 Time 1:
Commencement

443. In family

444. Housing not in family

445. Stable housing

446. Unstable housing

447. Past experiences of homelessness

448. Alcohol abuse in home

449. Substance abuse by parents

450. Incarceration of parents

451. Assuming responsibility of dysfunctional parents

452. Unable to share with parents

453. Negative family relations

454. Familial dysfunction

455. Broken family

456. Negative impact of being unable to maintain contact with family

457. No parental role model for education

458. Drugs as a coping mechanism from family dysfunction

459. Experimenting with parent's drugs

460. Employment role models in family

461. Lacking non-familial adult support

462. Perceptive of social resources

463. Loneliness

464. Neighbourhood dysfunction

465. Social isolation

466. Recent incarceration

467. High exposure to violence

468. Violent behaviour

469. Regular drug use

470. Negative perception of alcohol

471. Impact of resource lack

472. Engaged with other organisations

473. Importance of youth worker support

474. Heavy past drug use

475. Challenged by authority

476. Negative peer behaviour

477. Criminal peer activity

478. Heavy drug use by peers

479. Peer pressure for drugs and alcohol

480. Isolated from peers

481. Serious peer criminal activity

482. Negative past educational experiences

483. Bullying

484. Barriers to education

485. Desire to continue education

486. Difficulty learning in context

487. Conventional education environment negative

488. Previous work history

489. Motivated for employment

490. Unemployed

491. Excited about future prospects

492. Attendance issues and motivation

493. Desire for work experience

494. Importance of constructive engagement

495. Enjoyment of learning

496. Importance on non-conventional teaching methods

497. Interested in program content

498. Referral pathway

499. Negative impact of poor mental health on jobseeking

500. Self-determined

501. Motivated to improve/better oneself

502. Unmet supportive needs

503. Vulnerable to substance abuse

504. Difficulty with direction

505. Mental health issues

506. Self-rated satisfaction

507. Introversion and drug use

508. Recreational drug use

509. Socialising online

510. Depressive symptoms

Round 2 Time 2: Completion

511. In family housing

512. In family dysfunction

513. Alcohol abuse in family

514. Disengaged from family support

515. Lacking friendship networks

516. Social structure and education

517. Society's perception of education credentials

518. Social isolation

519. Insufficient resources as a barrier to employment

520. Seeking peer network

521. Challenges accessing social support resources

522. Connected with other organisations

523. Limited exposure to drugs

524. Unable to learn in mainstream education

525. Barriers to accessing educational support

526. Interested in learning

527. Learning difficulties

528. Kitchens as a high stress environment

529. Negative impact of classmates

530. Negative influence of drugs

531. No friendships formed within course

532. Motivated to attend

533. Engaged in content

534. Work experience

535. Continuing education

536. Program as an avenue for connectedness

537. Voluntarily doing further work experience

538. Importance of constructive engagement

539. Overcoming social isolation

540. Significance of making friendships in the program

541. Seeking further work experience opportunities in SE cafes

542. Support resources available through program

543. Fear of lack of engagement

544. Life as dissatisfying

545. The future as overwhelming

546. Anxiety associated with jobseeking

547. Deterioration of motivation in life

548. Lack of enthusiasm

549. Low self-confidence

550. Dissociated from feelings

551. Perfectionist tendencies

552. Depressive symptomology

Round 2 Time 3: Three months post completion

553. Satisfaction from customer interaction

554. Society unable to understand

555. Reduction in social isolation

556. Preferring social isolation

557. Increased use mental health services

558. Importance of counseling

559. Government funding barriers to support

560. Status barriers to social assistance

561. Skill development

562. Jobseeking and employment preparation

563. Continuing education

564. Improvement in wellbeing from work experience

565. Work experience as highly enjoyable

566. Certification and work experience

567. Increase in work readiness

568. Importance of practical learning

569. Increased motivation for employment

570. Acquired employment goals

571. Accessing employment seeking assistance

572. Importance of constructive engagement

573. Program staff able to broker assistance

574. Improved confidence levels

575. Improved mental health management

576. Importance of self-acceptance

577. Pride in achievement

578. Significance of goals

579. Resource barriers to independence

580. No improvement in family relations

581. Needing more skills to handle stress

582. Learning coping strategies

583. Desire for complete autonomy

584. Accessing psychological help

585. Mental health issues

Youthworx

Round 1 Time 1: Commencement

586. Unemployed

587. Employed

588. Poor academic performance

589. Negative experiences in education

590. School attendance problems

591. Negative experiences in housing

592. Living outside of family

593. Living with family

594. Familial dysfunction

595. Supportive family relationships

596. Estrangement from family

597. Safe neighbourhood

598. Neighbourhood disorder

599. Referred by youth professional

600. Interest in content

601. Program environment

602. Teaching style

603. Opportunities for social interaction

604. Program attendance

605. Providing occupation/focus

606. Challenges for participation in program

607. Ambitions for program

608. Autonomy/independence

609. Perception of being unsuccessful

610. Non-parental adult support

611. Lacking non-parental adult support

612. Social isolation

613. Receiving multi-organisational support

614. Contact with the criminal justice system

615. Not connected to school friends

616. Challenges to stay connected with friends

617. Recreation

618. Friendships as essential relationships

619. Seeking friendships

620. Self-improvement/satisfaction

621. Future goals

622. Mental health issues

623. Self-belief

624. Happy

625. Unhappy

626. Religiosity

Round 1 Time 2: Completion

627. Living outside of family

628. Living in family

629. Experiencing issues in housing

630. Satisfied with housing arrangements

631. Receiving multi-organisational support

632. Not engaged with other organisations

633. Awareness of resources

634. Autonomy

635. Confidence

636. Isolation

637. Social support

638. Criminal behaviour

639. Strong friendships

640. Weak friendships

641. Negative peer influence

642. Self-improvement/expansion

643. Improved self-perception

644. Improved/increased relationships

645. Creativity/expression

646. Increased confidence

647. Future goals

648. Continuing further education

649. Unemployed

650. Actively seeking employment

651. Life skills

652. Changes from program

653. Education goals

654. Engaged in content

655. Influence of teachers

656. Program environment

657. Challenges in the program

658. Re-engaged with family

659. Unsupportive family

660. Positive family relationships

Round 1 Time 3: Three months post completion

661. Housing out of family

662. Housing in family

663. Positive housing situation

664. Experiencing issues in housing

665. Achievement

666. Ambition/direction

667. Opportunity seeking

668. Self-esteem

669. Mental health

670. Increased confidence

671. Negative peer influences

672. Engaged with multiple organisations

673. Resources/opportunity seeking

674. Social support

675. Connections

676. Criminal behaviour

677. Lacking connections

678. Positive role models

679. Influence of past experiences in education

680. Confidence in education

681. Education goals

682. Educational support

683. Career ambition

684. Continuing further education

685. Work experience

686. Unemployed

687. Interest in content

688. Program attendance

689. Relationships made in program

690. Influence of teachers

691. Program environment

692. Opportunity gained

693. Support through program

694. Re-engaged with family

695. Strong bonds with family

696. Negative perception of family

697. Family trauma

698. Weak ties to family

Round 2 Time 1: Commencement

699. Negative living arrangements

700. Housing outside family

701. Stable housing

702. Housing in non-nuclear family

703. Housing in family

704. Positive family relationship / role model

705. Previous involvement with child protection

706. Open and transparent parental relationships

707. Long-term unemployment in family role models

708. Familial dysfunction

709. Family conflict

710. Safe neighbourhood

711. Neighbourhood dysfunction

712. Previous qualification

713. Disengaged from schooling

714. Negative experience of mainstream schooling

715. Struggle with motivation in mainstream

716. Learning difficulties

717. Previous positive education of alternative education

718. Interested in technology

719. Referral pathway

720. Desire for qualification

721. Positive social environment

722. Wanting a new experience

723. Engaged in content

724. Career aspirations relevant

725. Connected to youth/social worker

726. Connected with other orgs

727. Not connected with other organisations

728. Conscious of unequal power distribution in society

729. Strategically accessing support

730. Religious social infrastructure

731. Absence of role models

732. Very low social support

733. Sufficient social support

734. Challenges with trust

735. Lack of social mobility / social exposure

736. Independence

737. Mental health issues

738. Identifying with old fashioned values

739. Family responsibility and sense of self

740. Technologically mediated social support

741. Unemployed

742. Seeking work

743. Parents requiring search for employment

744. Little desire for employment

745. Long-term NEET

746. Small/limited friendship circle

747. Strong peer network

748. Limited trust of peers

749. Alcohol and peers

750. Aspirational friendships

751. No income support

752. Income support main financial source

753. Restricted by lack of financial resources

Round 2 Time 2: Completion

754. Housing in family

755. Positive housing situation

756. Housing outside of family

757. Housing in community organisations

758. Housing in extended family

759. Struggling with living in family

760. Broader family network supportive

761. Independence from family

762. Negative experience in mainstream education

763. Motivated to be in education

764. Resources required for continuing education at higher level

765. Seeking work

766. Resources required for seeking work

767. Unemployed

768. Engaged in content

769. Autonomous learning

770. Program environment beneficial

771. Culture of respect

772. Catering to different learning styles

773. Program providing connections for support organisation

774. Course delivery structure beneficial

775. Seeking specific content knowledge

776. Having goals/interests as motivation to stay in education

777. Able to work on personal creative projects

778. Interested in media/technology

779. Proud of accomplishments

780. Making friendships

781. Great student–teacher relationships

782. Importance of constructive engagement

783. Self-directed learning

784. Continuing education

785. Importance of social networks for securing jobs

786. Referral pathway

787. Engaged in community volunteering

788. No significant non-family adult support

789. Community organisations assisting with acquiring resources

790. Religious community participation

791. Connected to other organisations

792. Strong family relationships foundational for contentedness

793. Low need for social interaction

794. Fear around assuming adult responsibility

795. High degrees of self-reflexivity

796. Feeling like I should be doing better in life

797. Empathy

798. Needing help with mental health

799. Contentedness

800. Importance of respect and equality / social conscience

801. Sufficient resources for life

802. Mental health

803. Experiencing social isolation

804. Being responsible for your own motivation

805. Friendships as self-improvement

806. Low levels of peer/friend interaction

807. Peer struggles/trouble

808. Peers not in schooling

809. Infighting with friendship groups

810. Well connected with friendship network

Round 2 Time 3:
Three months post completion

811. Recent transition in housing

812. Housing not in family

813. Stable housing in family

814. Recent experience of homelessness

815. Deceased parents

816. Family estrangement/breakdown

817. Previous experience with foster care

818. Friction in home environment

819. Impact of family role models

820. Program having a positive effect on mental health

821. More productive in program than mainstream education

822. Impact of quality teacher relationships

823. Balance between challenging and comfortable content

824. Highly self-motivated for education

825. Ceased medication for mental health

826. Determination to succeed

827. Program important source of social connectedness

828. Excited by course content

829. Accruing educational success

830. Solid friendships formed in course

831. Learning disabilities

832. Program systems and infrastructure

833. Program structure positive

834. Program environment conducive

835. Comfortable with people in program

836. Seeking employment

837. Barriers to employment

838. Continuing education

839. Connected to other organisations

840. Not connected to other organisations

841. Preference for minimum connectedness

842. Participation in community volunteering

843. Youth leadership role experience

844. Contact with criminal justice system

845. Experience of police racial targeting

846. Struggle for independence

847. Oppressive attitude of responsible adults

848. Social isolation

849. Independence increasing confidence

850. Sufficient non-parental adult support

851. Aware of the disparity between self and other participants life situations

852. Middling life satisfaction

Appendix 3: Traditional Ishikawa analysis

Putting the Ishikawa diagrams to work

This section provides a discussion of observations gleaned from the Ishikawa diagrams using a traditional analysis. The capital analysis was developed for this study alone. Consideration of the five universal elements of an organisation allows inferences to be drawn in the way the organisations are functioning with regard to the specific effect under analysis – in this case impact on positive outcome delivery.

Equipment

The directive provided to the group to distinguish equipment from materials was to consider the equipment to be "fixed plant" as in manufacturing, where this tool is traditionally used. In the case of a knowledge or service organisation, the example of a printer being equipment and cartridges being materials illustrates the distinction.

Consistent in all SEs is the importance of having a suitable space to deliver their goods and services and their programs in tandem. STREAT at the time of micro data collection was struggling with the limitations of Donkey Wheel House, and felt that this was a challenge to outcome delivery. However, this has been subsequently overcome with the opening of Cromwell Street and was seen as a necessary period of discomfort in order to deliver successfully on their inter-field growth strategy. Some inadequacies of physical space being noted, all SEs cited the operating spaces as being positive contributors to outcome delivery. Yet, there were challenges associated with high student demand, sufficient physical space and the absence of sufficient equipment to foster organisational growth. However, the SEs were resourceful in maximising the use value of the equipment they have and this was crucial in the successful delivery of outcomes (Gray, Healy & Crofts 2003).

The challenges were mostly associated with meeting program demand and commercial demand. HEAT's model of a catering company was seen to be a challenge. Without the direct access to the public offered by a café or restaurant the scale of economic benefit was limited. Additionally, maintenance of a commercial kitchen was a financial burden on the organisation and the size of the space meant co-delivering the curriculum and coping with fluctuating customer demand was difficult. Interestingly, this particular challenge was seen to have a potentially

negative effect on the program participants, as providing work experience opportunities in a strained commercial kitchen environment can result in exposure to high-tension scenarios. As at December 2016, the commercial kitchen was made exclusively available for program and education delivery, as the SE business has ceased operating.

A challenge beyond the inappropriate program space for STREAT during micro data collection was the lack of equipment. Low resource levels (e.g. no computers for students) proved challenging for the program staff. The increase in scale, space and flexibility delivered by Cromwell Street expansion has gone a significant way to addressing those challenges. However, the program demand is increasing. In order to maintain their model, which focuses on high degrees of work experience using the existing businesses, further future enterprise growth to continue the delivery of their social mission is becoming a pressing need.

Youthworx is a special case in terms of the impact of equipment on delivery of outcomes. Their business model is reliant on technological equipment. Gaining further footholds in the industry requires the organisation to maintain pace with advances. Both the business and education program operate from the same premises from which they began the organisation on a Salvation Army grant to set up the education program. They subsequently developed their social enterprise and have been resourceful in the way they have delivered growth within their setting to deliver on their social mission (Zubac, Hubbard & Johnson 2012). They also use the co-location of the business and program to strengthen outcome delivery by educating the participants within an operational creative media company. The challenge of outgrowing the current premises and equipment is faced by Youthworx. This is complicated with redundancy of technical equipment and the very specific operational challenges associated with information technology, such as data storage space and capacity. This is cost intensive and a significant barrier for SE commercial growth and places strain on the program.

Materials

Education provision is a central feature of the SEs delivery of positive outcomes. The importance of practical certification was stressed by HEAT, and through the use of social capital, essential materials were donated to the young people completing their programs, such as uniforms (Zubac, Hubbard & Johnson 2012). HEAT's ability to

provide consumable resources to the program was largely the result of the creation and leveraging of networks (Bhatt & Altinay 2013).

Philanthropy and funding streams were emphasised as important by STREAT in their discussion on materials producing outcomes, which is an increasingly common sector strategy (Barraket & Yousefpour 2013; Haugh 2005; Hayllar & Wettenhall 2011). Additionally, the creation and provision of custom education programs focusing on life skills and additional industry readiness for young people was seen as crucial in their delivery of outcomes. The use of social capital to leverage stocks of economic and cultural capital to deliver benefit was evident in their relationship with the tertiary education sector and the use of interns to relieve staff loads. Again, the necessity of consistent enterprising and resourceful behaviour by the social enterprises was evident (Alexander 2000; Barraket & Yousefpour 2013; Bull & Crompton 2006).

Resource provision to the young people via employment opportunities, skills and wages was emphasised in Youthworx's delivery of outcomes. Their strategy to provide high-tech equipment via leased materials and their attempts to diversify funding sources were discussed. The VET courses were also seen as resources they were able to provide to the young people.

Financial concern and barriers dominated the materials bone of the HEAT CID. Reflecting the efforts to leverage the organisation's networks to provide stop-gap funding once government support was withdrawn, there is a dependence on diverse and low-level funding sources, including their own self-generated funds. Additionally, changes in government policy affecting their ability to generate resources and supply materials. The struggles of HEAT and Youthworx in the competition for small grants and other funding streams confirms struggles cited in the literature for social enterprises in the climate of the third sector (Bull & Crompton 2006; Considine 2003; Head 2010; Head & Alford 2008).

The internal business management processes featured on the materials bone of HEAT's challenges Ishikawa diagram. The cultural capital associated with managing commercial enterprises was seen to be lacking and ineffective financial process controls hampering financial transparency. This echoes the challenges around governance often faced by social enterprises, whose managerial teams are most commonly trained in social service provision not corporate financial and business management (Spear, Cornforth & Aiken 2007). It suggests there is a mismatch in habitus and cultural capital in these scenarios; where skills and education do not

translate across the multiple fields, social enterprises must operate within to achieve commercial and organisational sustainability.

STREAT's CID featured a strong emphasis on insufficient financial capital to resource the program to the standard they prefer, in spite of their superior relational position. In order to devote greater resources to provide higher material benefits to young people, STREAT's business model requires further business growth. In the case of STREAT, there appears to be tension between increasing the commercial scale in line with strong strategies for self-sustaining operations versus providing all the most up-to-date youth-oriented program equipment. Consistent with STREAT's management approach, business development and sustainability is pursued and they prioritise resourcefulness as a feature of their recruitment strategy, particularly in their Youth Programs area (General Manager, Youth Programs, STREAT, Interview 23/11/16).

The STREAT CEO and team can be characterised as having high-level business and commercial acumen, or the appropriate habitus in order to be commercially competitive and growth driven. It is possible that the strong business mentoring relationship with their core philanthropist has assisted in the development of this capability. They combine this with careful recruiting targeting core business management and development skills. Often social enterprises struggle against the private sector ability to recruit and retain such skill sets (Allan 2005; Frith 2014; Hines 2005; OECD 1999). However, STREAT's brand and reputation (social capital) in the market and clearly honed social mission speaks to the young, educated and talented young people drawn to the ethical aspect of employment in the social economy (Bull et al. 2010; Frith 2014).

Youthworx's challenges with materials were all related to economic capital. The organisation noted the financial vulnerabilities associated with being 50% reliant on government funding, and having limited access to philanthropic networks. Their position of needing to self-generate sufficient capital for growth posed a significant challenge, when considering the scale of investment required to transition their organisation to a commercial content producer from a fee-for-service media company. Youthworx is unique in its choice of industry from which to operate a social enterprise, as most social enterprises are developed in the low wage, low skill sectors such as hospitality, retail and light manufacturing (Cooney 2013, p. 154). For example, a nationwide study of social enterprise in the US found only 1.2% of enterprises were operating within the information and technology sector, in

comparison to 16.1% operating in light manufacturing (Cooney 2013, p. 154). The demands of high-tech specialised industry in terms of capital investment add increasing pressure to the organisation in terms of maintaining competitiveness and currency.

On the materials bone of Youthworx, the change in government policy relating to funding for Certificate I featured, as it resulted in challenges getting young people who have disengaged from mainstream education into the TAFE system. Consequently, Youthworx no longer delivers entry-level courses.

Methods

The key differentiator in organisational outcomes at the meso level is embedded in the methods section. Cultural capital and its operation as an influencing factor of overall capital is borne out in the data with respect to the skills, knowledge and experience *operating* and *managing* an effective organisation. The guiding theory for this analysis stems from the quality philosophies of Dr W. Edwards Deming (1986), Myron Tribus (1993) and Joseph Juran (1964) – the founding fathers of the quality revolution in industrial manufacturing (and other industries) beginning in the early 1980s. Deming was a statistician and management consultant who was influential in rebuilding the Japanese economy post-WWII. His management philosophy and theory was embraced by Japanese industry (though not his native American counterparts) and was in large degree responsible for the success of Japanese manufacturing in the 1980s and beyond.

The key differentiator of organisational success lies in the systems and processes that actually form the foundation of the organisation (Deming 1986; Juran 1964). It is the quality, accuracy and suitability of the systems and processes that deliver the work that determines the quality and efficiency of the organisation. The crux of effective management of all organisations is reducing variation (Deming 1986). This can be in skill level of personnel, quality of output, control of costs and expenditures, effective governance, profit generation; the list is endless.

One of the major struggles for SEs is acquiring the skill sets for running commercial organisations. It is not often that individuals possess the education and experience (cultural capital) for commercial enterprise operation and the cultural capital for providing social services (Peattie & Morley 2008). The challenge associated with procuring the skill sets – via training and education or recruiting individuals with such experience – on finite resources (particularly acute in the non-profit sector) is

understandable. The research on SEs continuously reinforces this gap, which confirms the challenge associated with appropriate cultural capital to deliver on commercial expansion strategies. It also relates to the high degree of social capital usage that attempts to compensate to varying degrees for the gaps in commercial and managerial experience (Barraket, Mason & Blain 2016).

On the positive side, all SEs demonstrated a strong degree of capital devoted to their social mission maximisation strategies, with their ability to provide the social support services being an outstanding feature on the methods bone. The ability to assist young people in navigating the service sector, their processes and delivery of case management and support for disengaged and disadvantaged youth were clear stand-outs in the data, and supports the common role of social enterprise (Cooney 2011; Denny et al. 2011; Ferguson & Islam 2008; Hayllar & Wettenhall 2011; Hazenberg, Seddon & Denny 2013; Kerlin 2012; Scottish Government 2016).

STREAT and HEAT have developed customised educational curricula to increase the young people's life skills and employability skills outside of those delivered in the VET curriculum. All organisations have systems and processes ensuring that program participants graduate with the necessary resources to build their jobseeking skills. They also gain genuine work experience for their resumes, which the micro level data and literature consistently asserts is an area of frustration when trying to enter the job market as a young person (Australian Social Inclusion Board 2012; Flouri & Buchanan 2002; Foundation for Young Australians (FYA) 2015, 2016; Marks 2005; Mirza-Davies 2014; Victorian Council of Social Services 2014b). There is success in engaging youth in education and training and facilitating retention and further educational pathways. The emphasis on young people and the use of youth work ethics, policies and frameworks was consistent across the organisations (Broadbent & Corney 2008; Hoiles & Corney 2006; Sercombe 2010). This demonstrates the experience and skills of the staff in the organisations in working with disadvantaged youth, and their commitment to delivering the best possible outcomes for those in their program.

STREAT's PID data provides the foundation for assertions associated with embodied cultural capital and its function as the most significant determinant in the delivery of positive outcomes and organisational success. It is reinforced by cultural capital being an outlier in STREAT's descriptive statistics. Their methods bone is saturated in cultural capital factors, demonstrating an organisational focus on systems, processes, governance, quality evaluations and data management and research.

This indicates a higher level of management experience within the organisation, and demonstrates an emphasis on risk management and operational control (Deming 1986; Juran 1964; Tribus 1993). Another indicator of effective organisational management is the presence of strategic and corporate planning processes, which are the delivery arm of organisational strategies (Juran 1964). Strong governance systems and processes are essential to the pursuit of innovation and growth (Bull 2007; Bull & Crompton 2006; Doherty, Haugh & Lyon 2014; Gonin et al. 2013). This is indicative of engaged and experienced senior management team and an effectively run organisation, and is present in STREAT's PID.

HEAT's CID offers the contrasting picture, and demonstrates how challenging the lack of cultural capital can be at an organisational level. Their CID presents 30 factors associated with a lack of cultural capital, a position that could be described as the direct opposite to STREAT, with 36 factors on their PID.

Whilst data was not directly collected to substantiate a claim that the financial difficulties are the direct result of gaps in cultural capital, the data reveals a strong relationship between economic and embodied cultural capital. In considering the financial strain on HEAT, it is appropriate to classify two categories of financial challenges. Firstly, there are the obvious and critical effects of the loss of direct government recurrent annual funding and this echoes the concerns surrounding long-term financial sustainability for social enterprise in the literature (Bull et al. 2010; Carlos Perez de Mendiguren Castresana 2013; Haugh 2005; Lichtenstein 2011; Shuayto & Miklovich 2014). Secondly, there is the fiscal success and profitability of the social enterprise. In terms of the first challenge, HEAT's defunding had no relevance to the way the program was run or its ability to meet its funding criteria. Rather, HEAT and six other organisations receiving an outdated Labor grant under the Youth Employment Scheme program and had their funding reviewed in the context of Liberal government restructures when they assumed office in 2010.

The financial profitability of the social enterprise and its ability to generate funds to sustain the program is clearly influenced by cultural capital, particularly embodied cultural capital. This is borne out on the methods bone of the HEAT CID. A summary of the data is:

1. SE business and youth program managed as distinctly separate entities.
2. Poor financial governance on profits generated by SE – including funds supporting programs other than HEAT.

3. Poor systems and processes around: stock control; procurement; financial accounting; process management; performance management.
4. Organisational structure dysfunction: poor role clarity; negative effects on program delivery; resource planning and coordination; poor organisational structure; governance issues; lack of strategic planning.
5. Catering industry highly variable demand and low profitability.
6. Knowledge: no direct hospitality business management experience; lack of commercial management experience; lack of organisational management experience.

With the exception of point 5, all of these issues are the result of low or inappropriate cultural capital. The flow on effects on profitability and efficiency were deleterious to the organisation. With the merger, HEAT now has the support and resources of a long-standing professional organisation and has the support of MCM management. There have been drawbacks around gaining traction in the organisation initially, but this has subsided. There has also been a change noted in the degree of bureaucracy associated with a larger scale organisation.

To a lesser degree, Youthworx experienced similar challenges related to cultural capital. However, the Department of Health and Human Services funding stream continues to support the program and they are experiencing increases in client demand and continuing to pursue their field expansion strategy. In order for the organisation to undergo an increase in scale to maximise business profitability, they require access to financial capital. The double bind of requiring financial capital in order to grow the business to generate more capital makes benefit maximisation problematic. However, the gaps in embodied cultural capital are not as acute as those of HEAT, and whilst the program retains its funding stream, Youthworx are in a position to continue to develop the organisation using their existing grant processes and market growth strategies.

Environment

The environment bone of the Ishikawa diagrams displays the most consistency between the organisations. In this area, the SEs experience the same challenges associated with changes in government policy in welfare and education. They are universally affected by the reduction in access to education for young people, and the fiscal constraints new funding policies place on the delivery of VET curricula. The increasing restrictions on access to financial support for young people from

government benefits is affecting their ability to assist the program participants to stabilise their personal environmental situations in order to enable them to accrue success within the field of education. Problem definition changes as a result of fluctuations in the macro level both in the social services sector and government are evidenced in this bone of the CIDs. This translates into the organisations needing to reposition themselves in order to align with the government of the day.

The relationships with education providers are critical for the delivery of positive outcomes. Requirements associated with VET delivery, administrative and bureaucratic challenges and the importance of flexibility to meet the needs of the cohort of students are emphasised in the data. Transitioning providers, changes in management and operation in existing providers, and the effect of rigid criteria on students and the organisations' operations are features on the Ishikawa diagrams.

The environment bone evidences the importance of networks, contacts and resources gained via these connections (Bond 2011; Bourdieu 1986). Social capital appears to be exercised and generated according to the strength and diversity of these relationships. STREAT's strong engagement with the philanthropic and business community is evident in this cluster. An inference gleaned from the strong presence of these distinct networks is that the embodied cultural capital levels of STREAT are highly related to networks and resources (particularly business mentoring).

People

The remaining bone of the Ishikawa diagrams is 'people'. On this section of the diagram the final strategy, *organisational capacity development,* is evident. STREAT is a clear leader in the prioritisation of accruing organisational capability by focusing on the acquisition of rigorously selected people over resources. This increases an organisation's embodied capital – particularly social and cultural. Focusing on increasing staff with extensive and specialised experience, in human services and business, results in higher capital levels and organisational capability. However, it is dependent on an organisation's ability to generate sufficient economic capital as to whether this strategy will be successful or not.

Evident in the Ishikawa diagrams of Youthworx and HEAT are the challenges resulting from strained resources. These organisations have people fulfilling multiple roles, inappropriate organisational structures frustrating success and are missing fundamental skill sets. It appears to be relentless determination of staff that delivers

positive outcomes for participants. The challenges of insufficient economic capital result in higher emphasis on social and cultural capital. Yet, despite these frustrations, HEAT and Youthworx are successfully delivering on their social mission and consistently delivering positive outcomes for young people.

Appendix 4: Capital map analysis

For ease of interpretation the capital maps are presented again here. Additionally, the CMps have been supplemented with some basic descriptive statistics and box and whisker plots, in order to gain an understanding of the distribution of data within the range. This enabled summarising inferences. There are limitations with the use of the box and whisker plots. When considering the graphs, it is important to note that each number in the data set (population) used to create the graphs is *the frequency of a capital (e.g. embodied economic capital) being cited in the data*. The axis on which the graph is made is "level of contribution to positive outcome" or "level of challenge to positive outcome". Thus the number of times a type of capital is cited as leading to or challenging positive outcomes is taken as a measure of contribution. This is what is represented by the box and whisker plots.

Positive capital maps (PCMp)

HPCMp
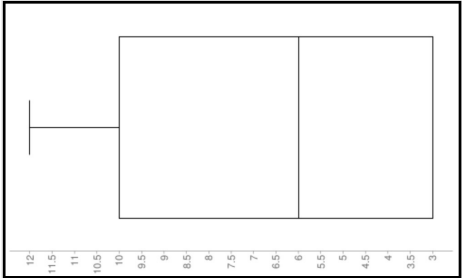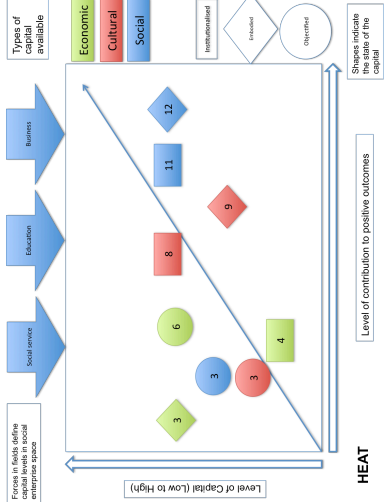
Population: 9
Median: 6 Mean: 6.44 Mode: 3
Min: 3 Max: 12
Q1: 3
Q3: 10
Interquartile range: 7
Range: 9

SPCMp
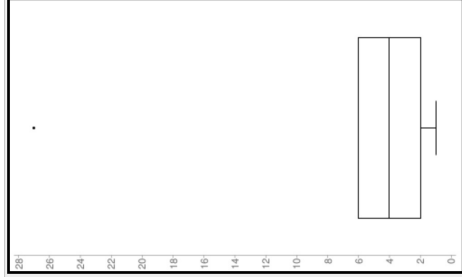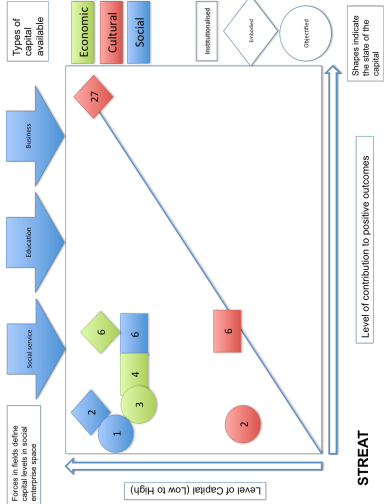
Population: 9
Median: 4 Mean: 6.33 Mode: 6
Min: 1 Max: 27
Q1: 2
Q3: 6
Interquartile range: 4 (Range: 26)
OUTLIER: 27

YPCMp
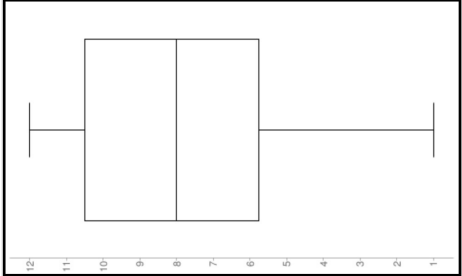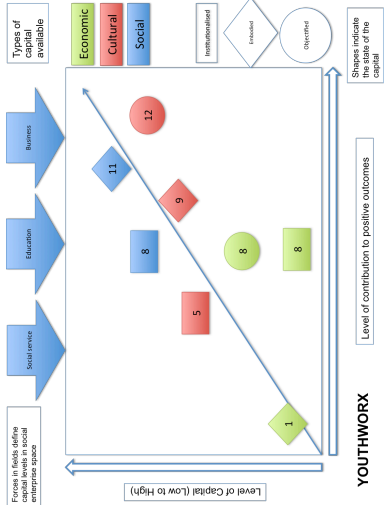
Population: 8
Median: 8 Mean: 7.75 Mode: 8
Min: 1 Max: 12
Q1: 5.75
Q3: 10.5
Interquartile range: 4.75
Range: 11

Challenges capital maps (CCMp)

HEAT

Forces in fields define capital levels in social enterprise space

Level of Capital (Low to High)

Level of challenge to positive outcomes

Types of capital available
Economic
Cultural
Social

Institutionalised
Embodied
Objectified

Shapes indicate the state of the capital

Social service — Education — Business

2
30
2
5
7
8
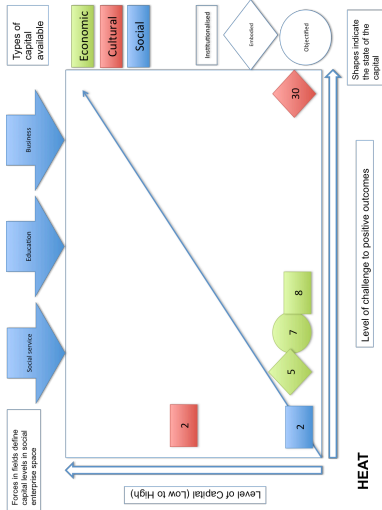
Population: 6
Median: 6
Min: 2 Max: 30
Q1: 2
Q3: 13.5
Interquartile range: 11.5
Range: 28

STREAT

Forces in fields define capital levels in social enterprise space

Level of Capital (Low to High)

Level of challenge to positive outcomes

Types of capital available
Economic
Cultural
Social

Institutionalised
Embodied
Objectified

Shapes indicate the state of the capital

Social service — Education — Business

10
6
5
4
3
3
2
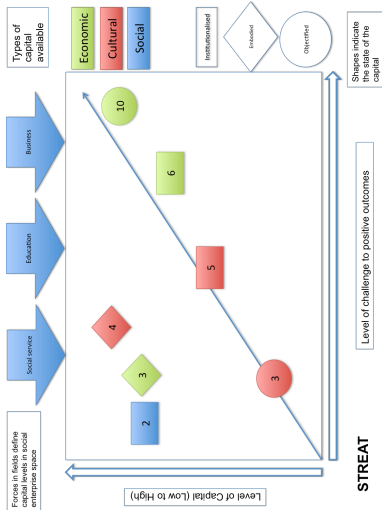
Population: 7
Median: 4
Min: 2 Max: 10
Q1: 3
Q3: 6
Interquartile range: 3
Range: 8

YOUTHWORX

Forces in fields define capital levels in social enterprise space

Level of Capital (Low to High)

Level of challenge to positive outcomes

Types of capital available
Economic
Cultural
Social

Institutionalised
Embodied
Objectified

Shapes indicate the state of the capital

Social service — Education — Business

17
17
11
8
6
5
5
1
1
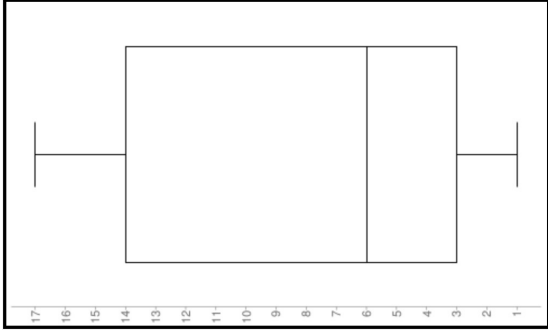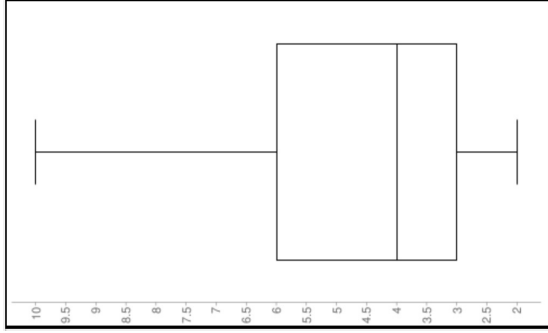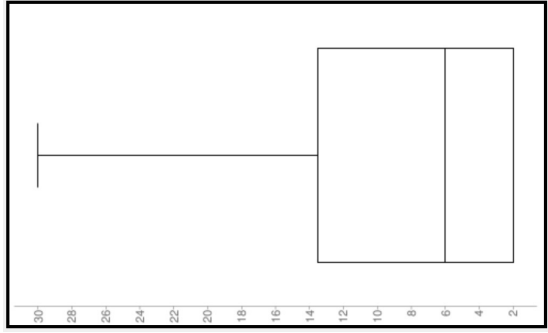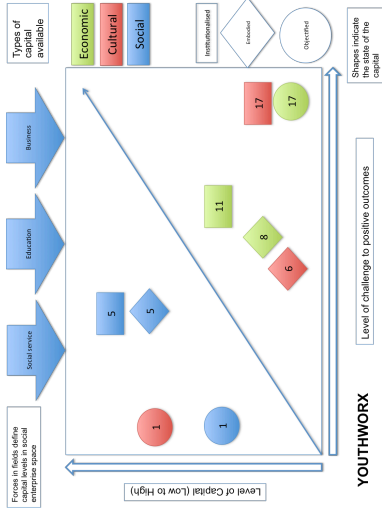
Population: 9
Median: 6
Min: 1 Max: 17
Q1: 3
Q3: 14
Interquartile range: 11
Range: 16

395

Positive capital map inferences

The box and whisker plots have been used to derive a picture of capital dispersal. This depiction is a way of visualising what capitals the organisation is using most heavily, as in the higher up the scale it appears, the more often they referred to it as being a contributor. It can also indicate how evenly they are relying on their various capitals, as indicated by a small and concentrated box, and a small and concentrated overall graph. It also demonstrates the degree of variation in the way that capitals are contributing, as indicated by a box widely distributed on the scale.

The dispersal for Youthworx shows centralised grouping in terms of capital facilitating outcome delivery. The interquartile range is 4.75. This is a small range, indicating a concentrated set of capitals of most forms. It is also worth noting that the data is concentrated in the upper sphere of the data set with a median of 8, indicating combined capital levels are high contributors to positive outcomes. The highest contributor to positive outcomes is objectified cultural capital; the lowest is embodied economic capital. Objectified social capital is not present as a factor contributing to positive outcomes for Youthworx.

In relation to Youthworx's volume of capital, there is a relatively even distribution of capital along the average line. There is balance between low and high levels of capital, with the low level capitals being economic, whilst cultural and social are in the upper half of the diagram. It appears that cultural and social capital are strongly leveraged, potentially offsetting the challenging financial situation which has enabled the organisation to continue delivering positive outcomes for participants despite challenges associated with capacity and growth.

HEAT has a broader variation across a larger interquartile range of 7, indicating greater dispersion. The data is spread across the lower end of the range and the median is 6. The highest contributing factor to positive outcome delivery is embodied social capital. Embodied economic capital is the least effective capital, as with Youthworx. The lower end of the data range is dominated by objectified capital of all forms and economic capital. This reflects the dire financial situation the organisation was facing during 2013–14. Consequently, the highest contributor to positive outcomes is social capital in its embodied and institutionalised form, suggesting that relationships and networks were delivering the bulk of positive outcomes, and ultimately were the reason the organisation was able to stay the course. Cultural capital in its institutionalised and embodied form takes a middling position, indicating

that social capital supported by cultural capital drove outcome delivery. For Youthworx, the data suggests a more balanced relationship between cultural and social capital.

In terms of volume or level of capital, HEAT's data has been placed in the lower half of the diagram. To stress again, these are relational diagrams and the relative position of HEAT to STREAT and Youthworx was a significant determinant in placement of capitals. However, HEAT's financial and organisational context during the study reinforces the decision to represent the capital levels as low. On a positive note, the capital distribution is entirely altered by the merger with MCM, and the organisation has successfully progressed its reinvention strategy.

The box and whisker plots for the positive capital maps highlight a large difference between STREAT and the other two organisations. STREAT is the only one with an outlier and this has skewed the presentation of the graph, but has reinforced the inferences gleaned from the simple capital analysis and capital maps. The data point represented by the score of 27 is embodied cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital had delivered the highest scores in both positive and challenging capital matrices.

Using the box and whisker plots demonstrated the degree to which STREAT's level of embodied cultural capital is contributing to the delivery of positive outcomes. Conversely, as will be covered below, challenges associated with embodied cultural capital levels have the highest overall score. The actual range of data for STREAT is the highest, at 26. However, with the outlier excluded from the dataset, their data is highly concentrated with an interquartile range of 4, and a median of 4. The organisation's strength in embodied cultural capital appears to result in less pressure or dependence on other forms of capital.

However, it is vital to note that the embodied *social* capital of STREAT has very likely played a significant role in the accrual of embodied cultural capital, with the two factors comprising their embodied social capital relating to the strong relationship with their philanthropist and business mentor. The lowest contributor to outcomes is their objectified social capital. Lastly, objectified capital in all its forms are the lowest contributor to outcomes, which correlates with their explicit strategy of making do with little physical resources in order to build the strength of the organisation in terms of personnel and rigour. One important point to note, however, is the objectified capital in all three forms represented by Cromwell Street. While the move occurred outside the micro level data collection, it had an enormous effect on the ability for STREAT to

deliver positive outcomes. The high volume attributed to the majority of STREAT's factors demonstrates their overall capital levels are high.

General observations of positive capital maps

- Consistently, embodied social capital is a significant contributor to the delivery of positive outcomes.
- Where embodied cultural capital is high, economic capital is high. Where it is middling, economic capital tends to be low.
- Embodied social and cultural capital are consistently located in close proximity, suggesting a strong relationship between these factors.
- Where embodied economic capital is low, embodied social capital is a high contributor to the delivery of positive outcomes.
- HEAT and Youthworx demonstrate a pattern of embodied economic capital being a low level contributor to positive outcomes with high-level embodied social capital being a significant contributor to positive outcomes.
- Objectified social capital (e.g. brand) is a low level contributor to the delivery of positive outcomes.
- In the hospitality industry, objectified cultural capital is not a significant contributor to outcomes. In the creative medial industry it contributes most significantly to positive outcomes.
- In the hospitality industry, objectified capital of all forms is of low contribution to positive outcomes.
- Institutionalised capital of all forms is centrally clustered.
- The organisations all display similar levels of institutionalised cultural capital, demonstrating the emphasis on strong relationships with RTOs.

Challenges capital maps inferences

The box and whisker plots show a wide distribution of capital in both Youthworx (interquartile range 11) and HEAT (interquartile range 11.5). HEAT displays the widest range of data (28). The factors responsible for HEAT's broad dispersal are challenges associated with embodied cultural capital, which appeared 30 times in the data. This was by far the highest scoring challenge amongst the organisations, with the next closest factor being Youthworx's challenges with institutionalised cultural capital and objectified economic capital (each appearing 17 times).

Conversely, STREAT displays a concentrated data set with an interquartile range of 3 and a range of 8. Further, STREAT also does not appear to have challenges

associated with objectified or embodied social capital (population 7). The greatest challenge for delivering positive outcomes was objectified economic capital. This also reinforces their low reliance on objectified economic capital in the delivery of outcomes, but does not imply a lack of success in raising capital in order to increase objectified economic capital. Rather, it is reflective of the program demand and the challenges with meeting that demand. As they strive for growth via inter- and intra-field expansion strategies, the challenges associated with securing large volumes of capital to make further investments in their objectified economic capital (e.g. another business in the scale of Cromwell Street) is pressing.

HEAT's data indicates that objectified cultural capital does not present a challenge to the delivery of outcomes, nor does objectified or embodied social capital (population 6). The main challenge for HEAT is embodied cultural capital, which represents the skills and managerial experience to run an effective for-profit business, and also reflects the challenges associated with SKYS management structures and systems (in which HEAT is embedded) and the disruption that mergers place upon staff. The positive consequences of the merger are reflected in the PCMp and PID, however churn in organisational structure pre- and post-merger made holding a steady program environment challenging. Furthermore, after the lead factor of embodied cultural capital, the most pressing concern for the organisation was all three forms of economic capital, accurately reflecting the challenging financial position they navigated. Interestingly the absence of embodied and objectified *social* capital in their CCMp reinforces the assertion that social capital was used skilfully to keep the organisation afloat during the defunded period and did not represent a challenge.

Youthworx's data displays a broader range of variation with the largest interquartile range to range ratio of 11:16. This indicates that the spread of data across the range displayed more variation than that of HEAT (interquartile range to range ratio 11.5:28). Additionally, all forms of capital provide challenges for Youthworx. The least challenging are associated with objectified cultural and social capital. Institutionalised cultural capital and objectified economic capital present the greatest barrier.

The median in Youthworx's dataset is embodied cultural capital at 6. All economic challenges and institutionalised cultural capital are located above the median. The problems posed by the institutionalised cultural capital affected all of the organisations, however they were most apparent in Youthworx's data. These challenges are primarily due to institutional, policy and legislative effects on the

education field, and the consequences for the delivery of curriculum and access for young people.

All forms of economic capital reflect the challenging position of the organisation. Aspiring for growth when not funded beyond program delivery places pressure on the business arm. The low likelihood of private capital funding from lending institutions means any growth in income and ability to invest in more competitive equipment or premises able to cater to that expansion all rests upon the social enterprise business. The growth strategy of inter-field expansion into the content production aspect of creative media requires formidable levels of cultural and social capital – with particular emphasis on business acumen when dealing with larger scale commercial enterprises in contractual partnership arrangements. Furthermore, the challenges associated with executing and governing funding agreements with the Department of Health and Human Services, plus delivering onsite VET curricula, results in organisational strain. This is well reflected in the data.

The level of capitals varies quite considerably between the organisations (note again that these levels are subjectively determined as part of the analysis process). Youthworx has an even distribution throughout the graph; however, both cultural and economic capital variants occupy the lower position, which effects delivery of outcomes. Social capital variants dominate the higher level positions. The organisation appears to use the social capital accessible through their clients and industry exposure to good effect in terms of maximising the use of their networks and available resources. They are also active within the social service and youth service arenas, applying for grants and small philanthropic boosts as they arise. Youthworx also use objectified cultural capital skilfully to engage the participants in education.

STREAT's capital levels are distributed throughout the upper half of the graph. The organisation has strategically pursued all forms of capital acquisition and has been successful. The lower level capital is objectified cultural capital, being the artefacts of cultural capital. This placement was to reflect the statements around the low resourcing of the programs during their consolidation and growth periods and their prioritisation on building the organisation over objectified cultural capital resource acquisition. With the expansion to Cromwell Street, this placement would be higher, but this reflects the status quo at the time of micro data collection.

Overall, low capital levels have been a challenge for HEAT. The central placement of institutional cultural capital reflects the long-standing and positive relationship that has been built with William Angliss, the RTO. However, institutionalised social

capital, all forms of economic capital and cultural capital levels were considered to be very low at the time of micro data collection. Low-level placement of institutionalised social capital reflects the withdrawal of government funding and impact of local government change on their program support levels. This reflects the situation of the organisation pre-merger, which would change the capital distribution.

General observations of challenges capital maps

- Where embodied cultural capital levels are low, economic capital levels of all forms are low.
- Objectified cultural capital (e.g. technological equipment) presents either low to no challenge on the programs, with the exception of Youthworx, which reflects the high-tech nature of their industry.
- The low presence of embodied and objectified social capital factors on HEAT and STREAT CMps suggests these types of social capital are not challenging the delivery of outcomes directly; however, the institutionalised social capital (institutionalised relationships with formal organisations providing access to resources) present challenges in all organisations cases.
- Insufficient objectified and institutionalised economic capital is a significant challenge faced by all organisations in the delivery of outcomes, despite the scale of their operations.

Appendix 5: New social capital model

Social capital and the four identified themes

Phenomenological reduction in the data analysis produced consistently four themes: environment, resources, networks and self. The researcher applied these results to Foley and Edwards' model to results to derive a picture of the etic significance. Figure A5.1 is a representation of the researcher's *adaptation* of Foley and Edwards' model of social capital.
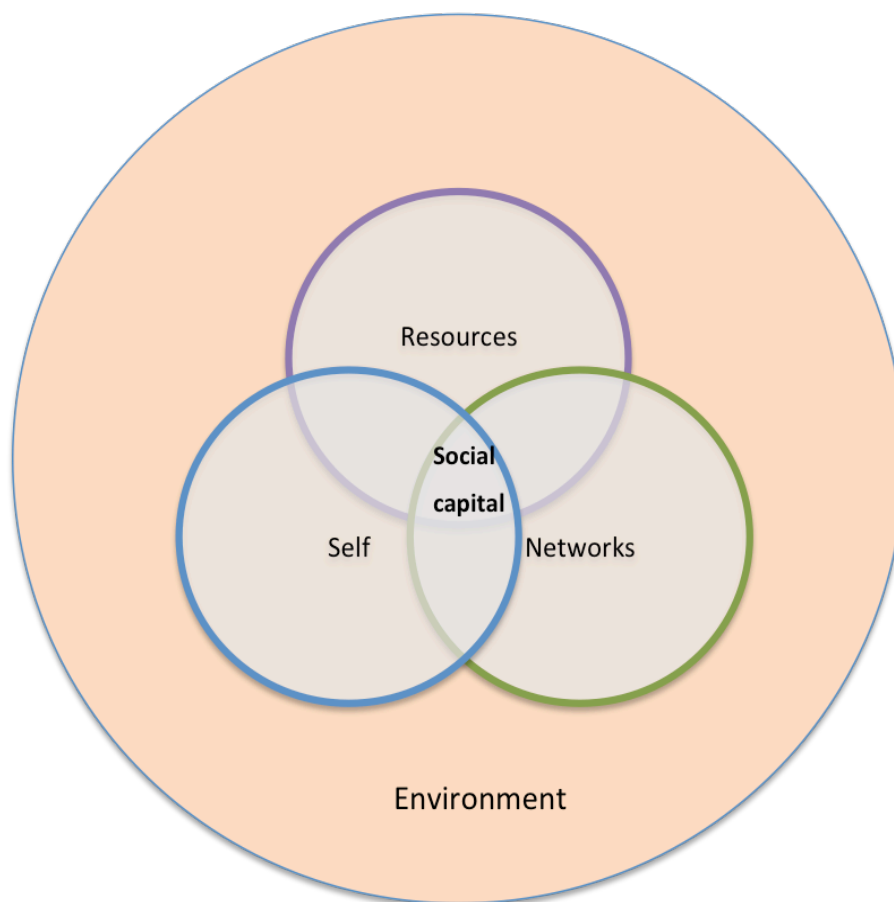
Figure A5.1: Social capital model derived from thematic analysis

(Adapted from Foley and Edwards 1999; Figure 16 was first shown on p. 134)

What follows is a presentation of the original model developed from the thematic cross-case analysis of the three social enterprise sites. This model elaborates four states an individual occupies when one of the four elements in the social capital framework is absent or problematised. Beginning with the theme of environment, the model is illustrated using the case-study data from the micro level data collection and applied to the theory.

Environmental instability

The state of environmental instability occurs when the personal and social context of a young person is so disrupted as to prevent them from being able to accrue success within the educational field. In this state, social capital is unable to be increased, as the young person is experiencing turbulence in essential foundations.
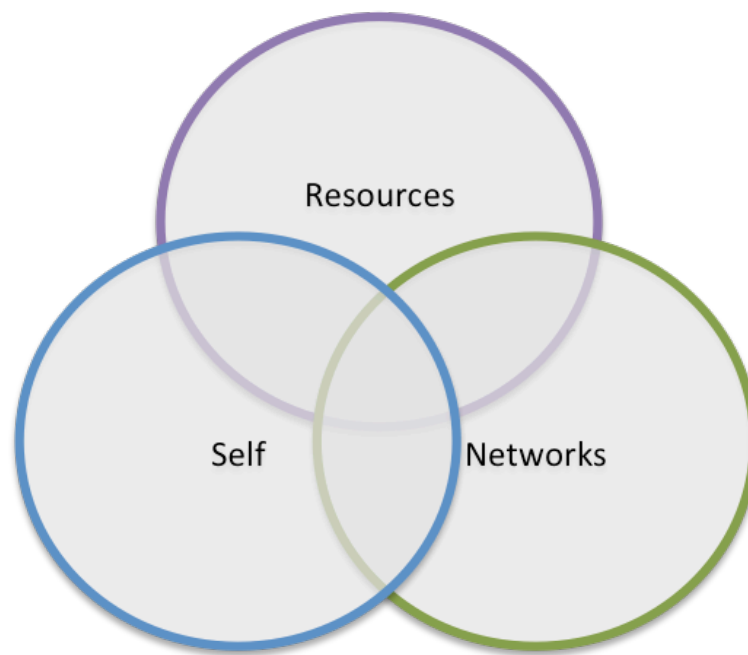
Figure A5.2: Environmental instability

In this state, the young person may have access to resources, networks and the personal agency and motivation to make progress in their endeavours. However, the lack of stability in their essential life foundations means they are unable to sustain focus. Due to these challenges, they are unable to focus on leveraging their capitals to maximise their position. In Figure A5.2, the elements of environment and social capital are absent.

Throughout the study, very few young people consistently reported a satisfactory and positive environmental context in their personal lives. Those who did appeared to have positive family relations or were actively utilising social services to provide their personal support needs. All other participants were facing difficulties in their personal environments. All participants came to the program from a negative educational experience in mainstream schooling. The environment provided by the program was seen as a place where the young people felt safe and accepted, where they had a level playing field and enjoyed being present.

Education, and the resulting qualification, is a form of capital – cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). Success (or lack thereof) in education has lasting and critical effects on young people's lives. Mainstream institutions providing cultural capital are not places where all young people are able to flourish, and all participants had either disengaged from that environment by non-attendance, or were encouraged to seek other avenues due to poor behaviour and results. Viewed from a conventional perspective, inability to participate in the mainstream schooling environment could be argued to be a failure or deficiency of an individual in terms of their willingness to invest in their own future, and this would be the analysis from a human capital lens (Becker 1964; Bourdieu 1986).

However, human capital, which is a companion theory to neoliberal ideology (Brian 2007; Foley & Edwards 1999; PutnamR 1993) fails to relate a young person's choices regarding scholastic investment back to the range of *available* education strategies and importantly to the macro structures of cultural reproduction (in which education is imbedded) (Bourdieu 1986, p. 242). Each individual encounters the educational system with different levels of inherent resources, which they are able to convert into successes (or accrue as failures) inside the system. These are not simply material resources. What the human capital perspective fails to demonstrate is that the education system in itself reproduces social inequalities. It does this by rewarding the 'hereditary transmission of cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 242). In this way it plays a significant role in maintenance of social inequalities, as profits from investment in the scholastic field depend on investment in cultural capital from the family.

Young people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are at a significant disadvantage when compared to their peers from middle- and upper-class backgrounds (Nilan, Julian & Germov 2007). The long process of inculcation in dominant class culture begins at birth and when they reach the education system, the

vast majority of high achievers come from more privileged class backgrounds (Barry 2005).

> Youths who have experienced poor or interrupted education find it significantly more difficult than higher achievers to find employment or achieve upward mobility, with Nilan et al. (2007) showing that young people, particularly those of lower socioeconomic standing who neglect their studies and leave school early, are destined for a life of unemployment, disadvantage and low wages. (Billett 2011, p. 73)

The SE program environment appears to go some way to compensating for a lack of family-derived cultural and social capital and the chaotic nature of the personal circumstances for some research participants. The original lack of capital is related to separation from the family and a lack of access to whatever family resources were available, a low level of cultural and social capital in the family due to their position in the social structure, or familial dysfunction. The data suggests that lack of engagement in educational environments is overcome by a combination of program content being appealing, the practical nature of the education delivery, and the level playing field that the program environment provides. This environment facilitated the successful accrual of cultural capital in the form of qualifications for all research participants. Furthermore, the young people remained engaged with education beyond initial levels and elected to continue to higher levels of certification. It is important to note that this does not automatically equal an increase in *social* capital.

Based on the data, it is possible to conclude the majority of participants would not have been in a social or structural position to have access to such high degrees of support and varied experiences had they not been placed in an education program of this nature. The alternatives offered to participants were to enter the VET sector via more traditional education delivery streams. Indeed, one participant left the SE program to continue a more targeted education course at a much larger institution and returned to the program environment due to a recognition of a personal need for a higher degree of support (see Wonky Goldfish above).

The results above confirm the efficacy of Foley and Edwards' approach to social capital and the derived hypothesis above. Whilst there was an across the board increase in cultural capital, there were varying degrees of increases in social capital illustrated by the data. It appears it is not sufficient for the environment at the program, organisational or macro structural level to contain the *possibility* of increases in social capital at the individual level. If a young person is experiencing

high degrees of dysfunction in their personal context, social capital does not appear to increase. Thus, the three elements on their own – resources, access and self – are insufficient to see an increase in actual levels of social capital. There must be a degree of personal environmental stability that program participation cannot guarantee.

Leverage isolation

In this state, an individual or collective has resources available to them, is aware of those resources and has the agency, capability or preparedness to use those resources. Opportunity, access, or network is inaccessible.
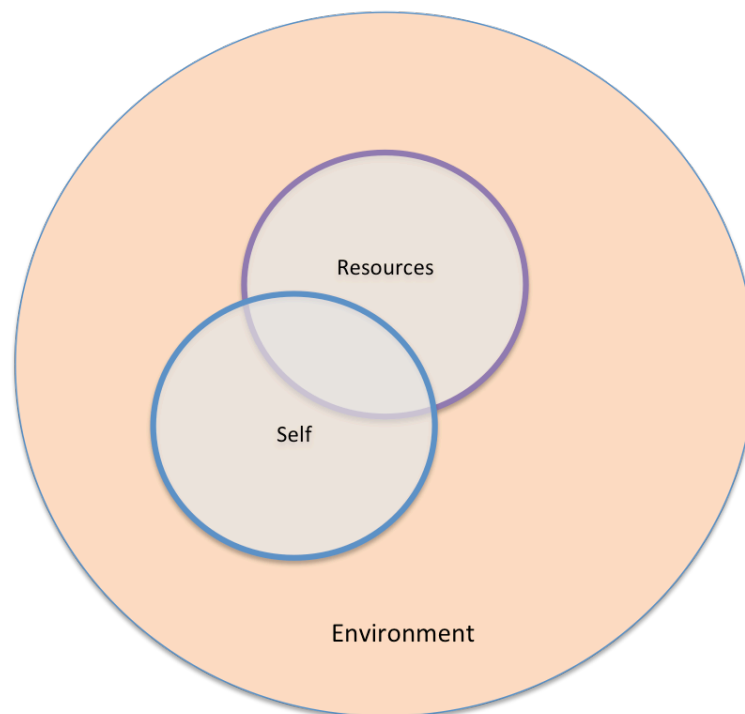
Figure A5.3: The state of leverage isolation

The second of three states where social capital is unable to be increased, used or is not present, is hypothesised as the state of *leverage isolation* (Figure A5.3). In this case, an individual is disconnected from networks. The initial interviews presented a picture of the participants' lives as being disconnected from networks. Many of the participants did not have a strong and stable friendship network, and a common theme in discussions was not having social support and support from families.

The participants recognised the value of adult supportive figures and the lack of such influences in their lives (Flouri & Buchanan 2002). This awareness on behalf of the participants supports the claim that having access to 'just one steadily employed adult to an adolescent's circle of significant ties has dramatic effects on perceived access to such leverage' (de Souza Briggs 1998, p. 177). The data can be seen as providing an indication that participants were aware of their low levels of social capital at the start of the program and were in the state of leverage isolation.

Upon completion of their first certification, the relationship between networks and personal satisfaction was evident. A number of participants were seeking work experience opportunities through the program, and were taking a more structured and mature approach to jobseeking using external organisations to assist them. There were a small number of participants that were active in expanding their networks, both with organisations and people. Those who were not as proactive in this regard reported positive personal experiences related to expansion of their connections intra-program.

In the final interview, the research participants' discussions can be argued to be direct evidence of some participants no longer being in leverage isolation. Participants spoke with pride about 'doing something' in their courses and achieving their education credentials in that environment. While this was an increase in social connectedness, it still does not amount to an increase in social capital.

The core of Bourdieu's theory on social capital is relationships. All of the participants had increased their number of connections. These connections in terms of social capital can be more or less institutionalised and may develop into networks that are maintained by material and/or symbolic exchanges. What membership to these groups provides is access to 'collectively owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 245).

In terms of how social capital functions on an individual level, the measure of how much of this capital an individual has is the size of a person's network of connections and how effective they are at mobilising those connections (Bourdieu 1986). This mobilisation is related to the volume of capital (all three forms) held by individuals to whom a person is connected. Social capital is not reducible to volumes of cultural and economic capital within a person's network or held by the individual, as social capital functions in the realm of symbolic and material exchange (Bourdieu 1986). Levels of cultural and economic capital of the connections in an individual's network are inextricably linked to the amount of social capital that individual can be said to

possess. Material and symbolic exchanges of social capital cannot be quantified in that way.

The participants' experience of belonging in the program and their extension of connections was evident. At T3, a number of participants demonstrated an increased ability to seek out new networks, identify resources contained within those networks, and showed an increase in sophistication in the way they used networks to progress their own aspirations. The positive increases in self-regard of those who had actively expanded their networks speaks to the importance of actualising social capital for individuals, in longer term life outcomes, and day-to-day experiences of wellbeing.

Bourdieu explicitly describes the functioning of networks (a network of connections or relationships) and states the existence of networks is not a given – in that they are not a 'natural' phenomenon, nor even a 'social given' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 253). Individuals purposefully create networks, and creation relies on the processes of *instituting*. Simply having connections with other individuals does not constitute a network of connections that produces social capital (and attendant forms of profit):

> in other words, the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e. at transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighbourhood, the work-place or even kinship, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights). (Bourdieu 1986, p. 253).

Within the participant group, a small number were attuned to the operation of social capital, and were determined to use opportunities presented in the course to expand their own stocks. They engaged with other institutions and organisations, and purposefully sought out new connections and networks. They selected networks that provided a high yield of social capital, combined with the opportunity to increase their levels of cultural capital via skill development, training and work experience. They were cautious about their investment strategies, deliberately seeking connections with people who were equally ambitious or focused and demonstrated a desire for upward social mobility.

Bourdieu states it is:

> … exchange [that] transforms the things exchanged into signs of recognition, and through the mutual recognition and recognition of group membership which it implies, re-produces the group. (Bourdieu 1986, p. 253)

This exchange and reproduction also reproduces the *limits* of the group. Each group member is supposed to be a protector of the boundaries of a group, because each time a new person enters a group, they are capable of modifying the limits of legitimacy in membership. The data at T3 indicated that the exclusionary capacity of networks was affecting some of their lives.

There was also an increased awareness in individual participants' involvement or membership of groups having negative effects on their own lives. These negative effects were engendered by the network position in the social structure, the focus and purpose of the groups and perceptions of members not really 'going anywhere' or being developmentally inappropriate. This awareness demonstrates an increase in maturity, and it also demonstrates an increased awareness of the functioning of social capital amongst a few participants.

The reproduction of social capital requires a sociability and participation in a continuous series of exchanges so that an individual can be affirmed and the network reaffirmed. What is crucial here is that this represents an investment, either directly or indirectly, of economic capital via the expenditure of time and energy (Bourdieu 1986, p. 254). The young people discussed above who demonstrated a high engagement in broadening their networks were investing in their social capital development. It is not simply the investment of time and energy, it is the devotion to the development of real connections, and the competence and skill of using them.

The young people in the SEs experienced in increase in network access by virtue of being participants in the program. The degree to which those networks were used is a potential explanatory factor for the differential outcomes related to social capital. Participation in the program itself moved these young people from being in leverage isolation, but there were varying degrees of investment from participants in the development of further networks and skills or readiness to use them.

What this suggests is the influence of habitus. From early childhood the investment in capital of all forms begins with the family. Social capital is an acquired skill and the ready uptake of opportunities to develop and extend social networks through the program, particularly by those who expanded their networks into productive networks that were resource laden (Bourdieu 1986) rather than simple friendships, were seen

as more strategic in their discussion of their experiences. It suggests that the young people who are already endowed with a degree of social capital in their habitus (whether familial or externally derived) were able to recognise the opportunity and were in the psychological and personal position to exploit it within that context due to greater degrees of support being present in their lives.

Resource inaccessibility

In this state, the individual is connected to networks. The agency, capability or motivation to acquire resources is present. Resources are either unavailable to the network or individual, the resource is of poor quality, or the individual is unaware that the resources exist.
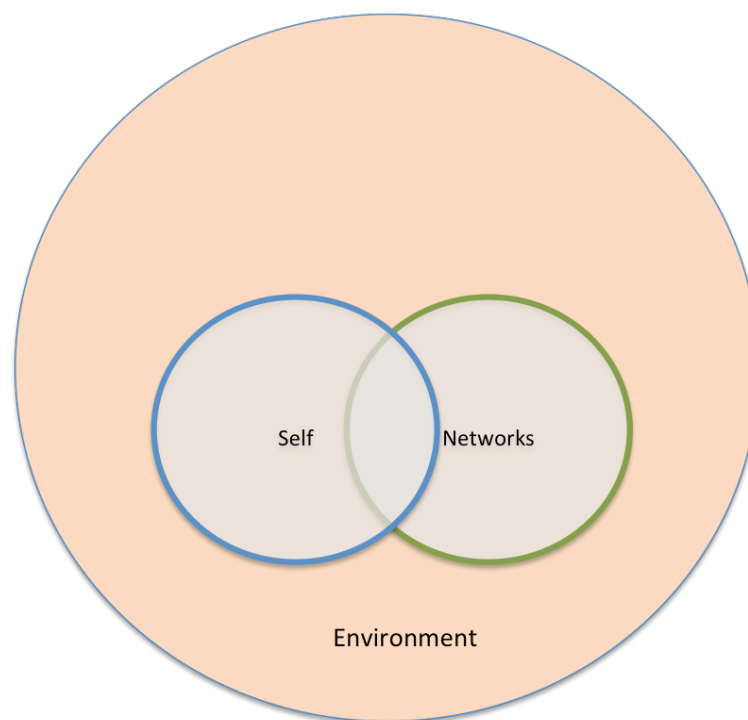
Figure A5.4: The state of resource inaccessibility

The program environments provided by the SEs are rich with resources for young people to access. The data strongly suggests all SEs are an effective broker for resources and go to significant lengths to bring a variety of resources into the environment. In terms of quality of resource, no data has been collected, and no preliminary conclusions can be drawn.

The research suggests there is diversity in some of the young people's awareness that resources exist in their environment. Understanding that resources are available for use is a *learned* recognition. This presupposes 'an acquired disposition to acquire and maintain this competence' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 254). In other words, individuals are taught to recognise capital in all its forms (an acquired ability). They are taught the importance of social capital and develop skills in acquiring more. Further, individuals learn how to invest time and energy in exploiting or maximising what they have already acquired. Once again, the effect of the habitus of an individual is paramount here. Social capital has a direct influence in the structure and distribution of all capital, and therefore in the perpetuation of the unequal distribution of capital (Bourdieu 1986).

There were many young people who were active in seeking and exploiting resources available in the program environment. This behaviour was continued in their interactions with programs beyond the SE. These participants exhibited a high degree of resource awareness, and invested time and energy in using these resources to the best of their abilities. This use of resources was evident in obtaining work experience, pursuing resources to enable a more structured approach to jobseeking, getting into new programs, gaining social service support, new creative projects, volunteering and radio activities. These young people appear to have adopted the neoliberal entrepreneurial subject identity successfully.

There were a small minority of young people who had not developed the same degree of heightened awareness of resources and the impetus to access and exploit them. These young people spoke of the gains from the program in terms of the extension of their interpersonal networks and, for some, their first experiences of peer friendships. Others saw their gains in their ability to accrue educational successes for the first time. For these young people, their focus was characterised as personal development rather than strategically navigating the employment and education systems.

Overall, program participation dramatically increased the volume of resources that the young people had access to. Whilst the level of strategic use and accumulation of those resources was different for each individual, as were their needs, the SEET participation gave all the young people the ability to access resources in a concentration not matched previously in their lives. The SEETs role as broker for educational and personal resources for these young people cannot be underestimated.

Un-mobilised social capital

The final state in the social capital framework is un-mobilised social capital. In this state, resources are present and are accessible via networks. Individual agency or ability to use the social capital available at that given point in time is not present.
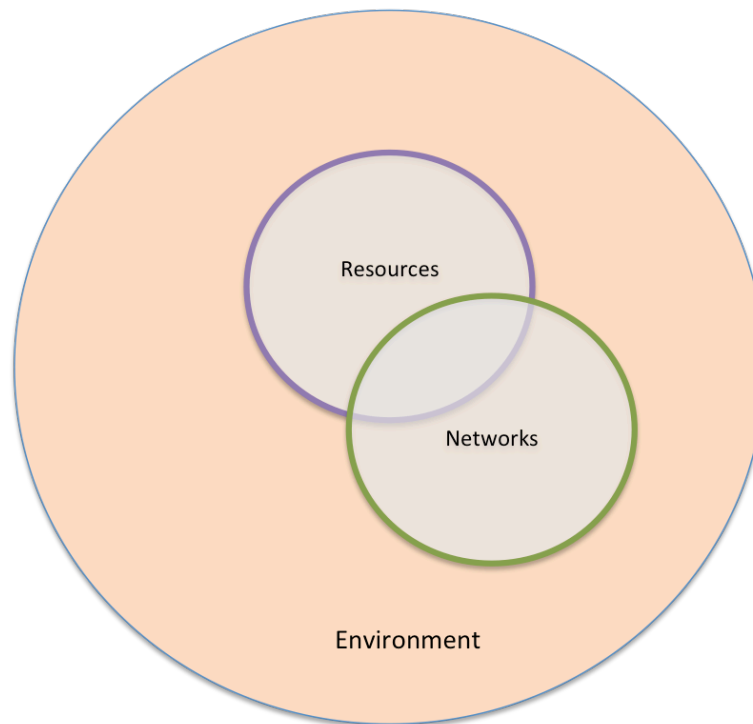
Figure A5.5: The state of un-mobilised social capital

The theme of self was an area that powerfully illustrated the outcomes participants had gained by participating in SE education. In this theme, a number of participants demonstrated a strong degree of awareness of social capital (and other forms of capital – particularly cultural) in relationship to themselves. In their initial interview, self-reflexive commentary displayed an understanding of social stratification, and that in order to transcend their position or gain upward mobility, they needed to acquire capital in its various forms. The forms they identified were education credentials, experience and references for jobseeking, housing, connections and skills.

There was a wide range of self-perception exhibited in the group. This trend continued over the course of the longitudinal study. There was also a degree of change experienced in self-perception for a number of people. Many participants experienced strong increases in self-satisfaction, confidence, and motivation.

Furthermore, despite significant challenges presenting in their lives, they demonstrated a continued commitment to self-development and social capital acquisition and use as evidenced by attitudes three months post course completion. Participation in SE education, its networks and resources were directly cited as the reason many participants were able to cope with their personal problems.

Despite this, a number of the participants could be argued to be in the state of un-mobilised social capital. This state is a critical difference in the normative formulation of social capital. What this element of the framework acknowledges is an individual can be in a position where they are connected via networks to available resources, and are aware that they are in that position. Despite having the necessary positioning to use and/or increase their social capital, they do not use their agency for this purpose at this time. They were connected into the networks making the resources accessible and were aware that they were present. They chose not to invest in using their available social capital at that time.

What is significant in these cases is the context for these participants. Young people who were experiencing mental health issues associated with anxiety, social phobia and depression to a high degree were often in this category. Their struggle with mental health issues posed significant problems for them in mainstream education and continued to affect performance in the SE programs. However, many acknowledged the program environment was supportive and accepting of the challenges being faced, and felt that staff were working intensively with them to ensure that these issues did not inhibit gaining qualifications from the program. Thus, these young people continued to accrue further cultural capital, but not social capital.

Another source of distress for a number of young people who were not actively increasing their social capital was the challenges associated with housing and their overall environments. The young people who exhibited the most struggles with exploiting their newly acquired resources, knowledge and connections were the ones with the most dangerous or unstable housing situations.

Others had begun coming into contact with the criminal justice system pre-program commencement. The behavioural tendencies continued through the program for a small number of participants. However, they were starting to implement strategies to avoid interacting with networks of young people with which the behavioural problems were expressed. Additionally, a number of these young people had begun to reach out to the networks available to handle the complexity in their personal environments.

It appears that the variable of individual agency has a significant impact on whether a person is able to use available social capital. The challenges faced by the young people who were in the state of un-mobilised social capital can be argued to be barriers to effective utilisation of social capital. This supports Foley and Edwards' position in that we cannot:

> implicitly presume that every individual or collective actor utilizes all their social capital all the time. Rather, one can be said to have social capital if one has access to specific resources, yet one can have social capital and not use it at a particular time for a variety of reasons, or not use it well. This allows a clear distinction to be made between the possession of social capital and the use of social capital; in short, agency is problematized as a variable influenced by a range of factors, rather than implicitly presumed to be constant. (Foley & Edwards 1999, p. 168)

Resolution of the personal issues effecting the lives of the participants can be argued to be a necessary first step, before they are in a position to focus their time, energy and investment strategies on the development and accrual of social capital.

Appendix 6: Project documentation

Appendix 6A: Interview questions

Interview 1: Commencement

1. What are your current living arrangements?
2. Tell me about your neighbourhood
3. What was the last school you attended? Why did you leave?
4. What were you doing before you enrolled at [program name]?
5. What attracted you to this program?
6. How do you think you will get on in this program?
7. What other organisations do you engage with? (e.g. youth organisations, volunteering, recreational programs)
8. Can you tell me a bit about your friends
9. What do you do on weekends?
10. Who do you go to when you need a hand?
11. Can you tell me about an important adult in your life?
12. What sort of job would you like to have in the future?

Interview 2: Completion

1. Has there been any change in your living arrangements since our last discussion?
2. How did you find the program?
3. What are you going to do next?
4. What was the most challenging aspect of the program for you?
5. What was the best?
6. Can you tell me about any new relationships you've formed through the course?
7. Can you tell me about how you see this program's impact on your future?
8. What have you been up to personally in the last [insert course timeframe]?
9. Are your friendship groups still the same?

Interview 3: Three months post completion

1. Has there been any change in your living arrangements since our last discussion?
2. What significant things have changed since we last met?
3. What are your plans at this point?
4. Are you still using skills you learnt from [insert program]?
5. What services/organisations are you in touch with at the moment?
6. Can you tell me about any new relationships you've formed?
7. Can you tell me about how you see this program's impact on your confidence?
8. What have you been up to personally in the last three months?

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Appendix 6B: Flyers

Information for participants

You are enrolled to start [insert organisation name], which has been selected to participate in a research project being run by Victoria University as part of a PhD study. We would like to invite you to take part in this study.

We want to find out what you get out of doing the program and how it impacts your life. It is important to understand how the program is working for you and what bits aren't working so well.

There are two types of study being conducted. The first is an online survey. If you would like to participate you will do the survey once before you start your training, and once after you have completed your training. This survey asks you questions about yourself. It asks about what you think of education, what happens in your community, your personal life, things that you do in your own time and with your friends. **This survey will be anonymous.**

The second study will be smaller. It involves a few people from your group being interviewed 3 times. These interviews will happen before you start your program, just after you finish your program and the last

interview will be three months after you finish. These interviews will be recorded and the conversation will be written down later. **You will get to choose an alternative name so that your privacy is respected.**

You do not have to participate in this program. It is completely voluntary. If you choose to participate, you can stop at any time and the information you give will be kept confidential.

It would be great to have the chance to work with you.

Thanks for your time,

Madeleine Lawler
(PhD Student)
Associate Professor Robyn Broadbent
(Chief Investigator)

You can contact the researchers by calling A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent on 9919 4861. If you have any complaints or problems with the way you are treated, you can contact the Secretary, University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428 MCMC, Melbourne, 8001 or call 9919 4710.

If you would like to talk to someone about anything raised in the research, you can call VU Psychologist, Gerard Kennedy on 9919 2481.

Do you have any questions?

419

Information for staff members in organisations

Victoria University is undertaking research on Social Enterprise organisations that are delivery vocational education and training programs to marginalised young people who are not in employment, education or training (NEET). This is as part of a PhD Study.

This study aims to evaluate the outcomes that are being achieved by three social enterprise education programs for their participants. It is also researching variations in service delivery models of social enterprise, to develop an understanding of impact on outcomes.

As staff member, you are being invited to participate in this study. This will involve you providing us with information relating to your involvement in the sector, the organisation, or your experience.

This information will be gathered via various methods such as email correspondence, meetings, telephone conversations and interviews. Formal interviews will be audio taped for future reference with pertinent sections transcribed.

Your involvement in this project will be entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time.

The information you give us will be confidential and your name will not be used in any of the reports. We would greatly appreciate the opportunity to work with you and incorporate your expertise into this project. It is important to understand the outcomes being achieved by your program, the effectiveness of using social enterprise to work with disadvantaged young people, and as a result give young people greater opportunities for success in the future.

Thanks for your time,

Madeleine Lawler
(PhD Student)
Associate Professor Robyn Broadbent
(Chief Investigator)

You can contact the researchers by calling A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent on +613 9919 4861. If you have any complaints or problems with the way you are treated, you can contact the Secretary, University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428 MCMC, Melbourne, VIC 8001, Australia or call +613 9919 4710.

Do you have any questions?

420

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY | A NEW SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

Information for industry, stakeholders and advisors

Victoria University as part of a PhD study, is undertaking research on Social Enterprise organisations that are delivering vocational education and training programs to marginalised young people who are not in employment, education or training (NEET).

This study aims to evaluate the outcomes that are being achieved by three social enterprise education programs for their participants. It is also researching the variations in service delivery models using social enterprise to develop an understanding of impact on outcomes.

As an industry expert, stakeholder or advisor, you are being invited to participate in this study. This will involve you providing us with information relating to your involvement in the sector, the organisation, or your experience.

This information will be gathered via various methods such as email correspondence, meetings, telephone conversations and interviews. Formal interviews will be audio taped for future reference.

Your involvement in this project will be entirely voluntary. You can withdraw at any stage.

The information you give us will be confidential and your name will not be used in any of the reports. We would greatly appreciate the opportunity to work with you and incorporate your expertise into this project. It is important to understand what outcomes are being achieved by social enterprises that are working with disadvantaged young people to give them greater opportunities for success in the future.

Thanks for your time,

Madeleine Lawler
(PhD Student)
Associate Professor Robyn Broadbent
(Chief Investigator)

Do you have any questions?

You can contact the researchers by calling A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent on +613 9919 4861. If you have any complaints or problems with the way you are treated, you can contact the Secretary, University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428 MCMC, Melbourne, VIC 8001, Australia or call +613 9919 4710.

Information for organisations

Victoria University is undertaking research on Social Enterprise organisations that are delivery vocational education and training programs to marginalised young people who are not in employment, education or training (NEET).

This study aims to evaluate the outcomes that are being achieved by your social enterprise education program for participants. It is also researching the variations in service delivery models used by social enterprises in order to develop an understanding of impact on outcomes.

As a Social Enterprise organisation, you are being invited to participate in this study. This will involve you providing us with information relating to your organisation/program, assisting in the recruitment of participants, use of your facilities for the purposes of conducting the research, and the opportunity to involve your staff.

Information will be gathered via various methods such as email correspondence, meetings, telephone conversations, prior reports or funding agreements and interviews.

The involvement of your program participants will be via a survey administered online pre commencement and post completion undertaken anonymously. It will also involve interviews conducted pre-commencement, post completion and three months post completion.

Formal interviews will be audio taped for future reference. Research participants will be asked to select pseudonyms of their choice and anonymity will be maintained in all reports and publications.

Your organisation will be referred to by name, where necessary. You will be provided with copies of publications. Your organisation's involvement in this project will be entirely voluntary.

We would greatly appreciate the opportunity to work with your organisation to build an evidence base for outcomes being delivered by social enterprises. It is important to understand what outcomes are being achieved by your program's work with disadvantaged young people to give them greater opportunities for success in the future.

Thanks for your time,

Madeleine Lawler
(PhD Student)
Associate Professor Robyn Broadbent
(Chief Investigator)

Do you have any questions?

You can contact the researchers by calling A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent on +613 9919 4861. If you have any complaints or problems with the way you are treated, you can contact the Secretary, University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428 MCMC, Melbourne, VIC 8001, Australia or call +613 9919 4710.

Appendix 6C: Consent forms

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Certification by organisation

I, _____ (Name)

on behalf of _____ (Organisation)

give permission for the study entitled:

'Social enterprises delivering education and training to young people not in employment, education or training: what are the outcomes being achieved, and what is the impact of delivery models on outcomes?'

being conducted at Victoria University by:

Assoc. Professor Robyn Broadbent and Madeleine Lawler

to be conducted on the program entitled _____ (Program name).

I certify that the objectives of the study, together with any risks and safeguards associated with the procedures to be carried out in the research, have been fully explained to me by:

Assoc. Professor Robyn Broadbent and Madeleine Lawler

and that I freely consent to participation involving the organisation, including staff and stakeholders and the use of the organisation's facilities to conduct the research.
I have been informed that the information collected relating to people will be kept confidential, and realise that the Organisation may withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice. I have been informed that the interviews and the discussions may be tape recorded with information written down later.
I agree that the research data collected for the study maybe published or provided to other researchers on the condition that the participants' names are not used and cannot be identified in any other way. The Organisation's name will be used, and I have the right to sight any publication using the Organisation or Program name.

Name of Authorised Representative: …………………………………

Position Held: …………………………………

Signature:………………………………… Date: …..… / ……… / …...…

Witness other than the

Researcher: Date: ……… / ………. / ……….

………………………………………………………} (Name)

………………………………………………………} (Signature)

You can contact the researchers by calling A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent on +613 9919 4861. If you have any complaints or problems with the way you are treated, you can contact the Secretary, University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428 MCMC, Melbourne, 8001 or call +613 9919 4710.

Certification by participant (18+)

I, _____ (Name)

of _____ (Address)

certify that I am at least 18 years old, and I am voluntarily giving my consent to participate in the study entitled:

'Social enterprises delivering education and training to young people not in employment, education or training: what are the outcomes being achieved, and what is the impact of delivery models on outcomes?'

being conducted at Victoria University by:

Assoc. Professor Robyn Broadbent and Madeleine Lawler

I certify that the objectives of the study, together with any risks and safeguards associated with the procedures listed here to be carried out in the research, have been fully explained to me by:

Assoc. Professor Robyn Broadbent and Madeleine Lawler

and that I freely consent to participation involving the use on me of these procedures. I agree to the interviews audio taped.

Procedures:
☐ A survey that can be completed over the internet anonymously
☐ 3 Individual Interviews – 15–20 minutes duration

I certify that I have had the opportunity to have any questions answered and that I understand that I can withdraw from this study at any time and that this withdrawal will not jeopardise me in any way.

I have been informed that the information I provide will be kept confidential.

Signed: ……………………………………………………   Date___/___/___

You can contact the researchers by calling A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent on 9919 4861. If you have any complaints or problems with the way you are treated, you can contact the Secretary, University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428 MCMC, Melbourne, 8001 or call 9919 4710. If you would like to talk to someone about anything raised in the research, you can call VU Psychologist, Gerard Kennedy on 9919 2481.

Certification by participant (15+)

I, _____ (Name)

of _____ (Address)

certify that I am at least 15 years old, and voluntarily giving my consent to participate in the study entitled:

‘Social enterprises delivering education and training to young people not in employment, education or training: what are the outcomes being achieved, and what is the impact of delivery models on outcomes?’

being conducted at Victoria University by:

Assoc. Professor Robyn Broadbent and Madeleine Lawler

I certify that the objectives of the study, together with any risks and safeguards associated with the procedures listed here to be carried out in the research, have been fully explained to me by:

Assoc. Professor Robyn Broadbent and Madeleine Lawler

and that I freely consent to participation involving the use on me of these procedures. I agree to the interviews audio taped.

Procedures:
☐A survey that can be completed over the internet anonymously
☐3 Individual Interviews – 15–20 minutes duration

I certify that I have had the opportunity to have any questions answered and that I understand that I can withdraw from this study at any time and that this withdrawal will not jeopardise me in any way.

I have been informed that the information I provide will be kept confidential.

Signed: ………………………………………………………… Date___/___/___

You can contact the researchers by calling A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent on 9919 4861. If you have any complaints or problems with the way you are treated, you can contact the Secretary, University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428 MCMC, Melbourne, 8001 or call 9919 4710. If you would like to talk to someone about anything raised in the research, you can call VU Psychologist, Gerard Kennedy on 9919 2481.

Certification by staff

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY | A NEW SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

I, _____ (Name)

of _____ (Address)

certify that I am voluntarily giving my consent to participate in the study entitled:

'Social enterprises delivering education and training to young people not in employment, education or training: what are the outcomes being achieved, and what is the impact of delivery models on outcomes?'

being conducted at Victoria University by:

Assoc. Professor Robyn Broadbent and Madeleine Lawler

I certify that the objectives of the study, together with any risks and safeguards associated with the procedures listed hereunder to be carried out in the research, have been fully explained to me by:

Assoc. Professor Robyn Broadbent and Madeleine Lawler

and that I freely consent to participation involving the use on me of these procedures. I agree to the interviews audio taped.

Procedures:
- An interview running for 30–60 minutes

I certify that I have had the opportunity to have any questions answered and that I have been informed that the information I provide will be kept confidential.

Signed: ……………………………………………………} Date ___/___/___

You can contact the researchers by calling A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent on +613 9919 4861. If you have any complaints or problems with the way you are treated, you can contact the Secretary, University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428 MCMC, Melbourne, 8001 or call +613 9919 4710.

Certification by stakeholder, industry expert and advisors

I, _____ (Name)

of _____ (Address)

certify that I am voluntarily giving my consent to participate in the study entitled:

'Social enterprises delivering education and training to young people not in employment, education or training: what are the outcomes being achieved, and what is the impact of delivery models on outcomes?'

being conducted at Victoria University by:

Assoc. Professor Robyn Broadbent and Madeleine Lawler

I certify that the objectives of the study, together with any risks and safeguards associated with the procedures listed hereunder to be carried out in the research, have been fully explained to me by:

Assoc. Professor Robyn Broadbent and Madeleine Lawler

and that I freely consent to participation involving the use on me of these procedures. I agree to the interviews audio taped.

Procedures:
- An interview running for 30–60 minutes

I certify that I have had the opportunity to have any questions answered and that I have been informed that the information I provide will be kept confidential.

Signed: …………………………………………………………} Date ___/___/___

You can contact the researchers by calling A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent on +613 9919 4861. If you have any complaints or problems with the way you are treated, you can contact the Secretary, University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University, PO Box 14428 MCMC, Melbourne, 8001 or call +613 9919 4710.

Appendix 6D: Plain language project descriptions

INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

You are invited to participate

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled: 'Social enterprises delivering education and training for disengaged youth: a study of outcomes and delivery models'.

This project is being conducted by a student researcher Madeleine Lawler as part of a PhD study at Victoria University under the supervision of A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent from the College of Education.

Project explanation

This project is research on Social Enterprise organisations that are delivering vocational education and training programs to marginalised young people who are not in employment, education or training (NEET).

This study aims to identify the outcomes that are being achieved by three social enterprise education programs for their participants. It is also researching the variations in service delivery models using social enterprise to develop an understanding of impact on outcomes.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to complete an anonymous online survey at the beginning of your education program and again at the finish of your education program. You will be also asked if you are willing to be interviewed at the start of your program, at the end of your program and 3 months after your program. Each interview will go for approximately 15 – 20 minutes. At any time, should you wish to no longer participate, you can withdraw. Participating in this study is completely voluntary.

What will I gain from participating?

There is no formal payment or compensation provided to research participants.

How will the information I give be used?

This information will be analysed to gain an understanding of the levels of risk and protection in your life. As the survey is anonymous, no one will know what your individual responses to the questions are. The interview information will be analysed for themes.

This information will be used in the PhD thesis and other publications without revealing your identity.

What are the potential risks of participating in this project?

There are no significant risks in participating in this research project. It will be known that your organisation is participating in the research, but you will not be named in the research and the coding used to identify your particular responses will not be shared with the organisation. If you would like to talk to someone about anything raised in the research, you can call VU Psychologist, Gerard Kennedy on 9919 2481.

How will this project be conducted?

Madeleine Lawler will come to [insert program name and address] and set up a survey on the computers in the [insert organisation name]. You will be asked to complete the survey online during your normal hours of attendance.

If you agree to be interviewed, you will have a 15–20 minute discussion with Madeleine Lawler at [organisation name] which will be audio taped and transcribed following the interview. You will be asked to select a pseudonym of your choice to protect your identity.

Who is conducting the study?

Madeleine Lawler – Student Researcher
A/Prof Robyn Broadbent – Chief Investigator
Victoria University
Building PB Room103c
Victoria University
Footscray Park VIC 3011

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the Chief Investigator listed above.

If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

INFORMATION TO ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

You are invited to participate

Your organisation is being invited to participate in a research project entitled: 'Social enterprises delivering education and training for disengaged youth: a study of outcomes and delivery models'.

This project is being conducted by a student researcher Madeleine Lawler as part of a PhD study at Victoria University under the supervision of A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent from the College of Education.

Project explanation

This project is research on Social Enterprise organisations that are delivering vocational education and training programs to marginalised young people who are not in employment, education or training (NEET).

This study aims to identify the outcomes that are being achieved by three social enterprise education programs for their participants. It is also researching the variations in service delivery models using social enterprise to develop an understanding of impact on outcomes. It is an opportunity to document the outcomes that are being achieved by the social enterprise sector, for disengaged young people and could further enhance the support provided for this model.

What will I be asked to do?

Your program participants will be asked to complete an anonymous online survey at the beginning of their education program and again at the finish of the program. We will also be seeking 6–10 students to volunteer to participate in a longitudinal study. This involves identifying participants who are willing to be interviewed at the start of their program, at the end of their program and 3 months after the program. Each interview will go for approximately 15 – 20 minutes.

You will also be asked to provide information relating to the operation, establishment and continuation of your social enterprise program. This will be in the form of email correspondence, provision of secondary sources such as funding documentation, previous research reports, data on past program numbers, attendance and outputs, and interviews with staff of approximately 30–60 minutes.

In order to ensure that the participants are in a safe and comfortable environment when taking part in the study, the survey and interviews will be conducted on site at [insert organisation address]. This will require the use of computers and a room to hold the interviews privately.

At any time, should you wish to no longer your organisation to be involved, you can withdraw. Participating in this study is completely voluntary.

What will I gain from participating?

There is no formal payment or compensation provided to research participants. You will be provided with reports based on the data collected from your organisation. You will also be provided with copies of all publications that refer to the organisation.

How will the information I give be used?

This information will be analysed to gain an understanding of the levels of risk and protection in your life. As the survey is anonymous, no one will know what your individual responses to the questions are. The interview information will be analysed for themes.

This information will be used in the PhD thesis and other publications and given the small size of the social enterprise sector in Melbourne, your organisation will be directly referred to by name. You will be provided with a copy of each publication revealing the identity of the organisation.

What are the potential risks of participating in this project?

There are no significant risks to participants in this research project.

It will be known that your organisation is participating in the research. Where your organisation is mentioned, the researcher will refer to your program respectfully, constructively, and if any findings are less than positive they will be framed as areas for potential improvement.

How will this project be conducted?

Madeleine Lawler will attend at [insert program name and address]. She will set up a survey on the computers in the [insert organisation name]. The participants will be asked to complete the survey online during normal hours of attendance.

If they agree to be interviewed, they will have a 15–20 minute discussion with Madeleine Lawler at [organisation name] which will be audio taped and transcribed following the interview. They will be asked to select a pseudonym of their choice to protect their identity.

Who is conducting the study?

Madeleine Lawler – Student Researcher
A/Prof Robyn Broadbent – Chief Investigator
Victoria University
Building PB Room103c
Victoria University
Footscray Park VIC 3011

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the Chief Investigator listed above.

If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

INFORMATION TO ORGANISATIONS STAFF INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

You are invited to participate

Your organisation is being invited to participate in a research project entitled: 'Social enterprises delivering education and training for disengaged youth: a study of outcomes and delivery models'.

This project is being conducted by a student researcher Madeleine Lawler as part of a PhD study at Victoria University under the supervision of A/Prof. Robyn Broadbent from the College of Education.

Project explanation

This project is research on Social Enterprise organisations that are delivering vocational education and training programs to marginalised young people who are not in employment, education or training (NEET).

This study aims to identify the outcomes that are being achieved by three social enterprise education programs for their participants. It is also researching the variations in service delivery models using social enterprise to develop an understanding of impact on outcomes. It is an opportunity to document the outcomes that are being achieved by the social enterprise sector, for disengaged young people and could further enhance the support provided for this model.

What will I be asked to do?

Your program participants will be asked to complete an anonymous online survey at the beginning of their education program and again at the finish of the program. We will also be seeking 6–10 students to volunteer to participate in a longitudinal study. This involves identifying participants who are willing to be interviewed at the start of their program, at the end of their program and 3 months after the program. Each interview will go for approximately 15 – 20 minutes.

You will also be asked to provide information relating to the operation, establishment and continuation of your social enterprise program. This will be in the form of email correspondence, provision of secondary sources such as funding documentation, previous research reports, process documentation, data on past program numbers, attendance and outputs, and an interview of approximately 30–60 minutes.

At any time, should you wish to no longer your organisation to be involved, you can withdraw. Participating in this study is completely voluntary.

What will I gain from participating?

There is no formal payment or compensation provided to research participants.

How will the information I give be used?

This information will be analysed to gain an understanding of the levels of risk and protection in young people's lives. As the survey is anonymous, no one will know individual responses to the questions. The interview information will be analysed for themes.

This information provided by you and you organisations will be used in a process assessment evaluation, which will analyse variations in service delivery models and map these to outcome differences.

It will be used in the PhD thesis and other publications and given the small size of the social enterprise sector in Melbourne, your organisation will be directly referred to by name. You will be provided with a copy of each publication revealing the identity of the organisation.

What are the potential risks of participating in this project?

There are no significant risks to participants in this research project.

It will be known that your organisation is participating in the research. Where your organisation is mentioned, the researcher will refer to your program respectfully, constructively, and if any findings are less than positive they will be framed as areas for potential improvement.

How will this project be conducted?

Madeleine Lawler will attend at [insert program name and address]. She will set up a survey on the computers in the [insert organisation name]. The participants will be asked to complete the survey online during normal hours of attendance. If they agree to be interviewed, they will have a 15–20 minute discussion with Madeleine Lawler at [organisation name] which will be audio taped and transcribed following the interview. They will be asked to select a pseudonym of their choice to protect their identity.

Staff will be asked to participate in formal interviews of 30–60 minutes duration. Pertinent parts of the interviews will be transcribed.

Your name will never be mentioned in any publications and your privacy will be respected.

Who is conducting the study?

Madeleine Lawler – Student Researcher
A/Prof Robyn Broadbent – Chief Investigator
Victoria University
Building PB Room103c
Victoria University
Footscray Park VIC 3011

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the Chief Investigator listed above.

If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

Appendix 6E: Recruitment of participant procedures

1. Purpose

This document outlines the procedures for selecting and recruiting research participants for the study:

Social enterprises delivering education and training for disengaged youth: a study of outcomes and delivery models

This is to ensure that the study is conducted ethically and all research participants are adequately protected.

2. Informed consent procedures

Step 1: Researcher provided the plain language project descriptions, flyers and consent forms to the education program manager for staff members and program participants.

Step 2: Program managers and other staff provided the description, flyer and consent form to the young person after they have enrolled in their program.

Step 3: The researcher attended the site on the day of research commencement to brief the potential participants on the project. At that point the researcher will asked for volunteers.

Step 4: The participants will demonstrated interest by returning the consent form to the program staff or directly to the researcher.

3. Recruitment

1) All program participants must be identified as being sufficiently developmentally mature to understand the 'nature and likely outcomes of research' (National Health and Medical Research Council 2007b, p. 56). The organisations will be requested to identify any young people whose maturity levels are possibly low.

2) Parental consent will be obtained in addition to consent of the young person (if maturity level is a concern) providing obtaining parental consent does not place the young person at risk of physical or psychological harm. (National Health and Medical Research Council 2007a)

3) Two distinct plain language flyers of the project were developed – for participants the language level is aimed at Year 7 literacy, for parents the literacy level is

Year 9. The plain language project flyers have been written using the Australian Curriculum writing samples to inform the language choice. (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) 2012a, 2012b)

4) The participant's ability to understand and consent will be established formally by the researcher by the consent form, and requesting participants repeat back their understanding of the research project. At establishment of consent, they will again be informed that they may withdraw at any time they wish to, with no adverse consequences.

5) At all three interviews with each participant, consent was re-established verbally to ensure participants are given opportunities to reconsider their participation. (Bell, N & Glasgow Centre for the Child and Society 2008)

4. Data collection

It is critical that anonymity is maintained in the survey.

Therefore, the following procedure will apply:

1) Youthworx will maintain a list of participants in the survey by name.
2) Youthworx will allocate a simple code e.g. P1, P2, P3 to each participant and maintain the principle list.
3) The researcher will know the survey participants codes only via the online survey.
4) Youthworx will ensure each participant is issued with the same code at the post-completion survey.
5) Youthworx will not have access to the data generated from the survey.
6) The researcher will not have access to the coded list of names of participants.

Appendix 7: Macro level policy analysis

Year/Government	Advocacy–government dynamic	Sources
2008 State Labor	Overall position of supporting existing funding arrangements for early intervention Investigations into community sector and specifically youth service sector fragmentation Supporting the psychophysiological perspective on youth and brain development informing policy development which can be interpreted as medicalisation of "youth problems" versus socio-structural Advocating for investment in mental health services Advocating for coordinated you service system Language of vulnerability and risk Youth social services are an adjunct to social service provision in general – i.e. specific funding for youth directed service provision as part of broader funding packages. For example: $128 million for mental health services, with a specific small allocation for youth Increased emphasis on early intervention	(Rose, J & Atkins 2006; Victorian Council of Social Services 2007; Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2008a, 2008b; Youth Affairs Council of Victoria & Victorian Council of Social Services 2008)
2009 State Labor	High degree of championing the *Vulnerable Youth Framework* Strong advocacy for a coordinated youth services strategy and delivery service Concern expressed over young people who are disengaged from employment, education and training Mental health services increase, for youth under 25 as high risk Increase early intervention and prevention funding and approaches Flexible learning environments – supporting alternative education access Calling for targeted support for Aboriginal youth, CALD youth, people in contact with the youth justice system, people in out of home care Problem definition rhetoric shifting to crime and anti-social behavior State budget allocation supported mental health initiatives and out of home care initiatives No funding to support the *Vulnerable Youth Framework* Shift in approach for advocacy to population-based initiatives Service sector advocacy concerned about the increase in crime and anti-social behavior rhetoric and funding – the *Respect Strategy* focusing on youth, and funding positive community engagement initiatives ($17 m) *'This investment would be better off spent on strengthening youth services across Victoria, ensuring young people have adequate support and opportunities to engage in activities and events that are appropriately targeted to their needs.* *YACVic welcomes the investment in the 2009/10 state budget in mental health and out- of-home care initiatives for young people. "We are however, very disappointed that there has been no announcement of funding to support the government's Vulnerable Youth Framework, due to be released early in the new financial year' (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2009a)*	FIND VCOSS 09 10 (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2008a, 2009a, 2009b; Youth Affairs Council of Victoria & Victorian Council of Social Services 2008)

Year/Government	Advocacy–government dynamic	Sources
2010 State Coalition Liberal	*'Last year's budget cut youth funding by an effective 7.9% despite all the evidence that investing in young Victorians makes economic sense. For young people living in outer metropolitan and rural and regional Victoria opportunities are too often compromised by the lack of youth services, non-existent public transport and the high cost of housing' (Victorian Council of Social Services 2009a)* Priority areas for youth advocates: *a) Accompanying the Vulnerable Youth Framework with an implementation plan supported by substantial new investment,* *b) Investing in generalist youth services,* *c) Funding a rural youth sector project, with a specific policy, advocacy and sector development focus on rural and regional young people,* *d) Strengthening the program of same-sex attracted and transgender youth support services,* *e) Increasing targeted legal support for young people through Community Legal Centres, particularly in rural and regional areas,* *f) Committing on-going funding for the Youth Referral and Independent Persons Program,* *g) Adopting the recommendations of the Inquiry into Strategies to Prevent High Volume Offending and Recidivism by Young People,* *h) Improving access to Vocational Education and Training (VET) for young people by developing information for young people about the changes to VET, maintaining VET concession fees at January 2009 rates, and expanding the eligibility criteria for government-subsidised places to include students up to the age of 25 (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2010, p. 1)* Concern surrounding the return to the Coalition government, whose investment in social services was traditionally low, with the Kennett government having decreased public and community sector funding considerably in-line with the party political agenda Stressing the need for workforce funding, partnership, networking and collaboration to address the youth and broader community sector issues	(Victorian Council of Social Services 2009a, 2009b; Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2010)
2011 State Coalition Liberal	Supportive of the use of collaboration with the community sector in attempting to divert youth from the justice system Supporting to re-establish concession fee places for students studying at Diploma and Advanced Diploma level Calling for greater attention to be paid to the impact of reforms narrowing the eligibility criteria for further education Championing regional services for youth Championing for greater urban fringe services Highlighting piecemeal discrete project funding Supporting new role of Commissioner for Young People Criminological approach increasing in language and funding priorities from government Homelessness high on the agenda for advocates and government Mental health high on the agenda for advocates and government Child protection a core area of concern Language of risk and protection present	(Victorian Council of Social Services 2010; Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2011a, 2011b)

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Year/Government	Advocacy–government dynamic	Sources
	Importance of supplemental services links e.g. education and mental health etc. reinforced by advocates Emphasis on brain development research and continuing medicalization in policy language Importance of education access heavily reinforced by advocates *'More intensive supports are also needed for young people who are particularly at risk. The evidence demonstrates that a case management approach that is able to link young people to specialist supports, such as mental health or drug and alcohol services, achieves the best outcomes'. (Victorian Council of Social Services 2010, p. 13)* *Sector received the budget well, noting that pre-election commitments were maintained (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2011a, 2011b)*	
2012 State Coalition Liberal	Budget Recommendations: That the Victorian Government: *1. develops flexible funding models for family support services that respond to community need identified at the local level and to Victoria's growing population,* *2. expands the therapeutic approach of the Therapeutic Residential Care pilots statewide, and* *3. improves outcomes for young people leaving care by providing support until at least the age of 25, including priority access to services such as housing, health and education. (Victorian Council of Social Services 2011, p. 30)* *Funding for early childhood development, school education, and higher education and skills is an investment in Victoria's 'human capital' and critical to sustaining positive economic growth in the long term …* *'Key areas for intervention in this Budget are:* • *Early childhood development* • *Flexible learning models* • *Learning support programs* • *Victorian Certificate of Applied Learning (VCAL)* • *The middle years* • *Costs of education* • *Skills and training and employment support* *(Victorian Council of Social Services 2011, p. 41)* 2011's *Protecting Victoria's Vulnerable Children* inquiry by the state government showed an increase in emphasis on protective services Advocacy submissions were reinforced with priorities in budget submissions Emphasis on integrated and planned service provision Emphasis on creating a stronger more "linked" government response Sector sustainability and workforce stability A continuum of care model Adequate funding of social service including fair and sustainable funding indexation	(Victorian Council of Social Services 2011, 2012c; Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2012)

Year/Government	Advocacy–government dynamic	Sources
	Real effective increase (adjusted for population an CPI)	
	Output area	
	Mental health — 0.8%	
	Acute health services — -0.6%	
	Aged and home care — -0.8%	
	Primary and dental health — -6.0%	
	Public health — 8.1%	
	Drug services — -4.1%	
	Disability services — -1.8%	
	Child protection & family services — 1.2%	
	Youth justice and youth services — -1.0%	
	Concessions — -2.3%	
	Housing — -5.9%	
	Empowering individuals and communities (DHS) — -10.2%	
	Early childhood services — 9.7%	
	Education — -1.4%	
	Skills — -4.5%	
	Justice — 2.2%	
	Public transport — -0.3%	
	(Victorian Council of Social Services 2012c, p. 2)	
2012 State Coalition Liberal (continued)	*'The budget includes some wasteful spending – with $690 million for new prison capacity that would be better spent on crime prevention – sitting alongside cuts to education and skills, community health and social housing – all critical for developing strong communities and a strong future economy.' (Victorian Council of Social Services 2012c)* The 2012 budget saw the removal of resources from the social services sector. *'Also of concern are the funding reductions for Victorian TAFE colleges. There will be a reduction in subsidy rate to less than $2 for some courses, from Certificate I through to diplomas in areas such as business, hospitality, retail*	

Year/Government	Advocacy–government dynamic	Sources
	and customer contact. "YACVic is concerned that young people will have to bear the costs of these funding reductions" said Georgie Ferrari. "We are also concerned that there may be unintended consequences of this funding decision, including reduced access to courses that young people have traditionally enrolled in" she said. (*Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2012, p. 2*) It can be argued that the emphasis on early childhood and justice, particularly the size of the investments in relation to the withdrawal of key funds in youth and youth justice, empowering communities, housing, drug services and skills are a strong indication of the nature of the 'problem definition' at play in the Coalition state government in 2012.	
2013 State Coalition Liberal	The youth advocacy priorities for the 2013–14 budget were: • Strong focus on early childhood education, intervention and services • Education access assistance and support for disadvantaged people • Flexible learning models and environments • Increased focus and funding on population-based initiatives for social and economic integration • Focus on out-of-home care, Aboriginal service provision for youth, mental health services • Fund and deliver alcohol and other drug service streams such as residential detox facilities • Take a whole of family approach to servicing adults (Victorian Council of Social Services 2012a) Minister of Community Services (Wooldridge), commissioned yet another review into the service sector – the interim report noting many in the sector were experiencing 'reform fatigue' (Shergold 2013) Outcomes-based funding became a key option considered within the reform, which caused concern among youth advocacy organisations due to the many layered complexities of measuring outcomes and time taken to generate outcomes. A red flag for the youth sector in terms of security of funding and service provision.(Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2013b) 2013 budget initiatives demonstrate a clear drive toward stimulating the market economy to support social service provision. With start-up business funding, and business mentoring schemes being included in the youth initiatives within budget. (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2013a) TAFE received $200 million over four years with half as capital expenditure and operational reform, sending clear signal to the sector that competitive market driven solutions to funding issues was the preferred approach. No funding included for access equity and assistance for disadvantaged groups and the initiatives were urban focused. The boom in student enrolments and private RTOs demonstrate the impact that the education reforms made at the federal level were being felt across the sector: *'YACVic expressed concern that these changes were likely to have a disproportionately adverse effect on young people, who tend to be on lower than average incomes, and are more likely than older students to be studying subjects where the subsidies would be reduced.* *While the new TAFE Structural Adjustment Fund will assist TAFEs with operational and planning issues, it is disappointing that there is no emphasis on improving outcomes for vulnerable students, for example through an equity engagement fund'.* (*Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2013a*) No youth specific mental health funding nor diversionary program funding for justice *While the initiatives supporting victims of crime and the new crime statistics agency are welcome, there is a need for greater investment in diversion programs, prevention and early intervention initiatives for young people. As*	(Victorian Council of Social Services 2012a, 2012b; Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2013a, 2013b)

Year/Government	Advocacy–government dynamic	Sources
	Smart Justice noted in their media release following the Budget, it is important that investment is focused on 'alternatives to prison that address causes of crime [and] reduce offending'. *YACVic is also concerned that the Budget doesn't contain investment in youth specific mental health services or programs. Whilst young adults will benefit from investment in adult mental health services, the value of youth specific mental health programs is broadly acknowledged, yet demand for support is significantly higher than the current service system can support.* *Whilst YACVic welcomes the new investment in Youth Enterprises, YACVic is concerned that this State Budget doesn't contain investment in community-based youth support services (outside of funding for the youth foyers model or the DEECD Student Support Services). Given that the School Focused Youth Service program will cease to operate from the end of this financial year and no replacement program has yet been announced in the Budget or otherwise, we are concerned that already existing gaps in youth support will be exacerbated and young people will miss out on services. (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2013a, pp. 7-8)* The sector produced a clear framework for structuring youth service provision in their *Building the Scaffolding* report: 1. Develop a life course approach to policy and program development 2. Develop more effective local, regional and state service planning, development and governance arrangements 3. Strengthen early intervention support through effective education and community sector organisation partnerships 4. Build the capacity of the workforce that supports young people 5. Develop tools to better measure outcomes for children and young people (Grogan et al. 2013)	
2014 (election year) State Liberal Coalition	The title of the VCOSS submission to the 2014–15 budget process was titled "Sharing the Benefits" – Victoria had experienced solid economic growth with, however the distribution of benefit was uneven. Budget priorities: • Education – with particular emphasis on the early years, VET and innovation and flexibility in delivery to ensure greater access and participation • Family services funding increases and program extension • Development of specific programs to assist young people in becoming 'job ready' • Expansion of community-based mental health funding with specific increases for services for young people • A strong emphasis on re-focusing on diversion programs and reinstate funding streams that had been removed, and the creation of a state-wide court-based diversion system, supported by additional measures to specifically reduce incarceration levels of Aboriginal youth (Victorian Council of Social Services 2013, p. 7) *'There is growing concern about the number of young people disengaging from school. VCOSS and the Youth Affairs Council of Victoria (YACVic) have highlighted the need for more flexible education models, for schools to link vulnerable young people to early intervention supports both in schools and with local community services, and to support children and young people with the cost of education' (Victorian Council of Social Services 2013, p. 9)* Response to budget was disappointment: • No new mental health funding for youth • No new funding for civic participation	(Grogan et al. 2013; Shergold 2013; Victorian Council of Social Services 2013; Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2014a, 2014b)}

Year/Government	Advocacy–government dynamic	Sources
	- No attempts to redress negative consequences for commonwealth changes to welfare payments - Local Learning and Employment Networks underfunded to the degree that it risks their services - YACVic was disappointed to see no new investment in employment and job ready programs for disadvantaged young people. 'YACVic was disappointed to see no new investment in employment and job ready programs for disadvantaged young people. Last year the Victorian Government switched the focus of its youth unemployment efforts, offering incentive payments for employers to employ young people. However, much more effort is needed to help people to become job ready in the first place, increasing their chances of finding a job and keeping it.* "We were really hoping to see investment in this area," Ms Ferrari said. "With youth unemployment double that of the general population, and with the Commonwealth stressing a 'learn or earn' approach for young people, it is vital that the states do their share to help disadvantaged young people to become job ready." (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2014b, pp. 1-2)*	
2014 Federal Coalition	At a federal government level, large scale changes were taking place to the income support system and eligibility criteria in attempts to control federal budgets. These structural changes had a serious impact on young people and was evident from the data at the micro and meso levels. Youth unemployment figures in Victoria at the time were double that of the broader population 12.4% compared to 6.4%. Some of the cost cutting measures were: - Extensive waiting periods for receipt of benefits for those under the age of 30 - Time bound payment entitlement period of 6 months should no job be found in that period - Newstart access age raised to 24 from 22 years of age, resulting in young people having to rely on the lesser Youth Allowance payments creating a shortfall of $48 per week approximately - No funding for Youth Connections (again evident in the micro data) which was providing career counseling and support to early school leavers - De-funding of the Local Learning and Employment Networks - Announcing the removal of caps on university courses in 2016 making education even more unaffordable - Reduction in commonwealth subsidy for degrees to 20% - Cuts to the disability support pension The advocacy positions stressed the consequences for youth were deepening poverty: *The Youth Affairs Council of Victoria (YACVic), the state peak body for young people and the youth sector, has expressed deep concern at the likely impacts of the 2014–15 federal budget on young people. With reduced access to income support, education, training and employment, many young people will be at risk of poverty and homelessness.* *"The federal budget is framed in terms of restoring Australia's financial security," commented YACVic CEO Georgie Ferrari. "But this is short-term gain for long-term pain, especially for young people." The Australian Council of Social Service has noted that people on low incomes will be expected to contribute over half the savings in the budget through cuts to programs and services, despite having the least capacity to live on less. Vulnerable young people are one of the key groups in the firing line.* (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2014a, pp. 1-3)	(Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2014a)

Year/Government	Advocacy–government dynamic	Sources
2015 State Labor	The return of Labor to state government gave the agents an opportunity to re-state their agenda to a government with a fresh view. The title of their budget submission was: *Building a Victoria Without Poverty* The language of social justice, poverty and socioeconomic disadvantage returned to policy rhetoric with less emphasis on punitive/diversionary/crime/psychophysiological rationales for problem definition – in turn, recommendations became focused on increasing economic and educational participation for disadvantaged youth They took a system focused approach in line with the renewal of the 2015–2018 Direct Service Agreements (funding many of the community sector organisations), and had contractual reform at the top of their priority list. During the latter half of 2014, VCOSS produced a strategy demonstrating how the community sector could assist in increasing labour market participation for Victoria – *Tackling Unemployment: Towards a Workforce Participation Plan for all Victorians* (Victorian Council of Social Services 2014b), clearly facilitating the Labor government's problem solution orientation. The priorities for 2015: • Strengthen the community sector • Tackle unemployment • Focus on education access, and equity in attainment by supporting disadvantaged groups to be in and succeed in education • Implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission into violence against women, children and families • Invest in and integrate the family and child support services and make child protection work • The Labor budget of 2015 was met with great enthusiasm by the advocacy sector – the funding priorities aligned with their problem definition. *The Andrews government's first budget signals a strong commitment to vulnerable families and young people with solid investment into education and support services in Victoria.* *"This is a very good budget. It focuses on prevention and early-intervention and targets investment in services where it's needed most," said Youth Affairs Council of Victoria CEO, Georgie Ferrari.* *YACVic welcomes the government's provision of a $300 million fund to further strengthen the TAFE sector, with a focus on reopening closed campuses, upgrading facilities and connecting young people to local employers. This is in addition to the previously announced $50 million TAFE Back to Work Fund.* *"Youth unemployment is a big challenge facing our community," said Ms Ferrari. "Over 16% of young Victorians who are not in full-time education are unemployed, with serious ramifications for their later lives. It's very encouraging to see the government's focus on improving outcomes for these young people." The funding of $8 million to establish Tech Schools and a further $4 million for operating costs is also a welcome investment in the future of young Victorians.* *"YACVic is pleased to see the Andrews government honour their election commitment to continue to fund the Local Learning Employment Networks (LLENs), with an investment of $32 million over four years". (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2015b, p. 1)* 2015 also saw the beginning of the government's rapid production of strategies to address the social problems defined by the bureaucracy and advocacy groups. Their approach was to generate a strategic action plan with 5 interlinked by	(Victorian Council of Social Services 2014a, 2014b; Victorian Government 2015a, 2015b, 2015c; Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2015b)

Year/Government	Advocacy–government dynamic	Sources
	independent strategies to pursue improvement in unemployment, education, child and family services, mental health and public health.	
2015 Federal Liberal	The advocacy response: The federal government maintained the punitive approach to young people receiving income support payments despite some measures improving access, for example more generous parental testing arrangements Other measures reduced access to income support: • Under 25s unable to access income support for the first 4 weeks of job searching, and must accumulate additional activities to demonstrate they are making effort • Newstart eligibility rises to 25 years old from 22 • Youth Disability Supplement raised from 21 to 24 years • Failure to attend appointments result in no income support • Income management pilots continued • School Chaplaincy Program the only funded mental health initiative Initiated the Youth Employment Strategy with a funding stream of $331 million including a $212 Transition to Work program specifically targeting 15–21 year olds disengaged from the labour market. Extended the National Partnership on Homelessness for two further years	(Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2015a)
2016 State Labor	*"You have to go back a long way to find a budget so responsive to the needs of Victoria's most vulnerable and disadvantaged," said VCOSS CEO Emma King.* *VCOSS is also pleased that recent commitments made as part of the Andrews Government's $572 million Family Violence Package are reflected in the budget papers. (Victorian Council of Social Services 2016d, p. 1)* The first recommendations in the 2016 are related to sector collaboration and ensuring service continuity for people: • The importance of protecting client/service relationships with particular reference to the AOD sector • Emphasising that government initiatives are made more successful by drawing on the community sector's expertise and on the ground experience • Championing the use of collaborative strategies at state, regional and local levels • Cutting red tape and compliance requirements • Fair indexation • Community sector workforce plan and assist the sector meet the mandated employment overhead increases • Secure people's access to services in a rapidly changing sector • The funding priorities for service delivery: • Royal commission recommendation implementation and family violence early support access • Better programs and resources for early childhood education and learning access • Expand flexible models of education to assist retention in middle years • Help young people find work through LLENs • Develop a Workforce Participation Plan and job pathways for disadvantaged people	(Victorian Council of Social Services 2015, 2016a, 2016d; Victorian Government 2016; Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2016)

Year/Government	Advocacy–government dynamic	Sources
	• Address housing shortage, increase homelessness prevention initiatives and improve rental protections	
	• Improve maternal and child health	
	• Address structural reasons for crime and focus on diversion, reform bail processes, and assist in addressing AOD dependence using the justice system	
	(Victorian Council of Social Services 2015, pp. 6–8)	
	The Youth Affairs Council of Victoria (YACVic) has welcomed the Victorian Government's commitment to deliver a stronger, inclusive education system and targeted support for young people escaping family violence.	
	'This is a strong budget which delivers on the Andrews government's promises to build Victoria into the Education State and take a powerful lead in preventing and ending violence in the home,' said YACVic CEO Georgie Ferrari.	
	The Andrews Government has distinguished itself with unprecedented commitments in response to the recommendations of the 2016 Royal Commission into Family Violence. The initial $572 million funding boost over two years includes significant increases in housing and specialist supports for women and children escaping violence, $25.7 million to prevent and address violence in Aboriginal communities, and $10.4 million to build the capacity of support workers to respond to family violence.	
	… Another way the budget commits to a safer, more cohesive community is through a two-year $5.6 million commitment to a youth diversion program through the Children's Court (building on the successful work of the Jesuit Social Services' Youth Diversion Pilot Program), and over $1 million over two years to expand the Youth Justice Bail Supervision program.	
	'The earlier we can divert young people away from crime, reconnect them with schooling, and link them to programs which address their behaviour, the less likely it is that they will end up in the justice system as adults,' Ms Ferrari said. (Youth Affairs Council of Victoria 2016, pp. 1–2)	
2017 State Labor	*Victoria's peak social advocacy body has warned not all Victorians are benefiting from the state's social and economic growth, and is proposing **a range of targeted investments** (http://vcoss.org.au/state-budget-submission-2017–18) to turn the tide.*	(Victorian Council of Social Services 2016b, 2016c)
	"With manufacturing jobs declining, a hostile housing market and the emergence of a two speed economy, many Victorians are being left behind," Victorian Council of Social Service CEO Emma King said.	
	"A record 726,900 Victorians now live below the poverty line. This is simply not good enough. The policies of yesterday aren't working."	
	"However, with smart approaches and a collaborative mindset there are ways to empower all Victorians to succeed."	
	Again, hints at sector exclusion from decision-making processes and program specifications are implied within the strategic messaging by the advocacy sector. The proactive approach with the state strategies and their implementation may have resulted in the sector being on the receiving end of initiatives rather than designing in concert.	
	The sector has adopted the language of social innovation and market-based approaches to social service delivery with the first priority advocating for the establishment of a social investment fund – seeking greater degrees of autonomy in the design and delivery of services to meet the needs of the communities served.	
	Strong use of poverty and socioeconomic equity throughout the budget submissions	
	The advocacy priorities:	
	• Social investment fund	

Year/Government	Advocacy–government dynamic	Sources
	- Community sector workforce plan - Build more social housing (interesting to note the transition from public housing rhetoric and the stigma associated to the more soft UK terminology of social housing) - Assist students with high needs and disabilities in education - Early learning assistance - Retain community mental health rehabilitation services - Increase assistance for those leaving out-of-home care - Focus on equitable access to justice services (Victorian Council of Social Services 2016b, p. 3)	

Appendix 8: Ishikawa diagrams (size A3)